

Civil Courage Prize

for steadfast resistance to evil at great personal risk

Newsletter of the NORTHCOTE PARKINSON FUND

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WINNERS OF 2004 PRIZE

Madhuku of Zimbabwe and Baghi of Iran Win 2004 Prizes

Posthumous Prize Awarded to al-Latif al-Mayah of Iraq

THE CIVIL COURAGE PRIZE for 2004 was awarded to two honorees, Emadeddin Baghi of Iran and Lovemore Madhuku of Zimbabwe at a ceremony held October 12, 2004 in New York at the Harold Pratt House. A posthumous prize was awarded to Abdul al-Latif al-Mayah of Iraq.

Emadeddin Baghi, an Iranian journalist, historian and prolific author, continually risked his life over 20 years campaigning for human rights and a secular state in Iran. In his writing, Baghi has exposed the role of the government in the assassination of intellectuals and activists. Of his 20 books, six are banned in Iran. He also founded the Prisoners' Rights Committee, which helps defend intellectuals imprisoned for espousing pro-democracy opinions.

As editor of the newspaper *Fatb*, he called for a democratic approach to religion and in his first book argued for an Islam open to individual understanding rather than clerical interpretation. Himself a former revolutionary and theology student, Baghi rejected theocracy and allied himself with a movement of reform. At great personal risk, Baghi questioned the execution of opponents of Ayatollah Khomeini, and continued his crusade against the government



Chairman John Train delivers one of two 2004 Civil Courage Prize checks and a Certificate to Lovemore Madhuku of Zimbabwe.

throughout the '80s and '90s. During the latter decade he collaborated in writing about the murders of 80 secular writers, accusing the government of overt involvement. In 2000, he was arrested and placed in solitary confinement for apostasy and endangering the security of the state. Released in 2003, he has repeatedly been summoned to court and recently was given a one year suspended sentence for reasons never made clear. Born in 1969, Baghi lives in Tehran, is married and has three daughters. Because of action by the Iranian authorities, he was unable to leave Iran to attend the CCP award ceremony.

Lovemore Madhuku has led many peaceful demonstrations in Zimbabwe, with the aim of encouraging democratic government in Zimbabwe.

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N.Y. and D.C. Groups Meet 2004 Prize-winner Madhuku

THE 2004 CIVIL COURAGE PRIZE-WINNER Lovemore Madhuku, thanks to financial support from the Richard Gilder Initiative, visited New York and Washington for discussions with senior officials and academic and other groups on the situation in Zimbabwe, where he has campaigned for the liberalization of the country's political life.

Dr. Madhuku said he was very pleased with the extensive program for his visit to the U.S., which gave him "a valuable opportunity to share our

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Africa Is Changing, But Not Zimbabwe

Madhuku is the only man to have beaten Mugabe

Edited from the article
by Peter Godwin,
Newsweek International

MARCH 28 ISSUE—A month or so ago I found myself at a dinner in a New York loft with Lovemore Madhuku, a Zimbabwean pro-democracy activist (and head of the National Constitutional Assembly), who was here to collect the prestigious Northcote Parkinson Civil Courage Prize “for steadfast resistance to evil at great personal risk.” He and I share a common background. Both Zimbabweans, one black and one white, we grew up in the eastern highlands there, on the border with Mozambique.

Madhuku is a slight, straight-backed man in his mid-30s, softly spoken and self-effacing. “Have you ever been arrested?” our hostess asked Madhuku, trying to coax him

into the conversation. He cocked his head and thought for a moment. “Eleven—no, 12 times.” Several resulted in torture. After the last one he was so badly beaten by pro-government thugs that he was left in the bush for dead. The table fell silent.

Madhuku is the only man ever to have beaten Mugabe at the polls. It was a 2000 referendum to increase presidential term limits—and Mugabe, free from opposition for years, was caught off guard when the country voted against him, at the urging of the National Constitutional Assembly. Soon after, Mugabe ordered the seizure of commercial farms, and agricultural production collapsed. Hyperinflation, the flight of foreign capital, the collapse of infrastructure, in fact the world’s fastest-shrinking economy: these are now the headlines of Mugabe’s management resume.

An estimated 70 percent of the country’s adult workforce (nearly 3.5 million people) have fled to South Africa, Botswana, the U.K., North America, the Antipodes. Those who have left include the citizens the country needs most—the talented and the educated.

So after Robert Mugabe’s likely victory, spare a thought for Lovemore Madhuku and the members of his National Constitutional Assembly, putting themselves back in the line of fire in the pursuit of real democracy. They do not have oil. They may not threaten to blow up your cities. But that does not make their cause any less deserving.

Godwin is the author of a memoir,
“Mukiwa—A White Boy in Africa.”

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Groups Meet 2004 Prize-winner

concerns and views about the future of Zimbabwe with influential and sympathetic officials and others in the American foreign affairs community as Zimbabwe approaches national elections.”

In a call on Archi Payati of the Africa Division of Human Rights First, in New York, discussion turned on recent troubling actions taken by the government of Zimbabwe to restrict opponents of the present administration from expressing their views during the forthcoming election campaign. At Human Rights Watch, also in New York, he met with Peter Takirambudde, the Executive Director of the Africa Division. These meetings were followed by a meeting with David Goldiner, of the *New York Daily News*, who formerly lived and worked in Zimbabwe and writes also for *The African* magazine.

The Council on Foreign Relations in New York held a forum chaired by Ambassador Princeton Lyman, at which Dr. Madhuku spoke on the future for

democracy and constitutional reform in his country. This was followed by an interview with the Voice of America program, *Straight Talk Africa*.

In Washington, The Woodrow Wilson Center held a forum moderated by Howard Wolpe that included a lively question and answer period. Deputy Assistant Secretary of State Tom Woods also met at the Department of State with Dr. Madhuku, as did James Makila of the department, against the background of the statement by Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice that characterized the government of Zimbabwe under President Mugabe as an outpost of tyranny.

During his trip Madhuku was also interviewed by CSPAN, WBAI *Democracy Now* and Global Information Network. Madhuku also met with various representatives of the U.N.

Another highlight of his busy program was the meeting with the Africa Subcommittee of the House International Relations Committee, which has taken a keen interest in the political issues confronting Zimbabweans in the electoral campaign that has been characterized by vivid international attention and clashes between the ruling ZANU-PF party and the MDC and other opposition groups.

Hope for Democracy in Iran by Emadeddin Baghi

(excerpted from his op-ed
piece in *The Washington Post*,
October 24, 2004)

SOCIETY ITSELF, not the government, creates change. And there are deep transformations occurring in Iran. Out of sight of much of the world, Iran is inching its way toward democracy.

In military colleges, talk of human rights was, until very recently, totally unacceptable. Now, courses on human rights have become part of the curriculum.

In recent years some 8,000 non-governmental organizations have been established throughout the country. These NGOs undercut the power

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Prize Acceptance Speeches Reveal Winners' Challenges

ACCEPTING THE 2004 CIVIL COURAGE PRIZE for Lovemore Madhuku was Geoffrey Nyarota of the Carr Center for Human Rights Policy of Harvard University, and for Emadeddin Baghi was his uncle, Professor Heibatollah Baghi of the college of Nursing & Health Science of George Mason University.

Speaking on behalf of Madhuku, Nyarota said that the prize-winner "steadfastly refused to be intimidated, has courageously acted and spoken, always at great personal risk, on behalf of and in the interests of the silenced citizens of our beautiful and once prosperous country. Over the past five years he has tirelessly campaigned for progressive constitutional reform, for justice, for freedom and for the basic human rights of his people. The authorities have targeted him for retribution. Their newspapers have castigated and vilified him. Mr. Mugabe's policemen have arrested him, not once but repeatedly.

"I have lost count of how many times he has been thrown behind bars. In February they arrested him yet again. They beat him savagely. Thinking he was dead, they dumped his body in the bush. When he recovered, he took his rescuers by total surprise. His first words were: 'We will not be deterred by the beatings and cruelty of this regime. They can only stop us by killing us.'"

A message to the CCP gathering from Madhuku said, "On Wednesday 6 October 2004, the Mugabe regime confirmed our worst fears. It formally introduced in Parliament a proposed law...that seeks to ban organizations such as my own...perhaps target No.1 of this proposed law...NCA will immediately become illegal. On our part...we

intend to organize huge protests."

Heibatollah, Baghi's uncle, said he was eager to see his nephew receive the CCP, but Emad Baghi had been detained by Iranian authorities as he boarded his flight to New York. He noted that he was pleased that the State Department and Amnesty International have formally condemned Baghi's detention and treatment, and that the Northcote Parkinson Fund, with Baghi's consent, had alerted the international media to his situation. "With so much talk about Iran's nuclear proliferation," he said, "it's good to know that there is concern about the human rights violations that are taking place."

Recalling Baghi's years of struggle

on behalf of human rights, his uncle said, "Emad was arrested, put on trial and imprisoned in solitary confinement for [three years] for apostasy and endangering the security of the Islamic state in 2000. Yet, Emad remains hopeful for societal reform in Iran...[and] perceives deep transformations taking place in Iran. He believes that Iran is inching toward democracy."

With regard to moves toward gender equality, improvements in higher education and evolution in religious thought, Baghi was said to "believe that these are signs of social movement that no power can stop" and that "hope and courage are the main motives for change."

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Madhuku of Zimbabwe and Baghi of Iran Win Prizes

Madhuku, a lawyer and chairman of the National Constitutional Assembly (NCA) has been persecuted and jailed during the past decade for pursuing pro-democracy campaigns and for insisting upon constitutional reform in Zimbabwe. As recently as 2004, he was brutally beaten by anti-riot police during a peaceful demonstration in Harare in support of a new constitution. He was arrested and jailed in June and September of 2004.

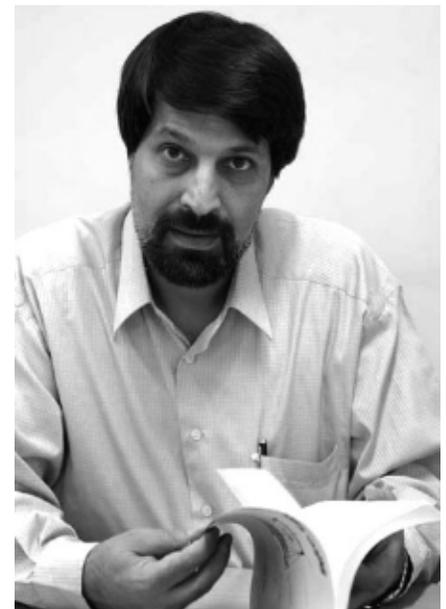
As a founding member of NCA, he personally has led its protests, drawn up a new draft constitution, and spearheaded such successful initiatives as the 2000 NO VOTE campaign that rejected the constitution drafted by the government and gave President Robert Mugabe his first electoral defeat.

In a telephone interview in 2004 from Harare, Madhuku said, "In the past months we have seen continuing evidence of the grip of this regime on power. [It] is closing, completely closing, all avenues of people expressing themselves." Similar accusations have followed the March elections in 2005 which returned Mugabe to power with a stronger majority in a campaign marked by intimidation, according to international observers.

Madhuku was born in 1966, is married and has two children. He is a graduate of the University of Zimbabwe and of Cambridge University.

The posthumous CCP winner, Abdul al-Latif al-Mayah, was brutally executed by eight masked gunmen in Baghdad in January 2004. His death was seen as part of the widening campaign to intimidate leading figures and to rid Iraq of its urban, educated and professional class. He was a university professor, political scientist and human rights activist.

Emadeddin Baghi of Iran, one of two 2004 Civil Courage Prize honorees, was prevented from receiving the Prize in person.



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of the state and fundamentalist ideas. Strengthening NGOs and civil institutions is one of the principal and most practical strategies to achieve social transformation.

Not long ago traditional religion held that only believers were entitled to certain civil rights. Grand Ayatollah Hossein Ali Montazeri, one of the most prominent Shiite leaders, says that all people, regardless of their faith, are equally deserving of civil rights.

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Vietnamese, Zimbabwean and Congolese Win 2004 Certificates

CERTIFICATES OF DISTINCTION and prizes of \$1,000 each were awarded to three of the many finalist candidates for the CCP honored at the ceremony held in New York in October 2004. The winners were: Dan Que Nguyen of Vietnam, Arnold Tsunga of Zimbabwe and Raphael Wakenge of the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

Dan Que Nguyen, a 61-year-old doctor, has spent 30 years striving to advance human rights, promote civil society and improve the daily lives of those suffering economic and political repression in Vietnam. For his efforts, he has been imprisoned for 19 years, spent three years under house arrest and was recently released from a labor camp. The State Department welcomed his release in February 2005, and Que said, "What I want is liberty for my people." He continues to call on Vietnamese authorities to respect basic rights and to "put forward a timetable for free and fair elections."

Arnold Tsunga, a leading human rights lawyer in Zimbabwe, has represented in court numerous individuals arrested and abused under the current government. He is Chair of the Zimbabwe Human Rights Association.

Raphael Wakenge is the co-founder of the Congolese Justice and Peace Initiative. Despite threats, beatings and jail sentences, he continues to help protect victims of abuse, to report human rights violations to international bodies and to speak out on radio and television worldwide.

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.

For a posthumous award a brief biography will be commissioned, if appropriate. The Fund, which supports economic and political liberalism, has provided grants also for public television programs espousing private 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. An organization may only submit one nomination.

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.civilcourageprize.org.

CCP Award Ceremony Set

THE 2005 AWARDS CEREMONY for the Civil Courage Prize and Certificates of Distinction will be on October 11, 2005 at the Harold Pratt House in New York. The keynote speaker will be Ambassador Nicholas Platt, recently-retired head of The Asia Society. Invitations are sent to leaders of organizations that nominate candidates and others interested. Should you wish to receive an invitation, please send a request via email on our website, or by mail to the office.