



THE NEW ATLANTIC INITIATIVE  
of the American Enterprise Institute



## Solidarity Twenty-Five Years On- Lessons in the Struggle for Freedom

Tuesday, August 30, 2005, 9:00 a.m.–6:00 p.m.  
Artus Court, Ul. Długi Targ 43/44, Gdansk, Poland

### Speaker & Delegate Biographies

**Ammar Abdulhamid** is the founder of DarEmar, a publishing house/NGO dedicated to raising the standards of civic awareness in the Arab World through a wide-range of activities and programs, including the Tharwa Project, a program designed to shed light on the aspirations and concerns of religious and ethnic minorities in the Middle East. Mr. Abdulhamid is also the author of *Amarji - A Heretic's Blog* (<http://amarji.blogspot.com/>). He currently lives in Damascus, Syria.

**Peter Ackerman** is one of the founding chairs of the International Center on Nonviolent Conflict in Washington, D.C. Mr. Ackerman was the executive producer of the PBS documentary *Bringing Down a Dictator*, which chronicled the fall of Serbian dictator Slobodan Milosevic and received the 2003 Peabody Award and the 2002 ABC News VideoSource Award of the International Documentary Association. Mr. Ackerman was also the series editor and principal content adviser behind the two-part Emmy-nominated PBS series *A Force More Powerful*, which charts the history of civilian-based resistance from Gandhi's campaign in India to the U.S. civil rights movement, the dismantling of South Africa's apartheid system, and the fall of Chilean dictator Augusto Pinochet.

**Paweł Adamowicz** is the mayor of Gdansk and a Platforma Obywatelska party politician. Mr. Adamowicz was one of the organizers of the 1988 strike in Gdansk, eventually becoming the head-person of the city's strike community. In 1990 Mr. Adamowicz was elected to the City Council of Gdansk where he was a member until 1998, when he was elected the city's mayor. On November 10, 2002 he was reelected, winning seventy-two percent of votes cast. Mr. Adamowicz was awarded the Pro Ecclesia et Pontifice medal by Pope John Paul II and the Krzyż Zasługi by Polish president Aleksander Kwaśniewski.

**Hafez al-Bukari** is the founder and chairman of the Yemeni Center for Polling & Communications Research (MARAYA). He is also secretary general of the Yemeni Journalists Syndicate, regional manager of *Okaz Saudi* newspaper, and a member of the Freedom Committee of the Federation of Arab Journalists. A longtime freelance writer, Mr. al-Bukari was previously a correspondent for *Okaz Saudi*. He is also the former director of foreign media affairs in the information department of the prime minister's office and director of training at the Arabic Democratic Institute.

**Susana Alvarez** was forced to leave Cuba less than a year ago. Following her father's footsteps, she was a leader of the growing pro-democracy movement against Fidel Castro's regime. Her father, Pedro Pablo Alvarez, is the president of the Consejo Unitario de Trabajadores Cubanos (CUTC), an underground independent labor union. In March 2003, when the Cuban government cracked down on the pro-democracy opposition movement, it jailed seventy-five of its most active members, including Ms. Alvarez's father who is serving a twenty-five-year sentence. Ms. Alvarez has continued her father's work and is a vibrant leader of the CUTC's executive board, as well as its youth organizations and Frente Femenino, a women's association within the independent labor union.

**Akbar Atri** is a member of the executive committee of Takhim Vahdat, a pro-democracy student movement in Iran, and of the Committee on the Present Danger-International. Mr. Atri was forced to flee Iran earlier this year after the government accused him of attempting to incite a revolution. He is currently a visiting fellow at the Iranian Human Rights Documentation Center at Yale University.

**Edil Baisalov** is the president of the Coalition for Democracy and Civil Society, the largest civic grassroots network and watchdog group in Central Asia. Mr. Baisalov also edits the biweekly newspaper *Demokrat*. Before he was elected president of the coalition in 2002, he served as its executive director, responsible for its high-profile election monitoring reports and nation-wide civic education programming. From 2001 to 2002 he served as the executive director of the Association of Lawyers of Kyrgyzstan.

**Jan Krzysztof Bielecki** is the chairman of Bank Pekao, SA. He is the former minister for European Integration, a former member of parliament, and the former prime minister of Poland. He was also the co-founder of the Liberal-Democratic Congress and Freedom Union. Mr. Bielecki was an adviser to key Solidarity figures in the early 1980s. He organized economic publications and was involved in the historic strike at the Gdansk shipyard in 1980. Mr. Bielecki contributed to the formation of Solidarity's economic policy by developing a market-based approach as an alternative to Poland's communist state planning. He has published a number of articles in both foreign and Polish papers and magazines, including most recently the *Wall Street Journal*, *Rzeczpospolita*, *Gazeta Bankowa*, *Gazeta Wyborcza*, *Wprost*, and *Die Welts*.

**Zbigniew Brzezinski** is a trustee and counselor at the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) and co-chair of the CSIS Advisory Board. He is a professor of American foreign policy at the School of Advanced International Studies at Johns Hopkins University in Washington, D.C. He is co-chair of the American Committee for Peace in Chechnya. From 1966 to 1968 he was a member of the Policy Planning Council of the U.S. Department of State. Mr. Brzezinski was chairman of the Humphrey Foreign Policy Task Force in the 1968 presidential campaign; director of the Trilateral Commission from 1973 to 1976; and principal foreign policy adviser to Jimmy Carter in the 1976 presidential campaign. From 1977 to 1981, Mr. Brzezinski was national security adviser to President Carter. In 1981 he was awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom for his role in the normalization of U.S.-Chinese relations and for his contributions to the human rights and national security policies of the United States.

**J. Scott Carpenter** is the deputy assistant secretary of state for Democracy, Human Rights and Labor. He is also responsible for overseeing the Middle East Partnership Initiative at the Near East Affairs bureau of the U.S. Department of State. Prior to joining the bureau, Mr. Carpenter served as the director of the Governance Group for the Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA), helping to guide Iraq's political transition and to initiate a wide array of democracy initiatives. From May 2003 to July 2004, he served as a key adviser to the administrator, facilitating the formation of the Iraqi Governing Council (IGC), the formation of the first post-Saddam cabinet, the drafting and signing of the Transitional Administrative Law—Iraq's interim constitution—and the establishment of Iraq's first fully sovereign government. He also presided over the design and implementation of the largest democratization effort in one country since the fall of the Berlin Wall. Before joining the State Department, Mr. Carpenter worked with the International Republican Institute.

**Tran Dieu Chan** is a human rights activist in Vietnam and the editor of *Vietnam Insight*, which seeks to promote democracy in Vietnam. Ms. Chan speaks at universities and public forums worldwide and hosts radio talk shows to promote gender equality, health, Vietnamese culture and history, volunteerism, diversity and various social, political, cultural, and economic issues. She was a volunteer member of the Santa Clara County Charter Review Committee in 1998, volunteering for WEAVE (Women Escaping a Violent Environment) and other nonprofit organizations and community activities. Currently, she is the program director for Radio TNT in Sacramento. She was nominated Woman of the Year in 2000 by *Thoi Bao*, a Vietnamese newspaper in Northern California and featured by *Bao Nha*, a magazine in Sacramento, California.

**Kang Cheol-Hwan** was a prisoner in one of North Korea's prison-labor camps for ten years, until his release at the age of nineteen. In 1992 he fled to South Korea by way of China and began working with French journalist and historian Pierre Rigolout on *Aquariums of Pyongyang: Ten Years in the North Korean Gulag* (Basic Books, 2002), a memoir of his time in the North Korean prison camps and the first detailed account of these camps to be published in the West. Mr. Kang is currently a reporter for *Chosun Ilbo*, a South Korean daily newspaper.

**Lorne Craner** is the president of the International Republican Institute. Previously, Mr. Craner was the assistant secretary for democracy, human rights, and labor for Secretary of State Colin Powell and received the Distinguished Service Award upon his departure from the State Department. He joined IRI as vice president for programs in 1993. Mr. Craner was also the director of Asian affairs at the National Security Council under Brent Scowcroft and served as deputy assistant secretary of state for legislative affairs. He was the foreign policy adviser for Senator John McCain (R-Ariz.) from 1986 to 1989, serving concurrently as the Republican staffer on the Senate Central America negotiations observer group.

**Pavol Demeš** is the director for Central and Eastern Europe at the German Marshall Fund of the United States in Bratislava, Slovakia. He previously served as the executive director of the Slovak Academic Information Agency-Service Center for the Third Sector, a leading NGO in the country. He also served as foreign policy adviser to the president and minister of international relations. Prior to the “velvet revolution” in November 1989, he was a bio-medical researcher at Comenius University, Bratislava. In 1999 he was a public policy research fellow at the Woodrow Wilson Center in Washington, D.C. An internationally recognized NGO leader, Mr. Demeš has served on the boards of national and international associations and foundations and has been involved in civic democratization campaigns in Slovakia, Serbia, and the Ukraine.

**Christopher C. DeMuth** has been the president of the American Enterprise Institute since 1986. He was previously the managing director of Lexecon Inc.; administrator for regulatory affairs at the U.S. Office of Management and Budget and executive director of the Task Force on Regulatory Relief in the Reagan administration; lecturer and director of regulatory studies at Harvard’s Kennedy School of Government; and an attorney with the Consolidated Rail Corporation and the law firm of Sidley & Austin. Mr. DeMuth is the chairman of two family businesses. His articles on government regulation and other subjects have appeared in *The Public Interest*, the *Harvard Law Review*, the *Yale Journal of Regulation*, the *Wall Street Journal*, and elsewhere.

**Marko Djurisić** is a member of the Serbian parliament and president of the Executive Board of the Democratic Party (DS). He has been a member of DS since 1990. From 1992 to 2004 he served as a member of the board and later as president of his local party board in Novi Beograd. From 1996 to 2000 he was a representative on the local council of the city of Belgrade. Mr. Djurisić is currently serving his second term as a member in the Serbian Parliament.

**Heba El-Shazli** is the regional program director for the Middle East and North Africa at the Solidarity Center. Before coming to the Solidarity Center, she was the deputy regional director for the Middle East and North Africa at the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI). She previously served as NDI’s resident representative in Beirut, where she implemented programs to help develop and empower civil society organizations in Lebanon and the region. Ms. El-Shazli has twenty years of experience with organizing, political advocacy, and labor education.

**Mohammad Eshaq** is the former director general of Radio Television of Afghanistan (RTA). In 1978 he sought refuge in Pakistan. He returned to the Panjshir Valley in 1980 and aired programs in local languages and Russian. Mr. Eshaq also published a fortnightly news bulletin called *AFGHANews*. He served as the deputy minister of civil aviation in the Mujahideen government and published a weekly paper in local Afghan language. Mr. Eshaq served as the representative of the anti-Taliban resistance to Washington from 2000 to 2002 and was later appointed director general of RTA. After leaving RTA, he began to work for *Payam-e-Mujahid Weekly*, the main opposition paper in Afghanistan.

**Dan Fried** is the assistant secretary of state for European and Eurasian affairs at the U.S. State Department. Before coming to this position, Mr. Fried served as special assistant to the president and senior director for European and Eurasian Affairs at the National Security Council. He was the principal deputy special adviser to the secretary of state for the New Independent States from 2000 to 2001 and served as ambassador to Poland from 1997 to 2000. He has served in the Economic Bureau of the State Department, the U.S. Consulate General in Leningrad, the U.S. Embassy in Belgrade, and the Office of Soviet Affairs at the State Department. Mr. Fried was the Polish desk officer at the State Department from 1987 to 1989 and served as political counselor at the U.S. Embassy in Warsaw from 1990 to 1993. Mr. Fried was active in designing U.S. policy on Euro-Atlantic security, including NATO enlargement and the Russia-NATO relationship.

**Maria Gaidar** is a leader of the Youth Movement “Da!” which was founded to promote liberal civic involvement among Russian youth.

**Carl Gershman** was appointed president of the National Endowment for Democracy (NED) by the Endowment’s Board of Directors in 1984. As president, he has presided over the development of the Endowment’s grants program in Africa, Asia, the Middle East, Eastern Europe, the former Soviet Union, and Latin America. Under his leadership, the NED created the quarterly *Journal of Democracy*, the International Forum for Democratic Studies, and launched the World Movement for Democracy. Mr. Gershman is currently encouraging other democracies to establish their own foundations devoted to the promotion of democratic institutions in the world. Prior to assuming the position with the Endowment, Mr. Gershman was the senior counselor to the U.S. representative to the United Nations. In that capacity, he served as the U.S. representative to the UN’s Third Committee, which deals with human rights issues, and also as alternate representative of the United States to the UN Security Council.

**David Hawk** is the author of *The Hidden Gulag: Exposing North Korea’s Prison Camps* and the former director of the Cambodia office of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights. Mr. Hawk investigated the Khmer Rouge genocide, publishing groundbreaking photographs of prisoners and executions and original documents. Mr. Hawk founded the Cambodia Documentation Commission, which sought an international tribunal for the Khmer Rouge leadership as well as human rights provisions and mechanisms in the 1991 Cambodian peace treaty and UN transitional peacekeeping operation. In 1995 Mr. Hawk traveled to Rwanda to investigate the genocide for the U.S. Committee for Refugees and Amnesty International. More recently, he has consulted for the Landmine Survivors Network on U.S. landmine policy and humanitarian assistance projects in Cambodia and Vietnam. A former executive director of Amnesty International/USA, Mr. Hawk has served on its board of directors and on the advisory board of Human Rights Watch/Asia.

**Pavel Isayev** is the chairman of the board of the Center for Social Partnership, an NGO dedicated to developing civil society institutions and promoting democracy in the Yaroslavl region of Russia. He is also a board member of the Institute for Public Policy Foundation and an advisory council member of the Voice Association. Mr. Isayev was elected to the Yaroslavl City Council in 2004.

**Donald N. Jensen** is the director of communications at Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty in Washington DC. He assumed his current post in June 2002 after serving six years as associate director of broadcasting in Prague. A foreign-service officer from 1985 to 1996, Mr. Jensen joined RFE/RL after a two-year assignment in Moscow as the deputy chief of the U.S. Embassy's Political/Internal Section. Mr. Jensen worked on arms control issues for the Strategic Arms Reduction Talks and was a member of the first ten-member U.S. team to inspect Soviet missile bases under the Intermediate-range Nuclear Forces Treaty. He also served as a political officer at the U.S. Embassy in Sofia, Bulgaria. From 1980 to 1984 Mr. Jensen was a research fellow at the School of Education at Stanford University, where he was deputy director of the Law and Education Program. Mr. Jensen is an adjunct professor at George Washington University.

**Adrian Karatnycky** is the counselor and senior scholar of Freedom House, a nonprofit organization that promotes democracy, civil society, and the rule of law and monitors human rights, political rights, and civil liberties around the world. Previously, he was the assistant to the president of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO), director of research in the AFL-CIO's Department of International Affairs, and editor of the Interco Press Service, its international editorial features service. Mr. Karatnycky has written scores of articles on East European and post-Soviet issues. His most recent book is *New Nations Rising: The Fall of the Soviets and the Challenge of Independence*.

**Vladyslav Kaskiv** is the author and coordinator of the strategy of the Pora civic campaign, and former member of the Pora council and head of its Coordination Center. He was an active participant in the Ukrainian student movement of the 1990s and a member of the presidium of the public resistance committee "For the Truth!" From 1999 to 2004, he was the coordinator of the largest Ukrainian NGO coalition, "Freedom of Choice," which implemented various monitoring projects during the 1999 and 2004 presidential elections. In April 2005 Mr. Kaskiv was appointed adviser to the president of Ukraine. At the same time, he headed a working group on the transformation of the Pora campaign into a range of civil society institutions.

**Sue Koffel** is the founder and a supporter of The Math Project, a research project focusing on possible new approaches to mathematics curricula for verbal students, especially with regard to algebra. She and her husband are committed to the continuing renewal of the transatlantic alliance, emphasizing politics, defense, trade, and the impact of the alliance on countries seeking to be contemporary democracies.

**Zdzislaw Krasnodebski** is a professor of sociology and director of the Forschungstelle Ostmitteleuropa at the University of Bremen in Germany. He is a frequent contributor to *Znak*, *Rzeczpospolita*, and other leading Polish and German periodicals. His numerous books include *Max Weber* (1999) and *Postmodernistyczne rozterki kultury* (1996).

**Mart Laar** is the former prime minister of Estonia. Mr. Laar participated in the resistance movement against the Soviets and was nearly jailed in 1989, but was saved by international protests. He has been a member of the Estonian congress, Supreme Council, Constitutional Assembly, and the Estonian parliament, and an observer in the European parliament. In the first democratic elections after World War II, Mr. Laar led the Pro Patria political party to victory. During his tenure as prime minister, Mr. Laar introduced a radical reform program making Estonia one of the most successful transition countries in Central and Eastern Europe. Mr. Laar introduced the first proportional flat rate personal income tax in Europe and the first paperless e-government in the world. He restored strong economic growth, abolished corporate income tax, introduced radical pension reform, and helped Estonia integrate with the EU and NATO. Mr. Laar resigned from the post of prime minister in 2002, returning to academic activities.

**Sonja Licht** is the president of the Fund for an Open Society, Yugoslavia, one of the most vigorous partners of civil society in Serbia/Yugoslavia. She has been the CEO of the foundation from its inception and was a long-time member of the Yugoslav democratic opposition. For more than twenty years she researched social and political changes in Eastern Europe and the former Yugoslavia. From 1991 to 1995 she was co-chair of the International Helsinki Citizens' Assembly, a broad coalition of civic movements, groups and initiatives, which was founded in Prague in 1990. Ms. Licht is currently the chair of the Task Force on the Future of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, New York/Prague, established by the East-West Institute with Yugoslav and international membership.

**Anatol Lyabedzka** has been chair of the National Committee of the United Civic Party of Belarus since 2000. In 1990 he was elected deputy of the twelfth Supreme Soviet. In 1992 he founded and chaired the Belarusian Association of Young Politicians. In 1995 Mr. Lyabedzka was elected deputy of the thirteenth Supreme Soviet, where he chaired the International Affairs Commission. In 1996 he refused to accept the results of the referendum and continued to work in the disbanded 13th Supreme Soviet, in which he was elected deputy chair. In 1997 he was elected chair of the Belarusian Euro-Atlantic Association.

**Maung Maung** is the general secretary of the Federation of Trade Unions, Burma (FTUB). Mr. Maung is recognized by trade unions and human rights advocates around the world as the foremost expert and authority on labor rights in Burma. In 1988 Mr. Maung led workers' groups demonstrating against Burma's military regime and its denial of democracy. After the junta that controls Burma violently suppressed those demonstrations, he was forced to flee the country and establish a base of operations outside Burma. Since then he has devoted his life to opposing Burma's military regime and supporting workers' rights and democracy in his country.

**Alexander Milinkevich** is the founder and chairman of the Grodno public association "Ratusha," which serves as an NGO resource and human rights center providing publishing, information, and training support to local civic initiatives throughout western Belarus. Part of the "Ten Plus" coalition of democratic forces, he is currently a candidate for the presidency of Belarus. He is also a founder and the chairman of the Belarusian Association of Resource Centers, a coalition of over sixty regional NGO service centers throughout Belarus. From 1990 to 1996, he served as deputy mayor of Grodno.

**Bronislaw Misztal** is a professor of sociology and a fellow of the Life Cycle Institute at the Catholic University of America. He is the former president and founding member of the research Committee 48 on Social Movements, Collective Action and Social Change of the International Sociological Association. He has authored or edited eight books on such issues as social participation, social movements and social change. His articles have been published by leading professional journals. In his work he analyzes the sociological and non-rational aspects of European enlargement.

**Omar López Montenegro** was a founding member of the Association for Freedom in Arts, the Cuban Democratic Coalition, and the National Civic Union. In 1991 he took part in the public demonstration in front of Villa Maristas, headquarters of the Cuban political police. In 1992 Mr. Montenegro went into exile. Since then he has given lectures about Cuba in the United States, Bolivia, Mexico, Spain and the Dominican Republic. He has written several essays and published articles in the *Miami Herald*, *el Nuevo Herald* and *Encuentro en la Red*. He has been a delegate to the Annual Session of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights; the World Civil Society Forum and a delegate and speaker at the Civil Society World Assembly sponsored by CIVICUS, the World Alliance for Citizen Participation.

**Joshua Muravchik** is a resident scholar at the American Enterprise Institute, an adjunct scholar at the Washington Institute on Near East Policy, and an adjunct professor at the Institute of World Politics. His articles have appeared in *Commentary*, *The New Republic*, the *New York Times*, the *Los Angeles Times*, and the *Wall Street Journal*. Mr. Muravchik is the author of *The Imperative of American Leadership: A Challenge to Neo-Isolationism* (1996) and *Exporting Democracy: Fulfilling America's Destiny* (1991).

**Zsolt Németh** is a member of the Hungarian parliament and chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee. Mr. Németh was one of the founders of Fidesz and in 2003 he became vice president of the party. From 1998 to 2002 he served as political state secretary in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He is also a founding member of the Hungarian New Atlantic Initiative, and remains a member of the board of advisers.

**Ernesto Ortiz** is a poet whose work has appeared in a wide range of anthologies and magazines in Cuba, Spain, Mexico, and the Netherlands. While in Cuba, Mr. Ortiz was involved with the Center for Civic and Religious Formation, which offers courses on professional trades as well as lectures and discussions pertaining to the formation of civil society. Mr. Ortiz was an instrumental part of the team that published and disseminated the magazine *Vitral*, a central part of Cuba's emerging civil society. This magazine provides the Catholic community in Cuba a forum for open and uncensored discussion about the social fabric of their communities and the socio-political and economic problems they encounter. He was the magazine's editor and served as the webmaster and programmer for the magazine's website (accessible only outside Cuba). In 2003 he sought asylum in Amsterdam. Mr. Ortiz has worked with various organizations including Pax Christi, People in Need, and Cuba Futuro. He currently lives in Spain.

**John O'Sullivan** is the founder and co-chairman of the New Atlantic Initiative. He has been an editor of *National Review* since 1988. Mr. O'Sullivan has been the special adviser to Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, associate editor of the *Times* in London, assistant editor of the *Daily Telegraph* in London, and editor of *Policy Review*. He was the director of studies at the Heritage Foundation and a fellow at the Institute of Politics at Harvard University. Mr. O'Sullivan was made a commander of the British Empire in 1991.

**David Pryce-Jones** is the senior editor of the *National Review*. He is the former literary editor of the *Spectator*, and from 1966 to 1982 a special correspondent for the *Daily Telegraph*. In that capacity he covered the Middle East wars of 1967 and 1973. His publications include nine novels and thirteen works of non-fiction, including as *The Closed Circle* (2004) about the Arab world, and *Phoenix: The War That Never Was* (2002), about the ending of Soviet communism.

**Blanca Reyes** is the wife of Raul Rivero, the founder of an underground news agency for independent journalists and one of Cuba's best known writers. In March 2003 Mr. Rivero was arbitrarily arrested and subjected to a trial at which he had neither independent legal counsel nor the ability to present witnesses. He was sentenced to twenty years in prison. Upon his arrest, Ms. Reyes organized the mothers, wives, and daughters of the seventy-five political prisoners arrested with Mr. Rivero, founding Damas de Blanco (Women in White). The Damas de Blanco gather every week at Santa Rita's Catholic Church in Havana, attend mass, and march dressed in white carrying flowers throughout the streets of Havana. The Women in White is a fundamental development in Cuba's civil society; a spontaneous movement, it has faced little public repression by the Cuban government. Raul Rivero was forced into exile in March 2005. He, Blanca, and their adopted daughter live in Madrid, Spain.

**Zbigniew Romaszewski** is a member of the Polish senate and the former chairman of the Human Rights and the Rule of Law Committee. Since 1977 he has been a member of the Social Self-Defense Committee and of the Committee for the Defense of Workers (KOR). Mr. Romaszewski organized the Helsinki Watch Group, which monitored human rights' compliance with CSCE resolutions and edited the "Madrid Report," which documented compliance with human rights in Poland. Mr. Romaszewski was a member of the Solidarity Trade Union and its National Committee and was co-founder of the underground Solidarity Radio. He was jailed from 1982 to 1984. After his release from prison, he organized the first International Conference on Human Rights in Krakow in 1988, the second International Conference on Human Rights in Leningrad in 1990, and the third International Conference on Human Rights in Warsaw in 1998.

**Jacek Rostowski** has been a professor of economics at the Central European University in Budapest since 1996, where he is also dean of the department of Economics. From 1989 to 1995 he was a lecturer at the School of Slavonic and East European Studies at the University of London. From 1989 to 1991 he was an adviser in macroeconomics to the deputy prime minister and finance minister of Poland. Mr. Rostowski was a member of the Supervisory Board of the Polish Privatisation Society - Kleinwort Benson and the Polski Bank Rozwoju, S.A. He has published many books and articles about the macroeconomic aspects of creating a market economy in Central and Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union.

**Michael Rubin** is a resident fellow in Middle East Studies at the American Enterprise Institute where he studies domestic politics in Iran, Iraq, Turkey, Kurdish society, and Arab democracy. He was formerly a political adviser to the Coalition Provisional Authority in Iraq. He previously also served as a staff assistant for Iran and Iraq in the Office of the Secretary of Defense (2002–2004). Mr. Rubin has been a visiting lecturer at Yale University; in the Departments of International Relations and History at Hebrew University in Jerusalem; and at the Universities of Sulaymani, Salahuddin, and Duhok in Iraqi Kurdistan.

**Lord Salisbury** was a member of parliament from 1979 until 1987, when he did not stand for reelection. During these eight years he was particularly interested in foreign affairs, constitutional affairs, and Northern Ireland. He was summoned to the Upper House as Baron Cecil of Essendon, in the County of Rutland, by a Writ of Acceleration in 1992 and he became a life peer in November 1999. Lord Salisbury was also parliamentary under-secretary of state for defense, lord privy seal, leader of the House of Lords, and leader of the opposition in the House of Lords. He took a leave of absence from the House of Lords in 2002.

**Radek Sikorski** is the executive director of the New Atlantic Initiative and a resident fellow at the American Enterprise Institute. He was Poland's deputy minister for foreign affairs from 1998 to 2001. As the country's deputy minister for defense in the first democratically elected government after the fall of communism, he spearheaded Poland's drive to join NATO. From 1986 to 1989, Mr. Sikorski was a war correspondent in Afghanistan and Angola, contributing to the *Spectator* (London) and the *National Review*. He is the author of *Dust of the Saints: A Journey to Herat in Time of War* (1989) and *The Polish House: An Intimate History of Poland* (1997). His photograph from Afghanistan received the World Press Photo Award in 1988. From 1981 to 1989, Mr. Sikorski was a political refugee in the United Kingdom.

**Boris Tarasyuk** is the foreign minister of Ukraine. He served as foreign minister for the first time from 1998 to 2000. He broke with President Leonid Kuchma and became the foreign relations adviser to Viktor Yushchenko, the main opposition candidate in the 2004 presidential elections. After Mr. Yushchenko's victory, Mr. Tarasyuk became foreign minister again on February 4, 2005. His background includes service as deputy minister of foreign affairs of Ukraine; head of the National Committee of Ukraine on Disarmament; and head of the State Inter-Departmental Commission on Ukraine's Entering the European Council. Mr. Tarasyuk has been Ukraine's ambassador to Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg, and was the head of Ukraine's mission to NATO. He leads the Popular Front political party.

**Vincuk Viachorka** is the chairman of the Belarusian Popular Front. Since 1991, he has been a lecturer at the Belarusian Humanitarian education-cultural center. Mr. Viachorka graduated from the Belarusian State University with a degree in philology. He was one of the leaders of the first Belarusian non-governmental cultural organizations in the 1980's, Talaka and Majstrounia. In 1989 he helped found the Belarusian Popular Front, and in 1994 he was elected to be its deputy chair. He became the Front's chairman in 1999 when a faction of the Front loyal to its former leader, Zianon Pazniak, broke away and formed the Conservative-Christian Party.

**Lech Walesa** was a labor activist who helped form and lead Solidarity, communist Poland's first independent trade union. He worked as an electrician at the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk but was dismissed in 1976 for his anti-government protests. He gained numerous concessions from the authorities before his arrest and internment in the military crackdown of 1981. In 1987, he helped block General Jaruzelski's reform initiatives by organizing a boycott of the government referendum, and in 1988 he led a series of nationwide strikes. In 1989 he negotiated an agreement with the communist government, under which Solidarity was legalized and allowed to campaign as a political party in the upcoming elections. By the end of August, 1989, a Solidarity-led coalition government was in power. Mr. Walesa was elected president of Poland in 1990 and served as president until 1995. Mr. Walesa received the Nobel Peace Prize in 1983.

**Arnold Wellman** has been employed by the United Parcel Service (UPS) for thirty years. As corporate vice president of public affairs, Mr. Wellman is responsible for all domestic and international government affairs activities for UPS among the over 220 countries and territories it serves. Like all senior UPS executives, Mr. Wellman built his career in UPS operations. Mr. Wellman currently serves on the board of the U.S. Council for International Business, the U.S. ASEAN Business Council, the National Center for APEC Business Council, and the National Bureau of Asian Research. In addition to his thirty years with UPS, Mr. Wellman served three terms as a state legislator from Connecticut's 76th assembly district.

**Harry Wu** is the executive director of the Laogai Research Foundation (LRF), a nonprofit organization committed to documenting the Laogai system and other systemic human rights abuses in China. He is the head of the China Information Center (CIC), which publishes Chinese-language news and commentary websites directed at mainland Chinese readers. Mr. Wu was first arrested as a student for speaking out against the Soviet invasion of Hungary and criticizing the Chinese Communist Party. In 1960 he was sent to the Laogai, the Chinese Gulag, as a "counter-revolutionary rightist." Over the next nineteen years he was imprisoned in twelve forced-labor camps around China. Mr. Wu has received numerous awards for his human rights activities.

**Gina Zayas-Marrero** is a member of the Federacion Sindical Cubana, a Cuban exile labor group. She is also the acting international secretary of the Confederation of Nationally Independent Cuban Workers, which has been responsible for helping produce the Cuban Labor Violations Report. Ms. Marrero is also part of the International Group to Promote Social Corporate Responsibility in Cuba, which seeks to have foreign investors in Cuba comply with international laws regulating fair labor practices. She has testified on conditions in Cuba before the EU, the U.S. congress, and various cities throughout the world. She maintains contact with Cuba and has helped to sponsor exiled labor leaders.

**Krzysztof Zdziarski** is the country manager for Poland at the United Parcel Service (UPS). As such, Mr. Zdziarski is responsible for all the domestic and international activities of UPS in Poland. He joined UPS in 1999 as Operations Manager in Warsaw and was appointed Country Manager in 2001. In his years with UPS, he has directed the company's strategy to attain the highest levels of service within Poland in terms of product portfolio, service quality and workforce. In 2003 and 2004 Mr. Zdziarski led UPS's strategy for Poland's entry into the European Union, and recently participated in UPS' acquisition of Messenger Service Stolica, the leading domestic parcel delivery company in Poland. Mr. Zdziarski currently serves on the board of the Polish Express Association.