

In the last ten years, he was a guiding spirit and intellectual force for the Centers for Pluralism program of IDEE, which gathers democrats from more than twenty postcommunist countries in a democratic and civic alliance. This was a natural alliance and partnership for Jakub, who believed that the struggle for democracy and against communism was not national or even regional but international. As an analyst, he understood also that democracy was not a natural emanation out of communism but a system that needed to be instituted and, more importantly, a set of ideas that needed to be understood and taught in society. His analysis of postcommunism – as a new political system resulting from communism that could lead to various political outcomes – was elaborated at CfP Meetings, in articles for *Uncaptive Minds* and for the Network of Independent Journalists, for which he was a frequent contributor, and briefly as an analyst for OMRI.

In addition to his texts being translated into more than a dozen languages, he lectured in nearly all of the 20 countries represented in the Centers for Pluralism, always responding to requests from new members in the network with great pleasure as an opportunity to visit a new country, region, or city – or to visit again, since places, things, history, and ideas always carried with them interest and meanings. Mostly though, Jakub enjoyed helping colleagues in promoting the cause of democracy, whether it was Miljenko Dereta and Dubravka Velat in Serbia, Smaranda Enache and Luminita Petrescu in Romania, or Vahid Gazi and Novella Jafarova-Applebaum in Azerbaijan.

For me, Jakub was a friend, a teacher, and a model of a true intellectual in the highest sense of the term. Devoted to his joint disciplines, he was also a man of worldly interests and wide knowledge who had an abiding commitment to use his intellectual skills in the rational pursuit of freedom and democracy. Until I met Jakub and Irena, my world had been rather closed. It always struck me how excited Jakub was about many disparate things and ideas, having a coherency of interests without being constrained (like many of my friends on the left) by an ideological straightjacket. I will always be grateful for having been introduced to Jakub's encyclopedia of knowledge and his clarity of mind.

I, and all of us associated with the Committee in Support of Solidarity, IDEE, and the Centers for Pluralism, will miss him dearly.



Jakub Karpiński speaking with Estonian MP Mart Nutt and Smaranda Enache of Romania at the Kyiv conference on "The Rise of Nationalism in the Former Soviet Union," organized in November 1996 by IDEE and the Institute of Statehood and Democracy.

Credit: IDEE

Centers for Pluralism

Armenia National Committee of the Helsinki Citizens (Assembly – Armenia)
 Center for Civic Initiatives (CCI) – Macedonia
 Center for Democracy and Human Rights (CEDEM) – Montenegro
 Center for Development and Cooperation (CDC) – Georgia
 Center for Pluralism Bulgaria (formerly Free and Democratic Bulgaria Foundation) – Bulgaria
 Civic Development International Center (CDIC) – Georgia
 Civic Initiatives – Serbia
 Civil Society Against Corruption – Kyrgyzstan
 Crimean Teachers Council – Ukraine
 D. Aliyeva Society for the Protection of Women(s) Rights – Azerbaijan
 Democracy After Communism Foundation – Hungary
 Forum for Tuzla Citizens – Bosnia and Hercegovina
 Foundation for Pluralism (formerly Humanitas Foundation) – Romania
 IDP Association of Women – Georgia
 Inam Center for Pluralism – Azerbaijan
 Jaan Tonisson Institute – Estonia
 Karta-Memorial (Ryazan) Russia
 Kosova Action for Civic Initiatives (formerly Koha Foundation) – Kosova
 Latta Center for Pluralism – Chechnya
 Liga Pro Europa – Romania
 Milan Simecka Foundation – Slovakia
 Rebirth of Crimea Foundation – Ukraine
 STINA Press Agency – Croatia
 Supolnasc Civil Society Center – Belarus

Centers for Pluralism Partners

APADOR-CH (Association for Defense of Human Rights in Romania-Helsinki Committee) – Romania
 “Aydin” Center of Public Initiatives – Ukraine
 Azerbaijan National Democracy Foundation (ANDF) – Azerbaijan
 Center for Civic Education – Mongolia
 Center for Information and Documentation of Crimean Tatars – Ukraine
 Center for Political Research “Democrat” (CPRD) – Azerbaijan
 Citizens United to Monitor Elections (GONG) – Croatia
 Democracy Education Center – Mongolia

Directorio-Cuban Democratic Revolutionary Directorate – USA
 Foundation for Defence of Human Rights – Poland
 Free and Democratic Bulgaria Foundation – France
 Helsinki Foundation for Human Rights – Poland
 Institute for Regional Studies – Kyrgyzstan
 Institute of Statehood and Democracy – Ukraine
 Lam Center at Andrei Sakharov Museum – Chechnya
 Lion Society – Ukraine
 Prima Human Rights News Agency – Russia
 SOS '03 Election League – Azerbaijan
 Students' Union of Serbia (SUS) – Yugoslavia
 Support Center for Democratic Elections – Azerbaijan
 Tashkent Public Education Center – Uzbekistan
 Viasna Human Rights Center – Belarus

Centers for Pluralism Newsletters

The Centers for Pluralism Newsletter emerged out of the first CfP meeting in Warsaw in 1993. Its articles, information on NGOs, and address listing of the CfP Network became a widely used resource throughout the region and a model for other language versions, including a Russian version published by the Karta/Ryazan Memorial Center for Pluralism, a Ukrainian version put out by Institute for Statehood and Democracy, and the Azeri and Belarusan versions published by Inam and Supolnasc, respectively. Most recently, a Mongolian CfP Newsletter was published. Others used the CfP Newsletter as a model. Altogether these publications have benefited thousands of NGOs throughout the region.



Centers for Pluralism Profiles

Armenian National Committee of the Helsinki Citizens' Assembly Yerevan, Armenia

Anahit Bayandour, Director

Founded in 1992, the ANC-HCA has about 400 members in regional branches across Armenia. It works to promote democracy, civil society and human rights in Armenia, and promotes conflict resolution in the region. Its Trans-Caucasian Dialogue program organizes roundtable discussions with Armenian and Azeri participants and promotes the release of prisoners of war and efforts to find those missing in the war. It conducts civic education programs for young people and for refugees. ANC-HCA is the Armenian partner organization for IDEE's Networking Women in the Caucasus program.

Center for Civic Initiatives – Prilep, Macedonia

Goce Todoroski, Director

The Center for Civic Initiatives facilitates the development of democracy and civil society in Macedonia and involves young people in education and action to promote positive changes in their communities and country. CCI runs an NGO support center that builds cooperation among 80 NGOs in Prilep and the surrounding area and gives them access to equipment and training. Its education for human rights and tolerance program brings together children and teenagers for computer, theater and debate programs aimed at removing stereotypes about minorities. Its open mayor's office program promotes communication between local government and citizens.

Center for Democracy and Human Rights – Podgorica, Montenegro

Srdjan Darmanovic, Director

The Center for Democracy and Human Rights was founded in 1997 to promote democracy, human rights, economic reform, and the development of civil society. It works as both an activist organization and a think tank. In addition to providing direct and technical assistance to the NGO community, it publishes highly regarded and widely quoted semi-annual public opinion surveys while its quarterly *Transitions* publishes articles on foreign policy, the independence question, human rights, and economic reform. It has also organized a number of conferences on European human rights norms.

Center for Development and Cooperation – Tbilisi, Georgia

Ivlian Haindrava, Program Director

The Center for Development and Cooperation was established in 1996 to strengthen grassroots NGO activity in Georgia and promote cooperation among democratically oriented NGOs within the Caucasus. It educates the

public on political, economic, and social issues, providing weekly analyses to radio stations and independent newspapers; it makes legislative proposals, develops draft legislation, and analyzes proposed legislation on such topics as election laws, lustration, anticorruption, and self-governance. CDC members are widely regarded experts who are drawn upon for both national and international meetings and conferences on civic education, human and minorities' rights, and conflict resolution. CDC hosts all regional meetings of the Caucasus Centers for Pluralism.

Center for Pluralism – Sofia, Bulgaria

Mihail Berov, Director

The Center for Pluralism, originally part of the Free and Democratic Bulgaria Foundation, was established as a separate civic organization in 1995 and carries out a number of civic education programs. In 2002, it organized an international conference on the 1096 PACE Resolution concerning the opening of secret police files from the communist period; for the next elections, it plans to repeat its successful 1998 voter mobilization and education program.

Civic Development International Center – Tbilisi, Georgia

Levan Berdzenishvili, Chairman

Civic Development International Center (CDIC) works to strengthen, build, and develop civil society and civic participation in Georgia. The CDIC strives to promote an open society and economic freedom. It organizes roundtable discussions in the capital and the regions and debates on topics such as democracy, elections, and ethnic conflict.

Civic Initiatives – Belgrade, Yugoslavia

Miljenko Dereta, Director

Civic Initiatives works to foster development of civil society, build democratic institutions, and promote liberal democratic values. Its ongoing Democracy School Program includes topics such as tolerance, professional development for parliamentarians, community problem solving, and the decentralization of education. Its "Becoming a Citizen" program educates high school students in the rights and responsibilities of citizenship; and its NGO center is an important resource and meeting point for NGOs as well as the host for the highly successful Tim TRI training program.

Crimean Teachers' Council – Bakhchisaray, Ukraine

Dilara Setveliyeva, Chairperson

Founded in 1994, the Council supports teachers and schools and promotes education in indigenous languages. It works with teachers and educators to enhance active teaching techniques through workshops and seminars. The

Council also works with community members to support and promote active civic participation on local issues. It is conducting training of trainer workshops to teach local activists how to organize and lead civic forums to address and resolve issues important to the community. Ms. Setveliyeva has worked as a trainer with various IDEE projects such as the women's leadership programs in the Caucasus and Central Asia.

Democracy After Communism Foundation – Budapest, Hungary

Peter Bozzay, Secretary General

The Democracy After Communism Foundation (DAC) promotes the development of democracy, a free market, and a tolerant, pluralist society in post-communist Hungary and other Central and East European countries. DAC acts as a clearinghouse for information on internships and conferences abroad, sponsors trips of young politicians to Western countries, and serves as a public policy center.

D. Aliyeva Association for the Protection of Women's Rights Baku, Azerbaijan

Novella Jafar oglu Applebaum, Director

Founded in 1988, the Society works to defend women's rights, increase women's social and political participation, and promote democracy and civil society in Azerbaijan. It monitors conditions in prisons and offers legal assistance to those whose rights have been violated; conducts civic and election education training programs especially for non-urban populations and for refugees; carries out training programs on women's rights; and assists new NGOs. The Association is the Azeri partner organization for IDEE's Networking Women in the Caucasus program.

Forum of Tuzla Citizens – Tuzla, Bosnia-Herzegovina

Vehid Sehic, President

The Forum of Tuzla Citizens was founded in 1993 with the onset of the war in Bosnia and it became one of the leading civic organizations defending a unitary and multiethnic state. It carries out programs promoting multi-ethnic tolerance, fighting corruption, and encouraging local civic initiatives.

Foundation for Pluralism – Bucharest, Romania

Luminita Petrescu, President

The Foundation for Pluralism seeks to promote civil society, civic participation, and information sharing. Its long-standing School for Young Political Leaders has been a model program for teaching democratic values to emerging young leaders and it has conducted joint programs with DAC and Civic Initiatives. Last year, FfP implemented a new program entitled "Making

Political Agendas into a Citizens' Agenda." Also geared toward young political leaders, it focuses on ethics and morals in politics and ways to pursue political agendas based on constituent needs. The Foundation also organized an internship program for four CfP leaders from the Caucasus and Central Asia to learn more about how citizens can influence the political agenda.

IDP Womens' Association -Tbilisi, Georgia

Julia Kharashvili, Director

Founded in 1995, the primary mission of the association is to offer internally displaced women the opportunity to participate fully in Georgia's social and political life. It offers medical and psychological assistance to displaced women and children, conducts civic education programs, and co-organizes summer peace camps in Eastern Europe for children from Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Georgia, including from the breakaway regions of Abkhazia and Ossetia. It serves as the Georgian partner for IDEE's Networking Women in the Caucasus program.

Inam (Trust) Center for Pluralism – Baku, Azerbaijan

Vahid Gazi, Director

Inam Center for Pluralism, established in 1995, is an information, resource, and coordinating center for NGOs, journalists, and students. Since its inception, it has served as a window for Azerbaijan to Eastern Europe, facilitating over 100 exchanges and internships through different CFP and IDEE programs. Inam organizes training programs for NGO and civic activists on human rights, the transition to democracy, and social activism. It also publishes and distributes pamphlets on related subjects as well as the Azeri-language Centers for Pluralism newsletter, *Third Sector*.

Jaan Tõnisson Institute – Tallinn, Estonia

Agu Laius, Director

The Jaan Tõnisson Institute (JTI) is a non-governmental educational and research center that organizes a broad range of activities promoting democratic development, regional cooperation, and European integration. JTI helped initiate and run the Roundtable of Estonian Non-Profit Organizations which is a public and open form of cooperation for Estonian non-profit organizations. JTI's director is also heading the newly formed national forum aimed at improving ethnic relations in Estonia.

Karta/Memorial – Ryazan, Russia

Andrei Blinushov, Director

Karta/Memorial-Ryazan, a regional branch of the Memorial Society established in 1989, supports the development of human rights, civil society, and

the independent press. It published the Russian language edition of the *Centers for Pluralism Newsletter* and carries out a number of human rights campaigns, including promotion of a law on alternative civil service, and protests against espionage accusations against scholars and journalists. It is working to develop a human rights network to encourage NGO and human rights activists to defend colleagues facing persecution. Its quarterly journal *Karta* includes information on human rights and democratization issues throughout the former Soviet Union.

Kosovo Action for Civic Initiatives – Pristina, Kosovo

Ylber Hysa, Chairman

KACI was founded in 1998 as an action council and think tank on civil society. It played a leading role in promoting NGOs in the immediate aftermath of the war in 1999 and led a multiethnic NGO monitoring coalition for the November 2000 and 2002 local elections and November 2001 parliamentary elections, carrying out a highly accurate parallel vote count. It organizes roundtable discussions bringing together representatives of the Serbian and Albanian ethnic communities, and holds public fora with prominent speakers.

LATTA – Grozny, Chechnya

Lecha Ilyasov, Director

LATTA was founded in 2002 and works to disseminate information about the crisis in Chechnya, to find a peaceful solution to the war, and to rebuild the civil society in war-torn Chechnya. LATTA members gather information and produce and distribute *Dispatches from Chechnya*, an information bulletin begun in September 2000 that provides first-hand reports on the humanitarian and human rights crisis in Chechnya and the refugee camps. *Dispatches* is posted in English on the website of IDEE (www.idee.org) and is distributed directly by email and faxed to leading policymakers, human rights and humanitarian organizations, journalists, and members of the Centers for Pluralism Network.

Liga Pro Europa – Tirgu Mures, Romania

Smaranda Enache and Istvan Haller, Co-Directors

Liga Pro Europa, founded in 1989, is a membership organization that works to promote democracy and inter-ethnic tolerance, cooperation and dialogue. Its Intercultural Center carries out seminars, round-table discussions, summer camps, cultural, and sporting events, and publishes theoretical research on the problems of multi-ethnic cooperation. Its College of Democracy Program involves young civic and political leaders in community development projects. The Human Rights Office monitors the observance of human and minority rights and the Documentation Center maintains a database on minorities. Liga publishes the quarterly journal *Alterra* and a monthly newsletter on its activities.

Rebirth of Crimea Foundation – Bakhchisaray, Ukraine

Lutfi Osman, Program Director

The Rebirth of Crimea Foundation (RCF) is dedicated to improving the condition of the Crimean Tatar community, educating it in the fundamentals of democracy, and improving conditions for Crimean NGOs. It serves as a clearinghouse for NGO development in the region, assisting new NGOs in establishing themselves and existing NGOs in finding funding. It publishes *Gunsel*, a Crimean Tatar language, Latin-script journal focusing on current developments in Crimea as well as cultural and literary topics.

STINA Press Agency – Split, Croatia

Stojan Obradović, Director

STINA coordinates the Network of Independent Journalists, a Centers for Pluralism initiative to facilitate cross-border reporting and cooperation among independent journalists and publications throughout the region. The NIJ gathers together a network of over 30 journalists from 20 countries and regions, who contribute original articles to the *Weekly Service*, which is distributed to over 250 media outlets across the region. STINA also produces its own regional news service and carries out media and educational programs to promote an independent media free of bias.

Supolnasc (Civic Society Center) – Minsk, Belarus

Siarhiej Mackievič, Chairman

Supolnasc was established in November 1995 with the aim of stimulating democratic initiatives and promoting cooperation among NGOs in Belarus. It helped to form and coordinate the Assembly of Pro-Democratic NGOs, which now brings together over 650 organizations to promote NGO cooperation, pluralism, and human rights. Supolnasc was a key center in the mobilization campaign for the 2001 presidential elections and carries out a variety of civic education and training programs, and its NGO consultation center and regional centers offer advice to other NGOs.