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#### JW-6 GERMANY

Jill Winder is a Donors' Fellow of the Institute studying post-reunification Germany through the work and attitudes of its artists.

### **Art and Terror**

By Jill Winder

February 2005

BERLIN–There is something inherently private about the scene of a crime. If violence occurred in the victim's home, we are haunted by the fact that personal space has been transgressed. If the site is public, as in the case of street violence, the private element is connected to experience of the victim's confrontation with his own mortality. The threat of ill-fated death is unique and intimate. Conversely, the reproduction of a crime scene is often grotesquely public. Whether broadcast on the ten o'clock news or featured on the front page of a daily, the reporting of a violent crime neutralizes its tragic dimension by inviting viewer to be voyeur. The obscene reproduction of violence is macabre, but only in a generic and impersonal way. We see reproductions of crime scenes daily, but pray to God or Fate or Luck that we never find ourselves in one.

In the middle of the main exhibition hall in Kunst-Werke, a contemporary art space in Berlin, surrounded by wall-to-wall documentation of the activities of the West German left-wing terrorist group the Red Army Faction (RAF), hangs *Die Toten* (The Dead) by artist Hans-Peter Feldmann. It is one of the central artworks in the controversial exhibition "Regarding Terror: the RAF-Exhibition", central because it encapsulates all the interesting opportunities and risks associated with making a show about politically motivated violence.

Die Toten (1998) comprises 90 sheets of paper each measuring approximately 8" x 11". On each sheet is an image of a person killed between 1967 and 1993, reproduced from newspapers, accompanied by a name and date of death, such as 'Andreas Baader, 18.10.1977," 'Heinz Herbert Karry 11.5.1981,' 'Siegfried Bubak, 7.4.1977,' or 'Holger Meins, 9.11.1974.' Some of the photos are portraits or mug shots. In others, a murdered person lies at the scene of a crime: on a street, in a jail cell, in an office or an empty field. The images are both gruesome and poorly reproduced, grainy, awkward and somehow unrevealing. The 90 people included in *Die* Toten can, and I will argue should be, divided into two categories: victims of RAF violence and members of the RAF who were killed by the police. Feldmann, however, refuses to make such a distinction: victims and criminals are placed



Detail from Hans-Peter Feldmann, Die Toten (The Dead), 1998.

side by side, mixed together to form a problematic chain of attackers and those who were attacked.

## Brief Background: The RAF and the "German Autumn" of 1977

The "German Autumn" of 1977 was a time filled with bombings, hijackings, kidnappings and terror by leftwing extremist groups from within Germany itself. These attacks utterly divided the already divided country, and illustrated the painful convulsions of post-war transition felt by the generation who were born in the Nazi period. Andreas Baader, Ulrike Meinhof, Gundrun Ensslin, Holger Meins and Jan-Carl Raspe were left-extreme social activists who came to be known as the Baader-Meinhof group. They were affiliated with a loosely aligned group of anarchists, Maoists and social radicals who called themselves the Red Army Faction. As former Museum of Modern Art curator Robert Storr explains in his catalog to Gerhard Richter's October 18, 1977 series (which I discuss later in this essay), "Roughly speaking, the coordinates of RAF's fundamentalist view were American hegemony and German authoritarianism, exemplified by American bases and the bastions of the Auschwitz generation's renewed strength."

1 Though the principal figures of the Baader-Meinhof group were in custody by 1972 (charged with seven counts of murder among other offenses), the terrorist violence of RAF members continued to intensify throughout the 1970s. (The RAF officially disbanded in 1998.)

For many Germans, the Baader-Meinhof group symbolized the clash of generations, the lost hope of youth,



The cover from Der Stern, June 11, 1972, recounting the capture of Andreas Baader.

passionate struggle and a new, unchecked political extremism. Their images were famous, reproduced in magazines, on wanted posters and in broadcast news. They had already become the stuff of legend, so their suspicious deaths could only serve to transform them into martyrs and pop icons. Holger Meins was the first to die a horrible death by starvation as a result of a prison hunger strike in 1974. In 1976, Ulrike Meinhof was



Andreas Baader, co-founder of the Baader-Meinhof group in Stammheim Prison near Stuttgart, 1977. A fellow prisoner photographed him in his cell with a smuggled camera. Photo: Astrid Proll

found hanged in her prison cell. Her death, like those of Baader, Ensslin and Raspe in 1977, was ruled a suicide, although it was widely suspected (and is suspected by many to this day) that they were murdered.

#### The Fight to Stage "Regarding Terror: the RAF-Exhibition"

On January 29, 2005, "Regarding Terror: the RAF-Exhibition" opened after two years of preparation, major public debate and a one-year delay due to the withdrawal of public funding for the project last summer. Family members of RAF victims vociferously fought against the exhibition, claiming that it would serve only to glorify terrorist activities and to turn prominent members of the RAF into celebrities. The conflation of the criminals with their victims, which can arguably be seen in works such as Feldmann's *Die Toten*, was precisely what many opponents of the exhibition wanted to avoid at all costs.

Two years ago, an unofficial working draft of the project was leaked to the press. It was an awkwardly worded and in many ways insensitive document, highlighting the interest of the young generation in the RAF and the "political utopianism" of the generation of 1968, and lacking any critique of RAF-sponsored violence. A group of surviving family members of RAF victims immediately launched a campaign to prevent the exhibition from taking place. Ironically, the most prominent politician to demand an end to the project was Interior Minister Otto Schily, who famously acted as the defense lawyer for two RAF-members in the 1970s. One of the main points of controversy was the fact that Kunst-Werke had already been given more than 100,000 Euros (\$130,000 USD) of public funding for the exhibition. Editorials with titles such as "Tax Dollars to Make Terrorists Celebrities" and "Terrorists Have the Last Say" ran in national papers over the course of summer and autumn 2003. Although the staff of Kunst-Werke and then-Director Klaus Biesenbach tried desperately to extricate themselves from

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Robert Storr, Gerhard Richter: October 18,1977 (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 2000), pg. 53.

the public-relations catastrophe, public pressure led the German government to demand a return of the seed money in January 2004.

Biesenbach decided to delay the opening of the exhibition for one year and to finance it independent of government money to guarantee the artistic freedom of the curators and the artists in the exhibition. Although he found some funding from



Doug Aitken, Girl in Mask, 2002, one of the art works auctioned on Ebay to raise money for the exhibition at Kunst-Werke.

typical sources such as the Mondriaan Foundation in the Netherlands and Pro Helvetica (a Swiss cultural foundation), by far the most creative fundraiser took place on Ebay. Biesenbach approached internationally known artists who would not be included in the exhibition and asked them to donate works of art that would be auctioned on Ebay with proceeds going to support the project. The auction, which took place in December 2004, is the first of its kind that I am aware of. The 'patron' of the auction was former German Interior Minister Gerhart Baum and important art works by artists such as Marina Abramovic, Doug Aitken, Monica Bonvicini, Thomas Demand, Andreas Gursky, Carsten Holler, Paul Pfeiffer, Lawrence

Weiner and Jane and Louise Wilson were sold, raising close to 250,000 Euro (approx. \$325,000 USD).

#### The Exhibition

"Regarding Terror: the RAF-Exhibition" presents over 70 works by more than 50 international artists spanning three generations. It is accompanied by a two-volume catalog containing upward of 1,000 pages. According to curators Biesenbach, Ellen Blumenstein and Felix Ensslin (the son of Gundrun Ensslin, a founding member of the RAF), the exhibition is not about the notorious Red Army Faction, but about "art and the power of images." Kunst-Werke's press text tries to explain the difference, stating, "Especially in the 1970s,

the RAF became an object of images, quotations and references in a society shaped by the mass media. In this context, each in its own way, the exhibited artworks create new systems of reference that do not remain stuck in mechanisms of identification or emotional occupation, but that allow the viewer to gain new access by establishing distance." At the opening, head curator Biesenbach insistently repeated the phrase, "This is an art exhibition and not an exhibition about the RAF" no less than a dozen times during a half-hour press conference. Yet given the premise of the exhibition—to consider how artists have made work directly or indirectly about the RAF—the distinction is disingenuous.

The curators argue that the main issue the exhibition deals with is the way that public perception of the RAF was formed through and in the media. In order to explore this, they selected 29 dates tied to the RAF's terrorist activities during the 1970s and provided extensive documentation from print-media sources such as *Bild Zeitung, Spiegel, Stern, Süddeutsche Zeitung,* and *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung,* as well as television coverage from broadcasters such as ARD and ZDF. In my opinion, this documentation archive is the most interesting part of the exhibition because it provides viewers a sense of the trauma and intensity of the debate about the RAF in West Germany.

A few weeks after the exhibition opened, I was talking to a friend of mine about the show. Joseph Kerscher is a photographer who grew up in West Germany and was an adolescent at the time of the RAF's most notorious crimes. Joseph recalled that "the wanted posters with Baader and the group were plastered on every available



Main documentation area in the 'RAF Exhibition' in Kunst-Werke. Photo: Frieder Schnock/KW.

public space. Their faces were ubiquitous and everyone agreed that their ideology—critiquing the so-called 'fascist' government of West Germany—was fascistic itself. I was too young to understand exactly what the RAF believed, but even as a child, it was utterly clear to me that the entire society was enraged and terrorized by what they stood for." More than any of the works in the exhibition, the documentation in the show comes closest to representing the pervasive feeling of imminent threat and outright rage that the RAF managed to instill in West German society during the 1970s.

In contrast to the well-researched documentation area in the exhibition, most of the art works presented are simplistic and uninspired. If the goal was to find artists who were deeply engaged with questions of history and the role that the mass media plays in forming public opinion, the curators were successful on precious few counts. Most of the important works in the exhibition are made by the first generation of post-war German artists such as Joseph Beuys and Wolf Vostell. Perhaps because they were made during the time of the RAF attacks, or because the artists were roughly the same age as the RAF terrorists, these artists engage the topic in a far more thoughtful and somber way than the younger artists can.

One of two such memorable pieces is *Dürer*, *ich führe persönlich Baader* + *Meinhof durch die Dokumenta V* by Beuys. The artist, a well-known critic of West German democracy, was invited to participate in the Documenta V exhibition in Kassel in 1972, at the height of the hunt for members of the Baader-Meinhof group. He created a workshop space in the exhibition entitled *Direkt Demokratie* (Direct Democracy). The work shown at Kunst-Werke is typical of Beuys: manifesto-like, made with basic materials and an amateur feel. Two wooden signs attached to wooden poles with slippers at the base of each read, "Dürer, ich führe persönlich



Two-page spread from Der Stern, May 11, 1972. This is the same image that Wolf Vostell used in his work.



Joseph Beuys, Dürer, ich führe persönlich Baader + Meinhof durch die Dokumenta V, 1972, Collection: Sammlung Speck, Köln.

Baader + Meinhof durch die Dokumenta V" or "Dürer (a code-name for one of Beuys' artist friends), I will personally accompany Baader and Meinhof on a tour of Documenta V." Beuys told critics of his work that he would only believe in the health of the West German public sphere and of critical debate when every member of the public would offer to lead Baader and Meinhof through the exhibition; symbolically to accept these prodigal children as their own and to listen to their grievances.

beautiful work by Wolf Vostell called (*Untitled*) *The Blurring of Victims and Offenders* is also from 1972. The artist took a gruesome two-page spread from the weekly newsmagazine, *Der Stern*, which showed a 20-year-old RAF member who had been killed by the police on the left, and the victim of the attack, on life-support because of his injuries, on the right. Vostell then washed the newspaper with soap, perhaps in a cleansing ritual, perhaps to clean the wounds or perhaps to make even more ambiguous the grotesque parallel of the layout. The effect is to blur the already grainy images and text, to obscure significant names and details by chance and to ask implicitly how it is one should approach such an image.

Henryck M. Broder's review of the exhibition in *Der Spiegel* provides a concise statement of its failures. "The RAF is not, as many have worried, glorified [in the exhi-

bition], but is instead made banal and romanticized." Broder is certainly referring to a number of works by young artists that treat the RAF members uncritically as icons of the radical left, and even as celebrities. That key members of the RAF have become sexy revolutionaries in a certain segment of pop culture is neither debatable or new: for example, the trendy fashion label Tussi de Luxe, offers t-shirts printed with the phrase "Prada Meinhof" mixing the name of the expensive Milan Prada label with the name of Ulrike Meinhof. The question the exhibition fails to address seriously is what is the impact of this romanticization, and should it be critiqued rather than 'ironically' reproduced?

Take for example Hans Niehus's



Hans Niehus, Hollywood Boulevard, 2001.

Hollywood Boulevard (2001). The work is an aquarelle–on-paper painting that shows Holger Meins's name on the Hollywood Walk of Fame. The shadow of a tourist taking a picture of the star is visible in the upper-right hand corner. Meins was one of the most famous members of the RAF and after his death in November 1974, belonged to a well-known (and in radical left-wing circles revered) group of martyrs. Niehus's work is certainly ironic, suggesting that Meins's

'street credibility' should simply be admitted and is on the level of Hollywood celebrity. Yet the 'joke' is a simplistic one-liner that is only surprising in its superficiality.

Another example is Johannes Kahrs's *Meinhof* (2001), a painting that owes an almost embarrassing debt to Gerhard Richter's paintings of the Baader-Meinhof group. Using Martin Scorseese's film *Taxi Driver* (1976), and a newspaper image of Meinhof walking into prison with her cuffed hands over her head, Kahrs paints a picture that imagines Meinhof as a fictional movie character. According to the catalog, "Through the connection between fiction and reality, Kahrs creates a constellation in which a historical figure and a fictional character create a psychological space through which to view radicalism and its desire for a better world." As is typical of



Johannes Kahrs, Meinhof, 2001

much writing on contemporary art, this description gives far too much depth to the painting, associating a narrative that is absent in this straightforward and simplistic copying of Richter's aesthetic and techniques.

American artist Erin Cosgrove takes the romanticization of left-wing revolutionary lifestyle to new and at times, genuinely funny ex-

tremes in her film *A Heart Lies Beneath* (2003) and her novel *The Baader-Meinhof Affair* (2003). Cosgrove shamelessly copied the romance-novel genre to write a satirical love story about a privileged young college student attending an unnamed, exclusive, east-coast private liberal-arts school. Her feelings of isolation and lack of direction come to an end when she meets and falls in love with an attractive student heading a secret underground group of RAF devotees. In Cosgrove's film, *A Heart Lies* 

Beneath, the love story is re-told with added elements of kitsch, such as charming-but-amateur animation and an introduction and voice-over by Fabio, the strapping and barely literate male model made famous on the cover of hundreds of romance novels. Her work is extremely ironic and self-consciously silly, but what sets it apart from many other works in the exhibition is that it manages to touch upon some of the group psychology, personal relationships and desires that being in a tight-knit group dedicated to an idea (how-



Cover of Erin Cosgrove's book, The Baader-Meinhof Affair (German translation), 2004.

ever misplaced) play upon and at times fulfill. She exposes, albeit in a highly comic way, how attraction (erotic or otherwise) can lure a person who has no real commitment to radical ideas into a group of radicals.

One of the few works in the exhibition that deal with how the government's reaction to terrorism affects the daily lives of its citizens is by the excellent German artist duo Renata Stih and Frieder Schnock. On one screen, a series of comments is projected that recall the banal but often suspicious observations of neighbors about a new person in the neighborhood, such as (see image), "When I ring the bell, no one answers the door." On a second monitor, a list of governmental techniques used to combat terrorism or criminal activities appears, such as "Telephone Tapping," "Personnel Control," "Automatic Fingerprinting System," etc.. These two sets of lists explicitly compare the kind of internalized surveillance that many



Detail from Renata Stih and Frieder Schock, Wir müssen von den Bürgern Opfer verlangen (We must demand a sacrifice of the citizens), 2001. Photo: Frieder Schnock

citizens do themselves in times of unease (and also directly refers to the prevalent system of citizen/informants which was ubiquitous in the GDR and present, although to a lesser degree, in West Germany), and the sometimes Draconian measures of surveillance and control that are legitimized by the state.

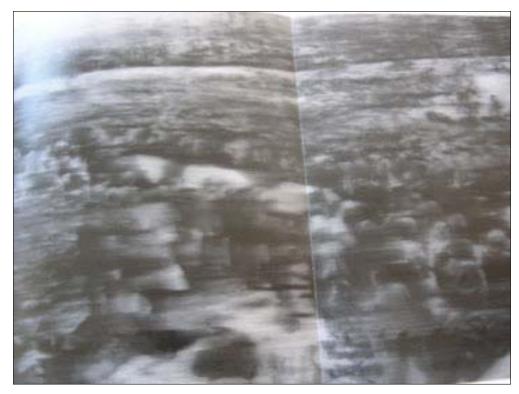
#### The Missing Masterwork

Kunst-Werke's RAF exhibition is not only made trivial by many pieces in the exhibition, it is also haunted by the absence of the greatest artwork ever made about the Baader-Meinhof group (in my humble opinion, anyway). When one walks through Kunst-Werke, one is forced to ask

if art can take on history in an effective way, if it can provide both beautiful and complex reflections on tragedy and if it is powerful enough to sustain its message against the grain. The answer to these questions is "yes", but only the most intelligent and cautious of artists can navigate the perilous territory between aesthetics and politics.

The 15 paintings that collectively make up German artist Gerhard Richter's *October 18*, 1977 cycle were completed in 1988. (The cycle is in the permanent collection of the Museum of Modern Art in New York.) The title refers to the day that RAF/Baader-Meinhof members and accused terrorists Andreas Baader, Gundrun Ensslin and Jan Carl Raspe were found dead in their Stammheim prison cells. Gray, austere, and terribly bleak, the disintegrating images in the paintings—a young woman's portrait, a record player, a man lying dead on the floor—emit a terrifying pathos that makes viewers feel as though they are trapped in collective solitary confinement. What is amazing about these works is that Richter manages to merge the intensely personal trauma of violent death with the obscenity of its reproduction in the public sphere.

Richter's October 18, 1977 cycle contains painted images of the Baader-Meinhof group for which he used mass-media reproductions or police photos as models. The paintings, which include a portrait of Ulrike Meinhof, three views of Gundrun Ensslin in her cell, two murky images of the scene of Meins's arrest, two images of the dead Baader as well as two views of his prison cell, three repetitions of Meinhof's corpse, and the hanged Ensslin, culminate in Richter's Funeral. As in all the works, Richter uses the painterly technique of dragging a brush or pallet knife along a canvas surface saturated with thick



Gerhard Richter, Beerdigung (Funeral), 1988, oil on canvas.

gray pigment. From the intensely graphic and horrible images in his photographic models, Richter produces muffled, disintegrating shapes whose impact is muted by feathered edges and discreet sobriety. The artist deliberately obscures the images as a kind of salve to the wounds they inevitably re-open, and manipulates associations with Germany's ashen past by rendering the spectrum in shades of gray. *Funeral* (Beerdigung) (1988), the largest canvas in the cycle, measures 6 x 10'. It represents the procession of Baader, Ensslin and Raspe's memorial service, which ended with the three being interred in a common grave.

At first glance, the painting's panorama of nearly abstract gray, black and white shapes betrays little of grief and rage, the scene's two main protagonists. This is the result of the inherent tension in Richter's work between form, which is central to the work of painting, and content, which, according to the artist, must not be subordinated completely to the aesthetic. On the horizon of the work is a tenuous horizontal band of gray-white and in the foreground, a forest of trees seems to hover. Below is an undifferentiated mass of graying shapes that might suggest a landscape, but in fact represent the multitude of mourners amassed for the funeral. In the middle of the composition, slightly off-center and moving away from the viewer in an upward diagonal, are the whitecloaked coffins of Baader, Ensslin and Raspe. The coffins hover in mid frame like ghosts. Only in these swatches of white can we locate the logic, the reason for the occasion made so difficult to see clearly by Richter's rendering. In the foreground, the outlines of a handful of mourners are more visible, and we notice that many have their heads cloaked in black, not only to show their respect but also to conceal their identities from the secret police who patrol the service like ravid animals.

The image of Funeral, like the others represented in Gerhard Richter's October 18, 1977 cycle, is one that has entered into the popular culture of Germany and beyond. Through mass media representations, the impact of young revolutionaries such as Baader, Meinhof, Ensslin, Raspe and Meins (and their connection to the extreme complexity of the country's post-war struggles) was simplified and neutralized. The gruesome shots of the hanged Meinhof, Baader in a pool of his own blood, and the starved Meins, desperately needed to be reproduced, but not in the service of making them martyrs or championing their cause. Richter managed to take these images, so ruthlessly over-exposed, and render them in a truly legible form. It is great works such as these, which do justice to the ambiguity, confusion, idealism and violence of the RAF, that present crucial questions to the viewer — questions that go both unasked and unanswered in the Kunst-Werke exhibition.

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Henryck M. Broder ends his review of the RAF exhibition with this resigned and interesting statement: "And in 30 years, there will certainly be an art exhibition made about Al Qaida." His conclusion points to one of the most surprising deficiencies in the exhibition: the lack of reflection on how terrorism was perceived and dealt with during the 1970s and the global reaction to terrorism after 9/11. Stih and Schnock's work comes closest to ask-

ing what consequences terrorism has for democracy and our 'open societies' but it is a theme that is very much absent from the exhibition as a whole. Such a comparison might have taken many avenues: What is the difference (if any) between terrorism 'from within' a society and terrorism 'from without'? Did the RAF's terrorist activities lead to a permanent limitation of civil rights for the population as a whole? What security measures did the West German government take, and how do they compare to those today?

Another important topic is how the threat from left-oriented terrorist groups such as the RAF has been eclipsed in the last decade by the threat of right-wing extremism and neo-nazi groups in Germany. I discussed the Kunst-Werke exhibition with my friend Joseph

Kerscher not only to learn what he remembered about the RAF period, but also to talk about his photographic series, Deutsche Orte (German Places). I began this essay with a reflection about the scene of crimes, about how oddly silent and generic they appear when presented in the mass media. Joseph is also interested in the power and symbolism of such spaces but also in their utter normality and invisibility, and has created a striking and thoughtful work about the scenes of racially motivated hate crimes in Germany. Almost 11,000 hate crimes were committed in the country in 2002, according to the German Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution.<sup>2</sup> Deusche Orte comprises 908 photographs (the monthly average for 2002) of crime scenes. These include spaces of sidewalk, fields, subway stations, apartment block stairways and all manner of other locations. Joseph meticulously researched the location of the hate crimes as well as the reports of what happened there. His installation consists of photographs of the crime scenes and short descriptions. The artist hopes that the work will heighten public awareness of these crimes, and that the randomness of the attacks and their shocking number will galvanize opposition to extremist right-wing groups.

Perhaps if the exhibition at Kunst-Werke had broadened its theme and included more works that sensitively dealt with terrorist threats and the media, it would have not only been a more successful art exhibition, but would have also led to reflection and examination of the current terrorist threats in Germany and society's response to them.



#### 07. März 2002 - Berlin-Mitte

"Ein mexikanischer Journalist, der sich auf Einladung desBundespresseamtes in Berlin aufhält, wird am Alexanderplatz von drei Skinheads angegriffen. Die Täter bedrohen und verfolgen ihn, dabei stürzt der Mann und zieht sich eine Platzwunde zu."

Tagesspiegel, 09.03.02

Photo and documentation from the series Deutsche Orte (German Places), 2002, a work by photographer Joseph Kerscher. The text on the right reads: "7. March 2002. A Mexican journalist, who was in Berlin at the invitation of the German Federal Press Agency was attacked by three skinheads on Alexanderplatz. They threatened and pursued the victim, whose injuries included lacerations." Photo: Joseph Kerscher.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Federal Agency for the Protection of the Constitution, "Verfassungsbericht 2002" available online at www.verfassungschutz.de.

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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 Philosophy at Rutgers, Iona College and the University of Hawaii at Manoa, 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.

#### Cristina Merrill (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 Ceauscescu regime into the presumed light of membership in the European Union and NATO.

#### 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).

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Author: Winder, Jill

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.

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