<u>**Appendix 1**</u>

Profiles of Seminar Participants

Levan Berdzenishvili, an MP, is first deputy chairman of the Committee on European Integration in the Georgian parliament. A former political prisoner in the GULAG (1984–87), Mr. Berdzenishvili is a founder of the Republican Party of Georgia, first established in 1978. He is a full professor in Literature, chairman of the Civic Development International Center–Center for Pluralism, and former director of the National Library of Georgia (1998–2004).

Ales Bialiatski is a scholar of Belarusan literature and a human ights and democracy activist. A resister of Soviet repression, Mr. Bialiatski organized the memorial ceremony at Kurapaty, the site of thousands of killings by the NKVD in the late 1930s. In 1988, he was a founding member of the Belarus Popular Front. In 1996, he established the Viasna Human Rights Centre, which he has directed since its founding. Since 2007 he has been vice president of the International Federation for Human Rights. Mr. Bialiatski was sentenced in 2011 on false tax evasion charges for his human rights activities. He was released on June 21, 2014. Mr. Bialiatski received the Human Rights Defenders Award of the State Department in 2011 and the 2013 Vaclav Havel Prize.

Eric Chenoweth is a founder and co-director of the Institute for Democracy in Eastern Europe, which began in 1985. He was also a cofounder, with Irena Lasota, of the Committee in Support of Solidarity in December 1981 and was its director until 1987. Mr. Chenoweth worked in the international affairs departments of the American Federation of Teachers and AFL-CIO (1987–93) and was editor-in-chief of *Uncaptive Minds*, IDEE's journal of information and analysis on Eastern Europe (1988–97). As a consultant for the Albert Shanker Institute, he is principal author of Democracy Web, a web site for comparative studies in freedom.

Gábor Demszky, from Budapest, is a graduate of Eötvös Loránd University in both law (1976) and sociology (1979). He established the Foundation to Help the Poor in 1979 and the independent AB Publishing House in 1981. In 1988, he helped found the Network of Free Initiatives and the Alliance for Free Democrats (SzDSz) political party. He was elected Mayor of Budapest in 1990 as leader of the SzDSz list in local elections and served as mayor until 2010, winning four direct elections. He also served as a Member of the European Parliament in 2004. His autobiography in Hungarian, *Freedom Lost*, was published in 2013.

Miljenko Dereta was a film director and commentator from Belgrade. Having never moved his address, he lived in five states—the last being the Republic of Serbia. Mr. Dereta was active in anti-war and democratic parties starting in the early 1990s and founded Civic Initiatives in 1996, which he directed for fifteen years. He served two years in parliament (2012–2014) as an independent member in the political coalition, U-Turn (*Preokret*) where he worked on education reform, before returning as a counselor to Civic Initiatives, where he was active in numerous civic, humanitarian, and democracy projects. [See *In Memoriam* on page 64.]

Arkady Dubnov, from Moscow, is an analyst and expert on post-Soviet countries and Afghanistan. Previously an engineer at nuclear power stations, he has worked since 1990 as a journalist and commentator at numerous publications, news agencies, and networks. He was chief editor for Radio Liberty's Moscow bureau in 1990 and then deputy chief editor for *Democratic Russia*. Since 1998, he has been a political analyst for *Vremya Novosteya*, Moscow News, and RIA News and works with different European and American news networks.

Maria Dubnova, from Moscow, is deputy chief editor for the Fergana News Agency. A PhD in philology and a graduate from the Journalism Faculty at Moscow State University (1992), she worked at *Moskovskiy Komsomoletz*, *Kommersant*, and the journal *Novoe Vremya*, and reported for different newspapers and broadcasters such as *Vremya Novosteya*, and *Novaya Gazeta*. She is the author of several books, including *Tanks in Prague*.

Sergey Duvanov, from Almaty, Kazakhstan is an analyst, journalist, and human rights activist. since the mid-1980s. Mr. Duvanov founded the People's Front of Almaty in 1988 and was a leader of the Social-Democratic Party of Kazakhstan. From 1992–97, he was chief editor of an independent radio and television station in Almaty and from 1998–2000 was chief editor of the *Fahrenheit 451* newspaper. He was imprisoned and sentenced on false charges from 2002–04 for his coverage of corruption issues in Kazakhstan. He is currently head of the Kazakhstan Bureau of Human Rights' information department and editor of the newsletter "Human Rights in Kazakhstan and the World." He writes frequently for opposition newspapers and web sites.

Mustafa Dzhemilev is the acknowledged leader of the Crimean Tatar people, the historic ethnic community of the Crimea dataing from the 14th century. For his activities in the Soviet human rights and Crimean Tatar national movements, he was arrested six times between 1966 and 1986, spending a total of 18 years in the GULAG. Beginning in1988, he led the repatriation of 300,000 Crimean Tatars, exiled en masse in 1944 to Central Asia, back to their homeland. He was the elected chairman of the Mejlis, the self-organized parliament of the Crimean Tatars, for more than 20 years until 2013 and has been a member of the Ukraine parliament since 1998. He is currently banned from the Crimean peninsula by the Soviet occupation authorities and works from Kiev to defend the Crimean Tatar nation and to return the Crimean peninsula to Ukrainian soveriengty.

Smaranda Enache is founder and co-Chair of Liga Pro Europa, an independent civic organization based in Transylvania, Romania, which was begun in 1990, and is Vice-Chair of the Centre for Democracy and Reconciliation in South-East Europe, based in Greece. From 1998 to 2001, she was Romania's Ambassador to Finland and Estonia. She is the recipient of several awards for her civic activities and is the author of articles on democracy, ethnicity, human and minority rights, and intercultural education.

Charles Fairbanks is a senior fellow at the Hudson Institute in Washington, DC. Since 2006, he has lived in Tbilisi, where he is also professor of political science at Ilia State University and president of the American-Georgian Initiative for Liberal Education. He taught international relations at Johns Hopkins's Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies in Washington, DC and was the first director of its Central Asia-Caucasus Institute. He was deputy assistant secretary for human rights and a member of the policy planning staff of the US State Department in the Reagan Administration. Mr. Fairbanks writes frequently on the former Soviet Union in the *Journal for Democracy* and other publications.

Isa Gambar is a longtime leader of democratic forces in Azerbaijan. A founder, with Albufaz Elchibey, of the Azerbaijan Popular Front in 1988, Mr. Gambar served as speaker of parliament in 1992–93. In 1991, he led the revival of the historic Musavat Party in Azerbaijan and was its elected leader for 22 years. Since the 1993 coup of Haidar Aliyev, Mr. Gambar has been a leader of the opposition against the Aliyevs' dictatorship, including as head of the coalition Democratic Congress in the late 1990s and early 2000s and as the opposition's united presidential candidate in 2003. He is currently President of the National Strategic Studies Center in Baku.

Ivlian Haindrava is deputy secretary of the National Security Council of Georgia. In 1992–95 and 2004–08, he was a member of the Parliament of Georgia. In 1993–95, he was a member of the State Constitutional Commission. From 1996, he headed the South Caucasus Studies program at the Center for Development & Cooperation–Center for Pluralism, and later was director of the Republican Institute. He is author of articles on democracy, security, and conflict resolution issues.

Arif Hajili, a journalist by profession, is the newly elected chairman of the Musavat Party, Azerbaijan's historic pro-democratic, liberal political party. A leader of Azerbaijan's independence movement, Mr. Hajili was a member of parliament in 1992–93. As a member of the executive and deputy chairman of Musavat, he has been a leader of the opposition to the Aliyevs' dictatorship and imprisoned numerous times; most recently, he was released in 2012 from a 30-month sentence following his participation in an "unauthorized demonstration" in April 2011.

Tunne Kelam, an archivist by profession, was founder of the Estonian National Independence Party in 1989, the first registered non-communist political party in the USSR. In 1990, he was elected chairman of the Estonian Congress, the alternative parliament to the Supreme Soviet established by Estonian citizens. After the country regained independence, he was an MP and deputy speaker of the Estonian Parliament from 1992 to 2003. He remains a member of the executive of the Res Publica party. Mr. Kelam was vice president of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe in 1992–95 and, since 2004, has been an elected member of the European Parliament, where he serves on the foreign affairs committee and security and defense subcommittee. Mr. Kelam is a member of the board of trustees of the Estonian Museum of Occupations and of the Platform of European Memory and Conscience.

Vytautas Landsbergis, a musicologist by profession, founded and led the Sajūdis independence movement, and was elected the speaker of parliament in March 1990 when Lithuania became the first nation to declare independence from the Soviet Union. As such, he was the newly independent Lithuania's first constitutional president. In 1993, he became leader of the Homeland Union, which won elections in 1996, and he served as speaker of the Lithuanian parliament, the Seimas, from 1996 to 2000. He has been an elected member of the European Parliament since 2004. He is a founding signer of the Prague Declaration on European Conscience and Communism.

Irena Lasota is a founder and president of the Institute for Democracy in Eastern Europe, which was formed in 1985. She was also a co-founder, with Eric Chenoweth, of the Committee in Support of Solidarity in December 1981 and was its president until 1990. She was editor and editor-at-large of *Uncaptive Minds*, IDEE's journal of information and analysis

on Eastern Europe (1988–97). Ms. Lasota was expelled from Warsaw University in 1968 and imprisoned for her political activities. In the US, she taught political science at Yale and Fordham Universities. A freelance journalist for Radio Free Europe for 16 years, she is also author and co-author of numerous articles and reports on Eastern Europe, and editor of several series of pamphlets and books on democracy.

Mieczysław Puzewicz, a former Solidarity activist, is a Catholic priest. He founded and is chariman of the Volunteer Center in Lublin, where he has initiated and coordinated assistance programmes for the homeless, prisoners, refugees, street children, juvenile offenders and people with mental disorders as part of the overall campaign "Build the Civilization of Love." Mr. Puzewicz is also founder and chairman of Global Solidarity, which has coordinated civic and humanitarian programs in Cuba, Georgia, Serbia, Ukraine, and several African countries. Father Puzewicz served as a Bishop's vicar for youth in the archdiocese of Lublin from 1997 to 2010; was a spokesman for Archbishop Józef Życiński and the Archdiocese of Lublin in 2010–12; and is director of the diocesan radio station "eR." As a broadcast journalist, he reported on several pilgrimages of Pope John Paul II and of the pilgrimage of Pope Benedict XVI to Cuba.

Zofia Romaszewska is a Polish human rights activist. Together with her husband, Zbigniew Romaszewski, in 1976 she began the Intervention Bureau of the Workers Defense Committee (KOR), which was incorporated into the Solidarity trade union movement in 1980–81. During the martial law period, after imprisonment, she and her husband reorganized the Intervention Bureau, assisting thousands of repressed workers. The Romaszewskis organized International Human Rights Conferences in 1988 in Krakow and in 1991 in Leningrad, the first transregional human rights gatherings in the Soviet bloc (a third conference was held in Warsaw in 1998). Ms. Romaszewska directed the human rights bureau of the Polish Senate for many years in the 1990s and 2000s. She has continued her human rights defense work in current-day Poland.

Maciej Strzembosz is an independent film and television producer and screenwriter. A graduate of Warsaw University, he was a leader of the Polish student self-government movement during the martial law period. In 1990, he was managing director of the main Polish public television Channel 1 and in 1992 participated in drafting the new broadcast law. A founder and former director of two of Poland's most successful independent production companies, he has been chairman of the Polish Audiovisual Producers Chamber of Commerce (KIPA) since 2002 and involved in efforts at reforming media and copyright laws and in passing a new cinematography law that created the Polish Film Institute. He was co-author of the Pact for Culture, a joint government-civic agreement with the Citizens for Culture movement.

Petruška Šustrová is a Czech journalist, publicist, and translator. From 1969 to 1971, Ms. Šustrová was imprisoned on political grounds and she was an active dissident from 1971 to 1989. One of the first signers of Charter 77, in 1985 she was one of its three spokespersons. From 1979 to 1991, she was a member of the Committee for the Defense of the Unjustly Persecuted (VONS). From 1990 to 1992, Ms. Šustrova was Counselor and Deputy of the Czechoslovak Minister of Interior. From 2008 to 2013, she was a Member and President of the Board of the Institute for the Study of Totalitarian Regimes. In 2009, she was the recipient of the Czech Republic's highest award for journalism, the Ferdinand Peroutka Prize.

Elek Szokoly, a former political prisoner under the Romanian communist dictator Gheorghe Gheroghiu-Dej, is a civic activist, journalist and political analyst. Mr. Szokoly is a founding member and director of Liga Pro Europa in Tirgu-Mures, which is a member of the Centers for Pluralism. He was co-editor of the quarterly journal *Altera* and is a member of the Provincia reflection group in Transylvania. He has published numerous studies and articles on regionalism, nationalism, intercultural values, and human and minority rights during the transition period.

Andrius Tučkus joined the anti-Soviet human rights movement in 1975 and was a founding activist and youth leader in the Sajūdis independence movement in the late 1980s. Since 1996 he has been working as the advisor of former President Vytautas Landsbergis in his capacities as an MP and MEP.

Tatiana Vaksberg, a leading activist in the Bulgarian students' movement in 1989–90, is an award-winning journalist based in Sofia. A correspondent for Deutsche Welle Bulgarian Service and Radio Liberty Russian Service, her journalism has focused on human rights issues and the field of transitional governance. Her works include "Technology of Evil," a 2001 documentary film that investigates the communist-era campaign of forcible assimilation of the Bulgarian Turks; *Milosevic and the Tribunal: A Personal View of an Unfinished Trial* (2007); and a forthcoming documentary on the Khmer Rouge Trial in Cambodia (2015). She was awarded the Robert Bosch Foundation Literaturhaus Berlin and Herta Müller Scholarship for her book *State Security and the Kids*. She is co-translator of Varlam Shalamov's *Kolyma Tales* and Alexander Solzhenitsyn's *Gulag Archipelago* into Bulgarian.

Vincuk Viačorka is a leader in the Belarusan democracy and independence movement. Starting in 1979, he helped launch underground nonconformist youth groups, samizdat publications, and protest actions. In 1987, he co-founded the Confederation of Belarusan Circles and, in 1988, the Belarus Popular Front. He also co-founded numerous civil society organizations, including the Belarusan Language Association, the Belarus Humanities Lyceum, the Institute for Statehood and Democracy, and, in 1995, Centar Supolnasc, a member of the Centers for Pluralism network. He co-founded the Assembly of Pro-Democratic Non-Governmental Organizations, serving as its chairman in 1999–2000. Mr. Viačorka was chairman of the Belarusan Popular Front from 1999 to 2007 and helped build the nation-wide coalition United Democratic Forces of Belarus. As an early opponent of the Lukashenka dictatorship, he has been arrested numerous times, starting in 1996. Mr. Viačorka, known for his scholarship in defense of the Belarusan language and the humanities, is also editor of *Spadcyna* (Heritage) magazine.