

THE BOOK OF
SAKHAROV PRIZE
LAUREATES



FOREWORD

Martin Schulz

President of the European Parliament

The year 2015 was a challenging year for freedom of thought. It began horrifically with the murderous attack on the *Charlie Hebdo* offices. Bullets intended to silence the fury of cartoonists' pencils, the irreverence of their caricatures and the power of freedom of thought and freedom of expression flew at the very heart of Europe.

The European Parliament is therefore greatly honoured that Ali Ferzat, the 2011 Sakharov Prize laureate, has agreed to provide the illustrations for this book. Parliament has this year placed special emphasis on defending and promoting the work of political cartoonists, who play a key role in the denunciation of human rights violations, notably in Syria. We particularly welcome the fact that Plantu and other Cartooning for Peace caricaturists were at the European Parliament for the 2015 Sakharov Prize ceremony.

It would be difficult to mention Ali Ferzat's contribution to this book without thinking of his compatriot Razan Zaitouneh, also a 2011 Sakharov Prize laureate, of whom we still have no news. The war in Syria, which is now in its fifth year, rages unabated. Those who have no choice but to remain there live in terror and are cut off from the outside world, while refugees of that war have perilous journeys to undertake. We once again express our wholehearted support for all those resolutely defending human rights in a Syria ravaged by hate and obscurantism.

The 2014 Sakharov Prize was awarded to Dr Denis Mukwege. This wonderful man and his unconditional commitment to upholding women's dignity moved our Assembly to tears with his acceptance speech and also made his compatriots immensely proud. Beyond the award, Parliament is providing Dr Mukwege with long-term support via the Sakharov Prize Network, which works with and for laureates to help them see their fights through to a successful conclusion.

Through its work and the specific activities of the Sakharov Prize Network, the European Parliament defends freedom of thought across the globe. This year, its members have chosen to recompense the Saudi blogger and writer Raif Badawi, who has been sentenced to 10 years in prison and 1 000 lashes by the courts in his country. In doing so, Parliament has once again made it resoundingly clear that freedom of thought is not negotiable and must be respected throughout the world.

All drawings by Ali Ferzat, 2011 Sakharov Prize laureate

More information on the European Union is available on <http://europa.eu>

Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union, 2015

ISBN 978-92-823-7286-9

doi:10.2861/516412

© European Union, 2015

Reproduction is authorised provided the source is acknowledged.

Printed in Belgium

PRINTED ON ELEMENTAL CHLORINE-FREE BLEACHED PAPER (ECF)

The European Parliament confers the Sakharov Prize with its EUR 50 000 endowment at a formal plenary sitting in Strasbourg towards the end of each year. Parliament's political groups may each nominate candidates as may individual members with the support of at least 40 members for each candidate. The nominees are presented at a joint sitting of the Foreign Affairs and Development committees and the Human Rights subcommittee and the members of the full committees vote on a short-list of three. The final winner or winners of the Sakharov Prize are chosen by the Conference of Presidents, a European Parliament body led by the president and encompassing the leaders of all the different political groups represented in Parliament, making the choice of laureates a truly European choice.



ANDREI SAKHAROV (1921-1989), the renowned physicist of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), human rights activist, dissident and advocate of reform, accepted the idea of a prize for freedom of thought being named after him 'as an important act of appreciation of my work in defence of human rights'⁽¹⁾ as he wrote in a letter to the European Parliament (EP). He deemed the award of such prizes 'useful' as it would 'attract attention to the human rights problem and will encourage people who have made a contribution to this end'. The European Parliament declared its intention of creating this prize with a resolution adopted in December 1985.

A pioneer in nuclear physics and the father of the Soviet hydrogen bomb, Andrei Sakharov was 32 years old when he became a full member of the Soviet Academy of Sciences and accorded the privileges of the *nomenklatura*, or elite members of the Soviet Union.

By the late 1950s though, he became increasingly concerned about the atmospheric consequences of nuclear testing and the political and moral implications of his work, which could lead to mass deaths.

The turning point in his political evolution came in 1967, when he urged Soviet authorities to accept a United States (US) proposal for a bilateral rejection of the development of anti-ballistic missile defence, which he described as a major threat of a global nuclear war in his 1968 essay *Reflections on progress, peaceful coexistence, and intellectual freedom*. The Soviet authorities rejected his urging, and after the publication of his essay, banned Andrei Sakharov from all top-secret military work and stripped him of his privileges.

In 1970 he became one of the co-founders of the Committee on Human Rights in the USSR, and the defence of human rights and of the victims of political trials became his all-important concern. In 1972 he married fellow human rights activist Elena Bonner. Despite increasing pressure from the government, Sakharov not only sought the release of dissidents in his country but became one of the Soviet regime's most courageous critics, embodying the crusade against the denial of fundamental rights. He was, in the words of the Nobel committee which awarded him the Peace Prize in 1975, 'a spokesman for the conscience of mankind'. He was not allowed to go to receive his Nobel Prize, but neither repression nor exile could break his resistance.

Andrei Sakharov was exiled to the closed city of Gorky in 1980, after he publicly protested the Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan of 1979. Whilst in exile, he lived under tight Soviet police surveillance and went on hunger strike twice to demand permission for his wife to have heart surgery in the United States. Elena Bonner, also sentenced to exile in Gorky in 1984, was finally allowed to go to the US for treatment in October 1985. The European Parliament supported the Sakharovs and even debated leaving an empty seat in its chamber for Andrei Sakharov. The alternative idea, the establishment of a prize named after Andrei Sakharov was adopted instead. Sakharov was chosen because he 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', as expressed by Jean-Francois Deniau, rapporteur on the initiative, to the EP plenary.

The prize was created by a resolution of the European Parliament approved in December 1985. A year later, Mikhail Gorbachev, who launched perestroika and glasnost in the Soviet Union, allowed Andrei Sakharov and Elena Bonner to return to Moscow. Andrei Sakharov died there in December 1989.

In 2013, the prize that bears his name marked a quarter of a century of support to human rights going far beyond borders, even those of oppressive regimes, to reward human rights activists and dissidents all over the world. The human rights defenders recognised by it have paid dearly for their commitment to defending human dignity: many have faced persecution, death, loss of liberty, beatings or exile. In a number of cases the winners have not been free to receive their prize in person.

One such winner is 2012 laureate Nasrin Sotoudeh, who, from Evin prison in Iran, where she was being held at the time, wrote letters addressed to the late Andrei Sakharov, exploring philosophically the meaning of dissidence and comparing her cause to his.

'Your daily renewal of life and resistance was amazing. 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.'

⁽¹⁾ Andrei Sakharov's letters quoted in this publication are kept in the Historical Archives of the European Parliament.

THE SAKHAROV PRIZE NETWORK (SPN) comprises laureates of the Sakharov Prize and Members of the European Parliament (MEPs). It was launched at the European Parliament in 2008, when the Sakharov Prize celebrated its 20th anniversary. Its creation recognised 'the special role of Sakharov Prize winners as Ambassadors for Freedom of Thought', and its members 'agreed to enhance joint efforts in support of human rights defenders around the world through common actions by the Sakharov Prize winners jointly and under the aegis of the European Parliament'. The SPN broadly connects MEPs, laureates, and civil society to increase cooperation on human rights action in Brussels and internationally. The SPN serves as a channel of communication that enables the laureates and Parliament to address human rights violations and issues.

On the 25th anniversary of the prize in 2013, the network adopted a declaration in which members of the network pledged their support jointly and individually to the promotion and protection of human rights worldwide through a number of actions. These include an ongoing international campaign to end violence against children and promote child education, and a freedom of expression campaign conducted in cooperation with the European Parliament in May 2015.

SPN members regularly give Sakharov lectures around the EU to raise awareness of human rights issues and spark public debate in the European capitals. Since 2013, the members of the network have held Sakharov lectures in Belgium, Ireland, France, Italy, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovakia and Austria. The lectures were delivered by the Belarusian Association of Journalists, *Damas de Blanco*, Salima Ghezali, Hauwa Ibrahim, Memorial, Aliaksandr Milinkevich, Denis Mukwege and Ahmed El Senussi.

The network has come together for conferences in 2008, 2011 and 2013, with the participation of almost all living laureates able to travel. The Sakharov Prize Network conferences are a forum of debate among MEPs, laureates, representatives of the European Union and other international institutions and civil society, and serve as a basis for enhanced network action for human rights.

More information regarding the latest activities of the network can be found on the SPN website at europarl.europa.eu/intcoop/sakharov/home_en.html



- 2015 Raif Badawi
- 2014 Denis Mukwege
- 2013 Malala Yousafzai
- 2012 Nasrin Sotoudeh and Jafar Panahi
- 2011 Arab Spring (Mohamed Bouazizi, Ali Ferzat, Asmaa Mahfouz, Ahmed El Senussi and Razan Zaitouneh)
- 2010 Guillermo Fariñas
- 2009 Memorial (Oleg Orlov, Sergei Kovalev and Lyudmila Alexeyeva on behalf of Memorial and all other human rights defenders in Russia)
- 2008 Hu Jia
- 2007 Salih Mahmoud Mohamed Osman
- 2006 Aliaksandr Milinkevich
- 2005 Ladies in White, Hauwa Ibrahim, Reporters Without Borders
- 2004 Belarusian Association of Journalists
- 2003 United Nations Secretary-General Kofi Annan and all the staff of the UN
- 2002 Oswaldo José Payá Sardiñas
- 2001 Izzat Ghazzawi, Nurit Peled-Elhanan, Dom Zacarias Kamwenho
- 2000 ¡BASTA YA!
- 1999 Xanana Gusmão
- 1998 Ibrahim Rugova
- 1997 Salima Ghezali
- 1996 Wei Jingsheng
- 1995 Leyla Zana
- 1994 Taslima Nasreen
- 1993 *Oslobodjenje*
- 1992 *Las Madres de Plaza de Mayo*
- 1991 Adem Demaçi
- 1990 Aung San Suu Kyi
- 1989 Alexander Dubček
- 1988 Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela, Anatoli Marchenko (posthumously)

RAIF BADAWI is a jailed and flogged young Saudi Arabian blogger and advocate of freedom of thought and expression.

He founded and ran the *Saudi Liberals*, and later the *Free Saudi liberal network*, online forums for the discussion of religion and politics in the conservative country, and had a thousand registered users when he was detained for a day in 2008 and interrogated on suspicion of apostasy, a crime punishable by death in Saudi Arabia. Subsequently, he was banned indefinitely from leaving Saudi Arabia, his bank accounts were frozen and his wife's family attempted to force a divorce. A *fatwa* was put on his head by a hardline imam.

Badawi valiantly continued to air his moderately liberal views. He wrote, amongst other issues, in defence of the right to freedom of thought and expression and called for a society open to the views of others. A free thinker in an Arab society whimpering under the theocratic yoke, Badawi wrote, just needed to express an opinion to bring down on their head a *fatwa*. This, he feared, would cause the brightest minds to flee.

A voice of liberalism in Saudi Arabia, Badawi was engaging with his writings, online and in traditional media, in enlightening his community and defeating ignorance, eroding the untouchability of the clergy and promoting respect for freedom of expression, women's rights and those of minorities and poor people in Saudi Arabia, as he wrote from prison in 2015 in a preface to a book of writings of his, salvaged despite the permanent closure of his websites.

Badawi was arrested in 2012 and indicted on several charges including apostasy, though no court has ruled on the latter. He was convicted for establishing a forum hosting blasphemous commentary and blasphemous online posts, and sentenced to 7 years in prison and 600 lashes in 2013, and then resentenced to 1 000 lashes and 10 years in prison plus a fine of 1 million riyals (EUR 226 000) in 2014. He received 50 lashes before a chanting crowd in front of a Jeddah mosque in January 2015 in what was meant to be the first in a series of 1 000 lashes to be carried out over 20 weeks. Doctors who examined him after the first, fast lashings found wounds so deep, they judged he would not survive another flogging. The international outcry and concerns about his health have so far stayed further lashings, but his sentence was upheld by the Supreme Court in June 2015. He is banned from using any media outlets and from travelling abroad for 10 years after his release from prison.

Badawi's wife Ensaf Haidar and their three children live in Canada, having fled Saudi Arabia in 2013 because of anonymous death threats.

In prison, Raif Badawi has found understanding of the humanity of those he is incarcerated with.

2015
RAIF
BADAWI



DENIS MUKWEGE is a doctor of the Democratic Republic of the Congo who is dedicating his life to rebuilding the bodies and lives of tens of thousands of women and girls of the Democratic Republic of the Congo who are victims of gang rape and brutal sexual violence in the Democratic Republic of the Congo's ongoing war.

Born in Bukavu in 1955, he studied medicine and founded the gynaecology service at the Lemera hospital in eastern Democratic Republic of the Congo, which was destroyed when war broke out in 1996. Mukwege fled to Bukavu and started a hospital from tents, building a new maternity ward and operating theatre, but all of it was destroyed in the second Congo war of 1998.

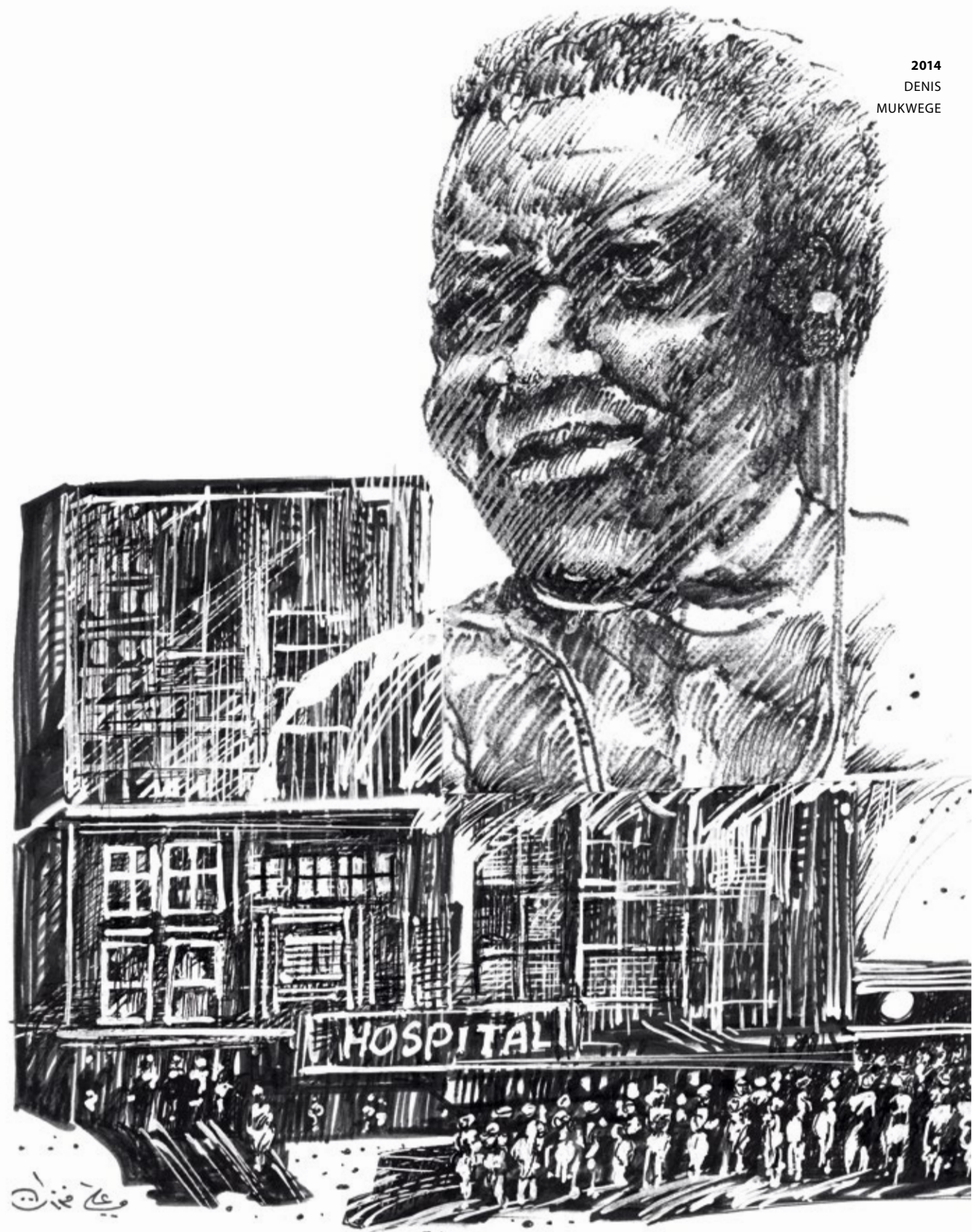
Undeterred, Mukwege rebuilt his hospital in Panzi, working long hours and training staff to treat women victimised by the combatants who had 'declared women their common enemy'. He has treated over 40 000 women since the hospital reopened in 1999 and accepted the first rape victim with bullet wounds in her genitals and thighs. Within weeks, dozens of women went to the hospital with stories of rape and torture.

Mukwege is an internationally recognised expert in the repair of pathological and psychosocial damage caused by sexual violence. The hospital he directs in Panzi offers psychological and physical care and women are also helped to develop new skills to earn a living, as many have been rejected by their communities. Girls are helped to go back to school and legal aid is offered to those seeking legal redress.

He also became a tireless campaigner on behalf of the victimised women when he recognised a young woman on his operating table as a girl born at the Panzi hospital, whose birth he had assisted. For Mukwege this was a pivotal moment that galvanised him to go beyond healing and start speaking out at home and abroad for an end to the violence raging over the Democratic Republic of the Congo's natural resources. He became a victim himself in 2012 when armed men invaded his home and held his daughters at gun point. His bodyguard and friend was killed, but he escaped, fleeing with his family to Sweden and then Belgium. He returned to the Democratic Republic of the Congo in 2013 when a group of women, who live on less than a dollar a day, banded together to buy his ticket home.

Mukwege now lives at the Panzi hospital despite continuous threats to his life. He is actively engaged with the European Parliament and the Sakharov Prize Network, leaving his mark on the legislative process on conflict minerals in Parliament with his impassioned pleas to safeguard the lives of women and children in conflict zones.

A 2015 documentary *The man who mends women – the wrath of Hippocrates* illustrates his life and work. The film was subtitled in all EU official languages with the support of the European Parliament.



MALALA YOUSAFZAI was 15 years old when she was shot in the face by the Taliban in Pakistan's Swat Valley in 2012. They wanted to stop her and other girls from getting an education. She survived her severe injuries and battled on.

In 2013 Malala became the youngest ever laureate of the Sakharov Prize, dedicating it to the 'unsung heroes of Pakistan' in a powerful defence of every child's right to an education.

'Many children have no food to eat, no water to drink and children are starving for education. It is alarming that 57 million children are deprived of education ... this must shake our conscience', Malala told the representatives of 28 nations in a packed Parliament and in the exceptional presence of almost all living Sakharov Prize laureates, gathered for the prize's 25th Anniversary Conference. 'One child, one teacher, one pen and one book can change the world.'

Malala's fight for education began at age 11, when she wrote an anonymous online diary about a schoolgirl's life under the Taliban in Pakistan's Swat Valley. In 2009, the Taliban decreed all girls' schools closed whilst the Pakistani army fought them for control. Malala and her family had to flee their besieged hometown and her school was devastated. Returning home after the security situation improved, Malala and her father Ziauddin, who ran a girls' school, continued advocating girls' education despite threats. Malala used a donation to buy a school bus, the same bus on which she was shot, and two other girls injured, in the attack claimed by the Taliban.

Malala is now a committed campaigner for girls' education, a co-founder of the Malala Fund and a member of the Youth Education Crisis Committee, set up by the United Nations (UN) Special Envoy for Global Education, Gordon Brown, who estimated that at current rates the last girl will be in school in 2086, not 2015 as promised in the Millennium Development Goals. 'In Islam girls are allowed to get education. It's the duty and responsibility of every person, whether a boy or a girl, to get education and knowledge', Malala says.

Malala's 12 July birthday was chosen by the UN, under its Global Education First Initiative, as Malala Day, a platform for children to stand up for their right to education.

In 2014, Malala Yousafzai was co-awarded the Nobel Peace Prize 'for her struggle against the suppression of children and young people and for the right of all children to education', thus becoming both the youngest Sakharov and the youngest Nobel laureate ever.





NASRIN SOTOUDEH is an Iranian human rights lawyer who was among the few who bravely undertook the legal defence of dissenters arrested in the 2009 mass protests against an election they believed fraudulent, before her own arrest in 2010.

When she was awarded the prize in 2012, she was serving a 6-year jail sentence on charges of endangering Iran's national security and on a 7-week hunger strike in solitary confinement in Iran's notorious Evin prison, protesting judicial pressure on her husband and young daughter.

In her frail state, she found the strength to write a memorable message to Parliament, read for her at the award ceremony by her friend, colleague and client, Nobel laureate Shirin Ebadi. 'The story of human rights, and the mechanisms for guaranteeing them, has come a long way, yet its realisation still largely depends on the intentions of governments, the biggest violators of human rights.' To human rights defenders and political prisoners, Sotoudeh said 'just like you, I also know that democracy has a long and difficult road ahead.'

She was unexpectedly released in September 2013, for reasons not divulged by the Iranian authorities, but her sentence was not lifted, and she is still banned from leaving Iran and thus unable to receive her Sakharov Prize. However, Sotoudeh met in Tehran with the first European Parliament delegation to visit Iran in 6 years, in December 2013. The meeting – in which she focused on the situation of political prisoners, denouncing trials held in revolutionary, rather than criminal, courts as non-transparent – caused furore among Iranian hardliners who accused Sotoudeh and Jafar Panahi of being seditionists.



2012
NASRIN
SOTOUDEH

On her release from prison, Sotoudeh returned to her activism, defending women victims of acid attacks, religious minorities, and human rights campaigns, including that for an end the death penalty. She has been temporarily detained by the Iranian authorities on a number of occasions.

Sotoudeh was able to return briefly to her law career, which she had strived for years to be able to practice and had launched with defending minors against the death penalty. In addition to her 6-year jail sentence, she had been banned from practising law and travelling for 10 years. She contested the jurisdiction of the revolutionary court to ban her from practising law, but, in October 2014 was hit with a 3-year suspension by the Iran Bar association, which she believes was urged by the powerful intelligence ministry.

Sotoudeh began demonstrating every working day for the 'right to dissent' and the 'right to work' in front of the Bar's headquarters in Tehran. Her protest was not covered by Iranian official media, but many other activists and victims of human rights violations joined her. Sotoudeh's suspension was eventually reduced by the Bar, in June 2015, to 9 months, and Sotoudeh ended her protest, though she and her supporters reiterated their demand for the suspension to be completely lifted. She attributed the reduction to the support she received – including that of the European Parliament, the Members of which protested strongly against her ban – and immediately applied for the reinstatement of her licence to practise law.

Sotoudeh means to stay in Iran and fight for reform from within.

JAFAR PANAHİ is an international award-winning film-maker from Iran who is banned from making films for 20 years.

An outspoken supporter of the Iranian opposition and a critic of former President, Ahmedinajad, he was sentenced to 6 years jail for 'propaganda against the Islamic Republic' but his sentence is still awaiting execution of verdict: he is not in jail, but could be imprisoned at any time. Panahi was arrested in 2010 as he was making a clandestine film about the 2009 failed Green movement uprising in Iran. Though released after 3 months, following international protests and a hunger strike, he was then sentenced to jail, banned from making films, travelling and talking to the media.

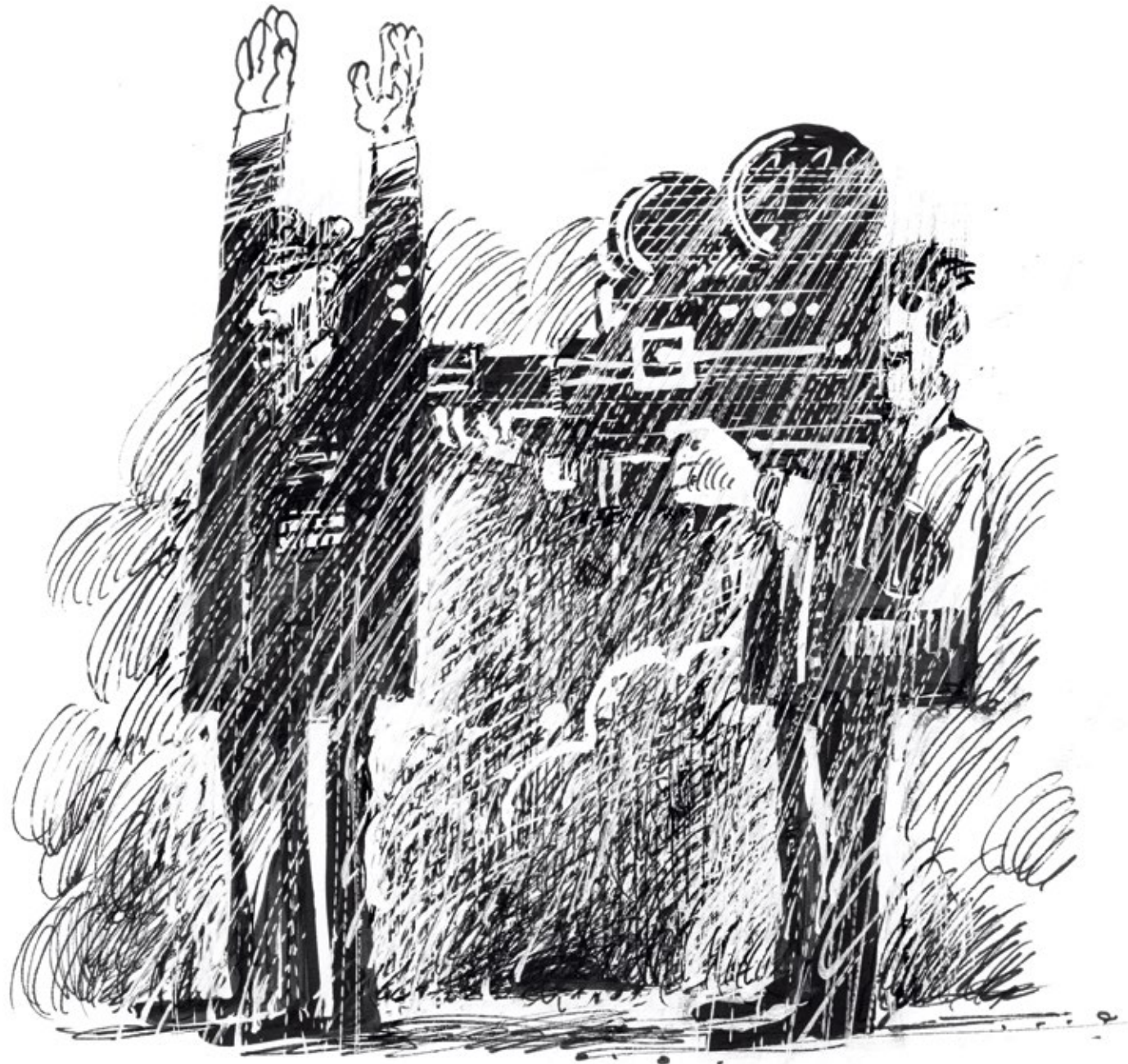
He told the European Parliament delegation that visited Iran in 2013 that his testimony and that of his lawyer were ignored during his trial, and the verdict had been decided in advance. He warned the delegation that human rights issues are being forgotten as the world concentrates on the nuclear agreement with Iran, and opined that once sanctions are lifted, the repression in Iran will increase. The new Iranian leadership's flexibility was only being applied to foreign affairs not domestic ones, Panahi stated, with the pressure still on the press, on prisoners and on cultural life.

In a media interview in 2014, in defiance of his ban, he said that he felt that he has been released from a small jail only to be thrown into a bigger one, when he was banned from working.

He has nevertheless broken the prohibition on film-making thrice. In 2011 he shot *This is not a film* in his own home in Tehran, sitting at his kitchen table, talking to his lawyer, waiting to be jailed. In 2014 he returned with *Closed curtain* featuring a screenwriter living alone with his dog in his house by the sea, with curtains shut. In 2015, Panahi starred in his award-winning film *Taxi* as a taxi driver talking to passengers, including fellow laureate Nasrin Sotoudeh, as he drives through the streets of Tehran.

Panahi does not regard himself as a political person, but one who is willing to expose injustice. He has spoken out against censorship in Iran and criticised President Rouhani for not accomplishing his electoral promises in this regard, and has launched the *Step by step* campaign aiming to end the death penalty in Iran.

Panahi's films are known for their humanistic and realistic perspective on life.



MOHAMED BOUAZIZI (1984-2011) was the catalyst of the Jasmine Revolution in Tunisia and an inspiration for the pro-democracy movement that swept the Middle East and North Africa in 2011, known as the Arab Spring.

A hard-working man from a poor background, Bouazizi had been the main provider for his family since he was 10 years old, selling fruit at the market. He left school at 19 so he could support his younger siblings' education.

Bouazizi died on 4 January 2011, at the age of 26, after setting himself on fire in protest against a system that kept him from making a decent living. He had often been a victim of the Tunisian law-enforcement agents who would fine him, confiscate his produce and his scales, and on the last occasion even wrestled him to the ground. His family believe it was the humiliation, not the poverty, which led him to self-immolation after he went looking for justice, but was refused. Bouazizi doused himself in fuel and lit a flame outside the gates of the governorate building in the small town of Sidi Bouzid. A popular man known for giving away produce for free to poorer families, and whose plight struck a chord with many, his act prompted protests that quickly spread, with Tunisians from all walks of life taking to the streets against a corrupt government, high unemployment, and restrictions on their freedom.

Bouazizi was still alive, in agony and wrapped in bandages from head to toe, as the authoritarian regime of President Zine al-Abidine Ben Ali, in power since 1987, began to fall.

Ten days after Bouazizi's death, Ben Ali was forced to resign and leave the country as demonstrators marched in Tunis, many of them carrying Bouazizi's image.

His family take solace in that his death was not in vain, as his action spurred a people's revolution and shook despotic governments in Tunisia and elsewhere in the Arab world. It spread awareness amongst Arab youths that they could voice their frustrations and fight for their dignity when faced with injustice, corruption and autocratic rule.

The Arab Spring and its early optimism have stalled and some of its gains have been reversed, but its birthplace, Bouazizi's Tunisia, continues determinedly on its path to democracy and freedom of thought despite fatal terrorist attacks and security fears.

2011
MOHAMED
BOUAZIZI



ALI FERZAT is Syria's best-known political satirist and cartoonist, and one of the Arab world's most famous cultural figures. In 2012 he was voted as one of *Time* magazine's *100 most influential people in the world*.

Born in Hama in 1941, Ferzat has published more than 15 000 cartoons in Syrian and international newspapers and won awards for satirising dictators like Saddam Hussein and Muammar Gaddafi when they ruled Iraq and Libya respectively. His work pushed the boundaries of freedom of expression in Syria, targeting its feared security forces. As the Arab Spring reached Syria in 2011, Ferzat became more direct in attacking government figures, particularly President Bashar al-Assad, and Syrians protesting the regime waved his cartoons in the streets.

Ferzat was attacked in Damascus' Umayyad Square and badly beaten by masked men who deliberately broke his hands, as they shouted at him to respect President al-Assad and obey his masters, after he published a cartoon of al-Assad trying to hitchhike with Libyan dictator Muammar Gaddafi, shown driving a getaway car at great speed. Rendered unconscious by the beating, Ferzat was dragged along the road by the car into which his attackers had thrown him, and then left on the street for dead.

Ali Ferzat not only recovered the use of his hands, but broke the barrier of fear to become one of the regime's most outspoken critics through his words and his art. He has won various awards and is the head of the Arab cartoonists' association.

Unable to attend the Sakharov Prize ceremony in 2011 as he underwent treatment in Kuwait for his injuries, he received the award at the Sakharov Prize Network public debate held at the European Parliament in 2012, where he discussed with the EP President and other Arab Spring laureates the revolution in Syria and the future of democracy following the Arab awakenings. As a Sakharov laureate, he addressed the first edition of the Council of Europe's World Democracy Forum in 2012.

In 2015, Ferzat was the keynote speaker at the Sakharov Prize Network debate on Syria at the European Parliament, highlighting the role of the regional 'sponsors' of the fighting factions in Syria and the need for international pressure to end the fighting.

He is the author of the illustrations of his fellow Sakharov Prize laureates in this book, bringing his unique artistic and humanistic insight to bear on the stroke of the pen with which he brings out the outstanding contribution to human rights of all.



ASMAA MAHFOUZ is an Egyptian human rights activist and one of the co-founders of the April 6 youth movement.

As the spark of the Tunisian revolution started igniting Egypt in early 2011, she braved President Hosni Mubarak's regime's crackdown on activists and posted calls on social media for Egyptians to protest peacefully in Tahrir Square to claim their freedom, dignity and human rights. Her video went viral with millions of views, and inspired a wave of similar videos, resulting in hundreds of thousands occupying Tahrir Square from 25 January 2011, clamouring for Hosni Mubarak to end his 30-year rule of Egypt, until Mubarak relinquished power on 11 February 2011.

Accepting her Sakharov Prize, Mahfouz described the award as 'homage to the heroes of the revolution'. 'This is a prize that goes out to all young Egyptians, people that have sacrificed their lives', she told Parliament, adding 'we will not betray them, we will continue along the road that they have entered into and we want to make sure that this dream is fulfilled'.

Asmaa Mahfouz was arrested in October 2011 on charges of defaming the military rulers who took charge after the fall of President Mubarak. She was sentenced *in absentia* in March 2012, but an appeals court overthrew her conviction in May 2012. However, Mahfouz came under increasing harassment, threats and surveillance as Egypt voted a former army chief, Abdel Fattah al-Sisi, to the country's presidency in 2014, after the ouster of Islamist President Mohammed Mursi in 2013 and a period of military-backed interim government. As a heavy crackdown by the authorities, initially targeted at the Muslim Brotherhood, was broadened to attack critical voices and renowned icons of the January 25 revolution, the April 6 youth movement, to which

Mahfouz belonged, was banned by an Egyptian court in April 2014 and three of its leaders, Ahmed Maher, Mohammed Adel and Ahmed Douma, were sentenced to 3-year jail terms on charges including protesting illegally.

2015 saw Asmaa Mahfouz engaging in the new movement *Bidayya* (Beginning). Together with the founders of *Bidayya* she came under investigation in May 2015 for allegedly 'inciting subversion of the State order' and was struck with a travel ban.



AHMED EL SENUSSI, born in 1934, was Libya's longest-serving prisoner of conscience and is now a strong advocate of Libyan reconciliation.

Condemned to death in 1970 for an attempted coup against dictator Muammar Gaddafi, who had overthrown Libya's first and only monarch, King Idris, in 1969, El Senussi spent a total of 31 years in prison. During his imprisonment he endured torture and 9 years in solitary confinement in a cell so small he could not even stand up straight in it. His death sentence was commuted in 1988 and he was released in 2001 from the notorious Abu Salim jail alongside dozens of other political prisoners.

El Senussi describes the Gaddafi regime as 42 years of suffering, oppression and corruption that obliterated the Libyan identity. His motivation to seek to overthrow Gaddafi, he says, was to give people a choice between a monarchy and a constitutional republic because he had experienced the destruction of countries by military rule in Syria and Iraq. He believes it is the nature of military dictatorships to violate human rights and oppress the people.

When a popular uprising backed by NATO toppled Gaddafi in 2011, El Senussi took responsibility for political prisoners as part of the National Transitional Council (NTC), the de facto government of Libya up to the 2012 elections.

El Senussi, a respected tribal leader, became the heart of the federalist movement in Libya, against a backdrop of lawlessness and instability where factions vied for control with arms. He was elected, in 2012, as leader of the Cyrenaica Transitional Council by 3 000 delegates from the region. This council, with no legal or military force, declared itself for a high degree of autonomy for the region.

As Libya's infighting has derailed its initial path to democracy – with the country now having two governments, in Tripoli and in Tobruk, and Islamic State gaining a foothold in the East – El Senussi advocates an inclusive process of reconciliation as the only way to peace. He is against further military intervention, and supports the holding of a popular referendum to decide on the shape of a future Libyan state.

His own vision is for a central federal government and independent governance for the three Libyan provinces of Tripolitania, Barqa (Cyrenaica) and Fezzan. He is a strong supporter of the reinstatement of the 1951 constitution, on the basis of which federalism was the norm under most of King Idris's constitutional monarchy. Though he is a great-nephew of the king, he does not favour a return to the monarchy.

El Senussi has engaged with the European Parliament, the Sakharov Prize Network and other international organisations to appeal to the international community to help Libya build the institutions it needs to guarantee the rule of law and human rights for all of its people.

2011

AHMED

EL SENUSSI



RAZAN ZAITOUNEH is a Syrian journalist and human rights lawyer who was kidnapped in a rebel-held area in the suburbs of Damascus on 9 December 2013. She is still missing, no one has claimed responsibility for her kidnapping and her whereabouts are yet unknown. Zaitouneh bravely denounced human rights violations by the Damascus regime and rebel fighters alike, despite being threatened. She was kidnapped together with her husband and fellow activist Wael Hamada and two colleagues; poet and lawyer Nazem Hamadi and former political prisoner Samira Khalil, from the office serving two groups she founded, the Violations documentation centre (VDC) and the Local development and small projects support office (LDSPS), in Douma.

Zaitouneh is one of the most prominent and credible civilian activists in the Syrian revolution. Her kidnapping is seen by Syrian commentators as a defining episode in the division taking place in Syria between the civilian forces and the extremists, and an event which has dealt a fatal blow to the Syrian revolution.

Her family have appealed for international help to find her and her colleagues. 'We, the family of Razan Zeitouneh, the human rights activist, the lawyer, the writer and, above all, the human being, issue this statement more than 3 months after the deliberate kidnapping which no party declared responsible for, or issued any statement or request about, in a clear attempt to buy time and suppress the free voice of our daughter along with her colleagues to force them to stop writing and prevent them their right of freedom of expression', the family said in a statement issued in April 2014.

Activists and politicians from all over the world have appealed for their release, including President Schulz. 'On behalf of the European Parliament I call for their immediate release ... Her life was threatened by the regime and by the rebel groups for what she was, a courageous young woman who refuses to compromise and continues to fight peacefully for democracy and a free Syria.'

In 2014, the European Parliament joined forces with scores of non-governmental organisations (NGOs), the European public and fellow Sakharov laureates to call for her release with the #FreeRazan campaign. Her family has highlighted the beliefs Zaitouneh stands for in European Parliament and Sakharov Prize Network human rights action.

At the time of her Sakharov award in 2011, Razan Zaitouneh was living in hiding having fled a raid by state security agents on her house. She nevertheless refused to leave Syria.

Zaitouneh used her Sakharov Prize money to save the life of a fellow activist hit by tank fire.



GUILLERMO FARIÑAS A Cuban doctor of psychology, independent journalist and political dissident, Guillermo Fariñas has over the years conducted 23 hunger strikes with the aim of achieving peaceful political change and freedom of expression in Cuba.

His 7-month hunger strike in 2006 drew worldwide attention to internet censorship in Cuba, and caused him severe health problems.

Undeterred, in February 2010, after the controversial death of prisoner Orlando Zapata, Fariñas began a hunger and thirst strike that lasted 134 days, calling for the liberation of political prisoners taken ill after many years of imprisonment. He ended this strike only after the Cuban government announced it was in the process of freeing 52 political prisoners. Fariñas was not allowed to leave Cuba for the 2010 Sakharov Prize award ceremony at the EP. He finally addressed the European Parliament in a 2013 Sakharov Prize award ceremony, after the Cuban government eased travel restrictions on Cubans and the *Damas de Blanco* re-entered Cuba after visiting Parliament.

"Today, I am here not because the situation has essentially changed, but because of the realities of the modern world, and above all, because of the growing civic defiance of Cubans, which has forced the regime to – like the legendary prince Don Fabrizio from *Il Gattopardo* said – "change something so that nothing changes", Fariñas stated in his acceptance speech. Fariñas has since been an active member of the Sakharov Prize Network.

In 2015, Fariñas resumed his role as coordinator of the *Foro Antitotalitario Unido*, having briefly merged this movement with the opposition umbrella group *Unión Patriótica de Cuba* (UNPACU) and represented UNPACU as spokesperson. Fariñas left the umbrella group amicably due to divergent views with its other leaders on the re-establishment of diplomatic relations between the United States and Cuba, announced in December 2014 and taking place in 2015. Fariñas regards this development as a betrayal of the Cuban democrats, which broke a promise made to *Damas* leader Berta Soler and in 2013 by US President Obama himself to consult civil society and the non-violent opposition on any action towards Cuba.

In 2015, Fariñas launched a collection for the 10 000 signatures needed under the Cuban constitution to have included, in the new electoral law announced by Raul Castro's government for elections in 2018, the recognition and legalisation of existing political movements, the right to vote and stand for election to all Cuban citizens including those living abroad, and international electoral observation.

For his activism, Fariñas has in recent years been threatened with death and confinement in a psychiatric hospital, beaten and hospitalised, and repeatedly arrested and detained, including at the funeral of Oswaldo Payá, another Sakharov Prize laureate and Cuban dissident.



MEMORIAL Oleg Orlov, Sergei Kovalev and Lyudmila Alexeyeva were awarded the Sakharov Prize in 2009 on behalf of Memorial and all other human rights defenders in Russia.

Memorial was established in the Soviet Union in 1988 with the initial aim of bringing to light the mass repression under Stalin's rule and preserving the memory of its victims, a mission that remains relevant to date. After the dissolution of the USSR, the organisation became international with branches and partner NGOs in former Soviet republics. The aims of Memorial have since broadened to include monitoring human rights violations in Russia and the former Soviet republics. Amongst its founders was Andrei Sakharov, who also co-founded the Moscow Helsinki Group with Lyudmila Alexeyeva.

Oleg Orlov is one of Memorial's leaders since 1994 and a member of the board of the international society Memorial. He has collected evidence of abductions in eastern Ukraine, as pro-Russian separatists war with Ukrainian forces, finding the practice there comparable to the abductions that Memorial documented for decades during two wars in Chechnya, where he himself had been kidnapped.

Sergei Kovalev, the long-serving chair of the Russian Memorial, is well-known for negotiating in 1995 the release of around 2 000 people held hostage in the Budennovsk hospital by Chechen rebels, the only time that a terrorist attack

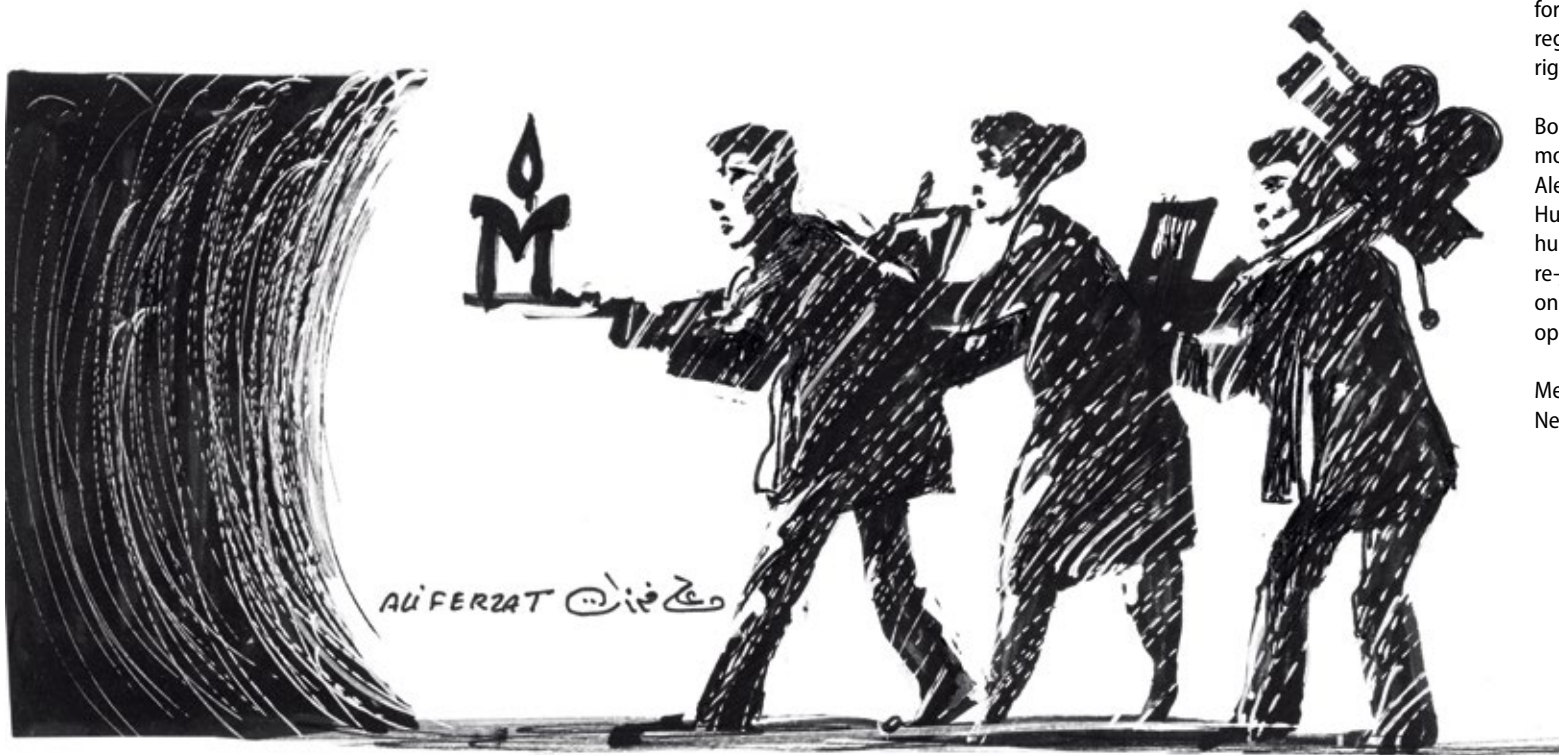
in Russia did not result in mass hostage deaths. He accuses Russia of interfering in Ukrainian internal affairs and provoking the conflict in the east.

Memorial's members and close associates have been threatened, abducted and assassinated during the years. In 2014, Memorial was registered as a 'foreign agent' by Russian authorities, after amendments were introduced to a 2012 law allowing authorities to register NGOs receiving funds from outside Russia as 'foreign agents' without their consent. As Memorial's senior lawyer Kirill Koroteev, addressing Parliament's subcommittee on Human Rights, put it a 'foreign agent' in Russia means 'spy'. In September 2014, a lawsuit against Memorial was filed by the ministry of justice, arguing that its charter and structure ran counter to national legislation. The lawsuit could have resulted in its liquidation. However, in January 2015 the court decided in Memorial's favour, rejecting the ministry's complaints. In spring 2014, the Moscow branch of Memorial (Human Rights Center Memorial) contested its classification as a foreign agent but lost its case. Natalia Sokolova, Memorial's executive director, sees the future for Memorial as bleak, 'unfortunately, the current situation leaves us little or no hope that we will be able to operate as a legal entity and if we do, how long will it be for. However many of us still have not lost the fight to ensure that the right for freedom of association will someday be a reality, using all legal mechanisms available'.

Lyudmila Alexeyeva is one such brave soul who does not want to lose the fight for freedom in Russia. As head of the Moscow Helsinki Group, she refused to register the group as a 'foreign agent' preferring to continue working for human rights without foreign grants.

Born in 1927, Alexeyeva is one of the few Soviet-era dissidents still active in modern Russia, renowned for campaigning for fair trials for dissidents. In 2012 Alexeyeva resigned from Russia's Presidential Council for Civil Society and Human Rights, disappointed because the council had no real influence over the human rights situation in the country. In 2015, however, Alexeyeva decided to re-join the Council in order to focus on investigating the application of the law on foreign agents that is targeting a growing number of NGOs, as well as the operation of the courts and the many human rights violations in prisons.

Memorial representatives and Lyudmila Alexeyeva are active Sakharov Prize Network participants and interlocutors for the European Parliament.



One of China's most vocal and respected democracy activists, HU JIA lives under constant surveillance and endures periods of arbitrary detention, constant threats, beatings and harassment that have escalated to a point where he feels his life is in danger, and he fears for his family.

Hu Jia is also a human rights and environmental activist, who has tackled Aids issues when HIV/Aids was still a prohibited topic in China and the number of suspected cases was treated as a 'state secret'. He has repeatedly called for an official inquiry into the Tiananmen Square massacre and compensation for the victims' families, and is placed under house arrest every year around the anniversary of the Tiananmen killings on June 4 since he took flowers to the square in 2004.

In 2007, via a conference call before the EP's subcommittee on Human Rights (DROI), he bravely called attention to the one million people persecuted by the Chinese national security department for fighting for human rights, with many detained in prison, in labour camps or mental hospitals. He called for 2008, the Beijing Olympics year, to be the year of human rights in China. As a direct result of this, Hu Jia was arrested on 27 December 2007, charged with 'inciting subversion of state power', and sentenced on 3 April 2008 to 3 and a half years in jail and denied his political rights for a year.

When he was announced as the winner of the Sakharov Prize on its 20th anniversary, Hu Jia was subjected to pressure by state security police, applied to him directly and to his parents, to refuse it. Hu Jia bravely accepted it, calling it 'an important prize for China'. Zeng Jinyan, his then wife and co-nominee for the prize in 2007, in a video-recording for the award ceremony Hu Jia could not attend, declared the award an affirmation to Chinese human rights defenders on the long and hard road of the defence of human rights for which they and their relatives pay an extremely high price.

In a letter to the EP president in July 2012, Hu Jia said he considered the prize a 'truly a great honour' which 'provided me with encouragement and greatly improved the way I was treated in prison'.

He was released in June 2011, and remained in China to sustain from within his outspoken criticism of the repression, denouncing the continuing crackdown on activists under President Xi Jinping, which he calls a sign of nervousness by a regime seeking to maintain its hold on power against a growing tide for democracy.

As a coordinator of the 'barefoot lawyers', an informal group of legal advisers who defend human rights activists in China, Hu Jia has also warned that China's new draft counter-terrorism law will restrict the right to a lawyer for those accused of terrorism, in a country where, 'because the government controls propaganda, if they say you are a terrorist, then you are.'



SALIH MAHMOUD MOHAMED OSMAN a Sudanese lawyer, had been providing free legal representation to people arbitrarily detained, tortured, and subjected to serious human rights abuses in Sudan for over two decades when the EP unanimously awarded him the Sakharov Prize in 2007.

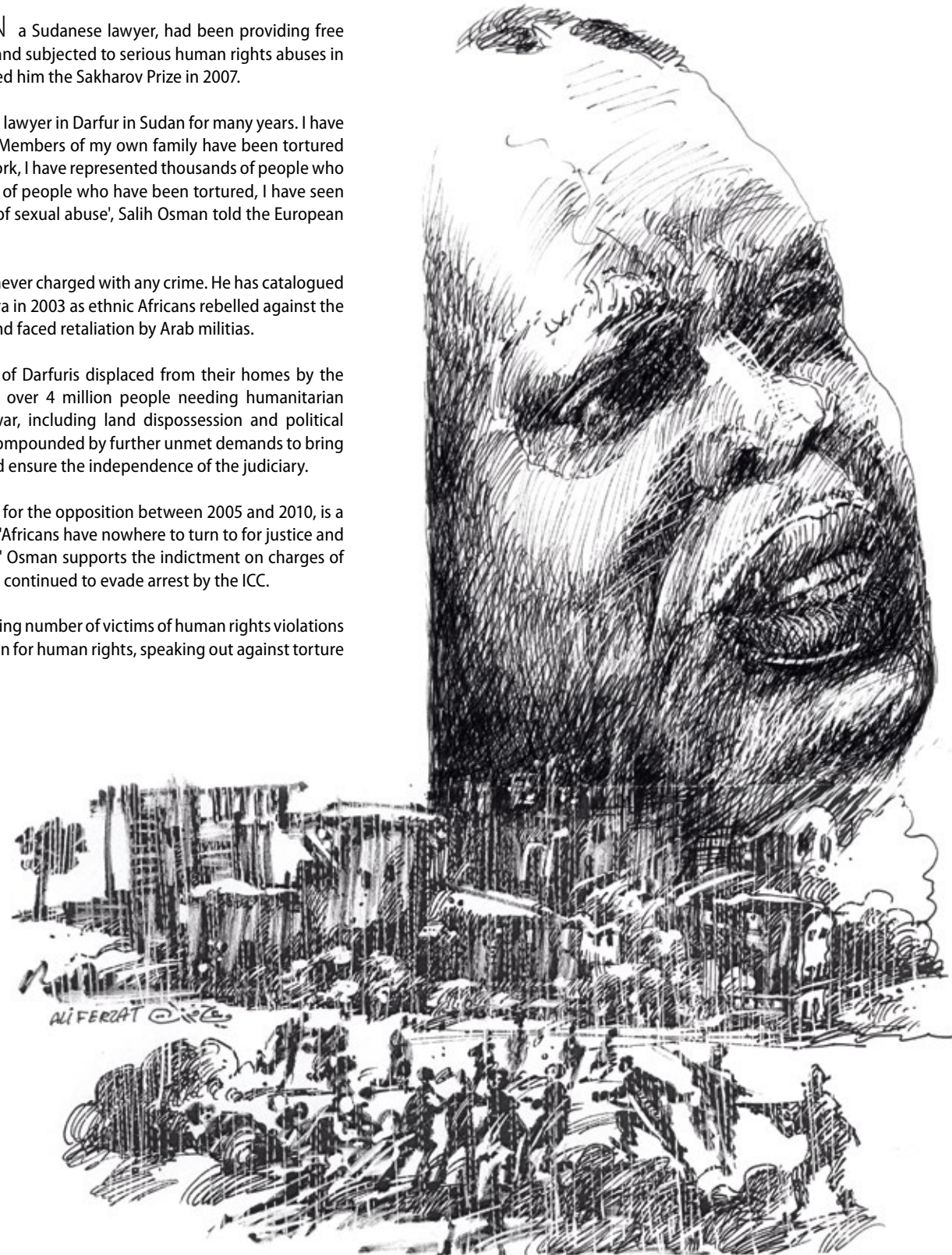
'I am a native of Darfur, born in Jebel Marra. I have worked as a lawyer in Darfur in Sudan for many years. I have been a victim of detention and torture because of my work. Members of my own family have been tortured and displaced by the militia in Darfur. For many years, in my work, I have represented thousands of people who needed my help in front of the courts. I have seen thousands of people who have been tortured, I have seen hundreds of women and young girls who have been victims of sexual abuse', Salih Osman told the European Parliament in accepting the prize.

He was himself detained by the authorities several times, but never charged with any crime. He has catalogued crimes that have taken place since war broke out in Jebel Marra in 2003 as ethnic Africans rebelled against the Arab-dominated government, accusing it of discrimination, and faced retaliation by Arab militias.

Osman is actively involved in the protection of the millions of Darfuris displaced from their homes by the ongoing fighting in Darfur, which intensified in 2015, with over 4 million people needing humanitarian aid. Osman emphasises that the causes that ignited the war, including land dispossession and political marginalisation, are not only still unresolved, but have been compounded by further unmet demands to bring national laws into conformity with international standards and ensure the independence of the judiciary.

Osman, who served as a member of the Sudanese parliament for the opposition between 2005 and 2010, is a staunch supporter of the International Criminal Court (ICC) as 'Africans have nowhere to turn to for justice and redress due to the lack of adequate judicial systems in Africa.' Osman supports the indictment on charges of war crimes of Sudanese President Omar al-Bashir, who in 2015 continued to evade arrest by the ICC.

Osman continues to provide free legal assistance to the increasing number of victims of human rights violations in Darfur. He is engaged with the Sakharov Prize Network action for human rights, speaking out against torture and impunity.



ALIAKSANDR MILINKEVICH is a leader of the democratic opposition Movement for Freedom in Belarus who had 'the courage to challenge the last dictatorship in Europe' as Parliament's then President Borrell Fontelles put it when awarding him the Sakharov Prize in 2006.

Milinkevich, a scientist, was chosen to be the joint presidential candidate of the United Democratic Opposition in October 2005. Urging a truly democratic future for the former Soviet republic, Milinkevich presented himself as a real alternative to the authoritarianism of President Lukashenka, whose victory was heavily criticised by the opposition in Belarus and abroad for vote-rigging. After contesting, Milinkevich was arrested under various pretexts, but no charges were ever brought against him.

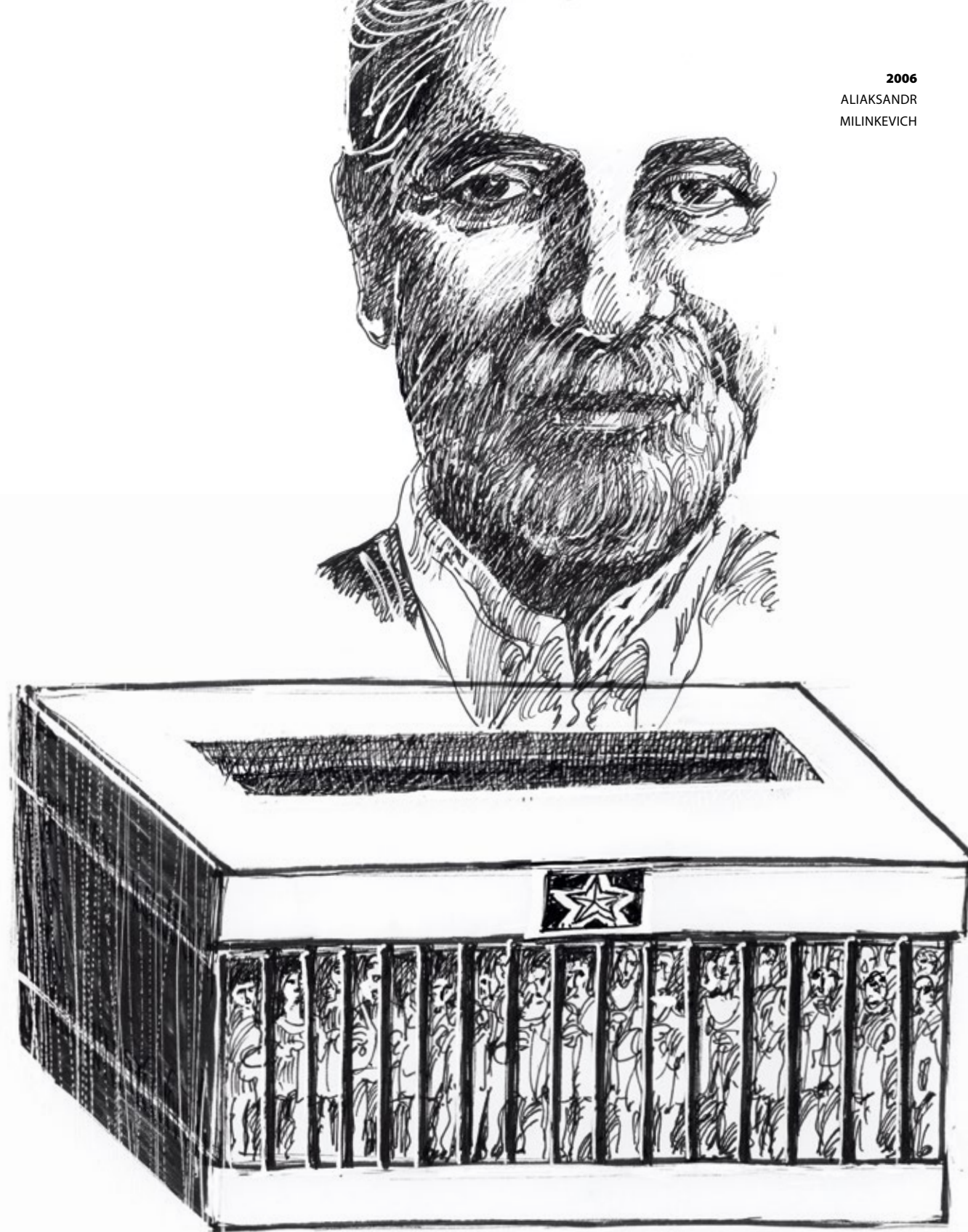
Milinkevich did not stand for the presidential elections in 2010 as he considered that no changes had been made to the national electoral regulations to ensure fair, free and open elections. Milinkevich denounced the further deterioration of the human rights situation in Belarus after this election that confirmed Lukashenka's hold on power.

As a Sakharov Prize laureate and a leader of the opposition, Milinkevich is regularly consulted by Parliamentary bodies concerned with Belarus and has participated in Sakharov Prize Network events, network conferences and public debates. In an SPN debate in Lithuania with Berta Soler of the *Damas de Blanco*, national authorities, and Members of the European and Lithuanian parliaments, Milinkevich denounced the incessant intimidation and humiliation perpetrated by the authorities against human rights defenders in Belarus. He declared his support for greater European integration for Belarus, and for a critical and constructive dialogue with the Belarusian authorities.

Dialogue was a key element of Milinkevich's interventions during public network debates and hearings at the European Parliament. He urges greater EU engagement with Belarus to bring about more freedoms for its people. Milinkevich posits that Belarus' need of economic assistance could be used as leverage to force Belarus into dialogue with the EU, including on human rights.

As Belarus headed towards its fifth presidential election in post-Soviet times in October 2015, Milinkevich had yet to announce his intention to stand for election or otherwise at the time of writing, in a possible challenge to Lukashenka's hold on power for 21 years.

2006
ALIAKSANDR
MILINKEVICH



The LADIES IN WHITE, or DAMAS DE BLANCO, formed spontaneously in Cuba in 2003 in reaction to the imprisonment of 75 of their husbands and relatives during Cuba's Black Spring, a harsh crackdown by the Cuban regime on democracy activists. They marched in the streets and wrote many letters to the Cuban authorities, asking for the prisoners' release, but did not get a single reply. The *Damas* did not give up, and their persistent protests got results, with all Black Spring prisoners released by 2011.

The indomitable *Damas* kept on with their fight for democracy and human rights in Cuba, and are the only group in the communist country permitted to stage weekly marches in a specific area. Ladies wearing white, carrying photographs of loved ones who are victims of repression in Cuba, and gladioli flowers, a symbol of peace, walk down Havana's Fifth Avenue in Miramar every Sunday after mass at St Rita's Church, silent and strong in the face of threats, insults, assaults and frequent arrests.

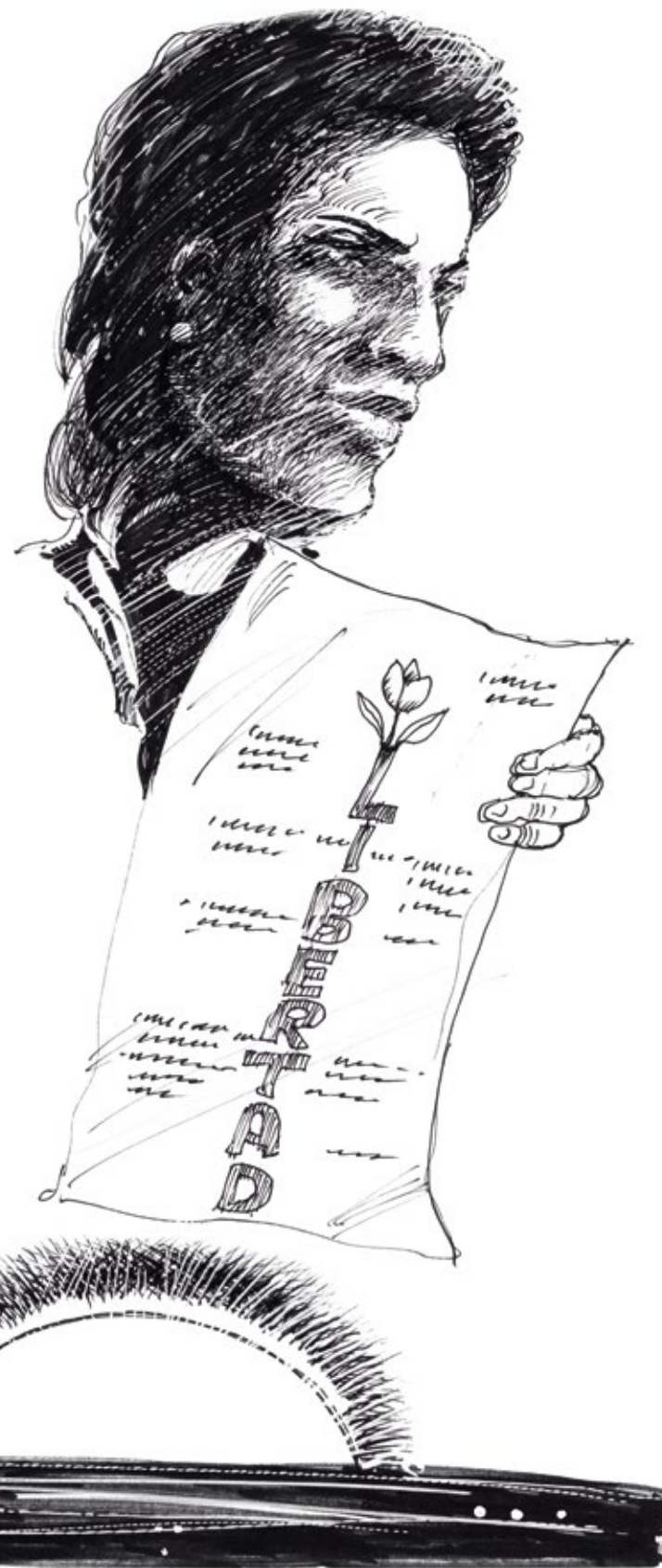
In 2013, the *Damas* were finally able to accept in person the Sakharov Prize they had been awarded in 2005. President Berta Soler, and movement representatives Belkis Cantillo Ramirez and Laura Maria Labrada Pollán, daughter of the beloved *Damas* co-founder Laura Pollán who died in 2011, were allowed to exit Cuba after the easing of travel restrictions on citizens, and address Parliament, which recognised them for their courage and commitment to the cause of human rights. Berta Soler compared the Sakharov Prize to 'a shield' which would protect the *Damas* on their return to Cuba.

Shortly after the Sakharov Award ceremony, the *Damas* and other dissidents, including 2010 laureate, Guillermo Fariñas, set up the International Platform for Human Rights in Cuba.

Berta Soler, representing the *Damas* at the European Parliament and at network events, has constantly called on the EU – which started negotiations for a bilateral political agreement with Cuba in 2014 – to make human rights a condition in any agreements with Cuba. In 2015, the *Damas* stated they felt increasingly sidelined by United States politicians visiting the island, following moves to re-establish diplomatic relations between the US and Cuba.

The *Damas de Blanco* reconfirmed Berta Soler as their leader in 2015 in a referendum called by the group after her leadership was criticised by some members.

The Ladies in White again suffered a wave of detentions, beatings and torture in 2015, being amongst the groups most targeted for repression by the Cuban authorities.



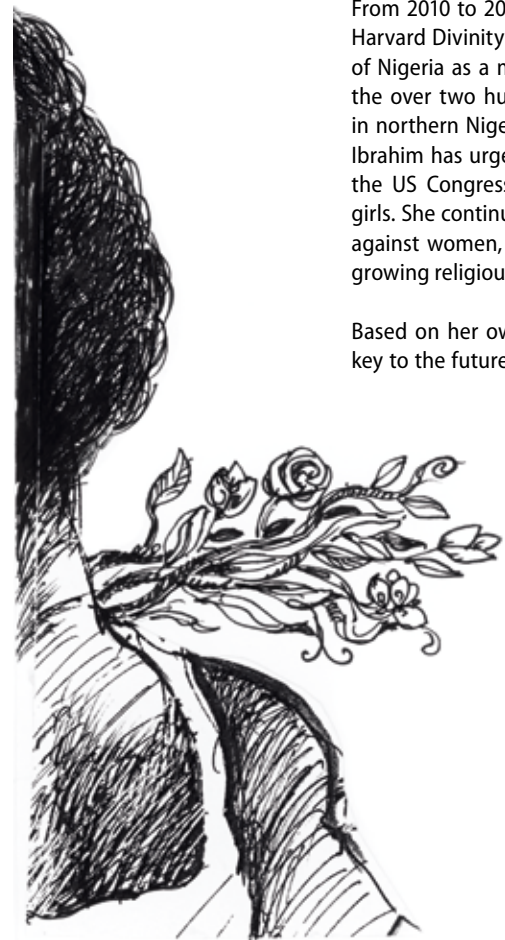
A human rights lawyer, **HAUWA IBRAHIM** was born into a Muslim family in the northern Nigerian village of Hinnah. It was where she learned the values that strengthened her resolve, including her mother's conviction that education was the only path out of poverty. Promised to be given away in marriage at the age of 10, Ibrahim ran away from her family's home to a girls' boarding school so she could continue her education. Ibrahim's intellectual interests, combined with her passion for justice, led her to study law. She became the first female lawyer in the Yamaltu/Deba district of Gombe state and is now widely sought after for her legal counsel.

When shariah law was introduced in 12 northern states in Nigeria in 1999 it brought into question the protection of fundamental human rights, especially those of women. Ibrahim began a groundbreaking legal practice, representing women and children condemned by shariah courts to death by stoning for adultery and to limb amputation for theft. She has defended, free of charge, over 150 cases, saving the lives of Amina Lawal, Safiya Hussaini, Hafsatu Abubakar and many others.

From 2010 to 2013 Ibrahim was a research associate and visiting lecturer at Harvard Divinity School. In May of 2014 she was appointed by the president of Nigeria as a member of the presidential committee on the abduction of the over two hundred female students by the terrorist group Boko Haram in northern Nigeria. Cited for her credibility and passion for human dignity, Ibrahim has urged international support from the European Parliament and the US Congress in addressing the unresolved tragedy of the kidnapped girls. She continues to voice the need for stronger action to address violence against women, abject poverty and lack of opportunities in order to abate growing religious extremism.

Based on her own experience, Ibrahim feels strongly that education is the key to the future and furthermore that the education of the girl leads to the

education of the family and consequently of the community and society. Ibrahim invested her Sakharov Prize money in an endowment which provides educational opportunities for children in northern Nigeria by ensuring that they have the means to stay in school. Actively involved in the SPN campaign for children's rights, Ibrahim gives Sakharov lectures and participates in debates at the European Parliament, inspiring audiences with her own personal journey. At the invitation of Prince El-Hassan bin Talal, Ibrahim in 2015 worked on issues of women's empowerment and social justice in the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan for West Asia North Africa (WANA). She is also working on issues of interfaith dialogue at the Royal Institute for Inter-Faith Studies in Amman, Jordan.





REPORTERS WITHOUT BORDERS is an international NGO based in France that fights for freedom of information worldwide.

For Reporters Without Borders (RWB), freedom of expression and of information will always be the world's most important freedom and the foundation for any democracy. The organisation argues that 'if journalists were not free to report the facts, denounce abuses and alert the public, how would we resist the problem of child-soldiers, defend women's rights, or preserve our environment?'

RWB continuously monitors and denounces attacks on freedom of information worldwide, fights censorship and laws aimed at restricting freedom of information, assists morally and financially persecuted journalists and their families and offers material assistance to war correspondents in order to enhance their safety. To circumvent censorship, it occasionally publishes articles which have been banned in their country of origin, hosts newspapers that have been closed down in their homeland and serves as a forum for journalists who have been 'silenced' by the authorities of their country. In order to ensure that the murderers and torturers of journalists are brought to trial, since 2002 RWB's network provides victims with legal services and represents them in court. It awards two prizes every year, the Reporters Without Borders'

Prize and the Netizen Prize, recognising and honouring bloggers, journalists and media from all around the world.

RWB publishes a world press freedom index annually. The 2015 index covers 180 countries and draws attention to the worldwide deterioration in freedom of information in the previous year. 'Beset by wars, the growing threat from non-state operatives, violence during demonstrations and the economic crisis, media freedom is in retreat on all five continents', RWB warns. Conflicts in the Middle East, Ukraine, Syria and Iraq are mentioned as extreme examples of this, where 'all warring parties without exception waged a fearsome information war in which the media became targets, were attacked, or even silenced'. RWB cites in its index important factors that lead to the deterioration of press freedom, including the rise of the non-state groups such as Boko Haram and Islamic State, political use of religious censorship, the widening gap between EU Member States, and authoritarian regimes seeking ever more information control.

As a Sakharov Prize laureate, RWB has brought together other laureates and promoted Sakharov Prize Network initiatives. It is actively engaged in SPN human rights action and in 2015 featured in the European Parliament's campaign for freedom of expression.

THE BELARUSIAN ASSOCIATION OF JOURNALISTS

(BAJ) represents over 1 000 professionals, and strives to protect journalists who work under extremely difficult conditions and often fall victim to intimidation, harassment, criminal prosecution and expatriation.

Founded in 1995, a year after Belarusian dictator Alexander Lukashenka assumed power, BAJ has been since its creation the major association for the independent press in Belarus. From its base in Minsk and its five regional branches, BAJ aims to provide the Belarusian public with the most objective, truthful, comprehensive and timely information, and, moreover, strives for high quality and ethical journalism.

BAJ fights determinedly for press freedom in a country where the media law allows the authorities to shut down media they consider too critical, the penal code still contains articles penalising defamation of higher-level officials, foreign media must obtain a licence to operate and their local contributors are harassed by the state security police of the USSR (KGB), and independent media suffer economic discrimination. BAJ denounced increasing legal repression in 2014, as well as fines and criminal charges against several of its members, and even a charge of treason against one.

BAJ is now making a priority of fighting further restrictive amendments to the mass media law that came into effect in 2015 making it easier for the government to shut down websites, which, before, it had been known to hamper access to. With the support of international press organisations, BAJ is also currently working for the abolition of a media law provision forbidding freelance journalists from reporting in the country, in breach of European press freedom standards.

In 2015, BAJ founder and long-time chair Zhanna Litvina stepped down from the helm, but continues to be active in BAJ as a member of its board. A legendary journalist in her country, whose career included heading the Minsk bureau of Radio Liberty and creating and heading the short-lived but unique independent Belarusian-language 101.2 FM radio station, Litvina had led BAJ for the 20 years since its foundation.

The Belarusian Association of Journalists elected Andrei Bastunets, formerly a deputy, as its new chair. Bastunets, a lawyer, is supported by four deputy heads, Sviatlana Kalinkina, Mikhail Yanchuk, Aliaksandr Starykevich and Alina Suravets.

BAJ takes an active part in the work of the Sakharov Prize Network and in 2015 participated in the European Parliament's campaign for freedom of expression.



In awarding the 2003 Sakharov Prize to the UNITED NATIONS, the European Parliament gave recognition to the UN's endeavours for peace, human rights and fundamental freedoms.

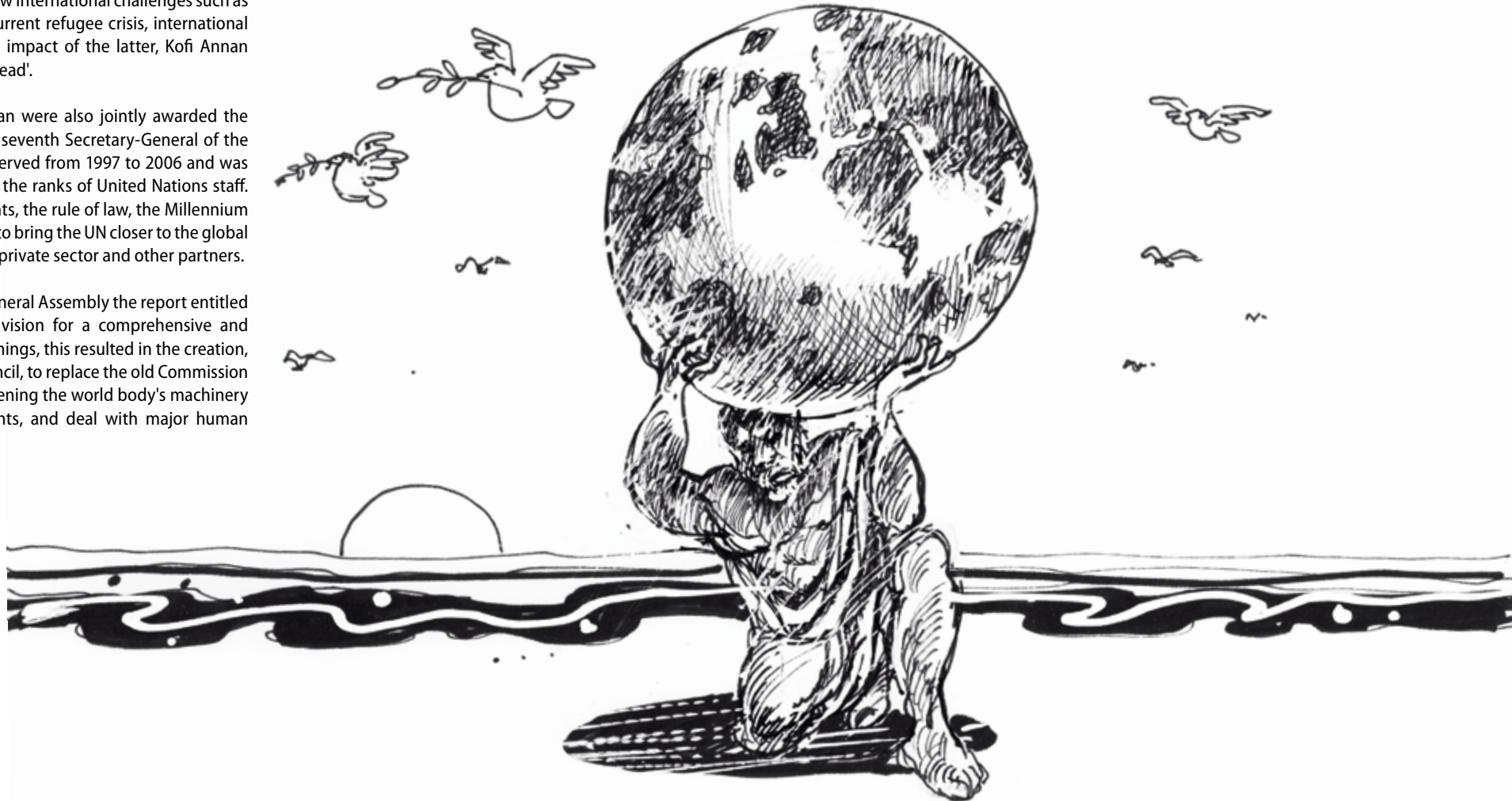
The Sakharov Prize honoured particularly the United Nations' members of staff who work tirelessly for world peace, often under difficult conditions. The prize was awarded in special memory of Sergio Vieira de Mello, the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights and one of the worthiest representatives of the UN who, whilst serving as Kofi Annan's special representative in Iraq, was amongst those killed in 2003 in an attack on the UN headquarters in Baghdad.

The United Nations, the world's only global body, not only continues to strive to keep or restore peace, protect human rights and establish the framework for international justice, it also deals with new international challenges such as the post-2015 development agenda, the current refugee crisis, international terrorism, and climate change. The severe impact of the latter, Kofi Annan warns, could leave 'the living envying the dead'.

In 2001, the United Nations and Kofi Annan were also jointly awarded the Nobel Prize for Peace. Kofi Annan was the seventh Secretary-General of the United Nations. A Ghanaian diplomat, he served from 1997 to 2006 and was the first secretary-general to emerge from the ranks of United Nations staff. He was a constant advocate for human rights, the rule of law, the Millennium Development Goals and Africa, and sought to bring the UN closer to the global public by forging ties with civil society, the private sector and other partners.

In 2005, Kofi Annan presented to the UN General Assembly the report entitled *In larger freedom* where he outlined his vision for a comprehensive and extensive reform of the UN. Among other things, this resulted in the creation, in March 2006, of a new Human Rights Council, to replace the old Commission on Human Rights, with the aim of strengthening the world body's machinery to promote and protect fundamental rights, and deal with major human rights offenders.

After completing two terms as the UN Secretary-General in 2007, Annan became involved in several organisations focusing on global and African issues, including his own Kofi Annan Foundation. He is currently the chair of The Elders, a group of independent world leaders convened by Nelson Mandela in 2007, who aim to work together for peace and human rights.





OSWALDO JOSÉ PAYÁ SARDIÑAS (1952-2012) a Cuban dissident, is best known as the founder of the Varela Project, a campaign in support of a referendum on laws guaranteeing civil rights, free pluralist elections, the release of all political prisoners, and economic and social reforms in Cuba.

An active reformer since youth, he was persecuted and condemned on several occasions for his criticism of Fidel Castro's policies and injustices, but that did not stop him from founding, in 1988, the Christian Liberation Movement, which became one of the largest opposition movements in Cuba.

In 1997 he drew up the ambitious Varela Project containing the first legal steps towards the free participation in the political and economic life of Cuba for its inhabitants via freedom of speech and assembly and with the release of all political prisoners. Though supported by thousands of Cubans, Payá's Varela Project was blocked by a counter initiative from the Cuban authorities making permanent the socialist nature of the Cuban state, an initiative the authorities claimed was approved by a plebiscite. Many of the Varela project campaigners were imprisoned during the Black Spring of 2003, but Payá did not give up.

In 2008, he presented a draft law on amnesty for political prisoners to the national assembly, and in 2010, he launched the *Foro Todos Cubanos*.

Payá was never imprisoned, but his family say he received various death threats. On 22 July 2012, he lost his life in a controversial car crash in Cuba. EP President Martin Schulz, in homage, stated his belief that 'Oswaldo Payá's ideas will survive as his work and commitment have inspired a generation of Cuban activists who were following his example in promoting political freedom and human rights.'

The Christian Liberation Movement continues to call for a clarification of the circumstances of his death. His family have rejected the official version of a car accident. His daughter, Rosa María, has pled for an impartial international inquiry into her father's death before the UN Human Rights Council and other international organisations including the EP, and denounced the persecution and threats inflicted on the family by state security agents. In 2013, Payá's family moved to the US, in what they said was a temporary move.

Payá's daughter represented him at the Sakharov Prize 25th Anniversary Conference at the European Parliament in 2013, the outcome declaration of which called for 'an inquiry into the death of Sakharov Prize laureate 2002 Oswaldo Payá'.

IZZAT GHAZZAWI (1952-2003) was a Palestinian writer and academic whose writings focused on the troubles and sufferings brought about by the Israeli occupation of the Palestinian territories and his own personal tragedy. His life was marked by the killing of his 16-year-old son Ramy, by the Israeli army in 1993. Ramy was killed in the courtyard of his school as he went to help a wounded friend. Despite his heartbreak, Ghazzawi always continued to seek cultural and political dialogue with the Israeli people.

Born of refugee parents into a large family that had fled to the West Bank in 1948, Ghazzawi wrote his first play at the age of 13. He gained a Master's in American-British literature and lectured at Birzeit University. He chaired the Union of Palestinian Writers, wrote novels and short stories, was a literary critic and organised and chaired the first International Writers' Conference in Palestine in 1997.

Ghazzawi was also a member of the executive bureau of the Palestinian Council for Justice and Peace. He was imprisoned and punished on a number of occasions by the Israeli authorities for his political activities. He found hardest to endure during these times the separation from his family, particularly his six children, whom he could only see two at a time for 30 minutes a fortnight.

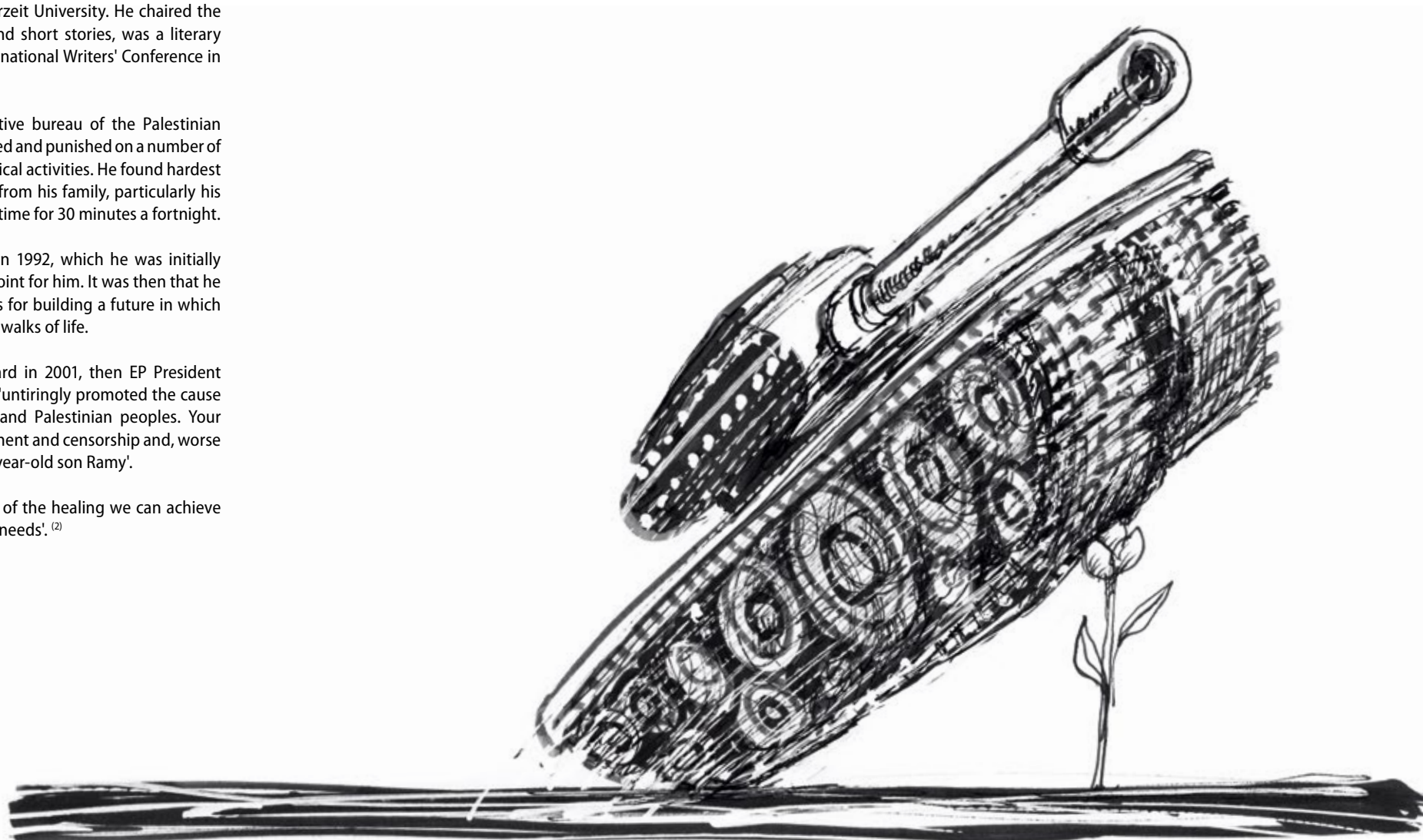
A meeting with Israeli writers in Jerusalem in 1992, which he was initially apprehensive about, proved to be a turning point for him. It was then that he began to see his Israeli colleagues as partners for building a future in which Palestinians and Israelis would be equals in all walks of life.

Presenting Ghazzawi his Sakharov Prize award in 2001, then EP President Nicole Fontaine paid him homage for having 'untiringly promoted the cause of peace and dialogue between the Israeli and Palestinian peoples. Your ardour has never slackened, despite imprisonment and censorship and, worse than all else, the irreplaceable loss of your 16-year-old son Ramy'.

At the European Parliament, Ghazzawi spoke of the healing we can achieve when we are 'able to understand each other's needs'.⁽²⁾

Shortly after his son's death, Ghazzawi, together with the Israeli writer Abraham B. Yehoshua and the Italian photographer Oliviero Toscani, published *Enemies*, a book on relations between Palestinians and Israelis which became hugely successful.

Izzat Ghazzawi died on 4 April 2003.



⁽²⁾ 25 years of the Sakharov Prize: the European Parliament upholding freedom of thought, Archive and Documentation Centre, European Parliament, Cardoc Journals, No 11, November 2013, p. 112.

An Israeli born in 1949, **NURIT PELED-ELHANAN** is a university lecturer and author. In 1997 her 13-year-old daughter Smadar was killed in a suicide attack carried out by a Palestinian in West Jerusalem.

'My little girl was killed just because she was an Israeli by a young man who was oppressed and exasperated to the point of suicide and murder just because he was a Palestinian. Both are the victims of the Israeli occupation of Palestine. Now their bloods are mixed on the stones of Jerusalem that have always been indifferent to blood', Peled said on the death of her daughter. She did not allow Israeli authorities, including the prime minister, to attend the funeral ceremony.

Herself the daughter of the famous general Matti Peled, renowned for his pacifist and progressive campaigning, Nurit Peled has become a symbol of those in Israel who fight against the occupation and for the freedom of Palestine.

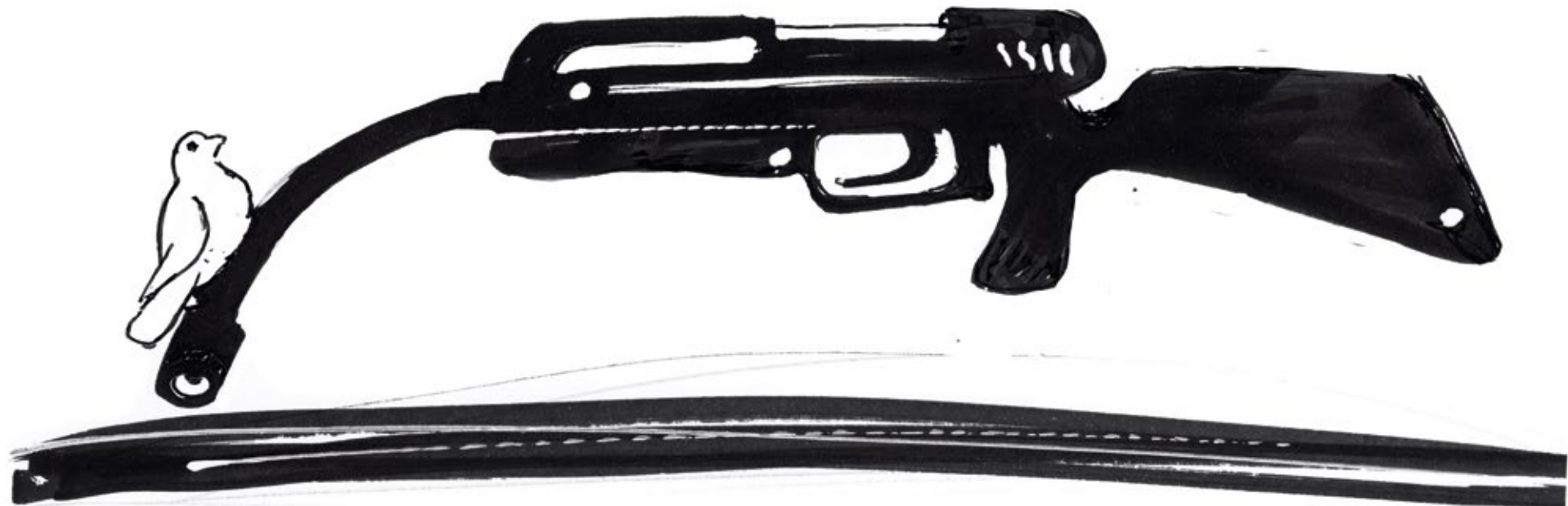
She is also very committed to changing the mentality of the Israeli society, in particular the young generation. Her latest publication, entitled *Palestine in Israeli school books: Ideology and propaganda in education*, draws attention to an education in Israeli schools that appears to lean towards racism rather than tolerance and diversity. She has been strong in her criticism of world leaders including George Bush, Tony Blair and Ariel Sharon for 'infecting their respective citizens with blind fear of the Muslims'.

Nurit Peled-Elhanan is a co-initiator of the Russell tribunal, an international people's tribunal established in 2009 to examine the role and complicity of third parties in the violations of international law committed by Israel against the Palestinian people.

She is engaged in defending the rights of Palestinians and urges support for the boycott, divestment and sanctions campaign against Israel until it complies with international law and respects Palestinian rights.

Peled is particularly vocal in her defence of Palestinian children and their right to education and has advocated strongly on their behalf at Sakharov Prize Network events and in meetings with the European Parliament, including in Jerusalem. In the aftermath of the 2014 Gaza War, Peled, in a passionate and emotional speech at a human rights subcommittee hearing on the situation of children in armed conflicts, accused Israel of perpetrating a holocaust on Palestinians in Gaza.

Together with fellow Sakharov laureates Salima Ghezali and Taslima Nasreen, Peled has also published an opinion calling on 'leaders and representatives of the EU, to actively and openly encourage the Palestinian Authority to join the ICC'.



DOM ZACARIAS KAMWENHO is Archbishop Emeritus of Lubango in Angola and a peace activist who played a pivotal role in the peace process that led to the end of the Angolan civil war in 2002.

Born in Chimbundo in 1934 and ordained a Roman Catholic priest in 1961, he was made Archbishop of Lubango in 1995.

Kamwenho was in the vanguard of a movement that, by the late 1990s, through his efforts and those of other church and civil society leaders, inspired among the Angolan people an increasing awareness of the need to fight for peace and human rights and foster an 'inclusive national reconciliation'.

He was president of the Inter-Church Committee for Peace in Angola founded in 2000. This ecumenical body brought together the Catholic Episcopal Conference of Angola and São Tomé, of which he was also president, the Evangelical Alliance of Angola and the Council of Christian Churches of Angola.

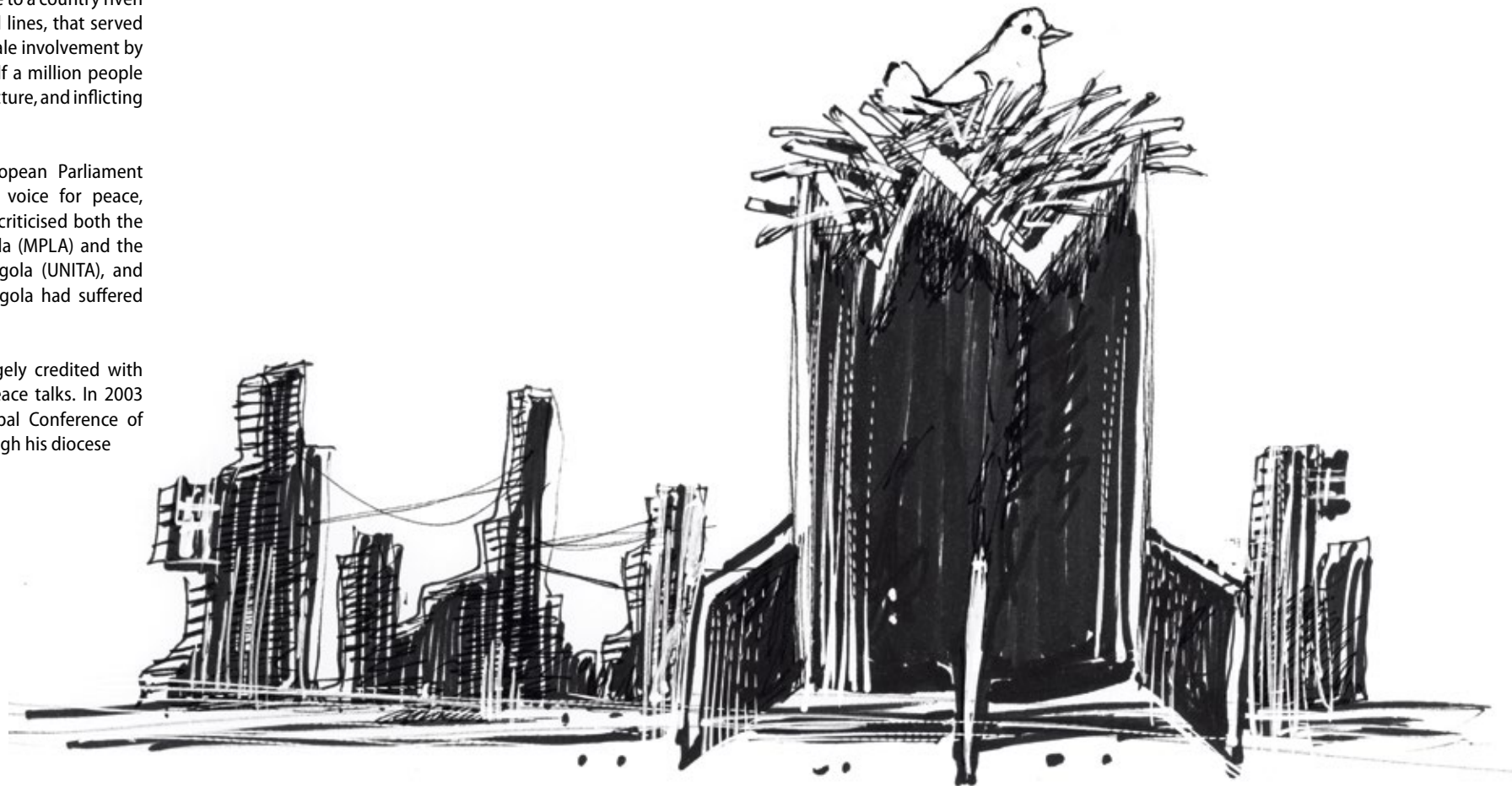
Kamwenho mediated between warring sides to bring peace to a country riven by 27 years of on-off conflict along ethnic and ideological lines, that served as a surrogate battleground for the Cold War with large-scale involvement by Cuba, South Africa, the USSR and the US, leaving over half a million people dead and millions displaced, devastating Angola's infrastructure, and inflicting grievous damage on its economy and institutions.

In awarding him the Sakharov Prize in 2001, the European Parliament recognised Kamwenho's firm, unbiased and persisting voice for peace, democracy and human rights for Angola as he fearlessly criticised both the governing Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) and the rebel National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), and mediated between them for an end to the civil war Angola had suffered through since independence from Portugal in 1975.

Kamwenho and other religious and civil leaders are largely credited with bringing about the ceasefire in 2002 and the ensuing peace talks. In 2003 Archbishop Kamwenho resigned as chair of the Episcopal Conference of Angola and São Tomé but continued to work actively through his diocese

and the Ecumenical Committee for Peace in Angola for the realisation of democracy, respect for fundamental freedoms and human rights, the implementation of the rule of law and lasting national reconciliation.

In 2009, having reached the retirement age of 75, Kamwenho became archbishop emeritus. He continues to work in his community, addressing corruption, a lack of ethical values and other challenges stemming from the legacy of war, and participates in Sakharov Prize Network conferences.



¡BASTA YA! was a citizens' initiative against terrorism and political violence in Spain's Basque Country, formed in 1999 by intellectuals, human rights and political activists, trade-unionists and other civil society representatives.

¡BASTA YA!, whose name translates to Enough is Enough, was a reaction to the terrorism of the Basque terrorist group ETA and the threat to basic civil liberties and human rights posed particularly to 'non-nationalist' citizens by it and by other more moderate but increasingly more nationalistic and xenophobic parties.

The members of ¡BASTA YA! came from differing ideological backgrounds, but all engaged to oppose terrorism of any sort, to support all victims of terrorism and political violence and to defend the rule of law, the Spanish Constitution and the statute of autonomy of the Basque Country.

¡BASTA YA! enjoyed unprecedented nationwide support in 1999 and 2000 as national outrage grew against ETA, that by then had killed hundreds of people in different parts of Spain, and victimised thousands across the Basque Country with intimidation, extortion, blackmail and attacks, including on families and property.

The movement was opposed to all forms of nationalism and criticised also the Basque Country authorities for nationalistic policies and rhetoric. ¡BASTA YA! brought a flood of thousands to the streets of San Sebastian, calling for adequate policies to defeat terrorism and for the respect of the constitution in two large demonstrations in 2000.

¡BASTA YA! was recognised by the European Parliament that same year for its active campaigning for human rights, democracy and tolerance in the Basque Country. ¡BASTA YA! was the first, and to date only, winner of the Sakharov Prize from within the European Union's borders.

With this prize ¡BASTA YA! was not only given recognition for its work, but the terrorist problem in the Basque Country began to be discussed as a European, not only Spanish, problem. ¡BASTA YA! gained the support of international human rights organisations and other countries listed ETA as a terrorist group.

In recent years, ¡BASTA YA! has changed its nature as the situation in Spain has evolved, with ETA declaring a definitive cessation of its armed activity in 2011.

¡BASTA YA!'s leaders, including spokesperson Fernando Savater, who represented it at the European Parliament and Sakharov network conferences, created in 2007 the political party *Unión Progreso y Democracia*, led by Rosa Díez, on a platform of support for the unity of Spain. This became the fourth-largest party in the Spanish Congress after the 2011 elections and is also currently represented at the European Parliament. ¡BASTA YA!'s members believe its ideas and spirit live on in the fight for human rights now led by others.



Known as the 'Mandela of Timor', XANANA GUSMÃO⁽³⁾ led the struggle for Timor-Leste's freedom and self-determination. He was the first president of the first new nation of this century and served also as Timor-Leste's prime minister.

Gusmão's political career began with the prospect of independence for Timor-Leste from its colonial power Portugal, but it took over two decades of hard struggle for an independent Timor-Leste⁽⁴⁾ to be born, as just days after its declaration of independence following the unilateral Portuguese withdrawal in 1975, Indonesia invaded the country crushing resistance with force. The violence following the invasion cost an estimated 200 000 lives, but failed to break the people's determination to resist.

Known by his *nom de guerre* Kay Rala, Gusmão joined the Revolutionary Front for an Independent Timor-Leste (FRETILIN) and was elected by its first national conference as leader of the resistance and commander-in-chief of the National Liberation Armed Forces of Timor-Leste (FALINTIL).

As resistance leader, Gusmão conceived and implemented a policy of national unity, the success of which led to the formation of the National Council of Timorese Resistance (CNRT) where Gusmão managed to bring together the various political and social groupings.

Gusmão was taken prisoner by Indonesian forces in 1992, a year after their massacre of over 250 people taking part in a memorial procession in Dili finally captured the world's attention. He was imprisoned on charges of separatism in Indonesia, where he studied Bahasa Indonesia, the official language of Indonesia, English and law. He also wrote poetry and painted artworks that were sold to finance the resistance he continued to lead.

Together with his vice-president in the CNRT Jose Ramos Horta, Xanana Gusmão sought to secure a peaceful solution to the conflict by crafting a peace plan including a UN-supervised referendum on the future of Timor-Leste. He was visited in jail by a number of high-level personalities, including South African President Nelson Mandela and UN and US representatives, as he remained key to an end to the war with Indonesia.

Gusmão had just been released from prison following huge international pressure, having served 7 years of his 20-year jail term, when the EP awarded him the Sakharov Prize in 1999, recognising him as the leader of the Timorese resistance and symbol of his people's fight for freedom.

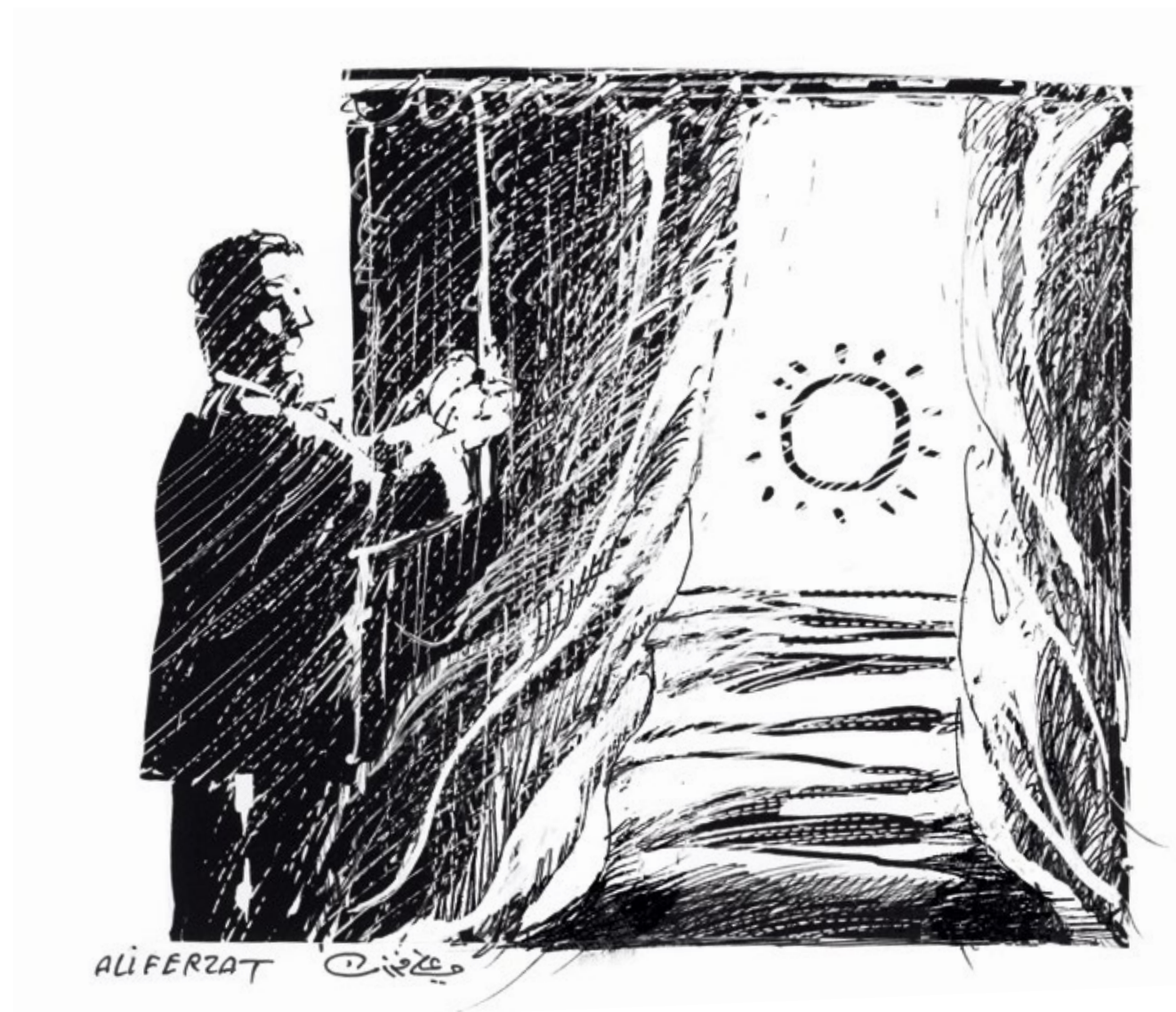
When freed – shortly after the UN-sponsored referendum of 30 August, in which 80 % of the population of Timor-Leste voted for independence thus heralding the end of the Indonesian occupation and the beginning of the transitional process led by the UN – Gusmão promised 'to do everything in my power to bring peace to East Timor and my people'.

⁽³⁾ Xanana Gusmão legally changed his name from Jose Alexandre Gusmão to Kay Rala Xanana Gusmão. Kay Rala was his *nom de guerre* during the struggle for Timor-Leste's freedom and self-determination and Xanana was a name he was known by in his youth.

⁽⁴⁾ East Timor is Timor-Leste since June 2012.

In April 2002, Gusmão won the first free presidential elections held in East Timor with huge popular support. On 20 May 2002 then UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan officially declared the Democratic Republic of Timor-Leste an independent state and Gusmão served it as President until May 2007. In 2008, whilst serving as prime minister, he survived an assassination attempt. He resigned the premiership in February 2015, wishing to make space for a younger generation of leaders, and currently serves as Minister for Planning and Strategic Investment.

He has engaged with the European Parliament in Sakharov Prize Network action.



IBRAHIM RUGOVA (1944-2006) was a writer, academic and politician dedicated to a peaceful struggle for the independence of ethnic Albanians in Kosovo. He served as the first president of Kosovo.

Born in Cerrca, Kosovo, in what was then Yugoslavia, Rugova studied in Pristina and at the Sorbonne. He taught literature, authored ten books and also presided the Kosovo Writers' Union, which was at the heart of growing ethnic Albanian opposition to Serbian rule in Kosovo. In 1989, he founded the Democratic League of Kosovo, the first political party to challenge directly the communist regime, as Yugoslav leader Slobodan Milosevic revoked Kosovo's autonomous region status and imposed Serbian control. In the face of increasing oppression, Rugova headed the political movement that declared the self-proclaimed Republic of Kosovo. He was elected president in 1992 of a republic recognised only by Albania. In the face of the subsequent Serbian crackdown, he launched a system of education, hospitals and taxation for the ethnic Albanian population in Kosovo parallel to the Serbian system.

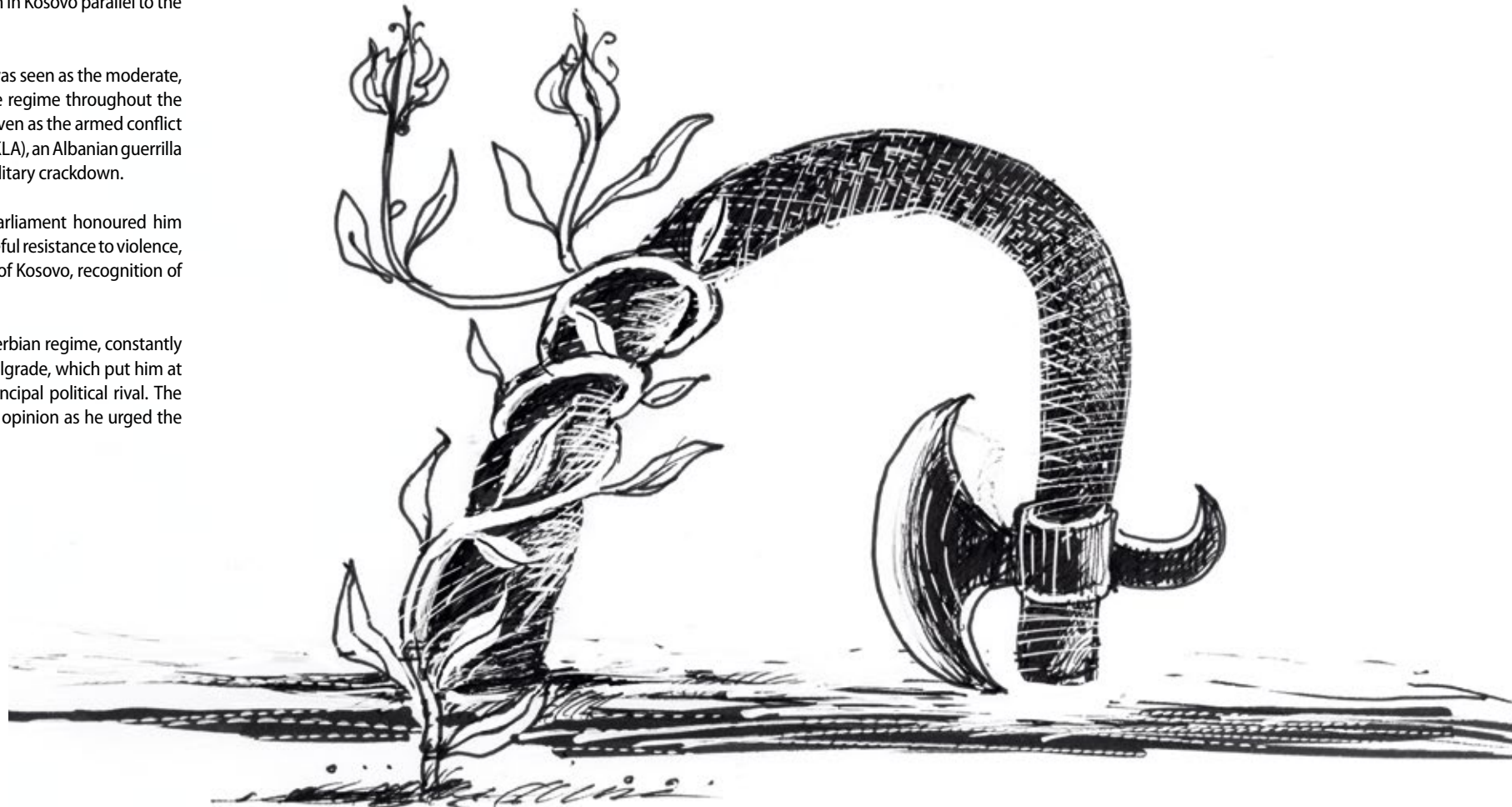
The soft-spoken politician with his trademark silk scarf was seen as the moderate, intellectual face of Albanian opposition to the Belgrade regime throughout the 1990s. He secured a second term as president, in 1998, even as the armed conflict between Serbian units and the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA), an Albanian guerrilla movement, escalated, precipitating a major Yugoslav military crackdown.

Rugova, accepting the Sakharov Prize the European Parliament honoured him with in 1998 as a man committed to the principle of peaceful resistance to violence, viewed it as representing 'for me and for all the people of Kosovo, recognition of our peaceful struggle and our sacrifices'.

He remained firm in his non-violent opposition to the Serbian regime, constantly reiterating his willingness to enter into dialogue with Belgrade, which put him at odds with the more nationalistic Adem Demaçi, his principal political rival. The 'Gandhi of the Balkans' endeavoured to win over world opinion as he urged the international community to offer Kosovo protection.

Rugova, as chief of Kosovo's negotiators, signed the internationally-brokered Rambouillet peace agreement on 18 March 1999, but Belgrade's refusal to endorse it led to the launch of NATO bombing attacks. As Kosovo came under UN administration, Rugova, having briefly left Kosovo for Italy in 1999, returned to Kosovar politics, sharing power with KLA leaders now at the helm of the Democratic Party. In 2002, Rugova was re-elected president and served till his death from lung cancer in 2006, just days before negotiations on Kosovo's final status were due to start.

To many, he was the 'Father of the Nation'.



SALIMA GHEZALI is an Algerian journalist, and writer and activist for women's rights and democracy in Algeria. Her courageous pacifist stance during the Algerian civil war came under fire by both government and Islamists, and the Algerian weekly *La Nation* of which she was editor-in-chief was closed down by the authorities.

Currently the President of the Association for the Emancipation of Women, Ghezali became involved in the Algerian women's movement in the 1980s, as a founder member of Women of Europe and the Maghreb and as editor-in-chief of *NYSSA*, the women's publication she herself founded.

A teacher turned journalist, in 1994 she became editor-in-chief of the French-language *La Nation*, the most widely-read weekly in Algeria. *La Nation*, until its closure in 1996, was the only paper to criticize both government and Islamist groups and advocate political dialogue, human rights and freedom of expression for all sides engaged in the conflict – an 11-year civil war begun in 1991 after the first multi-party elections in Algeria since independence were cancelled due to fears of an Islamist win – which cost the lives of tens of thousands.

Ghezali was part of a human rights community 'that seemed small and powerless' in Algeria when her courageous defence of freedom of speech and her work for women's rights were recognised by the European Parliament in 1997. Ghezali, when accepting the Sakharov Prize, turned a spotlight on the dramatic situation in Algeria after years of war, with millions of men, women and children living in fear as 'a double terror denies them the first freedom, the freedom to live'.

Ghezali resumed the publication of *La Nation* online in 2011 as the Arab Spring awakenings shook neighbouring countries, as, she wrote, 'we cannot be indifferent to the dynamics of the young people in the Arab world who are fighting for their dignity and freedom. We cannot be indifferent to what is happening in our country.'

We want the Algerian people to be happy, because they deserve it. We want strong institutions, better human resources in a real democracy and the rule of law'. Since 2000 Ghezali has also been politically engaged as a member of the *Front des Forces Socialistes* (FFS, Socialist Forces Front) and advisor to historical FFS leader Hocine Aït Ahmed. Together with fellow laureates Nurit Peled and Taslima Nasreen, she has published an opinion calling on 'leaders and representatives of the EU, to actively and openly encourage the Palestinian Authority to join the ICC'.

Salima Ghezali is engaged with Parliament and the Sakharov Prize Network in the defence of human rights, particularly freedom of expression.



WEI JINGSHENG The 'father of the Chinese democracy movement' lives in exile but remains an active leader of the opposition to the Communist regime in China.

Wei is the author of *The courage to stand alone: letters from prison and other writings*, articles he initially wrote in prison on toilet paper, which are now published in more than a dozen languages.

He was sentenced to jail twice for 29 years in total and served more than 18 years for his activities and writings in support of democracy, including his groundbreaking 1978 essay *The fifth modernisation: democracy*. This began as a signed wall poster on the Democracy Wall in Beijing, on which workers, artists and intellectuals exercised their freedom of expression. Wei's essay caused a sensation, not only because it openly assaulted the 'people's democratic dictatorship' of the Communists, but also because he dared to sign it with both his real name and contact information.

In *Exploration*, an underground magazine Wei founded and edited, he wrote *Democracy or a new dictatorship?* in 1979 identifying Deng Xiaoping, then Communist leader, as the new dictator. Arrested within days, Wei was convicted of 'counter-revolution' and jailed for 15 years. He was on death row, then in solitary confinement, then in forced labour camps under strict supervision till 1993, when he was released due to China's decision to apply for the 2000 Olympic Games.

Wei was arrested a second time within 6 months of his release, tried again, convicted of 'counter-revolution' and sentenced to another 14 years.

At the time of his Sakharov Prize award in 1996 he was still in prison. In 1997, after overwhelming international pressure, including from then US President Bill Clinton, Wei was taken from his cell and promptly deported to the United States. He maintains he was not freed, but that his exile is, rather, further punishment. From Washington, Wei leads the Wei Jinsheng Foundation, the Overseas Chinese Democracy Coalition and the Asia Democracy Alliance, continuing to be a strong voice for democracy and human rights in China.

He has been actively involved in Sakharov Prize Network conferences, urging European and international support for the liberation of jailed human rights defenders in China.



In 1991 **LEYLA ZANA** became the first Kurdish woman elected to the Turkish parliament, later serving over 10 years in prison for her pro-Kurdish political activism. In June 2015 she again made history as a member of the first pro-Kurdish political party to win representation in the Turkish assembly, with an agenda of peace and inclusion of minorities. She was due to stand for election in November 2015 in fresh elections that were called after a government failed to form on time.

Born in 1961, she married the mayor of Diyarbakir at the age of 14; Mehdi Zana later became a political prisoner during the military rule in the 1980s. Leyla Zana was imprisoned for 2 months after leading a protest of prisoners' families who were prohibited from visiting their relatives in prison. During this time she learnt Turkish for her visits to her husband in prison, as security forces meted out beatings for speaking Kurdish. Starting school at age 23, Zana earned primary and secondary diplomas in 3 years and eventually took on an unsolicited leadership role.

Overwhelmingly elected to the Turkish assembly in 1991, she said at her swearing-in ceremony in Kurdish, when speaking it in the public arena was still a criminal offence: 'I take this oath for the brotherhood between the Turkish people and the Kurdish people'. For this she was stripped of parliamentary immunity, and in 1994 she was sentenced to 15 years of incarceration for 'treason and membership in the armed Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK)'. At her sentencing, Zana asserted: 'I don't accept any of these accusations, and if they were true I'd assume responsibility for them, even if it cost me my life. I have defended democracy, human rights and brotherhood between peoples and I'll keep doing so for as long as I live.' In 1995 she was chosen by the European Parliament (EP) for the award of the Sakharov Prize as a symbol of the peaceful struggle for human rights and human dignity of the Kurdish people.

In 2004 Zana was finally able to address the EP upon her release from prison on a technicality following a European Court of Human Rights ruling and international pressure.

Zana has since had various court cases brought against her but has not served further jail time. In 2014 the Supreme Court of Appeals found evidence of Zana's alleged membership of the PKK to be 'not credible'.

In 2009 she was handed a 5-year ban from joining any political party but was nevertheless reelected as an independent in 2011. Once her ban expired in 2014 she joined the Peoples' Democratic Party (HDP), which in the June 2015 elections became the first pro-Kurdish party to overcome the 10% threshold for parliamentary representation.

Zana was actively involved in the peace negotiations that led PKK leader Abdullah Öcalan to make his historic call in 2013 for the party to move from armed resistance to democratic political struggle after three decades of conflict. Zana urged an end to the killings as the cease-fire unravelled in the run-up to fresh elections in 2015.

Leyla Zana actively engages with the European Parliament and the Sakharov Prize Network.



TASLIMA NASREEN The exile Bangladeshi writer relocated to the United States in 2015 following death threats by Al-Qaeda extremists linked to the brutal killings of three secular bloggers in Bangladesh in the first half of 2015.

Taslima Nasreen had been living in exile in India prior to this move, driven from her country by religious extremists because of her writings and her secular views.

Born in Bangladesh in 1962, Taslima Nasreen started writing when she was 13, and is known for her powerful works on the oppression of women and her unflinching criticism of religion, despite her forced exile and the multiple fatwas calling for her death. She is an award-winning author whose writings have been translated into 30 different languages.

Also a physician, secular humanist and human rights activist, Nasreen feels her Bengali identity strongly. However, because of her thoughts and ideas some of her books are banned in Bangladesh, and she herself is banned from Bengal. Prior to her move to the US, she had been living in New Delhi as she was also forced out of the West Bengal part of India, which she regards as her second home, in 2011, by a fatwa issued by Kolkata clerics.

When she won the 1994 Sakharov Prize, she had already sought refuge in Europe, living in exile in France and then in Sweden. In her acceptance speech, she said she came from a part of the world where social tensions and human difficulties were unbearable and, as a writer, she could not close her eyes to the daily suffering and starvation.

A campaigner against extremism in all religions, Nasreen has engaged with Parliament and the Sakharov Prize Network on freedom of expression and belief, and urged support for the secular movements in Bangladesh to counteract the rise of Islamic fundamentalism. Together with fellow Sakharov laureates Nurit Peled and Salima Ghezali, Nasreen has also published an opinion calling on 'leaders and representatives of the EU, to actively and openly encourage the Palestinian Authority to join the ICC'.

In 2015, she wrote publicly of the need to reform and modernise Islam in the aftermath of the *Charlie Hebdo* attacks in Paris. Taslima Nasreen stated that 'principles of freedom of expression alone won't do any good. One has to know what mantra makes terrorists tick and influences them to take up arms. It is important to stop indoctrination of children with irrational religious faith at home or institutions like madrassas or mosques'.



OSLOBODJENJE is a Bosnian daily newspaper. Its name means liberation, and it represented a lifeline to people caught in the siege of Sarajevo between 1992 and 1996, during the war in the former Yugoslavia, managing to print every single day except one.

Oslobodjenje employed Bosnians, Bosnian Serbs and Bosnian Croats. None left the newspaper when war began, though given the chance. They stayed and fought to maintain the unity and ethnic diversity of their city and their country, giving the lie to the Greater Serbian propaganda that it was impossible for Serbs, Croats, and Muslims to live together in peace.

By the end of the war, of the 75 courageous journalists who risked their lives daily, 5 were killed and 25 wounded. All suffered personal tragedies, including the deaths of their loved ones. They were traumatised by the killing they saw on a daily basis.

Oslobodjenje's offices, located in one of Sarajevo's most dangerous combat zones, were reduced to rubble. The staff moved into a bomb shelter, improvising power generators from old Lada engines and crossing Snipers' Alley to work every day, with gunners so close they could hear them chat and sing.

'Our efforts were directed against death and against the partition or even complete eradication of Bosnia and Herzegovina from the map', said Zlatko Dizdarević, one of the editors at the time.

Oslobodjenje's staff made of their daily work a symbol of their resistance. Journalists delivered newspapers when the drivers found it too dangerous, and when *Oslobodjenje's* network of 700 kiosks throughout Bosnia was burned down, the news pages were cut and faxed, then glued together so citizens in other battered cities like Mostar could read them.

Oslobodjenje's staff was named International Editors of the Year for 1993 by the World press review for their 'bravery, tenacity, and dedication to the principles of journalism'. They went on to win several other journalistic awards. In 2006, the paper was acquired by two of the city's largest businesses, and its website now proclaims that though the organisation has changed a great deal, its 'commitment to liberty and justice remains strong'.

Editor Vildana Selimbegovic represented *Oslobodjenje* at Sakharov Prize Network conferences. She was one of the wartime staff and though marked by the experience, she still continues in her job with dedication.

1993
OSLOBODJENJE



The **MADRES DE PLAZA DE MAYO** were born of the search by Argentinian mothers for their 'disappeared' children during Argentina's Dirty War of 1976-1983, when the military regime abducted, tortured and killed thousands of political opponents, stealing children born to prisoners and obliterating any trace of its victims.

The *Madres*, mainly apolitical housewives, were the ones who dared protest at the height of the dictatorship, and after the fall of the regime, prompted trials for the military officials involved, hundreds of whom have been found guilty. The movement was launched on 30 April 1977, as 14 mothers staged the first protest in the *Plaza de Mayo*, in front of the presidential *Casa Rosada*. Ordered to disperse, pairs of courageous mothers began to walk slowly arm-in-arm around the square. Every week more mothers joined the protests, as more left-wing activists and people accused of collaborating with them were 'disappeared'.

The *Madres*, with their emblematic white scarves, the photos and names of their disappeared children and pleas to have them back, began to attract international attention, so, to stop them, the regime killed three of their founders. In December 1977, Azucena Villaflor de Vincenti, Mary Ponce de Bianco and Esther Ballestrino de Careaga were abducted, tortured then thrown alive from a plane. Other *Madres* were beaten and detained but continued their peaceful resistance. The *Madres* turned their focus to a demand for justice as the massive human rights abuses, a plunging economy and losing the Falklands War brought an end to the military regime in 1983.

The *Madres de Plaza de Mayo* split in 1986 with founding members in both the founding line, which focused on legislation and the recovery of remains, and the association, the more radical and political faction that refused to recognise the children's deaths till all the guilty were brought to justice.

The association was fiercely resisting the end of trials over abuses under the dictatorship when Parliament recognised the *Madres de Plaza de Mayo* with the Sakharov Prize in 1992.

Hebe de Bonafini, who was elected leader of the undivided *Madres* in 1979, and is still leading the association, accepted the Sakharov Prize award for the mothers' children 'who were the first to struggle for freedom'. The *Madres* used the prize's purse to finance their various social initiatives, which include the *Universidad Popular Madres de Plaza de Mayo*, and de Bonafini participated in the founding conference of the Sakharov Prize Network in 2008.

The association and the founding line both support the present Argentinian administration's prosecution of those accused of crimes against humanity. The *Madres* continue their Thursday march in the *Plaza de Mayo*, accompanied by crowds of supporters, and by the questions that remain over the fate of their missing children.

1992

LAS MADRES
DE PLAZA
DE MAYO



ADEM DEMAÇI is a symbol of the struggle for Kosovo's independence. Involved as a senior leader in the country's politics for many years, he was also a long-time political prisoner who spent a total of 28 years in jail for speaking out against the treatment of ethnic Albanians and criticising communism under Yugoslav dictator Josip Broz Tito.

A writer born in Priština, Kosovo, in 1936, Demaçi published his first short stories when he was still in secondary school. He went on to study literature, law, and education and to publish, between 1953 and 1958, around 20 short stories and a novel entitled *The snakes of blood* exploring blood vendettas in Kosovo and Albania, which gained him literary fame. Demaçi's writings led to his first arrest in 1958. Thereafter, up to 1990, Demaçi spent a great deal of his life in prison for fighting for the fundamental rights of the Albanians in Kosovo and making known the bitter truth about the Serbian oppression of the two million Kosovar Albanians. He was given recognition by the human rights community as a prisoner of conscience and became known at the 'Mandela of the Balkans'. After his release, Demaçi took on the leadership of the Council for the Defence of Human Rights and Freedoms.

In 1991, Demaçi was awarded the Sakharov Prize by the European Parliament for his integrity in his opposition to 'an authoritarian and intolerant regime'. Demaçi, accepting the prize as homage to the people of Kosovo, stated that 'freedom of speech is the first, crucial step towards democracy. Without freedom of speech there is no dialogue, without dialogue the truth cannot be established, and without the truth progress is impossible'.

Demaçi, embarked on a political career in 1996, joining the Parliamentary Party of Kosovo and becoming its chair. He called for open protests against the Serbian regime on the grounds that non-violence does not mean passivity. He began a visible, yet non-violent protest campaign against Serbian rule, calling on Kosovars to stand still in the streets for one minute at precisely the same time. As the head of the second-largest party in Kosovo, Demaçi refused to run against his main rival, Ibrahim Rugova, in underground elections scheduled in 1998, feeling it was not appropriate 'to play political games' whilst armed conflict escalated with Serbia as it cracked down on Kosovo.

Demaçi joined the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA) as its political representative in 1998, having come to believe that the policy of non-violence was not achieving freedom for Kosovo's people, who, he held, had a right to resist the harsh repression they were under.

Demaçi left the KLA in 1999 in protest at its decision to attend the Rambouillet peace talks to end the conflict with Serbia. Demaçi criticised the deal proposed for failing to guarantee Kosovo's independence.

He stayed in Kosovo during the conflict sparked anew by the failure of the talks in 1999, and criticised other leaders, including Rugova, for leaving the

country at a historic moment. Demaçi described Kosovo during the war as 'the biggest prison in Europe'. He was himself arrested twice by the Serbian authorities.

After the war, he devoted himself mainly to ethnic reconciliation and the return of refugees. Demaçi became chair of the Committee for Mutual Understanding, Tolerance and Coexistence, representing all ethnic groups in Kosovo, 'because Kosovo belongs to everyone' and 'we want a free, democratic and multi-ethnic society'. He is still a political opinion-leader in Kosovo, advocating, in 2015, change in the electoral system in Kosovo, against a backdrop of resumed talks between Pristina and Belgrade.

Demaçi participated in the founding conference of the Sakharov Prize Network in 2008.





AUNG SAN SUU KYI's leadership of Myanmar/Burma's pro-democracy struggle was recognised by the Sakharov Prize in 1990. Twenty-three years later, on 22 October 2013, Aung San Suu Kyi was finally able to receive the Sakharov Prize for Freedom of Thought in person.

In a solemn ceremony at the European Parliament, addressing the elected representatives of 28 Member States, the long-time political prisoner made a vigorous case for democratic values, emphasising that Myanmar/Burma's transition towards them remains far from complete. The current constitution, she said, ensures a privileged role for the military which must be reformed in order to guarantee the right of citizens of Myanmar/Burma to 'live in accordance with their conscience' and to 'shape their own destiny'. She called for the support of the international community to continue to aid the development of democracy and human rights in Myanmar/Burma, and acknowledged the European Parliament's longstanding support for her cause.

Daughter of Aung San, a national hero of independent Myanmar/Burma who was assassinated when she was two, and Khin Kyi, a prominent diplomat of Myanmar/Burma, Suu Kyi witnessed a brutal crackdown on protesters opposing U Ne Win's military regime when she returned to Myanmar/Burma to nurse her dying mother in 1988. The massacres led Suu Kyi, known as 'the lady', to begin her non-violent struggle for democracy and human rights. In 1990 Suu Kyi led her National League for Democracy to an overwhelming victory in the country's election, but the military junta not only refused to hand over power but cracked down on the League's supporters with arrests and bloody reprisals.

Suu Kyi spent most of the following two decades after 1990 in prison or under house arrest and during this time, the authorities refused her British husband a visa to visit her in Myanmar/Burma, despite the fact that he been diagnosed with cancer. Suu Kyi was urged to leave the country instead, but anticipating that she would not be allowed to return, she refused, and did not see her husband again until his death in 1999. 'The lady' was still under house arrest during Myanmar/Burma's first elections in two decades in 2010, but was released 6 days later.

Suu Kyi stood for a parliamentary by-election in April 2012, in which her party won 43 out of the 45 open seats, making her the leader of the parliamentary opposition, as the country began democratic reforms. As opposition leader, Aung San Suu Kyi campaigned for a change in the country's constitution to enable her to stand for presidential election, from which she is barred by a provision ruling out candidates with strong ties to a foreign national. Suu Kyi's sons are British.

Her bid to stand in elections scheduled for November 2015 was brought to an end by a vote of Myanmar/Burma parliament in June 2015 rejecting proposed constitutional changes, whereas her National League for Democracy was expected to see large gains.

ALEXANDER DUBČEK (1921-1992) was the leading figure in the reform movement known as the Prague Spring in 1968 Czechoslovakia.

The son of a family committed to building socialism in the Soviet Union, in 1939 he secretly joined the Communist Party and the underground resistance against the pro-German Slovak state.

In 1968 Dubček, a devoted communist, became the new First Secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and sought to liberalise the Communist regime. He began a series of reforms, granting the press greater freedom of expression, rehabilitating victims of the Stalin-era political purges, and initiating economic reforms and a wide-ranging democratisation of Czechoslovak political life. However, his reforms aroused concern in Moscow and his endeavours to give socialism a human face were shattered on 21 August 1968 by Warsaw Pact tanks seizing control of Prague. Dubček was kidnapped by the KGB, taken to the Kremlin and briefly detained.

In 1970, he was accused of treason, stripped of office and expelled from the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. For 15 years he lived as an ordinary worker and only returned to political life as a civil rights activist in 1988.

When he was awarded the Sakharov Prize on 22 November 1989, Dubček was still a citizen deprived of his human rights⁽⁵⁾, but just a few days later, on 28 November, Czechoslovakia's Communist Party relinquished its hold on power, toppled by the Velvet Revolution.

'I am convinced that the "breath of freedom" which the Czechs and the Slovaks enjoyed when Dubček was their leader was a prologue to the peaceful revolutions now taking place in Eastern Europe and Czechoslovakia itself', Sakharov wrote in a message to Parliament on 10 December 1989, just 4 days before he died.

After the 1989 revolution in Czechoslovakia, Dubček was elected chair of the federal assembly from 1989 to 1992. Addressing Parliament in January 1990 as he received his Sakharov Prize, Dubček noted that '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' and from Prague Spring to Velvet Revolution, 'the ideals of freedom, sovereignty and social justice remained alive'.

Alexander Dubček died in a car accident in 1992.



⁽⁵⁾ 25 years of the Sakharov Prize: the European Parliament upholding freedom of thought, Archive and Documentation Centre, European Parliament, Cardoc Journals, No 11, November 2013, p. 55.

NELSON ROLIHLAHLA MANDELA 'What counts in life is not the mere fact that we have lived. It is what difference we have made in the lives of others', Nelson Mandela once said.

Nelson Mandela died on 5 December 2013 at his home in Johannesburg, at the age of 95. His passing was met with a worldwide outpouring of grief but also with celebration of a life dedicated to freedom, democracy and equality.

He was the first, along with Soviet dissident Anatoly Marchenko, to be awarded the European Parliament's Sakharov Prize in 1988. At the time he was still being kept under house arrest by South Africa's apartheid regime, which imprisoned him for 27 years for his fight against racism.

Mandela was an active member of the African National Congress, and co-founder of South Africa's first black law firm, who became more militant as apartheid grew more oppressive. He was condemned to life in prison in 1964 and finally released in 1990, as the apartheid regime began to buckle under international and domestic pressure.

Shortly after his release, Mandela spoke to the European Parliament of the need for a just and lasting solution to transform South Africa into a 'united, democratic and non-racial country'. Anything less 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'.

During the 1990s Mandela led South Africa's transition from apartheid to a racially inclusive democracy. As president, from 1994-1999, he championed 'truth and reconciliation' as the path to peace.

On his death in 2013 tributes flowed, including from the Sakharov Prize Network. 'South Africa today loses its father, the world loses a hero. I pay tribute to one of the greatest humans of our time. Nelson Mandela dies today, but his legacy will last forever', EP President and co-chair of the Sakharov Prize Network Martin Schulz said.

'He made us all understand that nobody should be penalised for the colour of his skin, for the circumstances into which he is born. He also made us understand that we can change the world, we can change the world by changing attitudes, by changing perceptions', said Aung San Suu Kyi.

'Nelson Mandela led a singular life of sacrifice, dignity and political genius that brought about the peaceful end of one of the great evils of modern times', Kofi Annan said.



'ANATOLI MARCHENKO's heroic life and his work represent an enormous contribution to the causes of democracy, humanism and justice', Andrei Sakharov himself wrote to Parliament, recommending him for the prize. Anatoli Marchenko (1938-1986) was one of the former Soviet Union's best-known dissidents. He died in Chistopol prison due to a 3-month-long hunger strike for the release of all Soviet prisoners of conscience. Anatoly Marchenko was only 48 years old when he died, but had spent over 20 years in prison and internal exile. The international outcry following his death was a major factor in finally pushing Mikhail Gorbachev, then Secretary-General of the Communist Party, to authorise the large-scale release of political prisoners in 1987.

Marchenko became widely known through *My testimony*, an autobiographical book on his time in Soviet labour camps and prison, which he wrote in 1966. This book, hand-copied by the dissident underground and later published in the West, was the first in which the camps and prisons of the post-Stalin period were discussed, awakening the world to the reality that the *Gulag* had not ended with Stalin.

Its publication landed Marchenko in prison again for anti-Soviet propaganda, but before being re-incarcerated in 1968, he openly became a dissident, publicly denouncing jail conditions for political prisoners. He warned in an open letter to the media in July 1968, that the Soviet Union would not allow the Prague Spring to continue, a prediction which came true in August as Warsaw Pact tanks rumbled into Czechoslovakia, and Marchenko was once again sentenced to prison and then to exile.

The greater the repression though, the stronger Marchenko's will to act. He became one of the founders of the influential Moscow Helsinki Group, together with Andrei Sakharov and current leader Lyudmila Alexeyeva. The group was founded in 1976 to monitor the Soviet Union's compliance with the human rights clauses of the Helsinki Final Act of 1975, the first act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, meant to improve relations between the Communist bloc and the West.

He was arrested and jailed for the last time in 1980 for publishing his final book, *To live like everyone*. He did not live through his 15-year sentence. His death in prison was never publicly investigated.

His widow, Larissa Bogoraz, herself an activist and a Sakharov Prize nominee, received on his behalf the prize awarded to him posthumously in 1988, on the Sakharov Prize's creation by the European Parliament.



EU citizens, according to opinion polls, believe that human rights are the value the European Parliament should defend as a matter of priority. Human rights are embedded in the Union treaties and the Charter of Fundamental Rights, as well as in the EU's external relations policies, including the 2015-2020 Action Plan on Human Rights and Democracy. In its relations with non-EU countries, the Union is bound to work for democracy, the rule of law, the universality and indivisibility of human rights and fundamental freedoms, respect for human dignity, the principles of equality and solidarity, and respect for the principles of the United Nations Charter and international law. The role of the European Parliament is of a key actor in defending and promoting democracy, freedom of speech, fair elections and universal human rights.

The European Parliament not only awards the annual Sakharov Prize, it upholds and defends human rights through resolutions on human rights urgencies, an annual report on human rights and democracy in the world and the European Union's policy on the matter, Parliamentary dialogue and diplomacy with counterparts and authorities in non-EU countries, hearings on human rights issues in its committees, and participation in electoral observation missions worldwide.

In its human rights urgency resolutions adopted at every Strasbourg plenary session, Parliament turns a spotlight and takes position on human rights abuses around the world. It also reiterates its unequivocal positions for the prevention of torture and against the death penalty, for the protection of human rights' defenders, for conflict prevention, for women's and children's rights, for the protection of minorities and for the rights of indigenous peoples and people with disabilities all over the world. The European Parliament's resolutions often serve as the basis for action by the Union's Council of Ministers, the European Commission and the European External Action Service, and at times have an immediate impact on the actions of the governments concerned.

The European Parliament oversees the EU's external relations as its legislative powers allow it to block the conclusion of EU agreements with third states if there are serious breaches of human rights and democratic principles. Parliament insists on strict compliance with the human rights clauses that are systematically included in such agreements. In April 2011, Parliament called for the EU to suspend negotiations for an association agreement between the EU and Syria and, in September 2011, the EU cooperation agreement with Syria was partially suspended 'until the Syrian authorities put an end to the systematic violations of human rights'. The Syrian conflict continues.

In the common foreign and security policy and the development cooperation policy, EU law states as its objective 'to develop and consolidate democracy and rule of law, and respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms'. This objective has been explicitly incorporated largely thanks to the European

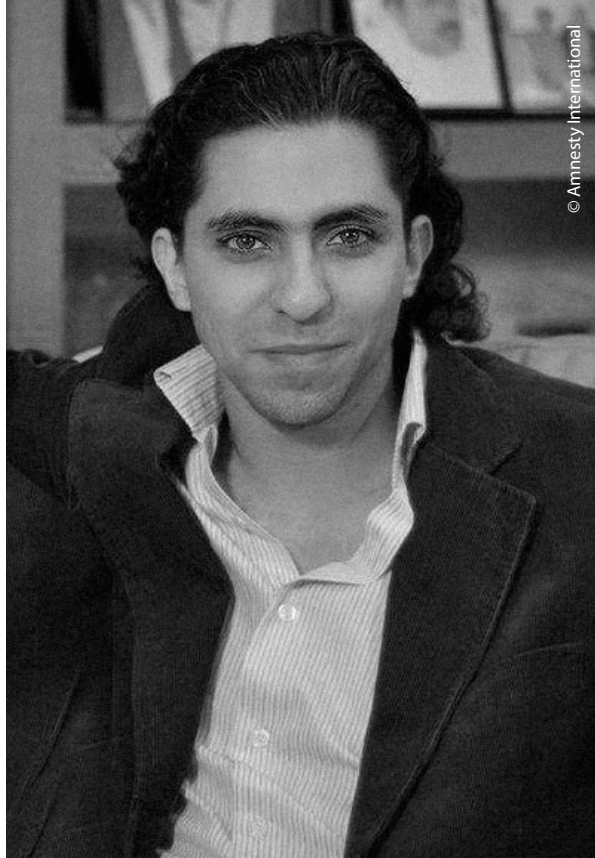
Parliament. Every year Parliament adopts its own report on the annual report from the High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy and Vice-President of the Commission on the main aspects and basic choices of the EU common foreign and security policy (CFSP). In reviewing the CFSP, Parliament is vigilant about human rights, with its latest report on the CFSP calling on the EU to continue building and 'strengthening, together with its partners, the rules-based, pluralistic global political, economic and financial order, including respect for the rule of law and human rights'.

The subcommittee on human rights (DROI) is the body mainly responsible for parliamentary work on human rights and provides a regular forum in which MEPs, international actors, experts and civil society raise human rights issues, and propose and assess EU and international action on them. DROI also regularly joins or invites other EP committees for such discussions. Its reports and resolutions are adopted by its parent Foreign affairs committee. The Development committee also holds regular discussions about human rights in developing countries. Committee delegations address human rights issues also during country visits.

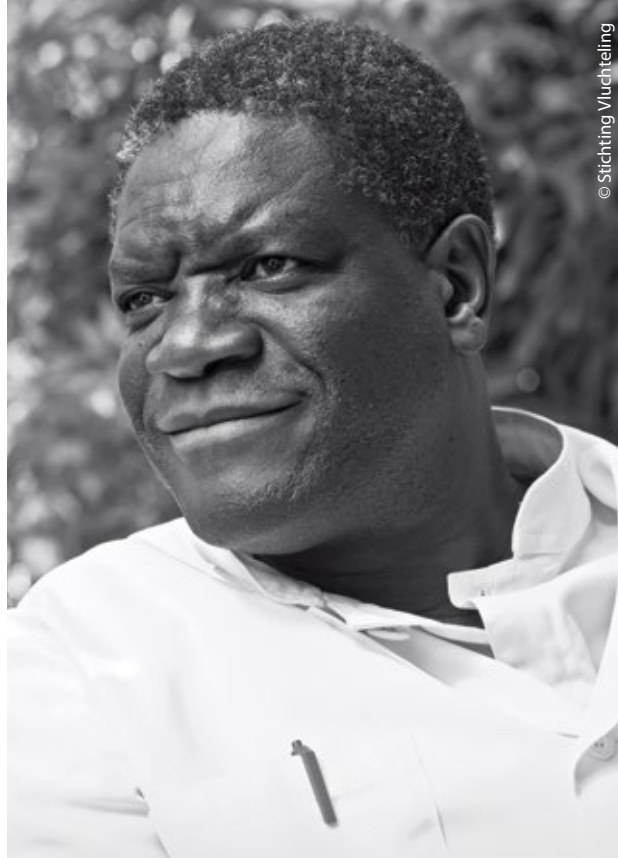
Parliament has also strengthened its role in the defence of human rights by supporting parliamentary democracy and parliamentary political dialogue, with its standing delegations holding hearings with civil society representatives from non-member states and sending ad hoc delegations to assess the human rights situation on the ground. The main forums for political dialogue between the European Parliament and members of non-EU countries are the EU-African, Caribbean and Pacific States party to the Lomé Convention (ACP) Joint Parliamentary Assembly, the Parliamentary Assembly of the Union for the Mediterranean, the Euro-Latin American Parliamentary Assembly and the Euronest Parliamentary Assembly with Eastern European partners.

The European Parliament has used its budgetary powers to substantially increase the resources earmarked for programmes dealing with democracy and human rights and has successfully fought to keep functioning the European Instrument for Democracy and Human Rights (EIDHR), a key financial and policy instrument to support civil society and human rights defenders, particularly those in danger of losing their lives.

Complementing its human rights work, Parliament is committed to supporting free and fair elections in countries outside the EU as they are essential for creating democracy, bringing legitimacy and raising public confidence in institutions. Members of the European Parliament regularly lead and take part in the EU's election observation missions, aiming to ensure that people's right to choose their leaders is fully respected.



© Amnesty International



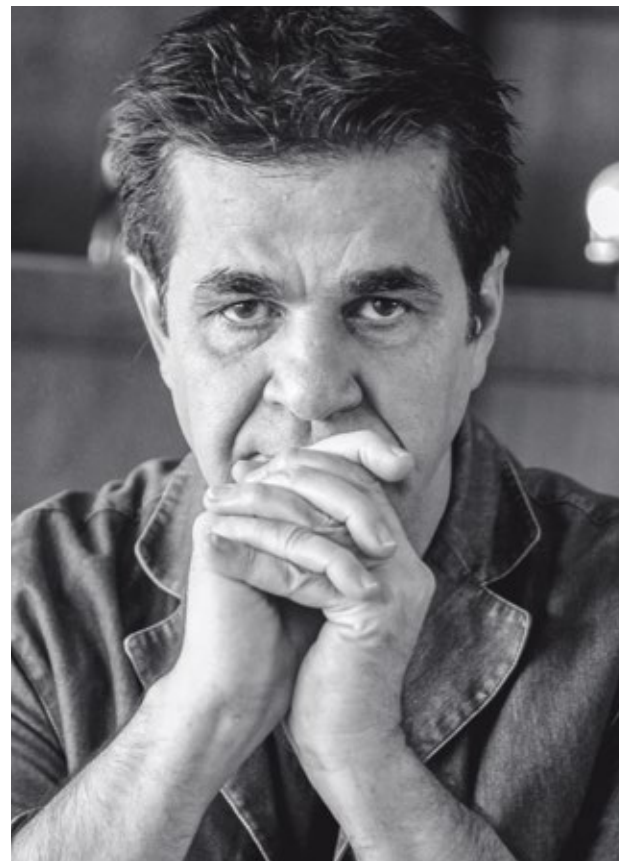
© Stichting Vluchteling

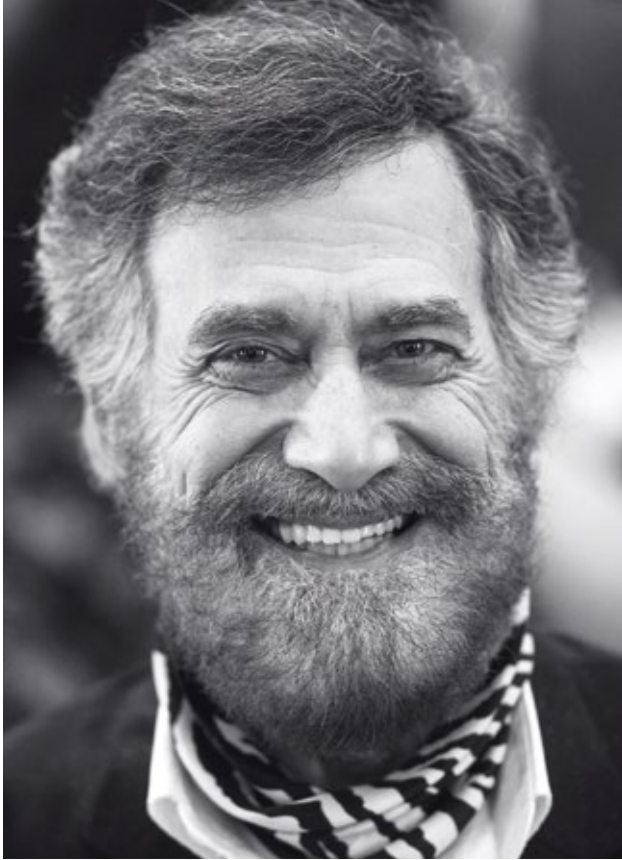


Raif Badawi
Denis Mukwege
Malala Yousafzai



Nasrin Sotoudeh
Jafar Panahi
Mohamed Bouazizi



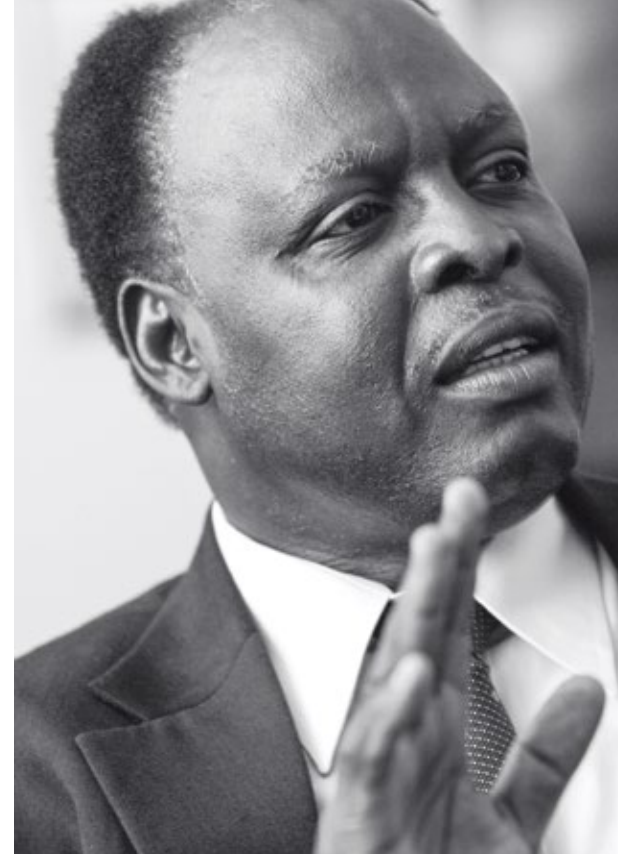


Ali Ferzat
Asmaa Mahfouz



Ahmed El Senussi
Razan Zaitouneh
Guillermo Fariñas





Memorial
Hu Jia
Salih Mahmoud Mohamed Osman



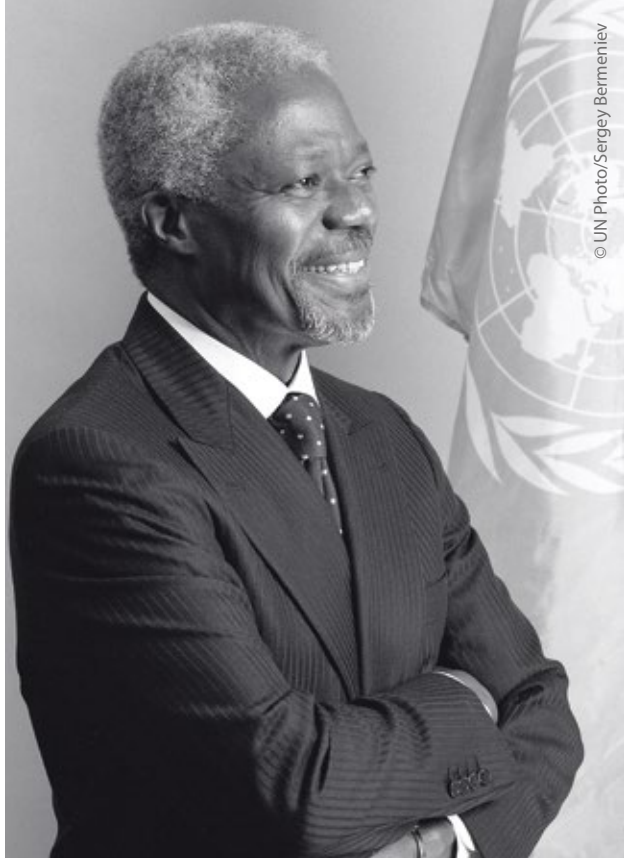
Aliaksandr Milinkevich
Reporters Without Borders
Ladies in White

**REPORTERS
SANS FRONTIERES**
POUR LA LIBERTE DE L'INFORMATION



© Javier GALEANO/AP Photos/EU-EP

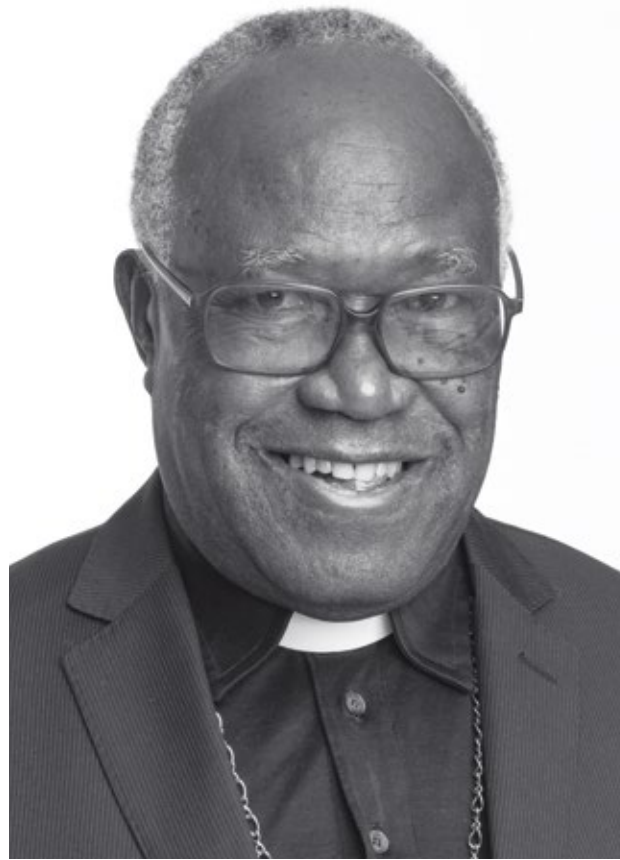
Hauwa Ibrahim
Belarusian Association of Journalists
United Nations Secretary-General
Kofi Annan and all the staff of the UN



© UN Photo/Sergey Bermeiev



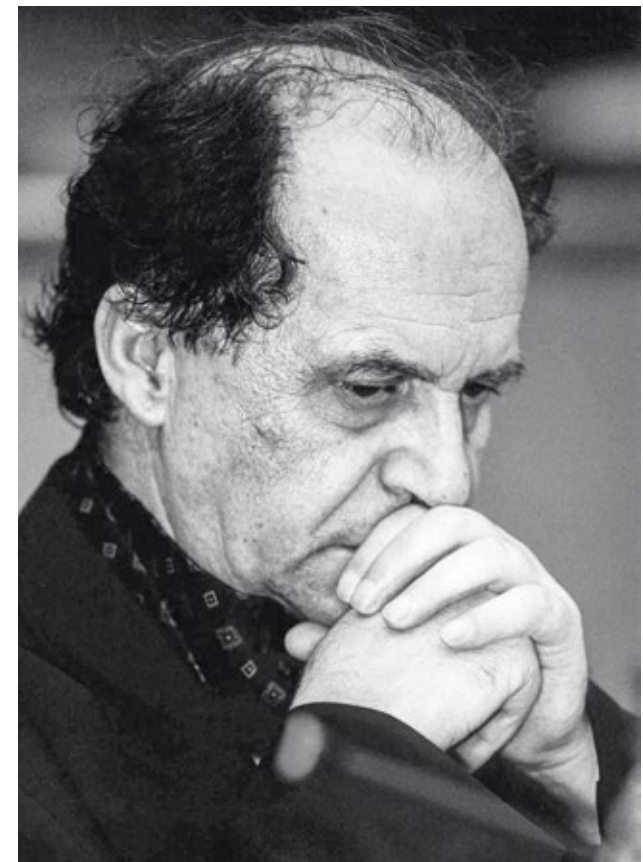
Oswaldo José Payá Sardiñas
Nurit Peled-Elhanan



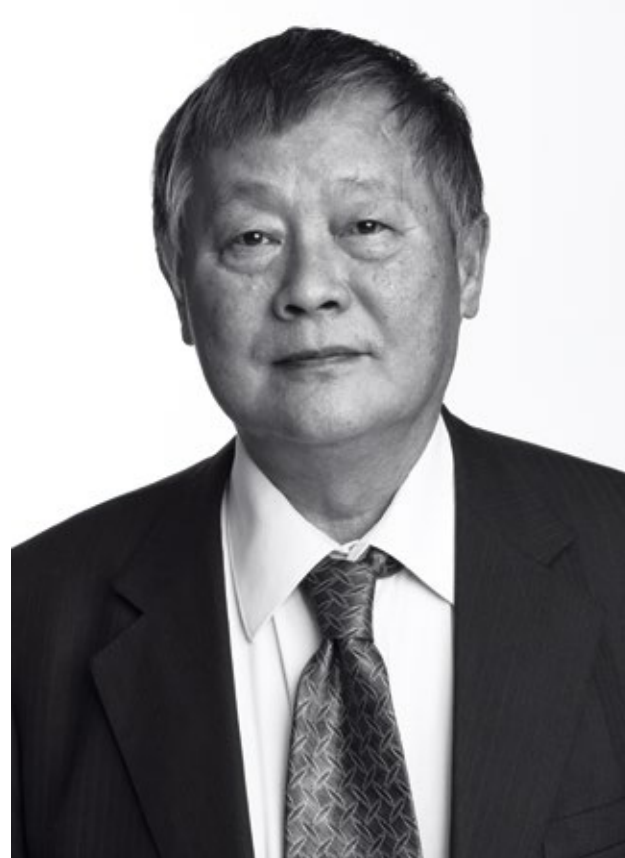
Izzat Ghazzawi
Dom Zacarias Kamwenho
¡BASTA YA!



Xanana Gusmão
Ibrahim Rugova

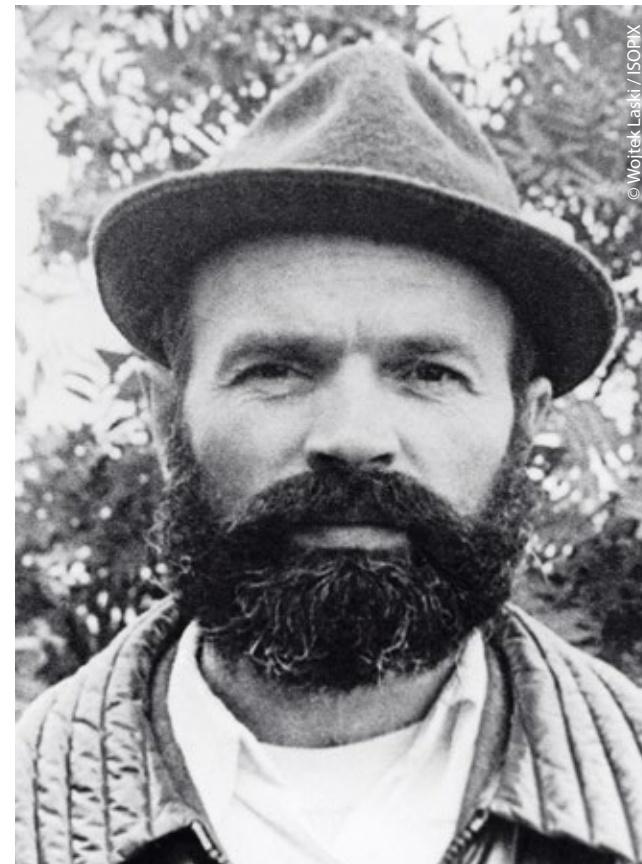


A black and white portrait of a woman with dark, wavy hair. She is resting her chin on her right hand, looking slightly to the right with a gentle smile. She is wearing a dark, textured jacket over a dark top. A small hoop earring is visible in her left ear, and a watch is on her right wrist. The background features a dark surface with several white stars, suggesting a night sky or a decorative backdrop.



Leyla Zana
Taslima Nasreen
Oslobodjenje

Las Madres de Plaza de Mayo
Adem Demaçi
Aung San Suu Kyi



Alexander Dubček
Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela
Anatoli Marchenko

PARLEMENT EUROPEEN | EUROPEES PARLEMENT
Rue Wiertz 60, B-1047 BRUXELLES
Wiertzstraat 60, B-1047 BRUSSEL
T. +32 2 284 2111

PARLEMENT EUROPEEN
Plateau du Kirchberg
L-2929 LUXEMBOURG
T. +352 4300 1

PARLEMENT EUROPEEN
Avenue du Président Robert Schuman 1
F-67070 STRASBOURG CEDEX
T. +33 388 17 4001

For more information visit:
europarl.europa.eu
europarl.europa.eu/sakharov

