



Civil Courage News

Journal of the Civil Courage Prize

Vol. 14, No. 2 • September 2018

For Steadfast Resistance to Evil at Great Personal Risk

Ambassador William J. Burns to Give The Keynote Address at the 2018 CCP Ceremony

Ambassador William J. Burns, President of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, will be the keynote speaker at the Civil Courage Prize ceremony, Thursday, October 18th.

In 2014, he retired after a distinguished 33-year diplomatic career. He holds the highest rank, career ambassador, in the Foreign Service and is only the second serving career diplomat in history to become deputy secretary of state.

Ambassador Burns earned a master's and a doctorate in international relations from Oxford University, where he studied as a Marshall Scholar. He speaks Russian, Arabic and French.

He has received three Presidential Distinguished Service Awards, four honorary doctoral degrees, numerous State Department awards, and the highest civilian honors from the Defense Department and the U.S. intelligence community. His career includes two ambassadorships (Russia and Jordan) and many positions in the State Department, including minister-counselor for political affairs at the U.S. Embassy in Moscow.

During the Obama administration,

continued on page 3



Ambassador William J. Burns

The 2018 Civil Courage Prize Awarded to Russian Opposition Leader Vladimir Kara-Murza

Russian opposition leader Vladimir Kara-Murza has been awarded the 2018 Civil Courage Prize. A journalist, author, and documentary film maker, his mission is for Russia to become a free and democratic country, where the rule of law governs, and human rights are respected.

Kara-Murza is the vice chairman of the Open Russia Movement, an NGO, which promotes civil society and democracy. He is also the Chairman of the Boris Nemtsov Foundation for Freedom, which provides education, freedom of information, and professional development.

Born in Moscow in 1981, Kara-Murza holds B.A. and M.A. degrees in history from Cambridge University. He is a former deputy leader of the People's Freedom Party and was a candidate for the Russian State Duma. He has previously worked as a journalist for Russian broadcast and print media outlets, including *Ekho Moskvy* and *Kommersant*.

He currently writes regular commentary for the *Washington Post*, the *Wall Street Journal*, *World Affairs* and other publications. He has directed two documentary films, *They Chose Freedom* (on the USSR's dissident movement) and *Nemtsov* (on the life of Boris Nemtsov). The author of *Reform or Revolution*, he has contributed to journals on Russian liberalism and politics. He is a recipient of the Magnitsky Human Rights Award, the Sakharov Prize for Journalism as an Act of Conscience, and the Geneva Summit Courage Award.

As a young man, he became a very close friend and colleague of Russian opposition leader Boris Nemtsov. They played a key role in the passage of the Magnitsky Act, a U.S. law that imposes targeted sanctions on Russian human rights violators, prohibiting those responsible for abuses and corruption from receiving visas or holding U.S. assets. The late Senator John McCain, the bill's co-sponsor, became another close friend and requested that Kara-Murza to be a pallbearer at his funeral.

In 2015, Nemtsov was murdered on a bridge in sight of the Kremlin. Three months later, and again in 2017, Kara-Murza was poisoned by an unknown substance he says wasn't an "ordinary weapon...you can't go into a pharmacy and buy it." Both times, he was in a coma with a 5%

continued on page 3



Vladimir Kara-Murza

Letter From The Chairman

At the initiative of President Emeritus Edward Streator we are undertaking a campaign to bring the idea of civil courage to a broader audience. This will include modernizing our outreach vehicles, notably our website, which will have more visual material. We would like to show our laureates in action, ideally including their work, as well as describing them, and show some of our speakers actually delivering their words, as well as printing selections from the texts. We hope that these changes will find favor with a wider public.

We acknowledge with great pleasure a substantial new contribution by the Achelis and Bodman Foundation; also, an increase in their level of annual contribution by the Clarence and Anne Dillon Dunwalke Trust, who are represented by their Chairman, Christopher Allen, for which, again, we are most grateful.

We do not solicit contributions, and thus it is with particular appreciation that we acknowledge these, along with those of our long-time Patrons.

Recent News

The 2009 Civil Courage Prize-winner, Aminatou Haidar, has long been a non-violent champion of self-determination for Western Sahara, which Morocco claimed and occupied after the departure of the Spanish colonial powers in 1975. Since then, Morocco has tried to ensure control over the disputed territory, engaging in a 16-year war with the Polisario Front independence movement, the self-declared Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic. While Mrs. Haidar is not member of the organization, she considers the movement the only representative of the Sahrawi people.

Her goal is for Sahrawis to control their own destiny and consequently, their own resources. Western Sahara sits on vast

Recent News (continued)

mineral deposits, including part of the world's largest phosphate reserve (considered essential for European agriculture), along with rich offshore fishing and possibly oil.

On February 27th, in a decision that the US-Western Sahara Foundation said "reaffirmed the Sahrawi people's inalienable right to self-determination," the European Court of Justice (ECJ) challenged the legitimacy of Morocco's claim to Western Sahara's resources. The Court ruled that a long-standing fisheries agreement between Morocco and the EU does not apply to the waters adjacent to Western Sahara since it does not belong to the "Moroccan fishing zone referred to in the Fisheries Agreement."

The Court further affirmed that the EU-Moroccan agreements could not include Sahrawi resources because citizens of Western Sahara had not been in a position to agree to its conditions. According to the Court's Advocate General, the deals did not "respect the right of the people of Western Sahara to self-determination [and should have been] based on the condition in international law that any wealth gained from exploiting Western Sahara's rich marine life should benefit its people."

The ruling was the second international court decision for the Sahwaris in less than a week, following one by the South African High Court over a disputed cargo of Western Saharan phosphate.

The ECJ cannot establish a new legal status for Sahrawis. For a ruling on self-determination, they may have to go through a lengthy UN process. However, the ECJ ruling is still a step toward recognizing Western Sahara as a sovereign entity.

The Story of The Civil Courage Prize

Many years ago, John Train became concerned with the situation of Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, the great Russian hero and author, whose works helped destroy the prestige of Stalinism. After being exiled, he had moved to rural Vermont, but was living in poverty. Train was able to obtain substantial private support for him, and accompanied him to London, where Prince Philip handed him a check in a Buckingham Palace ceremony.

Train, who delivered the English-language response at the ceremony, realized that there was no word in English for the virtue that Solzhenitsyn so nobly exemplified, but that there should be, perhaps "civil courage," as distinct from valor in war. He resolved to create a prize for this virtue, and asked if Solzhenitsyn would like to receive it, or have it named after him, or be a judge. He chose the last, and acted in that role for the rest of his life. His son has followed him.

The prize, a substantial honorarium and a medal, is "for steadfast resistance to evil at great personal risk." It was first awarded, in London, to Natasa Kandic, sometimes called the Serbian Schindler. Subsequent laureates have come from most parts of the world. One, Anna Politkovskaya, reporting on atrocities in Chechnya, was assassinated in the course of the very work for which she was honored, as were several others who were recognized posthumously, notably Dietrich Bonhoeffer, Giovanni Falcone and Raoul Wallenberg.

Civil courage is essential for a good society. Some few must step forward to challenge iniquity. Our hope is that by introducing the expression "civil courage" into the English language, and by holding up for general admiration heroes of conscience who exemplify it, we can encourage the good side of human nature.

To select the prizewinner, we invite nominations from an international list of distinguished organizations and persons. Our administrative office then checks to see if the nominee truly fills our qualifications. Once the nominations have been researched, they are reviewed by the Trustees and a short list is created, which is then sent on to our Advisors for ranking. Their choices are in turn considered by the Trustees, who make the final decision.

When the laureate has come to New York to receive the medal and the stipend, we introduce him to the press and to other organizations with similar objectives here and in Washington. He will probably make contact with twenty or thirty groups and hundreds of individuals. These encounters will fortify his resolve to continue on his difficult course and will help develop useful allies. It adds prestige to a good person pursuing a difficult goal to be able to invoke such connections. We have found that winning the prize confers a measure of protection to a laureate's life at home.

The hero of conscience is usually solitary: his companions are found in history books. He battles for a cause that even his friends may not understand or believe in, or dare to espouse. The noblest causes may be those that seem hopeless at the time. Civil courage empowers us to face the world alone.

William J. Burns to Give Keynote Address

continued from page 1

he was tapped to help reset relations with Russia. Secretary of State John Kerry lauded his "quiet, head-down, get-it-done diplomacy," adding, "he has more than earned his place on a very short list of American diplomatic legends." President Obama called him "a skilled advisor, consummate diplomat, and inspiration to generations of public servants."

Regarding U.S.-Russian relations, Ambassador Burns observes, "since the end of the Cold War, profound grievances, misperceptions and disappointments have often defined the relationship between the United States and Russia" "...whatever the difficulties in our relations—and, certainly, today we have profound difficulties with the current Russian leadership—it is important to develop a sense of respect for that history, and what Russians as a people have not only endured but also achieved."

He sees the world as "an increasingly complicated place [as] information flows faster and in greater volume than any time before. [The] challenges for professional diplomats are, I think, as great as I've ever seen them." He adds, "I continue to believe that our work matters as much as it ever has. Our ability to add value and to help navigate a very complicated international landscape in the pursuit of our interests, remains enormously significant."

Kara-Murza Fights For Democracy in Russia

continued from page 1

chance to live. The attacks were viewed as politically motivated.

Although he has appeared on 60 Minutes, testified before governments on Russian affairs and advocated cooperation and discussion with many nations, being well-known won't protect him: "If they can kill the leader of the opposition on the bridge next to the Kremlin, they can do anything." Dissidents are viewed as "national traitors," and because of continuing threats, his wife and three children live in the U.S. while he travels back and forth to Russia.

Senator McCain praised him "for placing the interests of the Russian people above his own interest." Congressman Ed Royce called him "one of the bravest people I know."

"I am not brave," he says, "just stubborn." He views Nemtsov as a brave patriot. One result of Kara-Murza's international effort to commemorate him is a Washington D.C. law designating the block in front of the Russian Embassy as Boris Nemtsov Plaza.

Kara-Murza embodies the spirit of idealism. He feels "true patriots are trying to change things [and] are prepared to fight...even at the risk of their own lives." To him, they are idealists "who move the world forward [and] every dissident has some measure of idealism. Otherwise, it's hard to summon the courage to stand up to brutal regimes."

He continues, "If we give up and run away, what future and what prospects does our country have? And what kind of message does that send to millions of people around Russia who reject this regime and who want Russia to be a normal, modern, democratic, European country? We have no right to run away—and we're not going to."

"No matter how powerful the forces against them, when people are prepared to stand up for what they believe, they succeed. That's the basis of my hope for the future of Russia."

With Special Thanks to the 2018 Civil Courage Prize Nominators

Vicky Bowman Myanmar Centre for Responsible Business	Jean Karoubi Founder Future Leaders Foundation, Inc.	Anna Nguyen Vietnamese Overseas Initiative for Conscience	Shadi Sadr Executive Director, Justice for Iran
Shirin Ebadi Nobel Peace Laureate (2003)	Daniel Kovlik Senior Counsel United Steel Workers	Jay Nordlinger National Review	Suzanne Siskel Executive VP and CEO The Asia Foundation
Claire Fallender Venture and Fellowship Global Program Director, Ashoka	Fran Lambrick NotIMore	Okon Nya Director, Tregong Media	Navereh Tohidi Professor of Gender and Women's Studies
Elizabeth T. Gray Vice Chair, Board of Directors Iran Human Rights Documentation Center	Ayala Levy Rabbis for Human Rights	Christine Oram Global Witness	Christopher Wilcke Senior Researcher, Middle East and North Africa Division Human Rights Watch
Vartan Gregorian Carnegie Corporation of New York	Cat Lucas English PEN	Chloe Ponchelet Migrant Rights Program Officer The Fund for Global Human Rights	Paul Wolfowitz Visiting Scholar American Enterprise Institute
Neil Hicks Human Rights First	Aryeh Neier Open Society Foundations	Samantha Power Harvard Kennedy School	
Nancy Prager-Kamel Vital Voices Global Partnership	Nguyen Cong Huan/Huan Nguyen Founding Members The Vietnam Path Movement	Lavanya Ravulapalli	

For further information and updates on current and previous prizewinners, please go to:

www.civildcourageprize.org

Twitter: @TrainFoundation

Facebook: Civil Courage Prize

The Train Foundation

Trustees and Officers

The Hon. John Train
Trustee, Chairman

George Biddle
Trustee, Co-Chairman

Ambassador Edward Streator
Trustee, President Emeritus

Ariadne Calvo-Platero
Trustee, President

Musa T. Klebnikov
Trustee, Secretary

Louis N. Bickford
Trustee

Ambassador Nicholas Platt
Trustee

Ann Brownell Sloane
Trustee

Sumner Gerard III
Treasurer

Charles Berry, Esq.
Counsel

Civil Courage Prize Advisors

Ambassador Glenn R.W. Babb

Prof. Philip C. Bobbitt

Lydia Cacho Ribeiro

Sir Jeremy Greenstock

Bill Keller

Count Aymar de Lastours

C, Bowdoin Train

Lisa Train

Nina Train

Grace Kennan Warnecke

Ambassador Frank G. Wisner

Patrons

The Achelis and Bodman Foundation

Mrs. Jennifer Coutts Clay

Clarence & Anne Dillon Dunwalke Trust

Mr. and Mrs. Richard Gilder

Founding Patron

Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn

Past Honorees

2017 Pierre Claver
Mbonimpa
*Campaigner for social
justice in Burundi*

2016 RBSS
(Raqqā is Being
Slaughtered Silently)
*Journalists revealing ISIS
atrocities from inside Syria*

Thuli Madonsela
(Honorable Mention)
*Anti-corruption crusader,
South Africa*

2015 Claudia Paz y Paz
*Prosecutor of human rights
abuses, Guatemala*

Yassmín Barrios
*Presiding judge in Ríos
Montt genocide trial,
Guatemala*

2014 Nicola Gratteri
*Relentless prosecutor
of the Italian Mafia*

2013 Dr. Denis Mukwege
*Physician and advocate for
victims of violence in the
Democratic Republic of the
Congo*

2012 Yu Jie
*Author and advocate for
reform in China*

2011 Triveni Acharya
*Defender of victims of
human trafficking in
India*

Lydia Cacho Ribeiro
*Champion of abused
women and children
in Mexico*

2010 Andrew White
*Steadfast advocate for peace
in the Middle East*

2009 Aminatou Haidar
*Champion of the non-
violent campaign for
self-determination in
Western Sahara*

2008 Ali Salem
*Egyptian author and
journalist. Voice for
peace and reason in the
Middle East*

2007 Phillip Buck
*Imprisoned in China for
guiding North Korean
refugees in their escape
to freedom*

2006 Rafael Marques
de Moraes
*Journalist who exposed
the slaughter of Angolans
and the plundering of
national assets*

2005 Min Ko Naing
*Long-imprisoned
campaigner for
democracy in Burma*

Anna Politkovskaya
*Fearless reporter on
atrocities in Chechnya,
assassinated*

Munir Said Thalib†
*Exposed disappearances and
corruption in Indonesia,
assassinated*

2004 Emadeddin Baghi
*Imprisoned for exposing
assassinations of Iranian
intellectuals*

Lovemore Madhuku
*Lawyer persecuted for
demanding constitutional
reform in Zimbabwe*

Abdul al-Latif
al-Mayah†
*Iraqi political scientist and
human rights advocate,
assassinated*

2003 Shahnaz Bukhari
*Battler against the burning
and other abuse of Pak-
istani women*

2002 Vladimiro Roca
Antunez
Champion of freedom, Cuba

Gustavo Arcos
Bergnes
(Honorable Mention)
*Early democracy activist,
Cuba*

2001 Paul Kamara
*Editor and journalist
fighting tyranny in Sierra
Leone*

2000 Natasa Kandic
*Persecuted journalist and
activist, Belgrade*

Sergei Khodorovich
(Honorable Mention)
*Solzhenitsyn collaborator
exiled to hard labor in
Siberia*

Pastor Dietrich
Bonhoeffer†
Anti-Nazi martyr

Judge Giovanni
Falcone†
*Assassinated while
prosecuting the Sicilian
Mafia*

Rosemary Nelson†
*Civil rights lawyer,
assassinated while
defending accused persons
in Northern Ireland*

Neelan Tiruchelvam†
*Lawyer and educator,
killed by a suicide bomber
while working for solutions
to Tamil-Sri Lankan
conflict*

Raoul Wallenberg†
*Saved thousands of Jews
from extermination*

† = posthumous

The Civil Courage Prize honors civil courage—steadfast resistance to evil at great personal risk—rather than military valor. The acts so recognized should have taken place deliberately, over time.

Nominations for the Prize are solicited primarily from non-profit, non-governmental organizations worldwide. Further information may be obtained from our website: www.civil-courageprize.org.

“The only thing necessary for the triumph of evil is for good men to do nothing.”

—Edmund Burke



Civil Courage News

Journal of the Civil Courage Prize

The Train Foundation
505 Park Avenue
20th Floor
New York, NY 10022

Tel: 212.888.5959
Fax: 212.888.4018
www.civilcourageprize.org