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Timisoara: Birthplace of the Revolution

BUDAPEST, Hungary

October 1997

By Christopher P. Ball

Studying Romania today, one inevitably reads or hears about the bloody revolution of 1989. One reads that an outspoken Hungarian minister named László Tökés refused to leave his parish despite orders to do so from Romanian dictator Nicolae Ceausescu. The Securitate, the Romanian secret police similar to the Soviet KGB, was ordered to remove him but both Romanian and Hungarian citizens took to the streets in protest. They defended Tökés, defied government orders to disband and sparked what turned out to be one of the bloodiest revolutions of the 1989 East-Bloc breakup, resulting in at least 1,000 deaths. It all started here in Timisoara.¹

The revolution was not the first major event to take place in Timisoara. Actually, for much of its history the city has been famous for bringing an end to a very different kind of revolution. In Timisoara's town square, György Dózsa, leader of the largest peasant revolt ever to sweep across Hungary and Transylvania, was put to death in 1514. It was not a pleasant passing. Dózsa was literally fired to death in a large, red-hot metal throne and torn apart by pincers. Parts of his body were fed to his followers, who themselves were then killed. It might have seemed to the protesters in 1989, however, that things had not changed much in nearly 500 years when Securitate officers returned the severely beaten and tortured prisoner Reverend Tökés who still refused to obey his Communist masters. It surely didn't seem much changed when the Securitate opened fire on the crowd of Romanian protesters. This time, at least, the revolution was a success, unlike that of the less fortunate Mr. Dózsa.

THE BANAT

Despite its bloody history of revolutions there is a brighter side to Timisoara. Romanians everywhere say that Timisoara is different, more enlightened somehow, than the rest of the country. Those who live there are of course quick to agree.

According to the residents of Timisoara, this difference stems from the fact that Timisoara is the capital of the region known as the Banat, and the Banat is itself different from the rest of Romania. Thus, the logic goes, Timisoara is Romania's capital of difference. As a matter of fact, as Timisoarans are quick to point out, "the Banat" was historically called "the Banat of Timisoara" and not just "the Banat." When the change was made, I am not sure.

Historically, the Banat was the area between the Timis and Mures rivers, but today it includes the more northern county of Oradea as well. Its fate has indeed been different from that of any other historical region of Romania (Wallachia,

1. Timisoara in Romanian; Temesvár in Hungarian; and Temeschwar in German.

Moldavia and Transylvania). Most of its history has actually been the same as that of Hungary. This is most clearly shown geographically by the historical maps on pages 8 to 10.

As with Hungary, the modern history of the Banat was shaped largely by the Ottoman invasion, which began in the 14th century. The Banat was a natural crossroad for Hungary, Transylvania and the Ottomans. Until the Ottoman Empire turned aggressive, its geographic location had made the Banat a rich trade center. Unfortunately, peace rarely reigns long in history.

In the 12th century, when the Turks began moving into Europe in the direction of Istanbul-Sofia-Belgrade-Budapest-Vienna, the Banat became the eastern frontier for the western European forces. In 1315 the Hungarian King, Charles Robert of Anjou (King from 1308-1342) built a castle in Timisoara and placed his court there. In 1323, he moved to Buda (Buda and Pest were not yet one city) and left Timisoara to be the residence of the prefect of the Timis, Cenad and Caransebes regions. This arrangement lasted until John Hunyadi (1407-1456) became leader, then called "ban," of the whole region, which is more or less congruent with today's Banat. Before leaving to defend Belgrade against the Turks in 1456, Hunyadi extended the castle of Charles Robert in Timisoara. It remains today as the Museum of the Banat, exhibiting nearly 21,000 stuffed birds and mounted butterflies.

People are always proud when one of their own makes an eternal mark on history. Those of Timisoara are no different: They take great pride in the fact that John Hunyadi was ban of the Banat, their Banat, and extended the castle, their castle, which they call the Castle of Hunyadi rather than the Castle of Robert. Hunyadi became a world-renowned figure when he left Timisoara and defeated the Turks at Belgrade. It was such an important victory for the anti-Ottoman forces that Pope Pius II proclaimed Hunyadi an "Athlete of Christ" and ordered all church bells in Europe rung the following noon to commemorate the Christian victory. This is the reason, so the story goes, that church bells all over the world ring at noon to this day.

Unfortunately, the Turks were not held off indefinitely. In 1526 the fateful Battle of Mohács was lost by Hungarian forces. The Hungarian kingdom was then split into three parts. The Ottomans controlled the center. The Habsburgs controlled the northern and eastern areas, as well as the semi-independent Principality of Transylvania. Unlike independent Transylvania, the Banat remained under Ottoman rule from 1552 until 1716. From

this point on, its fate was to differ significantly from that of its Romanian neighbors (*i.e.* Transylvania, Wallachia and, more distantly, Moldavia). It followed the same path as Hungary until the First World War.

Not much is written about the Ottoman period. In both Hungary and the Banat, it is simply a blank. It seems that nothing developed, no people existed, there was nothing. The history of Ottoman control would attain black-hole status if not for the necessity of mentioning the Ottoman Empire when discussing the foreign policies of Wallachia, Transylvania and the Habsburg Empire. Domestic/internal history, however, is not well documented. The only major exception I have noticed is that Timisoarans are quick to point out that *even under Ottoman rule*, the Turks only ruled the surrounding pashalik (a district in the Ottoman Empire), not Timisoara. Even then, they seem to suggest, the greatness and importance of Timisoara managed to shine through.

To understand why Timisoara and the Banat are unique in Romania, we need to compare developments in the Banat during and after Ottoman occupation with those in the other relevant region of Romanian, Transylvania.

THE PRINCIPALITY OF TRANSYLVANIA

When Hungary, including the Banat, fell to the Ottomans, Transylvania became a semi-independent principality. It was officially under Hungarian and Habsburg rule, but elected its own princes and determined much of its own domestic policy.

In its little sphere of freedom, that of domestic policy, Transylvania tried to make its mark. In 1563 the Transylvanian Diet at Torda established freedom for the four accepted religions of Transylvania: Roman Catholic, Evangelical, Reformed and Unitarian. Noticeably absent from the list was the Eastern Orthodox creed practiced by Romanians. At that time, the Romanians must have constituted approximately 30-40 percent of the Transylvanian population.² Hungarian historians note that the Romanians' religion was generally tolerated and Orthodox churches spread during this time. It was simply not legally on an equal footing with the others.³ That is all fine and dandy unless you are the one whose religion is not considered fully equal. The Romanians were understandably not pleased.

This lack of religious equality, however, merely reflected the general state of affairs for Romanians in Tran-

2 I mention the percentage in terms of approximation for two reasons. The first is that demographic data from this period are not highly accurate. The second is that the percentages are drawn from data dating to around 1700. Thus I am assuming there was not a large change in population distribution between 1563 and 1700. Source: Lázár, István. *Transylvania: A Short History*. Corvina Books Ltd., 1997. p. 118 (for Diet) and 152 (for population data).

3 Köpeczi, Béla (ed.). *History of Transylvania*, translated from *Erdély rövid története*, Akadémiai Kiado, Budapest, 1994. p.290.

sylvania. In 1437, the Hungarian, Saxon and Székely nobility voted themselves the "three nations of Transylvania" at their "Assembly of the Province." The decision was reconfirmed in February 1438 in Torda, the site of future Transylvanian Diets (beginning officially in 1439). In this light, the 1563 decision is merely a reflection of the lowly status of Transylvanian Romanians. Being generally poor and largely landless, the Romanians could do little to change the situation.

It was during the reign of Maria Theresa (1740-1780), Queen of the Habsburg Empire, that the situation finally began to change for ethnic Romanians. It was then that Austrian generals gained increased prominence throughout Habsburg-influenced regions and Transylvania became a kind of testing ground for overt military dictatorship. Military service did not appeal to Saxons, the Székely or Hungarians; it was too onerous. For Romanians, however, military service was a way up, and a way to gain public education for their children.⁴ By the midpoint of Theresa's reign, half of the Austrian forces in Transylvania were Romanian.

With this improvement in their standing, it should not be surprising that the Romanians soon made a serious attempt to be recognized as the fourth official nation of Transylvania. At the Transylvanian Diet, beginning in December 1790, the "three nations of Transylvania" finally agreed to guarantee freedom of worship to followers of Greek Orthodoxy. This was a major step forward, but not enough for the long-ignored Romanians who by now had won friends in high places. In March 1791 Habsburg Emperor Leopold II (1790-1792) sent to the Diet the *Supplex Libellus Valachorum* (Suppliant Booklet of the Wallachians [Romanians]), which "asked for complete equality of rights for the Romanians and that they be allowed proportional representation in the Diet and the state administration."⁵

The requests were denied by the Diet. Nevertheless, the document remains important for two main reasons. The first is that from that time on, the "three nations of Transylvania" were forced to recognize that Romanian nationalism was a fact of Transylvanian political life.⁶ The second is that, in addition to basing its arguments on current demographic statistics (Romanians by this time constituted a majority in some regions of Transylvania⁷), the

Supplex made official demands for the first time based on the Theory of Daco-Romanian continuity. This theory is still the basis of today's Romanian nationalism and it therefore deserves further attention.

The theory posits that Romanians are the ancestors of both the Dacians and the Roman Empire's forces that destroyed the Dacian Empire before they themselves settled on today's Romanian soil. The theory was first voiced in 1735 by Greek-Catholic Bishop Ioan Inochentie Micu-Clain (1692 or 1700-1768), who, it is claimed, began the struggle of the Romanians to obtain equal rights with the other political nations of Transylvania.⁸ The beginning dates of the Dacian Empire are controversial. It is known, however, that by about a half century before the birth of Christ the Roman Empire considered the Dacian Empire to be its greatest foe in the Balkans and that the first major confrontations between Rome and the Dacians began during the rule of Julius Caesar.⁹

Not being well-versed in history, I dare not comment on the validity of the theory. But regardless of whether the theory is true or not, it is the next logical step taken by the supporters of the theory that causes so much controversy among the inhabitants of Transylvania. The next step goes something like this: because we, the Daco-Romans, were here first (i.e. before the Hungarians arrived in the 900s), we have special (not just equal) rights in Transylvania and to its land. To my mind this is a childish sort of "finders-keepers" argument with little, if any, logical validity. Nevertheless, in a region of the world where history matters more than logic, Hungarians often deny the theory and with it any Romanian claim to prior and privileged ownership of Transylvania⁹. In other words, by denying the theory and then arguing that they have *therefore* also denied any Romanian claim to special rights, many Hungarians unwittingly dignify the theory by denial.

The important thing to note is that the debate exacerbates already tumultuous ethnic¹⁰ relations in Transylvania and is still at the root of many disputes today. It is in Transylvania (in the city of Tirgu Mures) that a bloody *post-Communist* Hungarian/Romanian ethnic riot took place in 1990. It is in Transylvania (in Cluj-Napoca) where a Romanian xenophobic mayor, Gheorge Funar, rules, painting public benches the colors of the Romanian flag and offering monetary rewards to anyone bold enough

4 Lázár, István. *Transylvania: A Short History*. Corvina Books Ltd., 1997. p. 157-8.

5 Treptow, Kurt W. (ed.). *A History of Romania*. The Center for Romanian Studies, Iasi, 1997. p. 218.

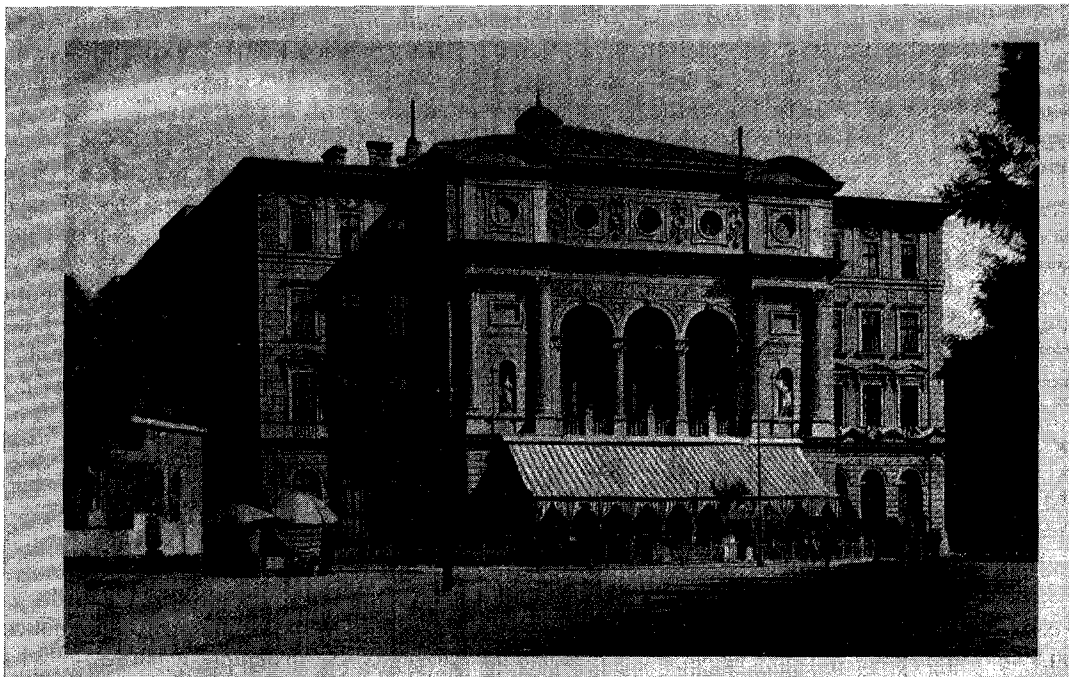
6 Köpeczi, Béla (ed.). *History of Transylvania*, translated from *Erdély rövid története*, Akadémiai Kiado, Budapest, 1994. p.451.

7 "At this time the Romanians represented the largest ethnic group in Transylvania. Yet, they were last, both in their legal and in their economic status." Source: Lázár, István. *Transylvania: A Short History*. Corvina Books Ltd., 1997. p. 163-4.

8 Treptow, Kurt W. (ed.). *A History of Romania*. The Center for Romanian Studies, Iasi, 1997. p. 213.

9 Tying themselves to the Dacians and Ancient Romans also gives the Romanians a claim to a great and glorious history and, thus, cultural heritage. This is less relevant to our immediate study, however.

10 Namely, the Hungarians, Székely (also Hungarian-speakers) and Romanians. To the best of my knowledge, the Saxons do not play a large role in this debate.



Franz Joseph Theatre, built between 1872 and 1875

to tear down the Hungarian flag from in front of the Hungarian Consulate. To put it simply, it is in Transylvania, not in the Banat, where ethnic tensions run high.

BACK TO THE BANAT

The whole point of our diversion is simply to prove the truth of the last sentence of the preceding paragraph. That is, ethnic tensions run high in Transylvania, but not in the Banat. That is, the Banat is not the same as Transylvania and has not shared its history. This, as it turns out, is an extremely important point for the people of the Banat, and especially for those of Timisoara, its capital.

On the first day of my recent visit to Timisoara I made the mistake of saying the names "Timisoara" and "Transylvania" in the same sentence. Such a blunder, a blasphemy as far as Timisoarans are concerned, is not tolerated. Conversation stops. Everyone looks at the one who blundered and the difference between the Banat and Transylvania is then explained. Only then, following an apology from the blunderer, is the conversation allowed to continue and the mood to normalize. The differences between Timisoarans and those in the rest of Romania, especially in Transylvania, is extremely important to them. They take pride in this difference.

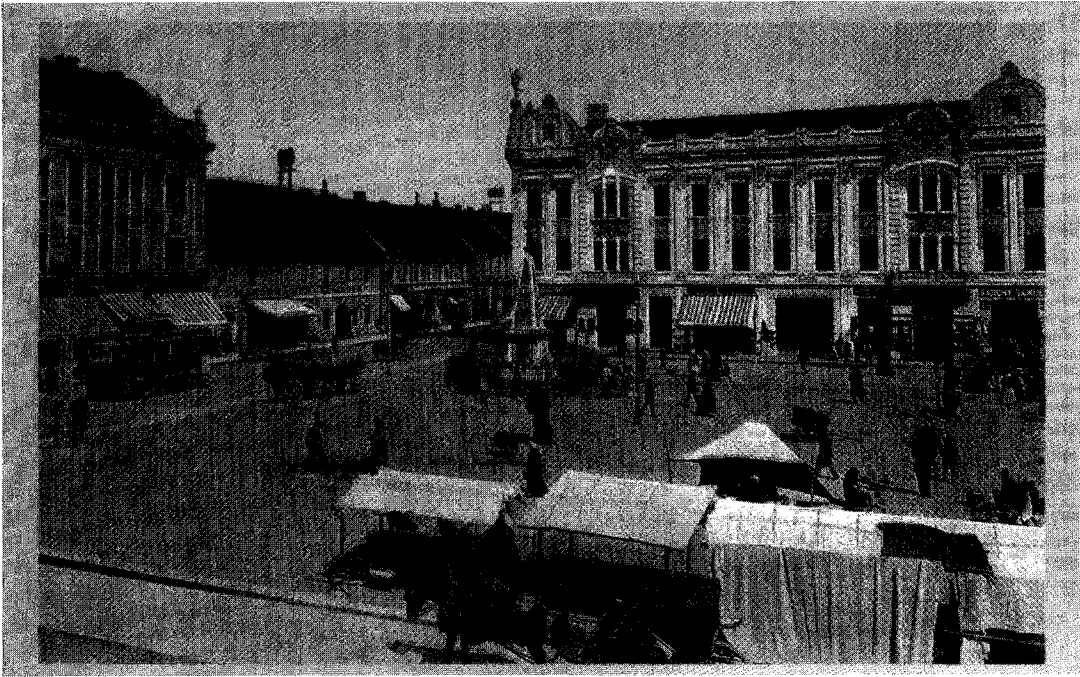
The history lesson is however not yet complete. Those

of the Banat will continue to explain that a further reason such nationalist arguments have little support in the Banat is that few of the people living there today can claim any true ancestral rights to the land. Most of the ancestors of the current inhabitants came to the Banat, and its capital, Timisoara, after the Turks pulled out in 1716. Thus, the Romanians, Hungarians, Swabian Germans (not the Saxon Germans as in Transylvania), and Serbians of Timisoara are all considered newcomers.

More importantly, locals are quick to point out, all the nationals above came of their own volition to the increasingly prosperous town of Timisoara. That is, they voluntarily came and were (therefore) more likely to be conducive to cooperating with the other ethnic groups they encountered upon arrival.

Historically, this makes sense. On October 13th 1716, the Ottoman garrison in Timisoara surrendered to Habsburg troops. From that time on, the Habsburg Empire spent a great deal of effort rebuilding and modernizing Timisoara. According to Maria Grapini, vice-president of the Timisoara Chamber of Commerce, "it was during this period that Timisoara was radically transformed and began to resemble its modern self." In less than half a century the city had regained importance and caught up with its western (Austrian) neighbors. In December 1781, Timisoara, though technically a part of Hungary¹¹,

11 For those with an interest in details, it is not easy to say what state, nation or empire Timisoara was part of during this time. I quote from Timisoara's own magazine, *Timisoara: What, When, Where*, "Between 1716 and 1778 [Timisoara] was the headquarters of the Austrian military and civil administration; between 1779 and 1849 it was a part of Hungary; between 1849 and 1860 it was the head quarters of Voievodina county and of Timisan Banat county. Between 1860 and 1918 it returned to Hungarian administration. In 1918—in accordance with the peace treaties [of Versailles and Trianon], it became part of Romania." *Timisoara: What, When, Where*, 1997, June-August, vol. 1, no. 1, p. 25.



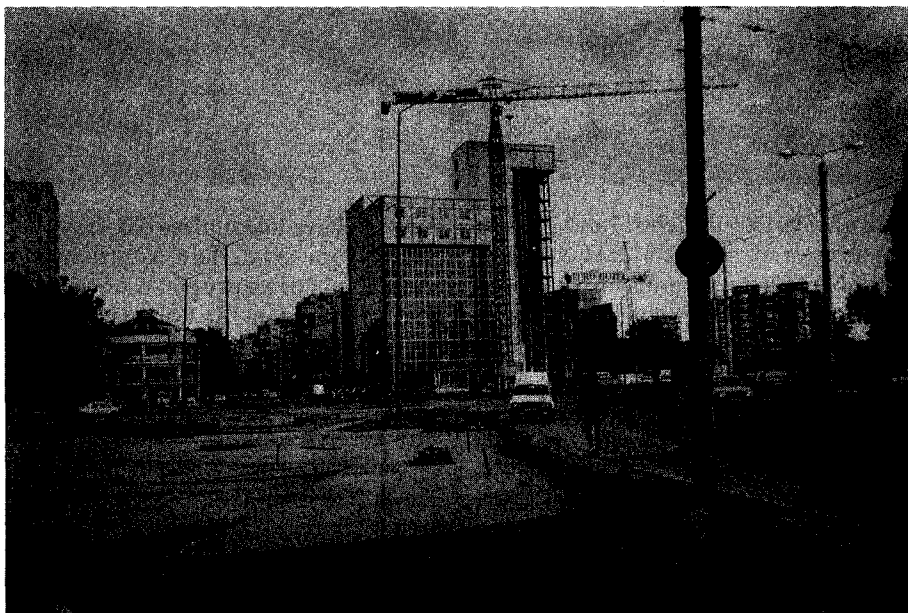
Traian Square was a traditional place of markets and fairs in Timisoara

became a royal city in the Austrian Empire with all the administrative and economic authority connected with that honor. According to Grapini, it was from that point on that Timisoara laid its modern economic foundation. As it became less important as a military outpost, it developed economically, resuming its role as a major trade and (now) industrial center. "It is on the basis of the economic developments of the last century, aided by the Habsburgs, that Timisoara became a strong industrial and commercial town in the 20th century," added Grapini. "In addition," according to her, but something I have not heard elsewhere, "Timisoara largely sat outside of Ceausescu's maniacal industrialization during the Com-

munist years. Thus it was able to survive and renew itself more quickly after the breakdown of regime in 1989. Again, it is building upon its heritage from the last century." It would make perfect sense then for people from all the neighboring areas to voluntarily move to such a blossoming city.

IS ANY OF THIS TRUE AND IF SO, DOES IT MATTER?

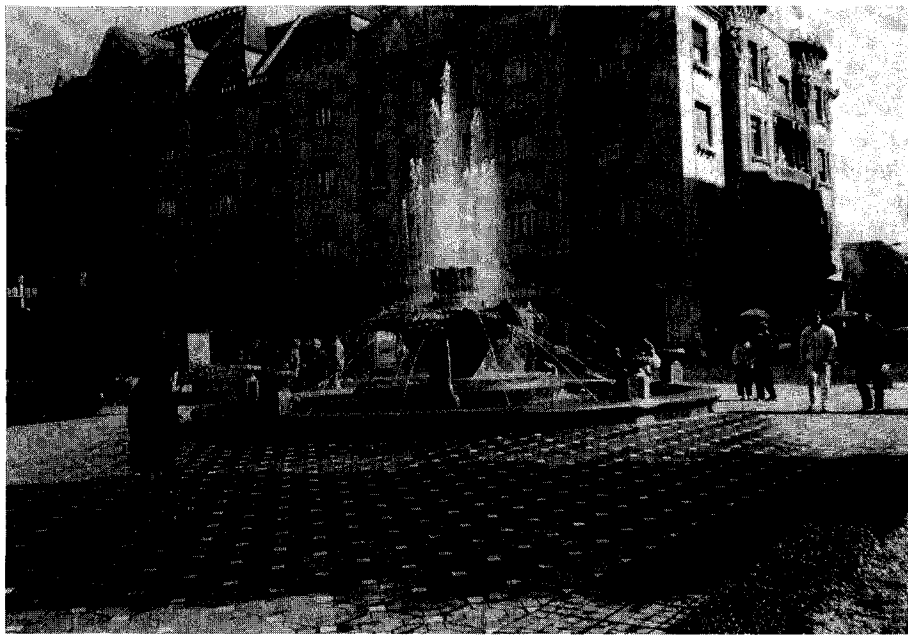
The answers to these questions are "yes" and "probably." Yes, the historical "facts," dates and so on are easily confirmable. Thus, their stories jibe with reality, so to



Modern development in Timisoara



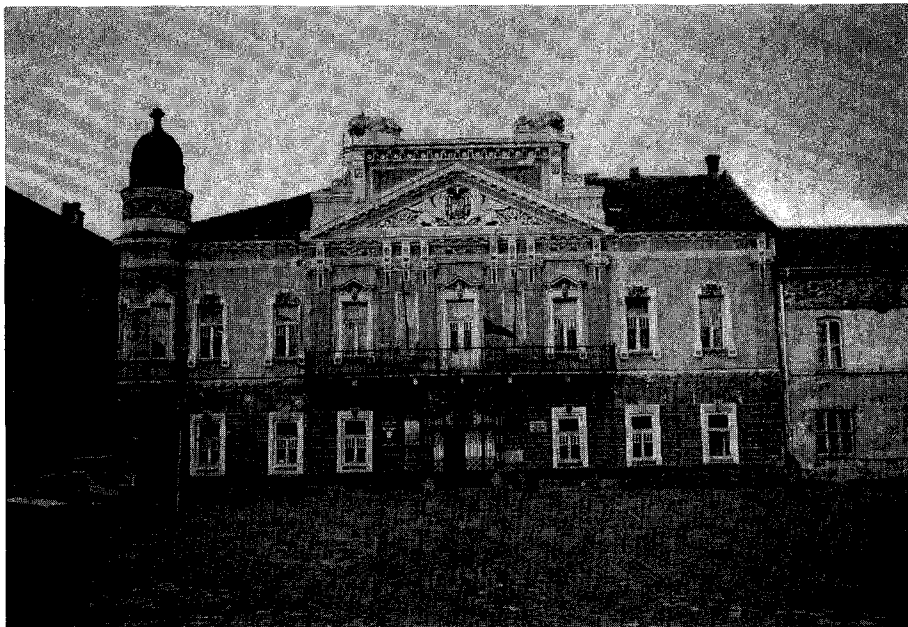
Victory Square/Boulevard



speak, something not always true in Central and Eastern Europe. Also, casual observance suggests that Ceausescu was indeed not fully able to get his hands on Timisoara and ruin it the way he did many other cities. Perhaps he just didn't get around to it. Whatever the reason, the city itself remains beautiful and its apartment "blocks," very characteristic of Communist-built towns, lie off the beaten path. The argument for why Timisoara is unique, while based on historical "facts," is harder to confirm or refute, but it is important as a key to understanding how those in Timisoara think of and define themselves.

It strikes me as odd, however, that in explaining the history of Timisoara and the lack of nationalism in the Banat, that no one mentions the ethnic mixing which

seems to have taken place. For me, once getting over the beauty of the town, the most striking aspect of Timisoara was the mix of its people. A few examples should make clear what I mean. My Romanian-language teacher there is named Daniel Kozak. He speaks Romanian, English and some French, but has relatives in Hungary and Székelyföld and his father speaks both Romanian and Hungarian as mother tongues. The head of the Soros Open Society Foundation in Timisoara is Ilona Mihaies. She is half Hungarian, half Schwab. Her husband is Romanian. Or, finally, take the head of the Romanian (state) TV station in Timisoara, Amanca Brindusa. She is 100-percent Romanian, but was adopted by a Hungarian family and grew up speaking Romanian and Hungarian in her home. She was a staff journalist at



German Secondary School in Timisoara

Timisoara's Hungarian newspaper, *Új Szó*, for years before working with Radio Free Europe in Bucharest and now with the Romanian TV station.

These are only a few examples. Almost everyone I met, however, has had a mixed ethnic background and speaks more than one language for ethnic (as opposed to educational) reasons¹². In addition, many of those I met who had children were trying, or had tried at some point, to get their kids admitted to the German school in Timisoara because it maintains some of the highest academic standards around. Entrance in the school is highly competitive; ethnic Germans, of course, are automatically admitted.

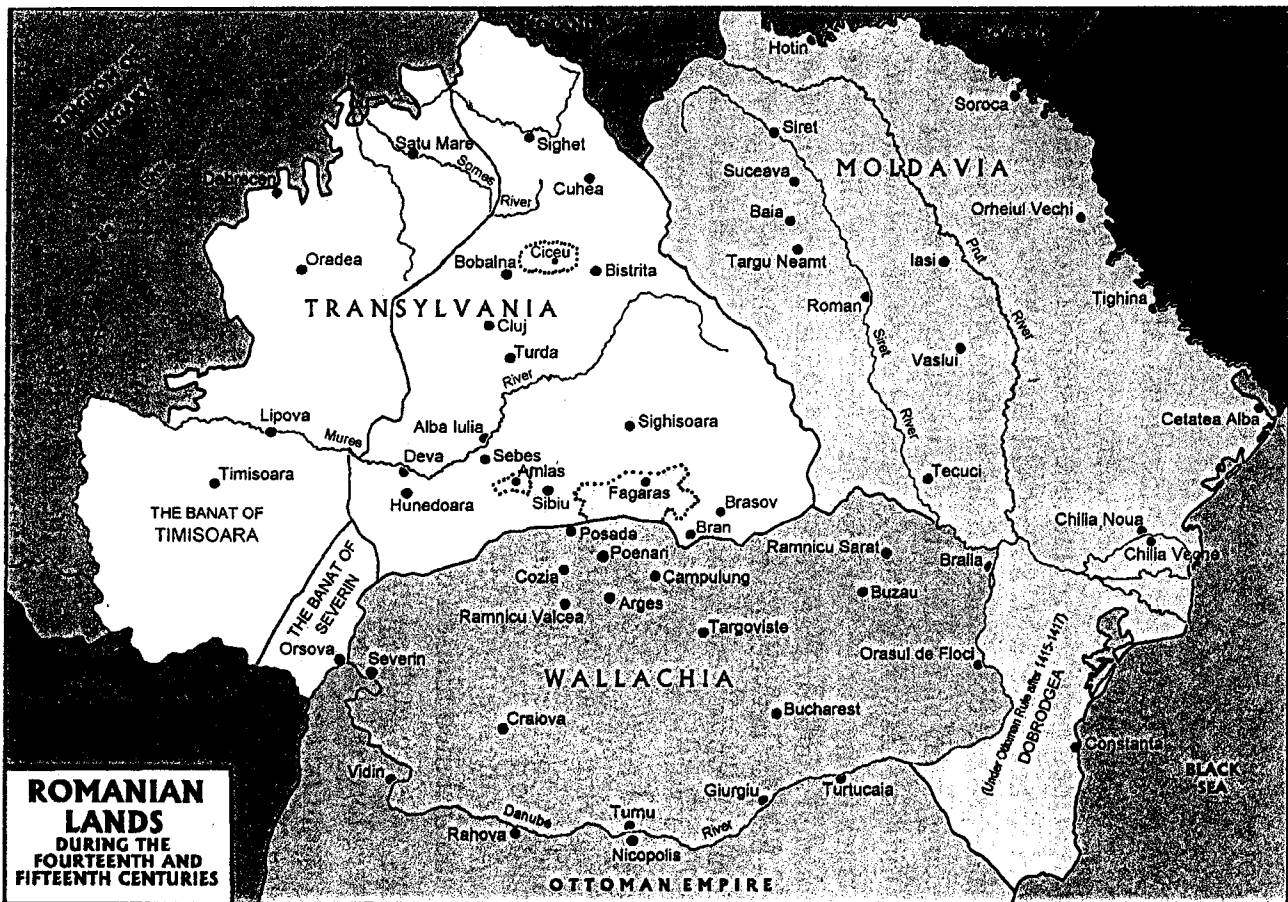
Such ethnic mixing is highly unusual in a country plagued by ethnic concerns. In Székelyföld (Székely

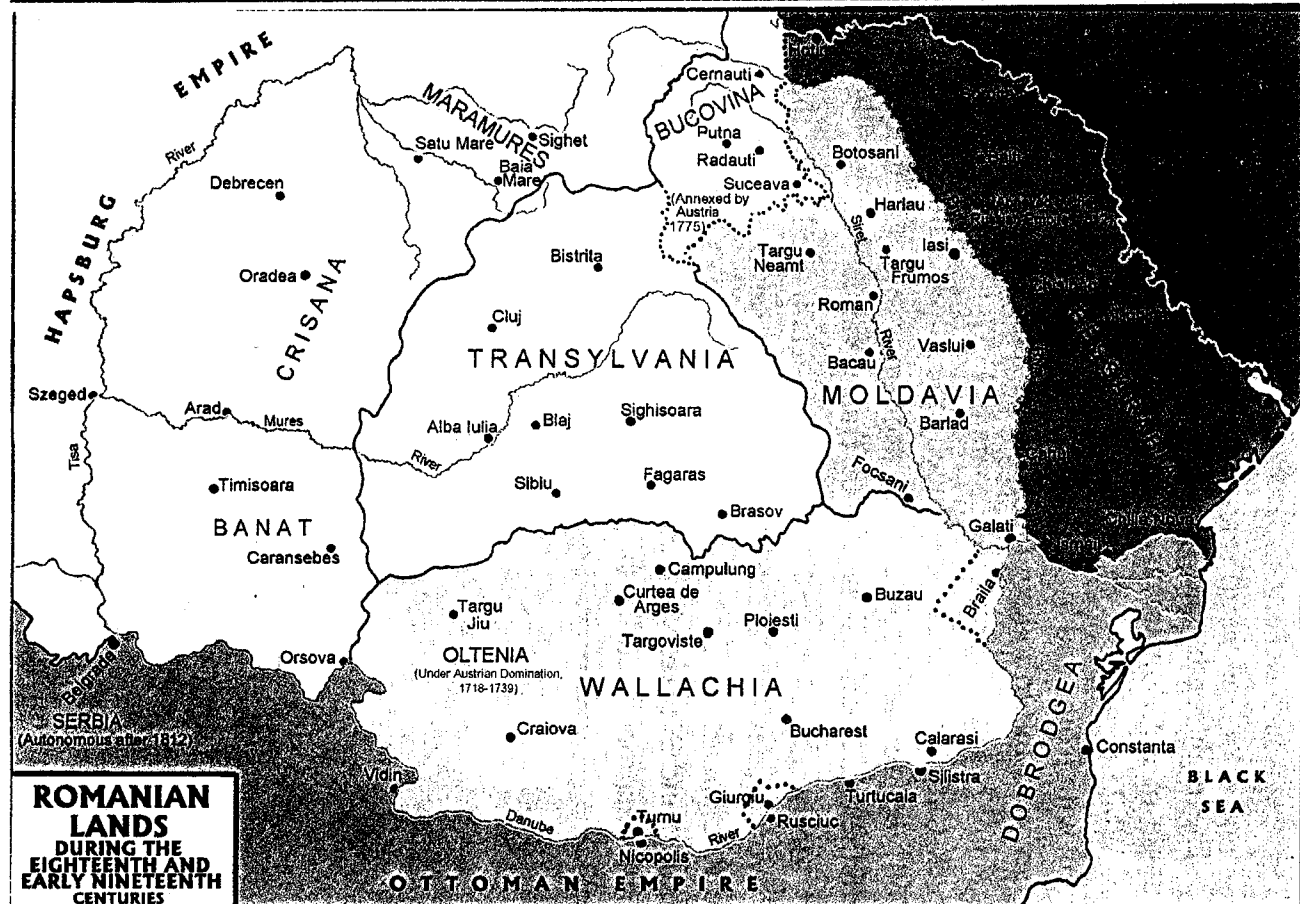
land), if a young Székely¹³ girl came home with a Romanian fiancée, she would be harshly treated (if not beaten) and then, if insisting on marriage, would most likely be cast out from the community. The same is probably true of Romanians seeking Hungarian (or Székely) mates in much of Romania as well. Beyond this, it would be almost unthinkable for a parent of one ethnic group to send his/her child to the school of another ethnic group just because it was better. I cannot imagine an average Romanian choosing to send his/her child to, say, a Hungarian school. This simply doesn't seem to happen outside of Timisoara (and perhaps elsewhere in the Banat).

Whatever the reason, Timisoara and its people are indeed different. They are a breath of fresh air in today's ethnically congested Romania. □

12 Many of them also speak a third language, English or French, for educational reasons.

13 The Székelys are a separate branch of the Hungarian nation broadly defined in terms of language. They speak Hungarian, but consider themselves different — very different — from Hungarians in both Romania and Hungary. The relationship might be (imperfectly) compared to that of Southerners and Northerners in the USA. If you seriously told a rural Alabama boy that he sounded as if he was from New York City, he would probably take it as an offense. You might get same reaction if you asked a New Yorker if he was from Opp, Alabama (once he quit laughing at name). Likewise, Hungarians consider the Székely different and, to be honest, a bit on the hillbilly side. Others, however, greatly respect the Székelys because they speak an older, more beautiful form of Hungarian.







Treptow, Kurt W. (ed.). *A History of Romania*. The Center for Romanian Studies, Iasi, 1997.

Institute Fellows and their Activities

Adam Smith Albion. A former research associate at the Institute for EastWest Studies at Prague in the Czech Republic, Adam is studying and writing about the republics of Central Asia, and their importance as actors within and without the former Soviet bloc. A Harvard graduate (1988; History), Adam has completed the first year of a two-year M. Litt. Degree in Russian/East European history and languages at Oxford University. [EUROPE/RUSSIA]

Christopher P. Ball. An economist, Chris Ball holds a B.A. from the University of Alabama in Huntsville and attended the 1992 International Summer School at the London School of Economics. He studied Hungarian for two years in Budapest while serving as Project Director for the Hungarian Atlantic Council. As an Institute Fellow, he is studying and writing about Hungarian minorities in the former Soviet-bloc nations of East and Central Europe. [EUROPE/RUSSIA]

Chenoe Egawa. An enrolled member of the Lummi Indian Nation, Chenoe is spending two years living among mesoAmerican Indians, studying successful and not-so-successful cooperative organizations designed to help the Indians market their manufactures, agricultural products and crafts without relying on middlemen. A former trade specialist for the American Indian Trade and Development Council of the Pacific Northwest, Chenoe's B.A. is in International Business and Spanish from the University of Washington in Seattle. [THE AMERICAS]

Marc Michaelson. A program manager for Save the Children in The Gambia, Marc has moved across Africa to the Horn, there to assess nation-building in Eritrea and Ethiopia, and (conditions permitting) availing and unavailing humanitarian efforts in northern Somalia and southern Sudan. With a B.A. in political science from Tufts, a year of non-degree study at the London School of Economics and a Master's in International Peace Studies from Notre Dame, he describes his postgraduate years as "seven years' experience in international development programming and peace research." [sub-SAHARA]

Randi Movich. The current John Miller Musser Memorial Forest & Society Fellow, Randi is spending two years in Guinea, West Africa, studying and writing about the ways in which indigenous women use forest resources for reproductive health. With a B.A. in biology from the University of California at Santa Cruz and a Master of Science degree in Forest Resources from the University of Idaho, Randi is building on two years' experience as a Peace Corps agroforestry extension agent in the same region of Guinea where she will be living as a Fellow with her husband, Jeff Fields — also the holder of an Idaho Master's in Forest Resources. [sub-SAHARA]

John B. Robinson. A 1991 Harvard graduate with a certificate of proficiency from the Institute of Kiswahili in Zanzibar, John spent two years as an English teacher in Tanzania. He received a Master's degree in Creative Writing from Brown University in 1995. He and his wife Delphine, a French oceanographer, are spending two years in Madagascar with their two young sons, Nicolas and Rowland, where he will be writing about varied aspects of the island-nation's struggle to survive industrial and natural-resource exploitation and the effects of a rapidly swelling population. [sub-SAHARA]

Daniel B. Wright. A sinologist with a Master's Degree in International Relations from the Nitze School of Advanced International Studies of the Johns Hopkins University, Dan's fellowship immerses him in southwest China's Guizhou Province, where he, his journalist-wife Shou Guowei, and their two children (Margaret and Jon) will base themselves for two years in the city of Duyun. Previously a specialist on Asian and Chinese affairs for the Washington consulting firm of Andreae, Vick & Associates, Dan also studied Chinese literature at Beijing University and holds a Master of Divinity degree from Fuller Theological Seminary of Pasadena, California. [EAST ASIA]

Teresa C. Yates. A former member of the American Civil Liberties Union's national task force on the workplace, Teresa is spending two years in South Africa observing and reporting on the efforts of the Mandela government to reform the national land-tenure system. A Vassar graduate with a juris doctor from the University of Cincinnati College of Law, Teresa had an internship at the Centre for Applied Legal Studies in Johannesburg in 1991 and 1992, studying the feasibility of including social and economic rights in the new South African constitution. [sub-SAHARA]

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