

# 25 YEARS OF THE SAKHAROV PRIZE



The European Parliament  
upholding freedom of thought



ARCHIVE AND DOCUMENTATION CENTRE (CARDOC)

**EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT**



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1980-2013

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**EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT**



Author of the document: Päivi VAINIOMÄKI

Coordinator: Donato ANTONA

EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

ARCHIVE AND DOCUMENTATION CENTRE (CARDOC)

[arch-info@europarl.europa.eu](mailto:arch-info@europarl.europa.eu)

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## FOREWORD

*by the President of the European Parliament*

In 2013, the European Parliament is celebrating the 25th anniversary of the Sakharov Prize. This book, which has been published to mark this historic occasion, traces the history of the Sakharov Prize, the nominees and the winners, from its inception to the present day.

Ever since it was founded, the European Parliament has played an active role in defending human rights and fundamental freedoms. In its resolutions it strongly condemns every breach of those values all over the world.

The Sakharov Prize – the brainchild of French MEP Jean-François Deniau – was established in 1988. It is a striking symbol of Parliament's commitment to human rights. In awarding the prize each year, Europe pays tribute to individuals and organisations demonstrating a wholehearted commitment to standing up for the universal values officially recognised by the United Nations.

Sakharov Prize winners are often symbols of non-violent struggle against dictatorships or discrimination. In awarding them the prize for freedom of thought, the European Parliament is also honouring all those people – known and unknown – who are engaged in the struggle for a fairer, more humane society.

As Andrei Sakharov himself said, peace, progress and human rights are insolubly linked to one another: it is impossible to achieve one if the other two are ignored.





## INTRODUCTION

Out of its concern to affirm the European Community's commitment to democracy, the European Parliament has always espoused the cause of protecting human rights and fundamental freedoms.

From the beginning of the 1970s, particularly following the Helsinki Final Act (1975), human rights issues were being raised with increasing frequency. Nonetheless, it was only after the first direct elections to the European Parliament, in 1979, that the development and defence of human rights and fundamental freedoms became one of the priorities of the new democratically elected assembly.

The Committee on Political Affairs, founded in 1984, was responsible for human rights problems in third countries<sup>1</sup>. In this work, the Committee was assisted by a Subcommittee on Human Rights, likewise set up in 1984. However, as from the first parliamentary term, the previous Committee on Political Affairs had already had a working group on human rights.

Believing that it was important to draw attention to human rights violations and to condemn them publicly, Parliament spoke out more and more frequently. Each year from the beginning of the 1980s, the Committee on Political Affairs drew up a report on human rights in the world and the development of a common policy on the subject. Moreover, the number of resolutions adopted in this field doubled between the first and the second parliamentary terms<sup>2</sup>: the plenary debates were long and animated. Parliament felt that there was an urgent need to respond to the alarming human rights situation around the world.

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<sup>1</sup> Rules of Procedure of the European Parliament, 4th edition, June 1987, p. 121.

<sup>2</sup> The archives contain 142 human rights resolutions adopted during the first parliamentary term, and 289 adopted during the second.





# CHAPTER I

## The European Parliament and Andrei Sakharov

Andrei Dmitrievich Sakharov, a Soviet nuclear physicist and strong defender of democracy and human rights, was certainly one of the most important political dissidents in the former Soviet Union.

Mr Sakharov was a joint inventor of the Soviet hydrogen bomb, who was concerned about the consequences his work might have for humanity and became aware of the dangers inherent in the nuclear arms race. Therefore, in 1967, he wrote to the Soviet authorities asking them to accept the US proposal to abandon their antimissile defences, but these calls were ignored.

In 1968, Mr Sakharov wrote his essay *Reflections on Progress, Peaceful Coexistence, and Intellectual Freedom*. This text, in which he stressed that 'intellectual freedom is essential to human society', was disseminated clandestinely in the Soviet Union, as a *samizdat* publication.

In 1970, Mr Sakharov participated in the foundation of the Committee on Human Rights in the USSR.

The European Parliament followed Mr Sakharov's life with interest from the 1970s onwards. When he was awarded the Nobel Prize in 1975, the European Parliament, which was very happy about this, welcomed the news at its plenary sitting of 13 November 1975. In parallel, Parliament strongly condemned the refusal by the Soviet authorities to issue Mr Sakharov with a visa to enable him to travel to Oslo to receive the Nobel Prize in person.<sup>3</sup>

In 1979, Mr Sakharov was arrested by the Russian authorities and ordered to live in the city of Gorki<sup>4</sup>, 400 km from Moscow. Parliament responded immediately, adopting a resolution condemning the decision of the Soviet authorities and calling for an immediate end to the exile of the Sakharovs<sup>5</sup>.

The European Parliament was concerned about the health of Mr Sakharov and his wife throughout the period of their isolation. Following the publication of an official communiqué by Heinrich Böll, winner of the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1972, concerning the deterioration in Mr Sakharov's health, the European Parliament adopted a resolution calling on the Soviet Government to 'lift immediately the exile

3 Resolution of the European Parliament of 13 November 1975 on the award of the Nobel Peace Prize to Andrei Sakharov, OJ C 280, 8 December 1975, p. 42.

4 Now Nijni Novgorod.

5 Resolution of the European Parliament of 15 February 1980 on the arrest of the scientist Andrei Sakharov, OJ C 59, 10.3.1980, p. 55.

imposed on Andrei Sakharov without any justification and in defiance of all principles of the rule of law and to give him back his freedom'<sup>6</sup>. In addition, during the May 1984 part-session, having got wind of a hunger strike by Mr Sakharov, Parliament adopted a resolution reiterating its call for Mr Sakharov and his wife to be allowed to leave the Soviet Union<sup>7</sup>.

At its plenary sitting of 26 July 1984<sup>8</sup>, the European Parliament debated a motion for a resolution on Andrei Sakharov. The text had been tabled by Mr Formigoni and others (PPE)<sup>9</sup> and proposed, *inter alia*, that a seat be left vacant in the Chamber of the European Parliament for Andrei Sakharov and thus, symbolically, for all those, anywhere in the world, who suffered for their ideas. Finally, the resolution was adopted without this paragraph on the 'empty seat'<sup>10</sup>.

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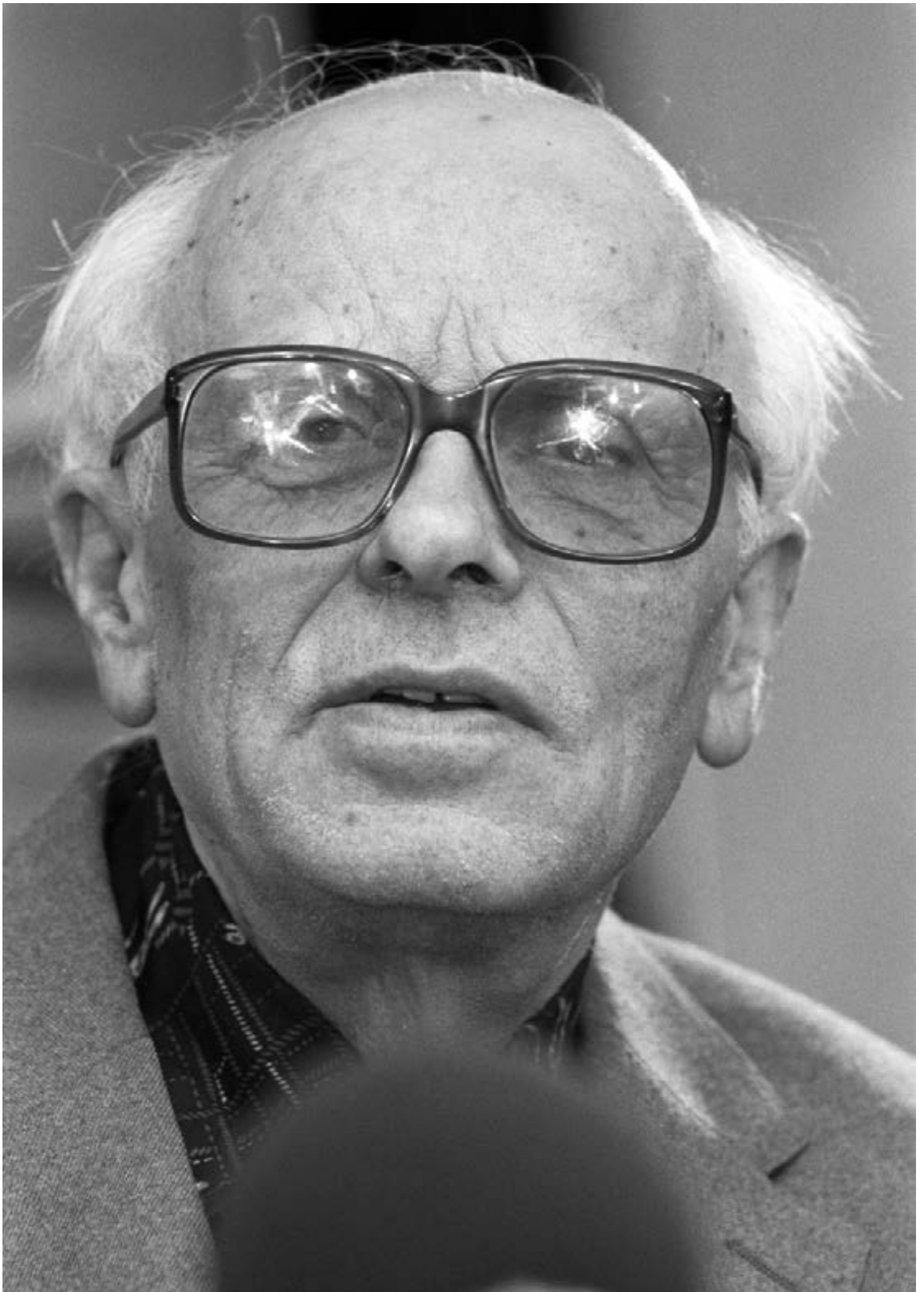
6 Resolution of the European Parliament of 10 February 1983 concerning Andrei Sakharov, OJ C 68, 14.3.1983, p. 61.

7 Resolution of the European Parliament of 24 May 1984 on the situation of Andrei Sakharov and his wife, OJ C 172, 2.7.1984, p. 125.

8 European Parliament debates of 26 July 1984, No 2-315/109-114.

9 Motion for a resolution of the European Parliament of 24 July 1984 on leaving an empty seat in the Chamber of the European Parliament for Andrei Sakharov, PE2 AP PR B2-0379/84 0010.

10 Resolution of the European Parliament of 27 July 1984 on Andrei Sakharov, OJ C 239, 10.9.1984, p. 55. See also European Parliament debates of 26 July 1984, No 2-315/109-114.



Andrei Sakharov, physicist and human rights defender, in 1989.

Source: [http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Andrei\\_Sakharov\\_1989.jpg](http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Andrei_Sakharov_1989.jpg)

10, 8-80

Official Journal of the European Communities

No. C 59-55

Friday, 25 February 1980

Marshall and Lord Bethell, on the measures to be taken by the European Communities following the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and on the outrageous treatment of Professor Sakharov. Doc. 1-773-79;

motion for a resolution tabled by Mr Blumenfeld, Mr Vergeer, Mr Ryan, Mrs Maup-Weggen, Mr Luckner, Mr Alber, Mr Penders, Mr Merensy, Mr Habsburg, Mr Zecchino, Mr Aigner, Mr Janßen van Raay, Mr Nottenboom, Mrs Walz, Mrs Lenz, Mrs Boon, Mr Majumdar, Mr Jonker, Mr Parsten, Mr Wawrzak, Mr Boskier, Mrs Rabbergh, Mr Jenner, Mr Dewar, Mr Fleming, Mr Müller-Hermsdorf, Mr Nienhuys, Mr Hoffmann, Mr van Hasselt, Mr van der Grint, Mr Luppel, Mr Scott-Hopkins, Lady Ellis, Mr Prag, Lord Bethell, Lord Duns, Mr Nienhuysen, Mr Möller, Mr Fergussan, Mr Seligman, Mr Berkhusser, Mr Nord, Mr Haagerup, Mr Imers, Mr Jungers, Mr Mahier, Mr Nielsen, Mrs Provis, Mr Rey, Mr Rossi, Mrs Schweiner, Mrs van Vennin, Mr Hagenmaier, Mr Damschütz, Mr Lamber, Mr Calvez, Mrs Chomazou, Mr Remilly, Mrs Longe, Mr Galas and Mr Delham, on the Moscow Olympic Games. Doc. 1-779-79 rev.;

The President announced that the motion for a resolution by Mr Ripa di Meana and others (Doc. 1-749-79) had been withdrawn in the meantime.

Mr Ripa di Meana introduced the motion for a resolution (Doc. 1-778-79 rev. II).

IN THE CHAIR: MR PRESIDENT

Vice-President

Mr Hurd introduced the motion for a resolution (Doc. 1-773-79).

The following spoke: Mr Penders, on behalf of the Group of the European People's Party (ED Group), Lord Bethell, on behalf of the European Democratic Group, Mr Gallucci, Communist and Allies Group, Mr Haagerup, on behalf of the Liberal and Democratic Group, Mr Petrows, non-attached member, Mr Martin, Mr de Goeede and Mr Fergussan.

Mr Berkhusser introduced the motion for a resolution (Doc. 1-779-79 rev.).

The following spoke: Mr Günter, Mr Parsten, Mr Hensch, Mr Barre, Mr Cariglia and Mr Haterkamp, Vice-President of the Commission.

The President declared the part debate closed.

The following gave explanations of votes: Mr Rogers, Mr Van Mierden, Mrs Boruso, Mr Szé, Mrs van den Heuvel, Mrs Wierorke-Zeul, Mr Hertzum, who raised a point of order, Mrs Fleisch, Mr Gabern, Mr Polign, Mr Pannella, Mr Kirk, Mr Pelikan and Mrs Mazzucchi.

Parliament then voted on the motions for resolutions.

— Motion for a resolution by Mr Ripa di Meana and others (Doc. 1-778-79 rev. II).

Parliament adopted the following resolution.

## RESOLUTION

on the arrest of the scientist Andrei Sakharov

The European Parliament,

incensed by the Soviet authorities' treatment of the Nobel Peace Prize winner Andrei Sakharov,

concerned at the growing wave of oppression mounted by the Soviet authorities against all those campaigning for the respect and defence of human rights in the USSR, and mindful of the need to uphold the inviolable principles of human rights,

- recalling that the signatory States of the Helsinki Final Act on Security and Cooperation in Europe included in their declaration on the principles governing relations between the participant States the respect of human rights and fundamental freedoms, including freedom of thought and conscience,

No C 69-66

Official Journal of the European Communities

[10. 3. 80]

Friday, 15 February 1980

considering that the pursuit of the policy of détente is closely linked to the behaviour of each of the signatory States of the Helsinki Final Act,

1. Protests in the strongest possible terms at the decision of the leaders of the Soviet Union to step up their harsh treatment of dissidents,
2. Strongly condemns the action taken by the Soviet authorities against the scientist Andrei Sakharov,
3. Expresses its entire solidarity with Andrei Sakharov, and calls for an immediate end to his enforced exile,
4. Requests all the Community institutions to make active representations to the Government of the Soviet Union with a view to securing the release of Soviet citizens prosecuted for their campaign to defend the civil rights of the peoples of the Soviet Union and to implement the Helsinki Final Act which both the European Economic Community and the USSR formally signed in 1975,
5. Instructs its President to forward this resolution to the Council, the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation, the Commission and the Parliaments of the Member States.

— —

— Motion for a resolution by Mr Hurd and others (Doc. 7. 171-74)

Parliament adopted the following resolution:

#### RESOLUTION

on the measures to be taken by the European Economic Community following the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and on the outrageous treatment of Professor Sakharov

The European Parliament,

recalling its resolution of 16 January 1980 calling for an immediate review of economic and other relations with Russia, specifically in the fields of agriculture and technology<sup>1</sup>,

- concerned at the lack of action by the Commission in regard to trade with Russia since the adoption of this resolution,
- disturbed at the lack of a firm unequivocal statement by the President of the Commission to the Political Affairs Committee on 31 January 1980 on the question of the sales of surplus commodities to Russia,

aware of the outrage expressed by the people of Europe over the continuing sales of surplus commodities to Russia with the benefit of subsidies provided by the European taxpayer,

1. Calls on the Commission to impose an immediate embargo on all sales of surplus commodities to Russia involving subsidies,

— — — —

<sup>1</sup> OJ No. 4, 14. 11. 2. 1980, p. 28.



# CHAPTER II

## The creation of the Sakharov Prize

### 1. The proposal by Mr Deniau and the parliamentary report (1984-1985)

During this debate of 26 July 1984, Jean-François Deniau spoke. This new French Member did not support the idea of an empty seat but, on behalf of the Liberal and Democratic Group (L)<sup>11</sup>, put forward an alternative idea. Taking up an idea which had in fact already been put forward by two of his Italian colleagues, Mr Gawronski and Mr Bettiza<sup>12</sup>, he said that he personally wished that Parliament should take the opportunity to create a European Parliament prize to be known as the 'European Andrei Sakharov Prize of the European Parliament'. It would be awarded each year in relation to topics which corresponded precisely to the campaigns of Andrei Sakharov<sup>13</sup>.

In November 1984, Mr Deniau proposed, on behalf of his group (L), establishing 'the Sakharov Prize' of the European Parliament to promote, in particular, freedom of debate and inquiry<sup>14</sup>. The proposed prize was to be awarded each year to a study or work dealing with one of the following topics: (i) the development of East-West relations in the light of the Helsinki Final Act<sup>15</sup>, (ii) protection of freedom of scientific inquiry, (iii) defence of human rights, (iv) government practices in the light of the letter of Constitutions<sup>16</sup>.

The European Parliament referred the text to the Committee on Political Affairs as the committee responsible and, for an opinion, to the Committee on Youth, Culture, Education, Information and Sport<sup>17</sup>. At its meeting of 19 December 1984, the Committee on Political Affairs decided to draft a report on the basis of this motion for a resolution<sup>18</sup> and, in January 1985, Mr Deniau was appointed rapporteur for it<sup>19</sup>. The Committee on Youth decided not to deliver an opinion.

The report proposed the conditions for the award of the prize. In order for the Sakharov Prize to become a genuine European symbol, the Committee on Political Affairs attached three prerequisites to it. Firstly, the idea was to recognise not a person but a work written about a specific subject. Secondly, the winner of the prize would have to be chosen by a two-thirds majority within the Committee on Political Affairs, and

<sup>11</sup> See annex II – political groups in the European Parliament since July 1984.

<sup>12</sup> Jas Gawronski and Vincenzo Bettiza, Italian Members belonging to the Liberal and Democratic Group (L). It has not proved possible to find any trace of this original idea in the archives of the European Parliament.

<sup>13</sup> Speech by Mr Deniau, European Parliament debates of 26 July 1984, No 2-315/111-112.

<sup>14</sup> Motion for a resolution tabled on behalf of the Liberal and Democratic Group on a 'Sakharov Prize', PE2 AP PR B2-0945/84.

<sup>15</sup> Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, Helsinki 1975. [www.osce.org](http://www.osce.org).

<sup>16</sup> Motion for a resolution B2-0945/84.

<sup>17</sup> Minutes of the sitting of 13 November 1984, OJ C 337, 17.12.1984, p. 13.

<sup>18</sup> Minutes of the Committee on Political Affairs of 19 December 1984, PE2 AP PV/POLI.1984 POLI-19841219 0010.

<sup>19</sup> Minutes of the Committee on Political Affairs of 23 January 1985, p. 8, PE2 AP PV/POLI.1984 POLI-19850123 0010.



lastly, it should be the President of the European Parliament in person who presented the prize.

The Committee on Political Affairs adopted the motion for a resolution in its entirety on 31 October 1985 by 9 votes to 2 with 3 abstentions.<sup>20</sup>

On 12 December 1985, the rapporteur presented his explanatory statement orally in plenary. He stressed the importance of the creation of a specifically European prize devoted to the cause of freedom of thought and bearing the name of Andrei Sakharov. Mr Deniau took the view that the duty and responsibility of the freely elected European Parliament was to defend fundamental freedoms and to stress the strength of a human being, who had the choice as to whether to say yes or no.<sup>21</sup>

Why was the name Sakharov chosen? As Mr Deniau mentioned, both in the report and in his speech in plenary, Andrei Sakharov was a European citizen who was the personification of freedom of thought and expression and who had decided, because of his convictions and his conscience, to renounce all the material advantages and all the honours which were open to him. According to the rapporteur, the choice of a figure such as Sophocles, Erasmus or Montaigne – all illustrious examples of freedom of thought – would not convey as effectively the role and meaning of the work of the European Parliament.<sup>22</sup>

Some members of the Communist and Allies Group (COM) tabled amendments<sup>23</sup> seeking, in particular, to give the prize the name of Nelson Mandela to promote the defence of political freedoms and to help combat racism. During the debate, the Socialist Group (S), represented by Mr Saby, expressed itself in favour of the name of the Sakharov Prize, saying that it would not be right to oppose one struggle to another. To the socialists, the struggle for human rights was one and indivisible. On behalf of the PPE Group, Mr Habsburg said that Andrei Sakharov had become an important symbol of integrity and courage, being persecuted not only for his opinions but also because he was Jewish. Mr Verbeek, of the Rainbow Group (ARC), who opposed the resolution, considered that the prize should be genuinely open to all, be given an impartial name and be awarded by an independent jury.<sup>24</sup>

Only the amendment tabled by Mr Seefeld of the Socialist Group was adopted when the vote was taken in plenary. It inserted in the resolution the condition that a prize bearing the name of Mr Sakharov could only be created if Mr Sakharov himself agreed.<sup>25</sup>

On 13 December 1985, the European Parliament adopted the motion for a resolution in its entirety, by rollcall vote, by 94 votes to 31 with 15 abstentions<sup>26</sup>.

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20 Report on behalf of the Committee on Political Affairs on the creation of a Sakharov Prize, p. 3, PE2 AP RP/POLI.1984 A2-0137/85 0010.

21 European Parliament debates of 12 December 1985, No 2-333/281-282.

22 Report A2-0137/85, p. 5; European Parliament debates of 12 December 1985, No 2-333/281-282.

23 Amendments nos 1-8, PE2 AP RP/POLI.1984 A2-0137/85 0020.

24 European Parliament debates of 12 December 1985, No 2-333/282.

25 Amendment no 9, PE2 AP RP/POLI.1984 A2-0137/85 0020.

26 OJ C 352, 31.12.1985, pp. 282, 304, 323.



Jean-François Deniau, a French MEP between 1984 and 1986, originally suggested the creation of the Sakharov Prize.

Friday, 13 December 1985

34. Points out that the issue of European controls on grounds of national security reasons will be dealt with in the report by the Committee on External Economic Relations concerning restrictions on exports of strategic products and transfers of technology.

\* \* \*

35. Instructs its President to forward this resolution to the Commission, the Council and the United States Congress and Administration.

## 8. Creation of a Sakharov prize

— Doc. A2-137/85

### RESOLUTION

#### on the creation of a Sakharov prize

*The European Parliament,*

— having regard to the motion for a resolution by Mr Denzin on behalf of the Liberal Group on a 'Sakharov prize' (Doc. 2-945/84),

— having regard to the report of the Political Affairs Committee (Doc. A2-137/85),

A. having regard to its resolution on the treatment imposed on Andrei Sakharov,

B. having regard to its resolutions demanding that all parts of the Helsinki Final Act be respected,

C. mindful of the need, and its own duty, to promote basic human rights, especially freedom of discussion and inquiry, respect for the law, and for international law and conventions and mutual commitments as the foundation of peace among nations,

D. determined to defend these principles in Europe with the consistency and constancy which are at times lacking, and to make regular and formal awards for outstanding contributions in this field, in the name of a European citizen who embodies freedom of thought and expression,

E. assuming that Andrei Sakharov will agree to a European Parliament prize for freedom of thought bearing his name;

1. Declares its intention to establish a prize to be called the European Parliament 'Sakharov Prize' for freedom of thought, which will be awarded each year for study or work in one of the following topics:

(i) the development of East-West relations in the light of the Helsinki Final Act, in particular the first basket on cooperation in humanitarian and other fields;

(ii) safeguarding the freedom of scientific inquiry;

(iii) the defence of human rights and respect for international law;

(iv) government practice as compared with the letter of constitutional provisions;

2. Instructs its President to award each year, on behalf of the European Parliament, the 'Sakharov prize' for freedom of thought on the basis of a proposal by the Political Affairs Committee adopted by a two-thirds majority;

3. Declares its readiness to provide the necessary funds from its own budget to finance the prize and the administration involved;

4. Instructs its President to forward this resolution to the Council and Commission.

— — —

## 2. The creation of the prize (1986-1988)

### *2.1. Development of the award procedure*

On 26 February 1986, the Committee on Political Affairs held its first exchange of views on the award of the Sakharov Prize<sup>27</sup>.

At its meeting of 23 April 1986, the Political Affairs Committee appointed Jas Gawronski, of the LDR Group, rapporteur, to draw up a note on the procedure for awarding the Sakharov Prize. The note was to serve as a basis for discussion.<sup>28</sup>

Mr Gawronski's note drew on the resolution adopted on 13 December 1985, which had stated that candidates must submit a study or work concerning one of the topics indicated. This meant that charity work and political activities were excluded. Among the proposed details, Mr Gawronski suggested that the works should be written in a Community language, preferably English or French, and by authors residing in one of the Member States. The Subcommittee on Human Rights would then select three works that it would submit to the Committee on Political Affairs, which, acting by a two-thirds majority, would make a recommendation to the President of the European Parliament. The prize, to be worth 1 000 ecus, and a collection of selected works by Mr Sakharov, would be presented to the prize-winner at a brief public ceremony at the European Parliament in Strasbourg or held by the Committee on Political Affairs in Brussels.<sup>29</sup>

In October 1986, a number of amendments were proposed by members of the Committee on Political Affairs (Mr Penders of the PPE group and Mr Gawronski himself) concerning, inter alia, the length of the work (approximately 10 000 words, and not more than 15 000), the amount of the prize (5 000 ecus) and the setting in which it was to be presented (a plenary sitting).<sup>30</sup> During the meeting of the Committee on Political Affairs of 16 December 1986, the amended note was adopted unanimously, and on 19 January 1987, the Chair of the Committee on Political Affairs, Mr Formigoni, forwarded it to the President of the European Parliament<sup>31</sup>.

### *2.2. Agreement of Mr Sakharov*

At the meeting of 4 February 1987, the Bureau discussed the action to be taken on the resolution concerning the creation of the Sakharov Prize and considered it desirable to make sure in advance that Mr Sakharov was in agreement<sup>32</sup>.

27 Minutes of the Committee on Political Affairs of 26 February 1986, p. 7, PE2 AP PV/POLI.1984 POLI-19860226 0020.

28 Minutes of the Committee on Political Affairs of 23 April 1986, p. 7, PE2 AP PV/POLI.1984 POLI-19860423 0010.

29 Notice to Members of 12 June 1986, PE2 AP PV/POLI.1984 SCDH-19860625 0050.

30 Amendments to the note on the 'Sakharov Prize', PE2 AP PV/POLI.1984 SCDH-19860625 0060.

31 Minutes of the Committee on Political Affairs of 16 December 1986, p. 4, PE2 AP PV/POLI.1984 POLI-19861216 0010. Letter of 19 January 1987 from Mr Formigoni to Mr Pflimlin, President of the European Parliament, PE2 OD PV/BURE BURE-19870204 0050.

32 Minutes of the Bureau of 4 February 1987, p. 4, PE2 OD PV/BURE BURE-19870204 0010.

Lord Bethell, a former vice-chair of the Subcommittee on Human Rights (1984-1986), immediately contacted Mr Sakharov, forwarding to him a message from the new President of the European Parliament, Lord Plumb. A favourable reply from Mr Sakharov in April 1987 approved the establishment of a prize bearing his name. Moreover, he supported the creation of the prize, stating that he considered it useful, 'since it will once again attract attention to the human rights problem and will encourage people who have made a contribution to this end'. Mr Sakharov also wished to be informed about the works by various proposed candidates.<sup>33</sup>

On 12 May 1987, having learned of Mr Sakharov's favourable reply, the Bureau agreed in principle that the Sakharov Prize should be established. It also decided that the practical arrangements for the holding of the competition should be governed by rules to be adopted by the Bureau, on a proposal by the Committee on Political Affairs.<sup>34</sup>

### *2.3. Development of the Statute of the Sakharov Prize*

Following the meeting of the Committee on Political Affairs of 25 May 1987, the committee's secretariat drew up a note outlining the main subjects raised during the discussion. The note stated that the term 'work' must be interpreted in the broadest possible sense, as referring to all the activity undertaken in the fields identified by the resolution of 13 December 1985. The prize could be awarded to organisations as well as to individuals.<sup>35</sup> At the meeting of 23 June 1987 in Berlin<sup>36</sup>, the Committee on Political Affairs decided to instruct its Chair, Mr ERCINI, to prepare a draft Statute for the award of the prize, which should be duly substantiated and legally well-founded. The draft would be submitted to the Committee on Political Affairs at its meeting in September in Copenhagen and then to the Bureau of the European Parliament.

However, the subject was not included in the agenda in Copenhagen. It was only on 24 November 1987 that discussion of the Sakharov Prize resumed within the Committee on Political Affairs<sup>37</sup>. On that occasion, the members received a document drawn up by Mr De Gucht, Chair of the Subcommittee on Human Rights, concerning the procedures for awarding the Sakharov Prize, and a draft Statute drawn up by the European Parliament's Legal Service<sup>38</sup>. In his document, Mr De Gucht observed that it was vital to reach an agreement quickly so that the first Sakharov Prize could be awarded in 1988. In fact, according to Mr Gawronski's proposal, the prize was already to be awarded for the first time in 1987. The committee decided, at its meeting of 24 November 1987, to make 4 January 1988 the deadline for receipt of observations on these two documents.

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33 Letter of 10 April 1987 from Mr Sakharov to Lord Bethell [English Translation], PE2 OD PV/BURE BURE-19870512 0140.

34 Minutes of the Bureau of 12 May 1987, p. 14, PE2 OD PV/BURE BURE-19870512 0010.

35 Minutes of the Committee on Political Affairs of 25 May 1987, p. 3, and notice to the members of the Committee on Political Affairs of 26 May 1987, PE2 AP PV/POLI.1984 POLI-19870525 0010 and 0020.

36 Minutes of the Committee on Political Affairs of 23 June 1987, p. 5, PE2 AP PV/POLI.1984 POLI-19870623 0010.

37 Minutes of the Committee on Political Affairs of 24 November 1987, p. 7, PE2 AP PV/POLI.1984 POLI-19871124-PM 0010.

38 Notices to Members of the Committee on Political Affairs of 29 October 1987 (available only in Greek) and 11 November 1987, PE2 AP PV/POLI.1984 POLI-19871124-PM 0050 and 0060.

Amendments to the draft Statute were proposed by members of the Committee on Political Affairs and of the Subcommittee on Human Rights, and by the European Parliament's human rights adviser. Suggestions were made with a view to a solution which would be broader and more flexible than in the document drafted by the Legal Service. Firstly, the prize should not be reserved solely for individuals or organisations based in Europe. No geographical restriction should be imposed, as limiting the prize to the EEC would be contrary to the aims of the resolution<sup>39</sup>. Secondly, it should be possible to select not only 'written works' but also notable activities or achievements in the field of human rights.

Other changes concerning the power of nomination, the selection procedure and the organisation of voting were made. It was proposed that only Members of the European Parliament should be permitted to propose candidates, but opinions differed as to the number of Members that should be required to nominate a candidate. The political group coordinators in the Committee on Political Affairs finally proposed that 25 Members should be required, and this proposal was accepted. At its meeting of 23 March, the Committee on Political Affairs decided to forward all these observations to the Legal Service so that it could draw up a draft definitive Statute, in accordance with the guidelines given to it by the Committee on Political Affairs. The text would then have to be forwarded to the bureau of the Committee on Political Affairs and finally sent to the President of the European Parliament.

The final draft Statute drawn up by the Legal Service was submitted on 20 April 1988. On 18 May, following its adoption by the committee's bureau, Mr Planas, Chair<sup>40</sup> of the Committee on Political Affairs, forwarded it to the President of the European Parliament. The President decided that the draft should be put to the enlarged Bureau for a final decision.<sup>41</sup>

On 2 June 1988<sup>42</sup>, the enlarged Bureau decided to set up a working group<sup>43</sup> to devise a procedure for awarding the prize. After having received information from the working group on the application of the Statute<sup>44</sup>, the enlarged Bureau adopted the Statute on 6 July 1988 and decided that the deadline for proposing candidates for 1988 should be 15 September 1988. However, a final important amendment was made to the Statute: the Committee on Political Affairs was to consider the candidacies and propose three candidates in alphabetical order, from among whom the enlarged Bureau would choose the final prize-winner.<sup>45</sup>

39 Notice to the members of the Committee on Political Affairs of 11 November 1987, PE2 AP PV/POLI.1984 POLI-19871124-PM 0060.

40 Acting.

41 Letter of 18 May 1988 from Mr Planas, acting Chair of the Committee on Political Affairs, to Lord Plumb, PE2 P2 265/DHOM DHOM-1987-090 0030.

42 Minutes of the enlarged Bureau of 2 June 1988, p. 9, PE2 OD PV/BURE BUEL-19880602 0010.

43 Comprising the Vice-Presidents Mr Alber (PPE), Mr Barón Crespo (S) and Mr Musso (RDE).

44 Document of the Working Group on the Sakharov Prize of 16 June 1988, PE2 OD PV/BURE BUEL-19880706 0060.

45 Minutes of the enlarged Bureau of 6 July 1988, pp. 10-11, PE2 OD PV/BURE BUEL-19880706 0010.

#### *2.4. Run-up to the first award of the Sakharov Prize*

On 3 March 1988, Lord Plumb, President of the European Parliament, wrote to Mr Sakharov to provide information about the procedure in progress: at the time, the Committee on Political Affairs was still drafting the Statute. This was to be sent to Mr Sakharov once it had been adopted. Lord Plumb expected the first prize to be awarded in December 1988 and therefore invited Mr Sakharov, if circumstances so permitted, to present the prize to the winner in person at a public ceremony in Strasbourg.<sup>46</sup>

In his letter of 7 July 1988 to Mr Ercini, Chair of the Committee on Political Affairs, Lord Plumb asked him to take all necessary steps to enable the prize to be presented for the first time in December 1988<sup>47</sup>. On the same date, the secretariat of the Bureau informed Members of the European Parliament of the 15 September 1988 deadline, adding that every candidacy must have the support of at least 25 Members<sup>48</sup>.

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46 Letter of 3 March 1988 from Lord Plumb to Mr Sakharov, PE2 P2 265/DHOM DHOM-1987-090 0030.

47 Letter of 7 July 1988 from Lord Plumb to Mr Ercini, PE2 P2 272/COMP POLI.1984-040 0090.

48 Notice to Members of 7 July 1988, PE2 OD PV/BURE BUEL-19880706 0220.

Dear Nicholas,

I am grateful to you for the message you sent me from Sir Henry Plumb and I have familiarised myself with the situation regarding the Prize to which the European Parliament has assigned my name. It goes without saying that I have no objection to this and I accept the idea as an important act of appreciation of my work in defence of human rights.

I think that the award of prizes like this one is useful, since it will once again attract attention to the human rights problem and will encourage people who have made a contribution to this end.

I cannot express my opinion in detail about the operation of the prize, but I would like, as soon as the various candidates are put forward, to be acquainted with their work, so as to have some indication of who the prize is being awarded to and for what.

Please pass my agreement together with my gratitude for the honour thus granted me to Sir Henry Plumb and his colleagues.

With respect and in friendship,

10th April 1987

Andrei Sakharov

107120 Moscow  
48b Chkalov Street  
Appt. 68

PE 114.085/BUR/ann.





OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT



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## EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

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8.5.87: IMMEDIATE RELEASE

### SAKHAROV TO SPONSOR EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT PRIZE

Andrei SAKHAROV has publicly given permission for his name to be used for a prize to be awarded by the European Parliament for work in the field of human rights.

In a letter to Lord Dethlefs MEP, he expresses his gratitude for a message sent in February of this year by Lord Plumb, President of the European Parliament.

Work in the European Parliament is continuing on the preparation for the SAKHAROV prize. SAKHAROV wrote in his letter:

"The award of prizes like this one is useful since it will once again attract attention to the human rights problem and will encourage people who have made a contribution to this end ... Please pass my agreement together with my gratitude for the honour thus granted me to Sir Henry Plumb and his colleagues".

SAKHAROV has also asked to be acquainted with the work of the various candidates for the prize, which is likely to be first awarded in the course of 1988.

Lord Plumb said today:

"I am delighted with this encouragement by SAKHAROV of an initiative taken by the European Parliament in the field of human rights.

It is also very encouraging that Dr. SAKHAROV's letter was delivered without any problem or delay. This seems to show that Dr. SAKHAROV's personal situation vis-à-vis the authorities has improved in the past few months. Here in the Parliament we will now get on with the preparation for the award of the first SAKHAROV prize".

The full text of the letter is as follows (English translation from Russian)

"Dear Nicholas (Lord Bethell, MEP)

I am grateful to you for the message you sent me from Sir Henry Plumb and I have familiarised myself with the situation regarding the Prize to which the European Parliament has assigned my name. It goes without saying that I have no objection to this and I accept the idea as an important act of appreciation of my work in defence of human rights.

I think that the award of prizes like this one is useful, since it will once again attract attention to the human rights problem and will encourage people who have made a contribution to this end.

I cannot express my opinion in detail about the operation of the prize, but I would like, as soon as the various candidates are put forward, to be acquainted with their work, so as to have some indication of who the prize is being awarded to and for what.

Please pass my agreement together with gratitude for the honour thus granted me to Sir Henry Plumb and his colleagues.

With respect and in friendship,"

Andrei SAKHAROV

For further information contact Lionel Stanbrook - 234.28.84

O-277/18

7. Action to be taken on the resolution of the European Parliament of 13 December 1985 on the creation of a Sakharov prize

The Bureau

- noted a note dated 28 April 1987 from the Office of the President informing the Bureau that Mr SAKHAROV had agreed to the award of a prize bearing his name (PE 114.085/BUR);
- recalling its decision of 4 February 1987 that Mr SAKHAROV's agreement must be secured before it proceeded further;
- decided to approve in principle the award of a Sakharov prize;
- decided, further, that the practical arrangements for organizing the competition would be subject to rules to be adopted by the Bureau on a proposal from the Political Affairs Committee.

ES-03-08 16:03 T- PS LFE668 82055323 0901-02

*Chair President*  
*of the European Parliament*  
 THE LORD PLUMB

BRUXELLES

03.03.68 4 653572

Dear Dr Sakharov,

I am writing, as you requested in our previous communications, to keep you apprised of developments with regard to the Prize which the European Parliament has decided to award annually and which you so kindly agreed should bear your name - 'The Sakharov Prize for Freedom of Thought'.

A set of rules further defining the criteria of eligibility for the Prize and the method of its allocation currently is being drawn up by Parliament's Political Affairs Committee. It is, at present, envisaged that, as with the Nobel Peace Prize, candidates should be put forward by one or more Members of Parliament, and that the Prize would not necessarily be restricted to written work but also could be awarded for activities and achievements in the fields cited in the original resolution and which you have come to symbolise.

I will, of course, ensure that a copy of this 'statute' is conveyed to you as soon as it has been formally approved.

The proposals before the Political Affairs Committee anticipate that the Prize would be awarded at the end of each year during a plenary session of the European Parliament, thus most probably its December part-session, which this year is scheduled for 12-16 December.

On the occasion of the inauguration of the Prize, we should feel most honoured if you would yourself be able to personally present the first 'Sakharov Prize' to the recipient at a public ceremony in Strasbourg. I most earnestly hope that circumstances will permit you to accept this invitation which we feel would give the occasion a very special significance.

I look forward to hearing from you.

Yours sincerely,

*Henry Plumb.*

Dr Andrei SAKHAROV,  
 48b Chkalov St.,  
 Apt. 48,  
 107120 Moscow,  
 RUSSIA



Die Europäische Parlament  
EUROPA-PARLAMENTET  
Europäische Gemeinschaften  
EUROPÄISCHES PARLAMENT  
Ευρωπαϊκό Κοινοβούλιο

European Community  
EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT  
Comunidad Europea  
PARLAMENTO EUROPEO  
Communauté Européenne  
PARLEMENT EUROPÉEN

Comunità Europee  
PARLAMENTO EUROPEO  
Europese Gemeenschap  
EUROPEES PARLEMENT  
Comunidade Europeia  
PARLAMENTO EUROPEU

Luxembourg. 10. V. 88 13774

Commissione politica  
il Presidente

Lord PLUMB,  
President of the  
European Parliament,  
97-113 rue Belliard,  
Brussels

Dear Mr President,

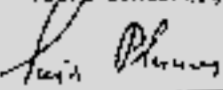
I have pleasure in transmitting to you the 'draft statute' for awarding Parliament's 'Sakharov Prize for Freedom of Thought'. The Political Affairs Committee's Bureau considers that this revised text, which was drawn up by Parliament's Legal Service on the basis of guidelines established by the Political Affairs Committee, faithfully reflects the requirements laid down by the Committee and is in conformity with both the letter and spirit of Parliament's original resolution of 13 December 1985. The text has duly been communicated to Members of the Committee.

It would be appreciated if the Enlarged Bureau would consider this text at the earliest opportunity in order to permit the necessary procedural arrangements to be made for awarding the first Prize. As you know, it was envisaged that the first Prize could be awarded in December of this year. This, however, would require rapid endorsement of the Statute and its communication to all Members of Parliament in order to ensure that candidatures are submitted by the summer recess.

It is the view of the Bureau of the Committee that the arrangements for awarding the Prize should now be taken in hand by the Political Committee coordinators, or alternatively by special nominees of the political groups, on the basis of procedural rules which would be given statutory form by Parliament's legal service. The Committee Bureau feels, however, that this must be a matter for the appreciation of the Enlarged Bureau.

If the Enlarged Bureau does endorse the draft statute, and intends that the first Prize should be awarded by the end of this year, the Bureau of the Political Affairs Committee would wish to point out that it is a matter of some urgency that the necessary budgetary allocation for the Prize be made, and appropriate administrative structures established.

Yours sincerely,

  
Louis PLANAS

Acting Chairman

PE 122.499/BUA

Document printed in 1988 by the European Parliament - Tel. (33) 4 300 11 11 - Telex 330000/EP - Fax (33) 4 300 11 11

## CHAPTER III

### The Statute of the Sakharov Prize

Between its first adoption, on 6 July 1988, and the substantial amendments to it adopted on 15 May 2003, the Statute of the Sakharov Prize remained virtually unaltered for 15 years. On 22 November 1989, the amount of the prize was raised from 5 000 to 15 000 ecus, after which it remained unchanged for 10 years. On 30 July and 26 October 1999, Elmar Brok, the new Chair of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, wrote to Mrs Nicole Fontaine, the newly elected President of the European Parliament, to propose to the Conference of Presidents that the amount be revised, now that it had remained the same for a decade.<sup>49</sup> At its meeting of 9 March 2000<sup>50</sup>, the Conference of Presidents decided to recommend that the Bureau increase the amount of the prize to 50 000 euros, and on 7 September of the same year<sup>51</sup> instructed the Secretary-General to increase it to 50 000 euros with effect from the year 2000.

In addition, by letter of 26 June 2001<sup>52</sup>, Mr Brok proposed several major amendments to the Statute of the Sakharov Prize. The aim of these was to ensure a large majority for the winner of the annual prize, underlining Parliament's support for the cause. They also sought to update the text of the Statute in the light of current 'political realities'.

The Conference of Presidents held over its consideration of these proposals until 2002, and then until 2003<sup>53</sup>. Finally, at its meeting of 15 May 2003<sup>54</sup>, it adopted most of the amendments with immediate effect. However, the minimum number of Members required in support of a candidacy remained 25, rather than the 32 proposed. The amendments to point 7 concerning the procedure for voting in the Committee on Foreign Affairs were also rejected<sup>55</sup>.

The following table makes it possible to compare the original text of the Statute (first column) and the amended version of May 2003 (second column):

- 
- 49 Letter of 30 July 1999 from Mr Brok, Chair of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, Security and Defence Policy, to Mrs Fontaine, President of the European Parliament, PE5 OD PV/CPRG CPRG-19991028 0025. Mr Brok observed that the sum of 50 000 euros would be more compatible with the prestige and dignity of the prize, would compensate for the decline in its value due to inflation and maintain a certain comparability with prizes awarded by other bodies.
- 50 Minutes of the Conference of Presidents of 9 March 2000, p. 27, PE5 OD PV/CPRG CPRG-20000309 0010.
- 51 Minutes of the Conference of Presidents of 7 September 2000, p. 25, PE5 OD PV/CPRG CPRG-20000907 0010. See also the minutes of the Bureau of 2 October 2000, p. 7, PE5 OD PV/BURE BURE-20001002 0010.
- 52 Letter [of 26 June 2001] from Mr Brok to Mrs Fontaine, President of the European Parliament, PE5 OD PV/CPRG CPRG-20010705 0080.
- 53 Minutes of the Conference of Presidents of 5 July 2001, p. 40, and 4 July 2002, p. 27, PE5 OD PV/CPRG CPRG-20010705 0010 and CPRG-20020704 0010.
- 54 Minutes of the Conference of Presidents of 15 May 2003, p. 30, PE5 OD PV/CPRG CPRG-20030515 0010.
- 55 It was proposed that if a candidate received a two-thirds majority of the votes cast in the Committee on Foreign Affairs, only the name of that candidate should be forwarded to the Conference of Presidents. If none of the candidates secured a two-thirds majority, the names of the three candidates who obtained the most votes would be forwarded to the Conference of Presidents (old procedure), PE5 OD PV/CPRG CPRG-20010705 0080.

Statute of the Sakharov Prize for freedom of thought	Statute of the Sakharov Prize for freedom of thought
adopted on 6 July 1988	adopted on 15 May 2003
1. A Sakharov Prize for freedom of thought (hereinafter called 'the prize') is hereby created. It shall be awarded each year by the European Parliament.	1. The European Parliament will annually award the Sakharov Prize for freedom of thought.
<p>2. The prize shall be awarded for a study or a work on one of the following topics:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– the development of East-West relations in the context of the Helsinki Final Act and, in particular, the third 'basket' thereof on cooperation in humanitarian and other fields,</li> <li>– safeguarding the principle of free scientific inquiry,</li> <li>– the defence of human rights and respect for international law,</li> <li>– the practice of governments in relation to the letter of their constitutions.</li> </ul> <p>Study or work may also be taken to mean any intellectual or artistic achievement not in written form.</p> <p>The prize may also be awarded in recognition of work, activities or achievements in the sector described above.</p>	<p>2. The prize is awarded for a particular achievement in one of the following fields:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– defence of human rights and fundamental freedoms, particularly the right to free expression,</li> <li>– safeguarding the rights of minorities,</li> <li>– respect for international law,</li> <li>– development of democracy and implementation of the rule of law.</li> </ul> <p>'Achievement' means any intellectual or artistic composition or active work in the above fields.</p> <p>(deleted)</p>
3. The amount of the prize shall be 5 000 ECU <sup>56</sup> . The study or work for which the prize is awarded may be published under the auspices of the European Parliament.	3. The prize is EUR 50 000. The European Parliament has the right to publish any work for which the prize is awarded.
<p>4. The prize may be awarded either to natural persons or to associations or organisations, regardless of whether or not they have legal personality.</p> <p>The prize shall be awarded without regard to the nationality or domicile of the persons concerned.</p>	<p>4. The prize may be awarded to natural persons or to associations or organisations, regardless of whether or not they have legal personality.</p> <p>The nationality, place of residence or seat of the candidates is immaterial.</p>

<sup>56</sup> Increased to 15 000 ecus on 22 November 1989 and 50 000 euros on 7 September 2000.

<p>5. If a work or study is submitted in support of an application, it shall be written in one of the official languages of the European Community.</p> <p>The work, activities or achievements referred to in Article 2, third subparagraph, must be described in sufficient detail to enable their accuracy to be established and verified beyond doubt.</p>	<p>5. If a written work is submitted in support of an application, it must be in one of the official languages of the European Union.</p> <p>An achievement within the terms of Article 2 must be substantiated and verifiable.</p>
<p>6. Only personal applications shall be considered. In order to be considered, applications must secure the support of at least twenty-five Members of the European Parliament.</p>	<p>6. Applications must secure the support of at least 25<sup>57</sup> Members, or a political group, of the European Parliament. Individual Members may support only one candidate. Each proposal must be signed and include supporting evidence.</p>
<p>7. Applications which meet the criteria set out above shall be assessed within the Political Affairs Committee<sup>58</sup>. The committee may take the advice of Mr Sakharov. Following that assessment, it shall propose three candidates, in alphabetical order, from which the enlarged Bureau<sup>59</sup> shall select the final winner.</p>	<p>7. Applications which meet the criteria set out above shall be assessed within the Foreign Affairs Committee. Following that assessment, it shall propose three candidates, in alphabetical order, from which the Conference of Presidents shall select the final winner.<sup>60</sup></p>
<p>8. The prize shall be given to the winner by the President of Parliament at a public ceremony which shall be held during one of Parliament's part-sessions.</p>	<p>8. The President of Parliament will present the prize at a ceremony during a plenary session of Parliament.</p>
<p>9. The procedures for awarding the prize shall be governed by internal implementing provisions, laid down by the Political Affairs Committee, which shall be communicated, on request, to any candidate.</p>	<p>9. The procedures for the award of the prize shall be governed by internal implementing provisions to be laid down by the Committee on Foreign Affairs, Human Rights, Common Security and Defence Policy. Those provisions may be communicated to any candidate at his or her request.</p>
<p>10. The decision on the award of the prize shall be final.</p>	<p>10. The decision on the prizewinner is final and may not be challenged in the courts.</p>

<sup>57</sup> The number of Members was raised to 37 on 14 June 2006 and 40 following the accession of Bulgaria and Romania [in 2007], see the minutes of the Conference of Presidents of 14 June 2006, pp. 24-25, and the Statute of the Sakharov Prize, PE 422.585/BUR.

<sup>58</sup> The changes made to the name of this committee: Committee on Political Affairs 1961-1992, Committee on Foreign Affairs and Security 1992-1994, Committee on Foreign Affairs, Security and Defence Policy 1994-1999, Committee on Foreign Affairs, Human Rights, Common Security and Defence Policy 1999-2004, Committee on Foreign Affairs since 2004.

<sup>59</sup> Since 1994, the Conference of Presidents.

<sup>60</sup> Article 7 was amended on 14 June 2006: 'Nominations which meet the formal criteria set out above shall be assessed in a joint meeting of the Committee on Foreign Affairs and the Committee on Development. Following that assessment, the two committees shall proceed jointly to an indicative vote producing a list of three candidates, in alphabetical order, from which the Conference of Presidents shall select one winner', PE 422.585/BUR.



STATUTE OF  
THE SAKHAROV PRIZE FOR FREEDOM OF THOUGHT

adopted by the enlarged Bureau on 6 July 1988

1. A Sakharov Prize for freedom of thought (hereinafter called 'the prize') is hereby created. It shall be awarded each year by the European Parliament.

2. The prize shall be awarded for a study or a work on one of the following topics:

- the development of East-West relations in the context of the Helsinki Final Act and, in particular, the third 'basket' thereof on cooperation in humanitarian and other fields,
- safeguarding the principle of free scientific inquiry,
- the defence of human rights and respect for international law,
- the practice of governments in relation to the letter of their constitutions.

Study or work may also be taken to mean any intellectual or artistic achievement not in written form.

The prize may also be awarded in recognition of work, activities or achievements in the sector described above.

3. The amount of the prize shall be 5 000 ECU. The study or work for which the prize is awarded may be published under the auspices of the European Parliament.

4. The prize may be awarded either to natural persons or to associations or organizations, regardless of whether or not they have legal personality.

The prize shall be awarded without regard to the nationality or domicile of the persons concerned.

5. If a work or study is submitted in support of an application, it shall be written in one of the official languages of the European Community.

The work, activities or achievements referred to in Article 2, third subparagraph, must be described in sufficient detail to enable their accuracy to be established and verified beyond doubt.

PE 123.239/fin.  
(PE 124.760/BUR/Ann. 111)

000050

6. Only personal applications shall be considered. In order to be considered, applications must secure the support of at least twenty-five Members of the European Parliament.

7. Applications which meet the criteria set out above shall be assessed within the Political Affairs Committee. The committee may take the advice of Mr Sakharov. Following that assessment, it shall propose three candidates, in alphabetical order, from which the enlarged Bureau shall select the final winner.

8. The prize shall be given to the winner by the President of Parliament at a public ceremony which shall be held during one of Parliament's part-sessions.

9. The procedures for awarding the prize shall be governed by internal implementing provisions, laid down by the Political Affairs Committee, which shall be communicated, on request, to any candidate.

10. The decision on the award of the prize shall be final.

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c o

PF 123,259/tin.  
(PE 124,760/BJR/Ann. 111)



## CHAPTER IV

### The financing of the Sakharov Prize

In its resolution of 13 December 1985 on the creation of a Sakharov Prize<sup>61</sup>, the European Parliament declared ‘its readiness to provide the necessary funds from its own budget to finance the prize and the administration involved’.

In the initial years, the Sakharov Prize was paid for using the budget heading reserved for the financing of cultural initiatives of European interest, as proposed by the Bureau at its meeting of 4 February 1987<sup>62</sup>. Since 1995, the remarks on the heading have indicated that it is primarily intended to finance the Sakharov Prize.

The following little table shows how the budget headings covering expenditure associated with the Sakharov Prize have developed (the prize money itself, the travel and subsistence expenses of the winner and his family, the cost of the medal and other ancillary expenses).

Budget <sup>63</sup>	Item	Heading
1988-1993	2942	Financing of cultural projects of European interest (under Other grants)
1994- 1996	2943	Financing of cultural projects of European interest, particularly the Sakharov Prize (under Cultural Projects)
1997-2005	2725	Financing of cultural projects of European interest, particularly the Sakharov Prize (under Organisation of seminars, symposia and cultural activities)
2006–	3245	Financing of cultural projects of European interest, particularly the Sakharov Prize (under Organisation of seminars, symposia and cultural activities)

61 Resolution of the European Parliament on the creation of a Sakharov Prize, OJ C 352, 31.12.1985, p. 304.

62 Minutes of the Bureau of 4 February 1987, p. 4, PE2 OD PV/BURE BURE-19870204 0010.

63 Cf. Parliament’s estimates of revenue and expenditure for the financial years 1988 to 2012.



# CHAPTER V

## A quarter of a century of the Sakharov Prize

### 1. Annual procedure

In accordance with the Statute of the Sakharov Prize, the European Parliament awards the Sakharov Prize each year. The annual procedure is as follows.

In June or July, the Conference of Presidents<sup>64</sup> adopts the timetable proposed by the secretariat of the Bureau for the award of the Sakharov Prize. The timetable adopted is immediately communicated to Members. In general, the deadline for proposing candidates to the Committee on Foreign Affairs<sup>65</sup> is in mid-September. Then the Committee on Foreign Affairs considers the candidacies in the second half of September or in October. After the vote in committee, a list of three names, placed in alphabetical order, is submitted to the Conference of Presidents. The latter chooses the final winner in October or November.

The award ceremony is held during the December part-session in Strasbourg. The President of the European Parliament presents the prize to the winner or his representative. The formal sitting is followed by a press conference attended by the winner and the President of the European Parliament.

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<sup>64</sup> The enlarged Bureau until 1994.

<sup>65</sup> The Committee on Political Affairs until 1992.

## 2. The winners of the Sakharov Prize over the years

### 1988

In 1988, seven candidates were proposed to the secretariat of the Committee on Political Affairs: Larisa Bogoraz, the International Human Rights Association, Nelson Mandela, Anatoly Marchenko, Nathan Sharansky, Mordechai Vanunu and Roald Zelichenok<sup>66</sup>.

At its meeting of 27 September 1988, having held a vote by secret ballot, the Committee on Political Affairs adopted a list of three candidates which it forwarded to the President, Lord Plumb<sup>67</sup>:

- Nelson Mandela, symbol of the struggle against apartheid, convicted of ‘treason’ and sentenced to life imprisonment. In 1988, he had been in prison for 25 years and had systematically refused to be released conditionally, as he believed that freedom was not something to be obtained by barter: only a free man could negotiate.
- Anatoly Marchenko, a Soviet dissident and member of the Moscow Helsinki Group (1975), who had spent more than 20 years in prison or internal exile and who had died in December 1986 at the age of 48, in Chistopol prison, as a result of a hunger strike. In his book *My Testimony*<sup>68</sup>, Mr Marchenko was the first person to report on the camps and prisons in the post-Stalin period.
- Roald Zelichenok, a Soviet *refuznik* and author of many scientific works whose life had become very difficult after applying for an emigration visa in 1978 and who had been arrested in 1985 for ‘slander’. He committed himself to pressurising the Soviet authorities to find a solution to the problems associated with the emigration of Jews.<sup>69</sup>

As the Statute of the Sakharov Prize stipulates, the Committee on Political Affairs may seek the opinion of Mr Sakharov on candidacies<sup>70</sup>. In an undated document<sup>71</sup>, in Russian, signed by Mr Sakharov and addressed to the Sakharov Prize Committee, the physicist proposed that the prize be awarded posthumously to Anatoly Marchenko<sup>72</sup>. Mr Sakharov stressed that the life and work of Mr Marchenko bore witness to the non-violent struggle for justice and a search for transparent and complete truth.

At its meeting of 26 October 1988<sup>73</sup>, the enlarged Bureau decided to award the prize jointly to Nelson Mandela and Anatoly Marchenko. It also reiterated its wish for the laureates to receive the prize at the December 1988 part-session. Unfortunately, however,

66 Notice to the members of the Committee on Political Affairs of 19 September 1988, PE2 AP PV/POLI.1984 POLI-19880927 0040.

67 Minutes of the Committee on Political Affairs of 27 September 1988, p. 5, PE2 AP PV/POLI.1984 POLI-19880927 0010; letter of 29 September 1988 from Mr Ercini, Chair of the Committee on Political Affairs, to Lord Plumb, President of the European Parliament, PE2 P2 272/COMP POLI.1984-040 0090.

68 *My Testimony*, New York: Dell Publishing, 1969.

69 Brief biographical note on the three candidates shortlisted by the Committee on Political Affairs with a view to the decision of the enlarged Bureau on the award of the Sakharov Prize for 1988, PE2 OD PV/BURE BUEL-19881026 0050.

70 Statute of the Sakharov Prize for freedom of thought, adopted by the enlarged Bureau on 6 July 1988, SG 04EV B1920/ACT-MAN MAN-250 0010.

71 Undated letter from Mr Sakharov to the Sakharov Prize Committee, PE2 P2 272/COMP POLI.1984-040 0091.

72 Until 2011, Mr Marchenko was the only winner to be awarded the Sakharov Prize posthumously.

73 Minutes of the enlarged Bureau of 26 October 1988, p. 8, PE2 OD PV/BURE BUEL-19881026 0010.

there was not enough time for this, as the process of contacting the prizewinners and their representatives would take several weeks<sup>74</sup>. Furthermore, neither the laureates' representatives nor Mr and Mrs Sakharov were able to confirm that they could attend the December part-session.

On 1 December 1988, the enlarged Bureau decided, on a proposal from the President, Lord Plumb, that the full prize money would be awarded to both laureates<sup>75</sup>.

At its meeting of 18 January 1989<sup>76</sup>, the enlarged Bureau noted Lord Plumb's announcement that the Sakharov Prize would be presented to the laureates' representatives at the February 1989 part-session. The minutes of the meeting of the enlarged Bureau of 27 January 1989<sup>77</sup> specified a date and time for the ceremony: 15 February 1989 at 15.00.

Acting on a proposal from the Committee on Political Affairs, the President also invited Jean-François Deniau – the former MEP who had originally proposed the creation of the Sakharov Prize<sup>78</sup> – to the ceremony. As the invitation did not reach him in time, Mr Deniau sent Lord Plumb a telegram<sup>79</sup> stating how sorry he was that he would not be able to attend and thanking all his colleagues who had successfully put his initiative into practice.

At a formal sitting in Strasbourg on 15 February 1989, the inaugural Sakharov Prize – a gilded bronze medal, a commemorative scroll and a cheque for 5 000 ecus – was presented to members of the two laureates' families. Mr Marchenko's widow, Larisa Borgoraz – herself a human rights activist – received the prize on behalf of her husband. Their two sons also attended the ceremony. The prize awarded to Nelson Mandela – who at the time was incarcerated at Pollsmoor Prison – was presented to his 14-year-old grandson, Mandla Mandela<sup>80</sup>.

The President of Parliament had of course invited Mr Sakharov, by means of an official invitation in writing and during the President's visit to Moscow. Parliament was keen for Mr Sakharov to present the inaugural prize bearing his name to the laureates<sup>81</sup>. Mr Sakharov's strenuous programme of engagements, however, including official meetings and an election campaign in Moscow, meant that he was unable to attend the inaugural award ceremony.

In his address at the formal sitting, the President of the European Parliament, Lord Plumb, stated that the inaugural award ceremony was 'a most unusual event from

74 See correspondence between the President's Cabinet and the various addressees, PE2 P2 265/DHOM DHOM-1987-090 0010.

75 Minutes of the enlarged Bureau of 1 December 1988, p. 12, PE2 OD PV/BURE BUEL-19881201 0010.

76 Minutes of the enlarged Bureau of 18 January 1989, p. 3, PE2 OD PV/BURE BUEL-19890118 0010.

77 Minutes of the enlarged Bureau of 27 January 1989, p. 5, PE2 OD PV/BURE BUEL-19890127 0010.

78 Letter of 29 September 1988 from Mr Ercini, Chair of the Committee on Political Affairs, to Lord Plumb, President of the European Parliament, PE2 P2 272/COMP POLI.1984-040 0090. See also: minutes of the enlarged Bureau of 18 January 1989.

79 Telegram of 15 February 1989 from Mr Deniau to Lord Plumb, PE2 P2 265/DHOM DHOM-1987-090 0010.

80 This was a deliberate move to show that the prize had been awarded to Nelson Mandela in a personal capacity, and not in his capacity as leader of his political movement.

81 Letter of 31 October 1988 from Lord Plumb, President of the European Parliament, to Mr Sakharov, PE2 P2 265/DHOM DHOM-1987-090 0010. The archives show that Lord Plumb visited Moscow in September 1988. He met Mr Sakharov and his wife, Elena Bonner, and personally handed them an invitation to the award ceremony. Letter of 1 September 1988 from Lord Bethell to Robert Ramsay, Head of the President's Cabinet, PE2 P2 215/VISI VISI-19880906 0520.



Parliament's point of view'. The President gave a brief summary of the history of the prize before moving on to describe the laureates and introduce their representatives. He expressed regret at the fact that Mr Sakharov was unable to attend the historic occasion, but stated that '[e]ven if he is not present he has conveyed his hope that he could be with us on a future occasion, perhaps as a fellow parliamentarian'.<sup>82</sup>

Nelson Mandela, who was released from prison in February 1990, came to address a formal sitting of the European Parliament on 13 June 1990. He outlined the political situation in South Africa and emphasised that his country had not yet undergone the 'profound and irreversible changes' necessary to put an end to the apartheid system, and stated that the struggle had to continue. Mr Mandela thanked the European Parliament for having awarded him the Sakharov Prize in 1988, stating: 'We take this as a challenge that we should remain true to the vision we all share of a world free of war and free of poverty and suffering. We take it as a challenge above all to have the courage to fight for justice and peace.'<sup>83</sup>

The Nobel Peace Prize 1993 was awarded jointly to Nelson Mandela and F.W. de Klerk.

In 1994, Nelson Mandela was elected President of South Africa for a five-year term.

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82 European Parliament debates of 15 February 1989, No 2-374/152-153. In December 1986, Mr Sakharov was allowed to leave Gorki and returned to Moscow with his wife. In November 1988, he was at last authorised to make his first trip to the West – the US. In March 1989, he was elected to the Congress of People's Deputies of the Soviet Union, the new parliament in Moscow. He died of a heart attack just nine months later, on 14 December 1989.

83 European Parliament debates of 13 June 1990, No 3-391/188-191.



Lord Plumb, President of the European Parliament, presents the 1988 Sakharov Prize to Larisa Borgoraz, widow of Anatoly Marchenko, and to Mandla Mandela, grandson of Nelson Mandela, 15 February 1989.



Enrique Barón Crespo, President of the European Parliament, welcomes Nelson Mandela, 13 June 1990.

# В КОМИТЕТ ПО САХАРОВСКОЙ ПРЕМИИ

## ПРЕДЛОЖЕНИЕ

И предлагаю присудить Сахаровскую премию Марченко Анатолию Тихоновичу (посмертно).

В широко известной книге Марченко "Мои показания" впервые рассказано о политических лагерях и тюрьмах. Она стала одним из истоков движения за права человека в нашей стране, это нравственный дух ненасильственной борьбы за справедливость, стремления к неприкрытой и полной правде. Книга вызвала ненависть репрессивных органов к ее автору. Весь его последующий путь и трагическая гибель в Чистопольской тюрьме – это расплата за правду и стойкость, высокую принципиальность. Одним из обихждений последнего приговора Марченко надлежало его выступление в мою защиту.

Жизненный подвиг и творчество Марченко – огромный вклад в дело демократизма, гуманизма и справедливости.

Лауреат Нобелевской премии мира

*А. Сахаров* А. Сахаров

Letter from Andrei Sakharov, Laureate of the Nobel Peace Prize, to the Sakharov Prize Committee

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Translation

Subject:        Proposal

I hereby propose that the Sakharov Prize be posthumously awarded to Anatoly Tikhonovich Marchenko.

It was in Marchenko's renowned book entitled 'My Testimony' that the camps and prisons of the post-Stalin period were discussed for the first time. The book helped to give rise to the human rights movement in the Soviet Union and endow it with a firm moral belief in the non-violent struggle for justice and aspirations for the truth to be revealed in its entirety. The book led the repressive apparatus to unleash their wrath upon its author. The remainder of Marchenko's life, until his tragic death in Chistopol prison, saw him pay dearly for his indefatigability and strong moral code. One of the charges levelled against Marchenko during his final conviction was that he had spoken out in my defence.

Marchenko's heroic life and his works represent an enormous contribution to the causes of democracy, humanism and justice.

(Closing formula and signature)



ΕΥΡΩΠΑΪΚΟ ΠΑΡΛΑΜΕΝΤ  
Europäische Gemeinschaften  
EUROPÄISCHES PARLAMENT  
Ευρωπαϊκή Κοινότητα  
ΕΥΡΩΠΑΪΚΟ ΚΟΙΝΟΒΟΥΛΙΟ

Europäisches Parlament  
EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT  
Comunidade Europeia  
PARLAMENTO EUROPEO  
Communauté Européenne  
PARLEMENT EUROPÉEN

Comitato Europeo  
PARLAMENTO EUROPEO  
Europäer Gemeinschaften  
EUROPEES PARLEMENT  
Comunidades Europeas  
PARLAMENTO EUROPEO

Commissione politica  
II Presidente

Bruxelles, le

Lord PLUMB  
Président du Parlement européen

BRUXELLES

BRUXELLES

02040 29.09.88

Monsieur le Président,

PARLEMENT EUROPÉEN
03. X. 1988
ED 13559

La commission politique, réunie à Bruxelles du 27 au 29 septembre 1988, a arrêté la liste des trois noms sur la base desquels le Bureau élargi choisira le lauréat du "Prix Sakharov" pour l'année 1988.

Il s'agit dans l'ordre alphabétique de :

M. Nelson MANDELA  
M. Anatoli MARCHEUKO  
M. Roald ZELICHENKO.

Par ailleurs, M. Jean-François DENTAN ayant été à l'origine de l'institution de ce prix et, quoiqu'il ne soit plus membre de notre institution, je me permets de vous suggérer de l'inviter lors de la remise de ce prix.

Veuillez croire, Monsieur le Président, à l'assurance de ma considération distinguée.

*Gergio Arcini*

Gergio ARCINI.

TRANSMIS A *F. de la Courbe*

Pour information

NOTE

NOTE

NOTE

NOTE

Service presse du Parlement européen - 1049 Luxembourg - Tél. 4600411-4600412 - Télécopie 4600413

0-333/14

6. Proposals from the Political Affairs Committee concerning the award of the Sakharov Prize for 1988

The enlarged Bureau

- noted the following documents:

- o a letter dated 29 September 1988 from Mr Broini, Chairman of the Political Affairs Committee (PE 126.682/BUR),
- o short biographical sketches of the three candidates shortlisted by the Political Affairs Committee (PE 126.564/BUR),
- o the Statute of the Sakharov Prize adopted by the enlarged Bureau on 6 July 1988 (PE 124.760/BUR);

- considered, in accordance with the Statute of the Sakharov Prize, the three candidates shortlisted by the Political Affairs Committee;

- decided to award the prize jointly to Mr Nelson Mandela and to Mr Anatoly Marchenko;

- hoped that the Prize would be awarded during the part-session in December 1988;

- approved the expenditure which would be incurred in ensuring the presence of the guests invited by the President.

EN(88)2680E

- 8 -

PE 127.760/BUR

*The President  
of the European Parliament*  
THE LORD PLUMB

31 October 1988

Dear Dr Sakharov,

I am writing to advise you formally that the Prize which you so graciously agree should bear your name - "the Sakharov Prize for freedom of Thought" - has been awarded by the European Parliament jointly to:

- Mr. Anatoly Marchenko (posthumously)
- and
- Mr. Nelson Mandela

Both men, by virtue of their outstanding courage and self-sacrifice in the struggle for human rights and freedoms seen to us to embody the values which it was intended that the Prize should highlight. I trust you will approve of our choice and of our decision to honour them jointly. We very much hope that circumstances will permit Larissa Dogaraz and her son to come to Strasbourg to receive the Prize on behalf of her late husband. Mr Mandela, together with his wife, Mrs Mandela, have also been invited to receive the Prize in person.

I would now like to repeat the invitation which I extended to you when we met in Moscow. The European Parliament would deem it a great honour if, for the award of this first Prize, you would be able to be present personally to confer the award. It is anticipated that this will take place at a public ceremony in Strasbourg in the period of 13 - 15 December during the course of Parliament's Plenary session.

It goes without saying that all ancillary expenses for travel arrangements and accommodation for yourself and your wife will be borne by the European Parliament.

I do very much hope that you will find yourself able to accept our invitation and would stress again the significance that the European Parliament attaches to your being able to make the award in person.

Yours sincerely,

*Henry Plumb*

Dr Andrei Sakharov,  
48b Chkalov Street  
Appt 6B,  
107120 Moscow

..





OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT



15.02.1989

## EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

STATEMENT BY LORD PLUMB, PRESIDENT OF THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT,  
AT THE PRESENTATION OF THE SAKHAROV PRIZE FOR FREEDOM OF THOUGHT,  
AWARDED TO MR ANATOLI MARCHENKO AND MR NELSON MANDELA,  
STRASBOURG, 15TH FEBRUARY 1989 - 15.15 HRS

Four years ago, the idea of this prize was born in the European Parliament.

We wished to create an annual human rights prize to pay tribute to those individuals who fight for freedom of thought.

We felt that one particular individual - Andrey Dmitriyevich Sakharov, represented this fight exactly. The award that we conferred today therefore is known as 'The Sakharov Prize for Freedom of Thought'.

Parliament's Resolution of 13th December 1985 provided that it should be awarded to an individual or organisation who had contributed to

- the development of East-West relations in the context of the Helsinki Final Act, and in particular the element relating to cooperation in humanitarian and other fields
- safeguarding the principle of free scientific inquiry
- the defence of human rights and respect for international law, and
- the practice of governments in relation to the letter of their constitutions

Much to my regret, Mr Sakharov cannot be with us today. As you may be aware, he has recently completed a strenuous and demanding programme of engagements. He is also standing for the Soviet Parliament.

He has conveyed his hope that he will be with us on a future occasion, perhaps at that time as a fellow Parliamentarian. He has been in regular contact with us ever since he indicated that he would be willing to give his name to the prize; and he has been very closely associated with the rules for awarding the Prize.

The first joint-winners of the Prize are Mr Nelson Mandela and the late Mr Anatoly Marchenko.

Circumstances known to all do not permit Mr Mandela to leave his country to receive the award in person. Today we presented this prize to his grandson Mandla Mandela.

The posthumous award for Mr Marchenko was received by his widow Mrs Larissa Bogoraz, herself a renowned human rights campaigner.

FOR FURTHER INFO CONTACT: David Harley x 4082 or Lionel Stanbrook x 4506

No 4-591 1988

Debates of the European Parliament

14.6.90

HABSBURG

China, so that the victims of Tiananmen Square will not have died in vain.

The developments in China remind me of the Hungarian uprising in 1956. The uprising defeated, in the end, in the liberalisation we welcome today, one of the most objectionable systems from a totalitarian system to a democracy without bloodshed.

The news this morning that the Romanian government has again cleared the square in front of the government buildings with tanks and soldiers reminds us terribly of what happened on Tiananmen Square a year ago. By condemning China today for its infringement of human rights we are also giving a signal to Romania. We cannot allow another government to suppress freedom in Romania.

*Applause from the right.*

**PRESIDENT.** — I have received four motions for resolutions with a request for an early vote to wind up the debate on these vital questions.<sup>1</sup>

The vote on the request for an early vote will take place at the end of the debate.

The debate is adjourned; it will be continued tomorrow.

*The sitting was closed at 9.05 p.m.*

## ANNEX

## FORMAL SITTING

IN THE CHAIR: MR BARON CRISPI

*President*

**PRESIDENT.** — Ladies and gentlemen, honourable Members, Mr Mandela, when in 1988 the European Parliament awarded you the Sakharov prize, we knew that our decision would penetrate the walls of your prison. At that time you could not come to receive the prize. In an atmosphere of restrained emotion my predecessor handed over the prize to your grandson. All of us present at that moment expressed our strong wish to have you with us in person.

Today, Mr Mandela, this wish has now become a reality. In the name of the Members of this House I cordially welcome you to the European Parliament.

*Applause.*

In this House we have followed developments in your country at every step and we have actively intervened, condemning the barbarity and oppression of a system based on racial segregation: a system which obliged you to spend 26 long years in prison.

Ladies and gentlemen, I should like to remind you that during all his time in prison Mr Mandela rejected any compromise with his jailers, without ever renouncing the democratic principles which inspired his political struggle.

Since your release, Mr Mandela, the world has been impressed by your great personal dignity and courage and in particular by your willingness to sit down with the South African Government to seek a peaceful solution to the problems created by apartheid. This is the enormous strength of your tenacious government maintained for 30 years, firmly rejecting racial segregation and seeking a new political order based on the principle of 'one man, one vote'.

We hope that, in a climate of civil peace and reconciliation, it will be possible to build in South Africa a democratic parliamentary system, of all and for all.

Ladies and gentlemen, in recent months our attention has been fixed on the democratic transition now taking place in Europe itself and, in particular, on the establishment of parliamentary institutions in Central and Eastern Europe and indeed within the Soviet Union. Mr Mandela's presence here today reminds us that the struggle for human rights must continue in all parts of the world, and most especially in South Africa, where a process is beginning of recognition of human rights and fundamental freedoms; however, there is still a long road to travel.

Today, even more than in the past, we reaffirm our commitment to fight together against racism and all those in Europe, Africa or elsewhere, who would seek to use racial hatred as a political platform. I would remind the House that, when Mr Mandela was released in February of this year, the European Parliament also called for the lifting of the state of emergency in South Africa and for an amnesty for all political prisoners. Parliament saw in the release of Mr Mandela and the measures announced by the South African authorities a chance for the establishment of normal political life.

The hope that international cooperation will progressively replace ideological confrontation must always be ever more vibrant and firm in the defence of our democratic values. We cannot permit sporadic acts of criminal violence based on racial, ethnic or religious discrimination, to break out.

Mr Mandela, on this occasion we also remember those who lost their lives resisting apartheid. Some of these, like Steve Biko, died in prison under torture; others were killed by the police while taking part in peaceful demonstrations. Mr Mandela, you speak for them all and also for future generations to whom your life and work will be a continuing inspiration.

Mr Nelson Mandela, winner of the 1988 Sakharov prize, you have the floor.

**NELSON MANDELA.** — Mr President, distinguished representatives of the peoples of Western Europe, esteemed leaders of the European Community, Your

<sup>1</sup> See Minutes.

<sup>2</sup> Agenda for next sitting. See Minutes.

13.6.90

Debates of the European Parliament

No 3 391-189

## NELSON MANDELA

Excellencies, Ambassadors and members of the Diplomatic Corps, friends, ladies and gentlemen, we feel truly honoured and privileged as we stand at the podium of so distinguished a Chamber of democratic government and peaceful international cooperation as the seat of the European Parliament.

These feelings are made more poignant by the fact that we issue from a people that is disenfranchised. We, however, also carry with us the pain which derives from the knowledge that we left behind in prison some of the best sons and daughters of our people, who are incarcerated because they dared to raise their voices to demand rights which many in this Chamber probably take for granted. We are moved by the awareness of the fact that this Assembly constitutes a prayer to a happier future, a bold response to an earlier European history which gave birth to the most brutal tyrannies and bloodiest of wars.

We are most grateful to you all that by your invitation you enable us to be here today but, more than this, we thank you that by your ceaseless efforts and those of the millions of people you represent, you liberated from prison so many of us, including my colleagues with whom I was sentenced to life imprisonment. Your actions in pursuit of the cause of the release of all South African political prisoners and the emancipation of our people from racial bondage have served as a vindication of the nobility of the human spirit. They have demonstrated the undiminished strength of the universal human conscience which guarantees the transience of all tyrannies, whether in Nazi Germany, Franco's Spain, Greece of the Colonels or apartheid South Africa.

We are indeed truly glad and obliged to you that you battered down the prison doors so that we could be among you and with you at this moment of history. When it seems so clear that the people are determined to remake the world in which they live and die, you have given us the opportunity, whose worth surpasses the most precious metal, to participate in that process of helping to remake our own homeland and that of the rest of the world so that our people may also be proud to speak of their country as a haven of justice and liberty, peace and prosperity. Perhaps in equal measure, as another, this continent knows the true meaning of racism. Its peoples have both been perpetrators of racism against others and themselves been victims of an abusive and murderous racist ideology. You will therefore know that this ideology and practice demeans and dehumanises both its practitioner and its victim. It locks both into a clinging embrace of conflict and hatred. In the end and at its worst, it inevitably leads to genocide and the most heinous crimes against humanity.

As South Africans, history has given us the responsibility to make our own due contribution to the elimination of this scourge. We have no qualifications better than any other person's to carry out this historic mission. What we have is the reality of a racist system which has to be ended without delay.

What impels us to act is the daily picture we see, of black children who are dead when they should have been alive, of stunted adults who should have been as fit as athletes, of bullet-riddled bodies of patients who should have been alive except that they elected to be counted among the peacemakers.

As we watched the staring eyes of oppressors and the torturers, year in and year out, and felt the pain in their cruelty, year in and year out, we understood that we could not end the nightmare by surrendering ourselves to the passion of hatred and the spirit of vengeance and retribution. We understood that were we to succumb to these elemental instincts, we would turn ourselves into a new cabal of oppressors, the instrument for the destruction of our people. We came to learn that the very survival of our country demands that we proceed from a position of genuine love and respect for all our people and for all humanity.

And so today we are engaged in efforts to find a peaceful solution to the problems facing our country. In this process we seek no advantage for our own organization, the African National Congress. We do not pursue any goals which would result in some emerging as winners and others as losers. We are striving to proceed in a manner and towards a result which will ensure that all our people, both black and white, emerge as victors.

We recognize President De Klerk and his colleagues in the National Party as men and women of integrity. We believe that they speak honestly when they say they seek an end to the apartheid system. We are of the view that they are ready to honour all agreements they enter into. We are therefore prepared to work with them to arrive at a just and lasting negotiated solution.

For this solution to be just and lasting, it must result in the transformation of South Africa into a united, democratic and non-racial country. Anything less than this would condemn our country to worsening and endemic conflict. It would be an insult to the memory of the countless patriots in South Africa and the rest of our region, who have sacrificed their very lives, to bring us to the moment today when we can confidently say that the end of the apartheid system is in sight.

*(Sustained applause)*

Every adult South African must have the right to participate in governing our country through a system of one person, one vote. The human rights of all our citizens must be guaranteed under an entrenched and justiciable bill of rights which should be enforced by an independent judiciary. The rights of every citizen to his or her language, culture and religion must also be guaranteed. These are some of the elements which have to be part of the new democratic constitutional framework.

We are further convinced that this new constitution should, as in Namibia, be negotiated by an elected constituent assembly. This would ensure that the people themselves decide who should represent them. It would also be of vital importance in ensuring that the new

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## NELSON MANDELA

constitution enjoys legitimacy and acceptability among the masses of the people. It is similarly of central importance that these political changes should be accompanied by serious economic transformations as well. We have to ensure that the economy serves the interests of the people as a whole, is geared to end the terrible poverty and deprivation that is the legacy of the apartheid system, and grows at a rate and in a manner which will enable all the people to enjoy a decent and rising standard of living.

Despite everything we have said, it is important to bear in mind that we are faced with the reality that the apartheid system in our country continues. We continue to be ruled by a white minority government. All the other pillars of the apartheid system have not yet been removed. Police repression is still part of the reality of our daily lives. Our people continue to die in the pursuit of Natal as a direct result of the fact of the system of apartheid.

*Applause from the left and centre.*

The agreement we arrived at in our discussions with the government at the beginning of last month addresses only the issue of the removal of the obstacles to the process of negotiations. The agreement constituted a significant step forward, not only because it will result in the removal of these obstacles, but also because it will demonstrate the good faith of the South African Government. Important as these results are, they should not blind us to the fact that they will not result in the removal of the apartheid system itself.

Indeed, it is also of vital importance that we do not forget that there are many among our white compatriots who do not accept that the system of white minority domination must come to an end. Many of these are armed. They are to be found within both the arms and the police. Others have organized and are forming themselves into armed vigilante groups. These groups are further supported by similarly armed black killer groups. These armed and trained groups pose a direct threat to the negotiations which are so necessary in order to bring about a speedy transformation of our country into a non-racial democracy.

What all this means is that the struggle against apartheid must continue.

*Applause from the left and centre.*

We have not yet arrived at the situation visualized at the European Community Summit Meeting last December and reflected in the United Nations General Assembly Declaration of the same month, when we can say that profound and irreversible changes have taken place leading to the end of the apartheid system.

It is for this reason that we insist that the struggle must continue. To stop or to de-escalate that struggle now would only have the effect of helping to perpetuate the apartheid system. The masses of our people must therefore continue the struggle within our own country. The international community shares the same obligation.

That is why we continue to call on the peoples of the world to maintain sanctions.

*Prolonged applause from the left and centre.*

We address the same call to this august Parliament with all the force and authority at our command. Sanctions were imposed as a peaceful means of ensuring the end of the apartheid system. As we have said, this result has not yet been achieved. It is therefore only logical that the existing sanctions should be kept in place.

*Applause from the left and centre.*

We would like to issue this serious warning that any movement backwards on this point will threaten the process of negotiations itself. This will happen precisely because a reduction of pressure will diminish the strength of the impetus which has obliged the white population of our country to accept the necessity and inevitability of change. The situation should not be created where our people could point an accusing finger at the governments and peoples of Western Europe that, at the moment when movement forward seemed possible, these peoples and governments acted in a manner which denied us that possibility.

We would like to take this opportunity to commend this Parliament for the role it has played in the struggle to isolate apartheid South Africa, including measures it took to mobilize for effective sanctions and to monitor the implementation of those that had been imposed. We count on you to maintain this pressure on the governments of the European Community, speaking on behalf of the millions of people who elected you as their representatives in this Parliament.

We also believe that it is important that governments should honour such international agreements as they may enter into. We mention this because last December the governments of the European Community went to great lengths to prepare for and to participate in the special session of the UN General Assembly in which we have referred. It is this session which, in the recommendation of the combined delegation of the European Community, adopted the wording that pressure should not be relaxed until profound and irreversible changes had taken place in South Africa.

*Applause from the left and centre.*

We must also bring to your attention that our movement and people also need enormous material resources to enable them to accomplish various objectives. We have the responsibility to re-establish the ANC as a legal organization after 19 years of illegality. The accomplishment of this task is not only important in the interests of the ANC, as such, it is vital for the success of the process of negotiation itself. Without a strong and viable ANC, able to bring the millions of our people into the political process of a negotiated settlement, there is little chance that this process will succeed. In this context, it is important to remember that the ANC has, since 1960, been working on the government to convince this government to enter into negotiations with us. The very meeting at the beginning

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NELSON MANDELA

of May took place at the initiative of the ANC. We have a responsibility, as much as does the government, to ensure that the process on which we have embarked remains on course.

We also have the responsibility to organize for the return and resettlement of the tens of thousands of our compatriots who were forced into exile by the apartheid system. We shall soon be finalizing the details of a general amnesty which will enable this process of repatriation to begin. This will require large resources so that we are able to address the housing, education, employment and other needs of the returnees. We trust that you will assist us to generate the resources that we require.

We should like to take this opportunity to convey our sincere thanks to the European Community for the assistance it has extended to our democratic movement and people since the special programme of assistance was instituted in 1986. This assistance has definitely made a difference and has been handled by the Commission in a manner which has respected the integrity of our democratic movement. But, as we have said, we need even larger resources. We understand that the Commission will quite correctly seek more funds this year. We trust that this Parliament will continue to be generous when this budget is discussed, as part of its continued commitment to the common effort to end apartheid and achieve democracy in our country.

Dear friends, the liberated South Africa will continue to count on your support as it works to reinforce and

consolidate the institutions of a democratic society that will be necessary to guarantee that tyranny in any form does not raise its ugly head again. We will need your assistance to develop our economy and to participate in the building of a southern Africa an economic community of free and equal nations which can become an engine of growth, development and prosperity in Africa. As we have been partners in the struggle to end apartheid so should we use the bonds we have built to strengthen our partnership for peace, democracy and social progress.

We thank you most sincerely for the warmth with which you have received us. We thank you too for awarding us the Sakharov Prize in 1988. We take this as a challenge that we should remain true to the vision we all share of a world free of war and free of poverty and suffering. We take it as a challenge above all to have the courage to fight for justice and peace. Whatever the obstacles, we shall try not to fail you.

*(Loud and sustained applause)*

**PRESIDENT.** Ladies and gentlemen, on behalf of Parliament I wish to thank the winner of the Sakharov Prize, Mr Nelson Mandela, for the impassioned and profound speech which he delivered to the House.

The sitting is now suspended and I hope that we shall meet again at the meeting of the enlarged Bureau at 5.30 p.m. which is open to all Members.

*(Loud applause)*

## 1989

The third term of the directly-elected European Parliament began in 1989. On 14 September 1989, the Secretary-General informed the House that the nomination deadline for the 1989 Sakharov Prize would be 6 October<sup>84</sup>.

Five nominations were made by MEPs and political groups in 1989<sup>85</sup>:

- Doina Cornea, a teacher and leading light in the opposition movement during the Ceaușescu regime in Romania. Nominated by Alexander Langer and Maria Amélia Santos, on behalf of the Green Group, and Sir Christopher Prout, Lord Bethell and other members of the ED Group.
- Alexander Dubček, Czechoslovakian politician and father of the Prague Spring movement which began in 1968. Nominated by Jean Defraigne and António Capucho, on behalf of the LDR Group, and Luigi Alberto Colajanni, on behalf of a number of members of the GUE Group.
- Gyula Horn, the Hungarian politician and Foreign Minister who had called for Hungary's borders to be opened in 1989. Nominated by Egon Klepsch, Giovanni Gorla, Marcelino Oreja and Leo C. Tindemans, on behalf of the PPE Group, and Vincenzo Mattina, Wim van Velzen and other members of the S Group.
- Tadeusz Mazowiecki, who in 1989 was elected in Poland as head of the first non-communist government in a Warsaw Pact country. Nominated by Anne McIntosh and other members of the ED Group, and by members of the PPE, EDA and LDR groups.
- Chico Mendes, a Brazilian activist who fought to preserve the Amazon rainforest and the rights of the rubber tappers and indigenous peoples of the Amazon. He had been assassinated in 1988. Nominated by Luigi Alberto Colajanni, on behalf of the GUE Group.

The Committee on Political Affairs considered the nominations on 7 November 1989<sup>86</sup>. Four were declared admissible, those of Doina Cornea, Alexander Dubček, Gyula Horn and Tadeusz Mazowiecki<sup>87</sup>. Mr Gorla, the Chair of the Committee on Political Affairs, informed Mr Barón Crespo, the President of Parliament, of the names of the three nominees selected by the Committee on Political Affairs<sup>88</sup>. The nominees with the highest number of votes were Doina Cornea, Alexander Dubček and Gyula Horn.

The Committee on Political Affairs decided not to ask Mr Sakharov for his opinion, but did call on President Barón Crespo to inform the three nominees that the committee had put forward<sup>89</sup>.

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84 Notice to Members of 14 September 1989, PE3 OD PV/BURE BUEL-19890913 0220.

85 Minutes of the Committee on Political Affairs of 16 October 1989, p. 7, PE3 AP PV/POLI.1989 POLI-19891016 0010.

86 Minutes of the Committee on Political Affairs of 7 November 1989, p. 6, PE3 AP PV/POLI.1989 POLI-19891107 0010.

87 The nomination of Chico Mendes by the GUE Group was inadmissible since the same group of signatories had also nominated Alexander Dubček.

88 Letter of 9 November 1989 from Mr Gorla, Chair of the Committee on Political Affairs, to Mr Barón Crespo, President of Parliament, PE3 OD PV/BURE BUEL-19891122 0110.

89 Ibid.

On the basis of the proposals by the Committee on Political Affairs, the enlarged Bureau decided at its meeting of 22 November 1989<sup>90</sup> to award that year's Sakharov Prize to Alexander Dubček. At the same meeting, the enlarged Bureau also decided to increase the prize money to 15 000 ecus and to present the laureate with a large European Parliament gold medal.

The award ceremony for the 1989 Sakharov Prize was held on 17 January 1990, in the presence of Mr Dubček and his wife. Three people addressed the formal sitting: Parliament's Secretary-General Enrico Vinci, who read out the text concerning the award of the prize, President Barón Crespo and the laureate, Alexander Dubček.

One important person was not at the ceremony, however. The man after whom the European Parliament's Prize for Freedom of Thought was named had died the previous month in Moscow. Mr Sakharov had made it clear that he wished to attend the award ceremony, but because he was unsure whether he would be able to make it, he had prepared a message in advance. President Barón Crespo wound up his address by reading out the moving message that Mr Sakharov himself had written on 10 December 1989, just four days before he died<sup>91</sup>.

Mr Dubček was awarded the Sakharov Prize at time of historic political change in Czechoslovakia. On 22 November 1989, the day the European Parliament had decided to award him the prize, Mr Dubček was still a citizen deprived of his human rights in his country. The Velvet Revolution was already under way, however, and just a few days later, on 28 November, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia decided to relinquish its hold on political power in the country. At the end of December, Mr Dubček was elected President of the new Federal Assembly. Václav Havel was elected President of the Republic.

So when Mr Dubček addressed the European Parliament<sup>92</sup> as the winner of the 1989 Sakharov Prize, he was also speaking in his new capacity of president of his country's parliament. His thoughts at this historic time were with the people of Czechoslovakia, who had taken their destiny into their own hands: 'now, as I receive the Sakharov Prize, my thoughts are for those who have earned the right to the renewal and change currently taking place. Even during the most difficult moments of their history, the nations which make up my country have never ceased to feel that they are part of humanity's great struggle for freedom.' In the 20 years between the Prague Spring and the Velvet Revolution 'the ideals of freedom, sovereignty and social justice remained alive'.

Mr Dubček had a busy schedule during his visit to the European Parliament<sup>93</sup>. He met the President of Parliament, Mr Barón Crespo, as well as the Commission President

90 Minutes of the enlarged Bureau of 22 November 1989, p. 21, PE3 OD PV/BURE BUEL-19891122 0010.

91 Speech by Mr Barón Crespo, European Parliament debates of 17 January 1990, No 3-385/174-176. Mr Sakharov wrote: 'I am convinced that the "breath of freedom" which the Czechs and Slovaks enjoyed when Dubček was their leader was a prologue to the peaceful revolutions now taking place in Eastern Europe and in Czechoslovakia itself. Again they are setting us an example! And again their enemies are afraid!'

92 Speech by Alexander Dubček, European Parliament debates of 17 January 1990, No 3-385/176-178.

93 INFO MEMO 2 of 11 January 1990, European Parliament, Directorate-General for Information and Public Relations, SG 04EV B1920/ACT-MAN MAN-250 0090.



Jacques Delors and the President of the Council, Gerard Collins. Mr Dubček also visited the Council of Europe, attended a lunch with the European Parliament's delegation for relations with the Federal Assembly of Czechoslovakia, and met the enlarged Bureau and the political affairs and external relations committees.

Mr Dubček died in November 1992 as a result of injuries he had sustained in a car accident. His death came just a few months before Slovakia regained its independence.



Enrique Barón Crespo, President of the European Parliament, presents the 1989 Sakharov Prize to Alexander Dubček, 17 January 1990.

## 1990

In 1990, five nominations were received before the deadline from political groups or MEPs<sup>94</sup>:

- Fang Li Zhi, Chinese astrophysicist, nominated by Luigi Alberto Colajanni on behalf of the GUE Group, for his activism in defence of human rights and freedom of opinion and expression in China following the events of June 1989 in Tiananmen Square.
- László Tőkés, a bishop of Hungarian ethnicity of the Reformed Church of Romania, nominated by Egon Klepsch on behalf of the PPE Group, for his efforts to uphold the human rights of the Hungarian minority in Transylvania and to establish democracy.
- Ibrahim Rugova, Kosovar writer and a founding member of the Democratic League of Kosovo, nominated by Alexander Langer on behalf of the Green Group, for his work in favour of democracy and human rights in Yugoslavia.
- The Catholic University of El Salvador, or the rector of the University, nominated by Rosaria (Rosy) Bindi and other members of the PPE Group, for efforts in favour of peace, national reconciliation and human rights.
- Aung San Suu Kyi, symbol of non-violent opposition to the military regime and leader of the movement for human rights and democracy in Burma, nominated by Mechthild von Alemann, on behalf of the LDR Group.

At its meeting of 17 December 1990<sup>95</sup>, the Committee on Political Affairs considered the nominations put forward by political groups and MEPs. Three nominations which had been received after the deadline were not accepted: those of Adam Demaçi, who had been nominated by Mr Vandemeulebroucke on behalf of the ARC Group, and Chico Mendes and Aziz Nesin, who had been nominated by Mr Ephremidis, on behalf of the Left Unity (CG) Group. The latter two nominations were also rejected on the grounds that they were put forward by the same signatories.

The Committee on Political Affairs submitted the names of the three candidates that had obtained the most votes to the Bureau: László Tőkés (15 votes), Fang Li Zhi (9 votes) and Aung San Suu Kyi (9 votes)<sup>96</sup>.

On 22 January 1991<sup>97</sup>, the enlarged Bureau decided to award the 1990 Sakharov Prize to Aung San Suu Kyi.

On 30 May 1991<sup>98</sup>, the President of the European Parliament informed the enlarged Bureau that it was by no means certain that Aung San Suu Kyi had received the letter informing her that she had been awarded the Sakharov Prize. The President of Parliament had in fact sent a number of letters to the Burmese authorities, but they

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94 Notice to the members of the Committee on Political Affairs of 19 October 1990, PE3 AP PV/POLI.1989 POLI-199001217 0020.

95 Minutes of the Committee on Political Affairs of 17 December 1990, p. 3, PE3 AP PV/POLI.1989 POLI-19901217 0010.

96 Letter of 19 December 1990 from Mr Crampton, acting Chair of the Committee on Political Affairs, to Mr Barón Crespo, President of Parliament, PE3 OD PV/BURE BUEL-19910122 0030.

97 Minutes of the enlarged Bureau of 22 January 1991, p. 6, PE3 OD PV/BURE BUEL-19910122 0010.

98 Minutes of the enlarged Bureau of 30 May 1991, p. 5, PE3 OD PV/BURE BUEL-19910530 0010.

refused to cooperate in any way<sup>99</sup>. The President pointed out that he was nevertheless determined to continue his efforts to secure the release of Aung San Suu Kyi from house arrest.

On a proposal from the President, the enlarged Bureau unanimously decided to present the prize to one of Aung San Suu Kyi's close relatives<sup>100</sup>.

In line with the wishes of the laureate's family<sup>101</sup>, the Sakharov Prize was presented to Kim Aris, Aung San Suu Kyi's younger son, at a formal sitting held on 10 July 1991, in the presence of his father and Aung San Suu Kyi's husband, Michael Aris.

In his address, President Barón Crespo emphasised a number of the impressive aspects of Aung San Suu Kyi's personality. The daughter of an assassinated national hero, her loyalty to her people and her commitment to the basic values of democracy and human rights are key features of her life. Instead of choosing to live with her family outside her country, she devotes her life to the struggle for freedom and democracy in Burma. She is deeply committed to non-violence and, under terrible pressure, has learned to live without fear.<sup>102</sup>

The Sakharov Prize was awarded to Aung San Suu Kyi in 1990, the year in which her party, the National League for Democracy, scored a resounding victory in the elections in Burma. The party was not able to take power in the country, however, which remained in the hands of the military junta.

On 14 May 1992, Aung San Suu Kyi wrote to Mr Klepsch, President of the European Parliament<sup>103</sup>, thanking the European Parliament for awarding her the Sakharov Prize and expressing her belief that all the honours bestowed upon her were honours for the people of her country. The prize money was donated to the Burmese fund for health and education.

Over the years, various presidents of Parliament tried to invite Aung San Suu Kyi to the European Parliament during her rare periods of freedom to receive the Sakharov Prize in person<sup>104</sup>.

Finally, in June 2012, she was allowed to visit Oslo to receive the Nobel Peace Prize, which she had been awarded in 1991.

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99 European Parliament debates of 10 July 1991, No 3-407/195-196.

100 Minutes of the enlarged Bureau of 30 May 1991, p. 5, PE3 OD PV/BURE BUEL-19910530 0010.

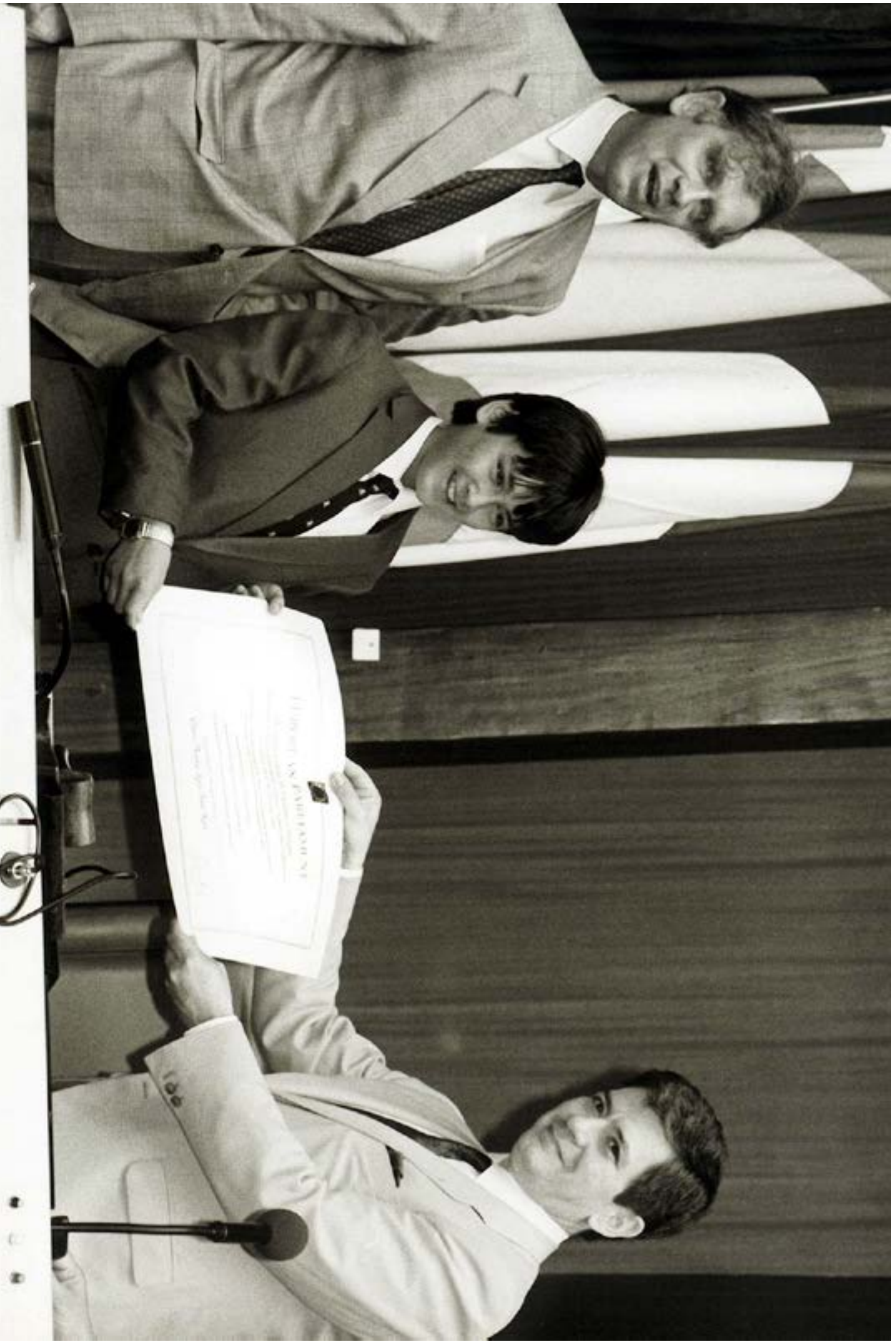
101 Letter of 11 June 1991 from Mr Barón Crespo, President of Parliament, to Mr Aris, SG 04EV B1920/ACT-MAN MAN-250 0080.

102 European Parliament debates of 10 July 1991, No 3-407/195-196.

103 Letter of 14 May 1992 from Aung San Suu Kyi to Mr Klepsch, President of the European Parliament, PE3 AP RP/POLI.1992 A3-0056/93 0570.

104 See for example the letter of 20 September 1995 from Mr Hänsch to Aung San Suu Kyi, PE4 P1 C40/MEMB ESPA-1994-070 0110, and the letter of 22 April 2003 from Mr Cox to Aung San Suu Kyi, PE5 OD PV/CPRG CPRG-20030605 0240.





President Barón Crespo presents the 1990 Sakharov Prize to Kim Ais, son of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, in the presence of Michael Ais, Aung San Suu Kyi's husband, 10 July 1991.



All human beings are born free and  
After Nelson Mandela and Anatoli  
equal in dignity and rights. Everyone



Marchenko in



1988, Alexander  
security of person. In  
Dubcek in



subjected to torture  
1989, the 1990

inhuman or degrading  
Sakharov Prize for



punishment. No one shall be  
Freedom of Thought is awarded to Aung  
subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention  
San Suu Kyi, Prisoner of Conscience in Burma

or exile. Everyone has the right to  
STRASBOURG - 10 JULY 1991  
freedom of opinion and expression

EUROPEAN



PARLIAMENT

Peter Sakharov

*Chair - President  
of the European Parliament*

11.VI.91 17203

Dr. M. ARIS,  
143 Riverwood Court,  
Ranelagh Gardens,  
LONDON SW6 3SE

Dear Dr. ARIS,

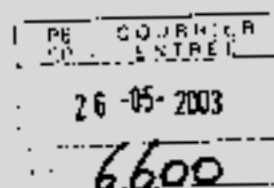
Further to my letter of 25th January, I am obliged to confirm that the authorities in Burma have not made it possible for your wife to visit the European Parliament in order to receive the 1990 Sakharov Prize.

I understand that it would be the wish of her family that the prize be accepted on her behalf by her son. I should therefore like to invite you, your son and other close relatives of your wife to travel to Strasbourg to receive the award at a solemn session of the European Parliament. This session will take place at 12 noon on 10th July.

Yours sincerely,

  
Enrique ENRON CRESPO

54-56 University Avenue  
Rangoon  
Burma



22 April 2003

Mr. Pál Cox  
President of the European Parliament  
Brussels

Dear Mr. Cox

It was a great pleasure to receive your letter of 10 July 2002 with its words of encouragement!

May I apologise for having taken so long to send a reply. I have been much occupied with party matters and in travelling around the country.

Thank you for inviting me to make an official visit to the European Parliament this year. I hope you will understand that in the current situation it would be difficult for me to make any travel commitments outside the country. However I hope it will not be too long before I can take you up on your kind invitation.

I would also like to take this opportunity to express my appreciation for the Sakharov Prize for Freedom of Thought awarded to me in 1990 by your institution. Please accept my very best wishes for a joyous Burmese New Year.

Yours sincerely,

Daw Aung San Suu Kyi  
General Secretary  
National League for Democracy

PE 332.296/CPG



## 1991

A week after the Sakharov Prize ceremony for Aung San Suu Kyi, the enlarged Bureau set a deadline of 30 September for the submission of nominations for the 1991 prize<sup>105</sup>.

Seven nominations were put forward by political groups or Members<sup>106</sup>:

- Adem Demaçi, Kosovo Albanian writer and Chairman of the Kosovar Human Rights Council, nominated by the PPE, LDR, Green and ARC groups, and by Alexander Langer (Green) and others. Mr Demaçi spent 28 years in prison for his untiring efforts to defend the rights of Albanians in Kosovo and to reconcile the rights of Albanians with those of other ethnic minorities in Kosovo.
- Mikhail Gorbachev and Boris Yeltsin, nominated jointly by the GUE/NGL Group for their work in bringing democracy to the Soviet Union.
- Nancy Gracey, the co-founder of the organisation FAIT – Families against Intimidation and Terrorism in Northern Ireland, nominated by the CG Group for her work against paramilitary violence.
- Eduard Shevardnadze, the Soviet foreign minister, nominated by the LDR Group<sup>107</sup>.
- László Tökés, the bishop from Transylvania (Romania), nominated by the PPE Group for his vital contribution to change in Romania and his work to safeguard minority rights.
- Terry Waite, the adviser to the Catholic Church in Britain and negotiator for the release of hostages in Libya, who was himself held hostage for several years in Lebanon, nominated by the Socialist Group.
- Wei Jingsheng, the editor of the journal 'Explorations', who had been imprisoned in China since 1979 on account of his work to promote human rights in that country, nominated by the DE Group.

At its meeting on 6 November 1991<sup>108</sup>, the Committee on Political Affairs voted on the award of the 1991 Sakharov Prize. The following nominees received the most votes: Adem Demaçi (7 votes), László Tökés (12 votes) and Terry Waite (14 votes).

Following a vote by secret ballot, the enlarged Bureau<sup>109</sup> decided to award the 1991 Sakharov Prize to Adem Demaçi, who received 9 of the 17 votes cast, as against 8 for Terry Waite.

For the first time, the award ceremony for the Sakharov Prize was held during the December part-session. This scheduling, which had been discussed several times since the early exchanges of views on the introduction of the prize, subsequently became the tradition.

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105 Minutes of the enlarged Bureau of 18 July 1991, p. 14, PE3 OD PV/BURE BUEL-19910718 0010.

106 Notice to the members of the Committee on Political Affairs of 8 October 1991, PE3 AP PV/POLI.1989 POLI-19911014 0020.

107 No arguments provided in support of this nomination.

108 Minutes of the Committee on Political Affairs of 6 November 1991, p. 5, PE3 AP PV/POLI.1989 POLI-19911106 0010. The nominations of Mrs Gracey and Mr Shevardnadze are not recorded in the minutes.

109 Minutes of the enlarged Bureau of 21 November 1991, p. 5, PE3 OD PV/BURE BUEL-19911121 0010.

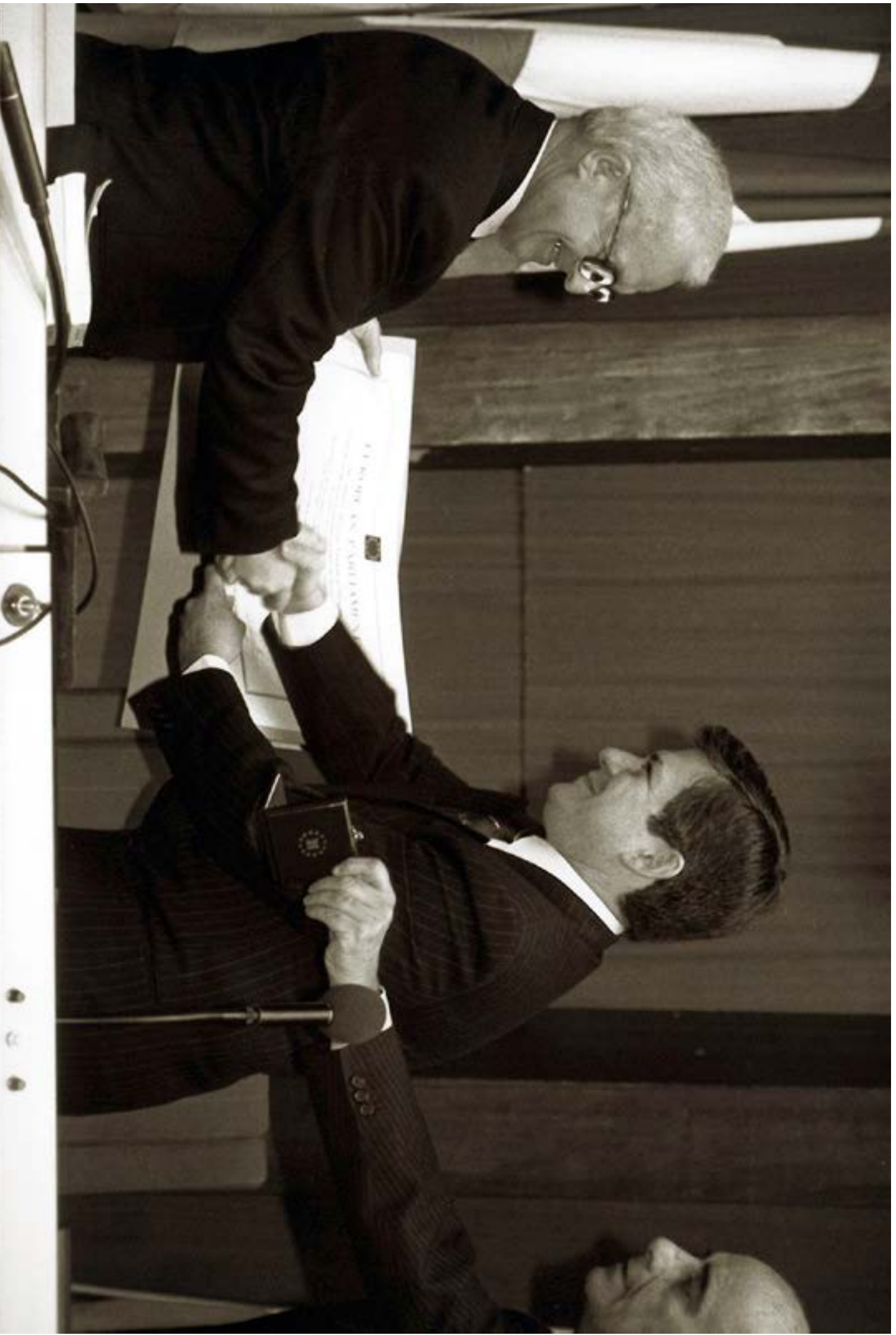
In his speech, Mr Barón Crespo paid tribute to 'the integrity of a man who for over three decades' had 'opposed an authoritarian and intolerant regime' and who had served a long prison sentence for political reasons. Mr Demaçi gave his speech in Albanian and, as was noted by the President, this was the first time that a speech had been made in that ancient language in the European Parliament.<sup>110</sup>

Mr Demaçi began by emphasising the importance of free speech as the first step towards democracy, saying that 'without freedom of speech there is no dialogue, without dialogue truth cannot be found, and without truth progress is impossible'. He described the very difficult living conditions that existed, among places, in Kosovo, which had 'become an immense prison where Albanians lack even minimal security' and in Croatia, despite the Hague Peace Conference on Yugoslavia. In the name of all the young people killed in the wars in Yugoslavia and 'in the name of mothers and fathers, not just Albanians, but also Serbs and Montenegrins, Croats and Bosnians, Hungarians and Macedonians', he wished to convey a message of peace and unity among peoples.<sup>111</sup>

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<sup>110</sup> Speech by Mr Barón Crespo, European Parliament debates of 10 December 1991, No 3-412/83-84.

<sup>111</sup> Speech by Mr Demaçi, European Parliament debates of 10 December 1991, No 3-412/84-85.



Adem Demaci, 1991 Sakharov Prize winner, and President Barón Crespo at the award ceremony, 10 December 1991.

## 1992

Six nominations were made in 1992 by political groups or MEPs<sup>112</sup>:

- The Cuban Committee for Human Rights (CCHR), nominated by Carlos Robles Piquer (PPE) and others.
- Giovanni Falcone and Paolo Borsellino, the two Italian judges murdered by the Mafia, who had become symbols in the fight against that organisation. The nominations for a posthumous award of the prize were made by the GUE Group, Cristiana Muscardini (NI) and others.
- Alija Izetbegovic, the first President of Bosnia-Herzegovina, who had striven to resolve the crisis in Yugoslavia by democratic means. Nominated by the PPE Group.
- The Mothers of the *Plaza de Mayo*, the group of Argentinian women who had in 1977 started an ethical peaceful protest movement against the military dictatorship at the site at which their children were imprisoned, and who were committed to education for peace. Nominated by the Socialist and CG Groups.
- Rigoberta Menchu, the native K'iche' woman from Guatemala and defender of the rights of indigenous peoples. Nominated by the Green Group on the occasion of the United Nations Year of Indigenous Peoples.
- María Elena Cruz Varela, the Cuban writer who had founded the 'Criterio Alternativo' group, whose aim was to promote the defence of democratic and human rights. Nominated by the LDR Group.

Parliament received many letters from the public in support of Las Madres de la Plaza de Mayo<sup>113</sup>.

In the vote held at the meeting of the Committee on Foreign Affairs and Security Policy<sup>114</sup>, Las Madres de la Plaza de Mayo received the most votes (19). Mr Izetbegovic and Ms Cruz Varela each received 9 votes. The names of these three nominees were forwarded to the expanded Bureau<sup>115</sup>.

At its meeting of 19 November 1992<sup>116</sup>, the expanded Bureau decided to award the 1992 Sakharov Prize to Las Madres de la Plaza de Mayo.

The award ceremony was held on 17 December 1992 in Strasbourg, with the prize being presented to Mrs Hebe Pastor de Bonafini, the President of Las Madres de la Plaza de Mayo. The ceremony was also attended by Mrs Cerruti and Mrs Ramirez Abella, the Vice-Presidents of the movement, and by Mrs d'Alessandro, President of the group 'Solidarity with the mothers of the Plaza de Mayo' (Solma).

112 Notice to the members of the Committee on Foreign Affairs and Security Policy of 17 September 1992, PE3 AP PV/POLI.1992 POLI-19921105 0020 (the Committee on Political Affairs was renamed the Committee on Foreign Affairs and Security Policy in 1992).

113 Letters – see SG 04EV B1920/ACT-MAN MAN-250 0060.

114 Minutes of the Committee on Foreign Affairs and Security Policy of 5 November 1992, p. 4, PE3 AP PV/POLI.1992 POLI-19921105 0010.

115 Letter of 9 November 1992 from Mr Barón Crespo, Chair of the Committee on Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, to Mr Klepsch, President of the European Parliament, PE3 P2 272/COMP POLI.1992-050 0130.

116 Minutes of the enlarged Bureau of 19 November 1992, p. 6, PE3 OD PV/BURE BUEL-19921119 0010.

In his speech at the ceremony, President Klepsch emphasised the courage of the mothers who, for 15 years, had stood up to their oppressors, and every Thursday had demonstrated on the Plaza de Mayo with white handkerchiefs in their hands on which are written the names of their relatives who had disappeared. The President noted that the commitment shown by these mothers was not just about defending the human rights of their relatives, but also those of people throughout the world.<sup>117</sup>

Mrs de Bonafini thanked the European Parliament for awarding them the Sakharov Prize, which they accepted on behalf of their children 'who were the first to struggle for freedom', saying that they also wished to share it with all their support groups. They also wanted to share the prize with mothers who had disappeared while looking for their children. Mrs de Bonafini spoke of their peaceful struggle against death and for life, and said that the Sakharov Prize reinforced their beliefs and that in accepting it they were making a commitment to continuing the struggle.<sup>118</sup>

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117 Speech by President Klepsch, European Parliament debates of 17 December 1992, No 3-425/298.

118 Speech by Mrs de Bonafini, European Parliament debates of 17 December 1992, No 3-425/298-300.





The Mothers of the *Plaza de Mayo* and Egon Klepsch, President of the European Parliament, at the formal sitting on 17 December 1992.



Hebe Pastor de Bonafini delivering her acceptance speech on behalf of the Mothers of the *Plaza de Mayo*.

## 1993

Six nominations were made in 1993 by the political groups or MEPs<sup>119</sup>:

- Xanana Gusmão, the leader of the resistance to the illegal occupation of East Timor by Indonesia, who had been sentenced to life imprisonment by the Indonesian authorities. Nominated by Yves Galland on behalf of the LDR Group, by the East Timor Intergroup and by António Coimbra and Josep Verde i Aldea (PSE) and others.
- Cedric Mayson, the human rights defender and supporter of a free and democratic South Africa. Nominated by Terence Wynn (PSE) and others.
- Volmer do Nascimento, the Brazilian political activist and defender of social rights in the field of protecting street children. Nominated by the Green Group.
- Oslobodenje, the Sarajevo newspaper and its team of Muslim, Croat and Serb journalists, representing the free and multi-ethnic press in a country at war and deeply divided. Nominated by Ferruccio Pisoni, on behalf of the PPE Group, by Alexander Langer (V) and others, and by Eisso P. Woltjer (PSE) and others.
- Gendun Rinchen, the Tibetan human rights activist who had been imprisoned in Lhasa by the Chinese authorities in 1993 while gathering testimonies on human rights violations in Tibet to forward to European Community diplomats. Nominated by Michel Hervé (PSE) and others. The nomination was also supported by Mrs Bonner, the widow of Andrei Sakharov.
- Salman Rushdie, the Indian author. Nominated by Michael N. Elliott (PSE) and others.

In the vote held at the meeting of the Committee on Foreign Affairs<sup>120</sup>, the newspaper Oslobodenje received 22 votes, Mr Xanana Gusmão 8 votes and Mr Gendun Rinchen 7 votes. The enlarged Bureau was notified of the outcome of the vote<sup>121</sup>.

At its meeting on 13 October 1993<sup>122</sup>, the enlarged Bureau decided to award the 1993 Sakharov Prize to the newspaper Oslobodenje.

The award ceremony was held on 14 December 1993 on the fourth anniversary of the death of Andrei Sakharov. Mrs Elena Bonner attended the ceremony, and in a short speech President Klepsch paid tribute to her personal courage and commitment to freedom, democracy and human rights<sup>123</sup>.

The 1993 Sakharov Prize was presented to Mr Zlatko Dizdarević, representative of the newspaper Oslobodenje. In the words of President Klepsch, the prize was awarded to the newspaper for its active commitment to the free expression of opinion.

119 Notice to the members of the Committee on Foreign Affairs and Security Policy of 15 September 1993, PE3 AP PV/POLI.1992 POLI-19931006 0020.

120 Minutes of the Committee on Foreign Affairs and Security Policy of 6 October 1993, p. 6, PE3 AP PV/POLI.1992 POLI-19931006 0010.

121 Letter of 7 October 1993 from Mr Barón Crespo, Chair of the Committee on Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, to Mr Klepsch, President of the European Parliament, PE3 OD PV/BURE BUEL-19931013 0020.

122 Minutes of the enlarged Bureau of 13 October 1993, p. 12, PE3 OD PV/BURE BUEL-19931013 0010.

123 Speech by President Klepsch, European Parliament debates of 14 December 1993, No 3-440/100.



Oslobođenje had become a symbol of tolerance and multi-ethnic cooperation and of freedom of expression and of the press.

The newspaper was awarded the Sakharov Prize in the 50th year of its existence. During the war it had continued to appear every day, despite its offices being in permanent danger and lacking material resources.

Mr Dizdarević emphasised that all the work which had been done for Oslobođenje had been 'aimed at defending and preserving a Bosnia-Herzegovina that is multi-ethnic, multinational, cosmopolitan and tolerant'. He added that it was continuing to fight to prevent the partition of its peoples, which its staff was doing 'as Sarajevans, Bosnians and Herzegovinians, as individuals whose past is one of a communal life, with all its wealth of variety and diversity'.<sup>124</sup>

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<sup>124</sup> Speech by Mr Dizdarević, European Parliament debates of 14 December 1993, No 3-440/100-101.



President Klepach presents the 1993 Sakharov Prize to representatives of the Oslobođenje newspaper, 14 December 1993. Zlatko Dizdarević is in the centre.



PRIX POUR LA LIBERTÉ DE L'ESPRIT

PRIX SAKHAROV 1993

ÅNDSFRIHEDSPRISEN

SAKHAROV-PRISEN 1993

PREIS FÜR GEISTIGE FREIHEIT

SACHAROW-PREIS 1993

PREMIO A LA LIBERTAD DE CONCIENCIA

PREMIO SAKHAROV 1993

ΒΡΑΒΕΙΟ ΓΙΑ ΤΗΝ ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΑ ΤΟΥ ΠΝΕΥΜΑΤΟΣ

ΒΡΑΒΕΙΟ ΖΑΧΑΡΩΦ 1993

PREMIO PER LA LIBERTÀ DELLO SPIRITO

PREMIO SAKHAROV 1993

PRIJS VOOR DE VRIJE MENINGSUITING

SACHAROV-PRIJS 1993

PRÉMIO PARA A LIBERDADE DE ESPÍRITO

PRÉMIO SAKHAROV 1993

PRIZE FOR FREEDOM OF THOUGHT

SAKHAROV PRIZE 1993

STRASBOURG

14/12/93

# OSLOBODENJE

EVROPSKO NEDJELJNO IZDANJE  
GODINA I, BROJ 32

LIST GODINE U SVIJETU 1992.  
SARAJEVO/LJUBLJANA 22 - 29. X 1993. godina  
CIJENA: 2000 HRD; 5000 HRD; 3,90 CHF; 180 SIT; 3,80 DEM; 30 ATS; 2,00 GBP; 15 FRF; 5 NQ; 90 BEP; 18 DKK; 300,00 ESP; 20 SEK

Rat se nastavlja

## Sarajevo ponovno u krvi

Stojat pomeni zaštitu za žrtvama strahova. Ključni akti žrtvovanja OUN i zajedno Evropa. Krivnja u poruci Miloradovića najavio mogućnost bombardiranja srpskih snaga u BiH.

U samo dva dana posljednjeg vikenda žrtvica su u Sarajevu ubili 10, a ranili 75 civila. «Odgovorno» je na napad Armije BiH u području Trebevića, grad na zapadu grada, Centra i na Dobrinju. Pomoć je, nakon gubitka dva mjeseca, vratila se u Sarajevo. — u kući su granate padale i na njima su bili žrtvovani objekti, nisu odvojili ljude po nacionalnosti: masakražani su i Muslimani, i Hrvati, i Srbi... — Srbi su, pomoću snova za žrtvovane strahove, vratili rat u BiH na televizijske ekrane i na prvu stranice novina. Reagovanje je i američki predsjednik Bill Clinton. Osim je krivnja OUN i zajedno



## 1994

Six nominations were made in 1994 by political groups and MEPs<sup>125</sup>:

- Sebastian Arcor Bergnes, the Vice-President of the Cuban Committee for Human Rights (CCHR), who had been a political prisoner in Cuba since 1992. Nominated by the PPE Group.
- Xanana Gusmão, the leader of the movement against the illegal occupation of East Timor by Indonesia, who had been imprisoned in 1993. Nominated by the ELDR Group.
- Taslima Nasreen (Nasrin), the Bangladeshi doctor, journalist and author, who in her writings had condemned Islamic fundamentalism and the repression of women. She had taken refuge in Sweden after a fundamentalist group had pronounced a death sentence against her. Nominated by the PSE, ELDR and ARE Groups and by the members of the Committee on Women's Rights.
- Samuel Ruiz, Bishop of San Cristóbal de Las Casas in one of the poorest regions of Mexico, a defender of the rights of indigenous peoples and the very poor. Nominated by Friedrich Wolf (V), Wilfried Telkämper (V) and others.
- Wei Jingsheng, the dissident and defender of democracy and human rights in China, and a symbol of the peaceful protest movement in China. Nominated by Edith Müller (V) and others.
- Leyla Zana and Mehdi Zana, peaceful defenders of the human rights of the Kurdish people in Turkey. In 1991, Mrs Zana had become the first Kurdish woman elected to the Turkish Parliament, but had been in preventive detention since 1994. Mr Zana had been imprisoned as a result of the testimony he had given before the European Parliament's Sub-Committee on Human Rights in 1992. Nominated by Claudia Roth and Alexander Langer (V) and others.

At its meeting on 12 October 1994<sup>126</sup>, the Committee on Foreign Affairs had decided only to submit nominations of individuals to the Conference of Presidents. Hence, rather than submitting a joint nomination for Mr and Mrs Zana, only the nomination of Leyla Zana would be submitted. Most votes were cast for Taslima Nasreen (19 votes), Sebastian Arcos Bergnes (13 votes) and Leyla Zana (12 votes). The names of the three nominees were forwarded to the Conference of Presidents<sup>127</sup>.

Following an exchange of views, the Conference of Presidents<sup>128</sup> decided to award the 1994 Sakharov Prize to just one nominee, rather than two<sup>129</sup>, and thus decided, following a fresh vote, to award the prize to Mrs Taslima Nasreen. Nevertheless, the President of the European Parliament was called upon to contact the Cuban authorities

<sup>125</sup> Communication to the Members of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, Security and Defence Policy of 27 September 1994, PE4 AP PV/POLI.1994 POLI-19941004 0030. The documentary archives contain two additional nominations, one of which was received late (joint nomination of Mrs Taslima Nasrin and Mrs Leyla Zana by the GUE Group) and the other with insufficient signatures (nomination of Pope John Paul II by the group of non-aligned Italian Members).

<sup>126</sup> Minutes of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, Security and Defence Policy of 12 October 1994, p. 4-5, PE4 AP PV/POLI.1994 POLI-19941012 0010.

<sup>127</sup> Letter of 20 October 1994 from Abel Matutes, Chair of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, Security and Defence Policy, to Mr Klaus Hänsch, President of the European Parliament, PE4 P1 B30/COMP POLI.1994-090 0190.

<sup>128</sup> Minutes of the Conference of Presidents of 17 November 1994, p. 18, PE4 OD PV/CPRG CPRG-19941117 0010.

<sup>129</sup> Proposal made at the meeting by the Presidents of the four political groups.

with a view to their releasing Sebastian Arcos Bergnes, and the Turkish authorities with a view to their releasing Leyla Zana.

The formal sitting for the award of the Sakharov Prize took place on Thursday, 15 December 1994.

Mr Hänsch, the President of the European Parliament, welcomed the Sakharov Prize winner, Mrs Nasreen, whom he called a 'symbol of the fight for freedom of expression' and who was standing before Parliament 'as a representative of the many writers and intellectuals currently imprisoned throughout the world because their ideas are regarded as subversive'.<sup>130</sup>

Mrs Nasreen said she felt deeply honoured and moved to be awarded the prize bearing the name of Andrei Sakharov who was 'an exceptional human being and an example of intellectual independence' who had remained 'true to his conscience', adding that as a writer she could not isolate herself from her country or from the world in which she lived. In witnessing all the suffering around her, she had been unable to remain silent, and had 'paid a price for not being silent', having to leave her country after being threatened by Islamic fundamentalists. She emphasised that the fact the European Parliament had awarded her the prize would give her encouragement in her struggle for 'freedom of speech', and for 'dignity and equal status for women'.<sup>131</sup>

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<sup>130</sup> Speech by President Hänsch, European Parliament debates of 15 December 1994, No 4-455/251.

<sup>131</sup> Speech by Mrs Taslima Nasreen, European Parliament debates of 15 December 1994, No 4-455/251-252.





Taslima Nasreen, winner in 1994, receives the Sakharov Prize from President Klaus Hänsch, 15 December 1994.





Taslima Nasreen addressing the European Parliament at the Sakharov Prize ceremony.

## 1995

Six nominations were made in 1995 by political groups or MEPs<sup>132</sup>:

- The San Patrignano Community in Italy, which sought to provide assistance to drug dependents and the disabled. Nominated by the UFE Group.
- The San Egidio Community in Italy, which had sponsored numerous initiatives in the field of assistance to marginalised members of society. Nominated by Pierluigi Castagnetti (PPE) and others.<sup>133</sup>
- Palden Gyatso, the former political prisoner in Tibet. Nominated by Maria Adelaide Aglietta (V), Ernesto Caccavale (UFE), Gianfranco Dell'Alba (ARE), James Moorhouse (PPE) and others.
- Sergei Kovalev, a biophysics expert and close associate of Andrei Sakharov, who had been exiled in 1975. Elected as a member of parliament in 1990, he had been dismissed from office in 1995 after going on a fact-finding visit to Chechnya to document human rights violations. Nominated by the PPE Group.
- Naguib Mahfouz, the Egyptian author and winner of the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1988, who was an opponent of religious fanaticism and intolerance and a defender of human rights. Nominated by the ELDR Group.
- Ken Saro-Wiwa, the Nigerian writer and human rights defender and President of the Movement for the Survival of the Ogoni People. Nominated by Glenys Kinnock (PSE) and others.
- Leyla Zana, the Kurdish activist from Turkey, who became the first Kurdish woman to be elected to the Turkish National Assembly (in 1991) and was a campaigner for respect for human dignity. She had been in preventive detention in Ankara Central Prison for crimes of opinion since 1994<sup>134</sup>. Nominated by the PSE, ARE, Green and GUE/NGL Groups.

At its meeting on 17 October 1995<sup>135</sup>, the Committee on Foreign Affairs had considered the nominations and held a vote which had produced the following result: Sergei Kovalev (22 votes), Naguib Mahfouz (5 votes), Leyla Zana (31 votes). The results of the vote were forwarded to President Hänsch<sup>136</sup>.

The Conference Presidents decided<sup>137</sup> after two successive rounds of voting, to award the 1995 Sakharov Prize to Mrs Leyla Zana.

President Hänsch sent Mrs Zana an official letter notifying her of the decision<sup>138</sup>, and invited her to Strasbourg to receive the Sakharov Prize in person. Mrs Zana, who

132 Notice to the members of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, Security and Defence Policy of 26 September 1995, PE4 AP PV/POLI.1994 POLI-19951017 0020.

133 This nomination was withdrawn.

134 The sentence was ratified on 26 October 1995.

135 Minutes of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, Security and Defence Policy of 17 October 1995, p. 6, PE4 AP PV/POLI.1994 POLI-19951017 0010.

136 Letter of 18 October 1995 by Mr Matutes, Chair of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, to Mr Hänsch, President of the European Parliament, PE4 P1 B30/COMP POLI.1994-050 0210.

137 Minutes of the Conference of Presidents of 9 November 1995, p. 10, PE4 OD PV/CPRG CPRG-19951109 0010 (available only in French).

138 Letter of 21 November 1995 from Mr Hänsch, President of the European Parliament, to Mrs Leyla Zana, PE4 P1 C50/TIER OTUR-1994-010 0200.



had 'to her great joy' already heard the news, issued a statement to the press from the Ankara Central Prison on 10 November 1995. She wrote: 'Those in favour of war and violence could put us behind bars for some time yet, but they will be unable to stem the development and the internationalisation of our peaceful fight to enable the Kurdish and Turkish peoples to live together on equal and brotherly terms in Turkey, within the framework of democracy and the mutual respect for rights and the separate identity of each people'.<sup>139</sup>

As had been decided at the Conference of Presidents<sup>140</sup>, the formal sitting for the award of the Sakharov Prize took place at the part-session in January 1996. Although the President of the European Parliament sent letters and telegrams to the Turkish authorities, they refused to allow Mrs Zana to leave prison in Ankara to accept the prize she had been awarded in person. The award was collected on her behalf by her husband, Mehdi Zana.

Mrs Danielle Mitterrand, who had actively supported Leyla Zana in her campaigning, was a special guest at the award ceremony.

Leyla Zana had conveyed a long message to the European Parliament in writing<sup>141</sup>. In that message she expressed her gratitude for the efforts that Parliament had tried to make to secure her release and said she was moved to have been awarded the prize bearing the name of Andrei Sakharov, who during the course of his life had repeatedly alerted public opinion to the fate of the Kurds in Iraq, in Iran and in Turkey. However, she criticised the decision MEPs had taken to ratify the Customs Union with Turkey<sup>142</sup> even though the Turkish Government had not met their demands for fundamental democratic reforms.

In his speech, President Hänsch paid tribute to Mrs Zana, who was a symbol of the peaceful struggle to ensure the rights and dignity of the Kurdish People. He pointed out that Parliament had on many occasions debated the issue of the rights of the Kurds in Turkey, including when assenting to the agreement on customs union on 13 December 1995. He explained that Parliament had given its assent because it 'wanted to extend a hand of friendship to those in Turkey who are committed to democratic reforms, who seek conciliation within Turkey and who want to go on opening their country to Europe and its values'.<sup>143</sup>

After finally being released in June 2004, Mrs Zana gave her acceptance speech to the European Parliament in person at a formal sitting in Brussels on 14 October 2004<sup>144</sup>. Nearly ten years had passed since she had been awarded the Sakharov Prize. As President Borrell Fontelles said in his speech<sup>145</sup>, there had been some positive

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139 Press statement by Mrs Leyla Zana, winner of the European Parliament's 1995 Sakharov Prize, PE4 AP PV/POLI.1994 SCDH-19960124 0030.

140 Minutes of the Conference of Presidents of 16 November 1995, p. 12, PE4 OD PV/CPRG CPRG-19951116 0010.

141 Message from Mrs Leyla Zana on the occasion of the presentation of the Sakharov Prize, PE4 P1 C20/RPUB RENC-19960117 0020.

142 See the resolution of the European Parliament of 13 December 1995, OJ C 17 of 22 January 1996, p. 43.

143 Speech by President Hänsch, European Parliament debates of 17 January 1996, No 4-473/151-153.

144 Speech by Mrs Leyla Zana, European Parliament debates of 14 October 2004.

145 Speech by President Borrell Fontelles, European Parliament debates of 14 October 2004.

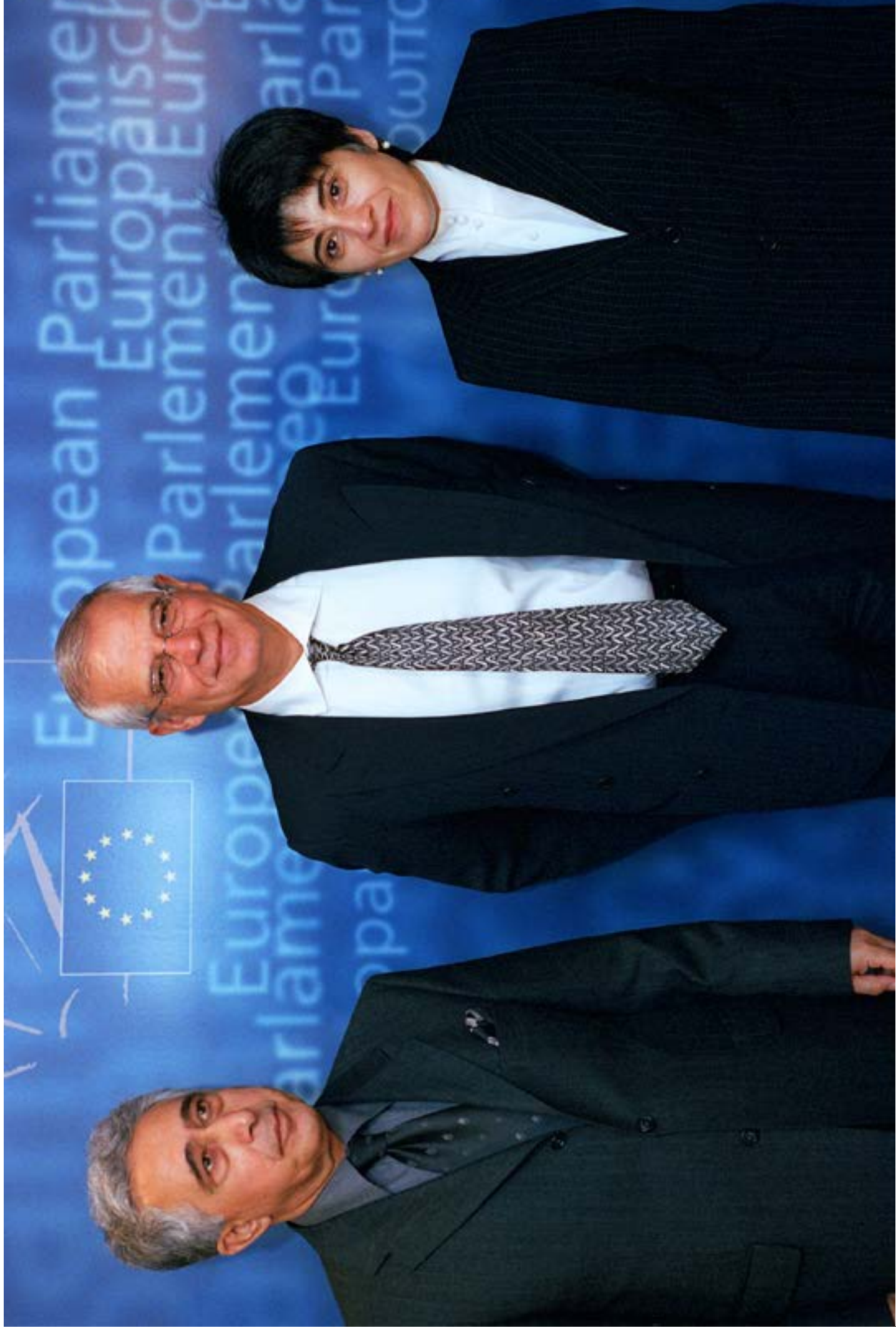
developments in Turkey in the intervening years, but there was still a long way to go in terms of full respect for the rights and freedoms of all the inhabitants of Turkey.

Leyla Zana chose to give her speech in Turkish and in Kurdish. As had been the case in 1991, when she had spoken in Kurdish during her oath-taking ceremony in the Turkish National Assembly, she wanted to draw attention to the fact that 'peoples, languages and cultures can co-exist in a brotherly fashion'. She expressed her desire for a peaceful solution under which the name and identity of the Kurdish people were recognised within Turkish sovereign territory.



President Hänsch with Mehdi Zana, husband of 1995 winner Leyla Zana, and Danielle Mitterrand at the Sakharov Prize ceremony, 17 January 1996.





Josep Borrell Fontelles, President of the European Parliament, welcomes Leyla Zana and Mehdi Zana to the European Parliament, 14 October 2004.



**1988**

Nelson Mandela



**1991**

Adem Demaçi

"Le Prix Sakharov est un grand honneur et une marque de confiance pour ma modeste personne et pour le peuple kurde. Je tâcherai d'être digne de cette confiance. Je m'emploierai à contribuer dans la mesure de mes modestes moyens au combat universel mené par les démocrates et les gens de bonne volonté afin de préparer un avenir meilleur, plus pacifique et plus juste pour l'humanité."

**Leyla Zana. Prison Centrale d'Ankara.**



**1988**

Anatoly Marchenko



**1992**

Les Mères de la Place de Mai



**LEYLA ZANA**



**1989**

Alexander Dubcek



**1993**

Oslobodjenje

**PRIX SAKHAROV  
1995  
DU PARLEMENT EUROPEEN  
POUR LA LIBERTÉ DE L' ESPRIT**



**1990**

Aung San Suu Kyi



**1994**

Taslima Nasreen

**PARLEMENT EUROPEEN**



*The President  
of the European Parliament*

Mrs Leyla ZANA  
Mehmet Kapali Cezaevi  
Gebeci  
Ankara

BRUXELLES

07168 21.11.95

Dear Mrs Zana,

As I understand you are already aware, the European Parliament has decided to award to you its annual human rights prize ("The Sakharov Prize") for freedom of thought.

We were gratified to learn, through your representatives in Paris, of your acceptance of the Prize.

I am thus writing to you now to convey to you officially Parliament's decision and to indicate that we would anticipate awarding the Prize at a forthcoming plenary session in Strasbourg.

I know you are aware of the strong representations that Parliament and indeed the EU have made to bring pressure to bear ever since the lifting of the immunity of you and your DEP parliamentary colleagues which led to your subsequent trial and conviction.

Our efforts in this regard continue, as indeed they do on behalf of your husband, Mehdi Zana, to whom we feel a particular responsibility since his current sentence resulted from testimony he gave to our Sub-Committee on Human Rights.

You can count on our continuing solidarity and we earnestly hope that you will be able to travel to Strasbourg to receive the Prize in person. I have accordingly written to the Turkish authorities requesting that you be granted leave from detention to be with us for the prize-giving ceremony.

Yours sincerely,



Klaus HÄNSCH

PRESS STATEMENT BY  
MRS LEYLA ZANA  
WINNER OF THE 1995 SAKHAROV PRIZE  
AWARDED BY THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

It was with great joy that I learnt of the European Parliament's decision. It is for me both a great honour and a pleasure to have been judged worthy of receiving the Sakharov Prize. The campaign that my Kurdish comrades and I are endeavouring to conduct, together with the Turkish democrats, for internal peace in Turkey, for true pluralist and secularized democracy, which respects the universal values of freedom and human rights, a democracy that also recognizes the legitimate rights of the Kurd people to their own identity, is, thanks to this prize, gaining international respectability and powerful impetus.

Those who believed they could silence us by judging us with laws that came from another time and Inquisition courts that were incompatible with the Universal Declaration on Human Rights, the Paris Charter and other treaties and protocols establishing the international community, those who set as their task the defanation of our fight for peace and democracy are today receiving from the European public the reply they deserve. The European Parliament embodies the public conscience of the fifteen Member States of the European Union; it recognizes the just nature of our fight and condemns our country's politicians who, for personal gain, the benefit of their groups or in the name of an outdated, fanatical nationalism, have led our country to the very brink of social collapse and civil war. We can hold our heads high in front of our peoples and history. Those in favour of war and violence could put us behind bars for some time yet but they will be unable to stem the development and the internationalization of our peaceful fight to enable the Kurdish and Turkish peoples to live together on equal and brotherly terms in Turkey, within the framework of democracy and the mutual respect for rights and the separate identity of each people.

I am aware that the Sakharov Prize is awarded not just for my own modest contribution, but also for the work of my comrades in arms who share my ideals, and all those in favour of peace and democracy. The true winners of this prize are the Kurdish women, who are courageous, dignified, lovers of freedom and who even when faced with the most difficult and inflexible conditions, do not submit to oppression, teach their children their language and identity and lead the fight for survival. Just having been able to show these women to the World is one of the greatest sources of joy for me.

I also consider that this prestigious prize has been awarded by the European Parliament as a tribute, an expression of deep sympathy towards the tested Kurdish people, the victim of some of the greatest injustices in the history of mankind, exposed for 70 years to the denial of its own existence, language and identity, threatened to be deleted from the history books as a separate people, suffering the destruction of its villages and forests, condemned to living in exile, to deportation, exodus and poverty: a people which despite all of this fights with perseverance and determination to alter the course of its tragic destiny and to survive. My generous people has no claim on the lands or property of others. All it wants is to be able to live freely on the land where it has been living for millennia, to preserve and develop its culture there, to have its say on decisions that concern its own existence. My people is not calling for changes to the existing State frontiers. It is generous, humane and pacifist; it accepts the need to share like brothers with the neighbouring

peoples the richness of the land and its resources with which the country is endowed, to allow it to be exploited for our joint prosperity and development. It is the duty of the international Community and in particular the European Union, to fulfil these innocent and humane aspirations, to silence the weapons in order to find a democratic and just solution to the Kurd question. The Kurd tragedy is a wound that bleeds in the conscience of humanity. In order to guarantee regional and world peace and stability it needs to be placed as soon as possible on the international agenda and to find a fair solution.

It is my duty and that of my comrades in arms to contribute to that peaceful solution. The Sakharov Prize only increases our responsibilities in this area.

Finally, I would like to express my most heartfelt thanks to all those who have greatly helped to make our cause known to the world and contributed to the campaign supporting my candidacy for the Sakharov Prize, firstly my dear friends Danielle Mitterrand, François Mitterrand and Randal Nezan, to chairmen Pauline Green, Catherine Lalumière, Claudia Roth and Alonso José Puente who put me forward as a candidate and to all my colleagues in the Parliament who have offered me their support, my local and European lawyers, all the pacifist intellectuals and journalists who have been unstinting in the solidarity they have shown me.

I would also like to express my deep respect for Mr Kovalev, who was also a candidate for this Sakharov Prize and who has paid eminent service to the human rights cause, and for all those Members of Parliament who voted for him.

The Sakharov Prize is a great honour and a mark of confidence towards myself and my people. I will try to be worthy of this confidence. I will endeavour to contribute to the best of my modest means to the universal fight led by the democrats and people of goodwill to prepare for a better future, a future that is more peaceful and fairer for humanity.

Yours sincerely,

Leyla Zana  
Ankara Central Prison  
10 November 1995



## 1996

Five nominations were made in 1996 by political groups or MEPs<sup>146</sup>:

- Silvia Baraldini, the Italian activist resident in the United States who had campaigned, among other things, to improve conditions for Afro-Americans, and had been in prison in the United States since 1983.<sup>147</sup>
- Leonel Morejón Almagro, the National Delegate of the Cuban Council, which had been created in 1995 with the main objective of promoting a process of peaceful transition towards the rule of law in Cuba.
- Alexander Nikitin, a retired Russian navy officer, who had been imprisoned in 1996 on account of the report he had produced for the Norwegian environmental foundation Bellona on the potential risk of radioactive contamination from Russia's Northern Fleet.
- Samuel Ruiz García, Bishop of San Cristóbal de Las Casas, defender of the dignity of indigenous people in Mexico, former Chair of the Bishops' Committee on Indigenous Persons and a mediator in the Chiapas conflict.
- Wei Jingsheng, a Chinese dissident, condemned in 1979 to 15 years' imprisonment and arrested again in 1994 for having openly given his opinions on human rights in China in interviews and articles published in the foreign press.

During its meeting of 2 October 1996<sup>148</sup>, the Committee on Foreign Affairs listened to presentations of the nominees<sup>149</sup>. They then voted and drew up a shortlist of the three nominees who had obtained the highest number of votes: Mr Morejón Almagro and Bishop Samuel Ruiz García both had 23 votes and Mr Wei Jingsheng 4 votes. Mr Hänsch was informed of the result<sup>150</sup>.

The Conference of Presidents examined the nominations on 24 October 1996<sup>151</sup>. It took into consideration a letter sent by representatives of the EDN Group to the chairs of the political groups<sup>152</sup>. The letter stressed the fact that, to avoid 'political gameplaying', the prize should be awarded to a nominee who 'could be endorsed by a large majority of people'. Mr Wei Jingsheng was proposed as the nominee most likely to meet with consensus. He received 348 votes<sup>153</sup> against 229 votes for Mr Morejón Almagro.

146 Notice to the members of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, Security and Defence Policy of 17 September 1996, PE4 AP PV/POLI.1994 POLI-19960924 0020. This document does not contain any information as to the political groups or Members who proposed the nominations.

147 There is no reference to this nominee in the minutes of the Committee on Foreign Affairs at which the nominations were discussed.

148 Minutes of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, Security and Defence Policy of 2 October 1996, p. 4, PE4 AP PV/POLI.1994 POLI-19961002 0010 (available only in French).

149 Arie M. Oostlander (PPE) gave the presentation on Morejón Almagro, a representative of the Cuban Council, Per Gahrton (V) gave the presentation on Alexander Nikitin, Olivier Dupuis (ARE) the presentation on Wei Jingsheng and Jannis Sakellariou (PSE) the presentation on Samuel Ruiz García.

150 Letter [of 23 September 1996] from Mr Fernández-Albor, Chair of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, Security and Defence Policy, to Mr Hänsch, President of the European Parliament, PE4 OD PV/CPRG CPRG-19961024 0030.

151 Minutes of the Conference of Presidents of 24 October 1996, pp. 13-14, PE4 OD PV/CPRG CPRG-19961024 0010.

152 Letter of 8 October 1996 from Mr Bonde, Mr Souchet and Mr van der Waal to the Chairs of the political groups in the European Parliament, PE4 OD PV/CPRG CPRG-19961024 0040.

153 Each Chair voted on behalf of his or her political group and had as many votes as the group had members.

In a letter dated 12 November 1996<sup>154</sup>, Mr Hänsch informed Mr Wei Jingsheng of the decision by the Conference of Presidents to award him the 1996 Sakharov Prize and invited him to attend the official award ceremony, to be held on 11 December 1996.

As had happened with several previous prizewinners, Mr Wei Jingsheng was refused permission by the Chinese authorities to go to Strasbourg. Mrs Shanshan Wei-Blank therefore represented her brother at the ceremony.

In his speech<sup>155</sup>, Mr Hänsch said that in awarding the Sakharov Prize to Wei Jingsheng the European Parliament was paying tribute to 'his struggle for freedom of opinion and of the press, respect for human rights and for the introduction of democracy in China'. The President outlined his tireless fight which had begun with a *dazibao*<sup>156</sup> posted on the 'Democracy Wall' in Peking and which was never ending, as Mr Wei Jingsheng was not afraid to make his ideas known either in his own country or abroad. This struggle had cost him long years in prison, but as he himself said: 'I offer up this life to the struggle for democracy in China'.

Mrs Shanshan Wei-Blank thanked the European Parliament on her brother's behalf and added that her brother saw the Sakharov Prize as 'an act of encouragement and support on the part of the European people, not just for himself but for the entire human rights movement in China'<sup>157</sup>.

Mr Wei Jingsheng was released from prison in 1998 and expelled from his country. President Gil-Robles welcomed him at the European Parliament in Brussels in June 1998.

154 Letter of 12 November 1996 from Mr Hänsch, President of the European Parliament, to Mr Wei Jingsheng, SG 04EV B1920/ACT-MAN MAN-250 0020.

155 Speech by Mr Hänsch, European Parliament debates of 11 December 1996, No 4-492/198-200.

156 Wall poster entitled 'The Fifth Modernization': produced after the four 'modernisations' implemented by Deng Xiaoping, this one proposed that democracy be introduced into China.

157 Speech by Mrs Shanshan Wei-Blank, European Parliament debates of 11 December 1996, No 4-492/200.



Wei Jingsheng, winner of the 1996 Sakharov Prize, being welcomed in June 1998 by José María Gil-Robles, President of the European Parliament, and André Soulier, Chair of the Subcommittee on Human Rights.



1996 SAKHAROV PRIZE

for Freedom of Thought

Wei Jingsheng

*China will not modernize  
without democracy*

魏京生



EUROPA-PARLAMENTET  
EUROPAISCHES PARLAMENT  
ΕΥΡΩΠΑΙΚΟ ΚΟΙΝΟΒΟΥΛΙΟ  
EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT  
PARLAMENTO EUROPEO  
PARLEMENT EUROPEEN  
PARLAMENTO EUROPEO  
EUROPEES PARLEMENT  
PARLAMENTO EUROPEU  
EUROOPAN PARLAMENTTI  
EUROPAPARLAMENTET

## 1997

In 1997, four people were nominated by the political groups or by Members<sup>158</sup>:

- Eleni Foka, a Cypriot primary school teacher who had been working in Turkish occupied northern Cyprus since 1974. Nominated by members of the PSE, PPE, UPE, ELDR, GUE/NGL, V and NI groups.
- Salima Ghezali, an Algerian teacher and journalist, editor of the French-speaking 'La Nation' newspaper, founder of the association for the emancipation of women, a defender of freedom of speech and democracy in Algeria. Nominated by members of the PSE, ELDR, GUE/NGL and V Groups.
- Franjo Komarica, Bosnian Bishop of Banja Luka, who promoted reconciliation and a multi-ethnic society. Nominated by members of the PPE Group.
- Elizardo Sánchez Santa-Cruz, a former Cuban university professor who was forbidden to teach on account of his dissident ideas. He denounced human rights violations and was imprisoned for more than 10 years. Nominated by members of the PSE, PPE, UPE, ELDR and ARE Groups.

During its meeting of 8 October 1997<sup>159</sup>, the Committee on Foreign Affairs considered the nominations. The President, Mr Gil-Robles, was informed of the results of the vote<sup>160</sup>: Mrs Salima Ghezali received 24 votes, Bishop Franjo Komarica 19 votes and Mrs Eleni Foka 7 votes.

The Conference of Presidents examined the nominations during its meeting on 23 October 1997<sup>161</sup>. Mrs Salima Ghezali was declared the winner of the 1997 Sakharov Prize, by 354 votes to 180 votes for Bishop Komarica and 56 votes for Mrs Foka.

The award ceremony was held in Strasbourg on 17 December 1997.

During his speech, Mr Gil-Robles, President, recalled that Mrs Ghezali had spoken in spring 1996 at a meeting of the European Parliament's Subcommittee on Human Rights. Since then, Mrs Ghezali had continued to fight for the right to freely exercise her profession as a journalist in her country, despite the newspaper she edited, 'La Nation', being closed down. Salima Ghezali represented all women who fight to defend people's liberties and lives, but in awarding her the Sakharov Prize, the President said, the European Parliament also wanted 'to encourage dialogue' with her country.<sup>162</sup>

Mrs Salima Ghezali described in a few words the dramatic conditions prevailing in her country after five years of war, and the fate of the millions of men, women and children who were living in fear, 'because a double terror denies them the first freedom,

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158 Notice to the members of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, Security and Defence Policy of 26 September 1997, PE4 AP PV/POLI.1994 POLI-19971008 0020.

159 Minutes of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, Security and Defence Policy of 8 October 1997, p. 3, PE4 AP PV/POLI.1994 POLI-19971008 0010 (available only in French). Mrs Pack (PPE) gave the presentation on Bishop Komarica, Mr Swoboda (PSE) gave the presentation on Mrs Ghezali, Mr Dupuis (ARE) the presentation on Mr Sánchez Santa-Cruz and Mrs Daskalaki (UPE) the presentation on Mrs Foka.

160 Letter of 10 October 1997 from Mr Spencer, Chair of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, Security and Defence Policy, to Mr Gil-Robles, President of the European Parliament, PE4 OD PV/CPRG CPRG-19971023 0060.

161 Minutes of the Conference of Presidents of 23 October 1997, pp. 15-16, PE4 OD PV/CPRG CPRG-19971023 0010.

162 Speech by President Gil-Robles, European Parliament debates of 17 December 1997, N° 4-511/216.

the freedom to live'. In a situation like that, 'fundamental democratic questions, such as women's rights, freedom of the press, intellectual freedom and freedom of expression, political and cultural rights, have no chance of escaping from the ghettos in which they have been contained in the style of Machiavelli, while the overwhelming majority of the population see them as the monopoly of a minority insensitive to their lot'.<sup>163</sup>

While she thanked the European Parliament for awarding her the Sakharov Prize, Mrs Ghezali asked it to 'urgently' take a political initiative in favour of peace in her country.

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163 Speech by Mrs Salima Ghezali, European Parliament debates of 17 December 1997, N° 4-511/217-219.





1997 winner Salima Ghezali and President Gil-Robles at the press conference, 17 December 1997.

LA NATION

SEMI-HEBDO EN 21 OCTUBRE 1997 - CYPRUS (1997) - ALGERIE (1997) - FRANCE (1997)

HEBDO N° 119

CRISE NATIONALE

الحرية  
للغزالي

sakharov prize 1997

Salima Ghezali

سليمة غزالي

for freedom of  
thought



EUROPA-PARLAMENTET  
EUROPÄISCHES PARLAMENT  
ΕΥΡΩΠΑΙΚΟ ΚΟΙΝΟΒΟΥΛΙΟ  
EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT  
PARLAMENTO EUROPEO  
PARLEMENT EUROPEEN  
PARLAMENTO EUROPEO  
EUROPEES PARLEMENT  
PARLAMENTO EUROPEO  
EUROOPAN PARLAMENTTI  
EUROPA PARLAMENTET



## 1998

In 1998, there were eight nominations from political groups or Members<sup>164</sup>:

- Accept, a Romanian human rights organisation active in the defence of homosexual rights. Nominated by Joost Lagendijk (V) and others.
- Akin Birdal, Chair of a Turkish human rights association. Nominated by Pauline Green (PSE) and others.
- His Holiness the Dalai Lama, a great defender of the rights of Tibetans. Nominated by James Moorhouse (PPE) and others.
- Ukshin Hoti, a Kosovar university lecturer and political prisoner. Nominated by Olivier Dupuis (ARE) and others.
- José Rainha, one of the leaders of the Brazilian landless workers movement. Nominated by Alonso José Puerta (GUE/NGL) and others.
- Marta Beatriz Roque Cabello, Cuban intellectual and human rights activist. Nominated by Pat Cox (ELDR) and others.
- Ibrahim Rugova, head of the Democratic League of Kosovo since its foundation in 1989. Nominated by Wilfried A. E. Martens (PPE) and others.
- Mordechai Vanunu, Israeli political prisoner. Nominated by Wilfried Telkämper (V) and others.<sup>165</sup>

The Committee on Foreign Affairs considered the nominations during its meeting on 12 October 1998<sup>166</sup>. The nominees for which the highest number of votes were cast were Akin Birdal (22), Ibrahim Rugova (16) and Ukshin Hoti (6). The President, Mr Gil-Robles, was informed of the results<sup>167</sup>.

The Conference of Presidents held a vote during its meeting of 22 October 1998<sup>168</sup> and decided to award the 1998 Sakharov Prize to Mr Ibrahim Rugova.

The 50th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted by the United Nations General Assembly on 10 December 1948, was commemorated in 1998. The year 1998 was also the 10th anniversary of the Sakharov Prize, which was awarded for the first time in 1988. These two events were celebrated by the European Parliament during the week of the December part-session in Strasbourg. The European Parliament hosted an exhibition on human rights.<sup>169</sup>

The award ceremony for the 1998 Sakharov Prize was held on 16 December 1998 in Strasbourg. Mr Rugova, that year's prizewinner, was present.

<sup>164</sup> Notice to the members of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, Security and Defence Policy of 17 September 1998, PE4 AP PV/POLI.1994 POLI-19981012 0030.

<sup>165</sup> This nomination no longer appears in the Minutes of the Committee on Foreign Affairs of 12 October 1998.

<sup>166</sup> Minutes of the Committee on Foreign Affairs of 12 October 1998, pp. 4-5, PE4 AP PV/POLI.1994 POLI-19981012 0010 (available only in French).

<sup>167</sup> Letter of 13 November 1998 from Mr Spencer, Chair of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, Security and Defence Policy, to Mr Gil-Robles, President of the European Parliament, PE4 OD PV/CPRG CPRG-19981022 0020.

<sup>168</sup> Minutes of the Conference of Presidents of 22 October 1998, p. 10, PE4 OD PV/CPRG CPRG-19981022 0010.

<sup>169</sup> Minutes of the Conference of Presidents of 5 March 1998 and 18 June 1988, PE4 OD PV/CPRG CPRG-19980305 0010 and CPRG-19980618 0010; Minutes of the Bureau of 1 July 1998, p. 19, PE4 OD PV/BURE BURE-19980701 0010. See also the letter of 4 May 1998 from Mrs d'Ancona, Chair of the Committee on Civil Liberties and Home Affairs, and Mr Spencer, Chair of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, Security and Defence Policy, to Mr Gil-Robles, President of the European Parliament, PE4 P2 B30/COMP POLI-1994-080 0160.

Mr Gil-Robles paid tribute to the prizewinner for that year who had 'chosen the path of non-violence and negotiation in the search for a political solution guaranteeing basic freedoms for the people of Kosovo'<sup>170</sup>.

To mark the fact that this was a commemorative year, previous prizewinners had been invited to attend the ceremony. Some were able to attend, others were not. Leyla Zana, whose prison sentence had been extended, was one of those unable to attend.

Mr Jean-François Deniau, author of the 1985 report that had led to the creation of the Sakharov Prize, had also accepted the European Parliament's invitation to attend.

In his speech as the winner of the Sakharov Prize<sup>171</sup>, Mr Rugova spoke of the situation in Kosovo. In his view, only Kosovo's independence could guarantee peace and stability in that part of Europe. He hoped that one day Kosovo would also take its place in the European Parliament, which had been one of the first major international institutions to react to the situation in Kosovo and had given the people of the country the strength to stand firm.

Ibrahim Rugova was elected as President of Kosovo in March 2002. He died of lung cancer in January 2006.

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<sup>170</sup> Speech by President Gil-Robles, European Parliament debates of 16 December 1998, N° 4-530/200-202.

<sup>171</sup> Speech by Mr Ibrahim Rugova, European Parliament debates of 16 December 1998, N° 4-530/202-203.



President Gil-Robles presents the 1998 Sakharov Prize to Ibrahim Rugova, 16 December 1998.



President Gil-Robles welcomes Jean-François Deniau to the European Parliament on the 10th anniversary of the Sakharov Prize on 16 December 1998, in the presence of André Soulier, Chair of the Subcommittee on Human Rights.  
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President Gil-Robles with (from left to right) Wei Jingsheng, Ibrahim Rugova, Jean-François Deniau and representatives of the Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo and Oslo bodenje.

10<sup>th</sup> anniversary

# Sakharov Prize

IBRAHIM RUGOVA



for  
freedom  
of  
thought



*European Parliament  
The President*

Dr Ibrahim Rugova,  
President,  
Democratic Alliance of Kosovo,  
Pristina

BRUXELLES

008064 11.XL1998

Dear Dr. Rugova,

As I understand you are already aware, the European Parliament decided on 22 October to award to you its "Sakharov Prize" for freedom of thought. This prize is attributed annually by Parliament to an individual or organisation for their outstanding contribution in defence of human rights.

In making this award, we seek to pay our modest tribute to you in recognition of your long struggle to seek a non-violent political solution to enable the people of Kosovo to enjoy their fundamental rights as free citizens.

Your personal contribution in helping to sustain a remarkably cohesive and inventive "counter society" in Kosovo in the face of oppression over many years is well known to us all. We can only deeply regret that your calls for genuine dialogue and negotiation did not succeed in averting the tragedy we currently witness in Kosovo.

Parliament's long standing solidarity with the people of Kosovo is a matter of record.

We do very much hope that we will be able to convey our sentiments to you in person at our plenary session in December, and that circumstances make it possible for you to be present on that occasion to receive our award.

Yours sincerely,

  
José María Gil-Robles



## 1999

In September 1999, the European Parliament was just starting its fifth parliamentary term. Six nominations were put forward by political groups or Members<sup>172</sup>:

- Angelina Acheng Atyam, 'Concerned Parents Association', co-founder of the Ugandan association campaigning against the use of child soldiers, spokesperson for thousands of families whose children had been abducted by the LRA (Lord's Resistance Army) and used as soldiers. Nominated by Francesco Rutelli (ELDR) and others.
- Akin Birdal, Chair of the Turkish human rights association. Nominated by Ozan Ceyhun (Verts/ALE) and others.
- Xanana Gusmão, head of the independence movement in East Timor and a symbol of his people's fight for freedom. Nominated by Enrique Barón Crespo (PSE), Heidi Hautala (Verts/ALE), José Pacheco Pereira (PPE-DE), Mário Soares (PSE), Francis Wurtz (GUE/NGL) and others.
- Khemaïs Ksila, Vice-President of the Tunisian Human Rights League, imprisoned for having published a communiqué denouncing human rights violations in Tunisia.<sup>173</sup> Nominated by Monica Frassoni (Verts/ALE) and others.
- Mr Martin Lee, Chair of the Democratic Party in Hong Kong. Nominated by Geoffrey Van Orden (PPE-DE) and others.
- Radio B2/92, the independent Belgrade radio station. Nominated by Ursula Stenzel (PPE-DE) and others.

The Committee on Foreign Affairs considered the nominations during its meeting on 11 October 1999<sup>174</sup> and held a vote. The nominees with the highest number of votes were Angelina Acheng Atyam of the 'Concerned Parents Association (14), Xanana Gusmão (33) and Radio B2/92 (9). The names of the three nominees were forwarded to Nicole Fontaine, President of the European Parliament<sup>175</sup>.

Following a discussion on the nominations and a vote, the Conference of Presidents decided to award the 1999 Sakharov Prize to Mr Xanana Gusmão, who was supported by the chairs of the PSE, PPE-DE, UEN, Verts/ALE and GUE/NGL Groups<sup>176</sup>.

The official award ceremony was held in Strasbourg on 15 December 1999.

Mr Gusmão had been held in prison for seven years. He was released on 7 September 1999, just three months before he was awarded the Sakharov Prize. On 30 August, East Timor voted overwhelmingly in favour of independence in a referendum run by the United Nations.

<sup>172</sup> Notice to the members of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, Human Rights, Common Security and Defence Policy of 17 September 1999, PE5 AP PV/AFET.1999 AFET-19991011 0050.

<sup>173</sup> Khemaïs Ksila and Akin Birdal, both in prison in their own countries when they were nominated for the Sakharov Prize, were released on 22 and 24 September 1999 respectively. See Notice to Members, PE5 AP PV/AFET.1999 AFET-19991011 0040.

<sup>174</sup> Minutes of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, Human Rights, Common Security and Defence Policy of 11 October 1999, p. 4, PE5 AP PV/AFET.1999 AFET-19991011 0010.

<sup>175</sup> Letter of 18 October 1999 from Mr Brok, Chair of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, Human Rights, Common Security and Defence Policy, to Mrs Fontaine, President of the European Parliament, PE5 OD PV/CPRG CPRG-19991028 0020.

<sup>176</sup> Minutes of the Conference of Presidents of 28 October 1999, pp. 9-10, PE5 OD PV/CPRG CPRG-19991028 0010.



In his acceptance speech as winner of the Sakharov Prize<sup>177</sup>, Mr Gusmão thanked the Members of the European Parliament, on behalf of his people, for the attention and solidarity that they had shown by adopting numerous resolutions supporting his people in exercising their right to self-determination. As his country prepared for independence after more than two decades of Indonesian occupation, support would still be needed for the country's reconstruction and development. He added, 'This prize shows the European Parliament's recognition of my people's courage in fighting for a free homeland where freedom of thought is guaranteed as a right that is inherent to the human condition'.

In May 2002, Xanana Gusmão was elected as the first President of the Democratic Republic of East Timor.

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<sup>177</sup> Speech by Mr Gusmão, European Parliament debates of 15 December 1999 (not published in the OJ).



Nicole Fontaine, President of the European Parliament, welcomes 1999 winner Xanana Gusmão to the award ceremony, 15 December 1999.



ΕΥΡΩΠΑΪΚΟ ΠΑΡΛΑΜΕΝΤΟ  
ΕΥΡΩΠΑΪΚΟ ΠΑΡΛΑΜΕΝΤΟ  
ΕΥΡΩΠΑΪΚΟ ΠΑΡΛΑΜΕΝΤΟ  
ΕΥΡΩΠΑΪΚΟ ΠΑΡΛΑΜΕΝΤΟ  
ΕΥΡΩΠΑΪΚΟ ΠΑΡΛΑΜΕΝΤΟ  
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ΕΥΡΩΠΑΪΚΟ ΠΑΡΛΑΜΕΝΤΟ  
ΕΥΡΩΠΑΪΚΟ ΠΑΡΛΑΜΕΝΤΟ

# SAKHAROV PRIZE

## 1999

### FOR FREEDOM OF THOUGHT



TIMOR LOROSAË  
XANANA GUSMÃO

## 2000

In 2000, there were eight nominations by the political groups or by Members<sup>178</sup> :

- Mumia Abu-Jamal, radio reporter and former member of the Black Panthers, sentenced to death in 1982 and in prison in Pennsylvania. Nominated by Lucio Manisco (GUE/NGL) and Per Gahrton (Verts/ALE) and others, to 'reconfirm in the most incisive and concrete manner the commitment of the European Union to the campaign against capital punishment in the United States and in the other countries where this barbaric institution still exists'.
- Angelina Acheng Atyam, co-founder and Vice-President of the 'Concerned Parents Association' (CPA) campaigning against the recruitment of child soldiers. Nominated by Enrique Barón Crespo (PSE), Pat Cox (ELDR) and others.
- Andrei Babitsky, Russian journalist detained in Russia, active in the fight for the truth about the wars against Chechnya. Nominated by Lord Bethell (PPE-DE) and others. Mrs Elena Bonner wrote to Mrs Fontaine to support his nomination for his heroism<sup>179</sup>.
- ¡Basta Ya! ('Enough is Enough'), citizens' initiative campaigning for human rights, democracy and tolerance in the Basque Country. Nominated by Gerardo Galeote Quecedo (PPE-DE), José Ignacio Salafranca Sánchez-Neyra (PPE-DE) and others.
- Immaculée Birhaheka, Director of the PAIF (Promotion and Support of Women's Initiatives) Association in the Democratic Republic of Congo, a Congolese women's rights and anti-discrimination activist. Nominated by Glenys Kinnock (PSE), Caroline Lucas (Verts/ALE) and others.
- Radhia Nasraoui, lawyer specialising in human rights in Tunisia and the defence of victims of human rights violations. Nominated by Hélène Flautre (Verts/ALE), Daniel Cohn-Bendit (Verts/ALE) and others.
- Alexander Nikitin, former naval captain in the northern Soviet fleet, environmental anti-nuclear activist. Arrested in 1996, accused of high treason and disclosure of State secrets, he was acquitted in 2000. Nominated by Elisabeth Schroedter (Verts/ALE) and others.
- Ngawang Sangdrol, Tibetan nun in prison in Tibet since 1992, human rights activist. First arrested at the age of 13, she continued her peaceful protest for the freedom of the Tibetan people. Nominated by Olivier Dupuis (TDI), Thomas Mann (PPE-DE), Reinhold Messner (Verts/ALE) and others.

The Committee on Foreign Affairs considered the nominations<sup>180</sup> and, following a vote, drew up a list of the nominees with the highest number of votes. There were four names on this list as the last two nominees had received the same number of votes: ¡Basta Ya! (37 votes), Mrs Angelina Acheng Atyam (8 votes), Mr Andrei Babitsky

178 Notice to Members No 16 of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, Human Rights, Common Security and Defence Policy of 27 September 2000, PE5 AP PV/AFET.1999 AFET-20001003 0020.

179 E-mail of 10 October 2000, PE5 P1 C20/RPUB PRIX-1999-010 0020.

180 Minutes of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, Human Rights, Common Security and Defence Policy of 10 October 2000, p.5-6, PE5 AP PV/AFET.1999 AFET-20001010 0010.

(6 votes) and Miss Ngawang Sangdrol (6 votes). Mrs Fontaine was informed of the results<sup>181</sup>.

The Conference of Presidents discussed the nominations and decided, following a vote, to award the 2000 Sakharov Prize to ¡Basta Ya!, the citizens' initiative for democracy in the Basque Country<sup>182</sup>.

This was the first time the Sakharov Prize had been awarded to human rights defenders within the European Union.

The official award ceremony was held on 13 December 2000. Mr Fernando Savater, a Spanish philosopher and writer, and spokesperson for ¡Basta Ya!, received the Prize from Mrs Fontaine, President of the European Parliament.

In her speech, Mrs Fontaine said that in awarding the Prize to ¡Basta Ya! the European Parliament was paying tribute to all victims of terrorism. It was rewarding the physical and moral courage of all those 'who take action, faced with the senseless violence with which the Spanish Basque country is confronted' and gave them its 'unqualified and most determined' support<sup>183</sup>.

Fernando Savater thanked the European Parliament on behalf of ¡Basta Ya!, which he described as being 'simply a group of citizens of varying backgrounds' who had taken to the streets and raised their voices, 'because we are convinced that, when democracy is in danger, the citizens cannot hide behind their anonymity'<sup>184</sup>.

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181 Letter of 11 October 2000 from Mr Brok, Chair of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, Human Rights, Common Security and Defence Policy, to Mrs Fontaine, President of the European Parliament, PE5 OD PV/CPRG CPRG-20001026 0030.

182 Minutes of the meeting of the Conference of Presidents of 26 October 2000, pp. 18-19, PE5 OD PV/CPRG CPRG-20001026 0010. The PPE, PSE and GUE/NGL Groups voted for ¡Basta Ya!, the ELDR Group for Mrs Atyam, the Verts/ALE and TDI Groups for Miss Sangdrol and the EDD Group for Mr Babitsky.

183 Speech by Mrs Fontaine, European Parliament debates of 13 December 2000 (not published in the OJ).

184 Speech by Mr Fernando Savater, European Parliament debates of 13 December 2000 (not published in the OJ).





President Fontaine at the press conference with Fernando Savater, representing iBasta Ya!, winner of the prize in the year 2000, 13 December 2000.



# PREMIO SÁJAROV 2000

a la libertad de conciencia



*¡Basta Ya!*



## 2001

In 2001, there were nine nominations from political groups or at least 25 Members<sup>185</sup> :

- Angelina Acheng Atyam, co-founder and Vice-President of the 'Concerned Parents Association' (CPA) who had been striving for the release of thousands of child soldiers ever since her daughter had been abducted in 1996. Nominated by Emma Nicholson of Winterbourne (ELDR), Pat Cox (ELDR) and others.
- Sihem Bensedrine, journalist, editor and spokesperson for the National Council for Freedom in Tunisia (the CNLT), human rights activist. Nominated by Harlem Désir (PSE), Olivier Dupuis (TDI), Hélène Flautre (Verts/ALE), Cecilia Malmström (ELDR), Roseline Vachetta (GUE/NGL) and others.
- Father Francisco De Roux, founder of the 'Laboratorio de Paz' association in Colombia, associated with the peace process in the crisis region of Magdalena Medio. Nominated by Antonio Di Pietro (ELDR), Pat Cox (ELDR) and others.
- Izzat Ghazzawi, Chairman of the Palestinian Writers Union, and Nurit Peled-Elhanan, Israeli university lecturer, both working for peace based on recognition of the rights of both peoples and mutual respect between them. Mr Ghazzawi's son was killed by the Israeli army and Mrs Peled-Elhanan's daughter died in an attack by a Palestinian suicide bomber. Nominated by Francis Wurtz (GUE/NGL), Monica Frassoni (Verts/ALE), Luisa Morgantini (GUE/NGL), Pasqualina Napoletano (PSE), Emilio Menéndez del Valle (PSE) and others.
- Dom Zacarias Kamwenho, Archbishop of Lubango, President of the Inter-church Committee for Peace in Angola (COIEPA), one of the symbols of the Angolan people's demands for peace, freedom and justice. Nominated by José Ribeiro e Castro (UEN), Mário Soares (PSE), José Pacheco Pereira (PPE-DE), José María Gil-Robles Gil-Delgado (PPE-DE), Gerard Collins (UEN), François Bayrou (PPE-DE), Nelly Maes (Verts/ALE), Ioannis Koukiadis (PSE), Ole Krarup (EDD), Bernd Posselt (PPE-DE), Íñigo Méndez de Vigo (PPE-DE), Marie-Thérèse Hermange (PPE-DE) and others.
- Patrick Leahy, United States Senator since 1974, a leading force in Congress for human rights and in reforms to criminal justice and the death penalty. Nominated by Mariotto Segni (UEN) and others.
- Li Hongzhi, founder and leader of Falun Gong, a spiritual movement banned in China since 1999. Nominated by Nelly Maes (Verts/ALE) and others.
- Ngawang Sangdrol, Tibetan nun held in prison in Tibet, human rights activist. Nominated by Thomas Mann (PPE-DE) and others.
- Morgan Tsvangirai, opposition leader in Zimbabwe, head of the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC). Nominated by Johan Van Hecke (PPE-DE), Geoffrey Van Orden (PPE-DE) and others.

At its meeting on 2 October 2001, the Committee on Foreign Affairs<sup>186</sup> shortlisted the following nominees after two rounds of voting: Mrs Sihem Bensedrine, Mr Izzat

<sup>185</sup> Notice to Members No 14/01 of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, Human Rights, Common Security and Defence Policy of 13 September 2001, PE5 AP PV/AFET.1999 AFET-20010917-1 0030.

<sup>186</sup> Minutes of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, Human Rights, Common Security and Defence Policy of 2 October 2001, pp. 1-2, PE5 AP PV/AFET.1999 AFET-20011002 0010.

Ghazzawi and Mrs Nurit Peled-Elhanan, and Dom Zacarias Kamwenho. Mrs Fontaine, President of the European Parliament, was informed of the result<sup>187</sup>.

The Conference of Presidents had a long discussion on the list of nominees shortlisted by the Committee on Foreign Affairs<sup>188</sup>. Several group chairs were in favour of awarding the prize jointly to Mr Izzat Ghazzawi and Mrs Nurit Peled-Elhanan, whose nomination had received an absolute majority of votes in the Committee on Foreign Affairs, and to Dom Zacarias Kamwenho, a man of peace from an African country ravaged by war for more than 25 years.

The discussion revolved around the question of whether the Sakharov Prize could be awarded to two nominees. The President recalled that, with the sole exception of the first year in which it was awarded, the prize had only ever been given to one nominee at a time. The way in which Article 7 of the Statute is worded does, in fact, indicate that the prize can only be awarded to one person or organisation ('one winner' in the singular).

Following a vote, the Conference of Presidents decided to award the 2001 Sakharov Prize to Mr Izzat Ghazzawi and Mrs Nurit Peled-Elhanan, and to Dom Zacarias Kamwenho. This was the first time that the European Parliament conferred the Sakharov Prize on three prizewinners.

The award ceremony was held in Strasbourg during the sitting of 12 December 2001, and was attended by the three prizewinners and their relations.

Addressing the Palestinian and Israeli winners of the prize, Mrs Fontaine emphasised their courage and dignity, the fact that in the face of 'the worst injustice of all, the loss of a child', their response had not been hatred but to promote peace and dialogue between their two peoples. As for Archbishop Kamwenho, he symbolised the hope of the Angolan people for peace, justice and reconciliation.<sup>189</sup>

The prizewinners took the floor to speak one after another<sup>190</sup>. Mrs Peled-Elhanan stressed that children, who were just figurines in political games, had to be saved as a matter of urgency. Mr Ghazzawi called for the healing that can come once we are 'able to understand each other's needs'. 'Tolerance' was the key word in Archbishop Kamwenho's speech: national reconciliation, founded on dialogue, would be 'able to break the never-ending cycle of war'.

Izzat Ghazzawi died in 2003 in Ramallah.

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187 Letter of 4 October 2001 from Mr Brok, Chair of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, Human Rights, Common Security and Defence Policy, to Mrs Fontaine, President of the European Parliament, PE5 OD PV/CPRG CPRG-20011018 0020.

188 Minutes of the Conference of Presidents of 18 October 2001, pp. 15-18, PE5 OD PV/CPRG CPRG-20011018 0010.

189 Speech by President Fontaine, European Parliament debates of 12 December 2001 (not published in the OJ).

190 Speeches by Mrs Nurit Peled-Elhanan, Mr Izzat Ghazzawi and Mr Zacharias Kamwenho, European Parliament debates of 12 December 2001 (not published in the OJ).



Nurit Peled-Elhanan, joint winner in 2001, delivering her acceptance speech before the European Parliament, 12 December 2001.





Izzat Ghazzawi, joint winner in 2001, delivering his acceptance speech before the European Parliament, 12 December 2001.



President Fontaine presents the Sakharov Prize to Dom Zacarias Kamwenho, joint winner in 2001, 12 December 2001.



0 Sofrimenu  
 כל מה שאנחנו עושים הוא  
 para o povo é demais  
 חמה חמה חמה חמה  
 ثقة حافة ماسة لا استعادة الثقة  
 بکرامه الإنسان

Izzat Ghazzawi



Nurit Peled-Elhanan



D. Zacarias Kamwenha



# Sakharov Prize 2001

## for Freedom of Thought



## 2002

In 2002, there were six nominations by the political groups or by at least 25 Members<sup>191</sup> :

- Sihem Bensedrine and Saad Eddin Ibrahim, human rights activists in Tunisia and Egypt. Ms Bensedrine, also nominated in 2001, was Director of the online journal 'Kalima' and Secretary General of the 'Observatoire pour La Défense de la Presse, de l'Édition et de la Création' (OLPEC). Mr Ibrahim, a professor of sociology, was one of the leading advocates of democratic reform in Egypt, and had been sentenced to seven years' hard labour. Nominated by Emma Bonino (NI), Pasqualina Napoletano (PSE), Harlem Désir (PSE), Olivier Dupuis (NI), Hélène Flautre (Verts/ALE) and Roseline Vachetta (GUE/NGL).
- Commander Ahmad Shah Massoud (1953–2001), who had promoted peace and freedom in Afghanistan. Nominated by Cristiana Muscardini on behalf of the 'Alleanza Nazionale' delegation in the UEN Group.
- Grigory Pasko, investigative journalist in Russia, who wrote articles on nuclear safety in the Pacific fleet. Sentenced to four years in detention. Nominated by Matti Wuori (Verts/ALE), Daniel Cohn-Bendit (Verts/ALE), Monica Frassoni (Verts/ALE) and Bart Staes (Verts/ALE).
- Oswaldo José Payá Sardiñas, promoted non-violent democratic change and national reconciliation in Cuba, founder of the Christian Liberation Movement (MCL). Nominated by Graham Watson (ELDR) and Cecilia Malmström (ELDR) and by Concepció Ferrer (PPE-DE) and Arie M. Oostlander (PPE-DE).
- Kailash Satyarthi, founder and leader of the 'Global March Against Child Labour' and other movements that sought to end child labour completely. Nominated by Luigi Vinci (GUE/NGL), Francis Wurtz (GUE/NGL), Luisa Morgantini (GUE/NGL) and others.
- Morgan Tsvangirai, head of the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC), advocate for freedom of speech and equal opportunities in Zimbabwe. Nominated by Geoffrey Van Orden (PPE-DE), Enrique Barón Crespo (PSE), Jannis Sakellariou (PSE) and Glenys Kinnock (PSE).

Following a vote<sup>192</sup>, the Committee on Foreign Affairs forwarded the following nominations for the Sakharov Prize to the Conference of Presidents: Mrs Sihem Bensedrine and Professeur Saad Eddin Ibrahim, Mr Oswaldo José Payá Sardiñas and Mr Morgan Tsvangirai.

After a vote during its meeting on 23 October 2002<sup>193</sup>, the Conference of Presidents decided to award the 2002 Sakharov Prize to Mr Oswaldo José Payá Sardiñas.

<sup>191</sup> Notice to Members No 11/2002 of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, Human Rights, Common Security and Defence Policy of 16 September 2002, PE5 AP PV/AFET.1999 AFET-20020930 0030.

<sup>192</sup> Minutes of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, Human Rights, Common Security and Defence Policy of 30 September 2002, p. 2, PE5 AP PV/AFET.1999 AFET-20020930 0010, and letter of 4 October 2002 from Mr Brok, Chair of that Committee, to Mr Cox, President of the European Parliament, PE5 OD PV/CPRG CPRG-20021023 0080.

<sup>193</sup> Minutes of the Conference of Presidents of 23 October 2002, pp. 17-18, PE5 OD PV/CPRG CPRG-20021023 0010. The Chairs of the PPE-DE, ELDR and UEN Groups voted for Mr Payá Sardiñas, while the Chairs of the PSE, GUE/NGL and Verts/ALE Groups voted for the joint nomination of Mrs Bensedrine and Mr Ibrahim.

The award ceremony was arranged for 17 December 2002. Despite the problems he faced in obtaining his first exit and re-entry visa, Mr Payá did manage in the end to come to Strasbourg.

As the European Parliament's President Mr Cox stressed in his speech<sup>194</sup>, the European Parliament was awarding the Sakharov Prize to Mr Payá Sardiñas 'as a tribute to his commitment to freedom of thought, democracy and reconciliation of the Cuban people'. Mr Cox referred to the 'Varela project'<sup>195</sup> started by Mr Payá, a petition calling for a referendum on open elections, freedom of speech and association, an amnesty for political prisoners and free enterprise. The petition had been signed by more than 11 000 Cuban citizens before being presented to the Cuban Parliament.

Oswaldo José Payá Sardiñas said that in accepting the 2002 Sakharov Prize he was doing so on behalf of all Cubans, including those in prison simply because they had stood up for their rights. Through this Prize, Mr Payá added, the European Parliament recognised that they had 'the right to rights'. 'This time we will carry out the changes by means of this civic movement which is already opening up a new stage in the history of Cuba, in which dialogue, democratic participation and solidarity will prevail. In that way we will build a true peace.'<sup>196</sup>

In spring 2003, a group of 11 MEPs launched the 'Sakharov Initiative' in response to dramatic events that had taken place in Cuba. Dozens of dissidents had been arrested and put in prison in Cuba shortly after Mr Payá's return from Strasbourg, and the death penalty had been reintroduced. The goal of the 'Sakharov Initiative' was to invite Mr Payá Sardiñas officially to Europe so he could meet representatives of the EU institutions and Member States' authorities at the very highest level and provide them with information about events in Cuba<sup>197</sup>.

On 29 November 2003, Mr Payá Sardiñas sent a message to the European Union: the Cuban Government refused to give him permission to travel. However, he and other human rights defenders continued their struggle for peaceful change and genuine dialogue in Cuba.<sup>198</sup>

Mr Payá Sardiñas, winner of the 2002 Sakharov Prize, died in a car accident in Cuba in July 2012.

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194 Speech by President Cox, European Parliament debates of 17 December 2002 (not published in the OJ).

195 Named after Father Félix Varela, a Cuban independence hero.

196 Speech by Mr Oswaldo José Payá Sardiñas, European Parliament debates of 17 December 2002 (not published in the OJ).

197 Resolution of the European Parliament of 4 September 2003 on Cuba, OJ C76 E, 25 March 2004, p. 384, see paragraph 12 in particular.

198 Statement of 29 November 2003 from Oswaldo José Payá Sardiñas, coordinator of the Citizens' Committee for the promotion of the Varela Project in Havana, PE OD PV/CPRG CPRG-20040115 0120.



Pat Cox, President of the European Parliament, presents the Sakharov Prize to Oswaldo José Payá Sardiñas at the formal sitting on 17 December 2002.





2002 winner Oswaldo José Payá Sardiñas at the Sakharov Prize ceremony at the European Parliament, 17 December 2002. © European Union, 2002 – EP



## 2003

In 2003, the following were nominated by the political groups or at least 25 Members<sup>199</sup>:

- Kofi Annan, UN Secretary General, and the UN staff. Nominated, separately, by Hans-Gert Pöttering on behalf of the PPE-DE Group, and by Enrique Barón Crespo on behalf of the PSE Group. Nominated to pay tribute to the UN staff who work for peace and to promote human rights, often under very difficult conditions. The PPE-DE and PSE Groups wanted in particular to pay tribute to Sergio Vieira de Mello, UN Representative in Iraq, and the members of his staff who were killed in a terrorist attack in Baghdad in August 2003.
- Sergio Vieira de Mello, UN High Commissioner for Human Rights and Special Representative in Iraq, killed in the terrorist attack in Baghdad. Nominated, separately, by several groups and various Members: Graham Watson on behalf of the ELDR Group, Charles Pasqua on behalf of the UEN Group, José Ribeiro e Castro (UEN) and others.
- Sergio Vieira de Mello, Hans Blix and Mohamed ElBaradei: respectively UN High Commissioner for Human Rights and Special Representative in Iraq, Chief Weapons Inspector for the UN in Iraq, and Director General of the International Atomic Energy Agency. Nominated by Francis Wurtz, on behalf of the GUE/NGL Group.
- Akbar Ganji, journalist and writer in prison in Iran. Nominated by Daniel Cohn-Bendit and Monica Frassoni, on behalf of the Verts/ALE Group.
- Professor Saim Balmukhanov, a Kazakh human rights activist and campaigner for scientific freedom in Central Asia. Nominated by Struan Stevenson (PPE-DE) and others.
- Professor Yuri Bandazhevsky, a doctor and anatomo-pathologist from Belarus, imprisoned after publishing research on radioactivity contamination in children in Belarus. Nominated by Marie Anne Isler Beguin (Verts/ALE) and others.
- Felix Kulov (Kyrgyzstan), Muhammad Bekzhon (Uzbekistan), Batyr Berdyev (Turkmenistan) and Glaymzhan Zhakiyanov (Kazakhstan), Central Asian opposition leaders and campaigners for democracy, freedom of the press and the rule of law in their countries. They had all been imprisoned. Nominated by Matti Wuori (Verts/ALE), Bart Staes (Verts/ALE), Ulla Sandbæk (EDD), Martin Callanan (PPE-DE) and others.

At its meeting of 1 October 2003<sup>200</sup>, the Committee on Foreign Affairs considered the nominations, took a vote and drew up a shortlist of three candidates: Kofi Annan, Secretary General of the United Nations, and all UN staff, Akbar Ganji, and Messrs Vieira de Mello, Blix and El Baradei. Kofi Annan and the staff of the UN received a large majority of the votes. The President, Mr Cox, was informed of the result<sup>201</sup>.

<sup>199</sup> Notice to Members No 19/2003 of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, Human Rights, Common Security and Defence Policy of 15 September 2003, PE5 AP PV/AFET.1999 AFET-20030930 0040.

<sup>200</sup> Minutes of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, Human Rights, Common Security and Defence Policy of 30 September 2003, pp. 2-3, PE5 AP PV/AFET.1999 AFET-20030930 0010.

<sup>201</sup> Letter of 2 October 2003 from Mr Brok, Chair of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, Human Rights, Common Security and Defence Policy, to Mr Cox, President of the European Parliament, PE5 OD PV/CPRG CPRG-20031023 0140.

The Conference of Presidents decided to award the 2003 Sakharov Prize to Kofi Annan, Secretary General of the United Nations, and to all United Nations staff, 'with a view to commemorating Sergio Vieira de Mello and the many other UN officials who had lost their lives in the service of world peace'. The decision was made with the support of all the political groups except one: the Verts/ALE Group defended the nomination of Mr Ganji. It was decided that the prize would be presented to Mr Annan on 29 January 2004 in Brussels, on the occasion of his official visit to Parliament.<sup>202</sup>

At the ceremony on 29 January, the President, Mr Cox, welcomed some survivors of the attack in Baghdad and the families of those who had died, extending a special welcome to Mr Vieira de Mello's widow and son<sup>203</sup>.

Parliament had also invited six former winners of the Sakharov Prize: Wei Jingsheng (1996 winner), Salima Ghezali (1997 winner), Ibrahim Rugova, President of Kosovo (1998 winner), Xanana Gusmão, President of East Timor (1999 winner), a representative of ¡Basta Ya! (2000 winner) and Dom Zacharias Kamwenho (2001 joint winner).

Three former prizewinners were unable to attend: Aung San Suu Kyi and Ms Zana, both in confinement at the time, and Mr Payá Sardiñas, who had again been prohibited from attending by the Cuban authorities.

Kofi Annan<sup>204</sup> said he was proud to receive the Sakharov Prize in memory of the United Nations officials who gave their lives to promote peace in the world. He congratulated Europe, which he said had learnt the lessons of its long history and was now 'a shining light of tolerance, human rights, and international cooperation'. A few months later, the European Union would welcome ten new Member States.

However, the message of Mr Annan's speech to Parliament was very clear: he encouraged Member States to become more open to immigration, because Europe needed migrants just as migrants needed Europe. Immigration had to be well managed, 'not just for the sake of those who move, but for the sake of the countries they leave behind and those they travel through and those they migrate to'. Mr Annan emphasised the shared legal and moral responsibility that we have towards those who are forced to leave their country of origin.<sup>205</sup>

Brian Cowen, President-in-Office of the Council, and Chris Patten, the Commissioner for External Relations, both spoke before handing over to the chairs of the political groups and of the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

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<sup>202</sup> Minutes of the Conference of Presidents of 23 October 2003, pp. 27-28, PE4 OD PV/CPRG CPRG-20031023 0010.

<sup>203</sup> Speech by President Cox, European Parliament debates of 29 January 2004 (not published in the OJ).

<sup>204</sup> Speech by Kofi Annan, Secretary General of the United Nations, European Parliament debates of 29 January 2004 (not published in the OJ).

<sup>205</sup> Ibid.



President Cox presents the 2003 Sakharov Prize to Kofi Annan, Secretary-General of the United Nations, at the formal sitting on 29 January 2004. Right: Julian Priestley, Secretary-General of the European Parliament.  
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# Kofi Annan 2003 Sakharov Prize



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THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

PE - COURRIER EP - ENTRÉE
23.02.2004
N° 2577

10 February 2004

Excellency, *and Dear Pat,*

Following my recent visit to Brussels, I should like to convey once again my profound gratitude to the European Parliament for awarding the prestigious Sakharov Prize to the United Nations. I was deeply honoured to receive the Prize on behalf of my fallen colleagues and the Organization, during what was a beautiful and moving ceremony.

I am also grateful to have had the opportunity to meet you and to discuss with you issues of mutual concern, including recent developments in Iraq and Cyprus. I attach great importance to the ties between the European Parliament and the United Nations. The Parliament's strong message of support for the work of the United Nations, expressed in its resolution on European Union-United Nations cooperation, was highly appreciated. I look forward to our continued close cooperation.

I should also like to thank you for your kind invitation to deliver the laudatory address at the Charlemagne Award Ceremony in May. I am reviewing my calendar and will revert to you as soon as my schedule for the month of May is finalized.

Finally, allow me to express to you my gratitude for the warm reception accorded to my delegation, my wife and me at the European Parliament and for your very thoughtful gift, which shall serve as a delightful reminder of my visit.

Please accept, Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.

*With great appreciation*

*Kofi*  
Kofi A. Annan

His Excellency  
Mr. Pat Cox  
President of the European Parliament  
Brussels



## 2004

In 2004, there were 11 nominations from political groups or at least 25 Members<sup>206</sup>:

- Ingrid Betancourt, a Colombian Member of Parliament fighting for human rights and against corruption. She had been held by FARC since 2002. Nominated by Martin Schulz on behalf of the PSE Group.
- Reporters Without Borders, an NGO working to uphold press freedom throughout the world, and all the journalists who had lost their lives in the course of their work. Nominated by Graham Watson on behalf of the ALDE Group.
- Enzo Baldoni, Rachel Corrie and Leonid Roshol. Mr Baldoni was an Italian journalist and human rights activist who was murdered in Iraq. Ms Corrie was a young American pacifist who was killed on a trip to Palestine. Mr Roshol was a Russian paediatrician and founder of the international organisation 'Brigade for First Aid', and was particularly known for his humanitarian work in Chechnya. Nominated by Francis Wurtz on behalf of the GUE/NGL Group.
- Natalya Estemirova, a Russian-Chechen human rights activist and emblem of the non-violent Chechen resistance. Nominated by Daniel Cohn-Bendit and Monica Frassoni on behalf of the Verts/ALE Group.
- Alexander Esenin-Volpin, a human rights activist in the former USSR. Nominated by Nigel Farage on behalf of the IND/DEM Group.
- Angelica Edna Calò Livné and Samar Sahhar, two women from Israel and Palestine working to promote peace through education. Nominated by Mario Mauro (PPE-DE) and others.
- Belarusian Association of Journalists (BAJ), an organisation working to protect freedom of speech in Belarus. Nominated by Michael Gahler (PPE-DE) and others.
- Václav Havel, the former President of Czechoslovakia and the Czech Republic and a human rights activist. Nominated by Jana Bobošíková (NI) and others.
- Sergei Kovalev, the president of the Human Rights Institute in Russia and a co-author of the Declaration of Human and Civil Rights in Russia. Nominated by Vytautas Landsbergis (PPE-DE) and others.
- Ibrahim Hussein Zaki, a diplomat and government minister in the Republic of the Maldives and an advocate of peace and reconciliation. He had been in solitary confinement in the Maldives since August 2004. Nominated by Nirj Deva (PPE-DE) and others.
- The Belarusian youth movement 'Zubr', which campaigned for human rights and civil liberties in Belarus. Nominated by Rolandas Pavilionis (UEN) and others.

At its meeting of 5 October 2004<sup>207</sup>, the Committee on Foreign Affairs considered the nominations. Following two secret ballots, the Belarusian Association of Journalists, Natalya Estemirova and Sergei Kovalev, and Ingrid Betancourt received the most votes.

<sup>206</sup> Notice to Members No 6/2004 of the Committee on Foreign Affairs of 21 September 2004, PE6 AP PV/AFET.2004 AFET-20041004-1 0020.

<sup>207</sup> Minutes of the Committee on Foreign Affairs of 5 October 2004, p. 2.

Following a discussion and a vote, the Conference of Presidents decided<sup>208</sup> to award the 2004 Sakharov Prize to the Belarusian Association of Journalists.

The Belarusian Association of Journalists was represented by a delegation at the award ceremony, which took place on 14 December 2004 in Strasbourg. The Sakharov Prize was presented to Zhanna Litvina, the cofounder and president of the organisation.

Addressing members of the Belarusian Association of Journalists, the President, Mr Borrell Fontelles, declared that the Sakharov Prize recognised 'a group of professionals who risk their lives on a daily basis to seek out the truth and communicate it to their citizens'. Dozens of journalists had been killed and hundreds imprisoned throughout the world in 2004 alone. Despite the regular attacks from the authorities that independent media outlets faced in Belarus, the Association of Journalists continued their work to uphold freedom of expression.<sup>209</sup>

During her speech, Zhanna Litvina remarked that the Sakharov Prize was a very important symbol for her organisation, but also 'a sign of solidarity and support for the entire Belarusian democratic movement'. She added that, in a closed society in which the government wanted to control all information, it was extremely important to uphold the individual's right to objective information. The independent press was practically the only source of free information for people in Belarus. In order to survive, however, these media outlets relied on the support of international and European organisations.<sup>210</sup>

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208 Minutes of the Conference of Presidents of 28 October 2004, pp. 24-26.

209 Speech by Mr Borrell Fontelles, President of the European Parliament, European Parliament debates of 14 December 2004.

210 Speech by Zhanna Litvina, from the Belarusian Association of Journalists, European Parliament debates of 14 December 2004.



Zhanna Litvina, Chair of the Belarusian Association of Journalists, receives the 2004 Sakharov Prize from Josep Borrell Fontelles, President of the European Parliament, at the award ceremony on 14 December 2004.  
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# Freedom of speech in Belarus

Sakharov Prize **2004** for freedom of thought

Belarusian  
Association  
of Journalists



## 2005

In 2005, there were ten nominations from political groups or at least 25 Members<sup>211</sup>:

- Hauwa Ibrahim, the first female lawyer from Northern Nigeria to defend women and young people sentenced to cruel and inhuman punishment under Sharia. Nominated by Martin Schulz on behalf of the PSE Group.
- Reporters Without Borders, an international organisation working to uphold press freedom throughout the world. Nominated by Graham Watson on behalf of the ALDE Group.
- Yang Zili, Mojtaba Saminejad and (posthumously) Zouhair Yahyaoui (joint nomination), on behalf of the cyber-dissidents in China, Iran and Tunisia, for their use of the internet to disseminate evidence of human rights violations in countries ruled by authoritarian regimes. Nominated by Daniel Cohn-Bendit and Monica Frassoni on behalf of the Verts/ALE Group.
- Mukhtar Mai, the victim of an honour crime in the Pakistani village of Meerwala, and an emblem of the struggle for women's rights in Pakistan. In 2002, she had been sentenced by the village council to be gang-raped as a means of punishing her brother. Nominated by André Brie and Francis Wurtz on behalf of the GUE/NGL Group.
- Alexander Esenin-Volpin and Sergei Kovalev (joint nomination). Mr Esenin-Volpin was an advocate of intellectual freedom in the former USSR. Mr Kovalev was a former dissident and cofounder of the Initiative Group for the Defence of Human Rights in the former Soviet Union and Chair of the Memorial Society and the Russian Sakharov Foundation. Nominated by Nigel Farage and Jens-Peter Bonde on behalf of the IND/DEM Group.
- Gunārs Astra (posthumously), a Soviet dissident who fought for democracy, freedom and human rights in Latvia under the Soviet regime. Nominated by Brian Crowley on behalf of the UEN Group.
- The 'Ladies in White' (Damas de Blanco), a peaceful opposition movement in Cuba consisting of a group of women protesting every week against the holding of their husbands as political prisoners, while dressed in white as a symbol of peace and their husbands' innocence. Nominated by Gerardo Galeote Quecedo (PPE-DE), José Ribeiro E Castro (PPE-DE) and others.
- Ibrahim Adam Mudawi, the founder of the Sudan Social Development Organisation, an NGO working to protect human rights and bring peace to Sudan, particularly the region of Darfur. Nominated by Simon Coveney (PPE-DE) and others.
- Daniel Barenboim, an Argentine-Israeli pianist and conductor. He was the cofounder of the Western-Eastern Divan Orchestra, which seeks to promote peace and dialogue between Arabs and Israelis through the medium of music. Nominated by Erna Hennicot-Schoepges (PPE-DE) and others.

<sup>211</sup> Notice to the members of the Committee on Foreign Affairs and the Subcommittee on Human Rights of 13 September 2005, PE4 AP PV/POLI.1994 POLI-19981012 0030.



- Aminatou Haidar, a human rights activist in the Western Sahara. She became a political prisoner when arrested during a demonstration in Morocco in June 2005. Nominated by Karin Scheele (PSE) and others.

At its meeting of 26 September 2005<sup>212</sup>, the Committee on Foreign Affairs drew up a shortlist of three candidates following two rounds of voting: the Ladies in White, Hauwa Ibrahim and Reporters Without Borders.

One month later, the Conference of Presidents<sup>213</sup> decided to award the 2005 Sakharov Prize jointly to all three candidates following a single vote. It was the first time in the history of the Sakharov Prize that the three candidates nominated by the Committee on Political Affairs or its successor, the Committee on Foreign Affairs, won the prize.

The award ceremony for the 2005 Sakharov Prize took place on 14 December 2005 in Strasbourg. Two of the winners were able to attend: Hauwa Ibrahim, a Nigerian lawyer, and Reporters Without Borders, represented by its Secretary General, Robert Ménard. The 'Ladies in White', who had not obtained authorisation to leave Cuba, were represented by Blanca Reyes, a former 'Lady in White'.

During his speech, the President, Mr Borrell Fontelles, affirmed that Parliament had long supported these nominees, who all shared the ambition to uphold human dignity and freedom. Parliament had followed their struggle: the peaceful demonstrations by the Ladies in White in Havana, the work of Ms Ibrahim to bring the rule of law to her country so that everyone could have the right to a fair trial and to education, and the fight for freedom of information by Reporters Without Borders.<sup>214</sup>

All the prizewinners, or their representatives, gave a speech at the ceremony<sup>215</sup>.

Ms Reyes made the following statement on behalf of the Ladies in White: the prize was 'an inspiration to carry on defending the innocence of our loved ones with greater courage and to demand their immediate and unconditional release'. She then listed the names of those who had signed the statement: Laura Poyán, wife of Héctor Maceda; Miriam Leyva, wife of Óscar Espinosa Chepe; Berta Soler, wife of Ángel Moya; Loida Valdés, wife of Alfredo Felipe Fuentes; and Julia Núñez, wife of Adolfo Fernández Saiz.

In 1999, twelve Nigerian states had introduced the Sharia legal system. Since then, Ms Ibrahim had helped defend 90 victims of that system, including women accused of adultery and sentenced to death by stoning, such as Safya Hussein and Amina Lawal. In her speech, she pointed out that these were victims with no power and no voice. Thanks to the Sakharov Prize, the attention of the world had turned towards them, and 'their cause is known and supported'.

<sup>212</sup> Minutes of the Committee on Foreign Affairs of 26 September 2005, p. 5, PE6 AP PV/AFET.2004 AFET-20050926 0010.

<sup>213</sup> Minutes of the Conference of Presidents of 26 October 2005, pp. 15-16.

<sup>214</sup> Speech by President Borrell Fontelles, European Parliament debates of 14 December 2005.

<sup>215</sup> Speeches by Blanca Reyes, Hauwa Ibrahim and Robert Ménard, European Parliament debates of 14 December 2005.

Mr Ménard, the Secretary General of Reporters without Borders, spoke of journalists who had been killed and detained in Iraq: 'It is to them, through us, that you are paying tribute.' He congratulated Parliament for its having defended Florence Aubenas, the French journalist taken hostage in Iraq, but noted that there were 'others like Florence Aubenas, but they do not belong to great Western media organisations and they do not come from the West.' In those cases, politicians and journalists did not work nearly as hard, 'as though double standards were being applied, as though some lives were worth more than others and as though there were some freedoms that affect us and others that do not. It is imperative that we put a stop to this way of thinking.'

On 23 April 2013, the Ladies in White were eventually allowed to travel to Parliament in Brussels to personally receive the Sakharov Prize that had been awarded to them almost eight years previously. The prize was presented at a special ceremony during a joint meeting of the Committees on Foreign Affairs and Development and the Subcommittee on Human Rights, with the President, Mr Schulz, also in attendance.<sup>216</sup>

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<sup>216</sup> Minutes of the Committee on Foreign Affairs of 23 April 2013.







The Ladies in White, joint winners in 2005, finally visit the European Parliament, 23 April 2013.

# PRIX SAKHAROV 2005

Pour la liberté de l'esprit

Il y a des voix qui nous éclairent



**Dames en blanc**  
pour leur action en  
faveur des prisonniers  
politiques à Cuba



**Hauwa Ibrahim** pour  
la défense des femmes  
et enfants accusés par  
la loi de la Charia



**Reporters sans  
frontières** pour son  
combat pour la liberté de  
la presse dans le monde



Sa-  
kha-  
rov  
2005

[www.europarl.eu.int](http://www.europarl.eu.int)



## 2006

In 2006, there were ten nominations from political groups or at least 37 Members<sup>217</sup>:

- Ingrid Betancourt, a Colombian Member of Parliament fighting to end the civil war through negotiation. In February 2002 she had been taken hostage by FARC. Nominated by Marie-Arlette Carlotti (PSE) and others.
- All those fighting to free hostages in Colombia. Nominated by Monica Frassoni and Daniel Cohn-Bendit on behalf of the Verts/ALE Group, and supported by José Salafranca Sánchez-Neyra (PPE-DE), Fernando Fernández Martín (PPE-DE), Frédérique Ries (ALDE) and others.
- Professor Muthgard Hinkelmann-Toewe's Fulda-Mosocho Project, campaigning with the VividCom organisation against female genital mutilation in the Mosocho region in Kenya. Nominated by Alexander Alvaro (ALDE) and other MEPs.
- Vladimir Kozlov, the leader of the opposition in the Mari-El Republic in the Russian Federation, campaigning for the rights of minorities, particularly the Finno-Ugric minority in Russia. Nominated by Toomas Hendrik Ilves (PSE) and other MEPs.
- Bishop Erwin Kräutler, a campaigner for the rights of indigenous minorities and the preservation of the tropical rainforest in Brazil and throughout the Amazon region. Nominated by Herbert Bösch (PSE) and others.
- Somaly Mam, the founder of AFESIP (Agir pour les Femmes en Situation Précaire) and a campaigner against child prostitution, the trafficking of women and children and sexual slavery in Cambodia and throughout Southeast Asia. Nominated by Graham Watson on behalf of the ALDE Group on a proposal by Jules Maaten (ALDE).
- Aleksander Milinkevich, the leader of the opposition in Belarus and a presidential candidate in March 2006 when he stood against President Lukashenko. Nominated by Jacek Saryusz-Wolski on behalf of the PPE-DE Group, and by Brian Crowley on behalf of the UEN Group.
- Ghassan Tuani, a Lebanese journalist, diplomat and politician, Member of Parliament for Beirut, and ambassador to the UN. Nominated, in memory of five prominent Lebanese people who were assassinated in 2005<sup>218</sup>, by Martin Schulz on behalf of the PSE Group, on a proposal by Béatrice Patrie, Véronique De Keyser and others, and by Francis Wurtz on behalf of the GUE/NGL Group.
- Mesfin Woldemariam, a lecturer, human rights activist, and founding member of the Ethiopian Human Rights Council (EHRC). Nominated by Ana Gomes (PSE) and others.
- The 'Women in Black' from Belgrade, a movement campaigning for reconciliation between nations and ethnicities throughout the former Yugoslavia. Nominated by Jelko Kacin (ALDE) and others.

<sup>217</sup> Notice to the members of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, the Committee on Development and the Subcommittee on Human Rights of 12 September 2006, PE6 AP PV/AFET.2004 AFET-20060912 0040.

<sup>218</sup> Gebrane Tuani, Rafik Hariri, Basil Fleihan, Samir Kassir and George Hawi.

In line with Article 7 of the Statute of the Sakharov Prize, as amended on 14 June 2006<sup>219</sup>, the Committee on Foreign Affairs and the Committee on Development jointly took a vote to select three 'finalists'. For the first time, therefore, the shortlist of three candidates was drawn up at a joint meeting of the two committees, which chose the finalists on the basis of two rounds of voting. The nominees put forward to the Conference of Presidents were: all those fighting to free hostages in Colombia, Alexander Milinkevich and Ghassan Tueni. Mr Tueni received the most votes.<sup>220</sup>

The Conference of Presidents held a meeting on 26 October 2006<sup>221</sup>. The chairs of the political groups discussed how to interpret the phrase 'shall select one winner' in Article 7 of the amended Statute<sup>222</sup>. All three nominees received votes but ultimately, following two rounds of voting, Mr Milinkevich was chosen, with a majority of the votes, to be the winner of the 2006 Sakharov Prize.

The official award ceremony was organised for 12 December 2006, and Mr Milinkevich, the leader of the United Democratic Forces of the Belarusian opposition, was invited to attend.

Addressing the 2006 winner, the President, Mr Borrell Fontelles, spoke about the Belarusian presidential elections in March which had been 'neither free nor fair', and during which Mr Milinkevich had had the 'courage to challenge the last dictatorship in Europe'. In awarding the Sakharov Prize to this scientist and leader of the opposition, Parliament was awarding it 'to the hope of a democratic Belarus and to all the people fighting alongside you to make it a reality'.<sup>223</sup>

Mr Milinkevich dedicated the Sakharov Prize to all his compatriots, to 'all of those who were in the square in Minsk last March, who have been thrown into prison and expelled from universities and workplaces', to the political prisoners in his country, to all those who continued to defend the fundamental right to live in a free country. He urged Europe to continue its robust stance with regard to the difficult situation in his country: 'There is a lot you can do! You can help us to break down the barriers to information and the restricted view of the world imposed upon my fellow countrymen by government propaganda, to create a public space conducive to open debate amongst the citizens, bringing together independent authors, intellectuals and moral authorities. This will undoubtedly help civil society in Belarus to develop more quickly'.<sup>224</sup>

219 Minutes of the Conference of Presidents of 14 June 2006, p. 20.

220 Minutes of the joint meeting of the Committee on Foreign Affairs and the Committee on Development of 25 September 2006, <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/committees/en/home.html>

221 Minutes of the Conference of Presidents of 26 October 2006, pp. 19-23.

222 '... a list of three candidates, in alphabetical order, from which the Conference of Presidents shall select one winner', Statute of the 'Sakharov Prize for Freedom of Thought' of 15 May 2003, modified on 14 June 2006. The decision of the Conference of Presidents of 14 June 2006 stipulated that: 'the prize will be awarded to one single winner', minutes of the Conference of Presidents of 14 June 2004, p. 24-25.

223 Speech by President Borrell Fontelles, European Parliament debates of 12 December 2006.

224 Speech by Mr Milinkevich, European Parliament debates of 12 December 2006.



President Borrell Fontelles presents the 2006 Sakharov Prize to Aleksandr Milinkevich at the award ceremony on 12 December 2006.



PARLEMENT EUROPÉEN

PRIX SAKHAROV 2006  
POUR LA LIBERTÉ DE L'ESPRIT

DÉCERNÉ À

ALEXANDRE  
MILINKEVITCH

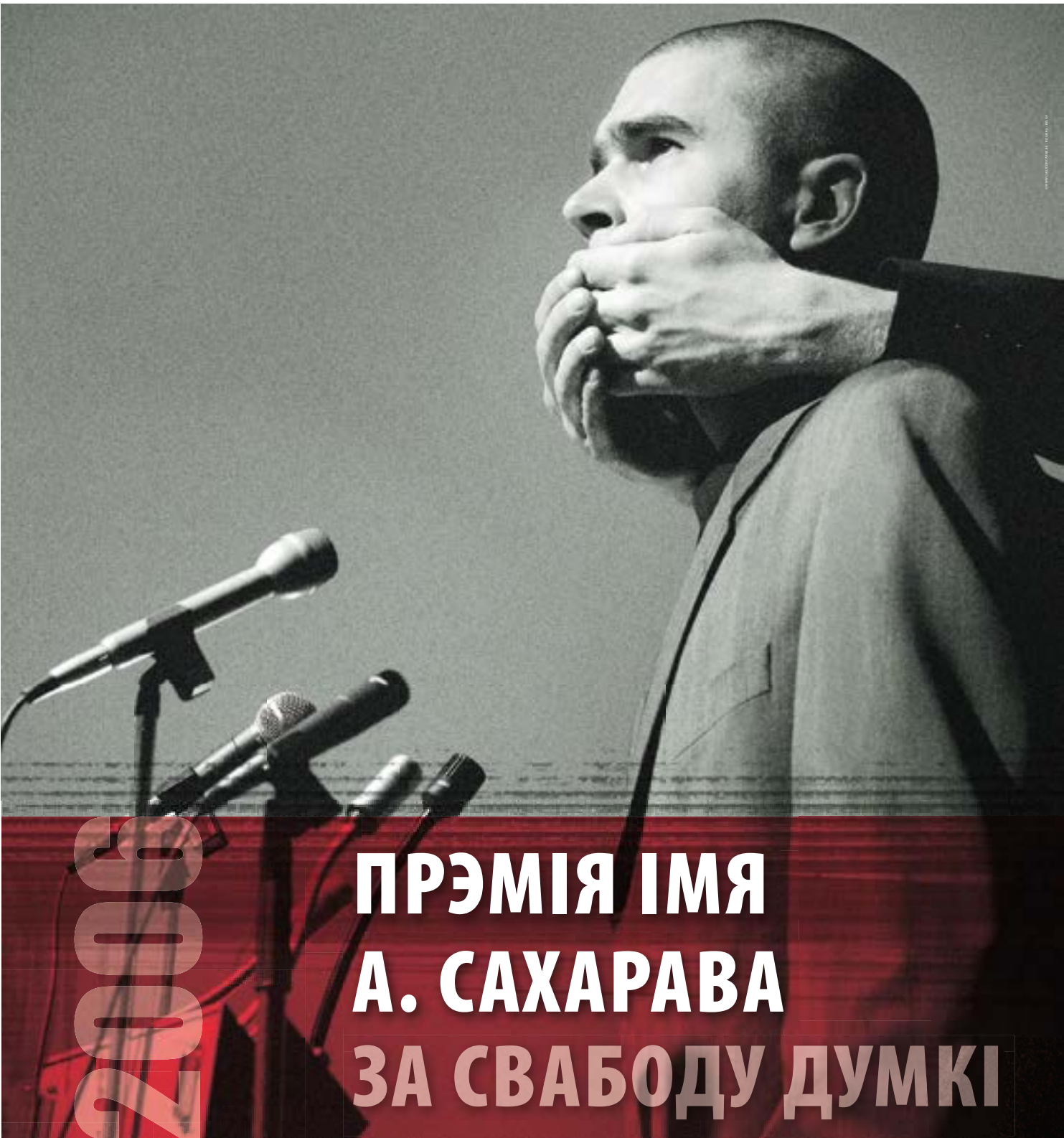
EN RECONNAISSANCE  
DE SON COMBAT  
EN FAVEUR DE LA DÉMOCRATIE  
EN BIÉLORUSSIE

12 DÉCEMBRE 2006

JOSEP BORRELL FONTELLES  
PRÉSIDENT







# ПРЭМІЯ ІМЯ А. САХАРАВА ЗА СВАБОДУ ДУМКІ

АЛЯКСАНДР МІЛІНКЕВІЧ



PARLAMENTO EUROPEO  
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EUROPAÏSCHES PARLAMENT  
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EUROPEAN PARLAMENT  
PARLAMENT EUROPEEN PARLAMENTO EUROPEO  
EUROPAS PARLAMENTS  
EUROPOS PARLAMENTAS EYROPAl PARLAMENT  
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ЭУРАПЕЙСКИ ПАРЛЯМЕНТ



## 2007

In 2007, there were five nominations from political groups or at least 40 Members<sup>225</sup>:

- His All Holiness Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomew I, the Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople, working to uphold freedom of religion and promote inter-faith dialogue in Turkey. Nominated by Philip Claeys on behalf of the ITS group.
- Zeng Jinyan and Hu Jia, a young Chinese couple and 'children of Tiananmen'. Zeng Jinyan was a blogger who regularly reported examples of human rights violations in China, and Hu Jia led a campaign to protect the environment and combat the spread of AIDS. Nominated by Monica Frassoni and Daniel Cohn-Bendit on behalf of the Verts/ALE Group.
- Malalai Joya, an Afghani women's rights activist who was elected to the Afghan National Assembly in 2005. She was suspended in 2007 after speaking out against 'warlords' in the country's parliament. Nominated by Vittorio Agnoletto, André Brie and Tobias Pflüger on behalf of the GUE/NGL Group.
- Salih Mahmoud Osman, a human rights lawyer working with the Sudan Organisation Against Torture. He provided free legal representation for victims of the country's civil war. Nominated jointly by Josep Borrell Fontelles (PSE), Thierry Cornillet (ALDE), José Ribeiro e Castro (PPE-DE), Frithjof Schmidt (Verts/ALE), Jürgen Schröder (PPE-DE) and 177 other members from various political groups, and by Annemie Neyts-Uyttebroeck and Marco Cappato on behalf of the ALDE Group.
- Anna Politkovskaya, a Russian journalist and human right activist known for her opposition to the conflict in Chechnya. She was shot dead in October 2006. Nominated posthumously by Joseph Daul on behalf of the PPE-DE Group.

The nominations were put forward during the first joint committee meeting, held on 11 September 2007<sup>226</sup>. At the meeting of 24 September<sup>227</sup>, the ITS Group withdrew its nomination for His All Holiness the Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomew I. Following a single vote, the committees selected three nominees to be put forward to the Conference of Presidents: Salih Mahmoud Osman, Anna Politkovskaya and Zeng Jinyan and Hu Jia (joint nomination). Mahmoud Osman received the most votes.

At its meeting on 25 October 2007<sup>228</sup>, the Conference of Presidents unanimously chose the winner of the 2007 Sakharov Prize. The President, Mr Pöttering, announced the name of the winner in plenary that day<sup>229</sup>: 'For his commitment to the all-too-long-forgotten victims in Darfur, the Conference decided that the prize would be awarded to Salih Mahmoud Osman.'

225 Notice to the members of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, the Committee on Development and the Subcommittee on Human Rights of 6 September 2007, PE6 AP PV/AFET.2004 AFET-20070924 0030.

226 Minutes of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, the Subcommittee on Human Rights and the Committee on Development of 11 September 2007, PE6 AP PV/AFET.2004 DROI-20070911 0010.

227 Minutes of the Committee on Foreign Affairs and the Committee on Development of 24 September 2007, PE6 AP PV/AFET.2004 AFET-20070924 0010.

228 Minutes of the Conference of Presidents of 25 October 2007, pp. 12-13.

229 Speech by President Pöttering, European Parliament debates of 25 October 2007.

The award ceremony took place on 11 December 2007, and was attended by Mr Osman and his wife.

In his speech, Mr Pöttering pointed out that the decision of the political group chairs as to the winner of the 2007 prize had been unanimous: 'The European Parliament has thereby reaffirmed its solidarity with the people in Darfur and its conviction that a sustainable solution for that region can only be achieved through justice, democracy and respect for human rights.' Salih Mahmoud Osman's work exemplified this in that it went beyond the provision of legal representation for victims. The President highlighted Mr Osman's commitment, as a member of the opposition in the Sudanese parliament since 2005, to promoting genuine reform of the country's judicial system.<sup>230</sup>

In his speech, Salih Mahmoud Osman said he would be proud to accept the prize on behalf of all the other candidates that year. Regarding the situation in Darfur, he gave the following message to the European Union: the innocent civilians in the region, the thousands of torture victims and the four million people displaced, all needed the European Union to take a strong and united position, because 'so far we have not seen any concrete steps to address the situation in a strong and targeted manner.' Europe had to put greater pressure on the Sudanese Government and redouble its efforts to bring the government and the rebels to the table for peace negotiations. In addition, he requested that Europe encourage the establishment of the rule of law in his country, 'so that all citizens of Sudan can enjoy their individual and collective rights'.<sup>231</sup>

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230 Speech by President Pöttering, European Parliament debates of 11 December 2007.

231 Speech by Salih Mahmoud Osman, European Parliament debates of 11 December 2007.



Hans-Gert Pötering, President of the European Parliament, presenting the 2007 Sakharov Prize to Salih Mahmoud Osman, in the presence of Mr Osman's wife, at the ceremony on 11 December 2007.

# جائزة سكاروف حرية الفكر

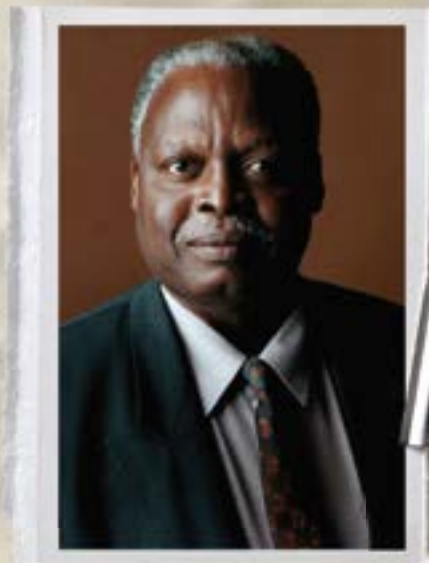
[www.europarl.europa.eu](http://www.europarl.europa.eu)



صالح محمود محمد  
عثمان، محام،  
أمل حقوق الإنسان في دارفور

جائزة  
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## 2008

In 2008, the 20th year of the Sakharov Prize, there were eight nominations from political groups or at least 40 Members<sup>232</sup>:

- Ingrid Betancourt, a presidential candidate in Colombia in 2002, kidnapped by FARC and held captive for 2 321 days. Nominated by Martin Schulz on behalf of the PSE Group.
- His Holiness the 14th Dalai Lama, a defender of human rights and intercultural dialogue in Tibet and throughout the world. Nominated by Cristiana Muscardini on behalf of the UEN Group and by Piia-Noora Kauppi (PPE-DE), Aloyzas Sakalas (PSE) and 39 others.
- European Roma Rights Centre (ERRC), an NGO defending Roma rights and combating racism against Roma people. Nominated by Vittorio Agnoletto on behalf of the GUE/NGL Group.
- Hu Jia, 'on behalf of the silenced voices of China and Tibet', a Chinese human rights defender in prison since December 2007 and an AIDS and environmental activist. Nominated by Graham Watson on behalf of the ALDE Group, and by Monica Frassoni and Daniel Cohn-Bendit on behalf of the Verts/ALE Group, and by 55 others.
- Alexandr Kozulin, a Belarusian political prisoner and former presidential contender. Nominated by Jacek Protasiewicz (PPE-DE), Jan Marinus Wiersma (PSE) and 44 others.
- Abbé Apollinaire Malu Malu, a Catholic priest and chair of the independent national electoral commission in the DRC. He campaigned for minority rights and dialogue between ethnic groups. Nominated by Luisa Morgantini (GUE/NGL), Alain Hutchinson (PSE), Jürgen Schröder (PPE-DE), Johan Van Hecke (ALDE) and 44 others.
- Mikhail Trepashkin, a Russian lawyer and human rights activist in Russia who had been imprisoned in 2003. Nominated by Gerard Batten on behalf of the IND/DEM Group.
- Morgan Tsvangirai, the leader of the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) in Zimbabwe and a defender of democracy and human rights. Nominated by Luís Queiró (PPE-DE) and 96 others.

During the joint meeting of 22 September 2008 of the two committees involved<sup>233</sup>, the PSE Group withdrew its nomination of Ms Betancourt. Following an advisory vote, it was decided not to proceed to a second round of voting and the following shortlist was drawn up: Hu Jia, Alexandr Kozulin and Abbé Apollinaire Malu Malu.

<sup>232</sup> Notice to the members of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, the Subcommittee on Human Rights and the Committee on Development of 4 September 2008, PE6 AP PV/AFET.2004 AFET-20080908 0090.

<sup>233</sup> Minutes of the Committee on Foreign Affairs and the Committee on Development of 22 September 2008, PE6 AP PV/AFET.2004 AFET-20080922 0010.



At its meeting of 23 October 2008<sup>234</sup>, the Conference of Presidents decided to award the 2008 Sakharov Prize to Hu Jia. It also used the meeting to criticise any attempt by some third-country governments to influence Parliament's decision by lobbying MEPs.

The President, Mr Pöttering, announced the decision to Parliament that day in plenary<sup>235</sup>: 'By awarding the Sakharov Prize to Hu Jia, the European Parliament is demonstrating forcefully and with determination its recognition of the daily fight for freedom carried on by all defenders of human rights in China.'

The award ceremony took place on 17 December 2008. It was a special event, as Parliament welcomed a large number of former Sakharov Prize winners to mark the 20th anniversary of the prize and the 60th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The day before, Parliament had created a Sakharov network in an effort to promote the activities of past and present winners.

Most of the winners attended in person: Adem Demaçi (1991 winner); Las Madres de la Plaza de Mayo, represented by Hebe Pastor de Bonafini (1992 winner); Oslobodenje, represented by Lidija Korać (1993 winner); Taslima Nasreen (1994 winner); Leyla Zana (1995 winner); Wei Jingsheng (1996 winner); ¡Basta Ya!, represented by José María Alemán Amundarain (2000 winner); Dom Zacarias Kamwenho (2001 joint winner); the Belarusian Association of Journalists, represented by Zhanna Litvina (2004 winner); Hauwa Ibrahim (2005 joint winner); Reporters Without Borders, represented by Jean-François Julliard (2005 joint winner); Aleksander Milinkevich (2006 winner); and Salih Mahmoud Osman (2007 winner).

Other recipients were, once again, unable to make it to Strasbourg. Under house arrest in her country, Aung San Suu Kyi (1990 winner) was represented by Zoya Phan. Forbidden from travelling by the Cuban authorities, Oswaldo José Payá Sardiñas (2002 winner) was represented by his nephew, Adam Mascaró Payá, and the Ladies in White (2005 joint winner) by Blanca Reyes.

In prison since 2007, Hu Jia did not attend the ceremony to collect his Sakharov Prize. An empty chair was placed in the centre of the Chamber for him. Deprived of her passport, Zeng Jinyan, the winner's wife, was also unable to leave China. She did however send Parliament a video message on behalf of her husband, in which she announced that she intended to respect her husband's wishes and use the Sakharov Prize money to create a foundation dedicated to helping the families of human rights activists.

To celebrate this historic moment, Elena Bonner was also invited to attend the ceremony with her daughter, Tatiana. In her speech<sup>236</sup>, Mr Sakharov's widow, an 85-year-old human rights activist, stressed that 'we should never make concessions

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234 Minutes of the Conference of Presidents of 23 October 2008, pp. 16-17.

235 Speech by President Pöttering, European Parliament debates of 23 October 2008.

236 Speech by Elena Bonner, European Parliament debates of 17 December 2008.

when human rights are in danger', since defending human rights is the foundation of our civilisation and of humanity as a whole.



Previous prizewinners at the formal sitting marking the 20th anniversary of the Sakharov Prize, 17 December 2008.





Press conference after the Sakharov Prize ceremony on 17 December 2008. President Pörring is seen here with Elena Bonner, widow of Andrei Sakharov. 2008 winner Hu Jia was unable to attend the ceremony to receive his prize as he was being held in prison in China. © European Union, 2008 – EP



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# IL-PREMJU SAKHAROV

GĦAL-LIBERTÀ TAL-ĦSIEB

2008  
Hu Jia



© BELGA/AFI PHOTO/Redox / BROWN



IL-PARLAMENT EWROPEW

[www.europarl.europa.eu/sakharov](http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sakharov)



## 2009

In 2009, there were ten nominations from political groups or at least 40 Members<sup>237</sup>:

- Izzeldin Abuelaish, a Palestinian gynaecologist practising his profession in both Israel and Palestine and a promotor of peace and reconciliation between the two peoples. Nominated by Véronique De Keyser (S&D), Hans-Gert Pöttering (PPE), Caroline Lucas (Verts/ALE) and 52 others.
- The Vicente Ferrer Foundation, committed to defending and promoting the rights of minorities in India and eradicating extreme poverty. Nominated by Andrés Perelló Rodríguez (S&D) and 39 others.
- Dawit Isaak, an Eritrean journalist and writer and now a Swedish citizen. He was imprisoned in 2001 in Eritrea together with several other journalists and politicians. Nominated by Eva-Britt Svensson, on behalf of the GUE/NGL Group, and by Olle Schmidt (ALDE) and 31 others.
- Mariam Lamizana, Minister for Social Action and National Solidarity in Burkina Faso, President of the Inter-African Committee against Female Genital Mutilation (FGM) and an activist in the fight against poverty and all forms of violence against women. Nominated by Francesco Speroni, on behalf of the EFD Group.
- Lyudmila Alexeyeva, Oleg Orlov and Sergei Kovalev, on behalf of 'Memorial' and all other human rights defenders in Russia. Nominated by Rebecca Harms and Daniel Cohn-Bendit on behalf of the Verts/ALE Group.
- Memorial, a Russian organisation dedicated to promoting human rights and democracy in the post-Soviet states and preventing a return to totalitarianism. Nominated by Jacek Saryusz-Wolski (PPE) and 59 others.
- Denis Mukwege, a doctor and the founder and director of Panzi Hospital in Bukavu, in the Democratic Republic of Congo, who specialises in caring for female victims of gang rape. Nominated by Guy Verhofstadt, on behalf of the ALDE Group.
- Father Thadeus Nguyễn Văn Lý, a Vietnamese Catholic priest and campaigner involved in pro-democracy movements in Vietnam, for which he was imprisoned for almost 15 years. Nominated by Michael Gahler (PPE) and 44 others.
- Shadi Sadr, an Iranian journalist, lawyer and human rights activist whose primary focus was on ending the death penalty and stoning. Nominated by Marietje Schaake (ALDE), Barbara Lochbihler (Verts/ALE) and 38 others.
- Roberto Saviano, an Italian journalist and writer. He was threatened by the Italian Mafia as a result of his uncompromising attacks on organised crime. Nominated by Sonia Alfano (ALDE) and 39 others.

The nominations were announced at the joint meeting between the relevant committees of 30 September 2009<sup>238</sup>. The vote took place at the meeting of

<sup>237</sup> Notice to the members of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, the Committee on Development and the Subcommittee on Human Rights of 21 September 2009, <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/committees/en/home.html>

<sup>238</sup> Minutes of the Committee on Foreign Affairs of 30 September 2009, p. 4, <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/committees/en/home.html>

6 October 2009<sup>239</sup>. The three nominees with the most votes were: Dr Izzeldin Abuelaish, Dawit Isaak and Memorial (Oleg Orlov, Sergei Kovalev and Lyudmila Alexeyeva).

At its meeting of 22 October 2009<sup>240</sup>, the Conference of Presidents unanimously decided to award the 2009 Sakharov Prize to Memorial, the organisation dedicated to promoting human rights in the post-Soviet states. When the President, Mr Buzek<sup>241</sup>, announced the name of the winner at the plenary session, he expressed Parliament's hope 'that by doing so, we will contribute to ending the circle of fear, uncertainty and violence surrounding human rights defenders in the Russian Federation'.

Twenty years after the death of Andrei Sakharov, the prize bearing his name was awarded to one of the associations that he himself had created. In its early years, Memorial, which was founded during the perestroika era, aimed to support the political prisoners who were victims of Stalinist repression.

The formal Sakharov Prize award ceremony took place on 16 December 2009.

In his speech, the President, Mr Buzek, asked how Mr Sakharov might have felt that day, if he could have attended the ceremony. 'Would he feel pride, or more a sense of sadness that today's Russia still needs such organisations?'<sup>242</sup>

At the ceremony, Memorial was represented by Lyudmila Alexeyeva, Oleg Orlov and Sergei Kovalev. Mr Kovalev gave an acceptance speech on behalf of the organisation<sup>243</sup>. He called for a minute's silence in memory of all the people who had been murdered<sup>244</sup>, in recent years, for campaigning for human rights in Russia. Mr Kovalev stressed that the Sakharov Prize had not been awarded exclusively to Memorial but to all those people who had disappeared and to the entire Russian community involved in the fight to defend human rights.

Mr Kovalev concluded his speech with a few thoughts on the name of the 'Sakharov Prize for Freedom of Thought'. 'How can thought not be free? Who can limit its freedom and how? There is a means – it is the fear that becomes part of a person's personality and makes that person think and even feel as required.' 'What can stand up to this fear? However paradoxical it may be, purely and solely freedom of thought. [--] Freedom of thought is the basis of all other freedoms.'

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239 Minutes of the Committee on Foreign Affairs of 6 October 2009, p. 3,  
<http://www.europarl.europa.eu/committees/en/home.html>

240 Minutes of the Conference of Presidents of 22 October 2009, p. 24.

241 Speech by President Buzek, European Parliament debates of 22 October 2009.

242 Speech by President Buzek, European Parliament debates of 16 December 2009.

243 Speech by Sergei Kovalev, European Parliament debates of 16 December.

244 He spoke of several people, including Natalya Estemirova, a fellow member of Memorial, murdered in July 2009 in Chechnya; the lawyer Stanislav Markelov, killed by a gunshot to the head in January 2009 in Moscow; the journalists Anna Politkovskaya and Anastasia Babourova, murdered in Moscow in October 2006 and January 2009, respectively; the ethnologist Nikolai Girenko, shot dead in June 2004 in Saint Petersburg; and Farid Babayev, murdered in November 2007 in Dagestan.



Jerzy Buzek, President of the European Parliament, with the 2009 winners at the award ceremony on 16 December 2009: (from left to right) Lyudmila Alexeyeva, Oleg Orlov and Sergei Kovalev. © European Union, 2009 – EP







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2009



OLEG ORLOV  
SERGEÏ KOVALEV  
LIOUDMILA ALEXEÏEVA

au nom de l'association **MEMORIAL** et de tous les  
autres défenseurs des droits de l'homme en Russie



MEMORIAL

2009

# PRIX SAKHAROV

## POUR LA LIBERTÉ DE L'ESPRIT

[www.europarl.europa.eu/sakharov](http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sakharov)



## 2010

In 2010, there were nine nominations from political groups or at least 40 Members<sup>245</sup>:

- ACCESS, a citizen movement that helps human rights defenders to protect their online communications and to access information despite the censorship imposed in their countries by repressive regimes. Nominated by the ALDE Group.
- Haytham Al-Maleh, a prominent Syrian human rights lawyer who was sentenced to three years' imprisonment in 2010 at the age of 80. Nominated by Heidi Hautala (Verts/ALE) and 44 others.
- Breaking the Silence (BTS), an Israeli NGO established in 2004 by soldiers and veterans of the Israeli armed forces with the aim of collecting testimonies on military service in the Palestinian territories occupied during the second Intifada. Nominated by Rebecca Harms and Daniel Cohn-Bendit, on behalf of the Verts/ALE Group, and by Lothar Bisky, on behalf of the GUE/NGL Group.
- Guillermo Fariñas, a Cuban psychologist, independent journalist and political dissident committed to promoting human rights in Cuba. Having staged 23 hunger strikes over the years in protest against the Cuban regime, he had stated that he was willing to die in the struggle against censorship in Cuba. Nominated, 'on behalf of all those who fight in Cuba for freedom and human rights', by Joseph Daul, José Ignacio Salafranca Sánchez-Neyra, Jaime Mayor Oreja, Jacek Saryusz-Wolski, Jarosław Leszek Wałęsa and Francisco José Millán Mon, on behalf of the PPE Group, by the ECR Group and by Edvard Kožušník (ECR) and 91 others.
- Aminatou Haidar, a Sahrawi non-violent activist for the independence of Western Sahara. She was also President of the CODESA (Collective of Sahrawi Human Rights Defenders). Nominated by Norbert Neuser (S&D), Willy Meyer (GUE/NGL), Raúl Romeva i Rueda (Verts/ALE) and 40 others.
- Dawit Isaak, an Eritrean-Swedish journalist, writer and playwright, imprisoned since 2001 in Eritrea for political reasons. Nominated by Olle Schmidt (ALDE), Cecilia Wikström (ALDE), Marit Paulsen (ALDE), Lena Ek (ALDE) and 37 others.
- Birtukan Mideksa, an Ethiopian female politician and former judge. She was the leader of the opposition party UDJ (Unity for Democracy and Justice) and had been a political prisoner since 2008. Nominated by Martin Schulz, on behalf of the S&D Group.
- Father Thadeus Nguyễn Văn Lý, a Vietnamese Catholic priest and non-violent promoter of human rights. Nominated by the ECR Group.
- Open Doors, a denominational Christian mission created in 1955 with the aim of supporting persecuted Christians around the world. Nominated by the ECR Group.

At the meeting of 5 October 2010<sup>246</sup>, the relevant committees announced the nominations for the Sakharov Prize and subsequently voted at the meeting of 18

<sup>245</sup> Notice to the members of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, the Committee on Development and the Subcommittee on Human Rights of 28 September 2010, <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/committees/en/home.html>

<sup>246</sup> Minutes of the Committee on Foreign Affairs of 5 October 2010, p. 3, <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/committees/en/home.html>

October 2010<sup>247</sup>. The three nominees selected were: Breaking the Silence, Guillermo Fariñas and Birtukan Mideksa.

At its meeting of 21 October 2010<sup>248</sup>, the Conference of Presidents decided to award the 2010 Sakharov Prize to Guillermo Fariñas. After the meeting, the President, Mr Buzek, announced the name of the winner in plenary<sup>249</sup>: 'Guillermo Fariñas [was] ready to sacrifice and risk his own health and life as a means of pressure to achieve change in Cuba. He used hunger strikes to protest and to challenge the lack of freedom of speech in Cuba, carrying the hopes of all those who care for freedom, human rights and democracy.'

The 2010 award ceremony took place on 15 December 2010. However, Guillermo Fariñas' chair remained empty: the prize winner had not received authorisation to leave Cuba. In his absence, President Buzek laid his certificate on an empty chair with a Cuban flag draped over it, and a prerecorded speech by the winner was played.

In his speech, Mr Buzek highlighted the strength of people like Guillermo Fariñas, of whom it could be said that, although they were persecuted and imprisoned, 'their voice cannot be silenced'. He added that 'the role of the European Parliament and the role of every one of us is to strengthen that voice'.<sup>250</sup>

In his message, Guillermo Fariñas thanked the European Parliament for not abandoning the Cuban people and for not forgetting the sufferings endured in more than 50 years of struggle for democracy. He stressed that Cuba should fulfill five conditions before Europe changes its position on the country: 1) proceed with the release of all political prisoners and conscientious objectors; 2) immediately stop all violent repression of peaceful opposition; 3) announce the review and repeal of Cuban laws which are inconsistent with the provisions of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights; 4) authorise, in everyday practice, independent opposition parties, media and unions; 5) publicly accept that Cubans living in diaspora have the right to participate in the country's social, political, economic and cultural life.<sup>251</sup>

On 3 July 2013, Guillermo Fariñas, accompanied by his mother, was finally welcomed at Parliament in Strasbourg and the 2010 Sakharov Prize was personally awarded to him at the plenary session. He thanked Parliament for the prize, declaring: 'We are the change.' He raised his fist at the end of his speech, signalling the strength of hope, the hope of one day living in a democratic Cuba.<sup>252</sup>

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247 Minutes of the Committee on Development of 18 October 2010, p. 1, <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/committees/en/home.html>

248 Minutes of the Conference of Presidents of 21 October 2010, p. 13.

249 Speech by President Buzek, European Parliament debates of 21 October 2010.

250 Speech by President Buzek, European Parliament debates of 15 December 2010.

251 Recorded message by Guillermo Fariñas, European Parliament debates of 15 December 2010.

252 European Parliament debates of 3 July 2013.



President Buzek places the certificate awarded to the 2010 winner, Guillermo Fariñas, on an empty chair covered with the Cuban flag at the award ceremony on 15 December 2010.

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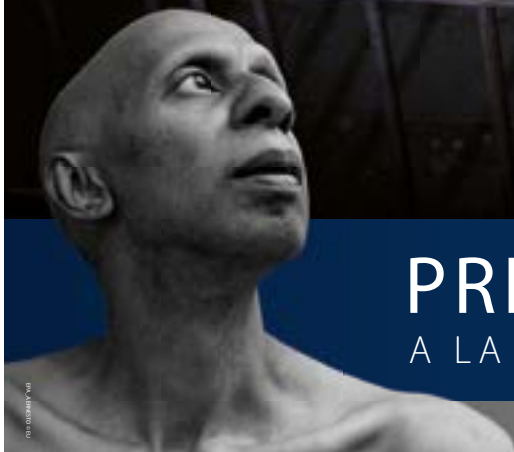
At the end of his acceptance speech on 3 July 2013, Guillermo Fariñas raises his fist as a sign of the strength of hope.



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OPINIÓN



PREMIO SÁJAROV  
A LA LIBERTAD DE CONCIENCIA

GUILLERMO FARIÑAS

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2010

[www.europarl.europa.eu/sakharov](http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sakharov)



## 2011

In 2011, there were five nominations from political groups or at least 40 Members<sup>253</sup>:

- Izzeldin Abuelaish, a Palestinian obstetrician who, having lost his three daughters in an attack ordered by the Israeli forces, created the Daughters for Life Foundation. Nominated by the ECR Group.
- The 'Arab Spring', represented by five activists involved in the Arab protests. Mohamed Bouazizi (Tunisia) protested against the poverty in his country by attempting to commit suicide by self-immolation in December 2010, which sparked the revolution in Tunisia and in other Arab countries. Asmaa Mahfouz, a young Egyptian activist and co-founder of the April 6 youth movement. She posted a video on YouTube calling for people to join the first Egyptian protest in January 2011. Ahmed al-Zubair Ahmed al-Sanusi, the 77-year-old dissident, was Libya's longest-serving political prisoner. Razan Zaitouneh, a Syrian lawyer and defender of human rights and women's causes in Syria, who had created the SHRIL (Syrian Human Rights Information Link) blog to report on human rights violations and disappearances in her country. Ali Farzat, a famous Syrian cartoonist who, in his drawings, criticised the political situation in his country. In August 2011, he was abducted and beaten by members of the Syrian security forces who broke his hands. Nominated by the PPE Group, S&D Group, ALDE Group and Verts/ALE Group.
- Dzmitry Bandarenka, a co-founder of the Charter '97 civil initiative to promote democracy in Belarus. He was imprisoned after attending a pro-democracy rally on the day of the December 2010 presidential elections. Nominated by the ECR Group.
- Boris Pahor, a Slovene writer and defender of human rights and freedom of speech. Aged 98, he is also a survivor of a concentration camp and is strongly opposed to fascism and all totalitarian regimes. Nominated by Milan Zver (PPE) and 51 others.
- The San José de Apartadó Peace Community, Colombia. The members of this community, in the middle of a conflict zone, observe the following values: non-violence, democracy, respect for life and protection of the environment. Nominated by the GUE/NGL Group.
- The nominations were announced at the joint meeting between the relevant committees on 4 October 2011<sup>254</sup>. The vote took place on 20 October 2011<sup>255</sup>. The three nominees with the most votes were: the 'Arab Spring', Dzmitry Bandarenka and the San José de Apartadó Peace Community.

At its meeting of 27 October 2011<sup>256</sup>, the Conference of Presidents decided, by consensus, to award the 2011 Sakharov Prize to the 'Arab Spring': Asmaa Mahfouz,

253 Notice to the members of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, the Subcommittee on Human Rights and the Committee on Development of 20 September 2011, <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/committees/en/home.html>

254 Minutes of the Committee on Foreign Affairs of 4 October 2011, p. 4, <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/committees/en/home.html>

255 Minutes of the Committee on Foreign Affairs of 20 October 2011, p. 1-2, <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/committees/en/home.html>

256 Minutes of the Conference of Presidents of 27 October 2011, pp. 19-20.

Ahmed al-Zubair Ahmed al-Sanusi, Razan Zaitouneh, Ali Farzat and, posthumously, Mohamed Bouazizi<sup>257</sup>.

After the meeting, Mr Buzek announced the name of the winner in plenary<sup>258</sup>.

At its meeting of 8 December 2011, the Conference of Presidents decided that the prize money would be divided equally between the four living winners and the Tunisian NGO Karama, on behalf of Mr Bouazizi<sup>259</sup>.

The official ceremony took place on 14 December 2011. As Mr Buzek recalled in his speech, the European Parliament had awarded the Sakharov Prize to those five activists involved in the Arab Spring in order to recognise the efforts of all those fighting for dignity, fundamental freedoms and political change in the Arab world.<sup>260</sup>

Two of the winners were able to attend the ceremony. The other two were unable to attend and sent a message to Parliament.

Asmaa Mahfouz, a young Egyptian activist, and Ahmed al-Zubair Ahmed al-Sanusi, a former political prisoner and member of the National Transition Council in Libya, addressed Parliament<sup>261</sup>. Asmaa Mahfouz expressed her pride in the martyrs of the Arab Revolution, with whom she shared the prize. Ahmed al-Sanusi spoke of his 31 years in prison, during which, despite the isolation and torture, he had kept his human dignity and had not lost hope. He called on the European Parliament to support the Libyans in their struggle to achieve their aim of building a tolerant and democratic society.

Forced to live in hiding, Razan Zaitouneh sent Parliament a written message. Ali Farzat, on the other hand, sent a video message. Acting on a proposal from its President, Parliament observed a minute's silence in memory and in honour of Mr Bouazizi and all those who had lost their lives in the fight for liberty and dignity in the Arab countries.

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257 This was the first time that the Sakharov Prize had been awarded posthumously since 1988, when it was awarded to Anatoli Marchenko.

258 Speech by President Buzek, European Parliament debates of 27 October 2011.

259 Minutes of the Conference of Presidents of 8 December 2011, p. 41.

260 Speech by President Buzek, European Parliament debates of 14 December 2011.

261 Speeches by Ms Ahmaa Mahfouz and Mr Ahmed al-Sanusi, European Parliament debates of 14 December 2011.



Two of the 2011 winners attended the ceremony for the award of the Sakharov Prize to the Arab Spring, 14 December 2011. President Buzek with Asmaa Mahfouz and Ahmed al-Zubair Ahmed al-Sanusi.



GROS PLAN SUR LES  
DROITS DE L'HOMME



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PRIX SAKHAROV  
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## 2012

In 2012, there were five nominations from political groups or at least 40 Members<sup>262</sup>:

- Ales Bialiatski, a Belarusian activist and the founder of the Viasna Human Rights Centre, which provided financial and legal assistance to political prisoners and their families. He was arrested and imprisoned by the Belarusian regime in 2011. Nominated by Jacek Saryusz-Wolski (PPE) and 82 others.
- Joseph Francis, the founder and director of the CLAAS (Center for Legal Aid Assistance and Settlement) in Pakistan, which aimed to address the needs of the numerous victims of Pakistan's blasphemy laws. Nominated by the ECR Group.
- Victoire Ingabire Umuhoya, Déogratias Mushayidi and Bernard Ntaganda, representing the Rwandan opposition. They are promoters of dialogue and reconciliation and were all in prison in Rwanda. Nominated by Willy Meyer (GUE/NGL), Rosa Estaràs Ferragut (PPE), Santiago Fisas Ayxela (PPE), María Muñiz de Urquiza (S&D), Ana Miranda (Verts/ALE) and 37 others.
- Pussy Riot, a Russian feminist punk group, represented by Nadezhda Andreyevna Tolokonnikova, Yekaterina Samutsevich and Maria Alekhina. Three young women members of the group were arrested and sentenced to two years in a labour camp after staging a protest at Moscow's Christ the Saviour Cathedral. Nominated by Werner Schulz (Verts/ALE) and 45 others.
- Nasrin Sotoudeh and Jafar Panahi. Ms Sotoudeh is an Iranian lawyer who had defended women's rights, human rights activists and prisoners of conscience. She was arrested in September 2010 and sentenced to 11 years in prison in addition to being barred from practising law for 20 years. Mr Panahi is an Iranian film director and screenwriter whose films, which were often banned in Iran, had won many international awards. In December 2010, Mr Panahi was arrested and sentenced to 6 years in prison and barred from directing any films for 20 years. Nominated by the S&D Group, the ALDE Group and the Verts/ALE Group, as well as by José Ignacio Salafranca Sánchez-Neyra (PPE), Elmar Brok (PPE) and 11 others.

At the joint meeting of 9 October 2012<sup>263</sup>, the two relevant committees took a vote in order to draw up a list of three finalists. The three nominees with the most votes were: Ales Bialiatski, Pussy Riot, and Nasrin Sotoudeh and Jafar Panahi.

The Conference of Presidents<sup>264</sup> decided, unanimously, to award the 2012 Sakharov Prize to the Iranian nominees, Nasrin Sotoudeh and Jafar Panahi. That same day, the President, Mr Schulz, announced the names of the winners to the European Parliament<sup>265</sup> and said that awarding the prize to these joint winners was a sign of solidarity and recognition for a man and a woman who had not been bowed by fear and intimidation and who had chosen to put the fate of their country before their own.

<sup>262</sup> Notice to the members of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, the Subcommittee on Human Rights and the Committee on Development of 18 September 2012, <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/committees/en/home.html>

<sup>263</sup> Minutes of the Committee on Development of 9 October 2012, p. 6, <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/committees/en/home.html>

<sup>264</sup> Minutes of the Conference of Presidents of 26 October 2012, p. 16.

<sup>265</sup> Speech by President Schulz, European Parliament debates of 26 October 2012.



The President added that the decision had been taken by the political group chairs unanimously and extremely quickly.

The formal Sakharov Prize award ceremony took place on 12 December 2012. The winners, both imprisoned in Iran, were unable to receive their prize in person: two chairs were left empty for them in the middle of the Chamber.

Ms Sotoudeh was represented by two of her compatriots: Shirin Ebadi (winner of the 2003 Nobel Peace Prize) and Karim Lahidji.

Before reading Ms Sotoudeh's message, Shirin Ebadi explained that the choice of representatives had been no accident. Two Iranian lawyers had been forced into exile for defending political prisoners and prisoners of conscience: Mr Lahidji 28 years ago and herself four years ago. The choice of representatives therefore showed that such practices had been ongoing in Iran for 30 years.

In her message to Parliament, Ms Sotoudeh deplored the fact that, in spite of decades of fighting for human rights worldwide, these rights were still being violated in some countries where there were no effective mechanisms for safeguarding them. She stressed that it was up to governments to respect and uphold human rights, and that measures should be taken in order to ensure that those governments honoured the commitments they had given in international conventions<sup>266</sup>.

Ms Sotoudeh thanked the European Parliament for the Sakharov Prize, which she dedicated to all Iranian political prisoners, to oppressed religious minorities, to those who had demonstrated during the elections and had been imprisoned and, above all, to her lawyer, Abdolfattah Soltani, who was imprisoned in 2012 for defending political prisoners.

Mr Panahi asked two members of his 'cinema family' to receive the prize on his behalf: the director Constantin Costa-Gavras and Serge Toubiana, director of the Cinémathèque Française in Paris. Solmaz Panahi, Mr Panahi's daughter, was also present.

In his speech, Mr Costa-Gavras recalled that a seat had been left empty in the Cannes Film Festival jury two and a half years earlier. 'The chair belonged to Jafar Panahi, who was banned from attending the film festival and celebration.' Concerned colleagues from the Cinémathèque Française had started a petition, which was signed during the Festival by directors' and actors' guilds and by big names from around the world. Despite this international support, Mr Panahi was arrested a few months later.<sup>267</sup>

In his message, read by Mr Costa-Gavras, Mr Panahi explained why he had chosen to stay in the country that had sentenced him and banned him from working as a filmmaker. He would not leave the country that he loved so dearly: 'My creation is the

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<sup>266</sup> Nasrin Sotoudeh's message read by Shirin Ebadi, European Parliament debates of 12 December 2012.

<sup>267</sup> Speech by Constantin Costa-Gavras, on behalf of Mr Panahi, European Parliament debates of 12 December 2012.

result of a personal perception of facts of life and ontological experiences in a specific society, during a lifetime.’<sup>268</sup>

Mr Panahi dedicated his prize to all the anonymous individuals who were fighting for freedom and peace.

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<sup>268</sup> Jafar Pahahi’s message read by Constantin Costa-Gavras, European Parliament debates of 12 December 2012.





**EUROPEAN  
PARLIAMENT.  
TAKING  
A STAND FOR  
HUMANITY.**

**NASRIN SOTOUDEH  
JAFAR PANAH**

**SAKHAROV PRIZE  
FOR FREEDOM  
OF THOUGHT 2012**

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Nasrin Sotoudeh, one of the 2012 co-laureates, was released on 18 September 2013. While in Evin Prison, she wrote a number of letters to Andrei Sakharov on napkins, and managed to have them smuggled out. The texts of these letters, originally written in Farsi and translated into English, can be seen below.  
 Texts : © Nasrin Sotoudeh.

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 Source : Human Rights Actions Unit







ریاست محترم بنیاد ساخارف ....

من امسال به اتفاق یکی دیگر از ناراضیان ایرانی برنده ی جایزه ی .... ساخاروف شدم.

ناراضی را از این جهت به کار بردم که شهرت تو از همین واژه برخاسته است.

ناراضی بودن، آن هم در رژیم اتحاد جماهیر شوروی کاری بود بس دشوار! زمانه ی تو و زادگاه تو سختی های خودش را داشت که با پاسداری های کسانی چون تو این سختی ها رو به کاهش نهاد.

اهمیت جایزه را در می یابم، اما بیش از هر چیز دوست داشتم با زندگی ات به درستی آشنا شوم. نام "آندره ساخاروف را از زمان دانشجویی ام در دهه ی هشتاد میلادی، همواره با پسوند "دانشمند" ناراضی می شنیدم و من دوست داشتم بدانم این دانشمند ناراضی چه کار کرده است که ملقب به "ناراضی" شده است؟ و چرا یک نفر، یک شخص در جامعه اش "ناراضی" می شود؟ و ناراضی تیش اش او از چیست؟ و از کیست؟

بعدها فهمیدم "ناراضی" لفظ ملایمی است که منتقدان یک دولت دیکتاتور و قدرتمند بر اعضای جامعه ی خودش گذاشته است تا بلکه با حفظ شرافت و غرور انسانی اش و با تسلیم نشدن به خواسته های نامعقول حکومت اش، ضمناً از بروز خشونت ها و هزینه های بیشتر جلوگیری کند.

راهی شرافتمندانه و ملایم که مخالفان هم عزت شان را حفظ کرده باشند، هم به طرف مقابل اعلام کنند اهل تسلیم نیستند. اما چون داستان قدرت مداری در تمام حکومت ها مشابه یکدیگر است، حکایت ایستادگی ها طبق سرشت انسانی شبیه هم است.

از همین رو سالها بعد، در کشور من نیز "ناراضیان" واژه ای مشابه برای خویش انتخاب کردند.

عبارت "دگراندیش" در مفهوم وسیع خویش به همه ی کسانی اطلاق می شود که به گونه ای متفاوت از حکومت فکر می کنند، می اندیشند و نحوه ی زندگی مدنی و روزانه شان و مذهب و اعتقادشان و دوست داشتن و نداشتن شان همگی مورد پسند حکومت نیست.

از این رو، دگراندیشان ایرانی که الزاماً همگی اپوزسیون نیستند و فقط کسانی اند که اعتقادات شان با حکومت تفاوت دارد، کم و بیش به "ناراضیان" در حکومت شوروی نزدیک می شوند.

دگراندیشان به کسانی اطلاق می شود که به لحاظ سیاسی حکومت موجود را قبول ندارد و در صدد کسب قدرت نیز بر می آیند.

دگراندیشان به کسانی اطلاق می شود که به لحاظ سیاسی حکومت موجود را قبول ندارند و در صدد کسب قدرت از طریق اصلاحات اند و نه جابجایی سریع قدرت از طریق انقلاب.

دگراندیشان به کسانی نیز گفته می شود که برای احیای حقوق زنان تلاش می کنند. حقوقی که مورد پسند حکومت نیست.

دگراندیشان کسانی را نیز در بر می گیرد که که احیاناً انتقاداتی نیز به حکومت دارند.

دگراندیشان به کسانی نیز اطلاق می شود که دین خود را که اسلام بوده است تغییر داده اند. زیر طبق قانون اساسی، دین رسمی کشور، دین اسلام است.

دگراندیشان کسانی را شامل نیز در بر می گیرد که از بدو تولد دارای دینانی غیر از اسلام بوده است.

دگراندیشان به افراد لائیک، لیبرال، چپ و خیلی طرز فکرهای دیگر نیز گفته می شود.

و متأسفانه باید بگویم دگراندیشان حتی به بازماندگان حوادث دهه ی ۶۰ در ایران نیز باید اطلاق شود، زیرا از آن پس، بسیاری از آنان شیوه ی زندگی جدیدی را اتخاذ کردند و با دیدگاهی جدید به حکومت نگریستند.

از آنان تاکنون اعاده ی حیثیت نشده است.

دگراندیش، معترضان انتخاباتی را نیز در بر می گیرد. دگراندیش روزنامه نگارانی را که مباردت به انعکاس اخبار دگراندیشان نمایند را در بر می گیرد.

و همچنین دانشجویانی را که خواستار حقوق صنفی شان باشند و البته دگراندیش، وکلایی را نیز در بر می گیرد که برای اثبات بی گناهی آنها اقدام به دفاعی همه جانبه و قانونی از آنها بنمایند.

بند سیاسی زندان اوین و دیگر زندان های ایران همه ی این دگر اندیشان را در خود جای داده است.

Dear Chair of the Sakharov Foundation,

I won the Sakharov prize this year along with another Iranian dissident.

I use the word “dissident” as your fame comes from this word.

Being a dissident, especially in the Soviet regime was a terribly tough vocation! The times you lived in and your homeland presented their own difficulties but the struggles and efforts of people like you made things better.

I understand the importance of this award, but more than anything I wished to learn more about your life. I had heard the name “Andrei Sakharov” since I was a University student in the 1980s, as a “dissident scientist”. I wished to know what he had done to have to been dubbed a “dissident”. And why does a person become a dissident in his country? With whom and with what is he discontented?

Later I learnt that “dissident” is a soft term that critics of an autocratic and powerful government call themselves to try to safeguard their own selves from violence perpetrated against them and paying a higher price whilst guarding their honour and human dignity and not surrendering to the illogical demands of their government: an honourable and peaceful way for opponents to both keep their self-respect and make clear to the government that they will not surrender. But as the story of autocracy in all governments is alike, the stories of resistance based on human nature are similar too.

So, many years after Sakharov was carrying out his dissident activities, “dissidents” in my country chose a similar word for themselves: “nonconformist”. In its broad meaning the term “non-conformist” describes all people who think differently from the government, whose reflections, daily and civil lives, religion and beliefs and what they like and dislike are not liked by the government. Accordingly, Iranian nonconformists are not necessarily all opponents but simply people whose beliefs are different from those of the government, making them similar to the “dissident” in the Soviet Union.

“Nonconformist” is also a term applied to people who do not accept the government politically and wish to gain power. “Nonconformist” is applied as well to people who do not politically accept the government and wish to gain power through reforms and not through a rapid shift in power through revolution. “Nonconformist” is applied to people who struggle for women’s right, rights that are not liked by the government. “Nonconformist” refers to people who might have criticism of the government as well. “Nonconformist” is applied to people who have converted from Islam, since, on the basis of the Constitution, the official religion of the country is Islam. This term includes people who are born to families following religions other than Islam. “Nonconformist” is applied to secular people, liberals, leftists and people who follow many other schools of thought.

And unfortunately, I should say that “nonconformist” is applied even to survivors of the incidents of the 80s in Iran since after those occurrences many of them took up new lifestyles and started viewing the government differently.

The blot on their honour has never been erased.

Nonconformist includes the protesters against the electoral fraud and the journalists who reported news concerning the nonconformists.

And it also includes students who struggle for their union rights and it of course applies to lawyers who defend the students from all angles to prove their innocence and provide them with a legal defence.

The political section of Evin and other prisons in Iran is accommodating all these nonconformists.



نامه به ساخاروف

ساخاروف عزیز!

راستي مي داني عطش يك زنداني سياسي به تجربيات ديگر زندانيان سياسي در كشورهاي ديگر تا چه اندازه است؟ او مي خواهد بداند آنها دقيقا از چه فشارهاي رنج مي بردند؟ نارضايتي شان را از رنج هايي كه مي بردند چگونه بيان مي كردند؟ و از چه شيوه هايي استفاده مي كردند؟ قدرت سياسي حاكم در مقابل اعتراض آنها چگونه رفتار مي كرده است؟ و آنها براي مقابله با فشارهايي كه در زندان بر آنها وارد مي شده است از چه روش هايي استفاده مي كردند؟ و تا كجا دوام مي آوردند؟ او در خلال مطالعه ي خاطرات مبارزان كشورهاي ديگر مي آموزد كه اولين انساني نيست كه معترض است. و اولين كسي هم نيست كه حقوق اش مورد تضيق بي رحمانه ي يك حكومت قرار گرفته است. حكومت اش اولين حكومتي نيست كه از سرويس اطلاعات و امنيت اش بيش از حد لازم استفاده مي كند و از دادگاه ها فقط به عنوان نمايشي براي موجه جلوه دادن احكام ناعادلانه اش استفاده مي كند.

همچنين او به مقايسه ي روش هاي مبارزان و ايستادگي و مقاومت آنها با روش هاي موجود در جامعه ي خود مي پردازد.

او به مقايسه ي امكانات مبارزان و ايستادگي جوامع با سرمايه ي موجود در جامعه ي خود نيز مي پردازد.

در خلال اين مطالعات، تلاش اين ناراضيان را براي دفاعي شرافتمندانه از حيثيت و جايگاه انساني شان تحسين مي كند و مي آموزد كه روش هاي شرافتمندانه و مسالمت جويانه براي رعايت حریم انساني اش وجود دارد.

و دست آخر او بار ديگر با تمام ايمان و اميد خویش نتیجه مي گيرد كه بر مشكلات فائق خواهد آمد.

خواندن كتاب خاطرات تو از بسياري جهات براي ما هيچان انگيز بود. مشابهت هاي روش ها و وجود نقاط مشترك همگي براي ما اميدبخش بودند و البته عدم تسليم تو به روش هاي اقتدارگريانه ي حكومت ات براي ما تحسين برانگيز بود.

از سر گرفتن نبرد هر روزه ي تو براي زيستن و مبارزه، حيرت انگيز بود. البته تو اين روش مبارزه را از گوته وام گرفته بودي كه گفته است: "تنها كسي لياقت زيستن و آزادي را دارد كه هر روز نبرد خود را از سر مي گيرد."

اما بگذار اعتراف شرم آور به تو داشته باشم كه من اين شيوه را از بازجويانم آموختم كه هر روز نبردم را با آنها از نو آغاز مي كردم و هنوز نيز مي كنم، زيرا آنها خود نبرد غير عادلانه شان را هر روز با من از نو آغاز مي كنند و من از خود مي پرسم اگر آنها تا اين اندازه بر بازگشت به اهداف ناعادلانه شان مصرانند، چرا من به همان اندازه بر اهداف عادلانه ام مصر نباشم؟

من در خلال مطالعه ي خاطرات تو مدام به مقايسه ي وضعيت زندانيان سياسي در ايران و شوروي آن زمان مي پرداختم.

مي دانم سال هايي طولاني و دشوار بر جامعه ي تو تحميل شد كه در خلال آن، خانواده هاي زيادي طعم تلخ زندان يا زنداني داشتن را كشيده اند و اما به تدريج از آن زندانيان و خانواده هايشان اعاده ي حيثيت شد.

3rd March 2013

Evin Prison

Dear Mr. Sakharov,

Do you know how eager a political prisoner is to know about the experience of other political prisoners in other countries? She wants to know what kinds of pressures they suffered. How they demonstrated their discontent of their suffering, how the political power would react to them and how and to what extent would the prisoners resist the pressures piled on them. Through studying the memoirs of the freedom fighters in other countries, she learns that she is not the first person to protest and neither is her government the first one to use the intelligence and security services more than is necessary and uses the courts as a charade for justifying its unjust verdicts.

She also compares the resistance methods of other fighters to those used in her own country as well as the existing potential for fighters in other countries and hers.

As she compares and analyzes, she admires the efforts of these dissidents to defend, with honour, their honour and human dignity and learns that there are noble and pacific ways to safeguard her human dignity.

And, in the end, she concludes with all her faith and hope that she will conquer all difficulties.

Reading your memoirs was exciting for me in many ways. The similarities in our methods and the existence of lots of points in common, were all very encouraging to me and of course your reluctance to surrender to the authoritarian methods of the government in your country was admirable.

Your daily renewal of life and resistance was amazing. You of course were reflecting the spirit of Goethe when he said "he alone deserves liberty and life who daily must win them anew".

But I have to make a shameful confession to you: I learnt this method from my investigators. I learnt from them that I have to renew my struggle every day, as each day they pick their unfair fight with me. And I ask myself, if they are so persistent in their unfair goals, why should not I be as persistent in my fair aims?

جامعه‌ای که من در آن زندگی می‌کنم تجربه‌ی دهه‌ی هشتاد میلادی را پشت سر نهاده است که هنوز با وجود آنکه سه دهه از آن می‌گذرد از هیچیک از قربانیان اعاده‌ی حیثیت نشده است. این موضوع مرا رنج می‌دهد، اما امیدم را برای اعاده‌ی حیثیت از قربانیان و خانواده‌های آنها از دست نمی‌دهم، زیرا دوست دارم در جامعه‌ای زندگی کنم که منطبق با معیارهای رایج مدنیت باشد.

تو برای مجازات‌هایی که به خانواده‌ی تو تحمیل کردند و از خروج آنان جلوگیری به عمل آوردند، دست به اعتصاب غذا زدی، زیرا این اصل بدیهی و مسلم است که اعضای خانواده‌ی هیچ زندانی‌یی نباید به جرم ناکرده‌ی عضو دیگر خانواده تحت تعقیب یا مجازات قرار گیرند. اصلی که بارها توسط حکومت‌های مستبد نادیده گرفته می‌شود. و مجازات‌های زندانیان سیاسی را به مجازات‌های خانوادگی تبدیل می‌کند.

من نیز در اعتراض به حکم ممنوع‌الخروجی دخترم و همسرم دست به اعتصاب غذا زدم. از این رو، مطالعه‌ی آن قسمت از خاطرات تو برایم کاملاً قابل درک بود.

امیدم به آن است که حکومتی که من زندانی سیاسی آن هستم، دست از تعقیب و مجازات همسرم نیز بردارد، هر چند آمادگی مقابله با آن را نیز دارم.

تو اجازه‌ی فعالیت از همان دولتی را گرفتی که به فاصله‌ی اندکی ناگزیر به مخالفت با آن شدی.

من نیز اجازه‌ی تحصیل در دانشگاه دولتی‌یی را یافتم که با وجود گزینش‌های دشوار به من مدرک لیسانس و فوق‌لیسانس حقوق داد.

البته برای اخذ پروانه‌ی وکالت با مشکلات فراوانی مواجه بودم که نهایتاً گرفتن آن را ۸ سال به تاخیر انداخت و شاید به زندان آمدنم را نیز ۸ سال به عقب انداخت.

تفتیش همیشگی، بخشی از زندگی توام با نگرانی تو در زمان تبعیدت به گورکی بود که گاه به مصادره‌ی صدها صفحه از خاطرات منجر می‌شد. تفتیش اما یک بار لایحه‌ی دفاعیه‌ی مرا مصادره کرد!

در کنار همه‌ی مشابهِت‌های زندگی‌ام با تو، یا مشابهِت‌هایی که دوست دارم بین زندگی‌ام با تو ببابم، وجود همسری همراه، مشاور و مدبر و مدیری تواناست که من نیز مانند تو از چنین موهبتی برخوردارم.

شب به خیر

نسرين

ایران - اوین

Reading your memoirs, I kept comparing the situation of political prisoners in Iran and the Soviet Union. I know long and difficult years were imposed on your society during which many families felt the bitter taste of being imprisoned or having a relative in prison, but in time the dignity of the prisoners and their families was re-established.

The society I live in has been through the horrible events of the 1980s. Despite the fact that three decades have passed, the dignity of the victims has yet to be re-established. This hurts me, but I do not lose hope as I wish to live in a society that respects civil standards as we know them today.

You embarked on a hunger strike to protest the punishment imposed on your family that denied them the right to leave the country. You did so because it is evident that no family member of a prisoner should be prosecuted and punished due to the conviction of another family member, an axiom that was repeatedly ignored by dictatorships that turned punishment of political prisoners into family punishments.

I also went on a hunger strike to protest the travel bans on my daughter and my husband, so I could easily empathise with that part of your memoirs.

I hope the state in which I am a political prisoner stops prosecuting my husband, although I am prepared to face that as well.

You got your professional qualifications for your activity through the same government that you unavoidably and quickly came to oppose. I also received the permission to study in state universities despite hard filtering, and through them I gained the bachelor and master degrees in law.

Of course I faced a lot of difficulties to become a member of the Iranian Bar Association. This took 8 years and might have postponed my imprisonment for 8 years.

Constantly being investigated was a part of the life full of worries that you lived in exile in Gorky, and sometimes hundreds of pages of your memoirs got confiscated. I was also subjected to searches, and once even my defence statements got confiscated!

In addition to all similarities between my life and yours, or the ones that I wish to find, there is the companionship of an attendant spouse who is a prudent advisor and a powerful manager, a gift that I enjoy as you did.

Nasrin  
Evin prison



ساخاروف عزیز!

تو در کتابت ضمن کاوش در گذشته‌ات به این موضوع پرداخته‌ای که چگونه این جهت‌گیری‌ها در زندگی‌ات تجلی یافت؟ چگونه به یک ناراضی تبدیل شدی؟ چگونه به هیات یک کعترض درآمدی؟ و چگونه گام به گام از حکومتی که همه چیز را در اختیار قرار داده بود، فاصله گرفتی؟

آیا نوعی مسئولیت اخلاقی در قبال جنگ هسته‌ای که کره‌ی زمین را تهدید می‌کرد و میتوانست منجر به نابودی بشریت شود، باعث جهت‌گیری‌های تو شد؟

آیا تو خود را در قبال فاجعه‌ای که می‌توانست منجر به نابودی کره‌ی زمین شود، مسئول میدانستی؟ و آیا این توانایی را در خود می‌دید که جلوی این فاجعه را هر چند بزرگ می‌نمود، بگیری؟

من تصورم به آن است که تو این توانایی را در خود می‌دید، زیرا که به درستی باور داشتی: "باید به ندای عقل پاسخ گوئیم و حیاتی بیافرینیم که در خور خودمان و آرمان‌هایمان باشد که در اندیشه‌ی ما کورسو می‌زند."

من در خلال مطالعه‌ی خاطرات تو بارها از خود پرسیدم آیا واقعا همان تلاش‌های تو و همزمان با تو روبرت اپن‌هایمیر در آمریکا باعث شد تا از وقوع جنگ هسته‌ای که احتمالا به نابودی کره‌ی زمین منجر می‌شد، جلوگیری شود؟ و نهایتا به انعقاد قرار داد فی‌ما بین ایالات متحده‌ی آمریکا و اتحاد جماهیر شوروی منجر شود؟

راستی آیا با کمتر شدن خطر وقوع جنگ هسته‌ای، سایه‌ی وحشت بار آن که بر سر جهانیان سنگینی میکرد، فراموش شده است؟

من خودم هرگز آن سایه‌ی دهشت بار را که بر زندگی هر روزه‌ی میلیاردها انسان سایه افکنده بود و قریب الوقوع می‌نمود، فراموش نمی‌کنم.

بر این باورم که تلاش انسانها و دانشمندانی چون تو، آن سایه‌ی شوم را از بالای سرمان کمی دورتر نمود.

هنوز دنیای سیاست آکنده از خطرات جنگ‌های خانمان سوزی است که هر لحظه میلیاردها انسان را در معرض نابودی و اضمحلال قرار میدهد. اما امید انسان مدنی امروز به آن است که در گذر ایام، هر روزی که که می‌گذرد به خرد و عقل بیشتری دست یابد و راههای خردمندانه تری را بیابد.

دوست دارم به سوال اولیه‌ی تو برگردم، زیرا ان سوالی است که بارها از خود پرسیده‌ام که چگونه این جهت‌گیری‌ها در زندگی‌ام تجلی یافت؟ و چگونه ترس از زندان در من فرو ریخت؟

آیا به خاطر داری که چگونه در دادگاه‌های دوستان شرکت می‌کردی تا حمایت خود را از آنها اعلام کنی؟

آیا نوعی حس مسئولیت در قبال ظلمی که بر "ناراضیان" شوروی روا داشته می‌شد، تو را واداشت تا حمایت خود را از آنان اعلام کنی؟

من اما به قصد عمل به سوگندنامه‌ی حرفه‌ای‌ام از "دگر اندیشان" دفاع می‌کردم. از مشاهده‌ی احکامی که برای آنها صادر می‌شد، یقین داشتم به زودی به سرغم خواهند آمد. اینچنین بود که ترس از زندان در من فرو ریخت زیرا رنجی که از صدور احکام ناعادلانه تحمل می‌کردم به مراتب سخت‌تر از رنج تحمل زندان بود.

9th March 2013  
Evin Prison

Dear Mr Sakharov,

In addition to investigating your past in your book, you showed how you came to take the positions you took in your life. How did you turn into a dissident? How did you turn into a protestor? And how did you detach step by step from a government that had provided you with everything?

Did a kind of moral responsibility for nuclear war that was threatening the earth and could destroy humanity lead to your position? Did you feel responsible for the disaster that could ruin the earth? And did you see the power in yourself to stop this disaster, huge as it seemed?

I imagine you did see this potential in yourself, because you correctly believed that: «We must make good the demands of reason and create a life worthy of ourselves and of the goals we only dimly perceive».

While reading your memoirs, I kept asking myself whether it was really your spontaneous efforts and those of Robert Oppenheimer in America that stopped the nuclear war and resulted in the agreement between the United States and the USSR.

As the probability of a nuclear war has decreased, has its terrifying shadow on the population of the world been forgotten?

I, personally, have not forgotten that this shadow was looming over the heads of billions of people and disaster could have happened.

I believe that the endeavours of people and scientists like you shifted that dreadful shadow away from us.

But the world of politics is still overwhelmed with threats of ruinous wars which are about to wipe out the lives of billions of people. But civilians today hope that in time, as time goes by, humans gain more rationality and wisdom and achieve more rational ways.

I would like to go back to your first question, as it is a question I have asked myself many times: how did I come to take the positions I have taken in my life? How did the fear of prison subside in me?

Do you remember how you used to attend the trials of your friends to show your support for them?

Was it a feeling of responsibility to oppose the injustice done to «dissidents» in the Soviet Union that made you declare your support for them?

But I was just defending «nonconformists» in fulfillment of my professional lawyers' oath. Witnessing the verdicts given to them, I was sure that they would come for me soon. This is how the fear of prison collapsed in me as the suffering I was enduring by witnessing those unjust verdicts was stronger than the suffering of being imprisoned.

این آخرین نامه ای است که برایت مینویسم. هر چند مشابهت های زندگی تو با آنچه من در ایران می بینم آنقدر زیاد است که شرح آن به این زودی تمام نمی شود.

با این وجود دوست دارم تلاش پیگیرانه و مستمر تو را در شرکت در دادگاه های ناراضیان شوروی تحسین کنم و دوست دارم باور کنم تحمل رنج توسط تو و دیگر ناراضیان، باعث تغییرات در شوروی شد.

من با توصیف دادگاه ناراضیان در کتابت به یاد دادگاه دگراندیشان در ایران می افتادم که دوستان و آشنایان آنها پشت در ساختمان به انتظار می ماندند و اجازه ی شرکت در دادگاه را نمی یافتند. آنها در معرض بازداشت بودند، کما اینکه چندین بار نیز بازداشت شدند.

تلاش تو برای اعلام عفو عمومی بدون قید و شرط زندانیان سیاسی، شرایط آزادی سرفرازانه ی آنها را فراهم کرد.

تلاش تو برای این که عفو عمومی به پروانه ای برای وادار کردن زندانیان به اعلام اینکه از رفتار ضد اجتماعی!! خود دست بکشند، تبدیل نشود یا از آن به عنوان سندی برای تبرئه ی سازمان های دست اندرکار سرکوب، استفاده نشود، از چنین سوء استفاده هایی جلوگیری کرد و نهایتاً شرایط آزادی بی قید و شرط آنها را فراهم کرد.

می دانم که هنوز همه ی آرزوهایت محقق نشده است.

هنوز سایه ی جنگ اتمی به دلیل وجود سیاستمداران خشونت طلب چهره ی کریمه خود را نشان می دهد.

می دانم که رویاهایت حتی در سرزمین مادری ات نیز محقق نشده است.

هنوز خواهران شورشی در روسیه ی پس از اصلاحات، به جرم اعتراض مسالمت آمیز دستگیر می شوند و هنوز آلیس بیالیتیس نیز در بلاروس پس از اصلاحات به جرم ناکرده در حبس است.

آنچه تو توانستی در تحقق آنها موفق شوی، پیروزی بزرگی برای کوشندگان آزادی در جای جای جهان بود. اما بگذار بخش تحقق نایافته ی رویاهایت را آیندگان تکمیل کنند. حتماً آنها برای تحقق رویاهایشان تلاش خواهند کرد و از آن پاسداری خواهند نمود.

خدا نگهدار

نسرين ستوده

اوین

فروردین 92

29 March 2013

Evin Prison

This is the last letter I am writing to you. However, the similarities between your life and what I see in Iran are so many that describing them will take much more time.

Yet I want to say I admire your persevering and continuous attempts to attend the trials of dissidents in the Soviet Union, and I want to believe that the suffering you and other dissidents bore led to changes in the Soviet Union.

Reading descriptions of the trials of dissidents in your book reminded me of the trials of Iranian dissidents and free thinkers and their families and friends waiting behind the court walls, prohibited from entering the court rooms. They also faced threats of arrest and were actually arrested many times, too.

Your efforts to get political prisoners given an unconditional amnesty paved the way for their release with their pride intact.

Your resistance prevented the general amnesty from being used to force the prisoners to abandon their so called anti-social behaviours (!) or to clean the image of the oppressors. You prevented such misuse and paved the way for their unconditional release.

I know that all your dreams have not come true.

The shadow of nuclear war still shows its ugly face due to violence-spreading politicians.

I know that not all your dreams have come true even in your homeland.

Pussy Riot still get arrested in the Russia after the reform for their peaceful protest as does Ales Bialiatski in the Belarus after the reform for a crime he did not commit.

‘What you managed to achieve was a great victory for all freedom fighters all over the world. May those who come in future realise your unrealised dreams. They will definitely struggle to realise their dreams and will guard them’.

Good bye!

Nasrin Sotoudeh

Evin





## CONCLUSIONS

The Sakharov Prize for Freedom of Thought is testimony to the importance that the European Parliament attaches to the fight against violations of democracy and freedom of thought, opinion and expression.

In creating the Sakharov Prize, Parliament wanted to pay homage to those people involved in promoting human rights throughout the world, sometimes in extremely difficult circumstances.

Each year, when selecting a winner, or sometimes two or three, the European Parliament is faced with a very difficult task, as all the nominees deserve the prize.

In the 25-year history of the prize, Parliament has awarded it to some 30 people and seven organisations for their outstanding contributions in protecting human rights and promoting democracy. Many of these winners have spent years in prison and some have even given their lives to protect these values.

The men and women who have been awarded this prize come from different continents and countries<sup>269</sup> and represent different professions: i.a. lawyers, journalists, writers, politicians, religious men and women, teachers and artists. The common thread between the people and organisations that have received the Sakharov Prize is that they have seen the urgent need 'to promote basic human rights, especially freedom of discussion and inquiry, respect for the law, and for international law and conventions and mutual commitments as the foundation of peace among nations'<sup>270</sup> and that they have all been willing to devote their lives to this difficult struggle.

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<sup>269</sup> South Africa, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Bangladesh, Belarus, Myanmar/Burma, Bosnia and Herzegovina, China, Cuba, Egypt, Spain, Ghana, Iran, Israel, Kosovo, Libya, Nigeria, Palestine, Russia, Sudan, Syria, Czechoslovakia, East Timor, Tunisia and Turkey.

<sup>270</sup> Resolution of the European Parliament of 13 December 1985 on the creation of a Sakharov Prize, OJ C 352, 31.12.1985, p. 304.



# ANNEX I

## Winners of the Sakharov Prize

1988 Nelson Mandela  
Anatoly Marchenko (posthumously)

1989 Alexander Dubček

1990 Aung San Suu Kyi

1991 Adem Demaçi

1992 The Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo

1993 Oslobodjenje

1994 Taslima Nasreen

1995 Leyla Zana

1996 Wei Jinsheng

1997 Salima Ghezali

1998 Ibrahim Rugova


1999 Xanana Gusmão

2000 ¡Basta Ya!

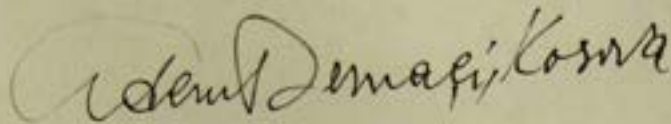
- 2001** Izzat Ghazzawi  
Nurit Peled-Elhanan  
Dom Zacarias Kamwenho
- 2002** Oswaldo José Payá Sardiñas
- 2003** Kofi Annan and the UN staff
- 2004** Belarusian Association of Journalists
- 2005** Ladies in White  
Hauwa Ibrahim  
Reporters without Borders
- 2006** Alexander Milinkevich
- 2007** Salih Mahmoud Osman
- 2008** Hu Jia
- 2009** Memorial
- 2010** Guillermo Fariñas
- 2011** The Arab Spring
- 2012** Nasrin Sotoudeh  
Jafar Panahi



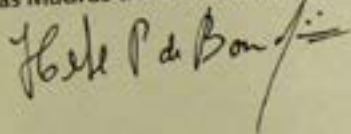
Aung San Suu Kyi  
(Zoya Phan)

  
for Aung San Suu Kyi

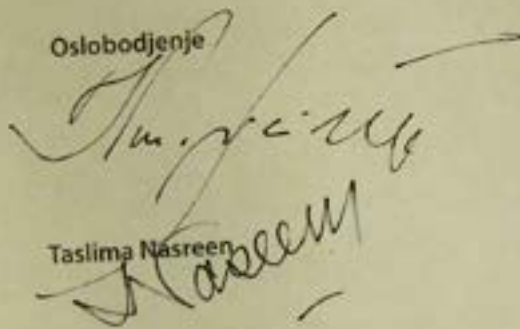
Adem Demaçi

  
Adem Demaçi, Kosova

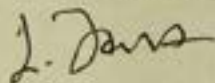
Las Madres de la Plaza de Mayo

  
Héctor P. de Bonifazi

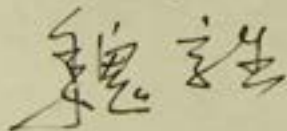
Oslobodjenje

  
Taslima Nasreen

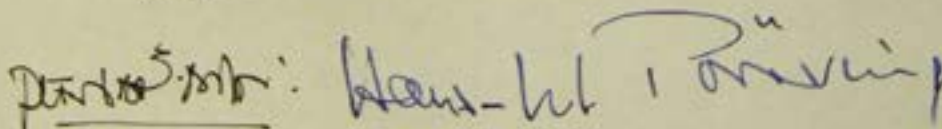
Leyla Zana

  
L. Zana

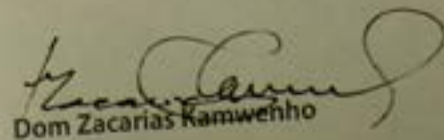
Wei Jingsheng

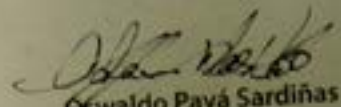
  
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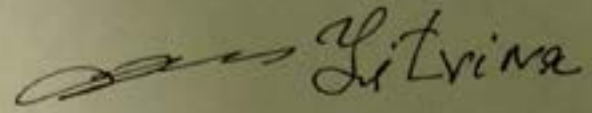
¡BASTA YA!

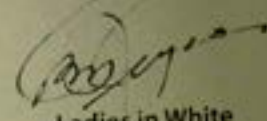
  
Hans-Gert Pöettering

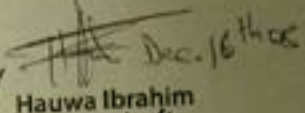
Hans-Gert Pöettering  
President of the European Parliament

  
Dom Zacarias Kamwenho

  
Oswaldo Payá Sardiñas  
(Adam Mascaró Payá)

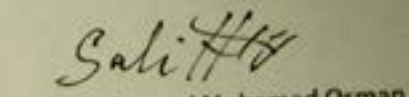
  
Belarusian Association of Journalists

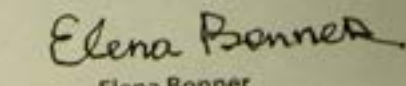
  
Ladies in White

  
Hauwa Ibrahim

  
Reporters sans frontières

  
Aliaksandr Milinkevich

  
Salih Mahmoud Mohamed Osman

  
Elena Bonner  
Andrei Sakharov Foundation



## ANNEX II

### Political groups in the European Parliament since July 1984<sup>271</sup>

ALDE	Group of the Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe	20/07/2004 –
ARC (RBW)	Rainbow Group	23/07/1984 – 24/07/1989
ARC (RBW)	Rainbow Group in the European Parliament	25/07/1989 – 19/07/1994
ARE	Group of the European Radical Alliance	19/07/1994 – 20/07/1999
CG (LU)	Left Unity Group	20/07/1989 – 19/07/1994
COM	Communist and Allies Group	(16/10/1973) – 19/07/1989
CTDI	Group for the Technical Coordination and Defence of Independent Groups and Members	17/09/1987 – 17/11/1987
DE	Group of the European Right	23/07/1984 – 19/07/1989
DR	Technical Group of the European Right	19/07/1989 – 19/07/1994
ECR	European Conservatives and Reformists Group	14/07/2009 –
ED	European Democratic Group	(17/07/1979) – 30/04/1992
EDD	Group for a Europe of Democracies and Diversities	20/07/1999 – 19/07/2004
EDN	Europe of Nations Group (Coordination Group)	19/07/1994 – 11/11/1996
EFD	Europe of Freedom and Democracy Group	14/07/2009 –
ELDR	Group of the European Liberal Democratic and Reformist Party	19/07/1994 – 19/07/1999

<sup>271</sup> Source: the Arcdoc database.

ELDR	Group of the European Liberal Democrat and Reform Party	20/07/1999 – 19/07/2004
FE	Forza Europa Group	19/07/1994 – 15/07/1995
GUE	Group for the European Unitarian Left	20/07/1989 – 18/07/1994
GUE	Confederal Group of the European United Left	19/07/1994 – 04/01/1995
GUE/ NGL	Confederal Group of the European United Left/Nordic Green Left	05/01/1995 –
I-EDN	Group of Independents for a Europe of Nations	13/01/1997 – 20/07/1999
IND/ DEM	Independence/Democracy Group	20/07/2004 – 13/07/2009
ITS	Identity, Tradition and Sovereignty Group	15/01/2007 – 13/11/2007
L	Liberal and Democratic Group	(20/06/1953) – 10/12/1985
LDR	Liberal and Democratic Reformist Group	10/12/1985 – 19/07/1994
NI	Non-attached	(10/01/1953) –
PPE (EPP)	Group of the European People's Party (Christian-Democratic Group)	(17/07/1979) – 20/07/1999 14/07/2009 –
PPE-DE (EPP-ED)	Group of the European People's Party (Christian Democrats) and European Democrats	20/07/1999 – 13/07/2009
PSE	Group of the Party of European Socialists	21/04/1993 – 19/07/2004
PSE	Socialist Group in the European Parliament	20/07/2004 – 13/07/2009
RDE (EDA)	Group of the European Democratic Alliance	18/07/1984 – 05/07/1995
S	Socialist Group	(23/06/1953) – 21/04/1993

S&D	Group of the Progressive Alliance of Socialists and Democrats in the European Parliament	14/07/2009 –
TDI	Technical Group of Independent Members - mixed group	20/07/1999 – 14/09/1999 25/11/1999 – 02/10/2001
UEN	Union for a Europe of Nations Group	20/07/1999 – 13/07/2009
UPE	Group Union for Europe	05/07/1995 – 20/07/1999
V (Greens)	The Green Group in the European Parliament	19/07/1989 – 20/07/1999
Verts/ ALE (Greens)	Group of the Greens/European Free Alliance	20/07/1999 –





### **Previous publications**

- *CARDOC Journals, Special edition – Towards a Single Parliament - the influence of the ECSC Common Assembly on the Treaties of Rome*, Luxembourg, March 2007.
- *CARDOC Journals No. 1 – The European Parliament and the Proceedings of the European Convention*, Luxembourg, September 2007.
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