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Communism and Human Rights in China

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Background

June 4, 2005 marks the 16th anniversary of the Tiananmen Massacre. Sixteen years ago, the European Union imposed a weapon embargo on China after Beijing leaders commanded a battalion of tanks and soldiers to attack unarmed student protesters on Tiananmen Square, reportedly killing thousands. The Chinese communist leaders still forbid all public discussions about the Tiananmen massacre, but they demand that the EU lifts the weapon embargo. The EU has stated intentions to work towards lifting the embargo.

Chinese officials have denied that lifting the ban would affect relations with Taiwan, but on March 9, 2005, Beijing adopted an anti-secession law that authorizes the communist regime to use military force against Taiwan should it declare its independence from the mainland. Four days later, Hu Jintao, the Communist Party chair, head of state and commander of the military, told his army to prepare for war.

There has not been much improvement concerning human rights in China, which still holds the leading position in the world in such areas as death penalty, censorship, persecution of beliefs, arbitrary jailing of reporters, et cetera.

On November 19, 2004, The Epoch Times, an international multi-lingual newspaper, began publishing a series of editorial commentaries on the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). The Nine Commentaries (<http://www.theepochtimes.com/jiuping.asp>) provide a complete and clear exposition of the origin and nature of the CCP. Since their publication, the commentaries have sent shockwaves throughout China and overseas Chinese communities. Up until now, the commentaries have resulted in more than 2.1 million Chinese having openly renounced their CCP and/or their Youth League membership [for current figure, please visit <http://www.theepochtimes.com>]. For the first time, Chinese people have access to the uncensored story of the CCP and what it really stands for, as well as the opportunity to re-think their fate and a future China without the CCP.

At this historical moment, we have invited some prominent experts on China issues to Sweden. From the aspects of social politics, media freedom, economics and human rights, they will provide first hand information about the situation in China and analysis on the future of China.

Organisers
June 4, 2005

China without the Communist Party

Wei Jingsheng, the best-known Chinese human rights and democracy fighter, is the leader of the opposition against the Chinese Communist dictatorship. He endured two jail sentences, totalling more than 18 years because of his democracy activities, including a groundbreaking essay, "the Fifth Modernization" in 1978.

Wei received the Robert F. Kennedy Memorial Human Rights Award in 1996, Sacharov Award for the Spirit of Liberty by the European Parliament in 1996, the National Endowment for Democracy Award in 1997 and the Olof Palme Memorial Prize in 1994. He is now director of Wei Jingsheng Foundation and Chairman of the Chinese Overseas Democracy Coalition.

<http://www.weijingsheng.org/>



I am glad to be here today to discuss some issues with you. I have been on this trip to Europe for the last two weeks, and this is the eighth country I have visited. Lately, I had made a number of lecture tours to various places, but this lecture tour to European countries appears to be a different experience to me.

It is quite understandable and quite normal for me that the Chinese embassy officials always follow me during the lecture tours, but during this particular lecture tour to Europe and the Nordic states, apart from Chinese embassy officials behind me, there are Russians, Israelis, Polish and others. It looks like they are paying special attention to me.

During the last few days, we, the members of the panel have met, discussed, and tried to think over why the lecture trip gets special attention from other countries in addition to the Chinese embassy.

Every year, we are commemorating those students and citizens killed in the massacre at Tiananmen Square in Beijing, so it is quite understandable to me that the Chinese embassy is not happy about our lecture tour. However – why are there other countries that also pay attention to us this time? That – I would like to find out.

Every year, we try to raise public awareness about the human rights situation deteriorating in China during the last decades, but the western people pay less and less attention to this awareness. This year, even more people consider doing business with China more important than human rights.

We add another topic in our discussions this year. That is the deteriorating situation of human rights in China is not only hurting the people inside China. Based on my observations, it is also hurting the European people.

I notice that Europeans pay less and less attention to what happens in Asia, particularly in China. In my observations, in Asia and in China they are planning to have a war. It seems like the European people are not knowing much about it and not paying much attention to it.

Communist China is suppressing the human rights – suppressing the freedom of speech. In addition, they are escalating efforts in acquiring more weapons and military products. In addition to accelerating the increase of their military capability, this year in particular, they have passed a law called Anti-Secessions law on Taiwan, thus formally authorize the military to engage in war against Taiwan when the situation arises.

Because of this menace of a possible war across the Taiwan Straits, Japan has paid a lot of attention towards it and has been preparing for war, and the US does the same.

However, it seems that people in the European countries do not know too much about it, and the political leaders in the European states appear be covering up what is happening in China to their people. In fact, European countries are considering lifting the weapon embargo on China. I learned that Sweden is one of the leaders for lifting the weapon embargo on China. My understanding is that Sweden has a lot of business to do with China.

China has mentioned earlier that they are not that interested to buy those expensive weapons from Europe. In my judgement, they are only interested in using the possibility of weapon-business contracts to lure business people in Europe to influence their governments.

The Ministry of Foreign Affair of China also mentioned that they are not that interested in buying the weapons from Europe, but they would like to have that breakthrough of lifting the weapon embargo to change the position of China in the international community.

I think what he said about the weapons is true, but what he said about changing the position in the international community may not be completely true.

I think that the real reason they want to be able do weapon trade with Europe is that they want to create a situation for breaking up the good relationship between the United States and Europe. Communist China has been preparing for this war across the Taiwan Straits for many years. They are calculating their ability to win the war. They realize that once they enter the war, they are going to enter a war with the United States. If the European countries can stay neutral or even go against the United States on this war issue, they will have a better chance to win. That is why communist China is going to use 50-60 billion US dollars of business contracts to lure the European business companies and particularly Chirac and Schroeder, the French and German leaders – lure them to achieve their own political purpose.

Having said that, I understand that European people at this point still may not be very interested in the war, because it is in Asia and is related to Taiwan, Japan and the United States. I had a conversation with a friend yesterday. My Swedish friend said that there are not that many wars in the international community and the weapons of our countries may not have a market.

However, I want to alert you that there are two issues that European people do not know yet. The first issue is that Russia is very enthusiastic about the war between Taiwan and China; and that Russia is entering different military agreements with China to support this war.

The second issue is that communist parties in different European countries are coming back – are coming back very strong! If you pay attention to those voices in Russia that urge the Russian government to take more control of Europe, then you will realize the behaviour of Russia. The alliance between European countries and United States, particularly in military areas, is the major factor that makes the Russians unable to realize their dream. When the United States breaks up their good relation with Europe, Russia will be able to realise their dream.

That is why I say that the human rights situation in China is more and more closely related to this situation happening in Europe. And this situation is very similar to the situation of Europe before the Second World War. Just at that time before the Second World War, the political leaders of United Kingdom and France said that the human rights of the Jews had nothing to do with them. But it turned out to be not the case. Today, the political leaders of the European countries say similar things – that the human rights situation in China is not directly visible to us, we have not much interest in that, we only want to do the business with weapons with China. In addition, probably some people in Europe think that we do not like George W. Bush of the United States. Why not let him engage in the war in Asia against China! However, I think once this war starts in Asia, I believe that very soon this war will spread over to Europe.

Many people may think that my words are exaggerated. It is a very similar situation, like before the Second World War. When people warned that there was a possibility of war, the general public reaction was similar. If none of us pays attention to this possibility and none of us makes any efforts to eliminate the possibility of this war, then the war can possibly occur.

If we pay attention to the human rights situation in China, which is not improving, rather deteriorating, then we might still have a chance. By paying attention to the human rights situation, we may be able to stop this war. Why not do it?

When we said that the human rights situation in China is related to the European people and countries, people in Europe said that it is only theoretical. In reality, it is not.

Having said all this, I want to conclude that the human rights situation in China is, in my judgement, closely related to the people in Europe. You should not ignore it; you should engage in it.

Thanks for listening to my talk. My friends on this panel will talk about more issues of the human rights and communism in China.

The Wave of Withdrawals from CCP and its Impact on the Chinese Political System



Annette Guo, chief editor of the international multi-language newspaper The Epoch Times, has more than 20 years experience in the journalist profession in China, Hong Kong and Taiwan. She was the vice chief editor of Asian Economic Times, editor of Hong Kong Dangdai Weekly and a commentator in Chinese Daily in Taiwan. Since 1978, she has done extensive research, topic reports, interviews and editorial work on China issues. Being an expert on China, Hong Kong and Taiwan, she is a distinguished lecturer on related issues.

<http://epochtimes.com/>

Today we are gathering here in Sweden, Europe to talk about the human rights situation in China. Doing this is very meaningful for the development of the situation in China.

Why am I saying this? In the past ten years, Communist China has been trying to avoid condemnation about their human rights situation by the international community, including the European countries. Therefore, they try their best to enter private and secrete arrangements with each and every country.

Communist China is using political influence and business opportunities, including using the business opportunities to broadcast the 2008 Olympic Games in Beijing, to silence mainstream media and political leaders.

For example, in the current Eutelsat incident concerning the contract between the New Tang Dynasty TV and the Eutelsat satellite broadcasting company, communist China is using its political influence and power to block that contract. NTDTV is an independent Chinese media that has free broadcasting over the sky of China. It delivers the messages of human rights and freedom to the Chinese people. The ruling communist party is using more than 30 times the price of the contract to bribe the company. On top of that, they use diplomatic pressure on the French government.

You have probably learned about another incident, in which a female journalist from a major western media company reported on the human rights situation in China, and then was laid-off. When communist China did business with the Yahoo and Google search engines, they required these companies to censor sensitive words and to filter out information that the communist party does not want the Chinese people to know.

You may think that you know China well through this free information age, but in reality, that is not the case. Communist China sends out delimited and distorted information that creates a virtual China to the western people in society, which is quite different from reality. We, gathering here today in public to discuss the human rights and communism in China, are very intimidating to the Chinese government.

Having said that – let me enter my topic for today. I want to share with you all, the explosive news that some major things are happening in China, but they have been covered up from the free world. It is related to massive violation of human rights in China.

For the first time ever in the 56 years of communist party rule, a massive awakening of people's conscience and longing to quit the Chinese communist party is taking place.

My dear members of the media and my European friends, I invite you to investigate with me, what is happening in China. Pay attention to a major political movement in China called “maintain the investments of the communist party”. This political movement touched not only the party members but also each and every citizen in China.

If you have a chance, you can look up the Xinhua news. This official media of communist party reports on a large-scale political pressure movement that requires party members to readjust to the party, to review their values to the party, and to study the regulations and laws of the communist party.

I would like to alert your attention to a recently established special taskforce called “maintain investments” taskforce that is similar to the Culture Revolution taskforce. This taskforce involves the military, judiciary, finance as well as every other department in China. It is a very powerful and above the law.

Even if a party member is sick, hospitalised or bedridden, he or she is required to go to this political movement to write something about his or her understanding of the party. They have to declare why they joined the party and why they want to rejoin again. The people of China today are completely in the dark. They do not know why the ruling party wants to enforce this political movement, and they are very upset by being forced to say something they really do not want to say – something they really hate to do.

I do not need to talk about this “maintain the investments” movement if it is only an internal party affair, but it is not. It is something that affects every citizen in China. The ruling elite claim that this political movement is for anti-corruption. In reality, they want to cover up a political crisis in which more 60 million party members – who have been abused and persecuted all along – now want to quit the communist party.

This phenomenon actually started about seven month ago, when the Epoch Times first published the *Nine Commentaries on the Communist Party*, which triggered this massive awakening of the conscience of people. They then started to quit the party.

This commentaries, published by the Epoch Times, is the first comprehensive disclosure of the crimes of communist party viewed from nine different aspects – the party's origin, establishment, tyrannical character, atheistic nature, persecution of Falun Gong, destruction of traditional culture, history of killings, resemblance to an evil cult, and scoundrel nature.

I am not saying that *Nine Commentaries on the Communist Party* is the only publication that discloses the crimes and the evil of the communist party. Many good articles disclose the crimes of the party, but they are blockade by the internet firewall called Golden Shield.

I know scientists and engineers who have created software that allow people inside China to break through this internet blockade to read the commentaries. Based on our records, the people inside China have used this software to download millions of copies.

In Hong Kong for instance, there are more than one million copies of the Nine Commentaries printed and distributed. In Taiwan, in the past two month more than 700 000 copies of the Nine Commentaries have being printed. Many of these books have been carried to China through different channels.

Beginning this year, the Epoch Times offices have received many faxes, letters and e-mails requesting us to have a service opened for them to make a statement in public to quit the communist party.

This includes a large number of Falun Gong practitioners who have requested the Epoch Times office to establish a platform for making statements of renouncing the Communist party membership.

In response to those requests, the Epoch Times set up a website for quitting the membership, allowing people to register their names, reasons and other details publicly on this website. In the past seven months, we have received 2.23 million renunciations on our website.

The different offices of the Epoch Times in United States and about thirty other countries across the world, have received many letters, with pictures and photos of people in China posting their statements of quitting the party on telephone post and walls, and in market places. They do not have access to the internet and cannot get on this website but still they want to make their statement known. It is as if they want the heaven to witness their solemn statements of quitting the membership and this phenomenon happens across all the cities and provinces in China.

With their permission, we also reordered their voices and these recorded statements have filled up on our website. There are thousands of these voice messages. You are welcome to visit our website to listen to those real voices of the quitters.

Maybe, some of you think that this is not a big deal. A party can have people come and go freely. Why do we need to pay special attention to this?

Last week, the Communist party media, formally announced that the membership has increased to 67 million party members, meaning if there are 2.2 million quitters, we still have more than 60 millions party members.

If you think that people can come and go freely and it is no big deal even if 2 million party members are quitting, I want to tell you, that is not the case. The communist ruling party is a part of the Chinese constitution. Anybody against the party will be considered as going against the constitution and will be punished. Under such circumstances, people still dare to quit the part. It is a serious challenge to the legitimacy of their rule, causing a crisis that is not a small issue.

In the last few months, the behaviour of the communist China had shocked observers and media in the international community. Why is China doing something that looks like it is hurting itself and other people? Their actions are so weird and people do not know why.

For instance last month, those anti-Japanese demonstrations that were supported by the Chinese police and military took place in different cities; and also last month, the communist party invited the opposition parties, Kuomintang and Peoples First Party to visit China. In another incident, Vice-premier Wu Yi suddenly cancelled her scheduled meeting with the Japanese Prime Minister Koizumi without explanation, which is considered very un-professional in diplomatic circles.

The communist party in China is irritating her neighbouring countries by promoting nationalism and patriotism in China. The reason behind these abnormal behaviours is to divert focus on the major problems regarding the communist ideology in China to external issues.

Meanwhile the ruling elite in China have launched a wide-scale arrest of independent scholars, writers, democratic leaders and many other people. They threaten and punishment people for quitting their membership.

We are giving you the real picture of what are happening in China, not the virtual China that is provided by the Communist government.

There is a Chinese saying that you need to know yourself, and you need to know the other side too because by knowing both sides you can make a much better judgment for yourself. That is why I am here today, to share with you the real situation in China.

If our European friends and governments put too much weight on these business and market opportunities in China, ignoring the crimes and moral of the communist leaders, then the massive awakening of conscience of the Chinese people will be held back. On the other hand, if these Chinese people have our European friends as good references, they are willing give up immediate benefits and risk their lives to say bye to darkness and embrace brightness – in order to be able to live a life with dignity in a world that will not have human rights for sale.

In my knowledge, human rights first originated in Europe. If European people today leave behind the Chinese people who are suffering under human rights and freedom issues, it will be very disappointing to the world and to the Chinese people.

I urge our European friends, governments, media and others in the whole world to pay attention to this massive awakening of conscience in China. More than 2 million Chinese people and many more, at a rate of 30 thousands everyday, are choosing to live a life with dignity, basic principles and moral above immediate benefits and crimes. I urge the whole world to pay attention and support the basic rights of the quitters of the communist party.

Thank you!

Freedom of Expression in China



Mr. Maiping Chen, poet, writer and former chief editor of Chinese literary magazine Today, is vice chairman of Independent Chinese PEN Centre (ICPC), the worldwide association of writers, for promoting friendship and intellectual co-operation among writers and fighting for freedom of expression.

Mr. Chen Maiping works tirelessly to rescue writers jailed for their independent views, speeches and writings in China. His involvement in human rights activities forced him into exile in Sweden since 1986. In 2001, he received the Human Rights Watch/Hellman award.

<http://www.penchinese.com/wipc/index.html>

First, I want to say that I give full support to the two earlier speakers. I agree with them because I have my own experience and my own examples. I give Mr. Wei full support because he “opened my mind”. I worked for human rights for many years, but I did not see human rights issues as politics or ideology. I defend human rights in general. I do not think about the politics, but now his statements here “open my mind”. It is true that, if you do not improve human rights in China, the situation will get worse. If they keep the dictatorship, the one-party system, then we cannot avoid a war because there are many such examples. Then we are all involved.

Just a few days ago Russia and China performed very high-tech military exercises and you can think why they did this. They tested the satellite system. America has an agreement with Japan and Taiwan. If the communist party attack Taiwan, both the US and Japan will get involved. If China’s military system is destroyed, Russia will help them. See what happened in the former Yugoslavia. Why did NATO bomb the Chinese embassy there? NATO first destroyed the Yugoslavia military system that then moved to the Chinese embassy. That is why NATO had to bomb the embassy. It is the same now. Russia would help China if the war comes. Russia will help China to keep the military force and the information system.

They are preparing a war; but our governments and our mass media, here in Europe, are not alerting us. It is true that the political leaders here in Europe do not give the people a true picture of what is happening. What we can see in mass media is often the prosperous Chinese developments. A few days ago, I saw a program on Swedish TV, and I did not like it very much. They raised a very important issue. It seems that everybody agreed that the economic situation in China is very good; only the political rights and reforms that have not changed. Everybody believes that, if you help the Chinese to develop a powerful economy then, eventually there will be political reforms. More than ten years have passed – can you still see any sign of political reform?

We can see that the party still carries a high-handed policy. They do not open any possibility to have democratic process. Therefore, I give Mr. Wei full support. I think that here in Europe

we have to – not only think about human rights in China but also think about our own families, our children, their safety and their future. Human rights in China are also connected with your lives. I support Madame Guo about the developments in China, referring to the quitting-the-party movement. That is also very true.

Recently I received a Chinese writer in Stockholm. He come from Beijing. He told me that many party members in different Chinese institutions or factories do not work this days. They have taken leave from their work because the party summon them to have some study groups. They call this “keep fresh” campaign. It is something like rotten meat in the refrigerator. They want to keep it fresh but there is no way to keep it fresh. You have to throw the bad food away. You cannot refresh old food but they still try to “keep fresh.”

I can give you another example that I heard from a Swedish professor. I do not want to mention his name. He told me that he visited Fudan University in Shanghai recently, and there was something very strange happening. He had been in China to attend many different conferences. These conferences are very academic; and you should just present yourself as a professor, in which field you work and what you have done. Yet at the conference in Shanghai, when a Chinese professor from this university gave his talk, he stood up and first said, “I’m a communist party member”. The foreign guests, representative from universities of the Nordic countries, about 50-60 professors from different Scandinavian countries, were all surprised over why this professor mentioned, “I’m a communist party member.” They did not understand it. However, I can tell, as Madame Guo said, they are lured. Many people in China are, for very practical reasons, members of the communist party. Many people do not want to say it now. They do not want to tell other people. They are ashamed. Now the party asks them to say in public that they are members. It seems that the party knows that their legitimacy is threatened. Even a professor has to say “I am a party member” first before speaking although it has nothing to do with the conference. Therefore, I give what Madame Guo said full support.

I come back to my own topic about the freedom of expression. I am working for PEN; we are associated with International PEN and have members in China. We defend the freedom of expression in China.

I want to add something to Mr. Wei’s statement: He said the situation in China had not changed or even deteriorated, it has become worse. Maybe some Chinese friends and some Chinese writers say it not true; they may say the situation in China is much better, “We can say what we want and we can write what we want”. I disagree with them! Yes, it is true that you can write more, it seems that the topics you can write becomes more and more and people say that when you meet Chinese people in trains, taxis, in cities like Shanghai in China they seem quite open. There are many cafés and restaurants there where you can hear people criticize the government. They dare to say lot of things and they can even criticize the communist party – but only in private! You never see them criticise in public or in the mass media. There is the fear, and the fear is spreading even to outside China, so many Chinese people in Sweden do not dare to criticize the Chinese Communist Party or the Chinese government in the Swedish mass media either. If a Swedish journalist interviews a Chinese student here, he will not dare to criticize the communist party publicly either.

Freedom of expression is not just something in a room, in a toilet or in your private home. We are talking about the right of you speaking publicly. Many writers say you can write what you want. I asked them, “Can you write about the massacre on Tiananmen in 1989?” No, you

cannot. There was a debate in Shanghai Literature Magazine. It seems that the writer who wrote an essay said that the main problem in China is the commercialisation; it seems that he dare not mention human rights issues in stead. Another quiet famous writer, Li Rui, who had quite a few of his novels translated into Swedish, recently published something against this opinion. He maintains that freedom of writing is still a problem. He wrote, "You are wrong to say that we can write what we want. I know I cannot. Although I do not dare to write about certain things, I know it, I know what I do not dare to write." People just get used to avoid some topics, and they know what the taboos are.

The belief that if the economy develops the political and human right issue will also improve is an illusion. Like Mr. Wei mentioned the Second World War, you can see how Germany before the Second World War developed the economy, but the human rights issues become worse. They persecuted the Jews, so it is not necessary that if you improve the economy you will improve human rights issues too. There is not necessarily a connection. On the other hand, in later years we can see the situation getting worse and worse. I can give you some examples. After Hu Jintao took the power last year, the punishment of arrested writers got seriously worse. I think Jiang Zemin was a very bad leader already, but Hu is even worse. If a writer got a five-year prison sentence at that time, the same case or even a minor case gave ten years or fourteen years recently. In many cases that the International PEN now works for, the writers are arrested under Hu Jintao's administration. So it is apparent that the situation is getting worse.

If you look at the homepage for our Independent Chinese PEN Centre, www.penchinese.com we have a detailed list on arrested writers arrested in China. In March, we had a seminar in the Swedish parliament. There I mentioned a case and I will mention the case again because I want to raise your attention to those who work as journalists. The arrested person is Shi Tao, a poet, but also a journalist. He worked for a newspaper in Hunan, Changsha city. One day before the anniversary of the June 4th massacre of 1989, the chief editor had a meeting with them and read a document from the party warning the journalists and all workers there not to report on the massacre in Beijing. It was the fifteenth anniversary last year. That document from the party forbade any report about the massacre that happened fifteen years ago. Shi Tao reported this on the internet, at an outside international website. He was arrested and sentenced to prison for ten years, on the charge of exposing "state secrets", referring to the national security. Can you imagine that? A journalist can report it here without any problem because it has nothing to do with national security. In China, the prosecutor charged him for exposing "state secrets". Ten years jail and they said, "We are quite nice" because ten years is the minimum according to the law for exposing state secrets, otherwise you could have life sentence or even death sentence. The judges said they were nice because ten year was the minimum they could give!

He is 33 years old and has a young beautiful wife. How can his wife wait for ten years? This is the case also. His case was also an example to show how ridiculous and inhuman the law system is in China. Shi Tao was arrested on November 24 in a railway station in Taiyuan. He was on the way to visit his mother, then suddenly several people – they were actually secret police, they were not dressed in police uniform – just came to arrest him and took him away without showing any documents. It is like kidnapping. After two days, they went to search his home, take his computer and warn his wife. Without any legal documents, they took him to Changsha because the newspaper he worked for was in Changsha. The police came from Changsha, Hunan Province. It is like kidnapping, without any legal procedure. Also according to the law, you cannot keep a person without charges longer than a

certain time, but they kept the journalist in prison at least six months without any charges, which means his freedom is taken away for a long time already. This is what happens now in China.

There is another case about a university student Lui Di, which is quite well known. Lui Di was the fourth-year student in Beijing Normal University. She was arrested for her internet publication that criticized the government and the Communist system, and she was detained secretly for one year, even her parents could not know where she was. No family member was allowed to visit her. International PEN worked for her case and started a petition, asking many famous writers, including Nobel Prize winners, to sign. After very strong pressure from International PEN, she was released.

Anyway, these two cases show that the situation in China has not improved, at least when we are talking about the freedom of expression. What is even worse is that the dictator in Beijing is infringing our freedom of expression abroad. I know that the Chinese embassy tried to stop some radio program here. If news reporters publish something negative about China, they will receive a protest or threats. Even on this tour for Mr. Wie Jinsheng we have examples. He said that this is the eighth country he gave his lecture. In Denmark and Norway, the Chinese embassy tried to stop the seminars. In Denmark several members of parliament first promised to come, but later only one showed up. He said they all received calls from the embassy, and they dared not come because they thought about going to China and worried if they could get visas.

I can also mention here why we see a very different program today. Some speakers choose to stay at home today. I cannot spread a rumour that maybe they were threatened by Chinese embassy and that is why they declined, but at least I can say it is very strange. We have prepared this seminar for a long time. When we send out the official invitations that many of you may have received on Wednesday or Thursday things suddenly happened on Friday. Somebody declined to come as if he had received a warning. I think it is a pity that a dictatorship can threaten even our freedom of expression. The reason maybe “Falun Gong... We do not want to have anything to do with Falun Gong.” Why? What is wrong if somebody here is from Falun Gong? International PEN defence only freedom of expression, we do not say we defend certain parties or certain religions. Even if you were a communist party member, I would defend your freedom of expression. Here we represent ourselves as speakers of human rights. I do not think if you are a communist party member, if you are a Falun Gong member or you are a conservative person. This seminar talks about human rights issues in China. This is a principal. It is for this principle I am here, and I cannot stay home.

It is a pity that some speakers, for some reasons, had to stay home – or stay away. I thank you all participants here that you come and you show solidarity with the speakers here. We are not facing an empty auditorium; we have seen so many friendly faces. I see many old friends here and I am very touched. I think I will not say anything more. I just want to say something in Chinese to those who may not understand English.

When I talked in Chinese just now, I was talking about the many books that are banned in China. They are very good books and got a great readership even in China before they were banned. I can ask those who claim that the situation of human rights in China is better now. How can the situation be better, when the Chinese Communist Party has banned so many books? And arrested so many writers? As soon as these books are touching sensitive issues, they are stopped.

I hope that our friends here can forward our messages to the mass media and to the Swedish people that human rights issues in China only not concern Chinese people, but also concern us. It is about peace in the whole world, and about our children.

Thank you.

Escaping the Red Terror



Mr. Shizhong Chen, born in Shanghai 1937, graduate of Moscow National Industrial University, former teacher in Gansu Industrial University in China, living in exile in Sweden, has suffered more than 14 years imprisonment for criticising the Chinese Communist Party.

For a long time Mr. Chen was a loyal CCP member and kept his futile hope for the communist regime to respect justice and improve human rights. He has given up and now lives in exile in Sweden. His experience is a miniature of the twisted society under the rule of Communist Party.

I wish that there were some representatives from Chinese embassy and the Chinese newspaper or Peoples Daily here. I also I wish that Swedish and international mass media are here. Whoever is here, you can contact me. I have a lot of information for you. I have these materials in three different languages, Swedish, English and Chinese. This is because I have only 15 minutes and so much to say. I guarantee that every word I say is true.

The moderator mentioned that I was born in 1937 and that I was an orphan. My parents died immediately when I was a child. I was sent by the communist party to Moscow to study there. They trained me as an engineer. My work to build up socialist China.

After education in Moscow, I went back to China. My behaviour towards the party was like that of a son's behaviour towards his own parents because it was the party that gave me the chance to education. I wrote to the party to criticize, "You are wrong. You can change." For this reason, I was sentenced and imprisoned 14.5 years.

You cannot imagine the conditions in the prisons. It is a very big difference between the Chinese prisons and the prisons here. I kept one pair of shoes that I took with me out – shoes that you cannot imagine. You know you cannot find prisoners wearing that kind of shoes here [He held up a pair of much worn out shoes].

These are the evidence to show the conditions in prisons in China. If foreigners visit Chinese prisons they will see some, we call them model prisons, where you cannot see such conditions. Mr. Wei and I are survivors of the Chinese prisons. Many other prisoners died, so it is our duty to tell the world the real picture.

Because of shortage of time, I will not talk about, for example, the fact that a death sentence includes a demand for expenses from the family members to pay for the bullet. I do not have to say more about this.

I will not talk about, for example, if you try to commit suicide publicly in Tiananmen Square in Beijing you will be sentenced to prison for four to six years.

I will also not talk more about how religious people and Falun Gong members are tortured in China because there are some other speakers who will.

I will not talk more about the massacre in Beijing 1989 because I do not have time. Up to today, the communist party still says that it was a necessary measure. I will also not talk about how a close family woman friend was sent to mental hospital for four years without her family members being informed because she criticized the government about this case. After she escaped from the mental hospital and went to Beijing to complain to the local police who arrested her again and sentenced her to prison for eight months.

I cannot tell more because of shortage of time, that China is the country that arrested the most journalists. One of the journalists name is Zhao Yan. He worked for New York Times as a local journalist in Beijing. For many reasons his case actually has some connections to what I am going to say here.

He was charged with exposing state secrets, a common charge. I can tell you more from my own stories. This journalist Zhao Yan was sent to prison for more then 10 years because he told the western mass media that Jiang Zemin was stepping down, just a few weeks before the party itself announced it. He was sentenced to prison for exposing a state secret. Later the news got public but he was still sentenced to prison because he exposed it earlier. As Mr. Chen said, the real reason was not this.

The story I am going to tell you is also connected with journalist Zhao Yan. I will tell you why I, a retired old professor, have to leave the country. My family broke apart and my earlier wife left me.

As I told you, I was imprisoned for 14.5 years, but afterwards the party said that it was wrong. I went back to the university. I worked hard for the party. I loved the party again. I was even praised as the best worker, the best teacher in Harbin city, and the university, the local government and some departements gave me many diplomas.

The one reason that I was involved in some conflicts is because two army writers published an article in a newspaper that showed here. They did it to criticize me and fabricated a wrong case, to make wrong sentence for them.

What is the background? When I was in prison in 1969, one day about 130 prisoners were out working in the fields – cutting grass. Certainly, there were army soldiers watching us. We should work within an area five hundred meters long and three hundred meters wide. There were four red flags in the four corners to limit your movement area so that we could not escape.

There was one prisoner called Lie Zhi Rong. He was also wrongly sentenced but his case was corrected later. He was working hard so he cut grass close to the border.

A soldier ordered him to go over the border, “Go out! You can go further!” which meant he asked him to go outside the warning line.

A soldier said that Li was over the border. Li denied. The soldier became angry and ordered

Li to go out. Li obeyed. Then a unit chief came here and cried to Li. He ordered Li to go out too. He repeated his order several times and Li obeyed again.

A unit chief asked the soldier, "Do you know that if this prisoner goes out you can shoot?" Then the unit chief ordered the soldier to shoot the prisoner in his stomach. I do not have to say more. The prisoner died. Then the chief ordered the soldier to shoot in air once more. So did the soldier.

After I was released from prison, I tried to correct the injustice done to this prisoner. I went to court and the case was said to be corrected.

What happened then was even more absurd. I have told you that the case was corrected and these two soldiers were supposed to be sentenced. However, these two soldiers showed up in the newspaper later. Actually, they not sent to prison for any time; they were in fact promoted to work in court and one of them even as a judge.

I went to court again to charge them for fraud. I have a document, a state secret, from the superior court. The superior court gave the local court a document that said that because they could not let me win the case because of political reasons.

Time is running out. Now you know what a state secret is and this kind of document is a state secret. I got it from a friend. It is the document from the superior court.

Thank you.

Persecution of Faith-Based Groups in China

Professor Sen Nieh, board director of Global Alliance for Democracy and Peace (GDAP) and co-chairman of Alliance for Human Rights and Democracy of Asia, is the initiator and coordinator of Global Coalition for ByeCCP.

In recent years, Professor Nieh researches on groups persecuted in China because of their faith and religion. He is a commended lecturer on these topics.

Sen received a Ph D in Mechanical Engineering at The University of Illinois in 1983. He has published many works and received many awards, such as Honorary Professorship, Lectureship Award of United Nations Development Program and awards from three universities in China.

<http://www.ByeCCP.org>



Thank you for having me here to speak on the persecution of faith-based groups in China, along with this distinguished panel today. The faith-based groups in China include religions such as Taoism, Buddhism and Christianity, Muslims and belief systems or “ways of life” such as Confucianism and the Falun Gong. In the past 56 years of the rule of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), this faith-based group community has faced the most serious violation of human rights and freedoms in China.

The persecution of each individual groups or religions can take the whole day to discuss. We can easily present quite a number of volumes on the violation part. Because of time limits, I am only going to touch upon each of them briefly and summarize the persecutions as a whole.

Why are these groups persecuted by the CCP? You know China, one of the four ancient civilizations, is the only one surviving until today. The 5000 years of long tradition with Chinese culture is primarily based on faith. Unfortunately, most modern Chinese (in China) do not know anything about it anymore. For example, Confucianism is part of the traditional culture that focuses on entering this mundane world, while Taoism or Buddhism is the part of the Chinese traditional culture focusing on leaving the mundane world. Influences of Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism have penetrated all aspects of Chinese peoples’ life in the past two thousand years. They offer a very stable moral system, the ethical values, and the spiritual pursuit. Collectively, they provide the basis for sustainability, peace, and harmony of the Chinese society.

Originated from Europe, the philosophy of CCP completely contradicts Chinese culture and belief. CCP believes in atheism, namely no God, no Buddha, no Tao, and no supernatural beings. Furthermore, it runs wild in defying the Tao and assaulting heavenly principles (wu-

fa-wu-tian, or in Chinese: 法无天). In their eyes, the faith-based groups are major obstacles to CCP's pursuit of dictatorship and a challenge to the legitimacy of its ruling.

Ever since the CCP took over power 56 years ago, it has been rooting out these three traditional Chinese religions or belief systems: Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism. It started to destroy the temples, burn the scriptures, and forced monks and nuns to return to the secular life. They pretty much destroyed all these three traditional religions. These ten years of Cultural Revolution, from the middle sixties to middle seventies, becomes the darkest age for faith-based community and these innocent groups of people with beliefs faced the most catastrophic disaster ever.

For example, there were a thousand beautiful coloured glassed statues in Summer Palace in Beijing City. During the Cultural Revolution, the so-called Red guards damaged them all. Today none of these Buddha statues is complete; they are without heads, arms and legs.

In addition to physical damages, the CCP has a special way to destroy religions. They sent under-covered CCP members to infiltrate religions and subdue them from within. For example, the president of China's National Buddhists Association Zhao Puchu was also a high official of the CCP, which means an atheist, and not a believer of Buddha Sakyamuni.

Since CCP attained the power in 1949, the Christians in China were forced to join the so-called "3-Self Church", to break away from "imperialism", to be patriotic to CCP over Christ, and to actively join in the war fighting against USA in Korea. The top leader of the 3-Self Church, Mr. Wu Yaozong (吴耀宗), once stated in public, "I do not believe in the miracles Jesus had performed. I have discarded them all." How can a person, who does not believe in miracles, in heaven, in Jesus Christ, be a genuine Christian? How can a CCP member serve well as a leader of Christians?

Over the years, CCP has confiscated tens of thousands of churches and temples, forced Christians, Catholics, Buddhist monks and nuns, et cetera to study Communism, Marxism-Leninism, and brain-washed most true believers. In some areas in China, they even forced nuns to get married and young monks to join the military for fighting and killing. Various groups of Christians, Catholics, Buddhists, Taoists, et cetera in China were largely disintegrated under violent suppression of CCP. Many leaders were detained, jailed, tortured, or killed; the followers were forced to return to secular life or turned into "illegal" groups, the so-called underground House Churches.

According to a recent report from a survey of more than 200 cities in China during the last two years, there were more than 60 millions Christians in those house churches. Over these 56 years of CCP ruling, 2.7 millions house Christians have been arbitrarily detained, 1.1 million were fined large sums of money, 440 000 Christians have been sent to labour camps to be brainwashed and converted, more than 20 000 were tortured resulting in permanent injury and more than 10 000 Christians were persecuted to death. This data goes on and on.

About 15 years ago, there were more than 1000 different types of qigong practices in China. Some of the qigong practice had exercises that can keep the body fit and recover health. Some of the practices had their spiritual beliefs, for example, Falun Gong believes in truth, compassion and forbearance [Zhen, Shan, Ren] in addition to five sets of practice. During the last 15 years, Jiang Zemin cracked down on all forms of qigong practices. He particularly attacked of this Falun Gong group. Six years ago, he single-handedly started this brutal

prosecution of Falun Gong. I want to read a section of Nine Commentaries, chapter five, which is an example of a persecution case:

“Ms. Zhang Fuzhen, about 30 years old, was an employee of Pingdu City, Shandong Province, China. She went to Beijing to appeal for Falun Gong in November 2000 and was later abducted by the authorities. According to people with knowledge of the case, the police tortured her, humiliated her, stripping her naked and shaving her whole head. She was interrogated to give up the practice of Falun Gong and her belief of Truth, Compassion, Tolerance and she denied every time. They tied her to a bed with her four limbs stretched out, and she therefore was forced to relieve herself on the bed. Later, the police gave her an injection of an unknown poisonous drug. After the injection, Ms. Zhang was in so much pain that she nearly went insane. She struggled in great pain on the bed until she died. The whole process was witnessed by the local officials of the 610-Office, the Gestapo type of police.” This is an excerpt from the July 2004 report on the Clearwisdom web site.

Ms. Zhang was only one out of hundreds of thousands of Falun Gong practitioners who suffered the most evil, cruel and weird methods of torture. Eyewitness reports describe cruel beating, electric chock, cigarette burns, beating the private parts, rape, gang rape, and thrown into dungeons filled with sewages for days and weeks wearing a straight jacket.

For the first 2.5 years since July 1999, the inside information from a government source confirmed 7,000 plus deaths in detention centers, forced labour camps, prisons, and mental hospitals, which is an average of 7 deaths per day, i.e, during today’s seminar of 4 hours, there will be another death by torture of a Falun Gong practitioner in China. This ongoing persecution has directly affected 100 million practitioners in the mainstream society, but also each and every family members and best friends, so the persecution is directed towards more than 300 million regular citizens in China. Millions of families have been broken, practitioners have been forced to escape from home and wander on the street, children and senior citizens are left unattended. There are many, many other sad stories still ongoing, which creates a very bizarre situation in the modern society of the 21st centuries.

So let me summarize the situation of the persecution of faith-based groups. The 56 years of CCP history is pretty much written with blood and lies. The stories behind its bloody history are both extremely tragic and rarely known to the western society and people. Under the rule of the CCP, 80 million innocent Chinese were killed. They had an unnatural death and left their broken families behind. The number of deaths, 80 millions, exceeds the total number of deaths in World War I and World War II combined. Since 1949, the CCP has persecuted more than half of the people in China through dozens of planned political movements. More than 95 percent of the families in China have immediate family member(s) killed by the CCP. Many people today wonder why the CCP kills the Chinese people in such a large scale during the past decades of “peace” time. Why it continues its on-going brutal persecution of religions and belief systems in China. Will it stop killing?

According to the *Nine Commentaries*, it says that the CCP itself is essentially an evil cult. It has all features of an evil cult. They harm not only faith-based communities, but also all Chinese and all mankind as mentioned earlier in the first half of the seminar. All this orthodox religions and belief systems teaches belief in God, Buddha, Tao or heavens, and beliefs in compassion and benevolence. They all, from different perspectives, help to uplift or maintain morality and save souls. The CCP’s doctrines are based on class struggles, violent revolutions

and dictatorship, which are meant to be full of blood and violence. What CCP has done in this past half century proves itself a matured evil cult with military power.

What can we do about it? In the past, people of persecuted faith base groups – be it Christians or Catholics of House Churches, Tibetan Buddhists, or Muslims of Uyghur or Falun Gong practitioners – have been very sad when telling the truths about the details about the persecution to the world. It was very sad every time we talked about it, until six-seven months ago when they introduced this *Nine Commentaries*, and there is a group of volunteers making this *Nine Commentaries* better known to the world. Now we see hope; we see the hope for these faith-based communities.

It is no longer only telling how bad and how sad the story is; we are able to see the future, a near future of a China without communism, a new future of China that allows the freedom of religions, true freedom of beliefs and true freedom of conscience.

Let us stay together, join forces, and witness the great era of the this the coming collapse of the evil communism, and welcome the genuine freedom for the people of faith-based groups in China.

Thank you.

Can Human Rights Crimes in China be prosecuted in Sweden?



Mr. Peter Bergquist, Swedish human rights lawyer and advocate of universal jurisdiction, is one of the pioneers committed to the principle that rule-of-the-law should be applied even to dictators who commit serious crimes.

In 1998, he appealed to a Swedish prosecutor to request the extradition of Pinochet to Sweden on charges of murder and abduction. He was also the legal counsel in another attempt to extradite the Argentinean admiral Alfredo Aztis for the abduction of Dagmar Hagelin.

Currently, Mr. Bergquist represents Falun Gong practitioners in Sweden in legal actions against the Chinese former head of state, Jiang Zemin for crimes committed during the persecution of Falun Gong practitioners in China..

I have been asked to speak on the topic of whether human rights crimes in China can be prosecuted in Sweden. The answer to this question is yes – not all human rights violations but only those of the most serious nature, classified as murder and abduction. Sweden does not have any penalty code for torture crimes, but abduction is equivalent to torture in the Swedish Penalty Code. Moreover, international law crimes that deal with different categories of war crimes can be prosecuted in Sweden.

The conception that human rights crimes can be prosecuted in countries other than where the crimes are committed made significant progress in 1998, when the Spanish investigating judge Baltazar Garçon attempted to extradite the former Chilean dictator Pinochet, from Great Britain. Garçon intended to prosecute Pinochet for crimes committed against a number of Spanish citizens. His charges concerned only Spanish victims. Those of you who have followed the news know that it was a very dramatic period, in which successes and fallbacks for Garçon swapped one another. Soon, other countries queued in to support Garçon in different ways. Namely, human rights lawyer William Bourdoun, who is currently representing the Falun Gong movement, appealed to the French prosecutor on behalf of some Chileans living in France, to request the extradition of Pinochet to France. In Sweden, representing a few Chileans, I tried to get the Swedish prosecutor to request the extradition of Pinochet.

That was 1998, and the idea and conception that it is possible to prosecute crimes in countries, other than where the crime was committed, took a great step forward.

What made it possible to pursue legal actions in Sweden is the concept called universal jurisdiction. The Swedish Penalty Code contains the possibility to punish crimes that has a

minimum penalty level of four years, regardless of where they are committed, regardless of the offender's nationality, and regardless of the victim's nationality. This means that the Swedish laws, Swedish jurisdiction potentials, and the possibility to prosecute human rights crimes in Sweden is greater than in Spain where Baltazar Garçon was compelled to limit himself to cases involving Spanish citizens.

Universal jurisdiction has been applied a dozen times since the beginning of the 70s. The interesting thing is that these cases occurred since 1998. One of the more known cases of universal jurisdiction in Sweden is the Dagmar Hagelin case, in which I represented Ragnar Hagelin who was Dagmar Hagelin's father.

Dagmar Hagelin was legitimately a Swedish citizen. She was a daughter of a Swedish emigrant to Argentina in the beginning of the 1900's. She had her Swedish citizenship but never set her foot in Sweden and never spoken a Swedish word.

In 1977, she was kidnapped by mistake. The Argentine military mistook her for another woman. She was abducted and died, finally, in a torture centre that is known as the "marine technical school".

This was a diplomatic issue between Argentina and Sweden for many years until 2001, when Ragnar Hagelin filed a formal complaint and requested the prosecutor to press charges against the person who had abducted Dagmar Hagelin. This person was known by name and identified by a few witnesses, a torturer by the name of Alfredo Aztis.

This resulted in the prosecutor initiating a pre-investigation. He, finally, succeeded in getting the Stockholm district court to press charges and carry out the extradition. This was however interrupted because the crime became obsolete by statutory limitation. In Sweden, we have a 25-years statutory limitation for homicide and abduction, and this 25-years statutory limitation falls right in the middle of the investigation process. The prosecutor was too late, but through this case, the issue of universal jurisdiction took a great step forward.

It is worthwhile mentioning that universal jurisdiction, which is an extensive authorization, is equipped with many political hinders. In practice, the prosecutor who wants to apply universal jurisdiction must request permission at least 3 times from the government. The first time is to request a court for the presentation of detention. In all other types of crime, the choice of court is a routine matter, but not in the case of universal jurisdiction. Then, he must request permission from the government to initiate an extradition process. Finally, he must request permission from the government to prosecute the person in question. The prosecutor must approach the government three times and request permission; and that shows that there are a number of political control stations, which complicates the procedure in a very peculiar way.

Question from the audience: "You mention prosecutor, but which prosecutor – the national prosecutor?"

No, nowadays this type of crime is dealt with by the international prosecutor. It was the ninth international prosecutor chamber in Stockholm that got Astiz indicted.

As a curiosity, I will mention that this type of crime can be reported at any police station in the country. In this way, the legislation is handy. However, when and if the case proceeds towards prosecution, the situation worsens. These are some of the political restrictions.

When discussing legal actions in Sweden against severe human rights violations in China, one should note that China surprisingly has ratified the Convention against Torture. On the other hand, China did not agree to allow individual complaints to the Committee against Torture, which is the normal status of ratification when dictatorships ratify the Convention against Torture. Pinochet's Chile ratified the convention in the end of the 1980s, – 1987, 1988 or possibly 1989 – but did not agree to individual complaints. So the individual complaint rights, that is the possibility for an individual who claims to be tortured to appeal to the Committee against Torture, the control organ for the Convention against Torture, to hear the case has not been ratified by China, and not Chile either.

In any case, the Convention against Torture includes many commitments on the part of the signatory countries. Among others, it includes a commitment that can be summarised in a way that if a Swedish prosecutor starts a criminal investigation in Sweden, based on crimes stipulated in the Convention against Torture, the Chinese authorities have far-reaching commitments – very far-reaching commitments to cooperate with the prosecutor. The Chinese authorities are required to give information to the prosecutor, make own investigation for the prosecutor, detain the people whom the prosecutor has convicted in Sweden, etc. The Convention against Torture may be a blunt instrument for a Chinese who is tortured, but is definitely not a blunt instrument for a prosecutor in the international chamber.

Another relevant aspect of the situation regarding the possibility of prosecuting this type of crimes is that these crimes violate Chinese laws, which means they are illegal even in China. In addition, the Chinese Communist Party is divided on the issue of the persecution of Falun Gong. All these circumstances, that China has ratified the Convention against Torture, that the crimes violate the China's own laws, and that the communist party itself is divided on the issue of the persecution make it not, in any way, impossible. A prosecutor who chooses to start an investigation on murder and above all abduction, that is torture crime according to Swedish laws, can receive help from the Chinese authorities in getting information about these crimes.

This summarises the possibility of convicting the culprits in Sweden. Finally I would like to emphasize that regarding this type of jurisdiction potentials, the experience from the Pinochet battle in 1998 shows that attempts to take legal actions against Pinochet in a number of European countries – I can recall that there was an attempt from Canada – have inspired processes in the culprit's own homeland. Despite the fact that legal processes in Chile are even "shakier" than Pinochet, they would have been impossible if Baltazar Garçon did not make the first attempt. Lessons learnt from attempts to prosecute human rights crimes in countries other than countries of the crimes can inspire the legal process in the culprits own countries.

Thus, I have quite extensively answered the question, if human rights crimes can be prosecuted in Sweden.

Doing Business with China and Human Rights



Man-Yan Ng, currently vice sales and marketing director at the multinational technology group ABB, has more than 25 years business experience in the Chinese market and is a celebrated speaker at symposiums on business strategies in China. He has a deep insight in different aspects of doing business in China as well as the Chinese society in general.

Despite of his tight schedule, Mr. Ng is a devoted defender of human rights for people in China and those living under other dictatorships in the world. He is also a board member of the International Society for Human Rights, a NGO with observer status at the European Council and the UN.

<http://www.ishr.org/>

Why do we talk about these two things – doing business and human rights? Quite an unusual combination! Most business people do not think about human rights, but it is time to think about it. It is very simple, because what is happening in China today is really a huge challenge to the democratic world. Actually, it is a challenge to the whole humanity. Why? Because China now, you can say, is the fastest growing economy in the world. At the same time, China is a place where you find the biggest violation of human rights. This is a new unique combination. Never in the history of humankind a communistic dictatorship has managed to make some, you know, real economic growth. I mean, that they are violators of human rights is not nothing new. Therefore, this is a challenge for us. This has a strong impact for our future. That is why it is worth spending some time to discuss about it.

I am not going to say so much about how the Chinese economy grows. I mean most of you read a lot about that in Swedish media too. Many Swedish multinational companies - I work for one of them – and many other European multinationals and western multinational are all doing big business with China. The media is talking about fantastic potentials. Is it true? Maybe it is too good to be true. Yes, the economy has been growing in China. You know, in the last 20 years you have an economy and a growth rate between 6 and 10 percents. Of course, do not forget that they started from a very low level. After all this fantastic growth the China gross domestic products today per capita is still only one eighth of America. The total gross domestic product is today about two times of India, and still less than Japan in absolute value.

With all this newly created fortune, they can carry out their human right violation, even more efficient than before. With the money they employ a lot of high-tech and the violation of human rights have only become more sophisticated. It is absolutely not less. Some of my business friends have told me, “Man Yang, I think China is getting better. You know, Chinese Communist Party is no longer a communist party.”

I said, “Why?”

“Look, today they even vote for capitalists to become party members.”

”Yes” I said, “You are right, but they haven’t changed the principle and all of them are like that. Yes, you are right that in the fifties and sixties, after they took power, they killed many capitalists. They jailed many capitalists; they took all the money from the capitalists and those who survived the persecution dared not to say one word that the party didn’t like.”

“Why do they welcome capitalists to join the party?”

I said, “My friends, it’s not the same capitalists. The capitalists in the fifties were people who never believed in those stories the Chinese communist party told the people. Like my grand father, he would never believe that. They were educated people who were still rooted in the old ancient Chinese wisdom, some more, some less. However, today’s capitalists are the relatives and good friends of the party bosses, most of them, not all. Sometimes the party boss himself is a capitalist, only they are not using their name. That is why they are forced to say that capitalists are welcomed to the party. The principle of the CCP has never changed. Why? Because their principle is not as the people in the fifties thought that they want to create a classless society – to have equality. No!

Their true principle is “the ends justify the means”, and this has been very consequent. Always! So what is the end? What is their purpose? What do they want? They want power! They want power – gain power, strengthen the power, maintain their power. In order to do so they can take any means, any means. Fifty years ago, they took the mean of killing the capitalists; today they take the means of alliance with the capitalists. No problem at all for the CCP!

I wanted to tell you more about what happened with human rights in China, but I do not think I need to after all the fantastic speakers. You know most of it. Maybe someone says, “Ah, but you know, you are influenced by the propaganda. Maybe it’s not like that?”

Well, I tell you. No one makes propaganda as good as the CCP. You may say that some people, who do not like the party, make propaganda, but I can tell you a personal story. I am a businessman. I am working as a vice president in marketing and sales for a Swedish multinational company. As a part of my normal work, I went to China for business. I said, “Went” because I cannot go any more. You know half of the story already.

I do business with China since a long time ago. At that time when I came, as a western businessperson, a manager, vice president, whatever, you know the party, what they used in the name of the party... They have all sorts of tricks. The people that I met, actually they are all party people. They are people maybe even working for the state security and working for the so-called United Front Ministry, the department in the Chinese government with the purpose of flattering people from outside China whom they can make use of one day. So I was identified as a person that they one day may make us of. I understand a lot of high-tech, I have some international business experience, and maybe they can even get my help to do better business with my company whatever. I was very welcome. Everywhere, there were red carpets, limousines and what not..

Then, maybe six or seven years ago I started to become interested in human rights issues because I have witnessed too many human rights violations, particularly in China, but also in other parts of the world. I became very devoted in defending human rights. I made speeches in human right conferences in the United Nation and in the European Parliament, etc.

Year 2002, I think, was my last business trip to China. At night, quarter past twelve, someone rang on my room at Sheraton Hotel in Beijing. To make a long story short, three men from the state security of China wanted to talk to me. They talked a long time, but to summarize the whole talk, like the mafia they said, “You are doing a lot of anti-Chinese activities.”

What they meant by anti-Chinese activities was my human rights defending activities. They told me, “If you don’t stop it we will ruin your business. You will have endless trouble.” Then they start smiling. “On the other hand, if you are cooperating we can make sure that you win every project in China.”

This is not from any propaganda. It is my personal experience. People may think, “Well, I am a businessman. I do not care about human rights. I just want to make money. Finish!”

However, it is not that simple. Because all good businessmen should think long term, particularly those in the big multinationals. You want to have big business with a long duration. Today you sign a contract, but you enter a business relationship with a Chinese partner for ten years, maybe. Therefore, you would like to know whether your China business is sustainable. Now, what are the factors that in a way promote or even guarantee a kind of sustainable business? This universal thing is not specific for China. In order to have a sustainable business you need at least two very important factors.

One is a functioning legal system. Like Peter next to me, he understands very well. The Chinese legal system is a joke. The Chinese court is not a court. You know Raoul Wallenberg Institute of Sweden, Chancellor Schröder in Germany – they are spending millions of taxpayer money to promote the build-up of the Chinese legal system so that all the Chinese judges now are dressed much nicely. They look more and more like a judge. All the court halls are newly painted, new laws are being written, new law books are being printed and so on and so on. Yet there is a fundamental problem unsolved.

You just ask the question: Is the Chinese court independent from the government, from the party?

No, when a Chinese official shows you the legal system he will show you that they have local courts, provincial high court, Supreme Court; they have the law and so on. However, they will not show you the last step, the last thing and that is – Over all this system there is the Chinese Communist Party. One single telephone call can decide on the contents of a sentence in a court from a party functionary, not from the judge, not from the jury.

How can you do business and feel safe in a country that does not have a functioning legal system?

Even if you have a, some sort of, functioning legal system you also need another very important component in a safe and sustainable business environment, and that is faith like Professor Nieh talked about. Mutual trust, how can you do business with people whom you

cannot trust? Now, why do I say that you cannot trust the Chinese partner? Not that the Chinese are born so dishonest! No. The problem is so many Chinese now has become victims of this principle, “the ends justify the means”. A huge percentage of the Chinese businessmen think like that. As long as I can make money, I can take any mean. There is no business moral, no business ethic. Why? Actually, China has a culture with a long tradition of moral and ethics. It does not matter whether you follow the principles of Confucianism or Buddhism or Taoism they all have the beauty of relatively high moral and ethics. With such a person you can do business, you can feel safe, and you can sleep well.

The Chinese Communist Party, since they took power 1949, they have systematically – no coincidence – destroyed all religions, all faith-groups. I do not have to go into details; Professor Nieh has talked about that already.

Today some people may say, “Oh, but you know, Communism has improved because last time I was in Shanghai and Beijing I visited many temples and I could see that there were a lot of visitors.”

I tell you the only thing they have done is having those temples painted – those that were not totally destroyed during the Cultural Revolution. Why? They want to cheat the world. They want to show the western world that they care about religious freedom and they want to have income from the tourism. If you do not have well-painted temples the tourists will stop coming.

Those people, who really stick to their faith and practice their genuine religion, are persecuted like the underground House Church Christians that Professor Nieh mentioned. Churches needs to go underground. This is a sad story. A few years ago some Hong Kong Chinese tried to transport about 30 000 bibles of original version into China. He was sentenced and jailed three years. He was jailed because he wanted to transport a large amount of bibles! How much can you trust a Chinese business partner when there is no faith in the society? Moral and ethics are not really counted. Maybe they talk about it in the propaganda, but they do not really mean anything. So how safe is an investment in China?

Time is getting short. Let me sum up. What is my advice to the Swedish business community? Well, first of all be very, very cautious when you invest in China because your long-term investments with a ten years payoff or payback – I cannot and I will not guarantee anything because anything can happen. As you have heard about today, since the publishing of the *Nine Commentaries* on the Communist Party... It is quite interesting that we all talk about *Nine Commentaries* – I can claim that I know China but these *Nine Commentaries* – do not underestimate it. I know through my contacts with people in China it has created a wave of reflection throughout China, under the surface of course. You know that true changes in a society always start in the change of peoples minds. I personally find it very, very good that these *Nine Commentaries* is spreading in China, because only by changing the people’s minds, when people really understand what the problem is in society, how evil the Chinese Communist Party is, only then the society can change. When the society changes to the better through information and through new knowledge, it will guarantee a maximum peaceful changing process. We do not want China and Chinese people to suffer again from another catastrophe or another cultural revolution. The *Nine Commentaries* will not create a revolution. It creates a durable substantial change in the mind of the people.

As a businessman I recommend – join this development. When you do business with China use your opportunity to tell Chinese people, to make them understand how good it is for them and for the future of China to have more freedom of information, freedom of press, support such fantastic TV channel as the New Tang Dynasty TV , as Madame Guo mentioned about. It is fantastic.

Do you know that New Tang Dynasty TV is the first TV channel that could send information about June 4, the persecution of Falun Gong and uncensored news to the Chinese public? It is fantastic. A clever businessman should support it. Why? Because we all know the end of CCP, the Chinese Communist Party is not far away. Sustainable business with China means, “I want to do good business also with China in the time after the Chinese Communist Party.”

Do not believe that they look strong; they look stable as they claim in the propaganda. You know, in Chinese we have a common saying, “Human estimation can never supersede the heavenly estimation, the heavenly plan.” The heaven has its plan no matter how we plan. If it does not go in line with this heavenly plan, our plan will be wrong. I can guarantee you that.

Just a short time before the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, I talked to my German friends, and they all told me that they would never experience a change in DDR in their life time. Then, a few weeks later, they were surprised. So we prepare for the next surprise, but it will not be a copy. It will happen in another way. Get yourselves prepared for the real sustainable prosperous business with China in a potential market, in the time after the CCP.

Thank you.

Questions and Answers



Audience

Question: How many political prisoners are there in China?

Mr. Jingsheng Wei: There is no exact number of political prisoners in China because the ruling communists do not recognize them as political prisoners but as criminals. In the past, there were actually political prisoners, but in the last decades or so, the communist ruling elite used other reasons to arrest political leaders and opponents, such as having “wrong” practices in the business. They create very bad names and associations for political dissidents.

Mr. Maiping Chen: I support Mr. Wei’s statement. I can give you an example. On one hand because of the international pressure, I do not remember exactly which year, they changed the law and took away a type of crime called “contra revolutionary crime”, with which they charged many people. All the political issues could be put into this category and that was a scandal. They understood that and took it away, so now they try to charge political issues with other criminal reasons. One member of our Independent Chinese PEN Centre who was also one of the student leaders in 1989 was charged for visiting prostitutes. That put us in a very awkward situation to defend him. If we report from International PEN, there was a comment that a member has done something against the law. In Sweden, it is illegal to visit a prostitute. If you look at the details, you find that it was a trap and he was dragged into this trap. I do not have time to give you the full story; they try not to mention the political reasons but other reasons.

There are two major charges used. One is called “exposing state secrets” and the other is “subverting the state”. In China, we can all be sentenced to prison because we want to oppose the communist party. It is said in the law that the communist party is the leader. We are against the constitution so we can be sentenced to ten or fifteen years in China, because of the “subverting the state” law.

Question: What about religious prisoners in China?

Mr. Jingsheng Wei: In most of the persecutions that happens in China, today the ruling leaders avoid the real reasons and use other reasons. For example, I know of this Tibetan Buddhist leader and the communist government said that he was engaged in explosions or

terrorist acts, and did not take him as a religious leader. Many of you may see a different number of political prisoners in different reports but I have to tell you that these numbers are not accurate because, even in different countries, the definitions of political prisoners are different. Most of the international organisations such as Amnesty International or International Pen Association pay attention to the political prisoners particularly those intellectuals who are writers or learned people who said something or wrote something which offended the ruling party. I want to tell you that there is a very, very large number of people being in the category of your concern for political prisoners, and they are regular people, farmers and workers. They are mistreated by the government. They raised their voice to express their messages, and they are crack-downed and put behind the bar. They are a neglected group.

1996, when I was put in jail for the second time, I learned from a police officer in jail about a story and that story even got the police officer in jail very, very mad. It is about the people who raise scrimps along the Yangtze River. Because of the polluted water along the seacoast line and the pollution of the Yangtze River, they have damages in their properties. They filed a lawsuit against others and they lost because of the incomplete law system. More than 30 000 of them went out on the streets to demonstrate with tractors, trucks and block the traffic. The central government sent officers from the State department and entered negotiations with those people and farmers. They asked them to come with 24 “representatives of the pillars” (leaders). The negotiations went well and leaders from State department promised many things. In return the farmers with more than 30 000 demonstrators promised to go back home.

Right after those demonstrators went home the police came to arrest these 24 representatives and charged them for all kinds of reasons, which had nothing to do with the demonstrations and many of the reasons were made up and set up. These 24 leaders went through the court procedures, were sentenced, and jail. More than 30 000 farmers lost their leaders and now they could longer protest. Up to today, I do not see anybody rescuing this 24 farmers group because they are not entitled to the political prisoner status. I feel very, very sorry and pity about them. They are not being paid any attention for rescue. In the recent years, there are many many demonstrations, protests or riots by farmers, workers and even army soldiers who protest about their lost benefits. The international community does not paid any attention to them because they are not entitled to this political dissidents or prisoners category, and I feel very sorry for them.

Having said that, I have to be very straight with you. For example, the so-called human rights or democratic groups in the international community make good use of you to pay attention to those visible events, those things they can use to show off their group or their individual political prisoners. For example, the international community of human rights groups are competing to be able to see the forced labour camps in China. When I tell those human rights organisations about the truth, that there are many political dissidents or religious dissidents being slandered and being mistreated, being put into prisons and they need our rescue and voice of support, it seems they pay little attention. They say “yes, I understand those could be political dissidents or religious people, but because they are being charged with other reasons and because our organisation has a clean and reputable reputations we don’t want to be messed up with those people”.

Some human rights organisations think too highly of the opportunity to deal with Chinese government. They do not want to spoil that kind of good relationship, and many times, they cannot really speak out righteously. And those human rights organisations – they not only pay

less and less attention to the people in China who are suffering from human rights or freedom abuse, but also ignore what is happening outside China, for example they may not dare to attend a seminar like today. Why? For example, I guess the Chinese government may have invited those so-called human rights organisation leaders to have a free trip or offered royal treatment during their visit to China so they yield to the Chinese embassy by not coming or not supporting a seminar like today.

Therefore, I want to tell you that you do not have to go to China to find out about the human rights situation, or about how much it has deteriorated over the years. Just look at the situation here today on this free land and see how much backward the human rights attentions and efforts in this free country is, you will see how difficult the human rights situation is in China. My strong comments today, I hope, will not hurt those human rights organisations too much; rather it is a friendly advice that may put them back to the normal trade track of human rights and freedom efforts.

Mr. Maiping Chen: I want to add something as well. I want to mention a program about which both Wei Jingsheng and I have been very critical. There is a Swedish program to train the Chinese lawyers. This program is run by the Raoul Wallenberg Institute. Every year they pay 20 million Swedish crowns for the project. This program has been going on for several years. In 1998, when Mr. Wei was here to criticize the program, SIDA discussed with Wei but they did not want to stop it. I can ask people here. Have you seen any results, any good results of the project? For example, they say they trained the lawyers who can work for human rights issues. I have been working for these issues for years. No lawyer who is trained in Sweden has ever been channelled to defend human rights issues and we have asked lawyers to help us. Several Chinese lawyers who worked on these issues have lost their license. This is the truth! We are taxpayers in Sweden. They use 20 millions every year for this training program from which we have not seen any positive results. We should not go on with it.

Mr. Jingsheng Wei: Maybe there are some results. They have learned what your law is and how to deal with you and your law.

Ms. Anette Guo: I want to add a few points. A forum like this today, the topic we talk and the issues we talk about are not something very sensitive, just human rights and communism. A similar forum was held a few days ago in Copenhagen, Denmark. The ambassador of the Chinese embassy wrote letters in person to those confirmed attendees of parliament members of Denmark, asking them not to come. There were five confirmed attendees of parliament members, only one showed up. The other four just did not show up. You see, in a land of freedom like this in the Nordic states, a regular forum about human rights and freedom is being interfered by the communist government. You can imagine how serious the human right and freedoms situation in China is.

I know there are 7 000 healthy practitioners of Falun Gong in China who have been arrested and sent to mental hospitals for psychiatric treatments and injections of unknown drugs. To the outside world those people do not appear to be political or religious dissidents. People pay no attention to them and they are in the dark without help. The police in China tell people who are arrested, "I'm going to torture you to death if you don't listen to me. If I torture you to death it counts as suicide". This is the true situation in China.

The scoundrel actions like that of police officers in China is just an example. If people allow these conducts to spread over to the rest of the world like cancer, it would be a doom to

human civilizations and it would be a shame to the dignity of humanity. I think that man makes mistake occasionally, which is quite understandable and normal. However, if a regime can force a regular person to do bad deeds, to give up moral and basic principle of living, and give up dignity, I call it an evil regime. Therefore, the communist party is not only playing the roll of an evil entity in China, I think it is an evil entity to the rest of the world. It is posting a test or a challenge against basic principles, moral and humanity to everyone in the world. Thank you.

Mr. Jingsheng Wei: I can add my eyewitness account of the June 4 massacre 16 years ago. At that time, I was working at a hospital rescuing those wounded. There were so many wounded people sent to my hospital. Based on my understanding, the French businessmen sold monitoring equipments technology to the communist Chinese government and American businessmen provided the best high-tech software for monitoring those political dissidents and even the shields and helmets of the police in Beijing. Some of the best equipments from Europe are used to persecute and torture the people. The high quality products and weapons supplied by Europe to China are being used to mistreat the people in China, and now there is a discussion and debate about whether Europe should lift the arms embargo. I hope that European people living the free countries with democratic systems can express your voices to stop arms sales to China.

Question: Thank you, my name is Helena Bargholtz. I'm a member of the Swedish parliament. I represent the liberal party in the parliament. Unfortunately, I could not be here this morning, so I have not been able to listen to your discussions this morning, but it has been most interesting to listen to this distinguished panellist this afternoon. There is one issue that I want to raise with you. What impact does the Olympic Games have on China? I was personally very much against it when it was debated whether China should have this games or not. But I was told...many told me that "Oh, it will be so good if China gets it because then, all the human rights issues would be much... everything would change in China", and so on. Well, I am afraid that my suspicion that there will be no changes is going to be fulfilled. I would like to hear about the panel's opinion about the Olympic Games.

Mr. Man-Yan Ng: Ok, if you do not mind I can tell you an insider story, but no names. I am a friend with someone who actually works within/inside the Chinese government - also he worked for China to be the host of the Olympic 2008. The story goes like that, he told me, "We are now much more modern and smarter than before. This time when we tried to win Olympic Games 2008 we engaged world-class public relation campaigns, spending about 20 million dollar." They got some super world-class PR expert to come to China, picked the right people to be the member to Chinese Olympic Committee and remove those who not perfect or suitable. What were the criteria? Well, I tell you, they look at every member. Did he look like a modern person, dress like us here – not as in the old communist style, speak fluent English and so on? After that they started a training course to teach them how to cheat the world, I am not kidding. They learned that when you talked to a Japanese delegate you talked like this; when you talked to an American delegate of the Olympics, you talked like that. This was what they wanted to hear, this was what they did not want to hear, and so on and so fort. The history was long.

So what happened? They surprised the world. In Moscow in 2001, I think, when it was the final debate for who was going to be the host, China as usual – like before – was criticized on human rights. Then the Chinese delegate surprised the world by saying, "Ladies and gentleman, yes, people who criticize China, they were right. China like many other countries

still have human rights problem.” It was silence in the hall. This is a true story. He took them by surprise. Then, he said, “Our government understands this and we are fighting hard to improve this situation”. Total lie, total lie! And they had this plan and that plan, and then he ended up by saying with that if China became the host of Olympic Games 2008 they would promote the Chinese human rights situation. Fantastic applaud and by the book, they got all the majority votes. When they return, the party boss at that time, Jiang Zemin, was so happy to receive those coming home winning that he made a speech to the party functionaries. “Dear comrades, don’t miss this fantastic opportunity. Now the world is looking at us much more positive than before. Now we can fight much harder against Falun Gong, Tibetans and democracy movements. Do not miss this opportunity, but do it in a hidden way.” In Chinese they say, “Outwards relaxed, inwards tough”. That is my answer for Olympic 2008.

Question (Helena Bargholtz): Well, I think you described very well what I was afraid of. I think it is very easy to see this pattern. I would like to ask what you think if one or some countries boycott the Olympic Games. Will that make any impression on the communist government?

Mr. Man-Yan Ng: Well, I can tell you the Chinese communist government is very afraid of public condemnation. They have been cheating the European government after the June 4 massacre on Tiananmen Square. They got a lot of criticism from the Swedish government and many other European governments put a lot of pressure on them to improve the human rights. The Chinese government said, yes, we could talk about that, let us have human rights dialogs.

As a member of parliament, you are aware of those dialogs. It has been many, many, many, many human rights dialogs between Sweden and China, France and China, Germany and China, European Union and China. They have been talking – I do not know how many times and how many years – but the situation of human rights is getting worse and worse. The only thing that may improve the human rights is pressure on this very evil government. That is the only thing they understand – pressure! I think that if a country, particularly a democratic country, boycotts this Olympic Games it will send signals to the world that we condemned Chinese human rights – China is not improving human rights.

Audience: I will make just a comment on this last point about deception and not making a fool of oneself. Unfortunately, I must say that our capacity to fool ourselves is almost unsurpassed. Just let me give two examples from recent years or recent months. One was in the year 2000, just after 50 years of diplomatic relations with China. We sent a large delegation headed of vice-premier minister to celebrate 50 years of relations with the communist government. She was criticised on radio. I took part in that program for visiting and meeting them, and said there were good results from our contacts. For instance, we were told in spring 2000 at a meeting with the National Peoples Congress that China was planning to void the death sentence within a few years. She probably believed in that.

In March or April, I was in the Foreign Ministry when our Foreign Minister was answering a question in Parliament, an official question. I do not know what the question was exactly, but it apparently had to do with the subject. She said - about the human rights dialogs we had with the Chinese government – our trying to convince them about the needs to make human rights advances could be one of the reasons why the human rights situation was getting better in China. With that kind of self-deception, we do not have to have expensive PR firms for the Chinese government. We fool our selves.

Mr. Man-Yan Ng: What I am afraid of is some western leaders may not even believe in what we say. You see, because human rights are something positive, as a premiere minister or a deputy premiere minister, you do not want your people to hear that you do not care about human rights. So they have actually being thankful for this deception from the Chinese for creating this idea of human rights dialog so they have something to tell their people that they care about human rights – that is the problem.

Mr. Jingsheng Wei: I want to add my opinions to this 2008 Olympic Games. When the communist China government first got the 2008 Olympic Game all the provinces was against it because when this happened, the central government will rob money from the local governments. Everything is focused on the Beijing capitol city. If you go to the Beijing City it will look very good, but the resources are coming from the province local governments. If they promise that, by year 2008, the human rights situation will be much improved, I believe that what the ruling elites are saying about human rights situation is totally different from the human rights we are talking about here today.

The ruling elites in China are working very hard to improve the human rights situation by suppressing those voices advocating human rights in China. When they succeed in cracking down on different voices advocating human rights by that time, then the human rights situation will be improved. That is what they mean. The ruling elites have learned that the western medias and political leaders put attention to the human rights situation only during the certain periods of time, for example during the June 4 Tiananmen massacre anniversary. If they, the communist ruling party, just suppress those different voices during this period, it will appear to the western world that sea is very quiet and there must be improvements in human rights situation.

This has been happening in the past few years so those independent scholars and intellectual thinkers have learned that during critical times, they just go out of town – going out of Beijing City - and it will be quiet for them. I believe the time before and during this 2008 Olympic Games, the Chinese government will try their best going to silence those different voices about human rights and let it appear to the western world that there is no or very little noises about human rights. The Chinese government has learned the tricks and they are dealing with international human rights organisations too. For instance, they are giving those small opportunities for human rights groups to visit China to do some collaborating with them and by doing that, they silence those human rights organisations.

I have learned that in the past few years, whenever I heard about collaborations between a human rights organisation and China – then, I know immediately that in a near future this group would be very silent. Based on this rate of change, by the year 2008 (Olympic Games), that period of time, the western media and human rights groups are probably not going to criticize China. And with the silencing of different voices in China, I believe, probably, by 2008 the human rights situation is definitely not going to be improved.

If you recall that before the Second World War the Nazi Germany held an Olympic Games, That recognition by the world, letting them organize and host the Olympic Games really gave them the power that later on led to the Second World War and cost a major disaster to humankind. I am afraid that this 2008 Olympic Games will do the same thing, repeat history.

I'm agree a hundred percent with Madame (Member of Parliament) you should put efforts in trying to get a country that can stand up and say “No to Olympic Games” in Beijing. I am not

that optimistic to work on a country to stand up. I will try. If I can get a human rights organisation to stand up and say no to 2008 Olympic Games, I will be satisfied.

When I was in jail some 10 years ago, when the government said that the human rights community in western society were fake and not doing the actual work, the policeman in jail don't believed them at that time. But today, when the Chinese government say that human rights groups and human rights activities in western society are fake not doing the real things, the general public in China believe it.

I want to let everybody know that I am offering myself to collaborate with each and everyone who like to improve the human rights situation in China. I welcome any opportunity to work with you. If we are able to work together to, really, encourage a country to say, "No" to this 2008 Olympic Games in China, it would be a tremendous success. I will work very hard on that.

Question: I just like to share about communism and that philosophy. They teach that we have only one life and we will take it away from you. Religion has many problems, but at least, in our faults we teach you have eternal life, in many ways reincarnation, rebirth, and resurrection from the death, and Christ said we should not be afraid of those who can kill the body - we should be afraid of the one who can kill the body and the soul. And I would like to send the blessings from my Lord Jesus Christ. Blessed are those who mourn for they should be comforted. Blessed are the merciful for they shall meet mercy. Blessed are those who hunger and thirst for righteousness, for they shall be satisfied. Blessed are those who keep peace for they shall be called sons of God. And blessed are those who are persecuted in the name of righteousness, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven, amen. Good bless you and keep on the fight.

Moderator Hans Bengtsson: Unfortunately, we are running out of time, we have to leave this hall before 2 o'clock. I hope we can continue this very interesting discussion in the future and it will be a growing subject everywhere in the world. I will say thank you to this distinguished speakers and we give them a big hand.