



Democracy and
Human Rights

UYGHUR LEADERSHIP TRAINING SEMINAR

6-10 May 2007, The Hague - Brussels

World Uyghur Congress
Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization



Unrepresented Nations
and Peoples Organization

UYGHUR LEADERSHIP TRAINING SEMINAR

6 – 10 May 2007, The Hague - Brussels



World Uyghur
Congress

Table of Contents

INTRODUCTION	4
NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS	6
1. THE UYGHUR SITUATION, HUMAN RIGHTS AND THE UNITED NATIONS	10
1.1 WORD OF WELCOME.....	10
1.1.1 <i>Speech by Mr. Marino Busdachin</i>	10
1.1.2 <i>Recommendations</i>	11
1.2 UYGHUR LEADERSHIP: PAST ACHIEVEMENTS AND FUTURE CHALLENGES	11
1.2.1 <i>Speech by Ms. Rebiya Kadeer</i>	11
1.2.2 <i>Recommendations</i>	12
1.3 RESPONSES IN FACE OF REPRESSION AND PRESERVATION OF UYGHUR IDENTITY	12
1.3.1 <i>Lecture by Dr. Ulrich Delius</i>	12
1.3.2 <i>Question and Answer Session</i>	14
1.3.3 <i>Recommendations</i>	14
1.4 CIVIL LIBERTIES IN CHINA: WHAT POSSIBLE FUTURE FOR EAST TURKESTAN?.....	14
1.4.1 <i>Speech by M. Mamaitiming Aila</i>	15
1.4.2 <i>Recommendations</i>	15
1.5 INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS INSTRUMENTS AND EFFECTIVE PARTICIPATION AT THE UN.....	15
1.5.1 <i>Lecture and workshop by Mr. Joshua Cooper</i>	15
1.5.2 <i>Recommendations</i>	20
2. DIPLOMACY, INTERNATIONAL LAW AND EFFECTIVE ORGANISATION	21
2.1 INTRODUCTION TO EFFECTIVE INTERNATIONAL DIPLOMACY	21
2.1.1 <i>Lecture by Prof. Dr. Georg Frerks</i>	21
2.1.2 <i>Question and Answer Session</i>	23
2.1.3 <i>Recommendations</i>	23
2.2 APPLYING INTERNATIONAL LAW: THE ICTY AND DEFENSE WORK	23
2.2.1 <i>Lecture by Ms. Krystyna Grinberg</i>	23
2.2.2 <i>Question and Answer Session</i>	25
2.2.3 <i>Recommendations</i>	25
2.3 ALTERNATIVE METHODS: GUIDING A GROUP OR ORGANISATION	25
2.3.1 <i>Lecture by Dr. Albrecht Göring</i>	25
2.3.2 <i>Recommendations</i>	26
2.4 NONVIOLENT METHODOLOGY AND EFFECTIVE ORGANIZATION.....	27
2.4.1 <i>Lecture and workshop by Mr. Marco Perduca</i>	27
2.4.2 <i>Question and Answer Session</i>	29
2.4.3 <i>Recommendations</i>	29
3. DEMOCRACY AND DEMOCRATIZATION PROCESSES	29
3.1 CHINA AND EAST ASIAN DEMOCRATIZATION PROCESSES	29
3.1.1 <i>Lecture by Pr. Yitzhak Shichor</i>	29
3.1.2 <i>Recommendations</i>	31
3.2 THE NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR DEMOCRACY – SUPPORTING DEMOCRACY MOVEMENTS AROUND THE WORLD.....	32
3.2.1 <i>Presentation by Ms. Louisa Coan Greve</i>	32
3.2.2 <i>Question and Answer Session</i>	33
3.2.3 <i>Recommendations</i>	33
3.3 DEMOCRATIZATION: CASE STUDIES AND LESSONS LEARNT	33
3.3.1 <i>Presentation and workshop by Mr. Ken Kostyo</i>	33
3.3.2 <i>Question and Answer Session</i>	35
3.3.3 <i>Recommendations</i>	35
3.4 DEMOCRACY: WHAT PROSPECTS AND CHALLENGES FOR CHINA AND EAST TURKESTAN?.....	35
3.4.1 <i>Speech by Mr. Marino Busdachin</i>	35
3.4.2 <i>Recommendations</i>	36

4. A EUROPEAN STAGE FOR THE UYGHUR CAUSE.....	36
4.1 INTRODUCTION TO DECISION-MAKING PROCESSES AT THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT	37
4.1.1 <i>Speech by Mr. Jacques Lecarte</i>	37
4.1.2 <i>Recommendations</i>	37
4.2 UYGHURS AND THE EUROPEAN UNION	37
4.2.1 <i>Speech by Mr. Michael Cashman</i>	38
4.2.2 <i>Question and Answer Session</i>	38
4.2.3 <i>Recommendations</i>	39
4.3 METHODOLOGY OF HUMAN RIGHTS ADVOCACY WITH EUROPEAN INSTITUTIONS.....	39
4.3.1 <i>Speech by Dr. Willy Fautré</i>	39
4.3.2 <i>Question and Answer Session</i>	41
4.3.3 <i>Recommendations</i>	42
4.4 HUMAN RIGHTS ADVOCACY AT THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT	42
4.4.1 <i>Speech by Ms. Cindy Lane</i>	42
4.4.2 <i>Question and Answer Session</i>	43
4.4.3 <i>Recommendations</i>	44
5. DEMOCRACY AND HUMAN RIGHTS ADVOCACY: THE ROLE OF NGOS	44
5.1 HUMAN RIGHTS, THE EUROPEAN UNION AND CHINA	44
5.1.1 <i>Speech by Dr. Niccolò Figà-Talamanca</i>	44
5.1.2 <i>Speech by Ms. Isabella Nitschke</i>	45
5.1.3 <i>Speech by Ms. Alison Smith</i>	45
5.1.4 <i>Question and Answer Session</i>	47
5.1.5 <i>Recommendations</i>	48
6. REFERENCES AND BIBLIOGRAPHY	49
6.1 INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS.....	49
6.1.1 <i>Agencies of the United Nations</i>	49
6.1.2 <i>Treaty Bodies of the United Nations</i>	49
6.1.3 <i>International Courts</i>	50
6.1.4 <i>European Institutions</i>	50
6.2 ACADEMIC INSTITUTIONS	50
6.3 ORGANISATIONS	51
6.3.1 <i>Uyghur Organisations</i>	51
6.3.2 <i>Human Rights Organisations</i>	51
6.3.3 <i>Political Organisations</i>	52
6.4 LEGAL INSTRUMENTS.....	52
6.5 DOCUMENTS	53
6.6 WEBSITES	53

Introduction

“You have to be the change that you want to see in the world.”

Mohandas Gandhi

Uyghurs are native to East Turkestan (also known as the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region of China), a territory on the fabled Silk Road bounded by the central Asian republics to the West and China to the East. East Turkestan has been a prominent centre of commerce for more than 2000 years, and has at various points in its history been a cradle to a number of great civilizations as well as a centre of scholarship, culture or power.

This culture is however now under threat following a period of marginalisation and oppression that began with the region’s incorporation into the People’s Republic of China (PRC) in 1949. Along with other minorities, such as Tibetans to the south, Uyghur communities have suffered as destructive assimilation policies. Strict controls on their language and Islamic religion have sought to undermine their distinct and unique national identity.

The World Uyghur Congress (WUC) gathers human rights defenders from around the world to promote the political and human rights without which Uyghur communities will be unable to protect and preserve their culture. Working to raise awareness of the challenges faced by the Uyghur people, WUC works through exclusively nonviolent means to promote the principles of democracy, human rights, and the rule of law.

The current WUC President, Ms. Rebiya Kadeer, is a Rafto Prize laureate and Nobel Peace Prize nominee who has devoted most of her life to the Uyghur cause. Once a successful business woman heralded by PRC authorities as a model of a new entrepreneurial spirit, Ms. Kadeer fell out of favour with authorities when she began devoting herself to promoting the rights and development of her native Uyghur community. She was eventually arrested and held for six years. Although she has now been released and is able to continue her activism from abroad, Ms. Kadeer’s family continues to be the target of harassment, with two of her sons recently receiving lengthy jail sentences.

As an active and founding member of the Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization (UNPO), a democratic international membership organisation based in The Hague, Uyghur activists also work to combat human rights violations against other minorities in Asia and beyond. A central challenge to many UNPO Members, including Uyghurs, is their notable absence from the international stage or agenda.

The Uyghur Leadership Training Seminar was designed to address this challenge. It was held in The Hague and Brussels from 6 - 10 May 2007. In addition to promoting the Uyghur cause during the event itself, the core objective was to enable present and future Uyghur leaders to become themselves more effective international proponents of their rights.

Organised by WUC in collaboration with UNPO and funded by the National Endowment for Democracy (NED), the seminar offered Uyghur leaders from around the world a forum to exchange ideas, discuss strategies and explore joint initiatives, as well as providing an opportunity to meet experts and practitioners in fields ranging from democracy promotion and nonviolent action to international law and human rights. Lectures were complemented by interactive workshops and discussions, as well as visits to institutions such as the International Court of Justice (ICJ), the

International Criminal Court (ICC), and the European Parliament, with the aim of providing background knowledge and concrete advice and recommendations for the present and future work and direction of the Uyghur leadership community.

The real test of the Seminar's success in reaching core objective comes only now, as participants return to their respective communities to communicate and implement what was discussed and considered, as well as putting to use new skills and understanding acquired. It is hoped participants will be able to work more effectively as proponents of the spirit of democracy, creating the communities necessary for a society in which the Uyghur people can live and enjoy their rights.

Dolkun Isa
WUC Secretary General



Marino Busdachin
UNPO General Secretary

Notes on Contributors

Mr. Maimtining Aila, Human Rights Without Frontiers

Mr. Maimtining Aila works for Human Rights without Frontiers, an international organisation which monitors, researches, and analyzes human rights conditions in countries around the world. Since its founding in 1989 by a handful of human rights defenders in Brussels, Human Rights without Frontiers has grown into a broader organization with branches in China, the USA, and Nepal.

Ms. Fatma Aktaş, former Dutch parliamentarian, Director of Avrasya Foundation, Chairwoman of Selamnetwerk

Ms. Fatma Aktaş is a former member of the Dutch Parliament as part of the Christian Democrat Party (CDA), and currently a member of The Hague City Council. Ms. Aktaş works extensively to promote democracy, human rights, religious freedom and understanding throughout the world as the Director of the Avrasya Foundation and the Chairwoman of Selamnetwerk.

Mr. Erkin Alptekin, former President of the World Uyghur Congress (WUC)

Mr. Erkin Alptekin is the son of Isa Yusuf Alptekin, the late General Secretary of the Provincial Government of Eastern Turkestan. After attending the Institute of Journalism in Istanbul, Mr. Alptekin joined Radio Free Europe/Liberty in 1971 where he worked as their Program Specialist, Senior Research Analyst, and as the Senior Policy Advisor to the Director. He has been effectively lobbying, not only his own peoples cause, but also that of other nations, peoples, minorities and indigenous peoples, since 1971. He is amongst the founders of the Allied Committee of the Peoples of Eastern Turkestan, Tibet and Inner Mongolia, where he still serves as Executive President. In 1991 he was one of the founders of the Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization (UNPO), serving as the Vice Chairman, Chairman, and General Secretary, at various times between 1991 and 2003. Mr. Erkin Alptekin has also served as the President of the World Uyghur Congress.

Mr. Marino Busdachin, General Secretary, Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization

Mr. Marino Busdachin has spent decades campaigning for human, civil and political rights, focusing especially on Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. He is the founder and former General Secretary of the NGO “Non c’e Pace Senza Giustizia” in Italy, as well as founder and former President of No Peace Without Justice USA. He has worked as a representative to the United Nations in Geneva, New York and Vienna, and at present sits as the General Secretary of Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization (UNPO).

Mr. Michael Cashman, MEP

Mr. Michael Cashman is a British Member of the European Parliament, representing the British Labour Party within the Socialist Group. He is Vice-Chairman of the Committee on Petitions and a Member of the Committee on Civil Liberties, Justice and Home Affairs. Mr. Cashman is a tireless advocate of minority rights and a prominent campaigner against all forms discrimination based upon sexual orientation.

Mr. Joshua Cooper, Trainer and Lecturer, University of Hawaii

Mr. Joshua Cooper is a UNPO Advisor and has been the Director of the Hawai'i Institute of Human Rights (HIHR) since 2000, after founding it in 1998. An activist since his high school days in Germany, Mr. Cooper is a graduate from the University of Hawaii. He now teaches political science at Maui Community College and the UH Centre on Maui. During summers he lectures at the International Training Centre for Teaching Peace and Human Rights in Geneva. He also performs advocacy work at the United Nations. Mr. Cooper travels extensively to conduct advocacy and training programmes in effective participation at the UN.

Dr. Ulrich Delius, Vice-Chairman, Society for Threatened Peoples

Dr. Ulrich Delius has worked in a number of positions at the German branch of the Society for Threatened Peoples (STP) / Gesellschaft für bedrohte Völker (GfbV), an international human rights organisation dedicated to the promotion of the rights of ethnic and religious minorities. Since joining STP in 1986, he has specialized in ethnic, religious, social and military conflicts, including genocide, and slavery. He has been lobbying for Uyghur human rights since 1993.

Dr. Erkin Ekrem, Professor, Ching Yun University, Taiwan

Dr. Erkin Ekrem received his medical degree from Xinjiang Chinese Medical College, practicing for a number of years at Ili Renmin Hospital. He has also pursued studies on both Turkish culture and the history of central Asia, receiving his Ph.D from Hacettepe University in 2003. Dr. Ekrem has worked as a researcher for the Turkish Historical Society, a lecturer at Hacettepe University, and is now an Assistant Professor at the Graduate Institute of Central Asian Studies at Ching Yun University in Taiwan.

Dr. Willy Fautré, Director, Human Rights Without Frontiers

Dr. Willy Fautré is the Director of Human Rights Frontiers. From 1995 to 1996 he served as Director of the Phare Democracy Programme, a European Commission Project, and has also worked with the Belgian Ministry of Education and Belgian Parliament. He has published extensively on matter relating to minority rights and discrimination.

Dr. Niccolo Figà-Talamanca, Programme Director, No Peace Without Justice

Dr. Niccolo Figà-Talamanca holds a PhD in International Criminal Law from the University of Palermo and an LL.M. in International Law from the University of Nottingham. He has represented the Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina at the 1998 Rome Diplomatic Conference establishing the International Criminal Court and subsequent Preparatory Commissions, and the Republic of Sierra Leone in the negotiations with the United Nations to establish the Special Court for Sierra Leone. From 1995 to 1997, he clerked for Sir Ninian Stephen, at the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia. He continued his work on war crimes in Kosovo with No Peace Without Justice, where he is currently Programme Director.

Prof. Dr. Georg Frerks, Professor of Conflict Prevention and Conflict Management, Centre for Conflict Studies, Utrecht University

Professor Georg Frerks is Professor of Conflict Prevention and Conflict Management at the Centre for Conflict Studies at Utrecht University in the Netherlands. Professor Frerks also holds the chair of Disaster Studies at Wageningen University. His academic background is in Rural Development Sociology, as well as Agricultural and Environmental Sciences. He is a Rural Sociologist focusing on emergencies and conflict-related interventions in the developing world. Research interests include development, conflict and disaster studies, the related planning and evaluation., as well as the formulation of disaster and conflict-related policies.

Dr. Albrecht Göring, Lawyer, Expert on Uyghur Issues

Dr. Albrecht Göring is a barrister-at-law and psychoanalyst based in Munich. He specialises in asylum law, and has successfully pleaded for the rights of deserting Red Army soldiers seeking refuge in Germany. Dr. Göring has also published on topics such as group dynamics, and serves an advisor to the World Uyghur Congress.

Ms. Louisa Coan Greve, Director, East Asia, National Endowment or Democracy

Ms. Louisa Coan Greve is Director for East Asia at the National Endowment for Democracy in Washington, DC, directing grant programmes which include the territories of Hong Kong, Tibet, and the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region/East Turkestan, North Korea, Mongolia and Vietnam. Ms. Greve has testified before several U.S. Congressional committees on human rights in China and democracy promotion, and given radio, television and print media interviews on human rights issues and democratic development in Asia. Ms. Greve has traveled, studied, and worked in China since 1980, and received her BA in Asian Studies from Cornell University, after which she completed

graduate studies at the Johns Hopkins University-Nanjing University Center for Chinese and American Studies, in Nanjing, China. She has also served on the Board of Directors of Amnesty International USA.

Ms. Krystyna Grinberg, Legal Advisor, International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY)

Ms. Krystyna Grinberg is currently working as a legal advisor in a defence team in the case of *The Prosecutor v. Prlic et al*, at the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia, defending the Accused General Slobodan Praljak. She has previously worked at the International Criminal Court (ICC) in the Office of the Prosecutor and was previously involved with the Red Cross, International Humanitarian Law Department, in her native Australia.

Drs. Vejis Güngör, Turkish Democratic Union

Dr. Vejis Güngör graduated from the School of Social Science at the University of Amsterdam with an MA degree in 1990, where he has worked as an Advisor to foreign students. He established Union of Turkish Academics in Amsterdam and chaired its executive committee in addition to working as a Project Coordinator for CORDAID. He is the Director of Türkevi Research Centre (TAM) in Holland, and has a weekly column in Benelux edition of Dünya newspaper in addition to writing for the HABERA internet news. Drs. Güngör published a number of articles and books on immigrants, minorities and social conditions of Turks in Holland.

Mr. Dolkun Isa - Secretary General, World Uyghur Congress (WUC)

Mr. Dolkun Isa is the Secretary General of the World Uyghur Congress (WUC). He has championed human rights and democracy since his student days at Xinjiang University. Following his dismissal from the University for his political activities, he left East Turkistan and came to Germany in 1996. He was one of the founders of the World Uyghur Youth Congress, serving as Chairman of the Executive Committee and President at various times between 1996 and 2004. Mr. Isa has written numerous articles on topics related to human rights activism, and continues to attend conferences around the world.

Ms. Rebiya Kadeer - President, World Uyghur Congress (WUC)

Ms. Rebiya Kadeer enjoyed a successful career as an entrepreneur and was an active philanthropist within her native Uyghur community, most notably through her foundation of the 1,000 Families Mothers Project, a charity intended to help Uyghur women start their own local businesses. Her success led to her becoming a member of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference. In 1999 however, Ms. Kadeer was detained, tried and imprisoned by the authorities of the People's Republic of China on charges of "leaking state secrets", having sent newspaper clippings to her husband living in the United States. Following intense international pressure she was released ahead of schedule in 2005, and has since continued to pursue the cause of human rights from the US. This work has earned her the Rafto Prize for human rights, as well as nominations for the Nobel Peace Prize. Ms. Kadeer was elected the President of the World Uyghur Congress by its Second General Assembly in 2006.

Mr. Ken Kostyo, Coordinator, Global Democracy Resource

Mr. Kostyo is an international lawyer, the Secretary of the Dutch branch of the World Federalist Movement and the Coordinator of Global Democracy Resource, a Netherlands-based NGO working with activists from around the world specifically on democracy in the sphere of global governance. Mr. Kostyo is also a UNPO Associate and an integral part of its good governance and democracy initiatives.

Mr. Marco Perduca, Nonviolent Radical Party

Mr. Perduca is a Member of the General Council of the Nonviolent Radical Party (TRP) and the treasurer of the UNPO Foundation. For 10 years he has represented the TRP at the United Nations in New York, Geneva, and Vienna, covering the UN also for Radio Radicale. Since 2002 he has directed

the work of the International Antiprohibitionist League. In 1998 he also coordinated the work of a team of jurists that drafted the indictment of Slobodan Milosovic before the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY). His comments and letter have appeared in several Italian newspapers and political journals, as well the Financial Times, International Herald Tribune, and Christian Science Monitor. Mr. Perduca also blogs at <http://perdukistan.blogspot.com>.

Prof. Yitzhak Shichor, University of Haifa

Prof. Yitzhak Shichor is a Professor at the Department of East Asia studies at the University of Haifa. He holds an MA in the History of Islamic Countries from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, and a Ph.D. in International Relations from the London School of Economics and Political Science. His research interests include; Sino-Middle Eastern Relations, ethnonationalism in Xinjiang and its international implications, the Uyghur Diaspora, and the East Asian Democratization Processes. He has published extensively on all these topics.

1. The Uyghur Situation, Human Rights and the United Nations

Monday 7 May 2007

1.1 Word of Welcome

1.1.1 Speech by Mr. Marino Busdachin

General Secretary, Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization (UNPO)

One of the key contextual reasons for this training seminar is the fact that China is changing, though not in the way Uyghurs and those working for the protection of human rights and promotion of democracy would like.

We need to be asking ourselves how the Uyghurs can be better organized, more effective in lobbying, and better prepared to handle and disseminate reliable and effective information regarding human rights. Ultimately the aim is for Uyghurs to acquire the capacity to become an established interlocutor on the question of developing democracy in East Turkestan and China.

However, we need to be pragmatic. The right to self-determination might remain a core aspiration of the Uyghurs, yet in present international relations there is often-stated refusal to consider the issue of self-determination. There is no interlocutor on this subject except perhaps the United Nations. Indeed from the United States to Liechtenstein, no state wants to discuss how the right to self-determination could or should be implemented in international law. If all we want to talk about is self-determination, we will end up talking among ourselves.

If you consider the many nations that are enjoying freedom and self-government from Taiwan to Somaliland to Kosovo or Abkhazia, you will observe that even in their case there is little chance for these *de-facto* states to be recognized by the international community, let alone the United Nations.

The Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization (UNPO) was founded in 1991 to promote of the right to self-determination. Today, however, in order to be effective, 99% of our work focuses on the promotion of other fundamental rights.

I think that it would be very valuable for Uyghurs around the world to articulate and enlarge their strategy. More work needs to be done by Uyghur organisations to demand respect of human rights. Work also needs to be done to reinforce links with people inside East Turkestan.

Next year the Olympic Games will take place in China. There is a risk that the international community forgets about the death penalty, the countless violations of human rights and the exploitation of Uyghurs. Indeed, for the first time China will be praised as a prominent member of the international community. This will be a key moment for Uyghurs, Tibetans, Inner Mongolians and all the organisations supporting them. This is when we need to make sure that all these violations are not forgotten.

In the meantime, UNPO will continue its work to let the voice of Uyghurs be heard. Today for instance we will send a letter to all the Members of the European Parliament in which we ask them to nominate Rebiya Kadeer for the 2007 Nobel Peace Prize in order not to let the question of human rights and democracy in China be forgotten. That could be a very important first step which could lead many countries to request a little bit more from China in order to get friendly and peaceful Olympic Games next year.

1.1.2 Recommendations

- Uyghur organisations should focus on addressing violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms, rather than restricting the work to ‘the struggle for self-determination’.
- The 2008 Beijing Olympic Games represents an important occasion to highlight the situation of the Uyghurs and to focus attention on China’s human rights record
- Efforts should include initiatives to reinforce links between the diaspora and the home communities in East Turkestan.
- Compile and disseminate accurate, reliable information about the human rights situation for Uyghurs inside China

1.2 Uyghur Leadership: Past Achievements and Future Challenges

1.2.1 Speech by Ms. Rebiya Kadeer

President of the World Uyghur Congress

This is the second time that we organise such a seminar dedicated to the improvement of human rights and democracy in China. The first seminar took place in the United States. This indicates the willingness of the United States and the international community to help us.

We Uyghurs are just starting to present the situation of human rights in East Turkestan to the whole world. We still lack experience in such an exercise. The last training we organised focused on Uyghur Women and was very fruitful and successful training. This time we have gathered many important Uyghur human rights defenders. It is a great opportunity for us to learn how to systemise our work and to train our human rights defenders.

Uyghur people are facing critical human rights problems. The life and death struggle for survival which we are going through is quite different from all previous historical events such as the Mongol invasion or the Chinese invasions. The Chinese government is not only violating peoples’ fundamental rights, but also intentionally destroying their cultural identities. During this seminar, we will discuss methods to let international human rights organisations know about the situation in East Turkestan. We need to protect not only our cultural identity but our very existence. The Chinese government does not seem to be intimidated by the accusations of the international community. This government does not even listen to the pleas of Chinese people themselves.

We are very grateful to the United States and human rights organisations around the world for their support. As Mr. Busdachin mentioned, a historical opportunity lies ahead of us. During this seminar we will discuss the use of the Olympic Games to gain visibility. This event should be used to denounce the violations of human rights in China and the situation of Uyghurs, Mongols, Tibetans and all the people oppressed by the communist regime in China. We need to hold China accountable for the promises it made as a candidate to host the Olympics.

In order to do all this, we need to establish good relations with human rights organisations and governments around the world.

1.2.2 Recommendations

- Exploit the opportunity of the Olympic Games to raise awareness on human rights violations in China.
- Establish good relations with human rights organizations and governments around the world to create a platform for effective campaigns.

1.3 Responses in Face of Repression and Preservation of Uyghur Identity

1.3.1 Lecture by Dr. Ulrich Delius

Vice-Chairman, Gesellschaft für bedrohte Völker / Society for Threatened Peoples

Whilst I will not be able to present you with a solution to the East Turkestan question today I would like to share some relevant experiences made at the United Nations (UN).

The Society for Threatened People has had consultative status as an NGO at the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations since 1993. There are currently at least 2700 NGOs sharing this same status. All NGOs interested in getting the status have to apply to the UN and to an NGO committee based in India.

Among the 19 members of this committee are some of the most brutal regimes in the world, for instance China, Cuba, Russia, Sudan, India, Pakistan and many of China's partners. China is actively barring NGOs critical of its regime from consultative status.

To counter the massive allegations of human rights violations brought forward by accredited organisations, China and some of these perpetrators of human rights violations have built up government sponsored NGOs (the so-called GONGOs¹) to which they granted observer status at the United Nations.

Some ninety Chinese diplomats are working in Geneva in the Chinese embassy and many of them are representing these so-called GONGOs. You can sometimes see the same people speaking on behalf of four, five or six different NGOs. The first aim of this strategy is to prevent any criticism on China to be presented in the new UN Human Rights Council. The second aim is to give the impression that the situation has finally improved in China. They speak alongside the Tibetans, the Uyghurs, the Mongolians or the Falun Gong people and paint quite a different picture of human rights in China. It is an extremely difficult situation for us international NGOs, because many governments do not make any difference between GONGOs and independent NGOs

China is one of the leading forces in the world urging for a reform of the United Nations Human Rights instruments. In recent years, the Chinese have been talking about reform and are always trying to limit the access of international critical NGOs to the UN. Organisations such as UNPO that are very critical of China, experience serious challenges in terms of UN accreditation.

Less than 500 days before the beginning of the Olympic Games in Beijing, China is trying to present a soft image of its regime: that of a country trying to reform but unable to do so. This strategy

¹ GONGO stands for Government-Operated Non-Governmental Organisation.

seems to work in the international community. When we talk to German officials all of them tell us that China is changing, that China is trying to reform itself, that China is trying to work on these “extremely complicated” human rights questions.

We can legitimately ask ourselves if what we are talking about here is reform or only public relations. Certainly the political and economic situations are changing: the gap between rich and poor is increasing daily. But when it comes down to the human rights situation things are not changing, especially on the question of freedom of the press, freedom of association for human rights activists or freedom to express your opinion as a citizen through a petition or using the Internet. In all these fields finally the situation is not really improving, but it will improve only to a certain degree before the Olympic Games, and Chinese authorities just announced that most of this liberalisations which have now been decided will be left afterwards once again.

Several UN committees, including the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women have recently expressed deep concerns about the situation of human rights in China.

Having worked for 21 years on China and all oppressed peoples in East Asia, I find that the Tibetans are one of the most efficient groups working on human rights in China. They provide UN committees with as much information as possible, including lots of testimonies from people enduring Chinese oppression. There is a lot to learn from the Tibetan experience. They have put together a strong support community with groups in more than 170 countries throughout the world. They have managed to really challenge Chinese rule by documenting all human rights violations committed in Tibet every year. They publish reports every year, always based on different issues, making interesting and valuable information available to Human Rights activists, politicians or support groups lobbying in the western world.

Their documentation centres are publishing monthly newsletters with new information about human rights violations and they are extremely effective in collecting new documents, new information from refugees coming out from China. This is a precious channel of information for outside activists as there are very limited alternatives to acquire such information.

I am convinced that many western human rights organisation would be interested to work more on East Turkestan if they got more information. But for this to happen we need more facts and figures. This is of key importance if you want to do good advocacy work at the UN, with European governments, at the European Parliament or in national parliaments. It is not sufficient to go to parliamentarians and tell them that there is oppression in East Turkestan. They will immediately ask for concrete details. It is therefore necessary to work more in this direction.

The Uyghur Human Rights Project (UHRP)² is very promising and will hopefully become a perennial independent human rights organisation. The Uyghur American Association is also doing a marvellous job in the United States. There are Uyghur human rights activists scattered around the world creating websites in English, French, Turkish: these sources should be tapped into.

A few reports have been published recently on East Turkestan in the Western world (for instance one by Human Rights Watch and one by Amnesty International). Keep in mind that reports that are six or seven years old are normally too old to be taken into account by parliamentarians.

A new report was published a few weeks ago by Minority Rights Group, which could be used to do advocacy work. We also need photos and videos from East Turkestan. If you work with journalists, the first question they will ask you is whether you have photos. You have to work on these matters to improve your support in the international community.

You should not complain about the lack of awareness about the human rights situations in East Turkestan or compare your situation to that of the Tibetans. If you compare your real situation with that of Western Europe for example you will see that you are in fact on the same boat as the Tibetans. They have built a broad support movement but they did not achieve a lot with this

² See www.uhrp.org

movement. So having a broad support movement is one thing and improving your situation on the ground is another.

I heard many Uyghurs complain about the Tibetans and His Holiness the Dalai Lama. Some had the impression that the moral image of the Dalai Lama is really a great plus for Tibetans. There is, however, no reason for complaining, the Uyghurs also have advantages. You should try to play the Uyghur card. You have Mrs. Rebiya Kadeer, a fascinating personality whose family is still persecuted in China. She can also send out a very convincing message to many Europeans and Americans, bearing a strong testimony.

1.3.2 Question and Answer Session

Question: What is the good length for a human rights report? Should it be long and extensive or short and to the point?

Answer: Ideally, you should aim for both. Indeed both formats have advantages and disadvantages. If you can only do one of the two, you should publish short reports and get larger NGOs such as Human Rights Watch, Amnesty International or UNPO to issue reports on your cause. Indeed in order to get attention, you need to publish information on a regular basis, i.e. every two or three months. Send out a newsletter collecting the most important recent information about all human rights violations and publish extensive reports. If you only publish reports every six or seven years, too much time goes by for them to have sufficient impact- they become outdated. You should publicize all verifiable human rights violations you become aware of. Aim to publish this information in English and not only in Uyghur so as to increase your outreach. When publishing information, focus on concrete facts, not just on allegations. Indeed while the former increase your credibility, the latter might damage it.

1.3.3 Recommendations

- Learn and be encouraged by the Tibetan experience.
- Build a network of supporters throughout the world.
- Take advantage and advance the increasing international profile of Mrs. Rebiya Kadeer – to the benefit of the Uyghur cause and Uyghurs at large
- Issue reports on a regular basis (every two-three months) and issue newsletters detailing the situation in East Turkestan.
- Focus on concrete details, facts and figures, not allegations.
- Provide journalists with photographs and videos of East Turkestan.
- Make this information available in English so that a greater number of human rights organisations can have access to it.

1.4 Civil liberties in China: What Possible Future for East Turkestan?

1.4.1 Speech by M. Mamaitiming Aila

Human Rights Without Frontiers

[Below is an extract of intervention]

What we need to define together is the kind of future we want to build for Uyghurs. As you all know, civil liberties such as the right to assemble, freedom of religion or freedom of expression are not granted in China.

In 1992, 192 people submitted a petition to the 16th National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party. Their suggestion was to launch a political reform in the field of human rights. This resulted in the arrest and imprisonment of this campaign's initiator (Mr. Zhao Changqing) by the Chinese authorities.

The numerous arrests of journalists and editors illustrate the absence of freedom of the press in China. Religious freedom is also under surveillance. Raising awareness on human rights within China is therefore quite a challenge. In order to allow Uyghurs in particular and Chinese people in general to enjoy their civil liberties, we first need to achieve the democratisation of China. This will require joint efforts and well-prepared work.

We need to have a very systematic approach on this issue. We also need to have close ties with other human rights organisations around the world. This is crucial to reaching our goal of promoting democracy in China. We have to unite and work in a more effective way.

1.4.2 Recommendations

- Network and have close ties with other human rights organisations around the world.
- Devise systematic strategies and tactics in trying to promote democratization of China.

1.5 International Human Rights Instruments and Effective Participation at the UN

1.5.1 Lecture and workshop by Mr. Joshua Cooper

Lecturer, Hawaii Institute for Human Rights

The declaration of human rights was an aspiration. For the first time in world history countries affirmed jointly that all humans are born with inherent rights and that states have a responsibility to protect and promote human rights. Yet, although these rights were enshrined in the thirty articles of the declaration, there was no body that people could bring their claims to.

The commission which drafted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) was chaired by Eleanor Roosevelt, who played an instrumental role bringing all the factions together in the difficult context of the early cold war.

The United Nations (UN) subsequently created instruments which international institutions, groups and individual citizens could use to ask governments to live up to their obligations. The UDHR contains civil, political, economic and social rights altogether. During the cold war, Western countries were more in favour of civil and political rights such as the right to vote, freedom of ballot, freedom of speech, freedom of assembly or the right to a fair trial. They initiated the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR). All the while, Eastern countries rather supported economic, social and cultural rights such as the right to healthcare, the right to education or labour rights. These countries backed the project of an International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR).

Then the UN began to create new international instruments and institutions. In addition to the Universal Declaration and the two International Covenants, nine treaties have been ratified. All these treaties provide for the creation of monitoring bodies. We are now going to look at these bodies and see how you can access them.

The first treaty created after the two International Covenants was the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination of 1969. It provides for the establishment of a Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD) to oversee the implementation of the Convention. It was the first treaty body to be created and it was constituted of 18 experts. Racial discrimination is an area you can concentrate on. Many indigenous peoples and ethnic minorities bring their cases to CERD.

Another important treaty is the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). After that came the Convention Against Torture (CAT), which the Dutch government and the NGO Amnesty International successfully advocated for. It was followed by the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) and the Convention on Migrant Workers (CMW). These are the main ones. Last year two new conventions were created: one on disappearances³ and one on disabilities⁴. They were prepared by the Human Rights Council and the former Commission for Human Rights.

So we are going to focus on the seven treaty bodies. Each one of these treaties has a body that meets at least twice or thrice a year. Each treaty body has a different number of members and these are the members you want to influence, talk to, do advocacy work with. They are experts so you need to be thorough, documented and precise when you contact them. If a good relation is successfully established these experts may become your advocates.

As countries ratify these international treaties, the committees review them. Countries have to submit reports on a regular basis and can be reviewed at any time. You can always use these international instruments to put pressure on China in your case. Of these seven treaties, China has only ratified five. By adopting and ratifying them, Chinese authorities have agreed to respect them. This means that you can hold them accountable.

In a way, the process could be compared to a sandwich. You are at the grassroots level. You are the Uyghurs pushing up at the bottom of the loaf. The UN is at the top but they rely on the information you provide to be able to denounce the situation in China. China is the meat in the middle. You are putting pressure on both sides so you can take a bite out of your burger.

Report Procedure

³ International Convention for the Protection of All Persons from Enforced Disappearance.

⁴ International Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Rights and Dignity of Persons with Disabilities.

The treaty bodies work in two different ways. Firstly, the report procedure. Signatories - China for instance – submits a report which is reviewed, alongside the country's record, by the committee. China could submit a report claiming that there are no particular human rights situations. Without your active participation, the committees might not have any initial information to suggest otherwise. The Uyghurs should therefore start submitting “shadow reports”, explaining article by article the actual human rights situation in China. This systematic approach can and should be done for every instrument.

Articles 17, 21 and 30 of the Convention of the Rights of the Child can be very useful for instance. According to those articles indigenous children are supposed to be able to be schooled in their mother tongue, people should have access to media in their own indigenous language and basic life necessities should be provided in people's language. If any of those three articles are not respected where you live, you have a case. You could point out under article 17 that there are no textbooks in your language or that the use of your language is banned. This is just one example. You want to organize a campaign on every treaty and make sure to present shadow reports detailing East Turkestan's situation article by article. As China reports to these bodies you prepare a shadow report that will give an accurate portrayal to what is happening to your people.

There are a couple of things that you can do at the committee when it meets. In some committees you are allowed to give a speech. Another UNPO Member presented a shadow report when the United States met with the Human Rights Committee for instance. There were 18 experts present. These experts are elected and appointed by governments but they are serving in their independent capacity so they actually do not serve any country. CEDAW has 23 experts, of whom 22 are women. One of the other Members UNPO has been assisting is the Khmer Krom Federation from Vietnam. Last January they submitted a shadow report at CEDAW, received great coverage and moved things in a positive direction. The shadow report was written in a few weeks, whereas its impact feeds into to the relevant government being under review for two years. The Khmer Krom were even able to give a speech directly to the CEDAW committee on the opening day. Four questions out of the eight suggested were subsequently asked to the Vietnamese government by the experts were based on the information we provided. The experts can become advocates of your human rights situation once they are educated and receive reliable information. They will not only ask questions but also issue recommendations.

For each instrument you can organize a shadow report and put pressure on the government. If you know what should be done in your country and what steps should be taken you draft the recommendations and give them to the experts. The focus is twofold, first your immediate job is to determine and document what human rights violations are taking place. Then you localise and approach the proper channel [e.g. relevant treaty body] at the UN.

There are usually three possibilities in the recommendation section, the first is to get rid of a law that is discriminatory in nature, the second is to ask for a new law to protect your rights and the third is to come up with a new law that then guarantees your rights based on the recommendations of the international treaty body.

Individual Complaints

That represents the first aspect. The other section is related to individual complaints. If an individual has their human rights violated, is detained and tortured, denied access to school, not allowed to practice their religion and so on, then you can individually apply to each one of those as well. While shadow reports work with the cycle of the UN, these individual complaints can be made at any time. When something happens, instead of only issuing a press release, you should immediately approach the relevant treaty body to put pressure on China. Most are Geneva-based. Only CEDAW is based in New York. You can of course e-mail them, fax or send letters. Usually they are good at issuing a timely response.

For example with CERD, under article 14 you can apply to report an “immediate violation” of the treaty in the field of racial discrimination. Another article provides for “early warning, urgent action”. If you are planning either a march or an annual event where there is usually a crackdown by the Chinese, you should alert CERD and ask them to issue an “early warning, urgent action” procedure that will actually call China in during their meeting and put pressure on them immediately. If they do not change their practice the committee will actually hold them for over a year and review their case over and over again. We did this in relation to Australia, indicating that efforts can be directed not only to ‘weak countries’. Eventually Australia quit the committee because they could not get off the list. For a year and a half, every time the committee met they put pressure on Australia on the question of the Aborigines. It was front page news in their newspapers when normally it was only on the back page. Australia also did not pass a new racist law as planned, because of the pressure from this committee. That new law that would have taken away more land rights, and through the pressure it put, the committee prevented it. This is an effective way to raise more awareness in the media and mobilize people.

CEDAW also created an optional protocol allowing individual petitions and they are very hungry for individual petitions. The one last thing about the treaty bodies is that China is actually overdue. In fact there is a certain timetable where you have to turn in your report. Both the report for CEDAW and the one for CERD are late. So we can actually pick anniversary dates of when they are supposed to be turned in and do media work. Immediate action can be taken on those two.

This is just a rough, brief overview of the international instruments on the treaty body side of the UN. Even if China has not ratified the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of Migrant workers, you can put pressure on them to ratify these instruments, but you have five other treaties you can do a lot of work on before.

Former Commission on Human Rights

If you look at the United Nations there are treaty bodies that you all know now and also the charter bodies. The charter bodies are for instance the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC), the Human Rights Council (which replaces the Commission on Human Rights), the latter which includes Working Groups and the Special Rapporteurs.

The charter bodies are important for you to put pressure on China. Especially as China was the first signatory of the United Nations Charter in San Francisco on June 26th 1945. For sixty years the human rights-related Charter Bodies were pretty standard. The main body was the Commission on Human Rights. The Commission used to meet for six weeks each year from March to April. Every year up until last year the Commission on Human Rights was the main body focusing on human rights in the main Charter. It would pass initiatives that would then go to ECOSOC. Then it would go up to the General Assembly. And as the General Assembly is where you would eventually want to have a seat, you understand that participating to the work of this Commission was already a big step. The Commission on Human Rights was composed of 53 governments and the Sub-commission had only 26 experts. You would have lobbied them to push for something that you wanted to be created or for them to pass a resolution to put pressure on a country. That is what operated for sixty years up until last year, the Commission for Human Rights was the main body for human rights NGOs to do all their advocacy work.

Let provide an illustration of how one group, the indigenous peoples of America and Australia, announced a global movement and what they created through this body. In 1977 at the occasion of the international decade focusing on racial discrimination, indigenous peoples were invited to share their opinion on racial discrimination. After that meeting the indigenous peoples were invited back in 1981 to talk about land. The next year, they put enough pressure to create the Working Group on Indigenous Populations (WGIP). The working group consists of 5 experts and usually meets in the summertime (in July). If you lobbied there you could bring an issue before the Sub-commission which met in August for two to three weeks. What is important is to recognise how the indigenous peoples have been able to put a foot in the door and keep widening it to bring up human rights

violations. The WGIP is the institution that most indigenous peoples participate in. When it was first created in 1982 there were only a dozen taking part in its work. Now over a thousand indigenous peoples from all over the world attend WGIP sessions. In a way it has become the world congress of indigenous peoples. It has a different theme every year (demilitarization, children's rights...). Usually if you brought an issue to the working group and organized well it would go right to the Sub-commission. The Sub-commission used to be composed of 26 experts, so it was a good group to lobby, they knew their issues very well. If successful, a proposition would then be submitted to the Commission in March or April, then to ECOSOC in July the next year and eventually to the General Assembly, which usually meets for the first time on the second Tuesday of September. It would thus take at least two years for an issue brought up by grass-root activists to be presented to the General Assembly.

New Human Rights Council

This all changed last year. The Commission was replaced by a Human Rights Council. The Council met for the first time on June 19th 2006 and they are still working on all the details. But with new things come new opportunities. The Human Rights Council has 47 members. Many whom are also Muslims so you can organize with them, it could a very interesting strategy. The Human Rights Council as opposed to the Commission on Human rights does not meet once a year but least three to four times a year (it met four times last year). This means that if there is a pressing human rights issue you do not have to wait until March or April. The fifth session of the Council will take place in Geneva in June 11th-18th.

I would suggest preparing side presentation or lunch session during a meeting of the Council where you can speak about the situation of the Uyghur people. This could be well-attended and reach a core group. If you go to the UN, they have a very intense work schedule. Side sessions take place between lunch hours, 1-3 PM. In this period you can organize a conference or a mini-panel, you can have experts do a ten-minute speech on the human rights situation of the Uyghur people during that event. I am sure Ms. Rebiya Kadeer will have a large audience if she came to speak. UNPO could assist in planning such for upcoming Council sessions.

As you can tell by the name Council, the body replacing the Commission is now elevated. The other councils in the United Nations are the Economic and Social Council and the Security Council. According to former UN Secretary General Kofi Annan, human rights, security and development are now all equal. Annan asserted that "You cannot have any of the three without the without the others", indicating the nexus between 'security', 'human rights', and 'development'. The Human Rights Council is not placed under the ECOSOC (like the Commission was). It reports directly to the General Assembly. Besides meeting more often than the Commission, the Council can call for special sessions. It actually already had four special sessions in its first year. In the entire sixty years of the Human Rights Commission there were only two special sessions. So you can see that there is already a huge intensification.

Since there are 47 members and the Council is brand new it is actually not as selective as it used to be. Last May, on the 9th they voted for the first time who would be the members of the Human Rights Council. All the countries that wanted to be on it made a lot of promises and pledges on what they would do to protect our human rights. Lots of voluntary promises, lots of pledges and lots of commitments were made to live up to human rights standards. A big issue at stake is also human rights education and every country that agreed to participate said that human rights education would be a priority. That is where you would begin by learning as a child that you have certain rights. That is a very good thing, you know your rights, then you can demand your rights and then you know which instruments to use.

The other aspect that is brand new in the Human Rights Council is that they are looking to create something called the Universal Periodic Review (UPR). The Universal Periodic Review would be a mechanism through which each country's human rights record would be reviewed every 3 years.

This new mechanism where a country has to come before and defend its human rights record never existed before in the UN. The Universal Periodic Review is a new mechanism, they are still working out whether or how it would function. But it is an important area and NGOs are actually lobbying to make sure that it is not weakened. This Universal Periodic Review is a brand new system so even if China has not ratified certain human rights conventions, under this mechanism they will be held accountable for every human right that exists.

The Commission for Human Rights created around 44 Special Rapporteurs, also known as independent experts, would then work on specific themes or countries. I would add that it would be difficult for us to aim to get a Special Rapporteur on China, frankly speaking. If someone proposed such a resolution, China would use all of its political weight to make sure that that resolution does not get passed. If you look at the thirteen country-specific rapporteurs you see that the countries picked were Belarus, Burundi, Cambodia, Cuba, Korea, Haiti, Liberia... the hardest one to get there was Myanmar. Even though it is difficult you could consider putting pressure on trying to create a special Rapporteur on China.

There are currently 22 Special Rapporteurs on themes, four independent experts and three special representatives of the Secretary General, but they are all the same, they are all rapporteurs. The one that you would like to know is Professor Rodolfo Stavenhagen. His field of work is Fundamental Freedoms and Human Rights of Indigenous People. Other relevant rapporteurs are the ones working on the right to food, the one working on violence against women and the one specialized on Human Rights Defenders. I would say most of you in this room would qualify as Human Rights Defenders. Many governments such as that of China want to get rid of the Special Rapporteurs because they signify 40 experts who visit countries and produce documents and reports on those countries.

Contacting them is fairly straight-forward. There is for example a Special Rapporteur on trafficking of women and children. If anyone was trafficked in your community, contact the Special Rapporteur in Geneva and they could put immediate pressure on the government. This is why the specific themes and subjects are essential. Though it may not be feasible within the immediate term, you can also request that a Special Rapporteur visits your country. The specific Special Rapporteur can visit your country and then write a report that documents the true situation. Upon their visits, the Rapporteurs write reports reviewing the laws, human rights violations and give recommendations. They constitute a pretty formidable force in International Law. For every rapporteur there is a related assistant or two. You should aim to approach and get to know these well.

Then there is the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights. She meets and negotiates with China every year on human rights. This is called the “*constructive dialogue*”. This started with former Irish president Mary Robinson as she became the High Commissioner for Human Rights. Louise Arbour who used to be a justice of the Canadian Supreme Court replaced her and she continued to use that process.

Finally, the outlined instruments are just some of the available avenues within the UN system. I would encourage you to follow the work of and participate in the newly established Human Rights Council. Although there have been several well-founded critics and several challenges remain, the Council is in its institution-building stage and some improvements and changes may be of direct benefit, if used effectively, also for the Uyghur cause.

1.5.2 Recommendations

- Submit ‘Shadow Reports’ to the Committees monitoring human rights China.

- China's reports for CEDAW and CERD are overdue: use the anniversary dates of when these reports were supposed to be submitted do media work.
- Send information to and request action from the Human Rights Council's Special Rapporteurs.
- Organise side events during the sessions of the Human Rights Council.
- Try to network with the Islamic members of the Human Rights Council.

2. Diplomacy, International Law and Effective Organisation

Tuesday 8 May 2007

2.1 Introduction to Effective International Diplomacy

2.1.1 Lecture by Prof. Dr. Georg Frerks

Professor, Center for Conflict Studies (University of Utrecht)

My speech is entitled *Introduction to Effective International Diplomacy*. I will try to provide a concise overview of the subject. I will first examine the history of international diplomacy and policy in general, then I will highlight a few current trends and present some conclusions that I hope are relevant to your own situation.

As we all remember from our history books, diplomacy started at the level of kings and emperors who exchanged ambassadors to decide on various issues. Later it focused on the relationships between states and in the last century states also accredited ambassadors and representatives in multilateral as well as bilateral organisations. Far into the last century diplomacy remained focused on states and was conducted at the level of *high politics* by presidents, ambassadors, generals, high representatives, etc.

Originally, states were only driven by their own interests. International Relations were a game of power relationships. This is what academics call *political realism*: an approach focused on state power and state interest with no reluctance to use force. Later, another approach came about, inspired by international law and the ideals of the United Nations system: the philosophy of *liberal idealism*. Those in favour of this attitude in international relations believe that a stable and peaceful world can be achieved thus. They believe that one can refer to international law by international negotiations and peaceful means.

The harder approach condones the use of force while the softer approach recommends the use of soft power, negotiation and mediation. In the practice of international diplomacy a combination of both styles can be observed. Some people would argue that all countries and states of great geopolitical power will rely more on the politically realist *modus operandi* while smaller weaker countries rather tend to rely on the politically idealist approach. This applies to international relations as well as national situations.

We tend to classify countries in one group or the other. The United States are for instance often seen as a country with a fairly realist approach, China may also be considered so both externally and internally, while the Dutch and Northerners can be said to be in the liberal idealist line of thinking. These are of course quite crude classifications. Indeed the United States have followed both political idealism and realism during different periods of their history.

In the jargon of international relations, people are now starting to talk about multi-level tracks of diplomacy in which the governmental track is not the only track anymore. Some academics identify three tracks: the official governmental line, the intermediary nongovernmental line and the grassroots or community-based organisations. Others also evoke specific tracks for churches, parliamentarians, media, trade unions, corporations and so on. All those sectors are in a way mobilised to contribute to negotiations. From classical political topics to climate, employment, democracy or human rights, the subjects themselves have become very broad. As a consequence, situations in international diplomacy at all those different levels have become very complicated. There are no standard solutions or approaches that would always work for all these issues and international organisations such as the United Nations need to reinvent themselves all the time in an effort to deal with ever-changing situations. Apart from political realism and liberal idealism all sorts of approaches can be seen in diplomacy: approaches focusing on social and psychological issues, governance, international law, and people generally agree to say that one approach is not sufficient.

Let me come back to one of the questions asked by the organizers of this event: “Is international diplomacy in all its variations effective?” I do not know what your own assessment is, but when I ask my students to give me successful examples of international diplomacy or peace negotiations, they usually find it very difficult to come up with any. We see a lot of problematic issues around us and a lot of attempts which have not yet been very successful, but one should also note that partial successes have been achieved here and there. I would now like to outline a few problems or limitations in this field and propose a few ideas to increase the effectiveness of international negotiations and international diplomacy.

A recurring problem is the inability to overcome a difference of interests or a clear willingness not to do so. Certain decision-making procedures such as the ones including a right of veto often make it impossible to reach an effective approach because if one member blocks a possible solution nothing can be done. The Security Council of the UN is an example, but similar mechanisms are also to be found in the European Union or at national level in coalition-based cabinets.

The lack of knowledge and learning in international or national institutions constitutes another problem. It is sometimes shocking to see how little officials know about local situations. The WUC and the UNPO have certainly experienced having to explain over and over again what is going on in this or that part of the world.

A third problem lies in the lack of resources. While the international community is very good at pledging money at international conferences, it has a shameful reputation in keeping its promises. Very often less than ten percent of the money pledged for reconstruction is really made available. Taking effective action thus becomes difficult.

In such a context, what can be done to improve the effectiveness of negotiations? First of all, the different parties involved need to be shown that they have an interest in reaching a conclusion. They need to be persuaded that the present situation, the status quo, is damaging them. Mediators can sometimes use certain forms of influence or leverage to put pressure on negotiations. Positive inducements, rewards and positive stimuli can also be used to come to a solution. In the practice of international diplomacy one often observes a combined use of “sticks” and “carrots”. Carrots generally seem to work better than sticks, but there are difficult customers with whom sticks are perhaps more effective instruments.

Negotiations should in any case be inclusive. People who were left out are indeed likely to disagree with their outcome and thus spoil the results achieved. People often believe that in order to succeed, negotiations have to be conducted in secret. I believe that there needs to be a good balance between publicity, advocacy, campaigning or lobbying on the one hand and quietness on the other.

Diplomacy has evolved from an exercise of high politics to one that has consequences on everyone’s daily life. Mono-track discussions are now taking place in a multi-track context where non-governmental organisations and civil society have come to play an important role. Situations are complex and there is not a standard approach which can be used every time. Quick and immediate success of nonviolent negotiation is rare. This type of action requires a long-term perspective. One essential lesson to learn from international relations is that approaches are ideals. One has to be pragmatic and flexible enough to combine them when necessary.

2.1.2 Question and Answer Session

Question: Would you say that diplomatic negotiations have more chances of success if they are associated with secret promises?

Answer: I told you that use of sticks and carrots is part of this international diplomatic game. Promises can sometimes be secret but also out in the open, for example regarding the International Criminal Court, it is well-known that the United States told a number of countries that if they did not ratify the Court's statute they would receive impressive packages of development aid, but that if they joined the Court aid would be withheld. What is kept secret is of course difficult for us to know, that is always a problem with such matters. During the peace talks between the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam and the Sri Lankan government in Tokyo, the international community told both conflict parties that if they started a credible peace process and made measurable progress they would give them 4.1 Billion US Dollars for a reconstruction program. The international community clearly told them that if they made efforts to find an agreement they would be rewarded but that if they did not those funds would not be dispersed. Secret and public promises are part of the diplomatic negotiating game.

Question: What role can NGOs play in international diplomacy?

Answer: I believe that NGOs, community-based organizations, all types of non-governmental alliances can be increasingly helpful to provide a type of knowledge that is also a means to move these types of negotiations. My experience is that a number of NGOs and NGO alliances in Europe or in the United States have really increased the possibility for groups to enter negotiations by providing this type of evidential backing.

2.1.3 Recommendations

- Diplomatic efforts need a good balance of reliable information, WUC and the Uyghur community can play a key role here
- NGOs can assist in highlighting relevant non-state actors, as it is increasingly recognised that negotiations should be as inclusive as possible.

2.2 Applying International Law: The ICTY and Defense Work

2.2.1 Lecture by Ms. Krystyna Grinberg

Legal Advisor, International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia

The ICTY, which stands for the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia, was created in response to a number of conflicts that took place in the former Yugoslavia. The former

Yugoslavia now consists of the countries of Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia & Herzegovina, Serbia Montenegro, Kosova, and Macedonia. The conflict that the ICTY deals with began at 1991 when two nationalities, Croatia and Slovenia, declared their independence from Yugoslavia. For the next decade there were a number of different conflicts that took place on the same territory as different nationalities and groups declared their independence and attempted to create new borders and countries. Because the tribunal deals with many different conflicts, one of its interesting features is that it can hear at the same time Serbians being prosecuted for crimes against Croats, Croats being tried for the aggression of Bosnian Muslims and Bosnian Muslims who attacked Croats.

The court was set up by the United Nations Security Council in May 1993. It was established on the basis of Chapter 7 of the UN Charter which states that the Security Council can take measures to maintain or restore international peace and security. It was the first truly international war crimes tribunal and it has a very specific jurisdiction. It can only try international crimes which took place in the territory of the former Yugoslavia since the first of January 1991. It can only try individuals, so it can not prosecute organisations or governments. The tribunal is run according to an independent system of law composed of different elements from domestic systems. It has jurisdiction over violations of law or the customs of war, genocide, crimes against humanity and great breaches of the Geneva Conventions. The tribunal can give punishments up to a term of life imprisonment, there is no death penalty at the tribunal.

I will now briefly explain the relationship of the ICTY to the other international courts. The two main international courts in The Hague are the International Court of Justice (ICJ) based in the Peace Palace and the International Criminal Court (ICC). The International Court of Justice was also set up by the United Nations. It is a permanent court set up to settle disputes between countries as opposed to individuals. The International Criminal Court is independent from the United Nations. It is a permanent court and it has jurisdiction over crimes that have occurred since July 1st 2002. The International Criminal Court tries individuals for crimes such as genocide, crimes against humanity and war crimes. At the moment there are around 104 states that are members of the International Criminal Court and a number of states that oppose it. These include China, the United States and India.

I work with a small group of people and we defend someone charged with crimes against humanity and genocide. I often get asked how I feel working for the defense, whether I feel guilty and whether I think my client is guilty. These questions sometimes stem from a common misconception that defense lawyers are dishonest and lie. I usually reply that I am very passionate and proud of what I do. I strongly believe that international courts can make a very valuable contribution to ensuring peace and stability in the world. Without a proper system of defense, the work of these courts would lose its meaning. The defense is there to ensure that there is procedural fairness and that the rights of the accused, rights that should be afforded to all people, are respected. These are rights such as the right to a fair trial, the right to be presumed innocent until proven guilty and of course the right to defend oneself.

An incident which occurred in the case *The Prosecutor vs. Tadic* at the ICTY illustrates this well: one of the prosecution's main witnesses came to testify in front of the tribunal and testified that he had seen the accused commit many atrocities. He said that his father and brother had died. The defense were actually able to locate this witness' father and brother. When the time came for cross-examination they confronted him with his father and brother. He first claimed that he did not know them but admitted after a while that they were indeed his father and brother. The witness said that he had been pressured to go to the tribunal and lie. At this stage the prosecutor stood up and informed the court that they should not regard this witness' testimony as reliable. If there had not been any defense in this case, this would not have been discovered or it could have been found out after the judgment had been issued and brought the entire case into disrepute. The defense provides an essential check to what is occurring at the tribunal, they ensure that the courts are creating a reliable record and that the people of the former Yugoslavia and the people everywhere can have faith in its judgments.

2.2.2 Question and Answer Session

Question: How can one present an issue to the International Criminal Court?

Answer: The ICC is set up so that individuals can directly communicate with the office of the prosecutor and communicate their complaints. The ICC endeavors to respond to every complaint it receives and it does receive a large amount of communications. However, there have been many situations where it just does not have the jurisdiction to deal with that particular situation. As I mentioned before, since China is not a state party in the International Criminal Court, therefore unless the United Nations Security Council refers the situation to the Court, it cannot prosecute crimes having occurred in China. There has been only one situation where the Security Council referred a case to the International Criminal Court and that is the Darfur situation in Sudan. One of the things that led to this action of the Security Council was perhaps the amount of international pressure and publicity about what was occurring in Sudan.

Question: Is the International Criminal Court competent to hear cases concerning Uyghur farmers forced to work without compensation by the Chinese government?

Answer: Forced labor can be considered enslavement and a crime against humanity. However, as I explained earlier, because of jurisdiction restrictions, it would be very difficult to bring a case before the International Criminal Court. I nonetheless think that it is still very useful to continue bringing the Uyghur question to the attention of the international community, the International Criminal Court and the United Nations.

2.2.3 Recommendations

- Whilst not relying on the international courts as a primary avenue, the Uyghur community should ensure that the Uyghur question is brought to the attention of the international community and international institutions
- Consider lobbying for expansion of the jurisdiction of courts such as the ICC, as well as ratification by China in the long-term

2.3 Alternative Methods: Guiding a Group or Organisation

2.3.1 Lecture by Dr. Albrecht Göring

Barrister-at-law, Expert on Uyghur Issues

Today I shall endeavour to present alternative methods to guide a group or organisation. People working in organisations could be compared to organs. A hand, a leg, a heart, a lung, these are all interconnected and interdependent. When someone steps on your toes, it might only be your foot that hurts, but your whole body is affected.

In Western societies, bureaucracy does a lot to restrain or hamper the work of organisations. This is an element to keep in mind when setting up projects. Dealing with bureaucracy will take up a lot of your time.

The work of Uyghur organisations in western countries consists of bringing attention to unknown situations. A challenge faced by these organisations is the growth individualism in our societies. As a result of this phenomenon, *organisations* do not enjoy the same trust as they used to in the past. German society is for instance very sceptical of uncontrolled masses. The memory of Hitler and a genocide which cost seven million lives is still present on people's minds, and this fuels a fear of large groups, organisations, and masses. People are afraid to bestow too much power in organisations, then see them choose a guide, a *Führer*. They fear losing control and falling into dictatorship. Uyghur movements asking for support should bear in mind this suspicion of organisations.

I believe that you all know the principle of alpha-males who tend towards dominating their groups. There are always alpha-males within human organisations, and group members are often inclined towards idealising them. Average people within groups might be tempted to let alpha-males dominate them, as leaders in the cast of the alpha-male tend to provide a sense of calm and a sense of steadiness. What they might not do however, is to provide a strong foundation for participatory democracy.

Power abuses can of course be prevented structurally, as in systems such as that in the United States, complete with its "checks and balances". In order to gain *people's* trust, counteracting their prevalent suspicion of *organisations*, Uyghur organisations might highlight the fact that the rules governing them are democratic. These democratic principles place structural constraints upon the activities and freedoms of their leadership.

An organization, such as the WUC or UNPO, could also be compared to an orchestra. There are individual trumpets and flutes playing, but what you hear is not the instruments, what you hear is their combined melody or tune. Similarly, Uyghurs living in diaspora work hard to protect individual rights for their fellow Uyghurs; their right to worship freely, their right to teach their children their own language, and their right to assemble freely and control their own future. The result of this work however, its goal, is the survival of the Uyghur culture, a culture which draws upon all these elements simultaneously. Political freedoms are important precisely because they enable each component of culture to survive, each instrument to play.

As UNPO General Secretary Mr. Busdachin pointed out in his introductory speech, the question of "self-determination" is therefore not one that can be asked or addressed immediately as a single question or issue. This process must be considered as composed of a number of stages and a number of components. Amongst the most important of these is raising awareness of the challenges faced by the Uyghur community, and in particular the prevalence of humans rights abuses. Addressing these problems, by promoting a respect for these rights, can help build the platform upon which the survival of Uyghur culture depends.

2.3.2 Recommendations

- Uyghur organisations should highlight the fact that they are governed by democratic rules.
- Instead of voicing general claims, we should concentrate our efforts on denouncing concrete human rights violations.

2.4 Nonviolent methodology and effective organization

2.4.1 Lecture and workshop by Mr. Marco Perduca

Member of the General Council, Nonviolent Radical Party
Treasurer, UNPO Foundation

The Nonviolent Radical Party, despite its scary name is a non-violent organization. It is a political organization but not a party that participates in elections. It is political in the sense that we address political problems but also because the organization is structured the same way political parties are. This means that we have a general assembly and a general council elected by members which selects a president, a secretary and a treasurer. This happens during a congress where people have long and interesting debates; a congress that ends with the adoption of a document where we set objectives after a general analysis of the current general political situation.

In December we decided to change the party's name, to remove "transnational" and put "non-violent" in order to clarify that the most important feature of the organization is a non-violent struggle to achieve specific objectives. It is interesting to see how this small Italian organization developed into an NGO which is now affiliated with the United Nations. This happened at a time when the Soviet Union was collapsing and Africa was having problems of famine while the European Community did not do much to support individuals in these parts of the world. We thought that if there was such a thing as a right, it had to be transnational, belong to everybody, be respected and enjoyed all over the world.

The symbol of the organization has always been the face of Mohandas Gandhi which is designed with the word "radical party" written in 46 languages. We have always used Gandhi and nonviolence as opposed to other types of nonviolence. Gandhian nonviolence recognized the need to respect the law of the land. This important element of Gandhian nonviolence obliges you to think about the law and calls upon the institutions to respect their own law. There are of course situations in which unjust laws may limit or violate individual rights. The activists should disobey an unjust law and emphasize the different aspects that make it an unjust law. You disobey a law to change it, not to be treated in a special way. What is requested is not a special treatment for yourself or your group but the expansion or protection of the sphere of individual freedom and choice.

Different techniques can be used to disobey a law. The most important is that the act of disobedience be as public as possible. It should be announced in advance, making clear that the purpose of the action is to denounce a law through disobedience. The police and the authorities should be notified that the law will be disobeyed on a specific day. You should also announce your willingness to suffer the consequences of this violation. These consequences could be a physical confrontation with the police or the army or could also be some days in jail. Before starting this kind of activity, you have to be very convinced of your cause. You should engage, as Gandhi was doing, with yourself or with your comrades in a dialogue to analyze the general situation. You should then define what can be asked to the institutions.

The final objective is not to put your group above the law but to change the general situation for this group and others that also suffer the consequences of that law.

Dialogue is essential when you have to reach out to other groups or institutions that should give you what you believe should be given. After analysing the situation and having an internal dialogue, it is very important to identify who outside your group - as depositary of the law - should be selected as the interlocutor. For Gandhi things were easy in a way because he had to deal with the British Empire. Even though it was an empire, it was based on the rule of law. Occupied lands were governed according to specific norms. The British Empire also recognized the role of public opinion by

allowing freedom of speech, freedom of demonstration and freedom of the press. This was a “perfect” context for nonviolence to actually trigger positive results.

The situation of the Uyghurs is completely different. You are confronted with an undemocratic regime that does not allow freedom of the press, freedom of demonstration, or freedom of speech. A national entity that is not very sympathetic towards the implementation of international norms and has not ratified several major human rights treaties. Such a situation does not mean that nonviolence is not possible to promote the cause of East Turkestan. What is already possible is to have this kind of nonviolent activities in the so called Diaspora in Europe and the United States. In that case your interlocutor would be a national government or a regional organization. If you want to do nonviolence in Europe or United States you have to target a national government or a regional institution like the European Union. This kind of exercise can be quite tiring so before starting a lot of time should be devoted to publicising the issue you hold dear. It should be publicised within civil society but also among politicians in order to establish a dialogue with non-Uyghurs living in Europe. Teach them the history of your people and present the situation of China as a whole. Work can also be done with Western politicians who may count on your community’s votes. In supporting them for office, you should not only engage in this dialogue but try to have them promise that once elected they will not forget your support and work towards your cause. If a group of Uyghurs living in Germany support someone running for parliament for instance, they should try and have an agreement. The agreement could be that you keep on providing them information and telling them what is going on. They could open the doors of the local assembly to you and teach you how the legislative body works.

You could also resort to transnational nonviolence. I know that some of you have signed a petition to support the idea of having the United Nations adopt a resolution demanding a moratorium on capital executions. This could become a worldwide campaign for next year when the Olympic Games will be held in Beijing.

I know that there is already a campaign to boycott the games in Beijing, but as we said in the very beginning it is important to set a goal that you can actually achieve. While in principle not having the Olympic Games in a country that has a record of massive and systematic violation of human rights sounds like a good idea, knowing the political role in the world and the economic power that China has today nobody would support your idea.

Everybody would go to Beijing and you would not have achieved anything. We therefore need to think about what could be done instead. When the old Olympic Games were taking place in ancient Greece, all wars had to stop. The purpose of the games was and still is to promote friendship among peoples through sports. We could use this as a basis to launch a campaign asking China to suspend all the executions and death sentences during that month long period. This would therefore also be an opportunity to tell the world what is happening in China. Remind people that there are trials without lawyers, no right to stage public demonstrations, no freedom of expression. You will be denouncing the general situation in China at a moment in which the whole world will look at China because of the Olympic Games. There are no laws that can be used to make China suspend capital punishment. But because the important part of nonviolence is to ask for the respect of the law, we could urge European and American and Latin American countries that have established a company or factory in China to employ Chinese workers with a regular contract. A contract containing the principles of the constitution of the People’s Republic of China. It may not be the best constitution in the world but it contains at least a few rights that can be used in a positive way. They can be used if they are known and respected. China has also ratified the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights. If they do not recognise free trade unions, they send a message to the world that they do not recognize international norms. So another type of activity could focus on China’s non-implementation of international norms at home. This should be done not only after a dialogue within the Uyghur community but also with the Tibetans, the Mongolians, the Taiwanese as well as all the countries that suffer the policies and politics of China. I think it is worth to try to unify the general efforts of all the people that are being oppressed in China. You should also use UNPO as a means to reach out to the various groups, exchange views and learn from the experiences of other nations.

2.4.2 Question and Answer Session

Question: What should people do when their own government oppresses them? Does nonviolence allow the use of violence for self-defense?

Answer: The preamble of the statutes of the Nonviolent Radical Party does not recognize the use of violence, not even for self-defense. It is easier said than done, especially in cases where somebody has killed your friend or torn the womb of your wife. But on the other hand, after killing that someone what have you resolved? If you suffer violence or a member of your family suffers violence and you respond in a violent way, killing or injuring the person that has done this violent act, what is the final result? As Gandhi said, “*an eye for an eye makes the whole world go blind*”. To respond to a violent act, you will need to be creative in a way that puts the violent person in an awkward position where they does not know how to respond to your nonviolent action.

Last week I was in Jerusalem and I wanted to go and visit the Al-Aqsa Mosque, we were not granted entrance because of what happened in the year 2000 when Mr. Sharon went in with 300 soldiers. Since then non-Muslims cannot enter the mosque. Now try to imagine Mr. Sharon visiting a holy place accompanied by 300 soldiers, and instead of having Muslims shouting at him, see them welcoming them with roses. What would have been the reaction of Mr. Sharon and that of the world press that came to take pictures of the confrontation that everyone was expecting? That would have been a nonviolent response to a provocation. The idea is to create a new situation instead of painting yourself in a corner.

Another small example, if you stage a demonstration that is not authorized or if you are disobeying a law in a country where the situation is a little less violent than in China, you can wear a sign that says “I thank the police for doing their job. Take me to jail.” Because you are not there to exacerbate the actual situation against the police or army, you are there for something else and this ensures that your cause becomes the news, not the fact that people were beaten by the police and responded in kind.

2.4.3 Recommendations

- Use the opportunity of the Olympics to raise awareness on human rights in China.
- Support the moratorium on capital punishment during the Olympics.
- Use the forum provided by UNPO to network with other unrepresented peoples.
- Work with other minorities oppressed by China (Tibet, Taiwan, Inner Mongolia).

3. Democracy and Democratization Processes

Wednesday 9 May 2007

3.1 China and East Asian Democratization Processes

3.1.1 Lecture by Pr. Yitzhak Shichor

Professor, Department of East Asia Studies, University of Haifa

The most important term which is frequently mentioned in the Charter of the World Uyghur Congress (WUC) is "*democracy*". The WUC defines itself as "a *democratic* organization" whose officers "were *democratically* elected". Its main objective is "to promote the right of the Uyghur people to use peaceful, nonviolent, and *democratic* means" to determine their political future and that of East Turkestan. It maintains "close contacts and working relations with most Uyghur organizations in the world that peacefully promote the human rights, religious freedom, and *democracy* for the Uyghur people in East Turkestan". In sum, "The WUC declares a nonviolent and peaceful opposition movement against Chinese occupation of East Turkestan and an unconditional adherence to internationally accepted human rights standard as laid down in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and adherence to the principles of *democratic* pluralism and rejection of totalitarianism, religious intolerance, and terrorism as an instrument of policy." Put differently, WUC leaders link the political future of Uyghurs and East Turkestan (known by the Chinese as Xinjiang) primarily to the emergence of democracy in the People's Republic of China (PRC). What then are the prospects of China becoming democratic? What can we learn from the experience of other East Asian nations that share at least some of China's cultural and political legacies – and yet have adopted democracy? As the characteristics of democracy are numerous and diverse, what are the essential prerequisites for a "Chinese" democracy? This lecture attempts to sum up the main democratization processes in East Asia, to figure out their implications and lessons – if there are any – for China, as well as to evaluate the prospects for Chinese democracy and thereby for the Uyghurs.

Since the late 1970s China has been undergoing far-reaching changes, primarily in its economy where a formerly socialist centralized command economy is allegedly being transformed into a free market capitalist economy. This alleged transformation has in turn affected China's social relations and cultural life that now enjoy relatively greater freedom. Much less affected are China's ideology and political system. No doubt, the media and the public in Western countries are impressed by China's openness and its (mainly) economic achievements. Based on the European historical experience in the "leap" from experiments in liberal economy to democracy in the 18th and 19th century, many expect that the introduction of capitalist measures would by necessity push the PRC to democracy, at least according to the European model.

Indeed, it is widely believed, though it could still be debated, that a new "class" of urban entrepreneurs exploited the indifference and contempt of the monarchy and the church for trade, services and industry to build up their economic wealth by filling the vacuum created by both. Interested heretofore mainly in agriculture, once the state and church realized that this new class could provide a handsome income from new sources, they began to apply pressure on them. Yet, more powerful than ever before, the new class (now called the bourgeoisie) would by no means surrender. In virtue of the principle "no taxation without representation" they wanted to have a share in the government if the government was to have a share of their profit. This is a very simplified explanation of the emergence of democracy based on appearance of a middle class whose fortune is linked to elements of free economy. This is the only class that had both the will and the power to challenge the monarchy. The aristocracy had the power but not the will and the proletariat had the will but not the power.

Some argue that this is exactly what has been going on in China over the last twenty-eight years – but it is definitely not. China has always been a centralized-bureaucratic government without autonomous middle classes, legitimate self-sustained aristocracy and religious establishment. In European society, these entities imposed limits on the autocratic rule and provided for the emergence of a heterogeneous society and liberal politics. There were virtually no limits on autocratic rule in China where the scholar-officials (known as *literati*) as well as the merchants were almost totally dependent on the court. Post-Mao China is much the same. Allegedly a trigger for democracy, the so-called new Chinese capitalists have not emerged voluntarily, nor have they filled a vacuum created by the retreat of the state. On the contrary; the Chinese state is nearly omnipotent. There is no economic or political vacuum of the kind that had existed in Europe. Capitalism in China is the creation of the state, not a coincidence. So-called "middle classes" exist in China only nominally, at the state's will.

Some have become rich only because the state has enabled them to become rich. Nothing is

irreversible. These "middle classes" have no leverage whatsoever on the state. In fact, they enjoy the benefits of post-Mao economic reforms and are not interested in democracy – as long as the state delivers the goods. Moreover, Western-style democracy is associated in the Chinese mind with chaos (*luan*), disorder, division, factionalism and weakness. To be sure, for most Chinese who do not know foreign languages – China is already a democracy. The Chinese term for democracy, *minzhuzhuyi* (literally the people's rule), is precisely what the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) claims to offer as the true representative of the people.

Yet, to regard democracy as "the rule of the people" is a gross oversimplification. The term "democracy" is full of associations: freedom of speech, of religion; free elections and parliamentary representation; legitimized multiparty competition; accountability before the law; political participation, etc. But the most essential trigger for promoting democracy is opposition. Authentic democracy is a dialectical outcome of a powerful pressure by an opposition group (or party or class) that ultimately forces the rulers to yield power. Democracy that is adopted without struggle (that is, imposed from above either exogenously, like in India and Japan, or endogenously, like in Taiwan) does not represent powerful social forces and is, therefore, potentially weaker. In China neither possibility exists. There is no external force can enforce democracy on China and the government by no means intends to offer democracy of its free will. Furthermore, the crucial and fundamental handicap is that there is no sign whatsoever of any domestic opposition, either inside or outside the leadership. Since the beginning of reforms and even more so after the 1989 Tiananmen massacre and Deng Xiaoping's 1992 southern trip, the Chinese leadership has become very homogenous in its commitment to go on with the economic reform and at the same time preserve at all costs its political status. Provocatively we could say that Chinese politics in Mao's time had been much more plural and competitive. For Mao, "two line struggle" (*liangtiao luxian douzheng*) was not (just) a negative reality but a positive and inevitable means of achieving progress.

In conclusion, based on the European as well as the Asian experience, the prospects of the emergence of democracy in China become, in my view, smaller and smaller by the day. In addition to the centralized political tradition, the lack of an external source and model of democracy and cultural and social conformism, the Chinese state apparatus is becoming stronger, more influential and respectable. Undeniably, within two-three decades the PRC's outstanding economic success has led to the further consolidation and legitimization of the CCP political power in China and beyond. Apparently, many in China are satisfied and content with the situation. Others, who are not, do not have the power to change it. "Communism" may evaporate overtime in China, but it by no means implies that democracy is around the corner. In fact, it may still be far off.

This is bad news for Uyghurs. As Uyghurs all over the world become more organized, effective and sophisticated, the obstacles on their way to pursue their goal become greater and more complicated. This is not only because the prospects of Chinese democracy seem to diminish but primarily because most governments and international organizations officially recognize China's territorial integrity (including Xinjiang) and, moreover, are careful not to upset the Chinese because of wide-ranging economic interests and even dependencies. Uyghurs have to look elsewhere in order to promote their cause and arm themselves with a good deal of patience.

3.1.2 Recommendations

- Study the examples of democratization in East Asia to analyse the Chinese case.
- Do not count on the support of Western countries which have big trade interests or dependencies with China to promote your cause.

3.2 The National Endowment for Democracy – Supporting Democracy Movements around the World

3.2.1 Presentation by Ms. Louisa Coan Greve

Director, East Asia, National Endowment for Democracy

The National Endowment for Democracy (NED) is a private organisation funded by tax payers of the United States. It is neither supported nor supervised by US government. Its main function is to give grants to fund programmes designed to build democratic systems. We do not fund groups to contest power, to gain power or to change the sovereignty of the territory. We have twelve programme areas: freedom of information; political processes; democratic ideas and values; strengthening political institutions; accountability; human rights; rule of law; civil education; NGO strengthening; freedom of association, which includes Uyghur rights; developing a market economy and conflict resolution. We do not fund development or humanitarian projects. In some cases Uyghur language publications could serve the purpose of promoting democratic ideas and cultural preservation because it uses the Uyghur language. But the main reason for NED funding would be to promote democratic ideas. In the same way we fund a group based in China which has an extensive programme on HIV AIDS, not with the purpose of improving the health of Chinese people, but with the purpose of having accountability on the part of the Chinese government in its public health policies, particularly the AIDS crisis. Same thing for the environment, we are not an environmental organisation but we support NGOs around the world that are pushing for accountability on environmental sustainability. The kinds of groups that NED funds are NGOs and associations. They should be NGOs working to democratise their own country. So for example we do not support any foreign Tibet support groups, only Tibetan NGOs, whether they are based in India or in the US. To qualify for any NED funding a group must not only have a democratic objective but also use democratic means. Of course they should be peaceful and non-violent; of course they should follow the principle of tolerance rather than racial atomicity. NED strongly believes in pluralism, we believe that democratisation requires efforts of many different kinds of people who may not always agree on everything, but they can agree that they want a democratic open system for their society. Any democratic society requires that same attitude to function. Therefore an NGO that says that it is in favour of democracy, but claims to be the only one that can represent democracy is by definition not democratic. Organisations have to recognise the contribution of many different pro-democracy groups. These are common criteria of good practices for democratic NGOs; of course they must be completely honest and transparent. NGOs have to have extremely high moral and ethical standards and can never take ethical shortcuts. Do you remember during the student hunger strike in 1989, after they showed the Uyghur activist eating dinner inside Beijing hotel?⁵ A little bit of corruption is a huge problem for the credibility of a democratic organisation. Contradiction is a big problem for democratic NGOs.

⁵ In 1989, Wuer Kaixi, a 21 years old Uyghur pro-democracy activist mobilized students and started a hunger strike. Footage of him having dinner at Beijing Hotel was then showed on national television. More information on this story: <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,958020,00.html>

You are probably familiar with another Uyghur initiative funded by NED, it is the Uyghur Human Rights Project (UHRP)⁶. This website is supposed to be an information centre on human rights in East Turkestan. Some of the flaws of the current version are that they do not have much content in Uyghur and their outreach to Europe is not as good as it should be. They do not send enough material to the European targets. So NED needs to give them more money. The UHRP is a project of the Uyghur American Association (UAA). NED does not support this website. NED gives a grant to the UAA for the purpose of having a human rights information centre. So we also support the International Uyghur Human Rights and Democracy Foundation. As Rebiya Kadeer mentioned, NED funded a training session, similar to this one, which took place in the end of March for sixty Uyghur women from around the world. Another grantee is the International Uyghur Pen Club, a new organisation. We have two representatives from the Uyghur Pen Club with us including Mr. Maimaitiming Aila.

3.2.2 Question and Answer Session

Question: I come from Kazakhstan and I am a member of the Uyghur National Assembly Association. We publish a news bulletin and we are planning to publish it in English next year. Would we be eligible to apply for a NED grant for this publication?

Answer: This sounds like a great project. All proposals are welcome. Email them to us. Beforehand you should have a look at the guidelines, which you will find on our website. I should also mention that we only accept proposals in English or Chinese.

3.2.3 Recommendations

- Be transparent and always use democratic practices. A little bit of corruption does a lot of damage to the credibility of an organisation.

3.3 Democratization: Case Studies and Lessons Learnt

3.3.1 Presentation and workshop by Mr. Ken Kostyo

Director, Global Democracy Resource

We are going to study other movements for freedom, for national independence for additional civil and political rights. We will not just study them out of interest, but study them as models for how the Uyghur people can more successfully go towards the future, future of freedom on the basis of lessons learnt from past movements. We are going to study every single state that has become a free sovereign state since the founding of the United Nations in the 1940s at the end of World War II. You

⁶ See <http://www.uhrp.org/>

will see that becoming a sovereign state does not necessarily mean becoming a free people. And we will try to understand the difference between those two ideas. To analyse these cases, we are going to use a series of factors. The first two are what I will call external influences. These are external to your people, to your community. In your case: China. We are going to look how China will affect your future and freedom on the basis on how other empires have affected their future states. The simplest example is one state leaving another state. In this case East Turkestan would just leave China and become a state. A lot will depend on the democratic nature of the state that granted you freedom or that of the state against which you fought for your freedom. Other factors will be how cooperative they were, how peaceful they were in the freedom movement in the sovereignty movement, they could have fought a violent war against freedom and the people seeking independence or have negotiated peacefully with them.

Let us consider the Slovakian case. Slovakia basically left Tchechoslovakia which was a functioning democracy and they did so peacefully through a legal agreement. A democratic decision made them become a free new independent state. Namibia is a sort of contrary example. In order to leave the racist apartheid regime of South Africa, Namibia fought a 22-year war. Today they are a free democratic state. One lesson - probably the most important - to learn from the examples of the past sixty years is that a dictatorship, a non-democratic country, has never given freedom to a new state. Imagine a future where China breaks apart into many new states that are unrecognisable from the original. This is what I call "systematic secession": one or more secessions result in original state breaking apart into many new states. An interesting example would then be that of the former Yugoslavia. There is no clear pattern: three democracies today and two transitional democracies have resulted from the ten-year-long-war in the dictatorship that was Yugoslavia. Another case is what I call "multiple secession": many smaller states break away but the original state remains intact. As was the case with Russia after the fall of the USSR.

We should ask ourselves what China actually is. It is a little bit of an empire; it is a little bit of a centralised state. In my opinion, the closest example to China would be Russia and in that case there was no clear pattern. Indeed, out of the USSR came several democracies, several states in transition towards democracy and several quite brutal dictatorships as well.

Another case is that of traditional decolonisation. Almost every state today results from some form of decolonisation. France and the United Kingdom were the two biggest countries to decolonize. Many of these states result from peaceful negotiations and in such cases the majority of them have become democracies today. But where there was a war or a secession the result has almost always been dictatorship. Do we see any pattern? Is there any clear lesson that can be learnt from the last 34 years of history? Or where does East Turkestan want to be, what exactly do you want to follow? If China was becoming a democracy tomorrow and if China were to peacefully negotiate with you tomorrow, you would have had a better chance of a future freedom. But it still is not guaranteed and what we are looking for is some way that we could guarantee a future freedom for the Uyghur people.

The other two factors are internal influences. In your case the external influence was basically China. You are the internal influences: East Turkistan, the Uyghur people, the Diaspora, your community. How democratic the people seeking freedom, how democratically they govern themselves, how self-governing they are in a good governance model and how much foreign support they get.

Now we are talking about what you can do in your own community to make your future more secure. So finally we start to see a predictable historical pattern that we can follow. Your own history of democratically governing yourself, your own traditional self-governance, versus an undemocratic history of traditions imposed on you. This is how much support you are able to gather into your community, into your own democratically governed community. What you want is democratic self-rule and China wants to rule you in a non-democratic way. China will therefore not encourage you to govern yourselves democratically and China is so opposing your efforts to gather sympathy among outsiders. The lesson basically is: forget China and focus on how you govern your own community. The only thing that guarantees you can become a free people is that you develop democratic practices.

China cannot guarantee you freedom. And remember that gaining political independence does not mean that your people will be free.

3.3.2 Question and Answer Session

Question: According to the Chinese government, genuine national or economic self-rule could lead to self determination and also to independence. This is why the Uyghurs have never been given genuine self-rule. That is our problem, so what should we do under these circumstances?

Answer: China is wrong, autonomous regions do not necessarily become independent. Catalonia, the Swiss Cantons, Tibet are all autonomists. Freedom movements do not achieve independence, they never have, since World War II.

You are the only ones who can answer the question of how Uyghur people can be governed democratically. A first step could be for the expatriate community - the Uyghur community in Munich, the Uyghur community elsewhere in the world - to govern itself democratically. You can develop a tradition of self-governance, democratic self-governance, within the Uyghur community outside of East Turkestan. The Senegalese expatriates living in Paris were the ones who started the independence movement. They had been running their organisations democratically and then they just took it back home.

3.3.3 Recommendations

- Work together with supportive members of the global civil society.
- Decide on a model of good governance.
- Develop democratic practices in the organisations representing Uyghurs abroad.
- Use this model now whenever possible and you will be ready.

3.4 Democracy: What Prospects and Challenges for China and East Turkestan?

3.4.1 Speech by Mr. Marino Busdachin

General Secretary, Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization

What is really emerging after these three days of seminars is a desperate situation for the Uyghur people and even for the Uyghurs' perspective for the future. If we are checking the list starting with independence, self rule, self determination, autonomy, freedom of expression, language, cultural freedom, education in your language, etc... nothing seems to be possible within a relatively short time for the Uyghurs.

We are here to look for new perspectives, new actions, new entities, new initiatives, new solutions. I agree with Professor Shichor's advice that in order to understand in which ways we can become stronger we should brutally and realistically understand in which ways we are weak.

A problem which has not been underlined very much is that Uyghurs have become a large minority in their own ancestral territory. They are fully colonised even in exploitation of the territory's resources. It therefore seems that the most pressing issue is the survival of the Uyghur identity. The identity of a people is their language, their history, their culture, their region, their educational system. There are very few activities with this aim.

The question of identity should be the red thread connecting all the activities of the Uyghur people. I think that the situation is ripe for the Uyghurs to do a major provocation. First before yourselves, then in the face of China. Tell them that you drop your request of self rule. Ask China to guarantee you the possibility to benefit from the Chinese law on autonomy of 1984.

Consider the Tibetan example. His Holiness the Dalai Lama never called for independence. But until today he always kept the question alive calling for autonomy and self-rule. Independence could be a dream for any people or any individual. But it is not a realistic political element in a discussion.

We are a group of different organisations coming from different countries that have been supporting Uyghurs for many years. But a decision could not come from the organisations that are supporting Uyghurs. A general direction should be decided by Uyghur organisations, under an umbrella, perhaps that of the World Uyghur Congress or a joint venture organisation.

What I would also like to suggest is to try to manage a kind of a follow-up of this seminar. There is always a risk with any event that it is not translated into effective actions or decisions. I therefore suggest that a group of four to five people start working by email to prepare a follow-up of the seminar. What I have in mind is not the acts of the conference, which you will all receive, but a 5- or 10-page document summing up the lessons and conclusions of the conference. We would then try to disseminate it within the Diaspora but also in East Turkestan.

We need to improve the synergy between the organisations that are in some way helping the Uyghur community. We should try to unify in a policy of large agreement on a few key issues. This could help us be more helpful and effective in support of the Uyghurs.

3.4.2 Recommendations

- Focus on preserving the Uyghur identity. Identity should be the red thread connecting all initiatives launched by Uyghur organisations.
- Stop asking for independence and demand the full implementation of the Chinese law on autonomy of 1984.
- Draft and circulate a document summing up the lessons and conclusions of the seminar.
- Unify all organisations supporting the Uyghur cause in a policy of large agreement on a few key issues.

4. A European Stage for the Uyghur Cause

Thursday 10 May 2007

4.1 Introduction to Decision-making Processes at the European Parliament

4.1.1 Speech by Mr. Jacques Lecarte

Policy Advisor, Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe (ALDE), Foreign Affairs Committee

A number of committees at the European parliament take an interest in human rights. As a policy advisor for the Foreign Affairs Committee's Sub-committee for Human Rights, my main task is to prepare notes, amendments and reports, and specifically human rights-related "urgency resolutions." At the request of any member of the political group, I prepare or draft human rights resolutions on the basis of available reports and information.

These resolutions are then generally subject to the following proceedings: the Parliament meets for a plenary session once a month. The week before each plenary session we have meetings with our colleagues and representatives from other political groups. There we select three main important human rights issues to be focused upon. We have to make a consensus on these issues with the other main political groups, and this is generally done in consultation with their policy advisors.

When we have reached a consensus we send our proposal to what is the main body of the Parliament - the Conference of Presidents. There, the President of each political group is part of setting the agenda of the upcoming plenary session.

As an example, my group (ALDE), is at present working on three topics for consideration. The first question relates to the conduct of Paul Wolfowitz at the World Bank; the second concerns human rights defenders arrested in Syria; and the third freedom of expression in Venezuela. Our focus will generally change every month, and we aim to cover the entire world.

The ALDE Group have tabled already some resolutions which contain paragraphs which make reference to the current situation of Uyghurs living within the People's Republic of China, as well as other minorities living within the PRC.

My main advice today is that as technical staff, we are always very happy to meet people from regions where human rights remain a concern. Our aim is always to produce more detailed and well documented resolutions, and our challenge is always that of identifying and reaching reliable sources. Any assistance you can offer us in this respect is therefore always both welcome and appreciated.

4.1.2 Recommendations

- Communicate and inform the policy advisors of the major political groups at the European Parliament about human rights related developments in your region. Providing them with up to date and verifiable information enables them to write better resolutions and enables them to include a broader range of cases in the resolutions.

4.2 Uyghurs and the European Union

4.2.1 Speech by Mr. Michael Cashman

Member of the European Parliament (MEP), Party of European Socialists

There are only two points in life when we are all equal. One is the point of birth, as we are all born equal. The other is at the point of death, as we all die equal. I want to concentrate on that very important period in between these two points.

The way we achieve equality with respect to human rights, and equality with respect to the law, is simply by being visible and by being vocal. For me, success that has been achieved until now has been based on two main points. The first is communicating the thought that if my human rights are diminished, would you, with your full human rights, be willing to allow this to happen also to you? The second point concerns the ability to imagine. Specifically, the ability to imagine yourself as that person whose human rights are being diminished. Would we want that to happen to us, to our mothers, our fathers, our brothers, our sisters? The answer is of course no. Visibility is therefore, I believe, the primary point at which we fight for equality. With visibility we begin the networking and the connection that is essential. Connections are vital because it enables us to tell other groups that the discrimination and the persecution that you suffer is the persecution and the discrimination that I suffer.

The European Union was built out of the ashes of the Second World War. These were the ashes of people's lives, the ashes of people's dreams, and the ashes taken from the crematoria of concentration camps. This means also that Europe will never turn our eyes away again, and will never sit idly by when a group of people are persecuted or discriminated against or have their human rights denied them.

My advice to you is therefore to work with us. Make sure we know what your demands are and never rest. A world that is unequal is a world that is uncivilized.

4.2.2 Question and Answer Session

Question: If the people of a country suffer because the government practices state-terrorism they might eventually resort to violent resistance. What is your opinion on the legitimacy of this?

Answer: This is an important question. If a state is practicing terrorism, if a state is repressing people, the best way to stop this is through international action and through non-violent action. Violence only fuels further violence, and as soon as our struggle becomes violent we only lose allies across the world.

Question: The Uyghur people have been under the control of others throughout much of their history. China is at present threatening our very identity. At present we have very limited rights to demonstrate against this fact. We have no right to protest, and no right to distribute even a single page of materials. I used peaceful means when I was in China, but I was imprisoned by the government. I am now using peaceful means in order to try and get our voice heard by international organizations. What shall we do however, as the Chinese government is not afraid. It does not abide by international law, nor the regulations of the international community?

Answer: China, Russia, and to a certain extent India, pose the greatest problems with respect human rights and the protection of minorities. They pose the greatest threat because they have strong economies and, in general, capitalism wins. As their economies are strong however, Western economies trade with them. It is up to us to organise campaigns encouraging people to turn away from buying commodities that come from for example China. We campaign for, and we vote for, democracies that will not simply trade with China, but will trade with China only on the basis of their

full respect for human rights. This has to happen collectively. It has to be led by the European Union, it has to be led by America, it has to be led by the major democracies and economies of the world. They have tried to block your voice. They have failed. Your voice will stir a thousand other voices and will stir for a thousand years. Every dictator, every oppressor, is terrified by the first cry of a newborn baby. Terrified because that new birth that child signals that the fight goes on.

4.2.3 Recommendations

- Put all your energy into giving visibility to human rights violations in East Turkestan.
- Keep members of the European Parliament informed of what is going on in East Turkestan.
- Never resort to violence, you will only fuel further violence and lose your allies around the world.

4.3 Methodology of Human Rights Advocacy with European Institutions

4.3.1 Speech by Dr. Willy Fautré

Director, Human Rights Without Frontiers International

The issues of democracy, freedom, rule of law and respect for fundamental human rights have underpinned the European Union's activities since its inception and are accordingly incorporated into all its meetings and discussions with third countries, at every level.

In the framework of its external policy, the EU is engaged in specific forms of dialogue on human rights with a number of states the objectives of which vary from one country to another and are defined on a case-by-case basis. The geographical scope of the EU in this regard is quite large and encompasses all continents.

As far as China is concerned, the European Parliament and its members can certainly play a major role. Some of the mechanisms that can be used are

- the written and oral Parliamentary questions addressed to the Commission
- the resolutions ;
- conferences and seminars hosted and sponsored by MEPs ;
- the delegation for the relations with the People's Republic of China ;
- the committee on external relations, the sub-committee on human rights ;
- the annual human rights report of the European Parliament.

Two specific sorts of events also merit your attention: the EU-China Summits and the EU-China Human Rights Dialogues.

Parliamentary Questions

This year, we tracked a number of parliamentary questions related to the defence of human rights in China and the conviction of lawyer Gao Zhisheng. In the last four months of 2006, we found dozens of questions concerning religious freedom in the People's Republic of China, the persecution

of Christians, labor camps, prison camps, organ transplants, and the arrest of three of Rebiya Kadeer's children.

More questions on specific or structural human rights violations can be proposed to members of the European Parliament belonging to the Delegation for relations with the People's Republic of China, to the Committee on external relations and the Sub-committee on human rights.

Resolutions

Between 1989 and 2007, the European Parliament adopted no less than 25 resolutions on China. Here as well, there is a lot of leeway to address specific issues related to the situation of the Muslim community in China and the Uyghur concerns in particular.

Conferences and Seminars

Several conferences and seminars on human rights in China were organized by NGOs and sponsored by MEPs at the European Parliament last year. A lot of MEPs are receptive to news about violations of human rights in China and are willing to facilitate the access of NGOs to the European Parliament where they can organize events to voice their concerns and raise awareness.

Committees and Delegations

The European Parliament Delegation for Relations with the People's Republic of China holds periodical meetings, organizes hearings and occasionally travels to China. This week, the Delegation held a meeting to prepare a trip to Tibet and Beijing where they planned a number of visits and asked specific information about human rights violations in Tibet, political prisoners, and requested the location of detention centers they could ask to visit. The MEPs belonging to the Delegation want to be fully informed before any such visit or meeting. Providing reliable and regular information to the members of the Delegation should therefore be a priority.

Human Rights Report of the European Parliament

This year, MEP Simon Coveney was in charge of the Human Rights Report of the European Parliament. During the preparatory phase, he organized meetings with representatives of NGOs. This is one more opportunity for Uyghur human rights defenders to contribute to the policy of the European Parliament and it should not be missed.

EU-China Summits and EU-China Human Rights Dialogues

The EU-China Summit was held in Helsinki last year, and will be held next week in Berlin. The EU-China Human Rights Dialogue is also worth following. For several years, the EU has maintained a highly structured dialogue with China at the level of senior human rights officials. Proposals can be made to the European participants to put a number of issues on their agenda. For example:

- the signing, ratification and implementation of international human rights instruments; up to now, China has failed to ratify the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR);
- the cooperation with international human rights procedures and mechanisms;
- combating the death penalty, a serious issue in China;
- combating torture;
- combating all forms of discrimination;
- freedom of expression;
- the role of civil society;
- the promotion of the processes of democratization and good governance;

To make the best use of all these mechanisms of the European Parliament (EP) that I have briefly described, and to identify the right persons and the right bodies at the EP to be informed in due time, it is of utmost importance to invest in a continuous presence in Brussels and to define an advocacy strategy.

Specific reports must be drafted and used at the right time and be put in the right hands. It is therefore important to be constantly on alert and to identify events where advocacy can be developed as well as the location and the date of the event and to keep a calendar of events and to update it regularly by consulting the agendas of the various mechanisms.

I have limited my description to the tools offered by the European Parliament but there exist further mechanisms in the Council of the European Union and in the European Commission that can also be activated.

4.3.2 Question and Answer Session

Question: The European Union has many conflicts with China, we know frequently also on the issue of human rights. Why are the European Union's human rights dialogue with China closed? Why can these discussions not be held openly?

Answer: On the subject of the EU's human rights dialogue with China, there is one session scheduled to take place shortly in Berlin. I do not think this is a closed dialogue, though of course as NGO you will not be permitted inside the room. Before these dialogues however there are consultancy sessions between the EU and NGOs, and there are also debriefing sessions after the dialogue.

Question: Are European Parliament resolutions about the Uyghurs published on internet? How can we access these documents?

Answer: On the question of information, the website of Human Rights without Frontiers⁷ has gathered the twenty five resolutions the European Parliament has adopted on China. We will also soon publish an analysis of these resolutions and the way in which they have been followed-up by the European Parliament. You will also find the resolutions of the United Nations on our website, as well as reports by a number of other NGOs. We have carried out this work to facilitate the work of researchers and advocates working in pursuit of your cause.

Question: The Uyghurs have an ancient culture and civilization. We are an ancient and very civilized people. For example, in 1927 Mustafa Kemal (Ataturk) adopted "Uyghur" as an equivalent phrase to "civilization". Now the Uyghur civilization is facing disappearance. China is using economic power as a bargaining chip, blocking the human rights related activities of the European Union and the rest of the world. As a researcher of Uyghur history and politics myself, I can see this happening in Germany, France, and the UK. One example is with Turkey. China is trying to influence Turkey's economic relations. Uyghurs are thereby coming under discussion. What can the European Parliament and the EU do about this situation?

Answer: With reference to economic pressure exerted by China on member states of the European Union, I think the message we must convey is that our authorities should not be afraid. Indeed most threats are not followed by Chinese sanctions.

Question: Are you aware that the government of the People's Republic of China have recently circulated a report at the European Parliament condemning the work of some of the individuals in this room and the World Uyghur Congress in general?

Mr. Michael Gibb, UNPO Secretariat: With respect this question, I believe that you were referring to allegations made in People's Republic of News Bulletin Number 17 (6 March 2007). On behalf of UNPO I would like to add that we have issued a response to this Bulletin, also circulated at the European Parliament, and signed by a number of international NGOs.

⁷ See <http://www.hrwf.net/blog/>

One of the things we should remember about the European Parliament is that this is a democratic body and that each Parliamentarian is entitled to set their own agenda. I would invite you all therefore to work with UNPO, to provide us with the information that can help us refute the claims that are made in Bulletins such as this.

Answer: We are of course aware of the difficulties Uyghurs face in China, and the imagination with which Chinese authorities continue their pressure on the ethnic make-up of the region of East Turkestan.

I have a few suggestions in response to these questions. There is a group of MEPs called “Friends of Tibet,” my first would be to try to create a similar group; “Friends of Uyghurs.”

The second proposal I have for action at the European Parliament is to work for the creation of a position of a special representative of the European Parliament or the President of the European Parliament specifically for China. There have been many resolutions but with no real follow-up. I think it would be a strong signal sent to China if there were such a special representative mandated to address this failing.

My third suggestion would be to propose to Ms. Rebiya Kadeer for the Sakharov Prize.

4.3.3 Recommendations

- Whenever there is the temptation to resort to violence, remember that violence only fuels further violence. As soon as our struggle becomes violent we only lose much needed allies across the world.
- We should encourage the EU and other major economies to trade with China only on the basis of their full respect for human rights.
- Modelled on the group of MEPs called “Friends of Tibet,” work should begin on constructing a similar group “Friends of the Uyghurs” at the European Parliament.
- We should encourage the European Parliament to appoint a representative focused specifically on China. There have been many resolutions but with no real follow-up, and such a special representative could be mandated to address this failing.
- We should campaign to have Ms. Rebiya Kadeer nominated for the Sakharov Prize.
- When the government of the PRC circulated allegations against Uyghur activists at the European Parliament, Uyghur organisations should work with UNPO, providing with information that can be used to rebut accusations.
- Awareness for Uyghur issues can be raised through events such as this, but also by going to schools etc.
- All Uyghur websites should be kept updated. This helps NGOs researching and lobbying on their behalf, and it also enables the Press to write articles. There should always be clear information about who can be contacted for further details or documentation.
- Uyghur organisations should look into attending the briefing sessions ahead of the EU dialogues with the PRC, as well the de-briefing sessions held after the events.

4.4 Human Rights Advocacy at the European Parliament

4.4.1 Speech by Ms. Cindy Lane

Pro Bono Advocate, Human Rights Watch

The Uyghur voice is being heard in the U.S and in the European Parliament. I know this for a fact because I am an American and for past months I have been working at the European Parliament exclusively on Uyghur issues. I have been specifically concentrated on the resettlement of the Uyghurs who have been held at Guantanamo Bay, hoping to find them a home somewhere in the European Union. No one wants to see these men go to a place where they risk torture. Unfortunately, because we have not yet found them a home, many remain in Guantanamo even though they have been cleared for release.

I have been meeting with members of the European Parliament and representatives of Human Rights Watch, and we have made some progress. Just over a month ago the European Parliament adopted unanimously its Human Rights Report for 2006. Contained in this report is an amendment about the Uyghurs held at Guantanamo, and the report states specifically that these men need a home within the European Union, or at least some country where they will not be subject to torture.

If I could leave you with anything, and I know you have been learning about strategies, techniques, and approaches to advocating your cause, please do not ever lose sight of the fact that your cause is about people. When I meet Members of Parliament and explain to them the plight of the Uyghurs in Guantanamo I don't call them the Chinese Uyghurs, I don't call them prisoners, I don't refer to them as detainees.

I tell them about Abdul Reza who will be thirty eight years old three days from today, and is going to spend his birthday the same way he spent his thirty seventh, his thirty sixth, his thirty fifth, and his thirty fourth, and that locked in a cell in Guantanamo.

I tell them about a gentleman by the name of Arkin Mahmoud who loves his country and who loves his family. A man that loves his family so much that when he got a telephone call informing him that his brother was in Afghanistan he went after him. While in Afghanistan Mr. Mahmoud was captured, and he sits in a prison today after being detained as an enemy combatant even though he has never picked up a weapon a day in his life.

I remind them about Bahtiar Mahmoud who loves his country of East Turkestan. He says that if there was anywhere in the world that he could live, it would be his home in East Turkestan if it was free.

Although we are not Uyghurs, there are many of us in the world that are fighting for you, and we are fighting for your country. We do so because it is about people.

4.4.2 Question and Answer Session

Question: You are probably aware that several Uyghurs who were detained in Guantanamo have been resettled in Albania, however recent reports allege that they are living in prison-like conditions.

Answer: We have been trying to get the Uyghurs resettled somewhere within the EU, preferably somewhere also with a sizeable Uyghur community. I am sure that you know that there are four countries in European that have sizeable Uyghur communities; Germany, Sweden, Turkey and Norway. It is therefore our goal to get the seventeen remaining detainees resettled in one of those countries, somewhere where they can be among family.

Albania is the poorest country in the EU. Nevertheless it stood up and took five Uyghurs when no-one else in the world would. Albania should however not be putting people into prison that were sent to their country from another prison. I will therefore look into this, as it is the first I have heard that these five gentlemen are in prison in Albania.

Question: What can we do to help the Uyghurs detained in Guantanamo?

Answer: Thank you first of all to those of you who are working with us at Guantanamo. Thanks to you they are offered translation services in their own language and not Farsi.

I think the best thing we can do about issues regarding Uyghurs is to raise awareness and you are doing that here today. This can also be done however by going to schools, keeping your websites

updated. I cannot tell you how many times I have searched on the internet and found the World Uyghur Congress, Uyghur American Association, and Swedish Uyghur websites. Those are invaluable resources because they get more people interested.

You will also notice that since January there have been many articles in the U.S press; the New York Times, The Washington Post, The Financial Times, The Boston Globe, articles specifically related to Uyghurs in Guantanamo. These articles need research and they should be coming to you, and so you should have somewhere on your website informing them who they can contact for information.

In response to your concerns about how to respond to those countries that are under economic pressure from China: When I meet with members of the European Parliament who ask me this question I raise the issue of Sultan Qurash. After Sweden granted Mr. Qurash asylum in 2001 trade relations with China increased, they did not decrease. If the European Union unites like they did with the adoption of their Human Rights Report for 2006⁸, it will be difficult for China to fight all 27 member states economically.

4.4.3 Recommendations

- When lobbying for the cause of Uyghurs, try to present personal stories that people can relate to.

5. Democracy and Human Rights Advocacy: The Role of NGOs

Thursday 10 May 2007

5.1 Human Rights, the European Union and China

5.1.1 Speech by Dr. Niccolò Figà-Talamanca

Project Director, No Peace Without Justice

No Peace Without Justice (NPWJ) is proud to be associated with this Seminar organized by the World Uyghur Congress. NPWJ is an international non-profit organisation, born in 1993 out of a campaign of the Nonviolent Radical Party (NRP) for the establishment of an International Criminal Court.

Current NPWJ thematic fields of action include the promotion of democratic reform in the broader Middle East and North Africa, through constructive dialogue between Governments, parliaments and civil society; a campaign for the ratification and effective implementation of the Maputo Protocol on Women's Rights in Africa, and in particular the abandonment of Female Genital Mutilation; and the strengthening of an effective international criminal justice system for the prevention, deterrence and prosecution of war crimes, crimes against humanity and genocide.

⁸ The Human Rights Report is published on the internet under:
http://ec.europa.eu/external_relations/human_rights/doc/report_06_en.pdf

The relationship between UNPO and No Peace without Justice (NPWJ) goes back to the early nineties. One of the founders of No Peace without Justice is Mr. Marino Busdachin, the current General Secretary of UNPO. This relationship has been further strengthened over the last couple of years through the organisation of seminars, meetings and trainings with other members of UNPO, mainly in The Hague.

This time we wanted a member of UNPO to go to NPWJ, as it is very much our desire to engage NPWJ as much as possible in Uyghur related activities. I hope that at the end of these presentations from NPWJ experts we will have a clearer idea of how to keep this relationship alive and working effectively.

5.1.2 Speech by Ms. Isabella Nitschke

European Liaison Officer, Human Rights in China

Human Rights in China was founded in 1989 by Chinese academics abroad in order to support the students movement inside China in the spring of 1989 and in the lead up to June 4. We are based today in New York, with offices also in Honk Kong and Brussels. We work on several different levels, and with many different kinds of partners. We work inside China, although we do not have an office there, we work bilaterally with governments, this is where the EU comes in, and we also work on a multilateral level with the UN and the Human Rights Council, as well as other special mechanisms. Finally, we also work with the corporate sector and of course with other NGOs. We have already worked with UNPO and other different Uyghur NGOs. This work concerns mainly international advocacy issues through letters and petitions, panels, and writing reports. There is for example an ongoing project on equitable development, political participation, and protecting cultural identity of Uyghurs and Tibetans inside China. Our latest report is also on ethnic minorities and their rights inside China, written with a group called Minority Rights Group London.

We have recently opened an office here in Brussels to work closer and more efficiently with European Institutions. Why, might you ask, do we think the EU is important? Well when it comes to working with human rights inside China, the EU is Chinas largest trading partner. The EU has also an important goal in promoting human rights in the world, and we believe that the EU can be an important player to pressure China on implementing international human rights law. You will probably suggest that the EU does not pressure China on human rights. It thinks about its trade with China. That however is exactly why we are here. We are here to make them do the opposite.

In working with the EU there are a few tools that Human Rights in China makes use of. The EU has human rights dialogue with China. Here we try to brief the EU with important information ahead of the dialogue. The EU also has a human rights seminar for European and Chinese academics. NGOs that are linked to the seminar have been participating, and the latest seminar is ongoing in Berlin.

I know that you just recently came form the European Parliament which is also an important actor in terms of raising awareness and public opinion in the field of the human rights. Human Rights in China has therefore worked closely also with this institution. We attend a number of hearings, and brief delegations from the Parliament who are going to visit China in order to make them aware of the situation.

Human Rights in China believes in different approaches to resolving the human rights situation inside China. This is why we value cooperation with other NGOs and why we hope that cooperation with Uyghur NGOs is set to continue in the future.

5.1.3 Speech by Ms. Alison Smith

Legal Counsel, No Peace Without Justice

I want to explain briefly the way in which we at No Peace without Justice try to achieve political results through civil society activism. Over the past few days you have heard about *ad hoc* Tribunals, the International Criminal Court (ICC) and the International Court of Justice (ICJ). These are the areas in which we work. We attempt to achieve political results by promoting the ability of these institutions to provide accountability in three main ways; one institutional; the second practical and the third legal.

From the institutional perspective we do advocacy work with states and with international justice institutions through conferences, and also bilaterally and individually with states and international justice institutions. We try to ensure that in the way they are designed, and in the way in which they work, they promote the rule of law, and strive to include populations that have been affected by human rights violations and by crimes under international law.

From the practical perspective we encourage the participation of civil society, and populations that have been affected by conflict, in the work of international justice institutions and accountability mechanisms. These mechanisms have been established to serve the people who have been affected by crimes, and as such, the people who have been affected have to have a sense of engagement and sense of ownership if the mechanisms are to achieve their aims.

From the legal perspective we do legal research on current issues in international law, particularly international criminal law. We prepare legal briefs and *amicus curiae* briefs presented to international courts on emerging issues on international law.

At the heart of the matter is the question of how to internationalize your situation to galvanize public opinion, particularly in public international opinion, and to bring attention to what is happening in your situation. There were three areas that I briefly wanted to mention along with a few ideas that we can have a discussion about.

The first is in the area of human rights. Official human rights mechanisms are of course made and run by states. I am not sure therefore how effective official mechanisms would be, but there is of course a strong possibility that public opinion about human rights violations can help bring change. To galvanize public opinion however, there has to be information out in the public arena about how human rights violations are taking place. If people do not know, they cannot form an opinion. Once you are organized enough to be able to publicize human rights violations you can take them to fora such as the European Parliament, to newspapers, and to NGOs.

The second area I wanted to speak to you about is the area of international criminal law which is my area of specialty. I am sure you are aware that any individual can submit information about violations related to the crimes in the Rome Statute to the International Criminal Court. You are probably also aware of the limitations that exist with respect to acting upon these however. Firstly that the violations had to occur in the territory of a state party, or be committed by a national of a state party. Second that the conduct amounting to the violations must fit within the crimes that are listed in the Rome Statute. Even if it is a remote possibility that your situation would come before the International Criminal Court, there are ways in which the Rome Statute can be useful in internationalizing your situation and galvanizing public opinion. Crimes listed under the Rome Statute; war crimes, crimes against humanity, and genocide, serve as a useful checklist to know what crimes are actually being committed, because all of these crimes are part of customary international law which is binding on all states whether they are a party to the Rome Statute or not. As bad as human rights violations are in themselves, it is that much worse when it is also a violation of human rights and a violations of international criminal law.

Generally speaking membership in international organizations, such as the UN, is open to states only. There are however many ways in which groups that are not a state, or not a represented state, can be heard and can have recognition and representation at different levels in the international arena. One way is through cultural offices or attaches. Establishing a cultural office allows you to have some form of interaction with people in other countries, with members of government, and to help increase recognition and, again, public opinion about your situation.

Another way is representation at the regional level. This includes for example hearings at the European Parliament. There are of course other regional institutions, for example in Africa with the African Union, and China has a very strong interest there. It would perhaps be useful to talk to and arrange briefings there.

Finally there is the idea of having twin cities. You could for example twin the cities where you live with cities in the UK, Canada, or Australia. In that way you can raise awareness and knowledge about your situation and about your lives.

5.1.4 Question and Answer Session

Mr. Marco Perduca: Ms Smith's last comment about twin cities reminds me of what we did twelve years ago for Tibet. We launched a campaign asking all the mayors of Europe to substitute their city flag with the Tibetan flag on March 10 1995. We had a large demonstration here in Brussels in front of the Chinese Embassy and went also to the European Parliament. This helped to inform Europeans about Tibet. Maybe we could see if such a thing could be duplicated next year, or for the next couple of years.

Question: Do you have any researchers here [NPWJ] who are conducting research on China in general, perhaps who use the Uyghur case in particular, or do you want to create or recruit such a researcher in the future?

Ms. Allison Smith: We do not have any researchers working on China or the Uyghurs. Most of our work is focused on international criminal justice, along with programmes in Africa which focus on the pressing need for greater accountability across the region.

Question: Do you have any kind of activity concerning the 2008 Olympic Games that will be held in China?

Ms. Isabella Nitschke: For Human Rights in China this one of our most important issues. We have created a special website⁹ for our initiatives with advice to ordinary citizens, NGOs, governments, and companies. It suggests what they can do in order to promote the human rights aspect of the Olympics. We hope to raise awareness of human rights abuses that are being made also during the preparations for the Olympics.

We also follow the developments and preparations for the Olympics in China and in each of our publications. Specifically, we have done research on the security system being put in place for the Olympics. European and American companies are the ones that are helping China to set up an immense security operation. Our question is what will happen with this security system after the Olympics? How will this be used? We suspect that it will be used to further crack down on ethnic groups, along with, journalists and activists, and people that are uncomfortable for the government.

Mr. Marco Perduca: The Nonviolent Radical Party and NPWJ are behind a campaign to promote a moratorium on executions at the UN General Assembly. UNPO has asked its members to sign a petition to the UN, and for the Olympics we want to re-launch a document that we hope is going to be adopted by the UN, in the country that has the highest number of death penalty cases anywhere in the world – China.

Question: In January 2005 I received a petition raising awareness on the extinction of the panda in China. An organization in Australia led fundraising activities and they raised around 30 million dollars in order to preserve pandas in China. Recently, by contrast, China spent 23 million Chinese yen in order to implement birth control policy. If the international community is working so hard to save the panda, why does it ignore the threat to the Uyghurs who are also on the brink of extinction? How could we explain this cruel contrast?

⁹ See <http://www.ir2008.org/>

Ms. Isabella Nitschke: I think it all comes down to public awareness. Unfortunately people around the world are more aware about what is happening to the panda than what is happening to the Uyghurs, and this is very sad. I think most important for you is therefore to raise awareness around the world about your situation. You can do this together with other NGOs, and you can do this through other channels, many of which have been outlined already.

Mr. Marco Perduca: On this question of animal protection, I think that if you also have examples of environmental problems in East Turkestan, or examples related to your cultural heritage, maybe in the old cities that have been destroyed or looted, or sacred places, then you have NGOs that you can talk to also about this. You also of course have specific UN agencies that follow these matters. Publicizing other aspects of the terrible situation faced by the Uyghurs might be an effective supplement to the human rights violations that we know about.

Question: The democratization process in China is very important for Uyghurs. It is possible for Uyghurs to participate in any of the EU's democracy projects, seminars, or workshops?

Mr. Marco Perduca: Accessing the European Parliament can be done through UNPO. We will try to let you know how you can be accredited to the European Parliament in the future.

Question: Is it possible to coordinate with the United Nations in order to present charges of ethnic cleansing or genocide of Uyghurs in a case to the ICC or the ICJ? There is at present much economic exploitation of Uyghur farmers by the Chinese government. These programmes are very systematic and very cruel, preventing farmers from developing their own economic capacity. Is there any possibility for us to raise this issue of economic exploitation at the international courts?

Mr. Marco Perduca: When the UN had a Commission on Human Rights the Nonviolent Radical Party always offered the floor to Mr. Erkin Alpketin. We have also circulated documents on economic issues, such as a right to development, along with other human rights violations. The UN is more a stage where you can denounce something than one where you can have a decision been taken and then eventually implemented.

On the issue of lodging complaint with the Courts, I think you have heard that the answer is essentially "no". As however we have noted during the seminars, compiling information is a valuable activity in any case, because it enables international organizations to be more attentive, and helps lobby national governments who can help expand the jurisdiction of the Courts.

5.1.5 Recommendations

- In order to raise public awareness and galvanize public opinion in favour of your cause, make sure there is information in the international arena, information upon the basis of which people can form an opinion.
- Even if the Uyghur case is not likely to fall within the jurisdiction of an International Court, it is useful to keep track of what crimes listed under the Rome Statute are being committed against Uyghurs. These crimes are part of customary international law which is binding on all states whether they are a party to the Rome Statute or not. Human rights violations carry more force when they can also be presented as violations of international law.
- Consider establishing a cultural office in some countries or regions, which would for interaction with people in other countries and with members of governments.
- Consider partaking in more regional fora, such as the European Parliament, but also for example the African Union where China has a very strong interest.

- Uyghurs could consider “twining” cities where you live with cities in the UK, Canada, or Australia. In that way awareness and knowledge about your situation can be raised internationally.
- Tibet had some success with a campaign in which all the mayors of Europe were asked to substitute their city flag with the Tibetan flag. This helped to inform Europeans about Tibet, and could perhaps be replicated for the next couple of years with Uyghurs.
- UNPO can facilitate access to the European Parliament during events of interest to Uyghurs.
- Consider publicising also non-human rights related problems in East Turkistan. There are NGOs and UN Bodies interested also in issues related cultural heritage and the environment. These might be an effective supplement to reports about human rights violations.
- Publicize lesser-known aspects of Chinese oppression such as the degradation of the environment in East Turkestan or the destruction of the Uyghur cultural heritage.

6. References and Bibliography

6.1 International Institutions

6.1.1 Agencies of the United Nations

Human Rights Council (UNHRC)

<http://www.ohchr.org/english/bodies/hrcouncil/>

Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR)

<http://www.ohchr.org>

Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR)

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

United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)

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

6.1.2 Treaty Bodies of the United Nations

Human Rights Committee (HRC)

<http://www.ohchr.org/english/bodies/hrc/>

Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (CESC)

<http://www.ohchr.org/english/bodies/cescr/>

Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD)

<http://www.unhcr.ch/html/menu2/6/cerd.htm>

Committee on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW)

<http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/cedaw/>

Committee Against Torture (CAT)

<http://www.ohchr.org/english/bodies/cat/>

6.1.3 International Courts

International Court of Justice (ICJ)

<http://www.icj-cji.org/>

International Criminal Court (ICC)

<http://www.icc-cpi.int/>

International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY)

<http://www.un.org/icty/>

6.1.4 European Institutions

European Commission

<http://ec.europa.eu/>

European Parliament

<http://www.europarl.europa.eu/>

6.2 Academic Institutions

Hawaii Institute for Human Rights

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

University of Haifa

<http://www.haifa.ac.il/>

University of Hawaii

<http://www.hawaii.edu/>

University of Utrecht

<http://www.uu.nl/>

Centre for Conflict Studies (University of Utrecht)

<http://www.uu.nl/conflictstudies/>

University of Wageningen
<http://www.wageningenuniversiteit.nl/>

6.3 Organisations

6.3.1 Uyghur Organisations

East Turkestan Culture And Solidarity Association, Turkey
<http://www.gokbayrak.com/>

East Turkestan Education and Solidarity Association
<http://www.maarip.org/>

International Uyghur Human Rights and Democracy Foundation (IUHRDF)
<http://www.iuhrdf.org/>

Netherlands Eastern Turkestan Foundation
<http://www.oost-turkestan.nl/>

Sweden Uyghur Committee
<http://www.uygurie.com/>

The Uighur U.K. Association
<http://www.uighur.org.uk/>

Uyghur American Association (UAA)
<http://www.uyghuramerican.org/>

Uyghur Canadian Association (UCA)
<http://www.uyghurcanadian.org/>

World Uyghur Congress (WUC)
<http://www.uyghurcongress.org/>

6.3.2 Human Rights Organisations

Gesellschaft für Bedrohte Völker / Society for Threatened Peoples (GfbV)
<http://www.gfbv.de/>

Human Rights In China (HRIC)
<http://www.hrichina.org/>

Human Rights Watch (HRW)
<http://www.hrw.org/>

Human Rights Without Frontiers International (HRWF)

<http://www.hrwf.net/>

National Endowment for Democracy (NED)

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

No Peace Without Justice (NPWJ)

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

Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization (UNPO)

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

6.3.3 Political Organisations

Nonviolent Radical Party

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

Alliance of Liberals and Democrats in Europe (ALDE)

<http://www.alde.eu/>

Party of European Socialists (PES)

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

6.4 Legal instruments

Charter of the United Nations

<http://www.un.org/aboutun/charter/>

Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (CAT)

http://www.unhchr.ch/html/menu3/b/h_cat39.htm

Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW)

<http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/cedaw/>

Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC)

<http://www.unhchr.ch/html/menu3/b/k2crc.htm>

International Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Racial Discrimination (CERD)

<http://www.ohchr.org/english/law/cerd.htm>

International Convention on the protection of the rights of all Migrant Workers and members of their families (CMW)

http://www.unhchr.ch/html/menu3/b/m_mwctoc.htm

International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR)

<http://www.ohchr.org/english/law/ccpr.htm>

International Covenant on Economic Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR)

<http://www.ohchr.org/english/law/cescr.htm>

Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR)

In Uyghur: <http://www.unhchr.ch/udhr/lang/uig.htm>

In English: <http://www.unhchr.ch/udhr/lang/eng.htm>

6.5 Documents

Amnesty International 2006 Report on China

<http://web.amnesty.org/report2006/chn-summary-eng>

China: Minority Exclusion, Marginalization and Rising Tensions

Human Rights In China / Minority Rights Group International Report

<http://hrichina.org/public/contents/article?revision%5fid=36063&item%5fid=36055>

Devastating Blows : Religious Repression of Uighurs in Xinjiang

Human Rights Watch Report

<http://hrw.org/reports/2005/china0405/>

European Union Annual Report on Human Rights

http://ec.europa.eu/external_relations/human_rights/doc/report_06_en.pdf

State Secrets: China's Legal Labyrinth

Human Rights In China Report

<http://hrichina.org/public/contents/article?revision%5fid=41506&item%5fid=41421>

6.6 Websites

Human Rights Watch and the Olympics in China – Tools for activists

<http://hrw.org/campaigns/china/beijing08/>

Incorporating Responsibility 2008 – Human Rights In China Online Campaign

<http://www.ir2008.org/>

Radio Free Asia – Uyghur (RFA)

<http://www.rfa.org/uyghur/>

Taklamakan Uyghur Publishing

<http://www.uyghurweb.net/>

Uyghur Human Rights Project (UHRP)

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

Uyghur One - News

<http://www.uyghur1.com/>

6 – 10 May 2007, The Hague - Brussels

Democracy and Human Rights
**Uyghur Leadership
Training Seminar**



**World Uyghur Congress
Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization**