

FOR ALUMNI & FRIENDS OF NEW JERSEY'S STATE UNIVERSITY

SUMMER 1995

RUTGERS

MAGAZINE

\$3.00



A NEW VIEW IN OLD POLAND

DEMOCRACY, CITIZEN BY CITIZEN

When the Iron Curtain lifted from Poland in 1989, a few visionaries saw that for democracy to take root, it had to be grounded in local government and community action. Helping bring that vision to reality is Rutgers' Joanna Regulska and the Local Democracy in Poland Program.



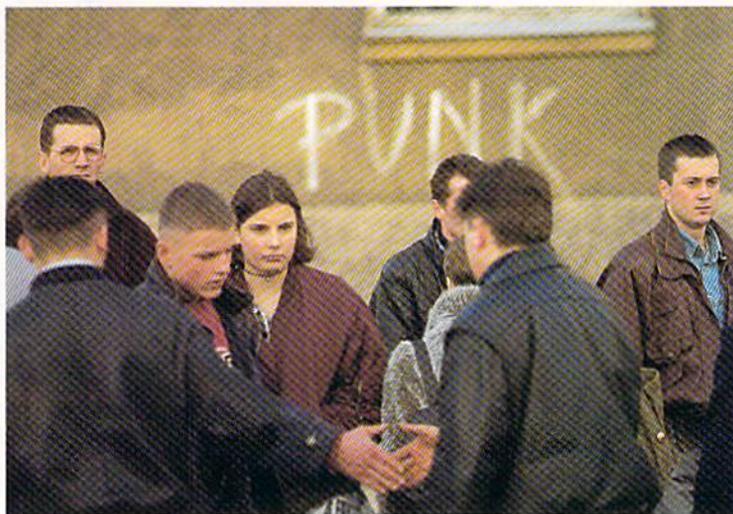
*By Bill Glovin
Photographs by Nick Romanenko*

A New POLAND



Communism fell only a short time ago, but the Polish people have been quick to adopt many of the benefits of democracy. In Warsaw (above), free-market economics drive businesses from Fiat to McDonald's, while freedom of assembly is enjoyed by young people in Bialystok (right).

In a restaurant in the Old Town section of Warsaw, Joanna Regulska can hardly find time to apply her fork to her fish as she confers with Jacek Kozłowski, the new director general of the Foundation in Support of Local Democracy in Poland. The Rutgers professor is advising Kozłowski on a topic of vital importance to the Foundation's future: fund-raising. Kozłowski, smoking his second Camel cigarette of the meal, listens intently as Regulska provides tips on whom to pursue, how to make the approach, and what to consider for the fiscal year. When Regulska needs to be absolutely certain that her point is understood, she breaks into Polish, a language Kozłowski is more comfortable with. "We are in good shape this year, but fund-raising is something that you must always stay on top of, something you must anticipate at least a year ahead," she says.



“Everyone was talking about the big picture in Poland: autonomy, Parliament, national politics. They didn’t think local government required much attention. But when you don’t have it, you realize how truly important it is.”

Regulska, an associate professor of geography at Rutgers–New Brunswick and the director of Rutgers’ Local Democracy in Poland (LDP) Program, the Foundation’s Rutgers-based affiliate, has had plenty of practice polishing her fundraising skills since 1989, when roundtable discussions between Solidarity and the Communist regime brought a peaceful end to totalitarian rule in Poland, making this country of 40 million the barometer for change in central and eastern Europe. Through the Foundation and LDP, Regulska has helped her native country make the transition from communist, central domination to democratic, grass-roots governance.

Poland, which had done little to prepare for the sudden democratic and economic reforms that demanded immediate attention, was like a child asked to run before it could walk. Local governance compatible with the European Charter of Local Government was a novelty in the country, where local authorities were a mere extension of central government. The Foundation’s first challenge was introducing the very concept of local governance and its role in satisfying the needs of local communities. Today, with a network of 16 regional training centers throughout the country, the Foundation still trains newly

elected officials, but also keeps public administrators abreast of new and evolving regulations, promotes initiatives and programs that encourage citizen participation in local governance, sponsors business-enterprise clubs, and operates five schools of public administration. The Foundation’s programs have proved so successful that they are being copied throughout the region.

Regulska, a native of Warsaw, came to the United States in 1978 to complete her doctorate at the University of Colorado and joined the Rutgers faculty in 1982. In the mid-1980s, as part of an international research group, she closely monitored the events that led to the historic Polish parliamentary elections in June 1989. In

Poland that summer, she witnessed firsthand a revolution that was, to many in the world’s Polish community, incomprehensible: the peaceful transformation from communism to democracy.

While in Warsaw, she was intrigued by the vision of five prominent public figures, one of whom was her father, Senator Jerzy Regulski, who is now the Polish ambassador to the 31-member Council of Europe. Regulski had been named Minister for Local Government Reform, an established unit in Poland’s Council of Ministers, and he and four colleagues wished to

form a nongovernmental organization to help Poland embrace local self-governance. The men’s vision was considered so vital to the nation’s future that its role was debated in one of the first sessions of the new Senate. Regulska helped the founders devise the organization’s name and mission, and that September, with \$100 in American currency, the Foundation in Support of Local Democracy was born. Its future, however, hinged on Regulska’s efforts to draft and sell its first grant proposals in Washington.

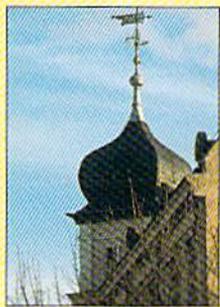
Regulski followed his daughter to the United States that fall to help. “We found that people in the United States took their local government for granted,”

says Regulska. “Everyone was talking about the big picture in Poland: autonomy, Parliament, national politics. They didn’t think local government required much attention. But when you don’t have it, you realize how important it is.”

In the months before Poland’s first local elections, and with \$600,000 in funding from three private foundations in the United States, the Foundation organized courses, workshops, and training sessions on election administration. Following the election of 50,000 representatives to 2,500 local councils in May 1990, the Foundation began the ambitious task of training many of them for their four-year terms. It also prepared new social and economic initiatives and programs



Joanna Regulska, director of Rutgers’ Local Democracy in Poland Program, says that many Poles still wonder if democracy is the best path: “Along with all of the change have come feelings of uncertainty and insecurity.”



Various styles—from Arabic to German—influence the architecture of Olsztyn and other Polish cities.

Lessons in Democracy

Political reform in Poland has a partner in Rutgers' LDP.

Rutgers' Local Democracy in Poland (LDP) Program, directed by Joanna Regulska, associate professor of geography, conducts research in Poland and administers many projects that promote democracy and citizen participation in local Polish governments. The following projects of LDP are supported by grants from public and private donors and with the cooperation of the Foundation in Support of Local Democracy in Poland.

Local Democracy through Local Government Training and Capacity-Building in Poland: This project develops curricula and training programs in areas of interest to local government officials and supports the Foundation and other nongovernmental organizations.

The Local Government Library Network in Poland: LDP is helping the Foundation develop libraries and resource centers, including on-line computer facilities, at its headquarters and 16 regional training centers.

Citizens Participation in Poland—Toward a Civil Society: The Case of Small- and Medium-Sized Cities: Through workshops and training sessions, the LDP supports efforts to mobilize citizens and increase their participation in their communities, to identify and overcome barriers that block citizen participation, and to develop tools and methods to promote proactive attitudes.

The Transfer of Democracy: The Polish-American Experience: Workshops designed to overcome cultural differences between Polish trainers, participants of the Citizens Participation Project, and American counterparts involved in their training are sponsored by LDP.

Public Administration Reform: Promoting Its Understanding and Strengthening Channels of Local Communication: The LDP developed a comprehensive strategy to enhance public awareness and strengthen communication among Polish citizens, local government officials, and the media.

Setting the Agenda: Environmental Management and Leadership Training for Women in Silesia, Poland: A community-based Environmental Health Agenda was conducted in Wroclaw, Poland, using techniques developed in the United States and Poland. Nine Polish citizens were trained as leaders and worked with Polish-based program coordinators to focus on the safety of locally grown food, to raise the environmental consciousness of women, and to conduct a public forum for local election candidates.

Community Development Internship Program: Professor Barbara Kudrycka of the University of Warsaw, Bialystok campus, who is involved in the project planning group for DIALOG (see page 20), came to New Jersey to observe the practical ways in which community organizations solve problems and the links between community organizations and institutions of higher learning like Rutgers.

Milwaukee County Internship Program: Polish local government officials are trained in their roles by observing their counterparts in Milwaukee County, Wisconsin, in action. LDP, which acts as liaison between Milwaukee County and Poland, will evaluate the program at its conclusion.

designed to help local governments run efficiently and build citizen participation in communities. When the smoke had cleared that first year, Regulska could look with satisfaction on the more than 40,000 people who had been trained through the Foundation's 14 regional centers that were already up and running throughout the country.

Essential to continuing the Foundation's mission, however, was an American connection that could link important funding sources, politicians, government leaders, scholars, and the media. This base would conduct research and provide a setting to which Polish government officials could come for training not available in Poland and from which liaisons with other universities and city,

local, and regional governments in the United States could be forged. Regulska recommended Rutgers, which offered strong ties to state and local governments, experts in various academic departments who could provide instruction for visiting officials, proximity to New York and Washington, and a location amidst a large Polish-American community.

Regulska approached the Rutgers University Foundation, the fund-raising arm of the University, to ask its help in creating an office that would assist Poland with local self-governance while providing Rutgers' undergraduate and graduate students with insight into the democratization process. "At first, we thought Joanna's idea was a

“At first, we thought Joanna’s idea was a little ambitious. But she said, ‘This is the time, this is the moment. It is now that we need to do this.’ We couldn’t help but be impressed by her energy and tenacity.”

little ambitious,” recalls Mimi Herington, director for corporate/foundation relations. “But she said, ‘This is the time, this is the moment. It is now that we need to do this.’ We couldn’t help but be impressed by her energy and tenacity.”

The Rutgers Foundation helped the determined professor, who had lots of contacts but limited knowledge of fund-raising, find additional revenue streams and hone her lobbying skills. A grant from the German Marshall Fund of the United States launched Rutgers’ Local Democracy in Poland Program. Soon after, a set of local officials from Poland came to Rutgers, where they received instruction in public administration. They were also invited by Polish-American professionals to visit their communities, where they learned how their jobs related to housing, infrastructure, land use, and the environment. That year, teleconferencing between Washington and Warsaw led to a series of half-hour prime-time programs on self-governance that appeared on Polish television. Later that year, a crew from Rutgers’ Office of Television and Radio accompanied Regulaska to Poland to produce a documentary that aired on PBS and was used by 2,000 high schools to teach students about the role of democracy in local self-governance.

From a converted house on College Avenue where Rutgers’ Office of International Programs is located, the LDP has evolved into a key link to the Foundation’s American Programs unit. To help Foundation personnel improve their communication skills and conduct interactive training, LDP designed the two-year-old Training-of-Trainers Program and selected a consulting firm to conduct three workshops at regional training centers in Poland. LDP also conducts research and sends Rutgers students to Poland to work on Foundation projects, giving them real experience in the democratization process.

The LDP staff of 11 includes original staff

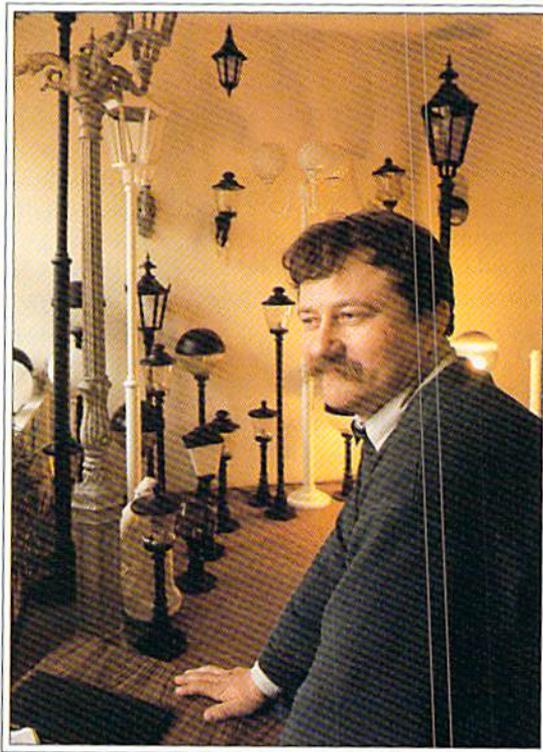
members Connie Burke and Susanna Treesh, and two doctoral students who work as program coordinators. Anne Bellows helped design an itinerary for Polish environmental professionals who have visited the United States in each of the last three years. Ann Graham, who worked with Regulaska and Foundation personnel to design and implement the Citizens Participation Project, coordinates the American side of that program as well as an economic development program. The work that the LDP performs from its modest College Avenue offices is best appreciated, however, by traveling half-way across the globe, to four of the 16 cities where regional training centers empower Polish citizens in community action and local government.

◆ SZCZECIN ◆

En route to Szczecin’s regional training center, director Dominik Górski points out sections of the city that were destroyed by Allied bombs during World War II. A huge bell that once hung in the tower of a magnificent cathedral now sits on the lawn, a symbol of a particularly devastating air raid. The consequences of the Yalta Conference, which handed Poland to Stalin and resulted in martial law under communism, are evident in a bleak square that Górski points out.

“That was the site of a huge Solidarity shipyard riot in December 1980. The army opened fire from that building across the street. To this day, no one knows how many were killed.”

Before the war, Szczecin was part of Germany and was the port city for Berlin, 60 kilometers to the south. Despite the devastating bombings, Szczecin’s architecture still reflects the city’s rich history and its wealth during the Third Reich. Like most Polish cities, much of Szczecin has been reconstructed and repopulated. Today, it is not uncommon for wealthy, sentimental Germans to offer Poles inflated prices for their ancestral homes. Repercussions of a war that ended 50 years ago still linger. Tomasz Herbich, a 43-year-old archaeolo-



Marian Kurkowiec, who left Poland to find work abroad, returned when he heard about the Foundation’s business incubator. He now owns a successful garden-lamp shop in his hometown of Szczecin.



The tenants of the Foundation’s business incubator in Szczecin renovated the building themselves.

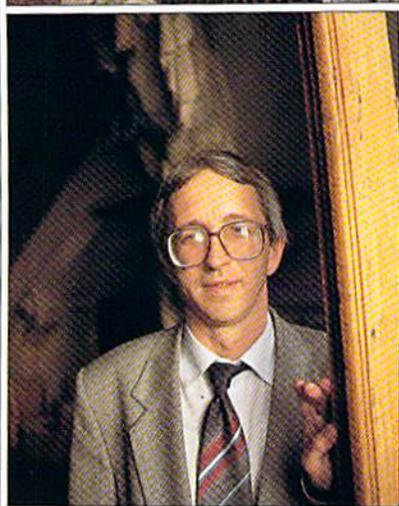
gist at the Academy of Sciences in Warsaw who also works in Germany, says that he "can't count the times German colleagues I've just met ask me if I hate them because they're German."

The strength of the Deutsche mark against the Polish zloty helped lure 6 million Germans across the border in 1994 to spend \$1.6 million in the Szczecin region. German trade and tourism, coupled with Szczecin's relatively strong port and an unemployment level lower than the 16 percent nationwide figure, make the region more prosperous than most. Górski, who was heavily involved in the Solidarity movement while working for the Academy of Agriculture, joined the Foundation in 1991. He now serves on the city council and is a member of the Union for Freedom Party, one of the many parties that formed when Solidarity split.

To understand how far Poland has come since 1989, one must first understand where Poland has been, says Górski. "In 1987, my family waited in line for eight and a half months for a refrigerator. We had to register on the line four times a day, seven days a week. Me, my wife, and our in-laws took turns standing in line. If we had failed to register, we would have lost our place. When our turn finally came, we had no say over the size, model, or which side the door handle was on." His colleagues are also anxious to describe their nightmares under the communist regime. One relates that when he worked in western Europe and went out for a beer, he was racked by guilt knowing that a single beer equalled two days of Polish wages. The center's accountant tells how she waited in line two and a half days for a pair of winter boots for her daughter, only to receive a pair of summer sandals.

Today, the cost of living makes it very difficult for the average citizen to enjoy a meal out or a new appliance every few years: The average monthly salary for a Polish worker is the American equivalent of \$300. Still, wages are considerably higher than they were before 1989, and consumers can find almost any item that would be stocked at an American shopping mall. Despite a 4.5 percent economic growth rate in 1994, the absence of lines and soldiers, and a Catholic church that is now officially recognized by the government, democracy is not embraced in all quarters. In the second set of Parliamentary elections in 1993, former Communists gained a majority of the seats and have since stalled on economic reforms and raised doubts about Poland's commitment to democratization. President Lech Walesa, once considered the nation's political savior, has only a 15 percent approval rating in the polls and is fighting an uphill battle to be reelected this fall.

"[Under communism,] people had grown used to having things handed to them, even if it were very little," says Górski. "Now, those few ben-



Dominik Górski, director of Szczecin's regional training center (top), often visits city hall in his other role as a city councilman. Growing up under communism didn't stop the Foundation's Witold Monkiewicz from learning all there is to know about

British and American rock music (left center). Because of recent currency changes, both new and old prices are posted (right center). Despite the destruction of World War II, most Polish cities contain at least one magnificently restored palace (bottom). *Wojciech*

“People had grown used to having things handed to them, even if it were very little. Now those few benefits have been taken away, and many do not know how to relate to free-market concepts.”



The Foundation's Barbara Szczerbińska organized a community outreach program in Bialystok that improved public safety.

efits have been taken away, and many do not know how to relate to free-market concepts like entrepreneurship and privatization. With the Communists, it had been an even playing field where everyone was poor; now, some are better off but some are even poorer. Change has been abrupt and extremely hard for many.”

The Szczecin center houses the largest of the Foundation's five schools that closely collaborate with its regional training centers. The school has graduated 300 public-administration and business students in three years. Students who pass a final exam after four terms earn a certificate recognized by the Ministry of Education; in September, new accreditation will allow the school to offer a three-year curriculum that will help students earn better public administration jobs.

The center buzzes with activity as two groups of local officials meet to learn about recent changes in national health-care legislation and a new system of benefits comparable to Social Security. Equipped with kitchen and sleeping facilities, the center can accommodate groups for several days and rents vacant rooms to the public, hoping one day to be financially self-sufficient.

The center's Polish-American Enterprise Club organized two business incubators in Szczecin; one incubator houses 20 small businesses and employs 200 people. The other is located in a garage that once housed cable cars. Marian Kurkowicz, who opened a garden-lamp shop with the incubator's help, had found work abroad after high school and began saving his money. When he heard about the establishment of the Foundation's business incubator, he figured the time was right to return to his homeland and pursue his lifelong dream of owning a business.

The city provided the property to the incubator and the club organized the tenants; Kurkowicz was among those who renovated the building. Twice a month, he comes to the region-

al training center to express concerns, receive training, or advise others. His dues go toward accounting and office services that the incubator provides. Kurkowicz says he's very happy to be home, in business, and playing hockey with his friends on the frozen Vistula River.

BIALYSTOK

If Barbara Szczerbińska were interested in politics, she could probably run for mayor of Bialystok. Walking its bustling streets, she greets every other person she passes. As the organizer of DIALOG, a

community outreach program sponsored by the regional training center in Bialystok and funded by the German Marshall Fund, Szczerbińska knows hundreds of the citizens of her hometown, to which she is clearly devoted. “I once considered studying oceanography in Gdansk, but I really didn't want to leave Bialystok,” she says. “Now my boyfriend is talking about us moving to South Africa; to go would be the most difficult decision of my life.”

Located in northeastern Poland, Bialystok anchors a depressed agricultural region about a half hour drive by car to Belarus. Because of the poor quality of the soil, crime, high unemployment, and economic



The fine architectural details of Cracow's centuries-old buildings evoke the city's rich past. At one time Poland's capital and the burial place of its kings, Cracow traces its history back to the 8th century.

despair through several generations, Polish journalists refer to Bialystok as “Poland B.” The need to help the city help itself was one reason it was chosen in 1991 to implement DIALOG. The program seeks to encourage citizens to respond actively to problems that concern them and, through their responses, build a civil society. Other components include citizen cooperation, public service, and local government responsiveness—all characteristics essential to democracy.

The citizens of Bialystok, explains Szczerbińska, felt that public safety was the city's most pressing concern. DIALOG invited all interested citizens to a series of four weekly training workshops. “There, they were taught to conduct meetings in



their neighborhood in which methods of improving public safety were proposed, discussed, and adopted," says Szczerbińska.

Among the improvements implemented were a neighborhood-watch program, the installation of a speed bump near a school, a city ordinance that banned consumption of alcohol in parks, and the distribution of 5,000 brochures on public safety. In the 1993-94 city council budget, funds were dedicated to the maintenance of citizen-initiated self-help projects, a first in Poland. Since then, a city clean-up project, after-school sports activities, outdoor cultural events, and a weekly radio show to promote DIALOG have all been launched. A 1993 seminar to demonstrate DIALOG's effectiveness attracted 50 delegates from 21 Polish towns, and today several regional training centers plan to implement the program.

Another group of citizens in Białystok was

concerned that children living at the Zacheta Housing Project had no place to go after school. DIALOG encouraged tenants to renovate four basement rooms into a center for recreation and to request that the chairman of the housing company pay for part of the renovation. Tenants volunteered their time, going door-to-door to raise the remainder of the funds and conducting the renovations themselves. Today, the basement is a center for recreation and after-school activities that the tenants are proud to show off to visitors. "It's one thing to have an idea and another thing to do something about it," says the tenant leader.

With the \$70 they won in a DIALOG competition for projects that make a difference, the tenants held opening ceremonies and a party. Over the clamor of ping pong, the tenant leader relates that plans are in the works to also build a steam room and hold a festival for Women's Day, a holi-

In Poland, one of the more popular methods of selling food, clothes, and other goods is outdoor markets such as this one in Cracow.

“Our parents...do not want to admit that they were forced to live under tyranny and oppression, in a world where they couldn't even be honest with their own thoughts.”



Grazyna Prawelska-Skrzypek, deputy manager of Cracow's regional training center, is frustrated by citizens who fought for freedom and have given up already.

day that was traditionally celebrated under communism. “Not everything is so quick to change when a celebration is at stake,” he says, grinning from ear to ear.

OLSZTYN

Three flights up at a community center in the village of Morag in the Olsztyn region, two groups of 17 young adults gaze intently as two Foundation representatives enter the room with their American guests. The groups generally meet twice a month as part of the Citizens Participation Program (CPP), which Rutgers' LDP, with funding from the Pew Charitable Trusts of Philadelphia, launched in November 1993 to promote economic and social development through citizen action. This evening they've convened to field questions at the request of Marcin Konieczny, the Olsztyn regional training center's 22-year-old wunderkind.

A law student who taught himself English, Konieczny is one of five regional coordinators who run CPP. Morag was selected to host CPP based on a sad set of criteria: a poor economy, high unemployment, and low election turnout. In Morag and four other towns in the region, Konieczny used LDP survey results to identify Agnieszka Malecka and Adam Pyjor as two citizens interested in formally organizing their friends. The Foundation's Witold Monkiewicz drove the two hours from Warsaw to help Konieczny persuade them that a smartly run citizens group could significantly change their community. In less than a year, the two groups have pressured local officials to improve roads and recreational opportunities and to provide funds for an alcohol- and drug-abuse prevention program.

Before 1989, such public gatherings as this informal exchange were forbidden; today, the collective expression of these 18- to 35-year-old young men and women is serious and skeptical. Monkiewicz, serving as translator, warns that citi-

zens are wary of strangers and that journalists are unpopular and still not trusted. For decades, the media in Poland were considered little more than a communist mouthpiece. Some traditions, says Monkiewicz, die harder than others. He is quick to add, however, that the group's very presence is evidence that its members are open to new ideas and are anxious to exchange information.

A show of hands indicates that only a few in the group voted in the last set of elections. They complain that except for an occasional leaflet

from a stranger, they received no information on the candidates, who got very little exposure because no local radio station exists. In tones hauntingly familiar to American ears, they add that only rich people run for office and that candidates are motivated only by personal gain.

They would rather discuss economics than politics, however. Most residents cannot find work, they say. As many black-market opportunities as legitimate jobs exist. Agriculture, a major employer in Olsztyn and throughout Poland, is an industry that has yet to make the conversion from small, inefficient, family farms to large, modern, cooperative enterprises. And while satellite dishes may hang from the terraces of

many apartments in the city, bringing European and American television into Polish homes, luring foreign businesses and investors to the region has been more difficult: International phone service, for example, came on line only recently.

Surprisingly, no one in the group has considered relocating to Warsaw or another urban center where more jobs are available. The Olsztyn region, one of the most beautiful areas in Poland, is known as the Land of Lakes. Hope, someone points out, lies in the region's ability to develop a tourism industry. “How could we leave our family and friends when struggling is something we've grown used to?” asks another. Monkiewicz, a for-



Accustomed to having their needs provided by the communist state, many senior citizens in Poland—like Irena Dziadulewicz of Bialystok—feel they may never reap the economic benefits of democracy.

mer history teacher and vice director of a Warsaw high school, says that "Poles are much more traditional than Americans and certainly not as mobile. Most of the people born here live here forever."

Still, most in the group feel that they're better off now than they were before 1989. The freedom to meet and exchange ideas is one reason. Asked if their parents feel that way, too, their response is an awkward silence. Someone explains that although the benefits enjoyed under communism weren't much, at least they were something. Now, many people have nothing. A debate ensues until the room dies down again. "Some of our parents choose to remember the good over the bad because they don't want us to think they lived wasted lives," says a voice. "They do not want to admit that they were forced to live under tyranny and oppression, in a world where they couldn't even be honest with their own thoughts."

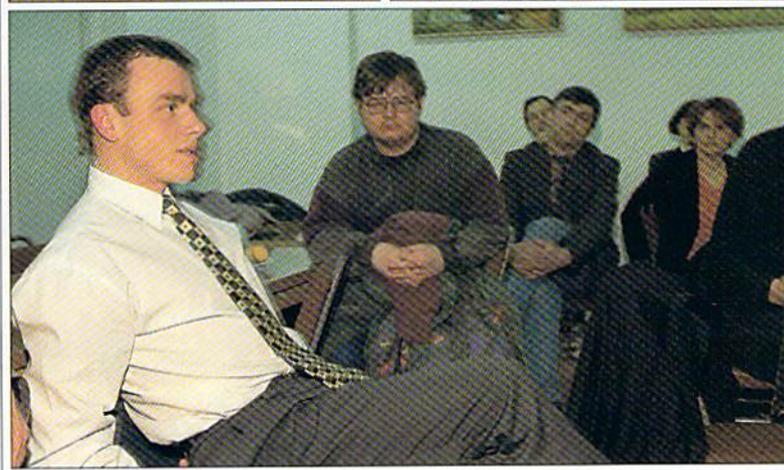
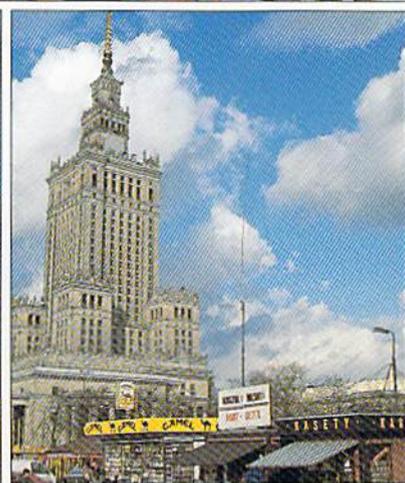
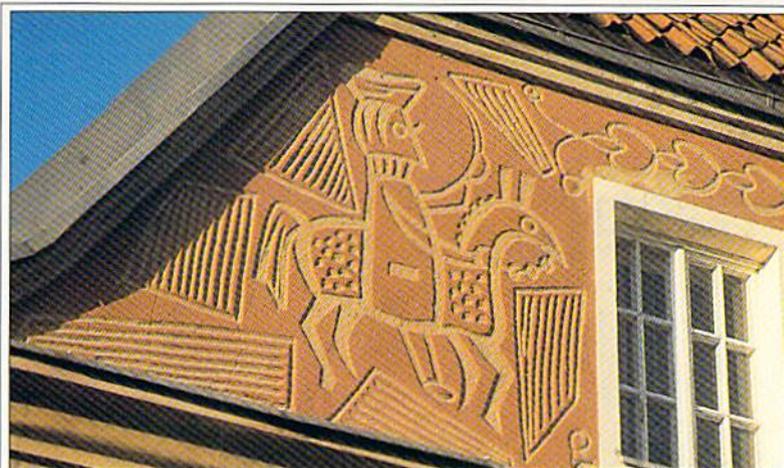
CRACOW

As a traditional Klezmer band performs Jewish and Odessian folk songs in the historic Jewish district of Kazimierz, the section of Cracow where Steven Spielberg filmed much of *Schindler's List*, Joanna Regulska translates the words to a song about Auschwitz, the Nazi death camp that recently marked the 50th anniversary of its liberation. While she isn't Jewish, Regulska's life, like those of most Poles, has been shaped by events that date back to the Holocaust. "My grandfather, the president of the power and light company that wired Poland, was a very wealthy man," she says. "He also led the civil defense of Warsaw when the Germans came in 1939. Under the Communists, he spent seven years in one of the country's hardest political prisons. If events had been different, my life would have taken a totally different path."

Strolling past the 15th-century Remuh Synagogue, Grazyna Prawelska-Skrzypek, deputy manager of the regional training center in Cracow, points out that Kazimierz exemplifies a sensitive issue that requires attention throughout Poland: abandoned land and buildings legally owned by people who are missing or dead. Consequently, their families, most of whom have disappeared or emigrated, retain the property rights under law.

Tomasz Herbich of the Academy of Sciences in Warsaw later relates that "a colleague of mine went back to Cracow soon after the transition with the deed to a small palace that had once been owned by his family. He had the locks changed and was declared the rightful owner. He now leases the property to a restaurant and as office space and makes a lot of money."

Such are the difficulties of democratic transition in Poland, where the courts, central govern-



ment, commissions, and other authorities are still sifting through murky legal and regulatory issues that can take decades to unravel. "The bureaucracy here makes it very difficult at times to do business," says Bill Seavers, an attorney in the Warsaw office of a New York law firm. "And in the small town we live in, we get the feeling that the mayor still isn't sure what his role is."

Disillusionment abounds throughout Poland. Prawelska-Skrzypek is frustrated by citizens who fought for freedom and have given up on it already. A mother of two teenagers, she complains that schools are too slow to change. Her kids still

(Continued on page 44)

Many Poles, proud of their folk art, rambling countryside, and modern cities, feel tourism could be an economic boon. The young people in Marcin Konieczny's citizens group (bottom) agree.

tutions and organizations. The center's 30 employees run forums for municipal board secretaries and treasurers, ecologists, legal advisers, and others. The center also runs its own school and Polish-American Enterprise Club and conducts liaison programs with France and Norway. Prawelska-Skrzypek boasts that any citizens group with an initiative may use the center if it satisfies a simple criterion: the desire to meet.

On a train back to Warsaw the next morning, the rolling hills and small farms that pass quickly into the distance provide a metaphor for Regulska's role in the Foundation. These last few visits to Poland, coupled with her 1993-94 sabbatical year in which she worked as an adviser to the minister of Poland's Office of Public Administration Reform, has Regulska contemplating both the Foundation's evolution and the changing role of LDP. "The Foundation has become strong, independent, and more self-sufficient," she says, gazing out a window. "Their

work is cyclical. New officials will win election every four years and need training. Students will continue to need our schools. But many initiatives are now in place. The Foundation does not need us like they once did."

For now, her future is tied to her directorship of Rutgers' newest international initiative: the Center for Russian, Central, and East European Studies, which incorporates LDP and Rutgers' Institute for Hungarian Studies. "We will continue our research on decentralization and begin to tackle new public policy and gender issues. We will also use the links we have developed with governmental and nongovernmental contacts and use our experience to work with countries throughout central and eastern Europe and in the former Soviet Union," she says. In Cracow this August, the center will sponsor its first event: a three-day international conference on democratization. Scholars and policymakers will confront such disturbing regional trends as a reduction in economic reforms, a move back to a

centralized government, and new barriers to local self-governance, such as Poland's proposed legislation to tax nonprofit volunteer groups and nongovernmental organizations.

Regulska's light blue eyes show deep concern as she addresses the future of Polish democracy. "Can local institutions find permanent, political space?" she asks. Without hesitating, she answers her own question: "It's impossible to predict." But the Foundation and Rutgers' LDP—as Regulska knows—have taught thousands of Polish citizens that democracy starts when an individual takes action. Leaving the train, Regulska hails a cab and heads directly to the Foundation. There is still work to be done. □

Bill Glovin, senior editor, and Nick Romanenko, photographer, would like to thank the Foundation in Support of Local Democracy and Rutgers' Local Democracy in Poland Program for their cooperation and generous assistance in making this story possible.

1995 RUTGERS FOOTBALL

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9/23	PENN STATE*
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10/14	Miami**
10/21	VIRGINIA TECH** <i>Homecoming</i>
10/28	PITTSBURGH** <i>Football Hall of Fame</i>
11/4	West Virginia**
11/11	Tulane
11/18	Temple**
11/24	BOSTON COLLEGE**

HOME GAMES IN CAPS
 ** BIG EAST Conference Games
 * Giants Stadium