

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

Bryn Barnard
Joseph Battat
Mary Lynne Bird
Steven Butler
Sharon F. Doorasamy
Peter Geithner
Gary Hartshorn
Katherine Roth Kono
Cheng Li
Peter Bird Martin
Dasa Obereigner
Richard Robinson
Carol Rose
John Spencer
Edmund Sutton

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.

CM-15
ROMANIA

Cristina Merrill is a John O. Crane Memorial Fellow of the Institute studying post-Ceausescu and post-communist Romania.

Springtime for Nicolae? Part II

By Cristina Merrill

AUGUST 13, 2005

BUCHAREST, Romania – No matter how much I daydream about this country's progress toward Western standards, a trip to the local grocery store brings me back to reality, if not despair. Unable to inspect the food up close — cold cuts, cheese, seafood and dry foods are sold by individual sales personnel and are kept in separate, individual glass-enclosed counters, away from grungy fingers — I begin one of several acts of carrot-diplomacy as I place my order at the first station.

I must be gentle in dealing with the uniformed saleswomen. They don't always take it well when interrupted during chats. Men rarely get hired for what is considered to be, ironically, a *menial* job. The times when assistants' faces turn stern can make the difference between getting week-old pork innards instead of fresh pickings. Food from each station can be picked up only with a purchase receipt from the main cashier. She is even less cheerful when she has to stop conversing and walk all the way back to her post, so an extra smile and a small tip clears the air. By the time I'm done with shopping for all food groups, I feel like I have danced on burning coals. Whoever named a chain of Bucharest groceries *Angst*, was unintentionally right on the mark. The tag aptly reflects the shopping experience here.



The real name of a grocery chain in Bucharest, Angst aptly describes the local shopping experience.

Inefficiencies are part of the daily life of a consumer in Romania. At the risk of boring the reader further than I have done already in past newsletters with accounts of how long it takes to pay bills, allow me just one more example.



In grocery stores, one must juggle a number of tasks, including keeping saleswomen happy.

In order to obtain the warranty for an electronics item already purchased at a certain supermarket, a client has to exit the store and line up at a nearby makeshift shack in order to have the product taken out of the box, plugged into an electric socket and inspected (then repackaged). This frustratingly thorough practice holds for such large-ticket items as fridges and TV sets as well as for blenders and electric toothbrushes. Despite the fact that Romanians have the lowest minimum salaries in Europe, a



An increasing number of blue uniformed private-security guards are guarding Bucharest's parks, banks or stores.

booming underground economy keeps warranty lines consistently long.

Bureaucracy is a part of life everywhere, of course. What is harder to comprehend for this correspondent is Romanians' endless patience in dealing with what in the West would be called abuse of one's time and even civil rights. The explosion of private-security guard firms is a phenomenon that worries me — but apparently not most Romanians. These young men, stationed in parks, banks and stores and who proudly wear their skintight blue uniforms displaying pseudo-Western firm names (such as Scorseze and Dragon Star), do more than just stand watch. They feel empowered to inspect bags upon a customer's entrance into a store and demand to seal the customer's shopping bags. Without fail, Romanians oblige. The assumption, of course, is that every customer is a potential thief.

The shoppers' obedient response, however, indicates that respect for authority, regardless of whether it smacks of abusive practices, is thriving in Romania, 15 years after the end of a totalitarian Communist regime. Just like in Communism, the "boss" is a feared figure that may or may not be real — the mere mention of the name "chief" sends people into panic. Research polls on most respected institutions show that the army and church score highest grades. More than 90 percent of Romanians believe in God, the latest Gallup survey showed. Communism seemed to have drained the energy out of this population, which is

why typical responses to delay or frustration are either "Such is life" or "God help." They may be natural responses to decades of repression, but resignation and moral fatigue are probably not the most promising indicators of emerging democracy.

Pavlov's dog, a stray here too

Ruxandra Cesereanu, a poet and non-fiction writer as well as an expert on this nation's Communist prisons, says that exaggerated servility and respect for authority are signs that the "brainwashing" undertaken by the last regime over 45 years of domination succeeded. "I think Romania is on the right track; things cannot return to the way they were," she said at a recent conference. "But people still exhibit Pavlovian reflexes and Communist mentalities." Anyone who has eaten here in restaurants still advertising portions by the gram would agree. Some old waiters, "schooled" under the old regime, continue the practice of overcharging clients with foreign accents. Just like then, Westerners are regarded as aliens good for one thing: extra hard cash.

In Ms. Cesereanu's opinion, Communist use of force, manipulation and disinformation in order to build the "new man" and a "new social order" succeeded in brainwashing this nation at the "collective mental level." A striking, mid-40s brunette, she became interested in the Romanian gulag soon after the 1989 revolution that toppled dictator Nicolae Ceausescu and his wife Elena, when the first memoirs of detention came out. She says she wanted to learn whether the incarceration experience during the last regime was unique to this country ("Should I be ashamed to be Romanian?"). Also, she felt a little guilty toward her grandfather, a former priest who suffered at the hands of Communists. In her second year of University as literature major, she felt pressured to join the Communist party, one of the only ways for promising students to advance, back then.

The more she read the more she wanted to know. Finding that not enough had been written about the Communist jail experience or that libraries lacked the few, previously banned, books that *had* been published on the subject, she started interviewing former prisoners and borrowing books and correspondence from their private libraries. Her doctorate thesis became "The detainment inferno, as reflected in Romanian consciousness." Five years ago she turned her expertise in "imprisonment mentality" into a university course she teaches in the city of Cluj to third-year journalism students, in addition to one on social reporting and another on creative writing.

With the exception of a Master's course given by another Cluj instructor on anti-Communist resistance in the mountains, Ms. Cesereanu's gulag class is the only one in Romania focusing in detail on this dark aspect of this nation's life. The topic might seem narrow, but it touches on more than just jail experience. Students learn

about the social, political, even psychological context behind much of their recent history. In the preface of a book she wrote based on her teachings, Ms. Cesereanu says: "My approach is, in fact, an interdisciplinary one, because in stepping past literature, ideology, history, anthropology, it seeks to recover the totality of man, in which the ethical and aesthetic don't exclude but complete one another."

Communism in Romania did a good job of shattering the complete man into tiny fragments. Putting the pieces back together isn't the same as recreating the soul that vanished once the Communist regime came to power. Unlearning leftover Pavlovian reflexes and totalitarian mentalities will take a long time and it will require collective introspection.

Social re-engineering began with a bang, right after the Soviets occupied Romania following WWII. (The Russian army left 14 years later.) The early years were marked by the population's forced conversion to a new ideology (fewer than 1,000 people had joined the Communist party before the war, a number that mushroomed to over 800,000 by the end of 1947), repression of the bourgeois and a witch hunt of *legionnaires*. These were Romanian nationalists who had vehemently opposed Communists in a last-ditch effort to prevent Romania from falling into Soviet hands (right after the war, Russia annexed a big part of Romania's northern territory, which is now part of the Ukraine).

The new leaders weren't content to take away people's private property. They invented all sorts of devious schemes to arrest, imprison and eliminate members of the intelligentsia, thus beheading the nation's leadership and replacing it with mediocrity. A 1947 top-secret

directive from the Soviet Interior Ministry for countries under its orbit stated, among other things, "Places in universities ought to be reserved in exclusivity for members of the lowest classes, those who aren't interested in the highest levels of education but only in a diploma." Also, "Valuable and popular teachers ought to be eliminated from elementary schools, high schools and universities. Their places ought to be taken by people chosen by us, those with a weak or mediocre level of preparation. Differences among subjects ought to be analyzed and the quantity of documentary material reduced, while the teaching in high schools of Latin and Old Greek, as well as of philosophy, logic and genetics, ought to be stopped."

The Pitesti Phenomenon

One of the most brutal and inhumane chapters of Communist indoctrination, largely unknown here until after 1989, was re-education through torture, which occurred for almost three years starting in late 1949 at a jail in Pitesti, northwest of Bucharest. The reading list for Ms. Cesereanu's course includes a number of books on "the Pitesti phenomenon," some of which I read in preparation for a meeting with her. Inspired by the 1930s teachings of Russian pedagogue Anton Makarenko, Romanian torturers and their Soviet bosses decided to try out an experiment in brainwashing young Romanian leaders. Mr. Makarenko, who once headed a labor camp for young detainees, advocated reeducation of stubborn resisters through collective work and violence, when necessary. Romanian analysts say that the magnitude of cruelty applied in the physical and psychological torture used in Pitesti is unlike anything else that prisoners experienced under Communism in Russia or even China.

Of course, some humans have always tortured some war prisoners. The behavior of U.S. guards toward Iraqi prisoners in Baghdad's Abu Ghraib prison also shows that members of supposedly democratic and civilized nations can be savagely cruel. What makes the Pitesti phenomenon unique is that the prisoners were not warriors. They were bright students (most under 25) who may or may not have professed opposition to Communists — some were *legionnaires* and some came from wealthy peasant families. The torture's objective, moreover, was especially draconian: to beat, torment and abuse these young people into submission until they renounced their affiliation, friends, or identity — and most important, until they actually became torturers of their closest friends and companions.



“The idea behind the phenomenon was to create guilty victims,” says Ms. Cesereanu. “Nobody was guilty, nobody was not guilty.”

The first group of students was brought to Pitesti in December of 1949. The jail’s director was Eugen Turcanu, himself a former prisoner who received a seven-year sentence for being a *legionnaire* before the Communist regime took power. Once the Soviets came, however, he abandoned his loyalties and joined the Communist party. Communists liked to recruit vulnerable people, especially opportunistic ones who could be manipulated. Mr. Turcanu operated with the approval of Alexandru Nicolski (born in the Ukraine as Boris Grunberg), a former Russian spy who became secretary general of the Romanian Interior Ministry after Soviet occupation.

Re-education was performed systematically, in four stages. After a relatively uneventful initial period, during which prisoners gave details about their personal lives to people whom they trusted but who in reality were planted informers, beatings suddenly began. The continuous torture ranged from the annoying to the infernal: eating while standing on one leg; eating one’s fecal matter and drinking urine; shutting the door on prisoners’ fingers; group beatings with bricks, wooden or metal instruments applied all over the body, especially to testicles. In an attempt to force prisoners to rid themselves of everything they held dear, including Christian belief, torturers forced prisoners to hold satanic-like rituals during what would have otherwise been Christmas and Easter — staining bed sheets representing Jesus’ shirt with fecal matter, or masturbating one another in a sign that Jesus had come back to life.

This kind of humiliation had — as its intended goal during its second and third stages — the prisoner’s outward and interior “demasking,” or denunciation of previous friendships, loyalties and beliefs. In other words, complete brainwashing. By the final stage the “converted” victim became a torturer of former friends and colleagues. This method was later adopted in several other prisons. A total of 780 young people experienced this nightmare; as a result, hundreds were physically scarred for life and 64 died. Many refused to become butchers of friends and colleagues, but keeping their integrity came at a great price. The psychological damage to all involved was undeniably immeasurable. The secret experiment ended only because rumblings of its cruelty made it to the West. Paranoid top Communists, always careful to preserve a positive image, staged investigations alleging that Mr. Turcanu had somehow acted under orders from fascists and *legionnaires* — he and 22 other torturers were sentenced to death and most of them were executed in 1956.

In addition to creating a culture of fear and submission through force, Communists institutionalized their repressive regime by encouraging cowardice. People were rewarded for denouncing one another. Afraid to

take responsibility, they often turned to scapegoating, a reflex that I recognize in some Romanians today (and which is echoed in some of the finger-pointing following Hurricane Katrina in the United States). For example, the response from leaders to recent damage suffered by many households as a result of extensive flooding has been to try and hunt down those guilty of not taking precautionary measures, instead of *taking* precautionary measures. Romanians like to think salvation, or blame, lies elsewhere. The country’s impending membership into NATO was hailed as the answer to many ills, including poverty. Accession into the European Union, scheduled for sometime by 2008, is the hope *du jour*. Many analysts of the Pitesti phenomenon blame Russians for the cruelty inflicted, when in fact the torturers were very much home-grown.

Not so Ms. Cesereanu, who argues that despite their seemingly nonviolent temper, Romanians are predisposed to fratricide. Because of this inclination, she says, the Communists’ perverse methods succeeded with great effect. She gives as an example a favorite epic legend, which supposedly represents the Romanian spirit of self-sacrifice. It’s a story about a church builder who receives signs from heaven that he ought to encase his wife inside the walls, in order for the building to last. And he does.

Ms. Cesereanu’s opinion seems to be confirmed, at a glance, by one of the books on her reading list — a magnificent long interview with a Romanian Communist torturer (who didn’t work at the Pitesti jail), who says he killed his father because of advice from Communists. “This was the Communist system; it required sadists, and it created them!” he tells the interviewer. Whether Communists reinforced or actually produced parricide or fratricide in Romanians remains to be explored by Romanians themselves, should they decide to carry out that self-analysis collectively, the way Germans have done when discussing their role in the Holocaust. Discussions on what made Romania good breeding territory for Communism have occurred, but only among intellectuals, a highly self-segregated group. I suppose that when the rest



Ruxandra Cesereanu (right) teaches the only course about Communist prison mentality in Romania.

of the population achieves a level of higher consciousness, a collective revelation will take place.

Until then, Ms. Cesereanu's class is an important step in fact-finding. I went to Cluj in late spring to attend one of her seminars, one of the last before the university's summer vacation. Even though the class is optional, a quarter of some 80 eligible students regularly sign up for it. Seeing her for the first time I understood part of the reason for the popularity of the course. A riveting, dark-eyed figure dressed in bright red, her intent gaze framed by elegant bangs and hoop earrings, Ms. Cesereanu is something of an apparition. She is no mere lecturer. She somehow finds the time to be a mentor to promising young social-documentary researchers, as well as write and edit for scores of publications. Outside the class she writes fiction and poetry prolifically, pursuits she has put aside when researching the Romanian gulag. She plans to publish just one more history book, and then take a break. "I've done my duty for Romanian history," she laughed when we met for tea a day before the class.

At the start of the class, she summarized the Pitesti phenomenon, which they had discussed previously, urging students to "make a point to know the name of torturers as well as of victims." She spoke of a second episode of reeducation in Romania, this time through psychological means instead of physical pain, which took place at another jail in the 1960s. "That reeducation succeeded, for you see its remains in today's Communist mentalities." She then discussed the theatrical rituals of detention. To her, even the blasphemic shows that victims were forced to perform could be interpreted as prisoner spiritual successes — the more prisoners pretended and perfected their double-speak, the more able they were to protect themselves morally. She did give out, however, examples of torturers' "malefic creativity" in staging bizarre pornographic, anti-religious, shows on Christmas 1950 and Easter of the following year. "Some things I'm about to say will horrify you but I think by now you have grown used to used to it." But, she added, even the perversion of religion could be spiritual. Without realizing it, the torturers were imitating Christ.

A short student discussion followed, in which Ms. Cesereanu invited me to participate. I asked whether what they learned in the class was new to them. They nodded, with one student wondering why manuals, and most instructors, do not teach the Pitesti phenomenon and other similar episodes from the Communist experience. They said they understood why parents were not willing to share with them what they knew (too painful), though some of their grandparents had. "We have been told too much about lines for food and other social problems but not enough about prisons," one said. "People today aren't prepared to face the past. It's a national taboo at the highest political level," another said. "We need to know what was before in order to know what to do in the future," a young man chimed in. "The



Students in Ruxandra Cesereanu's gulag class get the chance to listen to former political prisoners like Raol Volcinski.

class provides a new way of seeing things, a different level of discernment." Many of them said that they considered themselves forgotten victims of the past regime, and they were keen for the West to know about the ugly face of Communism, which in their eyes is as worthy of condemnation as that of fascism. They expressed disbelief when I mentioned that a monument to victims of Communism is being built in Washington. "It will be treated just like a Disney Land," one muttered. "There isn't enough interest in America about Communism."

Mixing wit and pain to tell a prisoner's story

The highlight of the class was a guest speaker, Raol Volcinski, who spent 16 years years in Communist prisons. Ms. Cesereanu livens up many of her seminars with presentations from such eye-witnesses. "They're dying fast. Another five years and they'll all be gone." Mr. Volcinski was a promising young economist when he was caught in the thought police's radar for "revolutionary activities" and in 1957 was sentenced to 25 years of forced labor. For someone like him, an admirer of Adam Smith who had early on found fault with Marx's teachings, Communism seemed a double curse. "Marx reduced Smith's triad of labor, capital and nature to labor only," he said. "His theory of pauperism is an error that became a horror. Proletarian dictatorship holds at its core violence unchecked by law. It's a criminal doctrine. It took away the normal course of my life."

Using erudition and wit, the sprightly octogenarian vigorously criticized the former regime. "I toughened up in prison. I went in an intellectual and came out a revolutionary warrior." He told stories about his Communist investigators' poor language skills, the tortures he received in prison, a failed attempt to escape, the hardship he endured after his liberation. Labeled anti-Communist, he couldn't find work, so his wife had to take a job as cleaning woman to help support them. He researched his dossier after the fall of the regime: the secret police had compiled more than 100,000 reports on him. He said, with a twinkle in his eyes: "See how many idiots wasted time reporting

back about me? 'He went inside the house, he came out...'"

Despite the heavy subject matter, Mr. Volcinsky managed to use his storyteller's gift in such a way as to engage the students in his lecture. He peppered many of his otherwise tragic tales with lighter comments and jokes. To make a point about the importance of sound leadership he told a proverb from his native area. It goes something like this: "Want to see real wonders of the world? Give crazy people the power to lead." His follow-up admonition — "In whose hands shall power rest?" — is a good one for Romania's young people to consider.

Passing the baton

Ms. Cesereanu makes no pretense about her desire to help shape a new generation of social researchers, young people educated in the spirit of democracy and truth — an education she never had but discovered on her own. "Once the seeds are planted, it's a matter of time before they germinate," she said. "Some come up right away, others after a while." She is very proud, for example, of a group of her students who recently launched at their own initiative a site dedicated to facts, testimonies, and various accounts of Communism in Romania, www.comunism.ro. It's surprisingly complex, given that it has been done on a shoestring. The young men have created a vibrant "dialogue space so necessary among different generations," to which young people are especially encouraged to contribute. In the spirit of her class, which is also a forum for young and old to communicate, site invites viewers to write in; an interactive forum page is planned for later.

Octavian "Tavi" Coman, a former student whose idea the website was, is pleased with the initial word-of-mouth response. He said that he and his friends built the site in a way that attracts young people (bright graphics, easy navigation), for whom the Internet and other temptations are more appealing than academic study of potentially outdated topics such as Communism. "We want to give back a little from what we received," he said in a later interview, voice heavy with responsibility. "Ms. Cesereanu opened the way for us, she put us young people in touch with one another. She gave us the baton. More important, she understood us. She offered us not just historical sad tales but also introduced us to real people whose suffering we had read about. It's easy to disbelieve when you read about things that the mind cannot fathom. Meeting prisoners made it real and interesting. I came out really feeling this time in history."

Considering Tavi's background, Ms. Cesereanu's accomplishment is remarkable. He is the son of former Communist workers near the city of Brasov. An ardent party member, his mother even today refuses to acknowledge that the last system was wrong. "They gave us a subway system, apartment buildings, the House of the



A founder of a student website about Communism, "Tavi" is proof that Ms. Cesereanu's class is bearing fruit.

People," she tells Tavi. His retort: "As if people don't have a subway system or housing in the West. He avoids discussing politics at home, though he is secretly pleased that his father is slowly discovering a capitalistic spirit — a guitarist in his youth, the dad is working on setting up a small sound-system business. Even more surprisingly to me is the fact that his father started reading his son's large library of books written about Communism after 1989. He keeps asking Tavi, "Do you think all of this is true? Were all those crimes committed?"

This kind of ignorance is exactly what Communists sought to cultivate through propaganda, and I find it ironic that Tavi's chosen profession is journalism (to Ms. Cesereanu's disappointment). Upon graduation he was hired on a contract basis by a radio station to do political pieces. He defends his career by saying that his teacher helped him realize how lucky he is to have the freedom today to choose a field he feels he was born to do. He said that while his temperament is not suited for a researcher's life, he will be true in his own way to Ms. Cesereanu's mission by using the skills he learned from her to inform the masses in a responsible way.

In fact, Tavi may go beyond her original intent in adapting to current times. He said that because it doesn't have the same memories as those of older Romanians, his generation lacks the "passion" and emotional charge older people exhibit when discussing Communism. In his opinion, that may not be a bad thing, for it makes for a more objective perspective. To his mentor's even greater dismay, he is considering enrolling in a Master's course taught by Virgil Magureanu, the head of all spies under Communism and now a professor of Sociology. (Yes, the ironies keep coming in today's Romania). "I made you an anti-Communist, and now you're joining the other side," Ms. Cesereanu cried when she heard." But Tavi sees it differently, an opportunity to see someone like that up close, and possibly get inside the former Communist's head. "It's an intellectual provocation and a life experience," he said matter-of-factly.

Spoken like a true journalist.



Current Fellows and their Activities

INSTITUTE OF CURRENT WORLD AFFAIRS

Alexander Brenner (June 2003 - 2005) • CHINA

With a B.A. in History from Yale and an M.A. in China Studies from the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies, Alex is in China examining how the country is adapting to economic and cultural globalization following its accession to the World Trade Organization.

Richard D. Connerney (January 2005 - 2007) • INDIA

A lecturer in Philosophy, Asian Religions and Logic at Rutgers University, Rick Connerney is spending two years as a Phillips Talbot Fellow studying and writing about the intertwining of religion, culture and politics in India, once described by former U.S. Ambassador John Kenneth Galbraith as "a functioning anarchy." Rick has a B.A. and an M.A. in religion from Wheaton College and the University of Hawaii, respectively.

Kay Dilday (October 2005-2007) • FRANCE/MOROCCO

An editor for the *New York Times'* Op-Ed page for the past five years, Kay holds an M.A. in Comparative International Politics and Theory from the Graduate Center of the City University of New York, a Bachelor's degree in English Literature from Tufts University, and has done graduate work at the *Universiteit van Amsterdam* in the Netherlands and the *Cours de Civilisation de la Sorbonne*. She has traveled in and written from Haiti and began her journalistic life as city-council reporter for *Somerville This Week*, in Somerville, MA.

Cristina Merrill (June 2004-2006) • ROMANIA

Born in Bucharest, Cristina moved from Romania to the United States with her mother and father when she was 14. Learning English (but retaining her Romanian), she majored in American History at Harvard College and there became captain of the women's tennis team. She received a Master's degree in Journalism from New York University in 1994, worked for several U.S. publications from *Adweek* to the *New York Times*, and is spending two years in Romania watching it emerge from the darkness of the Ceausescu regime into the presumed light of membership in the European Union and NATO.

Nicholas Schmidle (October 2005-2007) • IRAN

A journalist and researcher for the Pew Forum on Religious and Public Life, Nick is finishing a Master's program in Comparative and Regional Studies (Middle East/Central Asia) at American University in Washington DC. He is studying intensive Persian — as is his fiancée, Rikki Bohan — in anticipation of his departure for Iran after his marriage in autumn 2005.

Andrew J. Tabler (February 2005 - 2007) • SYRIA/LEBANON

Andrew has lived, studied and worked in the Middle East since a Rotary Foundation Ambassadorial Fellowship enabled him to begin Arabic-language studies and work toward a Master's degree at the American University in Cairo in 1994. Following the Master's, he held editorships with the *Middle East Times* and *Cairo Times* before moving to Turkey, Lebanon and Syria and working as a Senior Editor with the Oxford Business Group and a correspondent for the *Economist* Intelligence Unit. His two-year ICWA fellowship bases him in Beirut and Damascus, where he will report on Lebanese affairs and Syrian reform.

Jill Winder (July 2004 - 2006) • GERMANY

With a B.A. in politics from Whitman College in Walla Walla, WA and a Master's degree in Art Curating from Bard College in Annandale-on-Hudson, NY, Jill is an ICWA Donors' Fellow looking at Germany through the work, ideas and viewpoints of its contemporary artists. Before six months of intensive study of the German language in Berlin, she was a Thomas J. Watson Fellow looking at post-communist art practice and the cultural politics of transition in the former Soviet bloc (Czech Republic, Slovakia, Poland, Croatia, Hungary, Latvia, Romania, Slovenia and Ukraine).

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: Merrill, Cristina
Title: ICWA Letters
(Europe/Russia)
ISSN: 1083-4273
Imprint: Institute of Current
World Affairs,
Hanover, NH

Material Type: Serial
Language: English
Frequency: Monthly
Other Regions: South Asia; East Asia,
The Americas; Mideast/
North Africa;
Sub-Saharan Africa

ICWA Letters (ISSN 1083-4273) 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
Fax: (603) 643-9599
E-Mail: icwa@valley.net
Web address: www.icwa.org

Executive Director:
Peter Bird Martin
Program Administrator:
Brent Jacobson
Publications Design & Management:
Ellen Kozak

©2005 Institute of Current World Affairs, The Crane-Rogers Foundation. The information contained in this newsletter may not be reprinted or republished without the express written consent of the Institute of Current World Affairs.