

Civil Courage

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Acts of steadfast resistance to evil at great personal risk
which have taken place deliberately, over time.

The Newsletter of the Northcote Parkinson Fund
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Rafael Marques, Angolan Journalist and Educator, Selected as Winner of the 2006 Civil Courage Prize

His Struggle against Rights Abuses and Corruption Seeks Wider Support for Reforms in Government

Rafael Marques de Morais will be awarded the Civil Courage Prize of the Northcote Parkinson Fund in a ceremony in New York on October 18 in recognition of his tenacious leadership in the struggle for reform of repressive and corrupt policies of the government of the Republic of Angola, whose President, Eduardo dos Santos, was last elected in 1992.

Marques's career as a journalist, public official and representative of humanitarian organizations has been marked by conflicts with the government of Angola, where, Marques says, "corruption can be defined...as the main institution of the state." Himself a victim of the regime, Marques was imprisoned in 1999 for 40 days without charges, ten of them incommunicado, after he said in a newspaper article that the President was responsible "for the destruction of the country" and "accountable for the promotion of incompetence, embezzlement and corruption."

He was tried and convicted of the charge of abuse of the press resulting in "injury" to the President. On appeal, his sentence was suspended and he was ordered to pay damages to the President. His release, however, took place in the wake of wide protests from humanitarian groups worldwide, and his subsequent case, presented by the Open Society Justice Initiative and INTERIGHTS to the UN Human Rights Committee, resulted in a ruling that Angola had violated the freedom of expression of a journalist and a call for broad liberalization of the Angolan regime.

After his release from detention, Marques turned his attention to efforts to end the civil war in Angola. He organized a coalition of 250 religious and civic leaders who called for a peaceful settlement. A successor group, launched in 2001, stimulated the first public, independent discussion of the war and took its call for a ceasefire to Lisbon and the European Parliament.

The situation in Angola has attracted wide international attention, partly as a result of Marques's staunch efforts to call attention to abuses

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Rafael Marques de Morais
Winner of the Civil Courage Prize
for 2006

2005 Winner Hailed for Attack on Putin

Politkovskaya's New Book Describes Failing Policies

In her recently-published book, **Anna Politkovskaya**, winner of the 2005 Civil Courage Prize, argues forcefully that there is little to admire about Vladimir Putin or the Russia of today.

A scathing critique of current government corruption and mismanagement, as well as the tragic war in Chechnya,

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Politkovskaya Book Sees Russian Policy Failures

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Politkovskaya portrays Russia as a country where decency is punished and murder is simply a way of getting to the top.

She is one of Russia's "most stridently indignant journalists", according to reviewer Robert Legvold in *Foreign Affairs*, "who has a way of driving the point home with passion drawn from concrete personal stories." He continues, "Most of the book is about, as she says, life in Putin's Russia, not Putin's role. Still, she asks, 'Why do I dislike Putin?' and answers, because of his Chekist mentality, his 'matter-of-factness worse than a felony, his cynicism, his small-minded pursuit of power — and, most of all, because, by guile or indifference, he presides over a Russia slinking back towards its Soviet past.' "

The review in *Booklist* by Vernon Ford says that, according to Politkovskaya, Putin's "most notorious ploy is the Second Chechen War." But she also cites "corruption at every level of government [that] seems to be the order of the day."

The New York Times calls the book "a searing portrait of a country in disarray and of the man at its helm, from "the bravest of Russian journalists." The *New Statesman* hails her as 'a lone voice crying in the wilderness,' according to the *Times*, which reports her denunciation of the West "for its unqualified embrace of the Russian leader."

Putin's Russia: Life in a Failing Democracy, Metropolitan Books, Henry Holt & Co., 2005, \$15.75 from Amazon.com.

Outspoken Critic of Regime:

Marques Seeks Reform in Angola

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there. John Reed of the *Financial Times* wrote last year that "with oil companies jostling for concessions, there are concerns that a country regarded as one of the most corrupt is under little pressure to improve governance."

Decimated by the brutal civil war that raged for 30 years before and after independence was gained from Portugal, Angola lost half a million people in that conflict, which was supported by the Soviet Union and Western powers and their surrogates. Over four million Angolans were displaced. All but a small part of the population still lives in dire poverty, while Angolan elites have benefited from rising oil and diamond revenues. Angolans reportedly remain deeply skeptical of possibilities for change under the dictatorial regime.

Marques has noted, "This government has always been supported. The only way it has been able to maintain itself is through international forces," an indirect reference to oil and diamond mining interests, including those in the US.

His own greatest impact on the situation came from his work between 1999 and 2002, in the view of his sponsors for the Civil Courage Prize. During those years, with the aid of the Open Society Institute, he wrote extensively about the hardships endured by the populations of oil-rich Cabinda Province and of the Lunda Provinces, a main site of the diamond trade. Despite government revenues in the Lunda region that now exceed \$1 billion annually, there has been practically no public investment there over the past four decades. His unvarnished criticisms of the Angolan army's brutality and the malfeasance of the government and foreign oil interests put him at extreme personal risk. However, in 2002 his efforts aided an endeavor in 2003 to discuss elections and to convene a conference on Cabinda Province and reform there.

Marques, who was born in 1971, has pursued a career that has included journalism and acting, in addition to his activities in the sphere of human rights. At the time of the first-ever democratic elections, following the 1991 peace accord signed by the MPLA government and UNITA rebels, he began to work at the *Jornal de Angola*, the country's only newspaper. In 1992, he covered the meetings between President dos Santos and the UNITA leaders to prevent a return to war. His subsequent involvement in labor disputes at the *Jornal* in 1995 forced him to leave Angola for a year, whereupon he returned to freelance for Reuters and others, as well as write regularly for weekly independent papers. More recently, he has worked as representative in Angola for the Open Society Initiative for Southern Africa, where his main aim was to aid in teacher training programs.

At present, Marques is studying anthropology at the University of London. His family remains in Angola. His publication of criticisms continues via the worldwide web and other media.

Humanitarian Groups Provide Nominees for Civil Courage Prize

In a new series, the Northcote Parkinson Fund salutes organizations engaged in the struggle for human rights in the face of intransigent authorities bent on thwarting democracy. In this issue, we highlight Human Rights First and the Open Society Institute which have nominated winners of the Civil Courage Prize over the years.

Human Rights First:

One of the world's foremost human rights advocacy organizations, Human Rights First was established in 1978 and has worked in the



Maureen Byrnes, Exec. Dir. of Human Rights First, and former U.S. President Jimmy Carter, at the May 2006 Human Rights Defender Policy Forum at The Carter Center, Atlanta, GA.

US and abroad to create a more secure and humane world — advancing justice, human dignity and respect for the rule of law. All activities are supported by private contributions and no government funding is accepted.

The organization has supported and worked with frontline rights activists around the world — in places like Guatemala, Russia, Northern Ireland, Egypt, Zimbabwe and Indonesia. It has also been an advocate for the rights of refugees seeking asylum in the US. Human Rights First has long fought to strengthen systems of accountability in countries where human rights violations occur, especially the worst human rights crimes, like torture, genocide, crimes against

humanity and war crimes. Michael Posner, Human Rights First president, led the organization's delegation to the Rome conference that pressed for adoption of the International Criminal Court (ICC) statute. Advocacy efforts in support of the McCain Amendment which bans US soldiers from engaging in cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment of prisoners, were spearheaded by Human Rights First.

Representatives of Human Rights First played a leading role also in the 2006 Human Rights Defenders Policy Forum held at the Carter Center in Atlanta and co-chaired by former U.S. President Jimmy Carter. It focused on the timely topic of the central role of human rights defenders both in building the essential foundations for democracy and ensuring its stability. Human Rights First nominated Arnold Tsunga of Zimbabwe and Munir Said Thalib of Indonesia, who won Civil Courage Prizes. More information can be found at www.humanrightsfirst.org.

Open Society Institute:

The Open Society Institute (OSI) was created in 1993 by the investor and philanthropist George Soros to support his foundations in Central and Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. At present the Soros foundations network encompasses more than 60 countries, including the US. Its aims include the shaping of public policy and

the promotion of democratic governance and human rights and economic, legal and social reform. On a local level, OSI implements a range of initiatives to support the rule of law, education, public health and independent media. These foundations are autonomous institutions established to initiate and support open society activities. In addition to aid from OSI, many of the foundations receive further funding from other sources.

A major effort of OSI has been the Justice Initiative. Its endeavors have been dedicated to law reform assistance in the context of increasing globalization. While working with institutions to achieve broad reforms, it has not neglected support for individual cases like that of the 2006 Civil Courage Prize-winner, Raphael Marques de Morais. He was nominated for the prize by OSI, which also nominated the 2005 winner, Min Ko Naing, a leader in the struggle for democracy in Burma. Additional information on OSI may be found at www.soros.org.



George Soros, founder of the Open Society Institute

NPF Trustee Profile: Enid C.B. Schoettle

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Enid C.B. Schoettle joined the Board of Trustees in 2005. Currently an independent consultant on international affairs to private foundations and the US Government, from 1996-1997 she was Chief of Advocacy and External Relations of the UN Department of Humanitarian Affairs. From 1993-1996 she served on the National Intelligence Council as the National Intelligence Officer for global and multilateral issues, where she was responsible for intelligence

estimates on such topics as international humanitarian emergencies, migration flows and UN peacekeeping operations.

From 1976-1991, Schoettle was on the senior program staff of the Ford Foundation, where she expanded Ford's grants on international security, international organizations and public international law, as well as Eastern and Central Europe. Schoettle also has written a number of monographs and articles on such topics as nuclear non-proliferation, US science policy, international peacekeeping, UN financing and the impact of globalization on human security.

Schoettle also serves on several non-profit boards, including the Henry L. Stimson Center in Washington, D.C., the Visiting Committee to the Department of Humanities at MIT, and the Board of Trustees of The Philadelphia Award. She is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations and recipient of the National Intelligence Distinguished Service Medal.

She is married to Herbert S. Okun, a retired US Foreign Service officer, who was Ambassador to the UN, the German Democratic Republic and the SALT II Talks. He also served as a member of the UN International Narcotics Control Board and as a UN mediator in the former Yugoslavia.

The Civil Courage Prize

THE CIVIL COURAGE PRIZE of the Northcote Parkinson Fund is awarded annually by the Trustees to honor civil courage—steadfast resistance to evil at great personal risk—rather than military valor. The acts that the Prize recognizes should have taken place deliberately over time. It may be awarded posthumously. By increasing awareness of civil courage, the Fund's trustees hope to encourage that virtue. The value of the Prize is \$50,000 for a living recipient.

The Fund, which supports economic and political liberalism, has provided grants also for public television programs espousing free enterprise and played a significant role in the evolution toward democracy of Eastern European countries. The Fund was established in 1987 by John Train, Chairman.

NOMINATIONS for the Civil Courage Prize are solicited primarily from non-profit, non-governmental organizations worldwide. The office of the Northcote Parkinson Fund and The Civil Courage Prize may be reached by email via the Nominations page on our website: www.civildcouragprize.org.