

ICWA LETTERS

Since 1925 the Institute of Current World Affairs (the Crane-Rogers Foundation) has provided long-term fellowships to enable outstanding young professionals to live outside the United States and write about international areas and issues. An exempt operating foundation endowed by the late Charles R. Crane, the Institute is also supported by contributions from like-minded individuals and foundations.

TRUSTEES

Joseph Battat
Mary Lynne Bird
Steven Butler
William F. Foote
Kitty Hempstone
Pramila Jayapal
Peter Bird Martin
Ann Mische
Dasa Obereigner
Paul A. Rahe
Carol Rose
Chandler Rosenberger
John Spencer
Edmund Sutton
Dirk J. Vandewalle

HONORARY TRUSTEES

David Elliot
David Hapgood
Pat M. Holt
Edwin S. Munger
Richard H. Nolte
Albert Ravenholt
Phillips Talbot

Institute of Current World Affairs
The Crane-Rogers Foundation
Four West Wheelock Street
Hanover, New Hampshire 03755 U.S.A.

CG-18

Southeast Asia

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

A Nation Is Born, Again

By Curt Gabrielson

JUNE 1, 2002

BAUCAU, East Timor—My most recent look at the political situation in East Timor (CG-11, November 2001) had a Constituent Assembly elected with the goal of drafting the nation's new constitution. The Assembly was composed of 88 members: 75 national representatives, and one each from the 13 districts. This group of 24 women and 64 men viewed various constitutional models from around the world, and each major party put forth a draft constitution to be considered.

I found the whole process a bit overwhelming. The "Mother Law," as it is called in Tetum, East Timor's lingua franca, is all-important; this much I had learned in high-school. How to write one from scratch, however, was not covered in Mr. Krokstrom's civics class.

The Assembly's constitutional debates were broadcast on national radio, and one could follow them by drifting in and out of small shops and walking by houses with open windows. What I heard was sometimes incoherent, not necessarily logical, often unorganized, but always very passionate. Common people I talked with had opinions about the proceedings, and began forming ideas about the new government that would stand atop this constitution.

Many here were concerned that drafting of the constitution would be done without any input from common people and civic organizations in East Timor. The NGO (Nongovernmental Organization) Forum in Dili started a Constitutional Working Group with members from various segments of society. The group worked hard to both educate East Timorese people about the complex plan for creating a constitution and push for a longer and more democratic process that would allow genuine input from women and men throughout the country. The Constitutional Working Group had only limited success, and the Assembly often seemed to regard it and other civic groups trying to have input to the process as unwanted distractions.

Aside from local input, considerable advice arrived from abroad. The governments of several nations, most visibly Portugal, offered advice, and the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, Mary Robinson, added her voice, calling for a strong constitutional stand on human rights.

By mid-January, a disagreement had emerged over the deadline for completion. Originally, the official goal had been to complete it by February sixth, giving less than five months for the Assembly to draft the constitution. It was not only the NGOs that said this was foolhardy and lobbied for a longer time frame. Both East Timor's primary Catholic Bishop, Nobel-Peace-Prize-winner Carlos Felipe Ximenes Belo, and Xanana Gusmao, now president of East Timor, criticized the unnecessary speed of the project. A group of eight US Congress members wrote to the Assembly urging it to extend its sessions and take as much time as necessary.

In the end, the schedule was scarcely changed. The first draft of the constitution was approved on February 9, with nary a vote against it, but with 13 mem-



A quiet voting station in Dare (DAH-reh), April 14.

dictable. While the UN remained in quiet approval of the transfer from Assembly to Parliament, several smaller parties called for new elections, presumably with hopes of gaining more seats in the future parliament than they currently held. It is unclear whether or not these hopes were well-founded. Fretilin, the majority party, all but controls the Assembly with 55 out of 88 seats and would make darn sure any future election was set up with enough rules and guidelines to ensure an even greater Fretilin presence in Parliament. (For instance, parties could be made to get arbitrarily high numbers of signatures before running a candidate.) Nevertheless, a Group for the Defense of Democracy, Peace and Stability in East Timor was founded with representatives from four smaller parties. It proposed the “simultaneous holding of presidential and legislative elections” by May 20 (the date set for the formal transfer of power from the UN) or “legislative elections soon after independence, preferably on August 30.” This group staged large demonstrations in front of the Assembly building. Accusations of deceit blossomed in the local newspapers: The people thought they were electing a Constituent Assembly for a few months, not a five-year Parliament! Bishop Belo and Xanana both came out in favor of new elections.

Then, on January 31, the sun rose in the east and the Constituent Assembly voted 65 to 16 to remain in power and become the new Parliament of East Timor.

Amid all this activity in the Constituent Assembly, a presidential election was planned and carried out. On April 14, 87 percent of the population went to the polls and Xanana won

with 83 percent of the vote.

My partner Pamela and I were registered observers in this election, East Timor’s second in nine months. We went to four different polling stations and found order, short lines, efficient processing of voters and few problems. The nominations and campaigning however, had been a continual source of amazement.

The period of nominations began on February 4 with the tiny Parentil party nominating Xavier do Amaral. Parentil was one of the four parties that did not manage to gain a single Assembly seat in the election of August 30. Do Amaral, 66, had been the first President of independent East Timor after Fretilin’s un-

ilateral declaration of independence nine days before Indonesia’s brutal invasion on December 7, 1975. His nomination was interesting in two respects. The first is that apparently someone thought do Amaral could beat Xanana. The second is that his own party, ASDT, had not nominated him.

Xanana on the other hand, remained publicly “uncertain” of his candidacy until the very last day of registration, and continued to deny that he wanted to be President throughout his campaign. (He exhibited no embarrassment, however, over asking for campaign money.) He was being urged to run from all sides and by many foreign governments (including Indonesia’s) and had the backing of ten political parties. There exist 15 parties in East Timor: do Amaral is backed by two, and Xanana by ten. One of the remaining three just hap-



People on their way to choose their president at the Remexio voting station.

pens to be Fretilin, the largest of them all, and of which both Xanana and do Amaral had once been president. The plot was thick indeed.

I laid out East Timor's complex political situation in my newsletters CG-5 of May 2001 and CG-11 of November 2001. The ASDT (*Associação Social Democrática Timor*) was formed in May 1974, while East Timor was still under Portuguese control, with do Amaral as President. The following September the name was changed to Fretilin (*Frente Revolucionária do Timor-Leste Independente*). The name ASDT was not used again until last year, when ASDT registered as a political party, distinct from Fretilin, with do Amaral at the head.¹

Do Amaral led Fretilin for a few years after the Indonesian invasion, but many were dissatisfied with his leadership. Xanana gives a very harsh evaluation of do Amaral in his autobiography, *"To Resist Is To Win."* Xanana says that as Falintil, Fretilin's armed forces, fought desperately to hold the center of the country against Indonesian forces approaching from all sides, do Amaral was "living well" in his hometown of Maubisse, which happens to be the dead-center of East Timor and one of the last places taken by Indonesia.

There are several versions of what happened next. Do Amaral and his supporters maintain that he was captured by Indonesian soldiers and taken into confinement. Xanana's supporters say do Amaral was removed from Fretilin for trying to cut deals with the Indonesians. I met a man in Maubisse who said he saw do Amaral in captivity around 1978, before he was sent to Indonesia. It was Fretilin that was holding him captive the man said, in order to prevent any more treasonous activities. Eventually Fretilin turned him over to the Indonesians.

At any rate, do Amaral was sent to Bali for several years and then on to Jakarta. Again, stories diverge. My neighbor Pedru, an ardent ASDT supporter, insists do Amaral was in prison throughout the Indonesian occupation. Many others have told me that do Amaral was teaching in a university in Jakarta, somewhat restricted, but certainly not in jail. East Timorese students in Java who sought out do Amaral for advice and direction during the Indonesian occupation received a very clear message from him that the fight was over and that East Timor had little hope of independence. This was at the same time the resistance movement was in full force, Xanana was in the hills with his band of guerilla fighters, diplomatic pressure was mounting on Indonesia and solidarity for East Timor was building across the globe.

Do Amaral returned to East Timor in early 2000. He

said that he was ready to lead the country if given a chance. This chance is yet to come.

Everyone, on the other hand, knew Xanana had a solid chance. East Timorese respect for him is broad and deep. His sacrifice and contribution to East Timor is beyond question, as is his time in prison in Jakarta. Since he took charge of the resistance movement from Falintil's guerrilla camps in the late 70's, he has been the singular symbol of hope and freedom for the people of East Timor. While it has been difficult, in the past, to find criticism of Xanana, certain people have started cursing him, and not just under their breath.

One of the most vocal critics is Mari Alkatiri, deputy chief of Fretilin and now East Timor's Prime Minister. Alkatiri spent the occupation in Mozambique, earning a law degree and teaching university law there. As the new Prime Minister, his plan for running the country is quite different from Xanana's.

Alkatiri is everything that Xanana is not. He can be viewed as a "hard-liner," in that he holds Fretilin's national plan to be the best, and feels that success for the young country will come as a result of everyone falling into line to support this plan. He summarily rejects the idea of a "coalition government," an idea strongly advocated by Xanana. He proclaims East Timor's smaller parties to be distractions, and even dangerous to the future of East Timor. Alkatiri's dream seems to be Fretilin alone ruling gloriously and efficiently over East Timor.

Alkatiri is a shrewd and articulate politician. He has a healthy distrust of international organizations and foreign aid, but has found ways to use these resources to the fullest extent. He has none of the grand, diplomatic presence of Xanana; rather, his political eyes seem focused on the gritty details of the road ahead, and how to remove any obstacles to progress.

In sharp contrast, Xanana's focus for over ten years has been unity. In the early 90's, he helped craft the coalition organization CNRT (*Conselho Nacional da Resistência Timorese*), which put together the fragmented elements of the East Timorese leadership, and led CNRT effectively both during and after his time in prison. Recently he has put great effort into the reconciliation movement, at times proposing amnesty for those East Timorese who took part in the Indonesian military-led violence and destruction of 1999. He has traveled many times to camps in West Timor, urging refugees to return home and promising a peaceful future for the nation. He often says he wants a country where all East Timorese can participate.

Xanana's repetitive call to forgive and forget, how-

¹ ASDT is also distinct from the CPD-RDTL (*Conselho Popular pela Defesa de República Democrática de Timor Leste* — Popular Council for the Defense of the Democratic Republic of East Timor) movement, which sometimes calls itself Fretilin though it is not a registered party, and which continues to claim East Timor achieved independence in 1975 and thus the entire UN transitional process is a sham. CPD-RDTL claims do Amaral as a patron, and he has adopted a stance of distant tolerance for the group.

ever, is quite hard for me, among others, to stomach. His public embrace of Indonesian military leaders can be viewed as an impressive diplomatic step — a magnanimous move to solidify his foreign support. It could also be viewed as undermining any possibility for achieving compensating justice for 24 years of international complicity with a brutal and genocidal occupation. How much foreign support is good? At what point do you stop being a good diplomat and start being a marshmallow?

Xanana's strange trip to the Presidency has only given ammunition to his critics. Before registration for Presidential candidates opened in February, Xanana received a note from Fretilin, signed by Alkatiri and Lu Olo, Fretilin's current President who fought for years beside Xanana in the hills. The note encouraged Xanana to run as an independent, or with a large, multi-party support base. Fretilin did not offer to support him, and it is not clear that he was interested in their support. His response was stunning: he stated that he refused to run as an independent, and *also* refused to run with a multi-party support base.

One may wonder what other options there were. In the end, he accepted nomination by ten parties. But during the campaign, Xanana threatened to withdraw due to a legal technicality that mandates that a party's flag or symbol be printed beside the candidate's name on the election ballot. (Xanana is not a member of any party.) Xanana, though backed by ten parties, wanted no flags next to his name. Though he explained that he thought the many flags would confuse people, his true reason is unclear. It could be he was embarrassed by the lack of Fretilin's flag, or maybe he thought it would not give his opponent a fair shot. Whatever the case, it was a serious impasse, and East Timor's Foreign Minister Jose Ramos-Horta stepped in to broker a solution, as he has done several times in the past for Xanana.

Ramos-Horta, co-winner of the Nobel Peace Prize with Bishop Belo, has become a consummate diplomat. He spent the occupation honing his diplomatic skills, mostly in Washington and New York, with the aim of freeing East Timor. A movie, *"The Diplomat,"* has recently



(Above) A rally for Xanana. The T-shirts proclaim Xanana's platform: Pluralism, Peace, and Prosperity. (Right) Xanana laying it down for the crowd at his rally. He is wearing traditional clothing except for his own campaign shirt.



been made about him. Ramos-Horta went to do Amaral and asked if he would mind *not* placing the flags of the two parties that supported his candidacy next to his name on the ballot (ASDT had come round to supporting their president in addition to Parentil). Do Amaral, for whatever reason, agreed. (Had he not agreed, he might have been the only candidate for president!) Ramos-Horta gave a glimpse of his frustration with Xanana when reporting do Amaral's decision to the press. He stroked do Amaral with high praise and compliments, calling him mature, selfless and a true patriot. Then he said he was going to get very angry if Xanana "changes his mind" again.

So, Xanana very nearly had his cake and ate it too: he was supported by ten parties, yet appeared to be an independent on the ballot. This satisfied what seemed one of his basic goals: not following a single Fretilin suggestion.

I heard a speech by Xanana at a rally in Dili. His speaking manner was quite moving and his message was powerful and uplifting: "Rise up, people, and take the reins of your country!" (A direct translation, by the way.) "Independence is only part of the goal — unity, peace and development is the other! Take part in your government — don't just let the 'smart people' lead you!" (Another direct translation, and an obvious slap at Fretilin.) "Don't

be satisfied until all East Timorese are living a better life!"

Xanana also spent quite a bit of the speech educating the crowd on how government works, about the mechanisms of the legislature and the President, and how he would carry out his goal of national unity. At the end of his speech, after a long series of "Viva...!" (The heroes that died, our motherland, etc...) he finished with, "And most important of all, Viva National Unity!" The crowd was right with him.

In a televised debate with do Amaral, I heard Xanana give similar messages. The two men, far from antagonistic, embraced twice and agreed upon virtually everything. Do Amaral said, as he had on many occasions, that he was running primarily to offer options to the East Timorese and to give legitimacy to the election process. He had also said several times during the campaign that he did not expect to win.

There appeared then to be no possibility of strife between the two presidential candidates. But real antagonism continued to fester between Fretilin and Xanana. Xanana's campaign staff accused Fretilin people of secretly counseling voters not to vote, to spoil their ballots,

or to vote for do Amaral (while Fretilin maintained a public stance of neutrality). The press confirmed these reports and apparently such incidents took place in several districts, though the mischief may or may not have had the blessing of Fretilin's central committee. It did make it clear that the Fretilin/Xanana controversy went beyond a personal disagreement between Xanana and Alkatiri.

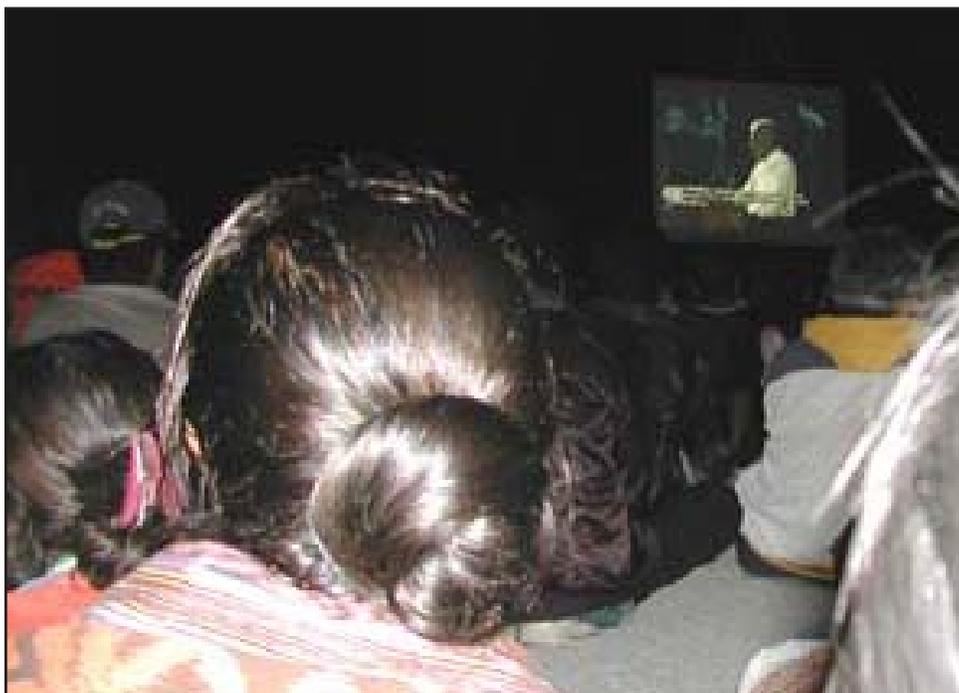
If Xanana was being trite or immature, Alkatiri was dancing with him step for step. First, Alkatiri proclaimed that he (and Fretilin) would more than likely back Xanana. Two months later he took that back and said Fretilin was "still studying" the situation. After a few weeks he declared that both candidates were good; so good in fact that he was going to vote for both, effectively spoiling his ballot. By the day before the election he had shifted again and publicly stated that he would vote for neither. By his account, he did just that. While every move was well within a person's right, such wishy-washiness is a bit unseemly for the future Prime Minister of a country, especially one who has declared that Fretilin's first priority is peace and stability.

When all was said and done here in East Timor, however, there seemed to be no problem at all in counting the votes — and it seems *all* the votes were counted.

The Chief of the UN Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET), Sergio Vieira de Mello, was unworried. He expressed full confidence that both politicians would behave with maturity and in the best interests of the country. One could hardly imagine him stating otherwise as he played out the last moves of the UN's endgame in East Timor.

It could also be true. Immediately following Xanana's win, Alkatiri and Xanana began to spend a lot more time working together, and both had warm words of praise and respect for one another. Both declared the other had only the nation's best interests in mind, and that small differences would not stand in the way of a healthy, functioning government. Alkatiri continued to chant his mantra of several months, that

(Below) The image of Kofi Annan on the screen in Baucau, a few minutes before midnight, May 20. (Right) Xanana giving his presidential acceptance speech, as seen on the screen in Baucau.



Fretilin's government was in no way a coalition government, and warned sharply of "interference." "It's the government's job to run the government and the country and the President shouldn't interfere," he said. Xanana, for his part, had repeatedly made clear the limited duties of East Timor's President during his campaign. His plan at the time was to assume a role of something like "national peace-maker," or "Unity Tsar." It just could be that the two will get along better than they ever thought.

On the afternoon of May 19, people began assembling at Tasi Tolu, a beachfront field five miles outside Dili. Bishop Belo held a magnificent celebratory mass, and various performances began. Traditional songs and dances from each district lit up the large arena, and most of Dili's citizens gathered around the edges. Many from the worldwide East-Timor solidarity movement were present to share in the moment. Representatives from 50-odd countries installed themselves in the VIP stands to watch the festivities.

At around 11:00 P.M. Ramos-Horta began a speech that thanked each of the dignitaries, including William Jefferson Clinton and the leaders of the three most important nations to East Timor: Portugal, Australia, and Indonesia. Indonesia's president Megawati Sukarnoputri was ushered in by Xanana himself to the accompaniment of thunderous applause. The ceremonial entrance of this couple could be seen to have many meanings: victory consented, peace today, the promise of future good relations. A newly freed nation could hardly hope for a more concrete symbol of stability than the previous oppressor's leader attending its independence ceremony.

Just before midnight Kofi Annan stepped up to the microphone and delivered an encouraging message of congratulations and hope, then called forth representatives from various UN branches to take down the flag of the UN Transitional Administration in East Timor. The flag of East Timor was brought forth by soldiers from the Defense Force of East Timor and raised to half-mast, then the two men holding the line paused. Lu Olo, head of the National Parliament, arose, delivered a small speech and issued the oath of office to Xanana. Xanana then delivered a long and detailed speech, intermixing Tetum, Portuguese and Bahasa Indonesia. When he finished, the flag was hoisted to the top of the tall pole and East Timor was officially independent.

Pamela and I, together with a crowd of thousands of East Timorese, gathered outside the UN compound in Baucau to watch the event projected onto a screen tacked to a tree.² We had gathered our friends from Bukoli to watch with us. Silverio remembered East Timor's first declaration of Independence on November 28, 1975. Portugal was rapidly pulling out and Indonesia had a massive force built up across the border in West Timor. Those were desperate times, and hope for a free country was crushed with the invasion nine days later.

This, then, was the moment for which the East Timorese had been fighting, dying, working and waiting for 27 years. When the peacekeepers of the International Force for East Timor (INTERFET) entered in 1999, there was little time for celebration in the midst of so much death and destruction left behind by the recently departed Indonesian military. Two and a half years later, things are looking up. Most importantly, the East Timorese are truly holding their own reins for the first time in hundreds of years. VIVA TIMOR LESTE! □

² Never mind that the video feed was from a Portuguese television station, interrupted repeatedly by some Portuguese reporter inserting his face in front of the festivities to offer post-colonial commentary, and halted from time to time in order to broadcast MTV-style Portuguese advertisements to these East Timorese waiting to see their nation's independence.

Afterward

The sight of Clinton in the stands at East Timor's independence celebrations was a stunning symbol of hypocrisy to all with knowledge of the history of US/East Timor relations. While completely understandable from the perspective of the new East-Timor administration—you always want to invite the big guys to your party—Clinton's presence spoke volumes about the ingenuine nature of American foreign policy.

While he was here, Clinton made a speech at the opening of the new American embassy. He said,

"I am grateful that President Bush asked me to represent the United States to make a clear and unambiguous statement that America stands behind the people of East Timor in the cause of freedom in the Pacific, and even though it is far from our nation it is in our nation's best interest and consistent with our deepest values."

Much to the contrary, in 1999, as the result of the UN referendum for independence was being announced and the Indonesian military and their militia had begun their systematic campaign of destruction, Clinton himself refused to make any move to intervene. He also refused to make it clear to Jakarta that it must control its military. Our ambassador to Jakarta, Stapleton Roy, explained: "The dilemma is that Indonesia matters and East Timor doesn't."

Finally, on Sept. 11, 1999, after more than a week of deadly rampage orchestrated and funded by the Indonesian military, Clinton succumbed to pressure from

Continued on page 8

Afterward, continued _____

governments and solidarity groups from around the globe and ended all US support for Indonesia's military. Yet Clinton still refused to play any significant role in INTERFET, with the incredible comment that the US is not the policeman of the world. This after Panama, Iraq, Kosovo, etc.

History must not be revised. Gerald Ford and Henry Kissinger gave a clear green light for Indonesia's invasion of East Timor in 1975, thus aiding and abetting an international crime of aggression. High levels of military aid and training were provided to the Indonesian military throughout the Ford, Carter, Reagan, Bush and Clinton years. Ninety percent of the weapons used to slaughter citizens of East Timor in the initial invasion were US weapons. Daniel Moynihan, US Ambassador to the UN, by his own admission, sought to make each of the many UN resolutions calling for the removal of Indonesia from East Timor "prove utterly ineffective." And in 1999, the US offered only the slightest of "logistical" support for INTERFET.

I trust these actions have not been "consistent with our deepest values," but rather deplorable to most reasonable people in the US. Foreign policy can and should be conducted in a manner consistent with the morals of the majority of a country's citizens. As evidenced by the case of East Timor, neither Clinton nor his predecessors have done this. Many of my East Timorese acquaintances fully understand this. Perhaps if more of my compatriots in the US knew the tragic history of East Timor, the future of US foreign policy would be markedly different. Here's hoping.

INSTITUTE OF CURRENT WORLD AFFAIRS

Fellows and Their Activities

Martha Farnelo (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 economist and mother of a small son, she is 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.

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 agricultural town of Watsonville, California.

Andrew D. Rice (May 2002 - 2004) • **UGANDA**

A former staff writer for the *New York Observer* and a reporter for the *Philadelphia Inquirer* and the Washington Bureau of *Newsday*, Andrew will be spending two years in Uganda, watching, waiting and reporting the possibility that the much-anticipated "African Renaissance" might begin with the administration of President Yoweri Museveni. Andrew won a B.A. in Government from Georgetown (minor: Theology) in 1997 after having spent a semester at Charles University in Prague, where he served as an intern for *Velvet* magazine and later traveled, experienced and wrote about the conflict in the Balkans.

James G. Workman (January 2002 - 2004) • **Southern Africa**

A policy strategist on national restoration initiatives for Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt from 1998 to 2000, Jamie is an ICWA Donors' Fellow looking at southern African nations (South Africa, Botswana, Mozambique, Zambia and, maybe, Zimbabwe) through their utilization and conservation of fresh-water supplies. A Yale graduate (History; 1990) who spent his junior year at Oxford, Jamie won a journalism fellowship at the Poynter Institute for Media Studies and wrote for the *New Republic* and *Washington Business Journal* before his six years with Babbitt. Since then he has served as a Senior Advisor for the World Commission on Dams in Cape Town, South Africa.

Institute Fellows are chosen on the basis of character, previous experience and promise. They are young professionals funded to spend a minimum of two years carrying out self-designed programs of study and writing outside the United States. The Fellows are required to report their findings and experiences from the field once a month. They can write on any subject, as formally or informally as they wish. The result is a unique form of reporting, analysis and periodic assessment of international events and issues.

Author: Gabrielson, Curt
Title: ICWA Letters - South Asia
ISSN: 1083-4257
Imprint: Institute of Current World Affairs, Hanover, NH
Material Type: Serial
Language: English
Frequency: Monthly
Other Regions: East Asia; The Americas; Europe/Russia; Mideast/North Africa; Sub-Saharan Africa

ICWA Letters (ISSN 1083-4257) are published by the Institute of Current World Affairs Inc., a 501(c)(3) exempt operating foundation incorporated in New York State with offices located at 4 West Wheelock Street, Hanover, NH 03755. The letters are provided free of charge to members of ICWA and are available to libraries and professional researchers by subscription.

Phone: (603) 643-5548
E-Mail: ICWA@valley.net
Fax: (603) 643-9599
Web Site: www.icwa.org

Executive Director: Peter Bird Martin
Program Assistant: Brent Jacobson
Publications: Ellen Kozak

© 2002 Institute of Current World Affairs, The Crane-Rogers Foundation. The information contained in this publication may not be reproduced without the writer's permission.