

# ScholarForum

Number 9 • Fall 2004

The Journal of the Open Society Institute's Network Scholarship Programs

## The Struggle for Democracy

ACTIVISM AND LEADERSHIP IN  
NETWORK SCHOLARSHIP PROGRAM COUNTRIES

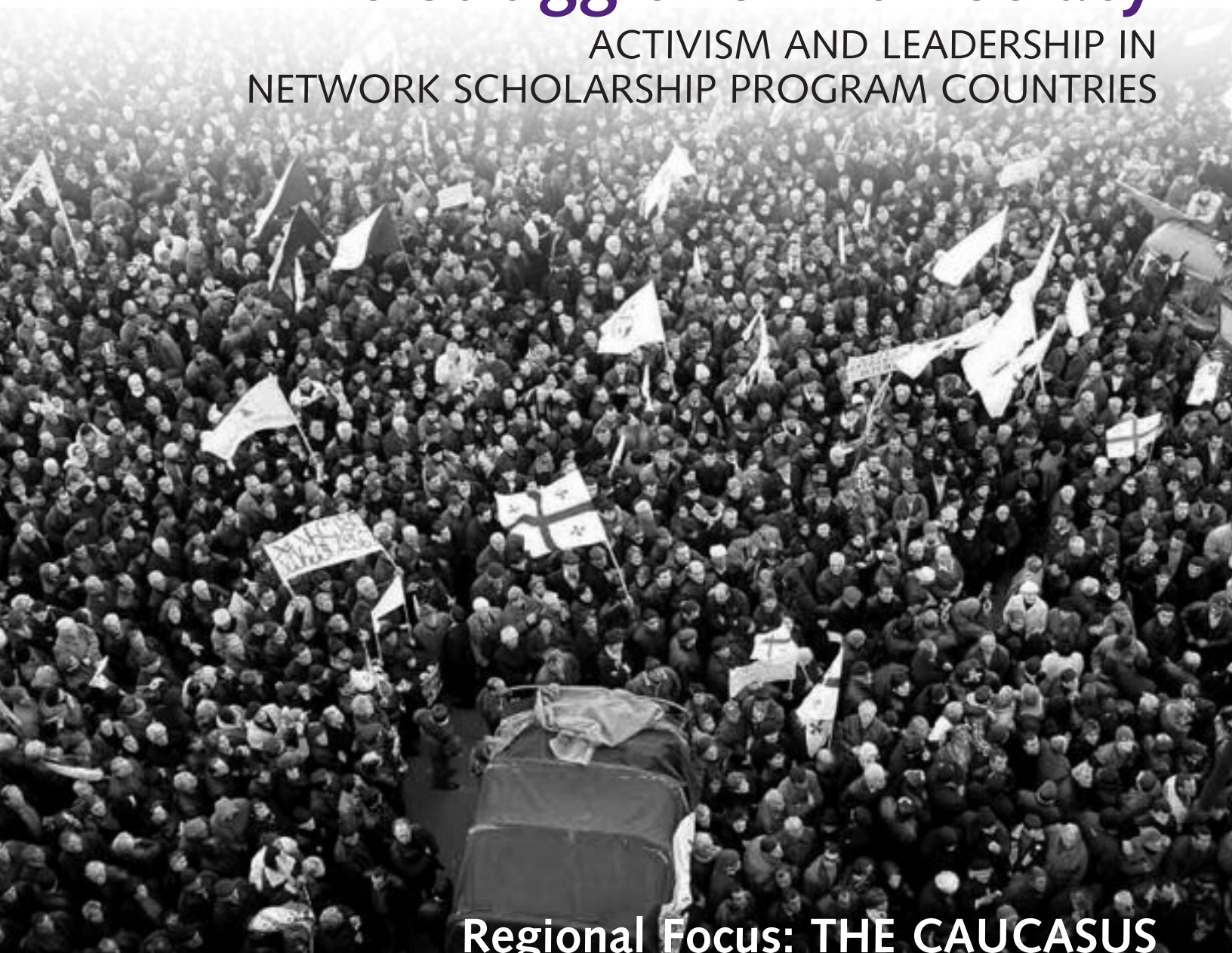


photo: Dali UBILAVA

### Regional Focus: THE CAUCASUS

Personal accounts of studying abroad  
NSP alumni—where are they now?

Essays and creative works by NSP grantees and alumni

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## Welcome!

When we first paired the topic—"The Struggle for Democracy"—and the regional focus—the Caucasus—for this issue of ScholarForum, we had no idea that the Caucasus would become a case of grassroots-level democracy in action. Because of this fortuitous timing, we were overwhelmed with responses from NSP scholars and alumni who had witnessed Georgia's Rose Revolution first-hand, or who were inspired by these events to share their ideas on the prospects for democracy in their own countries. We received essays, stories, and photographs that captured the emotions and excitement of the heady days of revolution. Others recalled protests and strikes in which they participated against governments and university administrations, or ruminated on the meaning and effectiveness of group action against injustice.

In past issues of the ScholarForum, the newsletter has been divided into distinct sections: cover topic, regional focus, and personal accounts, each with a separate editorial introduction. For this issue, it was difficult to classify many of the submissions as strictly "personal" or "regional," since the authors wrote of their own experiences with and emotional responses to efforts to create change in their societies or government structures. Through editing ScholarForum, I have learned that democracy, and democratic action, is inherently personal. Whether you are reaching out to people with disabilities in Russia, or studying NGO work in Romania, you're engaging in grassroots democracy. The three overarching topics, then, merged into one another. Although the articles were sorted into three sections, many of them could have fit as easily into the personal section as they did in to the democracy section, and vice-versa. Georgi Kandelaki's (UEP 2001) essay is a very personal account of the revolution in Georgia. Dali Ubilava (SSGP 2001, 2002) writes of her efforts to bridge ethnic conflict through the films she creates, while Pavol Kohut (UEP 2002) considers the effect art can have on stirring people to action.

As always, we encourage you to contribute to the upcoming issues of the ScholarForum. The call for submissions to the next issue can be found inside the back cover. We look forward to hearing from you!

The Open Society Institute's Network Scholarship Programs fund the participation of students, scholars, and professionals from Eastern and Central Europe, the former Soviet Union, Mongolia, and Burma in rigorous, competitive academic programs outside of their home countries. The goals of these programs are: to revitalize and reform the teaching of the social sciences and humanities at higher education institutions; to provide professional training in fields unavailable or underrepresented at institutions in the countries served; and to assist outstanding students

from a range of backgrounds to pursue their studies in alternative academic and cultural environments.

The Open Society Institute, a private operating and grantmaking foundation, aims to shape public policy to promote democratic governance, human rights, and economic, legal, and social reform. On a local level, OSI implements a range of initiatives to support the rule of law, education, public health, and independent media. At the same time, OSI works to build alliances across borders and continents on issues such as combating

corruption and rights abuses.

OSI was created in 1993 by investor and philanthropist George Soros to support his foundations in Central and Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. Those foundations were established, starting in 1984, to help countries make the transition from communism. OSI has expanded the activities of the Soros foundations network to other areas of the world where the transition to democracy is of particular concern. The Soros foundations network encompasses more than 60 countries, including the United States.

## ScholarForum

The Journal of the  
Open Society Institute's  
Network Scholarship Programs

Fall 2004 · Number 9

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Scholar Forum is published twice a year by the Open Society Institute's Network Scholarship Programs. Scholar Forum is distributed to current and former scholarship recipients, host institutions, and educational professionals.

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# The Struggle for Democracy

## An Inside Look at Georgia's "Rose Revolution," or How I Became a Revolutionary

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In contrast to western democracies, popular and well-organized student movements have been less than significant politically in the former Soviet Union, especially in the Caucasus. No longer. With its appearance in April 2003, the Georgian youth Movement Kmara (Enough) quickly seized a central spot in the political life of this post-communist nation. It is also widely believed to have played an instrumental role in bringing about the "Rose Revolution," an event of extraordinary magnitude that brought the three-decade rule of one man to an end.

The revolution, effectively the first bloodless change of government in the region, gave birth to a renewed hope for democracy in the Caucasus, which many had believed was intrinsically foreign to this part of the world.

"I did not think to pay serious attention to these young people running around with flags and making graffiti on the streets.

## ACTIVISM AND LEADERSHIP IN NETWORK SCHOLARSHIP PROGRAM COUNTRIES

I was wrong," reckoned Eduard Shevardnadze shortly after his resignation. Indeed, few could anticipate that "these young people" would get such a central spot in Shevardnadze's memoirs.

It all started in 2001, when a group of students, including myself, formed a student government at Tbilisi State University and launched a campaign against corruption in the university, demanding wide reforms in higher education. There were many campaigns, investigations on TV and in the press, and even court cases against the university's rector, but the attitude of the government toward the problem, underpinned by decades of friendship with "Big Rectors," suggested the problem was political and nothing would change without changing the government itself. Changing governments might be a regular thing in established democracies, but in the Caucasus politics has always been marred with violence, wars, and disrespect for the rule of law. Governments had, in fact, never changed peacefully.

"Changing governments might be a regular thing in established democracies but in the Caucasus politics has always been marred by violence, wars, and disrespect for the rule of law."



Georgi KANDELAKI demonstrates the Kmara logo.

This was the moment when our student group, inspired by the bloodless revolutionary experience of Serbia, started thinking about politics. In April 2003, residents of Georgia's largest cities were startled to see major streets filled with graffiti containing a single word: "enough." A march of 500 students shortly followed. The protesters carried flags of Soviet Georgia bearing faces of Shevardnadze and the leaders of his newly-formed bloc, stressing their connection to the country's Soviet past and condemning the government's anticipated intention to rig the upcoming November 2nd parliamentary election.

There were numerous "actions" to wear thin the patience of the authorities. Such actions were aimed not only at surprising the government, but also at convincing ordinary people that they mattered and could be a part of changing the system. The fact that most of the 120,000 people who came to the central square and stormed the parliament building were not members of any party or of Kmara shows that we succeeded. The revolution was really made by angry voters who began to believe that they had the right to confront injustice.

The Serbian student movement Otpor (Resistance), and the events of Belgrade 2000, served both as an inspiration and a model for Kmara and the Rose Revolution. "Apart from specific tech-



Giving flowers to the soldiers  
photo: Giorgi KANDELAKI

stress the Otpor connection—by selecting Otpor's clenched fist as Kmara's logo, and even by employing slogans in Serbian such as *Gotov Je* (He is finished) at rallies. We succeeded in creating some sort of myth around us—that we were crazy kids who knew how to subvert a dictator. This really helped us," says Kate

Shevardnadze and his government down a toilet. At another event, we staged a mock funeral, replete with flowers, in an effort to disrupt the government bloc's economic program presentation in the State Chancellery garden. This became the first time I was arrested and beaten, along with seven other people. We were

"On the day of the **revolution**, troops guarding the parliament **just stepped aside**. People burst into tears, started **hugging** officers and giving them **roses**."

niques on how to stage a non-violent campaign, what we really learned from the Serbs was the importance of creating a sense of moral superiority over the autocratic regime. Frequent state-sanctioned violence against Kmara and arrests of its members indicated that we were headed in the right direction," one Kmara activist said.

"We did not miss an opportunity to

Kobiashvili, a Kmara activist and graduate of Tbilisi State University.

Using humor as a major "weapon" was a crucial element in the non-violent struggle. In Georgia, a typical post-Soviet society, a large portion of society was negative about the political process. At one such activity, we put large-scale banners in streets where passers-by could take pictures of themselves flushing

released the same day but followed thereafter. The court officially recognized us as hooligans, because we whistled during the demonstration and "disrupted neighbors."

The bigger we grew, the more violence we expected from the authorities. But we all knew how to act, both during an arrest and inside the police stations. You had to underline your non-violent

character, sort of embarrass the police to retain your moral advantage. For example, our female activists gave flowers to the officers who attacked us at the state chancellery in October. Another “flower action” that took place days before the revolution was even aired on BBC and top international channels. On the day

of the revolution, troops and the police guarding government buildings and the parliament just stepped aside. This was so incredible; people burst into tears, started hugging officers and giving them roses. This is how the November 23rd event acquired the most romantic name of all revolutions: the “Rose Revolution.”

Now I am back to normal life, working and filling out graduate school applications. But sometimes I look through pictures of the revolution, the pages of the *Guardian* or the *New York Times* and get filled with pride that I took such an active part in the most beautiful revolution in the world. ■

## Exceptionalism *qua* Democracy. Really?

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*Put the wine back in the bottle/Before the crystal glass is broken/The party is over/Goodbye/A new party has taken over/A new breed of men/as Henry Miller said/long time ago/A breed of barbarians/who didn't come through the gates/but grew up inside*  
(From *White Horse* by Lawrence Ferlinghetti)

It seems to me that, these days, when it comes to debating democracy at the international level, we are making a strategic error: we are pointing our (think tank) guns in the wrong direction. We miss the point that democracy is swayed both by internal circumstances in a given country or region and by the behavior and vision of the big powers. The paradox is that our position in this war game looks rational in terms of the friend/foe divide.

In East-Central Europe, for example, we face a mix of dim horizons when it comes to furthering democracy. Our countries have (nuances and degrees granted) problems ranging from massive social inequities and corruption, to racism and bursts of authoritarianism. These, of course, we have to fight against. Yet however serious these threats are, in the long run they do not equal the danger that (and here is the paradox) comes disguised as paternal support. This danger is the neocon version of American exceptionalism.

“Was Democracy Just a Moment?” Robert Kaplan asked a few years ago, prophesying an authoritarian shift in American politics and the collapse of the U.S. democracy export policy. Kaplan, a very influential and frequent visitor to the White House, should be content with the accuracy of his prediction, but it is a sad thing for those of us who believe democracy is

more than a moment. I will not discuss why (publicly at least) we have failed so far in clearly removing the mask from the superficial militant discourse of the neocon gurus. The fact is this has happened globally. In less polite terms, we have been targeting the underdogs.

Let me explain. If democracy has made some very important steps forward in the last decade, it was in part because people worldwide became more politically aware and less willing to leave their lives and properties in the hands of tyrants. Moreover, it was also because the West continuously and (more or less) systematically promoted democracy, while condemning abuses and putting significant pressure on undemocratic regimes and leaders.

I think this process was symptomatic of western Europe's and the United States' political commitment to democracy. It is appropriate to use the past tense because during the current administration the United States stopped having that commitment or, in any case, that commitment has been seriously damaged.

“If democracy made steps forward in the last decade, it was in part because people worldwide became more aware and less willing to leave their lives in the hands of tyrants.”

Now what happens in the United States affects all global politically sensitive areas, new and weak democracies, such as those from “Archipelago” New Europe, Romania included. To the observant eye, this type of influence is already visible and its effects are grim: state decisions start to escape parliamentary control; illegitimacy and abuses are tacitly tolerated; endemic insecurity is advertised to be a kind of state of exception; double language and “newspeak” compete with their communist predecessors; serious social, economic, and cultural issues are labeled “details,” authoritarians and neo-communists present themselves defiantly as champions of democracy, etc.

For some the idea that what happens in the labyrinth of U.S. political life may be as important for their society as their own internal social processes sounds like bad science fiction. It



could be, I admit, a difference in terms of what intuitions each of us has, but I would conclude that, in the medium and long run, the present corrosion of U.S. democracy will have some effects on how

spoke (in Paris!) of the unique responsibility the United States had for the West. Unique responsibility meant, of course, unique rights.

This was in fact just one of innum-

alism combines mystic residues (not only do we act politically, we have a mission), an invoked privileged epistemic access (we know better how the world really is), claims to unrivaled moral competence (we know better what is good and what is evil), and stunning phrases like “Either you

## “*Raison d’état*, state of exception, and exceptionalism are euphemisms for tragedy.”

we will live, especially in such places as Warsaw, Bucharest, Tbilisi, Jerusalem, or, for that matter, Baghdad. This should be worrying enough.

Exceptionalism is, to be sure, not at all a novelty in American politics. For instance, forty-one years ago in the context of European disenchantment with the effectiveness of the American nuclear umbrella (the Cuban missile crisis had just ended), the otherwise skeptic Walter Lippmann defended a *primus inter pares* role and a de facto nuclear monopoly for the United States in the West. Lippmann

able instances of what Henry Kissinger termed “American exceptionalism”. Traditionally it has been the belief that the United States possesses—and should continue to possess—not only unequaled power, but also unequaled virtue. Kissinger predicted in his book *Diplomacy* that American exceptionalism would eventually fade in the new century. In fact, if you carefully read the National Security Strategy of the United States or this year’s State of the Union Address, you see it has become a radically stronger thesis.

This “updated” version of exception-

are with us or you are with the terrorists.” (Bush, 9/20/2001). It should be read as a danger signal, not only for American democracy, but also for every democracy in the world.

I might, of course, be wrong. It could be that I fail to see what is really going on. The point is we need to defend our right to fail or falter. Even though throughout history sovereign powers were often skeptical with this instance of human fallibility, we should see farther. “*Raison d’état*”, “state of exception”, and possibly “exceptionalism” are only euphemisms for tragedy.■

## Minding Your Speech or Speaking Your Mind?

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As a student of literature and a women’s rights NGO worker in Romania, I have been often asked how my two activities relate. Many Romanians regard the study of literature as an activity confined to the library, while NGO work is seen as an intensely social activity. In a larger context, the Romanian citizen finds it difficult to explain a connection between academic research and NGO strategies. In the following, I suggest one possibility of making this connection a visible part of the democratization process.

Organizational management studies demonstrate that social identity constructions depend on how we speak about identities. Nongovernmental organizations that define their target groups as clients are less likely to create empowered identities than those for

whom the target group is defined as a fully functional social group on equal terms with more developed organizations. This is a valuable insight in terms of the development of a democratic, open society. It creates a theoretical framework that allows scholars to evaluate the success of civil society groups in terms of their ability to make people’s voices heard. It becomes possible to measure the extent of people’s participation in society in terms of the diversity of stories that make it to the forefront of institutional discourse, rather than in terms of the number of people institutional discourse claims to speak for.

I believe that many Romanian civil society organizations concerned with women’s rights regard women as their clients rather than seeing them as capable of setting up professional and vocal constituencies on par with existing institutions. While many such NGOs boast a strong participatory rate, this more often than not simply means an enlarged “customer” base. However, the achievement of a truly democratic society requires more than the endorsement of democratic ideals, which are then delivered publicly to “client” citizens. Democracy is not a story. This is to say that democracy is more than the ideals it promotes. Democracy is the

enactment of multiple and diverse stories that presuppose a negotiation of the society's ideals in terms of all the stories that need to be heard. It implies the creation of institutional fields necessary for such enactment and negotiations.

Although many women's rights NGOs in Romania attract more and more women to the forefront of the social stage, and succeed in making them visible within emancipating social scenarios, it is not until the story of democracy is replaced with a "democracy of stories" that Romanian women will find in themselves the motivation to participate in the creation of a vigorous civil society. And it is only then that women's NGOs will become equal partners in the negotiation of democratic laws.

What is the role of literary studies in this context? In literary criticism there is an on-going debate regarding the role of narrative in the creation and functioning of subjectivity. Does literature function to teach reality, or does it suggest that reality is a process of telling and reacting to a particular story? In a social context the question becomes: should people accept institutional discourse as the truth of social reality or should they seek to tell their own stories and compare them to the story of institutional discourse, thus defining the truths of social experience? The latter option implies the necessity for the institutionalization of dialogue and this is in itself, perhaps, another definition of democracy.

If we wish women to become actively involved in their identity reconstruction we must pay stronger attention to how their modes of socialization are expressed subjectively, rather than limiting our efforts to providing emancipating socialization

**"Democracy is more than the ideals it promotes."**

patterns. Academia provides the necessary interdisciplinary framework for such work. A practical project for women's NGOs is the creation of environments in which women are empowered to voice their stories. The academic can actively work to shape civil society by offering an interpretational framework for personal stories. A common ground between literary studies and NGO work can be established by identifying how both are concerned with the voice of the underrepresented or the silenced. The study of works by established contemporary women writers should provide the academic background for empowering analyses of women's stories in NGO work with women, thus making available discursive tools for the institutionalization of democratic dialogue. ■

## Popular Protest: A Comparison

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Politicians of any creed, within any political system, and in any part of the

lation between traditions of liberal democracy and responsiveness to popular demands is at the very least tenuous and equivocal.

Drawing an inescapable parallel between two similar events (at the London School of Economics and Political Science, in the winter of 2002-2003, and at the University of National and World Economy in Sofia, in the winter of 1996-1997), I realized that deci-

wider political environment in which governing elites find themselves.

Feeling the indignation of many of my fellow LSE students against their government's decision to involve the country in a war they felt was uncalled for, I could not help but compare my experience six years earlier when the students of UNWE joined the popular protest against an unpopular government in Sofia. The latter succeeded in their quest; the former did not. The government in Sofia resigned and changed the stated course of staying in power for the full four-year mandate. The government in Britain continued to implement the stated objectives and adhered to its allegiance to support and participate in the war against the oppressive regime of Iraq. While LSE students protested against their government's involvement in the war, the students in Sofia were much less active—despite the fact that Bulgaria was also part of the group of countries supporting the war.

**"How much can popular protest, including student movements, be effective in changing policy?"**

world, often face popular discontent with some of the decisions they make. In different settings and environments they react differently, and the positive corre-

sion-making is influenced by a multitude of factors. Whether public discontent matters is determined as much by traditions of liberal democracy as it is by the

How much can popular protest, including student movements, be effective in changing the policy against which it stands? How much is the success of such demands dependent on established domestic traditions of liberal democracy? The first experience at UNWE produces the conclusion that more depends on the environment within which a given political system operates than on the political system itself. The second shows that perceptions of popular empowerment can be different depending on one's country and its relevance in defining trends in world politics.

The current Bulgarian government, addressing the issue of the war in Iraq and the popular discontent across Europe and the world, claimed that the objection had no effect, as the course had already been taken. An insignificant country resigns itself to the unavoidable—i.e.,

the course has already been taken and it is not in our power to change it. The resulting political discourse thus neutralizes any manifestation of popular discontent. Conversely, in countries able to change course, politicians engage in a different discourse. They try to justify their actions, often to the detriment of objectively informing the public of its considerations in decision-making.

Both present themselves as a huge disincentive for the never-ending project of achieving democracy and do not contribute to a feeling of empowerment on the part of civil society and popular movements. And both examples lead to an affirmative answer to the same fundamental question—is the outcome of public discontent with politicians bound to depend on factors beyond the boundaries of the given political community?■



## Alternatives to Authority: Partnership in Belarus

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After a short spring of democracy in the early nineties, Belarus has returned to its totalitarian ways in recent years. After obtaining independence and facing the hardships and shortcomings of a transition period, the society searched for a person to take charge. This person appeared on the political scene abruptly and quite clumsily. Alyaksandar Lukashenka became Belarus' first president in 1994. As he himself said, he "picked up power from dirt." Accumulating power and liquidating any kind of opposition—ideological, religious or political—Lukashenka embodied people's idea of a strong leader. While his opponents tried to recover and analyze the situation after defeat in the elections, the authorities were setting up a new regime, a new state system. After the constitution was changed through a "people's referendum," it became clear that an influential and independent alternative to authority should exist in order to balance the distribution of powers. No doubt, political parties that effectively debate public policy issues can greatly influence and contribute to

a democratic society. However, the Belarusian opposition movement failed to become this balancing force and is in a state of stagnation now, partly due to repression and persecution, partly due to its inner discord.

Disillusioned by unfulfilled promises, people become tired of politics and decide to leave it to the professionals, while those who hold an active social position join civic initiatives to defend their rights and freedoms. One recently created civic initiative is a Belarusian NGO named Partnership, which works to advance democracy and create a civic society in Belarus by encouraging people to become active in the social, political, and public processes. It stands for resolving daily problems and

**"People are able to shape their future when they are not passive."**

achieving common good through public cooperation. A public interest advocacy campaign started in August 2003, with the goal of making people more rational and demanding in their treatment by officials from various departments, executive





Photos: The Rose Revolution,  
Republic of Georgia  
(see article p.3)

left:  
In the hours before victory,  
young protesters wave flags.

below:  
Demonstrators are "armed"  
with roses. Now-president of  
Georgia Mikhail Saakashvili  
(bottom right and on poster)  
joins the demonstration.

photos: Dali UBILAVA



authorities, social services, and all those who exist at the expense of taxpayers, but do not always execute the duties legitimately and efficiently.

A society used to dictatorship cannot be changed overnight, which is why assistance from the outside is of great importance. All international organizations working in the region on the promotion of democracy must face many obstacles and barriers. The government realized that educating young people through

exchange programs, publishing politically controversial books, and promoting open society was a breeding ground for young leaders. Being more flexible and open to new ideas, young people tend to be the driving force of reforms—reforms that are unwelcome by the authorities. This is why democracy-building programs consider education to be the nuts and bolts of the democratization process. People are able to shape their future when they are not passive and reluctant to change their lives. ■

# National Identity, Heritage, and Voluntary Participation

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My research work as a Ph.D. student at the University of Essex looks at the representations and practices related to national identity as employed or influenced by the discourse concerning the idea of nature, especially in the context of work done by environmental organizations.

One of the issues around which this version of national identity develops is heritage or, as it is called in Romania, patrimony. Heritage or patrimony consists in acknowledging certain cultural objects or natural landscapes/areas as defining for one's identity. No doubt, natural heritage is always ultimately available as a social construction invested with a certain cultural value. Recognizing this is not to demean the meaning of natural heritage, but to point out the dynamics of its constitution within a group. Wherever it is present and active, the idea of heritage in

addition to stimulating the responsibility of particular communities toward their natural heritage, this development may also offer a re-contextualization of the notion of boundary. This takes place through a re-mapping of territory function of environmental criteria.

In Romania, the work of environmental organizations and the implementation of the values they put forth is relatively new but rapidly gaining ground. This is a socio-political state that aspires to integrate a perspective which will enable the transition towards a more democratic society or, in a more precise phrasing, an open society. The work of environmental NGOs, as well as governmental bodies, attempts to render transparent certain concerns with everyday life. It also encourages citizens to become involved personally with the political and economic decisions that shape their life.

Rosia Montana conflict. A Canadian firm, Gabriel Resources, intends to begin a drilling project in the area with the aim of extracting gold. A local NGO, Alburnus Maior, is currently fighting the plans of this firm, in an attempt to prevent what they view as the destruction of local, cultural, and natural heritage (<http://www.rosiamontana.org/>).

That Rosia Montana is a part of Romania's natural and historic patrimony is the assumed background of this issue. However, the main actor in the unfolding of events is the local community, which also represents the focus of several agencies, such as E.U. environmental management regulators, the regional parties concerned (in March 2004 the Hungarian Environment Minister asked the Romanian government for explanations concerning the entire issue), and the Romanian state, providing the current legal framework.

The concern for a place thus becomes the catalyst of voluntary participation. And while national identity remains a valid category, it receives further clarification and a certain tension from the local and the global. The

concern with conservation and restoration of biodiversity translates to a concern with social diversity, multiculturalism, and the necessity for dialogue. In the case of Romania, economic determinism is too pressing for environmental discourse to focus on issues of "scenic area designation". Instead, environmental discourse in Romania often focuses on issues of health and safety. There is also pressure to meet the criteria of good practice required by E.U. accession. In Romania, environmental discourse sets the premises of social change through a reinterpretation of the idea of national heritage as natural heritage. ■

**"As members of the society become more involved and voice their attitudes, definitions of national identity shift."**

general and the idea of natural heritage in particular will reclaim portions of the social reality. While it is sometimes argued that the idea of heritage seldom does more for issues of national identity than prevent the understanding of contemporary events and the historical past, it is also becoming possible for certain present versions of heritage to be more democratic than earlier ones, thus offering more points of access to "ordinary people." This new kind of heritage, of which the natural one is a variety, promotes local involvement and participation, being one of the issues around which voluntary association is made possible. In

As members of society become more involved and voice their attitudes, definitions of national identity also shift. Thus, rather than being merely a political statement which is often employed as an expression of the sovereignty of the state, national identity also becomes a civic statement. This involves the overshadowing of the generic ("Romania is the country of Romanians") with the aim of asserting the particular ("Romania is a place to which people who inhabit it feel they belong") and thus social space materializes into place, as an entity which mobilizes the reaction potential of social agents.

A good example for Romania is the

## Building Tajik Democracy

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Each May I wait impatiently for the moment of my departure for Tajikistan. I live looking forward to the new things I am going to see there. During the academic year, it is difficult for me to assess the actual political situation in my country, but as a student in the political science department, I am asked about it all the time. I always try to defend my government by pointing out that it has only recently dealt with a civil war and therefore faces certain difficulties in the construction of a free society. But frankly, at the present stage the words “Tajikistan” and “democracy” seem like antonyms to me.

In June 2003 a referendum was held in Tajikistan on several proposed constitutional amendments, including one allowing the incumbent president Rahmonov to be reelected for two additional five-year terms.

The opposition leaders and parties were not assertive when speaking about violations of voting procedures. Only at the websites of the “runaway” opposition activists could real criticism of the ruling authorities’ policies be found. But for me, what was most interesting happened at the voting station when my father and I went to cast our ballots. We were told that we had already voted that morning! Later we found out that such cases were not unique.

According to the published results, more than 90% of the enfranchised Tajik population had cast votes, and of these more than 95% voted for the amendments. In the meantime, 45% of those who had the right to vote were living in different countries of the CIS (Commonwealth of Independent States) trying to earn their living and knowing nothing about the referendum!

Tajik youth under 30 generally inspire the most optimism,

as they speak more openly about state policies and actively participate in the work of NGOs in order to articulate the mood and will of the people, which is undoubtedly a very important factor in the construction of an open, civil society. At present the activity of NGOs and mass media is critical for the democratization of Tajik society. But while the former are doing well, it’s far too early to say the same for the latter. It’s not clear when independent private or public media could possibly be created in Tajikistan.

In partnership with my fellow students, I have tried to organize an NGO in St. Petersburg made up of students from Tajikistan. It will not only help them stay in contact with one another but will also provide support for immigrants who do not know even the most basic things about their rights as citizens. In the near future we plan to launch a website for Tajik students, with a lot of photos and other material on the lives of Tajiks in St. Petersburg. The overall goals of this organization are: an association of all Tajik students at St. Petersburg universities, which will contribute to their mutual understanding in the future; legal and informational support for Tajik migrant workers on protecting their rights; measures aimed at reconciliation of two rival NGOs, Pamir and Somoniyon, which have both expressed a desire to try to find common ground through the involvement of youth; and persuading migrants of the necessity of their participation in elections at all levels.

This is only a fraction of what can be expected from this NGO, and without doubt, such organizations will be a major help in developing democracy and building civil society in Tajikistan. A representative of the Tajik parliament in the CIS Parliamentary Assembly has expressed his readiness to support such projects. International organizations and funders have a special part in this effort. We hope for their close cooperation. ■

## The Impact of Art

**Pavol KOHUT, Slovakia**  
Undergraduate Exchange Program, 2002  
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During my year in the United States, I realized that I want to do my part in the struggle for human rights and democracy, and not just in my home country of Slovakia. I want to extend my territory of interest to cover the whole world.

How can we affect public opinion, the powerful force behind political actions? How can we raise awareness of issues people see as remote from their lives? Art in general, and film in particular, has the ability to produce a very

intense experience. It can drag the viewer right into the middle of a problem and involve him personally.

In the fall of last year, a human rights festival called “One World” took place in Bratislava. I attended and saw a documentary on the Rwandan genocide. I was deeply moved by the film, even though I already knew plenty about this issue from books and newspapers. Then, however, it had just been numbers and words printed on a piece of paper. Now I saw real people in the actual places where the terrible massacre happened. In essence, I became a witness.

I’m sure that all the other people in the theater—which was so packed that

some were sitting on the floor—felt something similar. They were all ready to be activists and leaders, ready to help. In fact, there should have been an NGO there to recruit volunteers from the audience. I know that most people leaving this movie, myself included, didn’t get involved in anything in the days and weeks that followed, but a seed had been planted in our hearts.

“They should play these kinds of movies on prime-time TV,” I thought afterwards. I know the idea seems utopian now, but then, who knows? We have to keep trying because even a small improvement is worth the effort. This is where I see my mission in this struggle. ■



# Regional Focus: THE CAUCASUS

## An Introduction to the Caucasus

Ramil MAMMADOV,  
Azerbaijan

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Program, 1999  
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I have always admired those scholars who dared to write about the Caucasus—where so many political complications and historical tricks “peacefully” coincide. They had to tackle real psychological obstacles to get to the roots of the local lifestyle in the Caucasus. In contrast to most other regions of the world, learning a local language and communicating with local people is not enough to comprehend why life is so bizarre and people are so proud there.

There has been little optimism among authors on the prospects of this troubled region, which has suffered several bloody conflicts, civil wars, outside interventions, and almost permanent economic dependence on its natural resources. Not much has changed since the beginning of the 20th century, as the people of the Caucasus still struggle with similar problems and

lead similar lives. One can read the experiences of some writers in the region, compare them to modern developments, and easily conclude that changes have only slowly taken place in the political and economic life of the Caucasus. In taking account of the recent developments of the Caucasus, I have come to believe that traditional policy tendencies have started to transform and multiply as

changes and should be both a stimulus and a signal for local intellectuals to make this process a blessing for the Caucasus.

We in the Caucasus like being associated with Europe and being included in E.U.-related programs, but we also have links to Asia and a common historical past with the Middle East. If you ever get a chance to travel and live in the

“We in the Caucasus like being associated with Europe, but we also have links to Asia and a common history with the Middle East.”

we integrate into Europe and participate more actively in the economic processes of the globalized world. Money from oil and related economic projects will hopefully play a role in creating societal

Caucasus, remember: people of the Caucasus look European, speak like Asians, and act Middle Eastern ... or the opposite. That's pretty much what makes us Caucasians. ■

## How Armenia Sounds in the State of Indiana, U.S.A.

**Anna VANESYAN, Armenia**

Edmund S. Muskie Fellowship Program, 2002

Ball State University

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I was born in the smallest country in the Caucasus, Armenia, which is considered one of the world's oldest civilizations. I'm sure most people have heard of Mount Ararat, historically part of Armenia and identified in the Bible as the mountain where Noah's Ark came to rest after the flood. Armenia prides itself on being the first nation to adopt Christianity, in A.D. 301. Unfortunately, Armenia was also the first country to suffer genocide in the 20th

**"Music is not only my vocation; it is my joy and my daily discovery."**

century. Because of the genocide, 60 percent of the eight million Armenians worldwide live outside the country today. In spite of all the difficulties Armenia has had to face throughout the centuries, it has been able to create and maintain rich cultural traditions. Such names as Hovhannes Aivazovski, William Saroyan, Martiros Saryan, Charles Aznavour, and Cher (Cherilin Sarkissian) are well-known in the world and represent Armenia in many arenas.

Culture and music have been a way of life for four generations of my family. I have played the piano since the age of five, and after completing my postgraduate studies in piano performance, I launched my piano teaching career at Yerevan State Conservatory. Music is not only my vocation; it is my joy, my daily discovery, and my avocation.

In 2002, I moved to Muncie, Indiana to begin my studies and my personal journey at Ball State University. To tell the truth, I did not expect that people in Muncie would know much about Armenia or be acquainted with Armenian music. At that time, I was sure that I would miss the cultural atmosphere of Armenia that has always been so very important to me—but I was delightfully mistaken.

Imagine my surprise when, upon entering the office of my academic advisor for the first time, I was welcomed with the music of the "Sabre Dance" by the famous Armenian composer Aram Khachaturian! Later, in the BSU School of Music, where I went with the hope of being able to play a little piano, I heard somebody practicing Khachaturian's "Toccata."

The surprises continued. Reading a list of Voice Department faculty members, I noticed the Armenian last name of Mary Hagopian (most Armenian last names end in -ian or -yan). Mary was born in the United States and had never been to Armenia, but she was able to synthesize American values with typically Armenian features and traditions. I was fortunate to accompany her on piano on some Armenian romantic songs.

During my second month in Muncie, I attended a concert that included a program featuring the concerto for trumpet and orchestra of Alexander Harutunian, a contemporary Armenian composer whom I know personally. I was amazed and pleased ... Armenia was NOT that far away, and I became more aware that we truly do exist in a global society.

I found more appreciation of Armenian culture when I received an invitation to perform with Dara Freund in the world premier of the piano adaptation of a flute concerto by the American composer Don Freund at the Festival of New Music at Ball State. After a very successful performance, I was also invited to perform at the welcoming ceremony for Betsy Rogers, 2004 National Teacher of the Year.

The rich and diverse cultural life at Ball State University has shown me that I am welcome here and has allowed me to contribute and grow in my appreciation for the arts—which has made me less homesick for my beloved Armenia. This has been possible only because here at Ball State, I have met people who are not simply tolerant of other cultures, but who truly appreciate and value them.

Now I feel a tremendous sense of responsibility, gratitude, and calling. This has been a rewarding, renewing, and life-altering experience—one that has served to bridge ancient Armenia with modern America. It truly is a "small world after all!"■



The author proudly displays a poster for a concert in which she performed.

## Two Homes

**Christina BAGRAMYAN, Ukraine**

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... I was sitting on the plane, watching flight attendants pour coffee for passengers who were talking very loudly, laughing constantly, and speaking Armenian. I thought: "I am coming home." The plane landed in Yerevan, where I was immersed in friendliness and openness.

It was May 2003 and Yerevan met me in the big smile of my friend Gayaneh (whom I first met while studying at SUNY-Oswego) and in the long street outside town lined with casinos that reminded me of Las Vegas.

I had come to Yerevan on business—to give a paper at a Civic Education Program conference—but I ended up falling in love. In love with the streets, the people, the architecture, the long strings of cafes with fountains, the small carpet shops, and the throngs on Abovian Street in the evenings. Jazz clubs in the evenings, a visit to Etschmiadzin Monastery, and a trip to Mount Ararat. All this formed an impression of a warm and welcoming city. I even managed a trip to Karabakh to see grandparents whom I hadn't seen in years. The trip helped me rediscover an important side of myself—Armenia.

As an Armenian girl born in Ukraine, I always felt like I had two homes—Ukraine and Armenia. But when I was young, these places were still part of one huge country—the U.S.S.R. Now, my ethnic identification has grown more important to me and therefore more prominent. I began learning the Armenian language and reading books about Armenia. And finally I came to Yerevan.

What I saw during this trip was a beautiful country with great people who are not scared of hard work and are trying to make it a better place for everyone. This was when I realized that I also should be part of the process of change: I didn't want to leave.

As my plane took off from Yerevan to Moscow, the passengers' faces grew sad and serious. For some, going to Moscow was the only way to make a living and support their families back home. I was very sad that such a great country was losing its people to economic difficulty. For the first time I actually felt guilty for doing the same, but that is what happens when you have two homes.

I will come back!!! I promise ...■



Christina BAGRAMYAN with musicians in Armenia.

## Opposition in Azerbaijan: Searching for Renewal

**Fariz ISMAILZADE, Azerbaijan**

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Since the last presidential election in Azerbaijan in October 2003, a favorite topic in the domestic and international media has been the state of the Azeri

former Azeri President Heydar Aliyev, won a majority of votes, thus becoming the country's next president. Although the election and the post-election violence were strongly criticized by the international community, one thing was clear to all: the Azeri opposition failed to deliver the right message to Azeri voters and thus failed to offer a credible alternative to the ruling regime. Since then, almost

fresh and more participatory" opposition.

A key feature of the opposition forces in Azerbaijan is their connection to the dissident movement "Popular Front," which mobilized against the communist regime at the end of 1980s. Almost all major opposition parties in Azerbaijan and their leaders come from that political movement, which later broke into dozens of small parties with competing interests.

Due to this fact, the political tactics of the current opposition resemble the tactics used prior to the collapse of the Soviet empire: street rallies, demands for resignation, protest actions, boycotts, and

mass actions.

Yet much has changed in Azerbaijan in the past fifteen years and the majority of

**"Voters are tired of rallies. They would like to see debates on concrete issues."**

opposition and its attempts to revitalize itself. In the recent election, the ruling party's candidate Ilham Aliyev, son of the

every political scientist in the country has offered his solution to the problems of the opposition and ways to create a "new,



voters are tired of boycotts and street rallies. They would like to see more debates on concrete issues, such as unemployment, poverty, health care, military reform, the Karabakh conflict, and foreign policy. Voters would like to see concrete messages from the parties on how they would improve the situation in the country if they came to power. As one international observer told me: "The opposition should develop issue-based messages and communicate them to voters instead of spending their time demanding the resignation of the president. People need to see what they can offer."

Another problem facing the Azeri opposition is their lack of organization. Although the major political parties, such

as Musavat, the Democratic Party, the National Independence Party, and the Popular Front Party are all center right and have similar platforms, they lack unity and the willingness to work together on issues of fundraising, voter outreach,

With the defeat of the old opposition, the majority of observers are now waiting for a new opposition to emerge. Some even name specific politicians who might potentially be capable of forming a new opposition in the country, offering a

"It will take more than **boycotts** to succeed in Azerbaijan's political arena."

and election observation. They prefer to remain parties created around one charismatic politician. For this reason, opposition parties in Azerbaijan are not growing and the majority of voters have a hard time telling one party apart from another.

fresh alternative to the ruling party. Time will tell whether these expectations will be met, but it is clear that in the current realities of Azerbaijan, it will take more than just blatant criticism and boycotts to succeed in the political arena.■

## Doctor, Bridge Builder: A Documentary Film about Peoples' Diplomacy

Dali UBILAVA, Georgia

Soros Supplementary Grant, 2001, 2002

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This film focuses on a specific conflict: a conflict in which brothers shoot each other because one considers himself Abkhazian, while the other considers himself Georgian. Blood is shed, thousands of families become destitute, towns, villages and people's lives are ruined.

More than ten years have passed since the Georgian-Abkhazian conflict. Today the border between Georgia and Abkhazia lies along the river Inguri. It separates not only Georgia and Abkhazia, but the two peoples as well. For the last ten years, only cars from the UNO, OSCE and the Red Cross have been able to cross the bridge. Between the two check-points, Georgian and Abkhazian, Russian "peacekeepers" are stationed.

While the problems of the conflict are being solved, the flow of pedestrians on the Inguri bridge continues. These are just common people, Abkhazians and Georgians, who won't be stopped by politics. They are all informal bridge-builders, constructing a bridge between two peoples that was demolished ten years ago.



"The film is about the relations that **genocide and war** can't destroy."

The idea that has induced us to make this film is this: love is stronger than hostility. The war failed to kill this love between Abkhazians and Georgians, and there is hope that time will heal the wounds—especially now, after the "Rose Revolution" in Georgia. The film is about peoples' diplomacy, the relations between Georgians and Abkhazians that genocide and war can't destroy.■

Dali UBILAVA behind the camera. "When doing your favorite job, it's impossible to feel temperatures of even 40 below zero."

## Lezginka: Immersion into the Caucasian Dancing Culture

**Samir GASIMOV, Azerbaijan**  
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*"Indeed, even the dead could be revived by this dance"*

*—Caucasian saying*

The ethnographic background of many Caucasian dances goes back many years. Caucasian folk dances reflect the character of the Caucasian: we observe

his respect in dances of couples, while his balanced figures reflect pride and courtesy. The group dances reflect his warrior side in strong and swift movements coupled with daring aesthetics.

The Caucasus is generally associated with high mountains and "mountains" of people and languages. There is one more important and unique characteristic—the Lezginka, the symbol of the Caucasian dancing culture.

Although it is a self-developed and separate dance, the Lezginka commonly refers

to any fast and vivid Caucasian dance. The name Lezginka originated with the Lezgian people of the Caucasus, meaning "Lezgian Lady". It is a male solo dance (often with a sword) and also a couple dance. Lezginka is so popular that almost any nationality in the Caucasian region has its own version.

The mountain people's Lezginka dance is truly national and popular,

above and left:  
examples of the Lezginka

and no holiday can go without its merry yet fiery temperament. They say that the Caucasian people dance from the cradle. This is certainly an exaggeration, but there is no denying that upon learning to walk the child usually takes his first dancing steps. And children dancers win the greatest admiration of the viewers—abroad and at home, in their native town or village. The impetuous whirling Lezginka dance leaves no one indifferent, and its elegant, graceful movements are as exhilarating as they are unique.



## In Traditional Dress

**Hadija GIPAEVA, Russia**  
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The Caucasus is a large geographical area in Southern Europe between the Black and Caspian Seas. Individuals who reside in this region represent around 50 ethnic groups. Dagestan alone, where my ancestors are from, consists of more than 30 culturally and linguistically diverse groups.



I come from a small ethnic minority inhabiting only one mountain village in Dagestan. However, I was born in the republic of North Ossetia—Alania. I am currently living in New York City, where I am completing a Master's degree in International Education. I have been fortunate enough to live in a community with 700 other graduate students from over 100 different countries. The International House, in which I reside, celebrates cultural diversity in a variety of different ways.

One event that truly honors the diverse background of its residents is an annual fashion show called Fall Fiesta. International House resident members and staff wear garments representing different cultures from all over the world. This year I chose to represent North Ossetia by wearing a traditional bridal costume. Participating in this event made me feel very proud of my cultural background. Everyone who spoke to me after the festival expressed great admiration for my outfit. Long after the event people commented on how beautiful my dress looked. ■

The mountain folk say that the soul of a people is found in its music and dance. This can be confirmed by anyone who has been to a Lezginka concert. The dance expresses boundless love for one's native land, its heroic past and wonderful present; they reflect the power of human love, the people's heroic struggle for their happiness, and pride in their country. Caucasian folk dances are frequent in the day-to-day life of the Caucasian peo-

*"Even the dead could be revived by this dance."*

ple, from major holidays and weddings to gatherings of friends, the welcoming of guests, and at summer and winter amusements. The Caucasians find dance at all occasions.

Indeed, the Lezginka is an inherent and significant part of the Caucasian culture. One cannot fully understand the Caucasus and the Caucasians without an immersion into their dancing cultures. ■

Traditional architecture blends with modern in Baku, Azerbaijan  
photo: Radmila MIRZAYEVA



Nor Getik Monastery  
photo: Telemak ANANYAN

## Vardapet Mkhitar Gosh and the Foundation of Nor Getik Monastery

**Telemak ANANYAN, Armenia**

Global Supplementary Grant, 2003

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*Mind is lame without spirit,  
and spirit is blind without mind  
Grigor Tatevatsi*

The monastery Nor Getik is situated in the spectacular woodlands of the village with the same name in the north of Armenia. The monastery was founded in the 13th century by Vardapet Mkhitar Gosh, an influential and progressive thinker and lawyer. The monastery was later renamed Goshavank, in honor of Mkhitar Gosh. Mkhitar Gosh was the creator of one of the first Armenian Juridical Codes, which served as the basis for several legal documents and regulations in Armenia and beyond. His laws dealt with almost all aspects of the spiritual and civic activities of man, including the state, family, human rights, and education.

Mkhitar Gosh settled in the monastery of Getik, where the head of the monastery was his former student. When the monastery and a nearby village were destroyed in an earthquake, people started to leave their homes. Mkhitar Gosh did not let the people disperse, suggesting they find another place for settlement and live together. It is known that Vardapet Mkhitar built a wooden chapel at first, and then, a bit above from the monastery, a small church to St. Hovhannes the Baptizer was constructed. In 1191 (640 Arm.) Vardapet Mkhitar started the construction of a gorgeous church made of hewn stone. The construction was finished in four years. ■



# Personal Accounts

Grantees' stories  
of living and  
studying abroad

## Get-UP

**Joseph BENATOV, Bulgaria**  
Undergraduate Exchange Program, 1997  
University of Arkansas  
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A Thursday in late February is a strange day to be outside in Philadelphia, especially if it is Thursday the 26th, and especially if you are on the University of Pennsylvania campus when a two-day strike has just started. One year before, the graduate students held an election on whether or not they should unionize. It was clear from the exit polls that the majority of students had voted in favor of a grad union, but the university impounded the votes and the ballots were never counted. Today's strike is to commemorate the one-year anniversary of the vote.

I teach a class on Tuesdays and Thursdays, so I was potentially a strong supporter. Grad students who do not teach on Thursdays can make their support known by joining the picket lines, but they cannot disrupt the university calendar. I could, and I did, by canceling



## Study Abroad

**Ladislava SUSKOVA, Slovakia**  
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I painted this picture while studying at the University of Wisconsin-Eau Claire. I was very lucky to meet people from all over the world and made many friends there.

This picture shows me (in the middle) with two of my friends. I liked that we were all different looking, had different skin color, and were from different cultures, but became best friends for life. That inspired me to make this picture with the university in the background, because we all met at the university campus. You can find some of my art at [www.geocities.com/ladaladart](http://www.geocities.com/ladaladart).

my Thursday class.

I went to the picket line at noon, to coincide with the time my class normally takes place. I got to campus, saw one of my students (here is a direct victim of our moderately lethal power, I thought), parked my bike, and went to the union headquarters-on-a-bench to see where I

could be most useful. The bench was almost completely covered with Dunkin' Donuts boxes and gallon-sized cardboard containers of coffee. I refused the donut, but got myself a cup of (by now ice-cold) coffee and headed off to my designated corner.

On the way to campus I had passed

two other picket locations, so I knew what to expect. People were marching in a circle, chanting slogans, and holding up billboards saying GET-UP (the name of the union), STRIKE, and other smaller-font messages. I had seriously considered saying to hell with this whole thing and heading back home to get some work done. I just couldn't picture myself marching around and around, singing. For one thing, I've been told throughout my life

**"I'm a fervent proponent of passive activism, if you know what I mean."**

successively as well as concurrently by my father, brother, mother, girlfriend, and, most recently, wife (same person as the one before on the list), that I'm completely tone-deaf. I still think I'm a good jazz vocalist, though—but the point is that I was on the verge of calling it quits and leaving. I'm a fervent proponent of passive activism, if you know what I mean. I'm all for agreeing from afar with a cause, sitting at home, and meditating on its potential. I'm active when I send my good thoughts and wishes. As a matter of fact, I'm president of the Passive Activism Party. Well, I will be when I form it.

Part of my tainted enthusiasm may have been due to my immediate associations with organized activism. I remember the summer of 1989, when I had been accepted to the (posh and prestigious) English Language High School in Sofia. When I went to enroll in early June, I was told that I was admitted under the condition that I report to school at the end of August for a week of intensive training for the annual communist demonstration before classes. So I had no choice but to cut off my idyllic summer at the Black Sea half a month early and return to the capital to get instructions. We were all given a bag of colored flags, a sheet of chants, and a stub of bus tickets to get us to and from the stadium where we trained. I was quite happy with the last of these items since I, like most teenagers, always traveled gratis around the city and felt this was clean profit (but my father was not so convinced that the free tickets were adequate payment for the labor we were doing). On September 9 we all stood less than 100 meters from the Mausoleum balcony, from which our dear leader Todor Zhivkov waved at the procession of jubilant Bulgarians celebrating what would turn out to be the last communist extravaganza before the changes. We worked diligently, and I know my flag formed one of the tiny yet important pieces of color in the human-made letters praising life under the great BKP.

But I digress. By this time I had arrived at the picket location and the picket captain left the marching circle to bring me

up to date on what I needed to do. By some miraculously fortuitous movement of the heavens, I was actually spared the ordeal of joining the picket circle. Captain Dave gave me a big cardboard sign to hang around my neck and hold in front of me. It read "Honk 4 Labor" and I was to stand on the street corner right next to the picketers, so that the cars could notice me and participate in our show of democracy. So I stood there feeling slightly uneasy, boasting my frontal sign—an incomplete sandwich man.

Soon, I started getting some honks. One of the first was from a bus driver. He nodded at me and waved briefly with his left arm. The passengers watched from their windows as their vehicle passed by, but I couldn't really judge whether they were supportive or not. Let's assume the driver was their collective spokesperson.

After the bus, small cars started honking, too. As they drove by and honked, the drivers raised their arm in a fist as if to say "You go, guys!" Or something like that. In the span of two hours, I established one-second personal relations with drivers for the city gas company, the electric company, an airport shuttle service, delivery trucks, a pizza delivery car, and a host of regular cars.

Initially, I had thought that I would be able to make some grand analysis of what type of person would express support and who wouldn't. If it was solely the truckers, bus drivers, other city workers, and drivers of cheap-looking cars, then it would have been clear how class division and labor support related. But this

**"In two hours, I had one-second relations with drivers for the city gas company, the electric company, a pizza delivery car, and a host of others."**

wasn't the case. I found myself waving back at men and women, white, Asian, and black, driving all sorts of vehicles. A sufficient number of large and flashy SUVs honked loudly. One man wearing a business suit in a sporty BMW drove by and honked profusely, as did mothers with daughters and elderly drivers.

Rush hour brought congested traffic and new people at the picket line. The "Honk 4 Labor" sign was shabbier, but it still worked. One woman told me from the middle lane as she drove slowly by that she didn't want to use her horn so as not to scare the person in front of her. Another woman drove by in the lane closer to me and yelled "Beep, beep! I don't have a horn in my car." I smiled as she drove on. We also got waves from cyclists and pedestrians.

On the whole it was a fine, even if not perfect, day to be in West Philly.■

## My legal seminar concluded ... with song and dance

**Ludmila PETROVA, Russia**  
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SCOUT Part-Time Teaching Fellow  
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It is no secret that disabled people in Russia are terribly disadvantaged: they receive pitiful financial assistance and are thought of as inferior by popular opinion. This social injustice prompted me to plan a number of seminars for organizations concerned with the disabled, drawing on funds intended for community outreach under the auspices of my SCOUT

(Support for Community Education and University Teaching) Fellowship. My presentations addressed legal issues, but I invited other CEP/SCOUT fellows and alumni to speak on other topics of interest to the disabled. SCOUT alumna Dr. Tatiana Tregoubova and SCOUT fellow Dr. Elena Kouzovatova will help conduct such seminars in the future.

The first seminar was held for the Societies of People with Disabilities of the St. Petersburg District and addressed important medical and legal issues. Rather than a typical conference room, I wanted to hold the event at a venue where participants could relax and have fun. To my surprise, one of St. Petersburg's oldest restaurants, the Nevsky, donated the use of their best hall—a large room with stained glass, a winter garden, fountain, and aquarium. We also received excellent service and a substantial discount on the full meal. I should explain that the financial assis-

above and below left:  
participants in Ms. Petrova's disability seminar.

tance received by pensioners and the disabled in Russia is negligible. Some participants confessed that they had not been able to visit a restaurant in decades. They were amazed by the beautiful setting and by fact that it was all for *them*.

The mood during the seminar became so warm and happy that when my lecture ended, the guests—to my great surprise—began to sing, even dance. The restaurant manager joined in the spirit and sent his house pianist to play for us at no charge. The seminar proved to be both informative and entertaining, and generated enormous excitement in the disabled community. Word has spread, and I have already received a number of requests from other social organizations for the disabled to conduct similar events for them. ■



**Elina KARAKULOVA, Kyrgyzstan**  
Undergraduate Exchange Program, 2002  
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This picture is of OSI Undergraduate Exchange Program and Eurasia Undergraduate Exchange Program alumni during preparations for a New Year's performance at the Krasnorechensky orphanage. The picture was taken at American University-Central Asia in Bishkek on December 28, 2003. Despite the fact that all of us were very busy with papers and forthcoming exams, we managed to get together almost every day to organize the event. It seemed that for the moment our alumni team turned into the elves of Santa, who make children feel warm on such a truly family holiday as the New Year. When all of us were discussing the results on the way home it was obvious that the children made us as happy as we made them. We promised that next year the alumni New Year elves would come back again! ■





## A Story of Two Women

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**Natasha VELIKODNAYA, Kyrgyzstan**  
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Saint Petersburg State Polytechnic  
University  
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Somewhere in Central Asia, two countries of the former Soviet Union have developed independently, but still have much in

common: Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan. Young people from both countries participate in annual international youth debate forums, sending their best speakers and teams to venues at home and abroad.

Once in Slovakia, a debater from Kazakhstan and a coach from Kyrgyzstan met by chance during a debate forum. They would talk far into the evening about current events, swim at night in an ice-cold river, and shared a love for debate. They knew they could be close friends. But everything ends, even summer camp, and

they parted as suddenly as they met.

Several years later in Saint Petersburg, a young woman from Kazakhstan and one from Kyrgyzstan crossed paths when submitting scholarship applications: the debater and coach, it turned out, had both gone on to study in Russia.

"Anything that happens once can never happen again, but anything that happens twice will surely happen again," goes the Arab proverb, and the two women met a third, a fourth, a millionth time, and became as close as their countries.

## The tower of Babel

**Natasha VELIKODNAYA**

Just look around—282 countries with five thousand languages! Trying to avoid strife, we create laws, we form international unions and organizations, we lead hundreds and thousands of round tables and summits, where we attempt to decide how best to build the future. We try to understand each other, but we speak different languages, literally and figuratively: where one person sees a peaceful and prosperous future, another sees only conflict, poverty, and violation of rights. We try to build a world without borders, we promote global cooperation, we teach the younger generation to understand other nations. It is a monumental task.

But there is hope. I've taken part in several summits and conferences myself; we argued sides, drew conclusions. We discussed everything from the merits of the International Criminal Court to the proper way of boiling tea. And believe me, it is possible to come to a consensus, when people are willing to open up to others, when they are eager to learn other languages, to speak and to collaborate.

Cooperation depends on communication. Babel's confusion of tongues illustrates what modern man often fails to realize: the real divisions among men are not racial or physical or geographic, but linguistic. Picture the future as a world of towers built without Babel's quarrelling, without misunderstandings. As for me, I am eager to learn as many languages as necessary to understand other cultures and ways of thinking. ■

## Lessons from a summer debate camp in Slovakia

**Zhanna SAIDENOVA**

People write about events that have somehow touched them, changed their perspective, or just brought them joy. I want to write about an event that defined the direction of my life: the International Summer Debate Youth Forum.

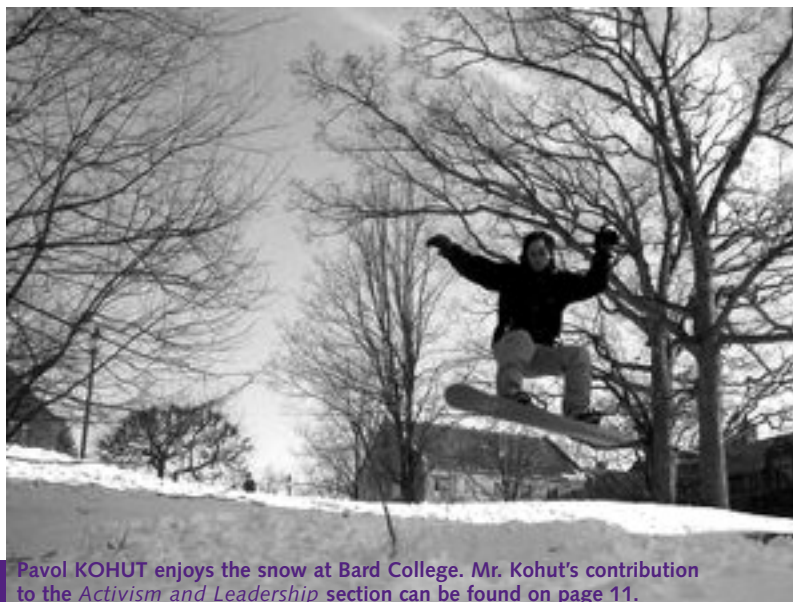
My debating career began in 1998. My team always won local competitions, but when we would reach the national level, we would come home with nothing—nothing but a huge number of friends, and a lot of joy and happiness! But 2002 was different: we won the competition, chosen to represent Kazakhstan in Slovakia...

...So we packed our flag, CDs with Kazakh music, souvenirs and other "essentials" and set off!...

The educational part of the camp was very successful; debaters learned not only the common uses of an ashtray but also the structure of the International Criminal Court, how to form arguments, and to think logically.

Talking to trainers and coaches, I came to understand how hard but rewarding their work was. Then and there I made my choice—I would study international education. It is a decision I will never regret, because I want to give people the opportunity to communicate, to truly see the world around them.

And it was during the camp when I met Natasha. One more reason to love that summer! ■



**Pavol KOHUT** enjoys the snow at Bard College. Mr. Kohut's contribution to the *Activism and Leadership* section can be found on page 11.

# NSP Alumni: Where Are They Now?

If you or your organization would like to be included in the next alumni list, please email us at [scholarforum@sorosny.org](mailto:scholarforum@sorosny.org) with your name, gender, scholarship program, year you began the program, host institution, and what you've been up to since you finished your program. Please put "alumni" in the subject line of your message.

## DAAD

**Olessya Yanchenko nee PARFINOVA** (Kazakhstan, Bremen University, [ol\\_yanchenko@hotmail.com](mailto:ol_yanchenko@hotmail.com)) Olessya graduated from the University of Bremen in July 2003 and has worked as an adviser at the Permanent Mission of the Principality of Liechtenstein to the United Nations (<http://www.un.int/liechtenstein/staff.htm>) since October 2003. During the 58th session of the General Assembly, she dealt with 2nd Committee (Economics and Finance) and 5th Committee (Administrative and Budgetary) issues. Since the 2nd Committee is not very active in the beginning of the year (most meetings are scheduled for the fall), Olessya was involved in the work of the Commission on the Status of Women during its 48th session. Now she is covering various fields but concentrating on the work of the 2nd Committee and ECOSOC.

## Faculty Development Program

### 1998

**Alexei LALO**, (Belarus, New York University, [lalo@ehu.by](mailto:lalo@ehu.by)) Alexei is an associate professor at the Department for Philosophy and Culture Studies of the European Humanities University and has also been teaching at the International Relations Department of the Belarusian State University. Last year he received a grant from the Course Development Competition to give a team-taught course in interethnic and interreligious relations in Belarus and the region. He has participated in two conferences this academic year and is going to take part in three more, including the Thomas Pynchon Congress in Valetta, Malta, and the Sexological Forum in Hamburg.

## Edmund S. Muskie Graduate Fellowship Program

### 1995

**Nino DAVITAYA** (Georgia, Williams College, [nino\\_davitaya@hotmail.com](mailto:nino_davitaya@hotmail.com)) Nino currently lives and works in Tbilisi, Georgia. She teaches Financial Accounting and Management and Corporate Finance and Cost Accounting on both the graduate and post-graduate level at the Caucasian Academic Centre (CAC University, business school). She has been a full-time SCOUT teaching fellow since 2002. She also works as a financial manager at Euroasian Express, an international transportation and forwarding company.

## OSI/Chevening Scholarships Program

### 2000

**Solongo SHARKHUU** (Mongolia, University of Essex, [solongosharkhuu@yahoo.com](mailto:solongosharkhuu@yahoo.com)) Since November 2001 Solongo has been working as a women's program coordinator for the Mongolian Foundation for Open Society.

### 2001

**Ihor OLEKHOV** (Ukraine, University of Edinburgh, [ihor.olekhov@bakernet.com](mailto:ihor.olekhov@bakernet.com)) Ihor is an associate with Baker & McKenzie ([www.bakernet.com](http://www.bakernet.com)) in Kyiv.

### 2002

**Natalia BERUASHVILI** (Georgia, Edinburgh University, [nberuashvili@hotmail.com](mailto:nberuashvili@hotmail.com)) Since March Natalia has been working with the Georgia Enterprise Growth Initiative USAID Project as a legal reform manager, assisting the development of a business environment in Georgia through improvement of the legislative framework. At the same time she teaches Tax and Business Law at her university and a leading business school.

**Agne GLODENYTE** (Lithuania, Oxford University, [agne.glodenyte@echr.coe.in](mailto:agne.glodenyte@echr.coe.in) or [a\\_glodenyte@yahoo.com](mailto:a_glodenyte@yahoo.com)) From September to December 2003, Agne worked as a trainee/researcher for the International Organization for Migration, Technical Cooperation Centre (TCC) in Vienna. Her duties included research on the trends and legislation on labor migration in the countries of the former Soviet Union. She has been also involved in the preparation of projects and seminar papers related to the subject of migration. As a representative of the TCC unit, she took part in the regional workshop on labor migration in Central Asia (<http://tcc.iom.int/>). In February 2004, she started working as a lawyer in the Registry of the European Court of Human Rights. She is responsible for the primary examination and analysis of applications lodged by Lithuanian citizens against the state on claims that their rights, enshrined in the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, have been violated (<http://www.echr.coe.int>).

**Avdullah HOTI** (Kosova, Staffordshire University, [avdullah.hoti@riinvestinstitute.org](mailto:avdullah.hoti@riinvestinstitute.org) or [a.hoti@staffs.ac.uk](mailto:a.hoti@staffs.ac.uk) or [hoti\\_a@hotmail.com](mailto:hoti_a@hotmail.com)) Avdullah is now teaching at the University of Prishtina in the economics department (macroeconomics and economics of labor). He is also a researcher at the Riinvest Institute for Development Research (<http://www.riinvestinstitute.org>).

**Radostin Rumenov NEYKOV** (Bulgaria, University College London, [rneykov@securities.com](mailto:rneykov@securities.com) or [radostin78@yahoo.com](mailto:radostin78@yahoo.com)) Following the completion of his M.A. course at UCL, Radostin started to work as a macroeconomic analyst at Internet Securities, Inc. His company provides detailed information and analyses on the latest macroeconomic, financial, and political events in emerging markets (Central and Eastern Europe, Latin America,

and Asia). Radostin covers Southeast and Central Europe (in particular Serbia and Montenegro, Hungary, and Poland). His main duties include writing daily reports on the latest macroeconomic and business news in the above-mentioned countries, as well as writing detailed analyses on some of the more important issues. At the same time, Radostin is also working on an M.A. in European integration at Sofia University.

**Komila RAKHIMOVA** (Uzbekistan, University of Manchester, [krakhimova@osce.sand.uz](mailto:krakhimova@osce.sand.uz)) After finishing her studies in September 2003, Komila took a one-week tour of Europe (Paris, Brussels, Bruges). She then participated in the three-month Hansard Society Research Scholars Programme, which included two academic courses in the London School of Economics and a placement in the National Consumer Council, Corporate and Public Affairs Department, as a Parliamentary Affairs Intern. After spending Christmas in Glasgow and New Year's Eve in London, Komila returned to Uzbekistan and started working as a Gender/Trafficking in Human Beings program assistant in the OSCE Centre in Tashkent ([www.osce.org/tashkent](http://www.osce.org/tashkent)). The job is quite exciting but demanding—since she accepted this position, they have held two trainings, a round table, and a Head of Missions meeting.

### 2003

**Gulcan YEROZ** (Turkey, University of Essex, [gyeroz@essex.ac.uk](mailto:gyeroz@essex.ac.uk) or [gulcanyeroz@yahoo.com](mailto:gulcanyeroz@yahoo.com)) Gulcan was a Turkish Red Crescent (TRC) volunteer, developing a voluntary training program scheme just before she was awarded the fellowship. Due to her first degree in international relations, she was involved with many internships, particularly in human rights organizations. Currently she is a volunteer for the Student Action for Refugees (STAR—[www.star-network.org.uk](http://www.star-network.org.uk)). Last year, she also did volunteer work for a local community (the Hythe Community Centre Association <http://beehive.thisissex.co.uk/hythecomcommunitycentre>) and has been working as a volunteer for the Sociology Department Research Room at the University of Essex.

## Social Work Fellowship Program

### 2000

**Fariz ISMAILZADE** (Azerbaijan, Washington University in St. Louis, [fariz\\_1998@yahoo.com](mailto:fariz_1998@yahoo.com)) Since graduation, Fariz has been working for the International Republican Institute, a US democracy-building NGO in Azerbaijan, while also teaching Social Welfare Policy at Western University in Baku. He has published articles in four American publications, done consultancy work for Cornell Caspian Consulting, and presented papers at two international conferences. Recently he was awarded two grants to work with youth and to establish an Azerbaijani Social Workers Association.

**Oyut-Erdene NAMDALDAGVA** (Mongolia, Columbia University, [swdep@maginet.mn](mailto:swdep@maginet.mn)) As a local faculty fellow with the Civic Education Project, Oyut teaches social work to master's students in the social work department at the Mongolian State University of Education. Since 2002, in collaboration with other Social Work Fellowship Program alumni, she has been involved in the organization of a summer school for social work teachers in Mongolia. The summer school is supported by a ReSET grant through the Higher Education Support Program at OSI-Budapest.

She also works as the chairperson of the Association of Social Work Educators and administers social work educational activities for ten Mongolian universities and colleges that offer social work programs.

**Ia SHEKRILADZE** (Georgia, Columbia University, iashekri-ladze@hotmail.com) After graduating in 2002, Ia developed and taught classes in social work as a Civic Education Project local faculty fellow at Tbilisi State University. She also worked as a Technical Advisor for EveryChild-Georgia where she provided training for local social workers on infant abandonment prevention and deinstitutionalization. Ia received an NSP Alumni Grant in 2003, and through her work as a consultant with the Georgia Community Mobilization Initiative, developed and delivered trainings to professionals working in social work related settings, as well as government social workers. Currently Ia is involved with Kidsave International, a charitable organization committed to ending harmful institutionalization of abandoned children worldwide.

## 2001

**Adilia DAMINOVA** (Uzbekistan, Columbia University, dadilia@yahoo.com) Adilia is working as a Program Manager for the Political/Military Division of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) in Tashkent. She also serves as an advisory board member for the Special Olympics Uzbekistan and teaches a course on conflict and development related issues at Tashkent National University.

**Enkhtuya (Tuya) SUKHBAATAR** (Mongolia, Washington University in St. Louis, enkhtuyamn@yahoo.com) Tuya has been involved enthusiastically in social work development since her second day back in Mongolia. Upon returning from the States, she helped develop the Strategy Development Project for the National Board of Children and the Social Security Strategy Paper of Mongolia. She started a project for working children in which they learn life skills and the skills needed to run their own organizations. Although busy with her new job, she continues to work with these children. Recently Tuya joined the Peace Corps as a Program Officer. She is happy with her new job as it provides her the opportunity to work with youth in rural Mongolian communities not reached by other development organizations in Mongolia.

On weekends Tuya teaches social work to master's students in the social work department at the Mongolian State University of Education. Soon she hopes to start a mentoring program pairing working boys with male university student role models.

**Marina USHVERIDZE** (Georgia, Washington University in St. Louis, ushv@yahoo.com) Marina works at the Save the Children Georgia Field Office as Coordinator of the Children's Tolerance Education Project (CTEP). The goal of the project is to promote tolerance, cooperation and compassion through the teaching of conflict transformation concepts, critical thinking, and cross cultural communication skills. CTEP is a regional project and targets children aged five to eleven along with their teachers and caretakers in Georgia, Azerbaijan, and Armenia. The project is designed to encourage children to respect the dignity and worth of all people and to foster values necessary for peace and democracy.

## Soros Supplementary Grant Program

**Vitaliya BELLA** (Ukraine, Comenius University, Slovakia, vitaliya@szm.sk) Vitaliya has been doing research for her Ph.D. thesis, which deals with the image of Roma in the Slovak newspapers. She has already completed both the content and discursive analyses of four major Slovak newspapers, and most recently, has been interviewing journalists and editors working for these newspapers. She has also been teaching a course on media and interethnic relations and has presented a paper at a conference devoted to Roma issues. She will complete her Ph.D. by the end of September 2004.

**Enkhtsetseg BYAMBAA** (Mongolia, Charles University, Czech Republic, enkh@rocketmail.com) Enkhtsetseg successfully passed his Ph.D. exams this past winter. His thesis topic is fertility decline in Asia. He has already started working on his dissertation and has published two scientific articles in the journals Mongolian Demographic Journal and Acta Universitatis Carolinae-Geographica. Lately, he has been collecting data and information related to his thesis work. In addition, he is expect-

ing to pass the state exam in September and to finish his Ph.D. study in the 2004-2005 academic year.

**Endre HAJDU** (Serbia and Montenegro, University of Debrecen, Hungary, banderax@freemail.hu) Academically, Endre has been examining Josip Broz Tito's psychobiography. He has also been a research collaborator in the International Sexuality Description Project (Bradley University, IL, USA), on the Hungarian research team. The purpose of ISDP is to evaluate whether, among a diverse group of nations, certain differences and similarities in sexual self-description would emerge across cultures. They are also interested in whether certain features of personality would predict sexual attitudes and behaviors in a similar way across cultures.

**Dina KALNINA** (Latvia, International University Concordia Audentes—formerly Concordia International University Estonia, dinakaln@yahoo.com) In Summer 2003, Dina and some of her friends organized an international youth camp "Democratic Citizenship in the New Europe" in Latvia. The participants came from 5 countries: Latvia, Estonia, Sweden, Finland, and Austria. The aim of the camp was to bring together young activists, create new cooperation networks, and to discuss what could be done for their societies. In Summer 2004, they are planning to organize a similar youth camp in Estonia. For two weeks this summer, Dina also joined a voluntary program with the aim of helping the handicapped. Currently Dina is studying at the Institute of Political Sciences of Aix-en-Provence and will graduate in Estonia after the next academic year.

**Feruza KHAYDAROVA** (Uzbekistan, Moscow State Conservatory, feruzapiano@yahoo.co.uk) This past year, Feruza has given concerts in many concert halls of Moscow, such as the Art gallery museum Scriabin, the class concert in the Maliy Hall of the Moscow State Conservatory.

**Jakub MACAK** (Czech Republic, Charles University, http://dkuk.wz.cz) Still in charge of the growing university debate club, Jakub has managed several exciting projects, of which he is especially proud of the international debate tournament in March 2004 (people from over 10 European countries are taking part!). Also, he continues the work of an academic senator at the faculty, focusing recently on modernization of the



The newest program of NSP, the **Palestinian Rule of Law Program**, welcomed its first students—Laith Arafah, Rami Dajani, Tamer Maliha and Nuha Abu Nada—in the Fall of 2003, with Ala Toukan beginning in Spring 2004. This Program aims to support the legal education of Palestinian lawyers, and through those lawyers, the law reform efforts and institutional development of a new Palestinian state. The Program offers LL.M. degrees at top American universities to Palestinian lawyers who commit themselves to return to the region to apply their training to strengthen-

ing the Palestinian legal system. The five pilot students attended the Washington College of Law at American University, Duke Law School, and University of Chicago Law School. This Fall, we are proud to add Columbia University Law School, University of Virginia Law School and the Central European University to the list of schools that will be hosting the eight new Palestinians fellows.

The grantees come from both the public and private sectors, with prior experience varying from counseling a municipality in Gaza, to representing multinational corporate investors, to working in NGOs, to practicing criminal defense law. The types of jobs the graduates will pursue in the region after their degree will vary, from serving as judges, to teaching at Palestinian universities, to working with the new Finance and Justice Ministries, to drafting legislation on a commercial code, intellectual property law and other statutes for legislative committees in the Palestinian Legislative Council, to working with the Palestinian Authority as peace negotiators. With such varied backgrounds in law, attaining an LL.M. degree outside the region can only help these attorneys to balance and strengthen the Palestinian legal system. We would like to congratulate the four students who have recently graduated and are heading back to the region, as well as officially welcome those new students being brought into the fold.

—Leshia GREENE



admissions process. Together with a team from the school, they became Czech national champions in the Jessup moot court competition in February 2004, heading for the international rounds in Washington, D.C.

**Vitaliy PEYCHEV** (Ukraine, Bulgarian Academy of Science, Institute of Bulgarian language, Vitaliy2002@abv.bg) Vitaliy made two linguistic expeditions to the village Vyacheslavka for material collection, and worked in the best libraries in Bulgaria and Ukraine. He successfully ended his PhD study in February 2004 and defended his work "The Bulgarian minority in Priazovie in an Ethnolinguistic Aspect."

**Dalibor ROHAC** (Slovakia, Charles University) As secretary general of the Bratislava-based Institute for a Free Society, Dalibor started a weblog (<http://sloboda.blogspot.com>) that provides the general public with commentaries and articles related to topical economic, political, and social issues. As statistics confirm, in just a few days this website became one of the most popular political websites in Slovakia. Moreover, he joined the editorial board of the Czech economic magazine *Laissez-Faire*, which is currently edited by the advisor to the president, Peter Mach. During the summer, he spent a couple of weeks as a visiting research fellow at the Ludwig von Mises Institute in Auburn, AL. His research work concentrated on issues of epistemology and methodology of social sciences. He recently delivered a lecture to graduate students of Charles University on methodology of economics. This proved to be very successful and appreciated by the audience and as a result he was invited to deliver another lecture in April.

**Ivo Boykov ROUSSEV** (Bulgaria, The Jagiellonian University, Krakow, Poland, ivobroussev@hotmail.com) This year Ivo started to write his Masters' thesis on modern Polish literature, particularly on *The Wedding of the Count of Orgaz*, a work of the Polish author Roman Jaworski (1883-1944). When he has free time he dedicates it to sport, mainly soccer and cycling. He also likes to watch movies and to read books. He is trying to connect these two hobbies—his dream is to one day write screenplays. Even now he is working on a script about the political and social changes in his home country during 1989-1999.

**Maria TOLBAST** (Estonia, Silesian University in Cieszyn, Poland) Maria teaches history of culture at the Silesian University in Cieszyn and painting and organizing Jewish theater with children and teenagers from the local Jewish community.

**Maja TRAJANOVSKA** (Republic of Macedonia, Jagiellonian University, Krakow, Poland, majaczet@yahoo.com) Maja is a fourth year student and therefore has already chosen her specialization—European relations—and for the last semester she has been occupied by searching for materials for her M.A. thesis. She has decided to write about Macedonia and its political and ethnic issues. In addition, she has been trying to arrange an internship in an Embassy.

**Natalia VELIKODNAYA** (Kyrgyzstan, Saint Petersburg State University of Economics and Finance, natulchik@mailx.finrec.ru) Natalia continues to take part in other Soros programs, including the debate program ([www.idebate.org](http://www.idebate.org)).

**Majla ZENELI** (Albania, Academy of Fine Art in Wroclaw, Poland, mayla@tlen.pl) Majla is a student at the Graphic Department at the Academy of Fine Art in Wroclaw, in the field of visual art. She has taken part in several graphic workshops in Poland and also has qualified in many serious, professional competitions, such as the Grand Prix for Youth Polish Graphic, in Krakow 2003, the Quadrennial of Polish Linocut and Woodcut, in Olstyn 2003, and Eurographic, in Moscow 2004.

**Volodymyr ZYMOVETS** (Ukraine, Moscow State University, zim777@yandex.ru) Volodymyr graduated from Moscow State University in 2002 and is continuing his education as a graduate student. His interests lie in the integration processes of the world, especially in Europe, the political and social processes in the CIS, conflictology, and ethnopolitics. He is going to publish an article about the enlargement of the European Union in Spring 2004. He will also take part in an upcoming university conference with a report about the juridical and political problems of the European Union. He would like to communicate with others who have the same interests.

## Undergraduate Exchange Program

### 1994

**Eva FEDOROVOVA** (Slovakia, Indiana University, evicka333@gmx.net) Eva is setting up a vast stock trading program where ten percent of all profits go to charities such as Eastern European orphanages.

**Vít FOJTEK** (Czech Republic, Bard College, vfojtek@yahoo.com, <http://tucnak.fsv.cuni.cz/~fojtek/mustreng.html>) Vít is doing a Ph.D. in international area studies at Charles University in Prague. His dissertation concentrates on the role of the West during the 1968 Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia. He is also conducting classes at the Departments of Social Sciences and Philosophy at the same university.

### 1995

**Mariela BARBOLOVA-TOSHEVA** (Bulgaria, Randolph-Macon Woman's College, mbarbolova@yahoo.com or barbolova.m@pg.com) The biggest project of Mariela's life is called Katherine—her two-year-old daughter. Apart from raising a family, Mariela managed to graduate with a Master's in Economics from University College, Dublin (1998) and immediately after that started a career with Procter&Gamble, Bulgaria, as Logistics Manager.

**Manja KLEMENCIC** (Slovenia, Bard College, mk384@cam.ac.uk) Manja was recently a Fulbright Fellow at the Center for Business and Government, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University. At Harvard she continued her Ph.D. research on power relations among member states in European Union negotiations (originally at University of Cambridge, UK). From June to October 2004, Manja is pursuing her empirical research in Brussels as a UACES (University Association for Contemporary European Studies) Fellow at the Centre for European Policy Studies (CEPS).

**Ania LUBOWICZ** (Poland, Rutgers University, lubowicz@usc.edu) Ania is an Assistant Professor of linguistics at the University of Southern California.

### 1996

**Anna KWIATKIEWICZ** (Poland, University of Wisconsin-Eau Claire) Anna obtained her M.A. degree from Warsaw School of Economics (SGH), Poland in 1999, and since then has been employed as an Assistant Professor in the Department of Human Resources Management at the same school. In the years 2000-2001 she combined her academic career with work for the NGO sector in Warsaw, Poland. She spent academic year of 2000-2001 in Bruges, Belgium studying at the in the European Human Resources Department at the College of Europe. These studies helped her understand the current situation of the labor market in the E.U. member states and the accession countries. She obtained a Master's degree in June 2002. Upon her return to Poland, Anna worked on a Ph.D. (continuing vocational training policy in the European Union and the consequences for the Polish labor market in the perspective of enlargement), which she submitted to the Academic Council in January 2004. Her future professional plans are closely linked to the E.U. integration process and researching labor market and vocational training policy developments.

**Ivan POLTAVETS** (Ukraine, Roosevelt University, poltavets@ier.kiev.ua) Ivan is a research associate in the Department of Structural Reforms at the Institute for Economic Research and Policy Consulting ([www.ier.kiev.ua](http://www.ier.kiev.ua)) in Kiev, Ukraine. He focuses on energy policy issues and infrastructure policies.

**Mailis Reps nee RAND** (Estonia, Kalamazoo College, mailis.reps@rigigogu.ee) Since studying in the United States,

Mailis graduated with a Bachelor in Law degree (LL.B.) from University Nord, Tallinn, Estonia; a Master's in Law (LL.M.) from the Central European University, Budapest, Hungary; and a Master's in Public Affairs (M.A.) from the Maastricht University,



DAAD/OSI scholarship recipients from the Caucasus in Bonn, Germany, October 2003.

in the Netherlands. She has worked as a stage (traineeship) in the European Commission, Brussels, Belgium and as an Assistant Professor of Law (international public law, comparative constitutional and European Union law) in University Nord, Estonia and Riga Graduate School of Law, Latvia. She also started her doctoral studies in Uppsala University in Sweden. Since January 2002 Mailis has worked as a Minister (State Secretary) of Education and Science, and since April 2003 as a member of the Estonian Parliament, Committee of Culture and Education ([www.riigikogu.ee](http://www.riigikogu.ee)). She is a member of the Board of the Centre Party of Estonia, Secretary of International Affairs of the Centre Party. Mailis is married and recently became a mother.

**Tatiana RIZOVA** (Bulgaria, Montana State University-Bozeman, tatianapr@yahoo.com) Tatiana is currently working on her dissertation on the regeneration of former communist parties in Hungary and Bulgaria and former hegemonic parties in Mexico and Paraguay. She will be doing field work in these four countries over the course of the upcoming academic year. She will receive her Ph.D. in Political Science from the University of California, Los Angeles in 2005.

**Vladimir ZDOROVTSOV** (Ukraine, University of Arkansas, <http://dmsweb.moore.sc.edu/vladimir>) Vladimir recently finished his Finance Ph.D. at the University of South Carolina and accepted a Senior Economist Position at Law and Economics Consulting Group, LLC in Emeryville, CA.

### 1997

**Joseph BENATOV** (Bulgaria, University of Arkansas) Joseph is now a Ph.D. candidate in comparative literature at the University of Pennsylvania.

**Nevenka GRCEVA** (Macedonia, University of Arkansas, ngrceva@yahoo.com) For the past five years Nevenka has been working as an English teacher at QSI International School of Skopje. She also works as a freelance interpreter/translator. At the moment she is applying for a CEU Gender Studies M.A. program.

**Edmond JÓZSA** (Hungary, Bard College) Since graduating with a degree in International Business in 2000, Edmond has been busy as a financial analyst. He is currently with Sealed Air Company, where he oversees sales activities in five countries of Central and Eastern Europe. He lives in Budapest with a Romanian girlfriend. He is trying to gain insights into the Romanian language and culture. (Any support is welcome!)

**Marion Lepmets nee LEPASAAR** (Estonia, Randolph-Macon Women's College, marion.lepmets@ttu.ee) Currently Marion is on her last year of Ph.D. studies in Software Engineering at Tampere University of Technology in Finland. She is working as a researcher at Tallinn Technical University. She was married in July 2003 (<http://www.pori.tut.fi/~marion>).

**Sophie MOROSHKINA** (Georgia, Roosevelt University, smoroshkina@unicef.org) Sophie has been living a very happy life. She was recently married and is working at UNICEF (United Nations Children's Fund) in Geneva as a program assistant in the health and nutrition section of the regional office for CEE/CIS and the Baltics (<http://www.unicef.org/programme/highlights/cee>).

## 1998

**Veronika Capska nee HLADISOVA** (Czech Republic, Randolph-Macon Women's College, vcapska@yahoo.com) Last year Veronika (and several other OSI students from other countries) had a pleasant visit from their former Undergraduate Exchange Program college when professor Laura Katzman from R-MWC made her travel throughout Eastern Europe. It was wonderful to reconnect and spend several days together sharing news, flashbacks and ideas. Currently Veronika enjoys married life and continues to work on her Ph.D. in Historical Anthropology at Charles University in Prague and is looking forward to spending the next six months in Vienna and Innsbruck doing research. The webpage of her doctoral program, which is financed by Volkswagenstiftung, is [www.fhs.jinonice.cuni.cz/kolegium](http://www.fhs.jinonice.cuni.cz/kolegium).

**Zuzana JASENOVCOVA** (Slovak Republic, Randolph-Macon Women's College, zjasenovcova@hotmail.com) Last year Zuzana earned an LL.M. in Constitutional Law at the Central European University. At the moment she is earning money to pay her education debts. She is working for Citibank, which turned out to be a very interesting and exciting after years spent as an academic. She is located in Prague in the Czech Republic, so if anyone who remembers her is passing through this city, drop her a line.

**Ilyas ORAZBAYEV** (Kazakhstan, Roosevelt University, iloraz@mail.ru) Ilyas is now the assistant to the marketing vice-president and to the government and public relations director of the Open Joint Stock Company "Kazazhanbasmunai," a Kazakhstani oil producing and exporting company.

**Marina PLOTNIKOVA** (Belarus, University of Maine, plotnikau@server.by) Marina is a school teacher of English.

**Elmars SVEKIS** (Latvia, University of Wisconsin-Eau Claire, svekis@delfi.lv) After earning a Masters' Degree in Human Rights Law at the Central European University (CEU) in Budapest in 2001, Elmars returned to Latvia and worked at the Latvian National Committee for UNICEF as a program coordinator. In April 2002 he took up an assignment with the OSCE Mission in Kosovo as political affairs officer. Currently he is back in Latvia working as a Technical Advisor in a joint Ministry of Foreign Affairs/UNDP project aimed at strengthening development cooperation framework for the government of Latvia. He is helping his government become a [better] donor.

## 1999

**Ramil MAMMADOV** (Azerbaijan, University of Wisconsin-Eau Claire, roma160@yahoo.com or rmammadov@nba.az) Ramil obtained a Master's degree in International Relations and International Law at Baku State University this year. He is now a lead economist with the Anti-Money Laundering Unit, Bank Supervision Department at the National Bank of Azerbaijan ([www.nba.az](http://www.nba.az)).

## 2000

**Lukasz ABRAMOWICZ** (Poland, New York University, lukasza@babel.ling.upenn.edu) Lukasz graduated from Warsaw University last summer with an M.A. in sociology. His thesis was an analytic study of 'Sunday breakfast' shows with politicians on Polish radio. He is currently a graduate student in linguistics at the University of Pennsylvania ([www.ling.upenn.edu](http://www.ling.upenn.edu)), working mostly in pragmatics and quantitative sociolinguistics (<http://www.ling.upenn.edu/~lukasza>).

**Hanna ASIPOVICH** (Belarus, Ithaca College, grazhyna@yahoo.com) Hanna has been really busy. She has finally graduated, but it's not enough, so she applied for an M.A. program. She has a teaching internship at school at the moment. She also works for Partnership, a Belarusian NGO ([www.partnership.org](http://www.partnership.org)). Partnership's Alumni Project on AIDS, written in cooperation with Katsia Padvakava, was selected for implementation.

**Nina BOSNICOVA** (Slovakia, Bard College) Nina finished her Master's program in English and Slovak language and literature and is now enrolled in a Ph.D. program in English and American Literature at Charles University in Prague, Czech Republic.

**Angela DUMITRASCO** (Moldova, Roosevelt University) Angela currently works at UNDP Moldova as a Junior Program Associate for projects such as: Support to the National Human Rights Action Plan, Improving Management Performance of the Government of the Republic of Moldova, Strengthening the National Capacities to Fight Corruption in the Republic of Moldova, etc., and is Chairperson of the UN Staff Association Council.

**Vaidas JANAVICIUS** (Lithuania, University of Arkansas, vaidas.janavicius@vilnius.lt) Vaidas is currently working as a Chargé de Mission at Vilnius City Municipal Government, Department of International Relations; as a National Coordinator for the Team Europe—Lithuania (a European network which was established to disseminate information about European legal, cultural, educational, etc. matters); teaching a course on European Institutions in the Department of French at Vilnius University; and is enrolled at Lithuanian Law University to do an M.A. in European Politics and Administration in addition to an M.A. in French Linguistics at Vilnius University.

**Elena JANEVSKA** (Macedonia, Slippery Rock University, janevska8@yahoo.com) Since July 2003, Elena has been working in CAFAO-MAK (Customs And Fiscal Assistance Office-Macedonia), an EU-funded project for modernizing the Macedonian Customs Administration and bringing it up to EU standards.

**Marta KLJAIC** (Croatia, University of Richmond, marta\_kljaic@hotmail.com) Marta is studying in a graduate program on Human Rights and Democratization in Sarajevo and Bologna (<http://cps.edu.ba/cps/index.jsp>).

**Piotr LABENZ** (Poland, Duke University, [www.labenz.prv.pl](http://www.labenz.prv.pl)) Piotr graduated from the University of Warsaw last year with an MA in philosophy. Presently he is studying logic at the Institute for Logic, Language and Computation at the University of Amsterdam.

**Liisi LEMBINEN** (Estonia, Randolph-Macon Woman's College, liisi.lembinen@mail.ee or llembinen@hotmail.com) Liisi is doing her M.A. in African-American Studies through a distance learning program. She is working as a translator and is preparing to move to the United States (she is waiting for her visa approval at the moment).

**Anna WITESKA** (Poland, Roosevelt University, witeska@tlen.pl, <http://oiseaubleu.w.interia.pl>) Anna graduated from the department of political science at UMCS, Lublin, Poland. She was enrolled in an MA Sociology and Social Anthropology program at the Central European University.

## 2001

**Kumar BEKBOLOTOV** (Kyrgyzstan, University of Richmond, kumar@mail.auk.kg) Upon returning from the United States, while finishing his senior year at American University—Central Asia, Kumar worked for a project of the Institute for War and Peace Reporting-Kyrgyzstan. Following this he went to the Central European University to do a Master's degree in political science. He is currently researching Kyrgyz political opposition for his thesis. Two other UEP alumni from 2001 are also at CEU—Dovile from Lithuania is in political science and Bogdan from Romania is in nationalism studies.

**Irakli KUTSIA** (Georgia, Duquesne University) After coming back from the United States in 2002, Irakli continued to work on his undergraduate degree in International Relations at Tbilisi State University (TSU). He interned at the NDI Tbilisi office from September through December 2002 and graduated from TSU in June 2003. Now he lives a very busy life, working at Peace Corps Georgia as a Language/Cross-Cultural Facilitator and doing his Masters' Degree at the same time.

**Tomáš Gabzdil LIBERTINY** (Slovakia, University of Washington, gabzdil@hotmail.com) Tomáš just returned from an exchange at the Slippery Rock University, where he studied painting/printmaking. He is currently studying product design at the Academy of Arts and Design in Bratislava. Meanwhile, he is working on his art projects ([www.gabzdil.com](http://www.gabzdil.com)).

**Genoveva PETROVA** (Bulgaria, Ithaca College, genovevapetrova@hotmail.com) Since Genoveva came back from the United States, she has been studying at her home university—the Sofia University in Sofia, Bulgaria. She has one more year to graduate with a Masters' degree in International Relations. She has also been taking different business courses and is working at an online advertising agency ([www.icygen.com](http://www.icygen.com)). She is working in the area of business development and sales. She has continued her participation in different youth organizations.

**Andrei PUNGOVSCI** (Romania, University of Montana, andreipungovschi@hotmail.com) For the last two years, Andrei has been attending the University of Bucharest ([www.unibuc.ro](http://www.unibuc.ro)), hoping he'd finally graduate (since they hadn't transferred his U.S. credits). The lovely day of graduation finally came in June. In the meantime, Andrei has been working for various mass-media institutions in beautiful Romania (<http://www.pungovschi.go.ro>).

**Diana SIMEONOVA** (Bulgaria, Slippery Rock University, sashevadiana@yahoo.com) Diana is finishing her BA degree in English and American Studies at Sofia University this year and planning to stay for an M.A. degree in Translation Studies. She works as a journalist for the Foreign Language Service of the Bulgarian National Radio. It broadcasts in nine languages all over the world, so feel free to email Diana for details if you are interested in listening.

## 2002

**Viktor KOSKA** (Croatia, University of Washington) After arriving back home, Viktor decided to take an active role in promoting student rights and in developing civil society through education. Together with Ivana, Andrea, and Lana, who are UEP alumni as well, Viktor is organizing a summer school for high school and university students in cooperation with Rutgers University, New Jersey and the student club Zoon politikon in Zagreb. The name of the school will be Global Partnership for Activism, Advocacy and Cross Cultural Training, and through it they will try to educate more young people in Croatia about civil society and how it helps them in promoting their civil liberties. Viktor also helped editing a new student magazine at the University of Zagreb, and on personal level received a dean's award for the best student of his year. He was also awarded with the city stipend of Zagreb, one of the most prestigious stipends in Croatia.

**Andreea PAVEL** (Romania, Hamilton College, andreea.pavel@funn.ro) Andreea is busy, busy, trying to finish up her thesis, and working as a UN Liaison Officer at the Black Sea University Foundation in Bucharest and preparing a conference in Berlin on E.U. enlargement in April-May, with Alex, her fellow UEP alumnus.

**Salome SEPASHVILI** (Georgia, Slippery Rock University, sepashvili@wanex.ge) Salome is currently volunteering with the Tbilisi YMCA ([www.tbilisiymca.ge](http://www.tbilisiymca.ge)), a non-governmental organization led by volunteers. The aim of the Tbilisi YMCA is to build strong kids, strong families and strong communities by solving social problems through programs and projects that meet the needs of Tbilisi youth and their communities. Through their participation they try to develop a sense of community, promote international and intercultural understanding, and develop a healthy lifestyle.

**Mohira SUYARKULOVA** (Uzbekistan, University of Vermont, ozmanija@yahoo.com or suyarkulova\_m@mail.auca.kg) Mohira transferred to the American University—Central Asia last August after completing the New York City Summer Civil Society Internship Program with the Social Sciences Research Council. Now she studies and lives in Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan—so this year and the following one are going to be a continuation of her international experience. Mohira and other OSI UEP alumni from Kyrgyzstan (Elina Karakolova, Aisalkyn Batoeva and others) have been involved with the local community by taking part in a number of projects together with IREX/ACCELS Ugrad alumni. Among other things they conducted a series of trainings on sexual health and tolerance in the remote areas of the country. ■

# MUSKIE ALUMNI OPPORTUNITIES

## Support for Community Outreach and University Teaching (SCOUT)

The Support for Community Outreach and University Teaching (SCOUT) program provides follow-on support to alumni of the Edmund S. Muskie Graduate Fellowship Program in all fields of study. It is designed to help alumni share the benefits of their graduate study experience in the United States with their colleagues, academic and professional institutions, and the communities of their home countries.

SCOUT offers three types of support: Course Development grants, Academic Career fellowships, and Special Project grants. All provide financial, methodological, institutional, and informational support to Muskie alumni who are interested in the following activities:

- teaching in institutions of higher education and professional training or in local communities;
- developing projects that promote learning and exchange among students, faculty, and communities; and
- facilitating exchange between higher education and the professional public and private sectors, governments, NGOs, and other academic and community organizations.

The Civic Education Project, which previously administered the SCOUT program under an agreement with the Open Society Institute, has closed its higher education programs in the region. Starting July 1, 2004, the

Open Society Network took over administration of the SCOUT grants, under the auspices of the Network's International Higher Education Support Program, or HESP.

Detailed information is available by contacting:

Nikolai Petroukovitch,  
Program Manager, SCOUT  
Higher Education Support Program  
Open Society Institute  
Október 6 u. 12,  
Budapest 1051  
Hungary  
e-mail: npetroukovitch@osieurope.org  
phone: +36 (1) 327-3140

# The Higher Education Support Program (HESP)

HESP promotes the advancement of higher education within the humanities and social sciences, throughout the region of post-communist countries of Central and Eastern Europe, the former Soviet Union, and Mongolia.

## HESP Regional Seminar for Excellence in Teaching

The Regional Seminar for Excellence in Teaching (ReSET), established as a successor to the HESP Summer Schools Program, builds on its experience and furthers its effects to promote and nurture university-level teaching excellence in the social sciences and humanities in the region. ReSET promotes the concept of continuous development and self-renewal of university academics, empowering the most committed individuals to become catalysts of the process of critical inquiry into scholarship and academic curricula in their home institutional environments.

HESP invites proposals of multi-year projects from academic institutions, associations or individuals with demonstrated potential for and commitment to promoting teaching excellence and lending on-going support to individual faculty and departments in the region. The projects considered for funding will target the young faculty currently teaching in the social sciences and humanities in the institutions of higher education throughout the targeted region.

For more details about the program and eligibility requirements, and to download applications, please visit the website at: [http://www.soros.org/initiatives/hesp/focus\\_areas/regional\\_seminar](http://www.soros.org/initiatives/hesp/focus_areas/regional_seminar) or contact:

HESP Regional Seminar for Excellence in Teaching  
Open Society Institute  
Október 6. u. 12., Budapest 1051, Hungary  
Tel: (36-1) 235-6152  
Fax: (36-1) 411-4401  
Email: [oshtokvych@osi.hu](mailto:oshtokvych@osi.hu) or [mjo@osi.hu](mailto:mjo@osi.hu)

## HESP Academic Fellowship Program

The Academic Fellowship Program (AFP) aims to contribute to reform processes in institutions of higher education in Central and Eastern Europe and Central Eurasia and to help build inclusive academic networks locally, regionally, and globally. Based on the belief that universities form a fundamental part of civil society, AFP has two main objectives:

- to assist targeted university departments in the region, helping them to become platforms for innovation and reform; and
- to promote the return, retention, and professional development of young, promising academics teaching in the above-mentioned departments.

These objectives are pursued by supporting promising local scholars in the institutions targeted by the program and working with qualified international academics and experts to exchange of knowledge, experiences, and resources.

Detailed information including eligibility requirements, deadlines, and application forms are available from the OSI website [http://www.soros.org/initiatives/hesp/focus\\_areas/afp](http://www.soros.org/initiatives/hesp/focus_areas/afp) or by sending inquiries to the following:

Academic Fellowship Program  
International Higher Education Support Program  
Open Society Institute  
Nador utca 11, H-1051  
Budapest, Hungary  
Tel: 36-1-235-6160  
Fax: 36-1-411-4401  
Email: [afp@osi.hu](mailto:afp@osi.hu)



# Contribute to the next Scholar Forum!

Cover Topic: *Generational Insights*

Regional Focus: Southeastern Europe

The next issue of Scholar Forum will be published in Spring 2005, and we're seeking submissions from all NSP scholars and alumni. Essays, personal accounts, research papers, photographs, short stories, poems, drawings, and other creative works are all welcome.

## Cover Story: Generational Insights

As is well known and often discussed, the last 15 years have been a time of overwhelming political, economic, and social change in the countries of Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. Less often discussed, however, is how people of different ages have seen and felt these changes, and in turn, how these individual perspectives combine to form distinct generational identities.

We invite you to submit works that describe the post-Cold War experiences of people of various ages in your countries and ponder the meaning of generational identities in the post-communist era. Submissions can be published anonymously. Here are some questions to consider:

- How do issues of age and life experience inform and affect your professional field? How have government, private enterprise, institutions of health and higher education and individuals addressed—or failed to address—these issues?
  - What kind of effects will demographic changes exert on your country/society in the next decade or so?
  - How are different age groups (or one specific group) portrayed in the news media, in political life, in popular culture, in the arts? Are these portrayals accurate and fair, or do they miss the mark? Is the whole concept of “generations” a useful or an unhelpful way of looking at your society?
  - How have generational identities changed in the last 15 years? Is meaningful communication between people of different generations getting easier or harder? What are people in your country doing to create dialogue between people of different generations?
  - Where do you see yourself in all of this? How has your age and particular generational identity (or lack thereof) affected your experience of transition?
- We are equally interested in submissions that examine generational issues in other contexts, from grantees and alumni who hail from outside Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. (Max. 750 words)

## Regional Focus: Southeastern Europe

We encourage grantees and alumni from Southeastern Europe—defined, for our purposes, as Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia & Herzegovina, Serbia & Montenegro, Kosovo, Albania, Macedonia, Romania, Moldova, and Bulgaria—as well as those familiar with the region, to submit works (including photos and recipes) that represent this fascinating region. (Max. 400 words)

## Personal Accounts: Essays and Creative Works

Please submit short personal accounts of your experiences living and studying in a different country. Photographs, poems, drawings, and cartoons are also welcome. (Max. 300 words)

## Alumni

Send us information about your current activities for the Alumni section. Also, please send information about upcoming alumni reunions or updates on previous gatherings.

## Submissions

Email to [scholarforum@sorosny.org](mailto:scholarforum@sorosny.org). Include your full name, fellowship program and year, host university, home country, and gender with each submission. Please refer all questions to [scholarforum@sorosny.org](mailto:scholarforum@sorosny.org).

**Submissions are due in New York by January 15, 2005.**

## OSI NSP ALUMNI GRANT PROGRAM

The Network Scholarship Programs is pleased to offer the **Alumni Grant Program**. This program offers grants to NSP alumni to further expand the knowledge gained during their fellowship and to make a positive contribution in their home country. All grant proposals must be related to OSI's mission of supporting programs in the areas of educational, social, and legal reform, and of encouraging alternative approaches to complex and often controversial issues. Preference will be given to collaborative projects between alumni, across countries and with host universities and projects that promote the development

of a specific discipline in the region.

**Types of grants may include** organizing training programs, conferences or seminars in the applicant's field, forming an alumni association, founding a professional association, creating initiatives that support the NGO and/or non-profit sectors, creating initiatives that further social justice causes, support for creating classroom materials, and other projects related to OSI's mission.

The competition for this grant is offered once a year.

Detailed information including eligibility

requirements, deadlines, and application forms are available from the OSI Budapest website:

[http://www.soros.org/initiatives/scholarship/focus\\_area/alumni](http://www.soros.org/initiatives/scholarship/focus_area/alumni)

or by sending inquiries to:

The Open Society Institute  
Scholarship Programs  
Alumni Grant Program  
Jibek Simkova-Iskakova  
H-1397 Budapest  
P.O.Box 519  
HUNGARY  
Email: [jiskakova@osi.hu](mailto:jiskakova@osi.hu)

# Scholarships and Fellowships with NSP

The Network Scholarship Programs offers the following scholarships and fellowships. Programs are offered only in certain countries; please visit the NSP website for details and for application information.

[www.soros.org/initiatives/scholarship](http://www.soros.org/initiatives/scholarship)

## **American University in Bulgaria:**

Each year, NSP funds scholarships for four years of undergraduate liberal arts study at the American University in Bulgaria (AUBG), located in Blagoevgrad, Bulgaria.

## **CNOUS-OSI Program:**

Up to 10 awards for students in Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Uzbekistan to pursue advanced study in certain fields at institutions in France.

## **DAAD-OSI Program:**

A joint scholarship program in Germany for Central Asian and Belarusian graduate students and junior faculty pursuing advanced study in the social sciences and humanities.

## **Edmund S. Muskie Graduate Fellowship Program:**

Fellows from the former Soviet Union placed in one to two-year Master's-level professional degree (and non-degree) programs at selected U.S. universities in a variety of fields.

## **Faculty Development Program:**

Up to 14 awards for faculty in Central Asia and the Caucasus to spend one semester at a U.S. university and one semester teaching at their home universities, each year for up to three years.

## **Global Supplementary Grant Program:**

This program offers supplementary grants to students from selected countries of Eastern and Central Europe and the former Soviet Union to pursue Doctoral studies in the Humanities and Social Sciences at accredited universities in Western Europe, Asia, Australia, and North America.

## **Palestinian Rule of Law Program:**

This program offers support to ten lawyers or law graduates, normally resident in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, to pursue LL.M. degrees at universities across the United States or at the Central European University in Budapest (see page 23 for more information).

## **OSI/Chevening Scholarships:**

UK Scholarship programs include one-year Master's-level awards, generally in the social sciences and humanities, for students and scholars to study at various institutions in the United Kingdom. Students are from selected countries in Eastern Europe, the Middle East, the Newly Independent States, and South Asia.

## **Soros Supplementary Grant Program:**

The program awards partial grants for undergraduate and post-graduate studies at recognized institutes of higher education outside students' home countries or permanent residence but within East Central Europe and the Newly Independent States.

## **Social Work Fellowship Program:**

This Program is designed to provide graduate training in social work to implement reform, create policy, and foster the development of social work in the Caucasus and Central Asia.

## **Supplementary Grant Program—Burma:**

Partial scholarships are awarded to Burmese students worldwide who are currently unable to pursue their studies in Burma.

## **Undergraduate Exchange Program:**

The Undergraduate Exchange is a one-year, non-degree program for students enrolled in a university in Eastern and Central Europe and Mongolia.

# ScholarForum

Open Society Institute  
Network Scholarship Programs  
400 West 59th Street  
New York, NY 10019 USA