

**THE STATUS OF NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN CHINA  
AND TIBET**

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**HEARING**  
BEFORE THE  
**COMMITTEE ON  
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS  
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES**  
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## THE STATUS OF NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN CHINA AND TIBET

THURSDAY, APRIL 6, 2000

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS,  
*Washington, DC.*

The Committee met, pursuant to notice, at 10:05 a.m. in room 2172, Rayburn House Office Building, Hon. Benjamin A. Gilman (Chairman of the Committee) presiding.

Chairman GILMAN. Committee will come to order. During this past year, conditions inside Tibet have been the worst since the cultural revolution. Religious freedom in Tibet has been increasingly restrictive and political activity has been met with swift, certain and severe repercussions. Increased numbers of monks, nuns and laypeople are making the dangerous journey across the Himalayas to freedom in India. Many of them have died along the way. Once they do arrive, they have had to have limbs amputated because of frostbite and gangrene. In addition, many refugees have been captured by the Chinese military and they never resurfaced. Many have been beaten and robbed, tortured and imprisoned by the PLA.

As conditions worsen inside Tibet, the government in Beijing fails to recognize the opportunity that His Holiness the Dalai Lama represents for a peaceful settlement to the problem.

Instead of accepting the fact that he offers a simple, moderate and workable solution to the status of Tibet by his willingness to accept Tibetan autonomy within China, the Chinese Government falsely accuses him of seeking independence and being personally concerned about his own future role in Tibet. Beijing has refused to negotiate with His Holiness or his representatives, even though he has made it perfectly clear that he is not seeking the restoration of Tibet's rightful independent status.

Although we believe that Tibet deserves nothing less than the complete restoration of its full independence, we reluctantly support His Holiness' efforts for autonomy, and I hope that it will help the Tibetan people and their culture to survive.

It is regrettable that the Chinese leaders believe that by manipulating the enthronement of a few religious leaders and by waiting until His Holiness grows old and dies, that eventually they will control Tibet, and then Tibet's international support. Such a rationale is illogical and certainly ignores reality.

The ridiculous image of atheists involving themselves in appointing religious leaders does not enhance the peace, but it is ludicrous and an embarrassment to the Chinese culture that, for centuries,

deeply respected Buddhist teachings. It is a detriment to China's efforts to appear as a legitimate world leader and to be taken seriously as partners in bringing about peace and stability in Asia or elsewhere. Time is certainly not on Beijing's side. Nations around the world do not support the Tibetan people because of one man.

The Tibetan cause enjoys the global support that it does because it is a courageous attempt by a Nation and a people who are trying to regain what is rightfully theirs by throwing off the repression of colonization. It is in the interest of international stability to have Tibet once again serve as it had for 2000 years as a buffer zone strategically placed between India and China.

It is said that the greatest threat to peace in Asia are the tensions between India and Pakistan. However, the source of that potentially devastating nuclear war is China's gobbling up of Tibet, a vast Nation on India's northern border, that is the size of Western Europe and a quarter of China's land mass. Now that Beijing shares a long border with India, it tries to keep India off balance by transferring nuclear weapons to Pakistan, and while Pakistan causes problems on India's Western border, China has been currying favor with the Burmese military government on India's eastern border by sending them nearly \$2 billion of arms.

During the Second World War, Burma was called the back door to India by both the British and the Japanese. For the past three decades, China has steadily increased its political, military and economic influence in Burma, and on the southern tip of India, China overwhelmingly remains Sri Lanka's main supplier of arms.

In a recently published book entitled *War at the Top of the World*, its author, Eric Margolis, points out:

Most worrisome to India, though, is the steady increase of Chinese military power on the Tibetan plateau which confronts India with the specter of simultaneously facing serious strategic threats on its western, northern and eastern borders. This fear has led Indian strategists and politicians to warn that India was being surrounded by a hostile coalition of forces directed and armed by China.

He went on to say, "By the early 1990's China had deployed 500,000 soldiers, a quarter of its standing Army, on the Tibetan plateau, half of them based on the border between India and Tibet, half in central Tibet. Four additional Chinese armies, each the equivalent of a 60,000-man army corps, were based in areas of China that are geographically suited to support operations from Tibet against India by delivering flanking attacks or providing follow on reinforcements."

Ever since occupying Tibet in 1950, the PLA has worked feverishly to build networks of all weather roads, crisscrossing Tibet—two other major roads that lead to Pakistan and Nepal, which border India. The new road system allows China to move large military formations swiftly along the entire length of the Indian border, affording Chinese generals the ability to concentrate mutually supporting armies almost anywhere along the Tibetan frontier. A chain of permanent bases, many with huge underground storage sites and heavy-fixed fortifications lead to rear echelons by good roads, has been extended like a new great wall along the length of the border with India.

The author went on to say that China has constructed 14 major air bases on the Tibetan Plateau and a score of tactical airstrips. These bases give the Chinese Air Force unquestionable domination of Tibet's air space, the forward edge of battle in the event of war, and the capability, for the first time, to fly sustained combat operations over India's north and strike all of India's northern cities, including Dehli, Bombay and Calcutta. Chinese electronic intelligence atop the plateau also confers an important advantage of combat information and battle management in any air war.

The author goes on to conclude:

"But of all China's military emplacements on the Tibetan plateau, by far, the most alarming to India, is an extensive series of missile bases and nuclear installations. At least 25 medium-range ballistic missiles are based in Tibet, as well as a sizable number of shorter range tactical missiles, all carrying nuclear warheads. India's heartland and many of its major cities are now in range of Chinese missiles."

China's dangerous expansion in Tibet and meddling in south Asia has brought the region to the brink of a nuclear catastrophe.

The State Department and the Administration have failed to understand the dynamics behind all this tension and continues to focus on Kashmir, as if it is a localized and isolated phenomenon between Pakistan and India, refusing to sanction China for violating the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty by transferring their nuclear material to Pakistan. Instead, the Administration has been asking India to forego nuclear arms.

We have seen no indication by the Administration's policymakers that they understand the significance of China's occupation of Tibet and how a resolution of that problem could defuse the serious tensions in that region.

We are told that there has been no progress made to ensure that China will contemplate negotiating with His Holiness the Dalai Lama, or his representatives. Accordingly, we look forward to hearing from our witnesses today to learn how this situation can be remedied so that a disaster can be diverted and how to bring peace to the region.

I am now pleased to recognize our Ranking Minority Member, Mr. Gejdenson.

Mr. GEJDENSON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I join with you and share those very same concerns. I want to commend the Administration. The President and the Vice President have met with the Dalai Lama. But all of us are frustrated by the continued attempts at cultural genocide that go on by the Chinese in Tibet and so many other places. The fact that there are still people arrested for simply studying Tibetan culture or following Tibetan beliefs and other activities is an affront to all of us, and it I think complicates our relationship with the mainland Chinese.

I believe that the whole world—the United States frankly is better than most countries, but I don't think we do enough—I think the entire world needs to step forward and express its dismay and outrage at what really has to be said is an attempt to just eradicate the Tibetans and their culture and their religion, and I look forward to hearing from the witnesses today.

Chairman GILMAN. Thank you, Mr. Gejdenson.

Mr. Bereuter.

Mr. BEREUTER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I am anxious to hear from Ms. Taft. I have no questions or comments.

Chairman GILMAN. Thank you very much, Mr. Bereuter. We welcome Julia Taft, who is the special coordinator for Tibetan issues, to our House International Relations Committee. Ms. Taft was nominated as assistant secretary of the Bureau of Population, Refugees and Migration back in September 1997 and has been a leading authority on refugee and humanitarian affairs, held a number of senior positions in both government and the private sector. She was president and CEO of interaction, an American council for voluntary international action, and a coalition of a number of U.S.-based private voluntary organizations.

The refugee resettlement program which Ms. Taft has directed has brought more than 130 thousand Indochinese into our Nation. We welcome assistant Secretary Julia Taft. You may put your full statement in the record and summarize or whichever way you deem appropriate. Thank you.

**STATEMENT OF THE HONORABLE JULIA V. TAFT, U.S. SPECIAL COORDINATOR FOR TIBETAN ISSUES, ASSISTANT SECRETARY, BUREAU OF POPULATION, REFUGEES AND MIGRATION, U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE**

Ms. TAFT. Thank you very much, sir. I am delighted to be here, my second opportunity to testify on the issues of Tibet. I was appointed just a little over a year ago and have had, since that time, two real policy goals. The first has been to try to promote a substantive dialogue between the Chinese Government and the Dalai Lama and his representatives, and second, to try to find ways to sustain Tibet's unique religious, linguistic and cultural heritage.

Mr. Chairman, as you and your colleagues know, disputes over Tibet's relations with the Chinese government have had a long and complex history. Recognizing that this is your third hearing on Tibet, I do not propose to summarize again that history. Instead, I would rather talk about the current circumstances in Tibet, talk a little bit about the developments over the past year and what I have been doing since my appointment.

As the Department of State's human rights report on China for 1999 makes clear, tight controls on religion and other fundamental freedoms continued and intensified during a year in which there were very many sensitive anniversaries and events. This year's report documents in detail the widespread human rights and religious freedom abuses which you noted in your opening statement.

Besides instances of arbitrary arrests, detention without public trial and torture in prison, there also has been an intensification of controls over Tibetan monasteries and on the monks and nuns. Religious activities have been severely disrupted throughout the continuation of the government's patriotic education campaign that aims to expel supporters of the Dalai Lama from the monasteries and views the monasteries as a focus of antiChina separatist activity.

2905 Tibetans left Tibet last year, approximately a third of whom escaped these campaigns and sought to receive religious teachings in India. In fact, two of Tibet's most prominent religious figures



have left Tibet during the past 18 months reportedly for these reasons. One was the recent departure of the 14-year old Karmapa, leader of the Kagyu sect and the third most revered leader in Tibetan Buddhism. He actually arrived in Dehli the day before I arrived and that was quite an interesting experience to be in India at the same time he had arrived.

The second major religious leader that left Tibet was the Agya Rinpoche, who was the former abbot of Kumbum monastery. He was a senior Tibetan religious figure and an official at the deputy minister level. He left China in November 1998, and he is now in the United States. The reasons for his departure were also related to increased government pressure on the monastery, his monastery Kumbum, which included the stationing of 45 government officials there, imposition of patriotic re-education and a heightened role demanded of him by authorities that he recognize the Chinese designated Panchen Lama, Ghaltzen Norbu. He did not accept those conditions and left China.

Although China has devoted substantial economic resources to Tibet over the past 20 years, it remains China's poorest region. Language problems severely limit educational opportunities for Tibetan students, and illiteracy rates are said to be rising sharply. The average life span of Tibetans is reportedly dropping, infant mortality is climbing and most nonurban children are reportedly malnourished.

Recent reports suggest that the privatization of health care, increased emphasis on Chinese language curriculum and the continuing Han migration into Tibet are all weakening the social and economic position of Tibet's indigenous population. Lacking the skills to compete with Han laborers, the ethnic Tibetans are not participating in the region's economic boom. In fact, rapid economic growth and expanding tourism and the introduction of more modern cultural influences have also disrupted the traditional living patterns and customs and have caused environmental problems all have really threatened the traditional Tibetan culture.

In Lhasa, the capital of the Tibetan autonomous region, the Chinese cultural presence is most obvious and widespread. I am sure your staffers who will be going there later this month will see that there is widespread Chinese architectural infusions in buildings. The Chinese language is widely spoken and this is all the result of large numbers of ethnic Han Chinese who have gone for economic assistance and incentives in the region. Some observers estimate the nonTibetan population of the city to be roughly 90 percent. The Chinese say it is only five percent, but then they don't add in the number of temporary Han residents, which include the military and the paramilitary troops and all of their dependents. So we are looking at a capital of Tibet—

Mr. GEJDENSON. Could you go through those numbers again because you said your estimate was 90 and that the government's was only five.

Ms. TAFT. No, thank you for asking for clarification. There are some observers who estimate that the nonTibetan population of Lhasa is roughly 90 percent. The government has said just the opposite. They say 95 percent of the population is actually Tibetan, but what they don't calculate in there is the huge number of mili-

tary and paramilitary with their dependents. So if you add those into it, we believe that the ninety percent non-Tibetan is about the right estimate.

Mr. BEREUTER. Would the gentleman yield for another question? The first figure is for Lhasa and the second figure is for Tibet? Is that correct?

Ms. TAFT. No. They are both for Lhasa.

Mr. BEREUTER. Thank you.

Ms. TAFT. Reports indicate that increased economic development combined with the influx of migrants has contributed to an increase of prostitution in the region. We are very concerned about that obviously, particularly because the prostitution reportedly occurs in sites owned by the party or the government under military protection. The incidence of HIV among prostitutes in Tibet is unknown, but is believed to be relatively high.

Because of the deterioration of the Chinese Government's human rights record, the U.S. Government announced on January 12 our intention to introduce a resolution focusing international attention on China's human rights record at this session of the United Nation's Commission on Human Rights in Geneva. We are working very hard with other nations to defeat China's anticipated no action motion and to pass the resolution. I was just in Geneva working on this last week and we hope that we will be able to get adequate discussion and support for our resolution.

Our criticism of China's human rights practices reflects core values of the American people and widely shared international norms: freedom of religion, conscience, expression, association and assembly. These rights are enshrined in international human rights instruments, including the international covenant on civil and political rights, which China has signed but has not ratified nor implemented.

In addition to utilizing multilateral human rights fora, President Clinton and Secretary Albright have continued to use every available opportunity to urge the Chinese leadership to enter into a substantive dialogue with the Dalai Lama or his representatives. As you know, President Jiang Zemin indicated to President Clinton during their June 1998 summit in Beijing that he would be willing to engage in such a dialogue if the Dalai Lama affirmed that Tibet and Taiwan are part of China. Despite our repeated efforts throughout the year to foster such a dialogue and the willingness expressed by the Dalai Lama, the Chinese leadership has not followed up on Jiang's remarks to the President. There is no dialogue and it doesn't look as though the prospects are very good. Nevertheless, we remain committed to implementing our vigorous advocacy on this and to try to build on the Dalai Lama's real resolve and willingness to engage with the Chinese.

We have also continued to raise individual cases of concern. Most notable is the issue of welfare and whereabouts of Gendhun Cheokyi Nyima, the Panchen Lama designated by the Dalai Lama. He and his parents have been held incommunicado now for nearly 5 years. On April the 10th, he will have his 11th birthday.

Last year we received disturbing and unconfirmed reports that the boy had died in Gansu province and that he was cremated in secrecy. Our embassy in Beijing made formal representations ex-

pressing concern about his whereabouts and his welfare. Although the reports of his death were unsubstantiated and thought to be untrue by the Tibetan exile community, the U.S. Administration publicly urged the Chinese Government to address continuing concerns of the international community about the safety and well-being of the child and demanded that the child and his family be able to be received by credible international visitors and to be returned home freely. To this day we have gotten no satisfaction from the Chinese Government, and they have refused to allow direct confirmation of his well-being.

In response to an inquiry from Congress, the Chinese Government acknowledged the whereabouts and earlier ill health of Ngawang Choephel, the Tibetan ethnomusicologist and former Middlebury College Fulbright scholar, who was incarcerated in 1996 and is now serving an 18-year sentence on charges of subversion. We have repeatedly urged the Chinese Government to allow his mother to visit him during his incarceration. It is her right under Chinese prison law, and it has not been granted. We did find out he was ill and we said not only should his mother be allowed to visit him, but also that he should be released immediately on medical grounds as a humanitarian gesture. He has not been released, and I think they are intending to keep him incarcerated until 2013.

Over the past year I have made a point to learn as much as I can about Tibetan issues so that I can ensure the effective presentation of these issues in our U.S.-China bilateral discussions. I have maintained close contact with the Dalai Lama's special envoy to Washington, Lodi Gyari, and I have requested meetings with the Chinese Ambassador. However, I have never once been granted a meeting. I am hopeful that this year I will be able to sit down with the Ambassador and discuss the Chinese Government's views on the social, political and economic issues related to Tibet.

I have met with scores of people from many countries sympathetic to the Tibetan issues, government officials, people from foundations and academia, experts in U.S.-China relations and NGO officials. There is a huge constituency out there, informed, committed, wanting to be of assistance to the Tibetan people.

As I am the only special coordinator for Tibetan issues in the world, I get lonesome at times. We have been working actively with many other countries to see if they, too, would designate coordinators on the Tibetan issues so we can build a network and share information and strategies. In fact, last week I just returned from Brussels, where the European Parliament held an all-party parliamentary session on Tibet to discuss multilateral efforts and how we can best coordinate future strategies. Coming out of that all parliamentary meeting was not only a call on the part of the EU and host governments to establish focal points on Tibet, but also to endorse the U.S. resolution on China.

In January, I visited Dharamsala, India, in my capacity as assistant Secretary for population, refugees and migration. I was there to evaluate the \$2 million of assistance programs that we fund for Tibet and the refugees.

It was a wonderful experience. You have been there Mr. Chairman, to be able to meet the Tibetans in exile and the central Ti-

betan administration. I was also overwhelmed by the tremendous community that is out there and especially the spirit of the younger generation. One of the things that was particularly striking was to learn that nearly the entire Central Tibetan Administration is made up of Fulbright scholars. These bright young adults undoubtedly had many more lucrative opportunities to work in the States or Europe or India, but 96 percent of them have returned to Tibetan settlements to make their talents available to the CTA. Equally impressive is how traditional Tibetan culture is integrated into the daily life.

I went to Nepal in November to meet the new arrivals that had just come over from Tibet. They were all traumatized. They were sick. They had suffered such a hardship and I was very anxious on my trip in January in Dharmasala to see the next stage of their reception because this is something that the U.S. Government also funds, not only the reception center in Nepal, but also the one in India. During the visit, there were hundreds of refugees. They were quiet, but they at least were animated. They looked healthy. They were optimistic about their new experiences and being safely in India. Many were wearing the new shoes and dark pants they had received at the reception center in Kathmandu. I think the funds that we are able to provide, thanks to congressional appropriations, does bring them not only food and clothing and income-generating projects, it also brings them hope. I am also exploring ways that foundations and NGO's can expand their support for these people who have arrived in India.

I have met twice with the Dalai Lama over the past year and look forward to seeing him this summer when he comes to Washington for the Smithsonian Folk Life Festival. During the meetings I have had with him, he has reiterated his concern about the marginalization of the Tibetan people living in Tibet and requested that I devote attention to finding ways to improve the lives of those who are there, particularly through culturally sustainable enterprises. We will use well the million dollars that Congress has appropriated for activities to preserve cultural traditions and promote sustainable development and the environmental conservation in Tibet.

I will be prepared to answer questions that you have about that, but you have before you a congressional notification in which \$750,000 would be given to the Bridge Fund for several agricultural and microcredit initiatives and the remaining \$250,000 would be made available for other qualifying NGO's.

In conclusion, I want to say that the treatment of Tibetans by the Chinese Government over the past 50 years has been inconsistent with international norms and standards of respect for fundamental human rights. His Holiness has shown enormous courage in accepting the impracticality of insisting on independence for Tibet and has instead called for genuine autonomy within Chinese sovereignty. Chinese spokesmen have responded by stating their willingness to engage in a dialogue with the Dalai Lama if he renounces independence and proindependence activities. He has done so. The dialogue should proceed.

We also believe that there is significant Chinese interest that could be advanced in moving forward on Tibetan autonomy. The

Dalai Lama is still active and healthy. His prestige will be crucial in carrying the opinion of the Diaspora and most Tibetans in the autonomous regions. Only he can ensure the successful and peaceful implementation of a negotiated settlement.

Conversely, maintaining order over an unhappy population is a drain on the resources of China which is still a developing country. Widespread knowledge of China's human rights offenses in Tibet has brought about pressure on China's leadership to explain its Tibet policy to the international community. My impression is that the situation in Tibet deeply troubles China's international partners and foreign leaders and that this is affecting diplomatic engagement between China and Western countries.

It is my sincere hope that this year will bring about a dialogue that we can all hope will mean new life and a return of the Tibetans in exile to an autonomous Tibet in China.

With those opening comments, let me thank you again, sir, for having me. I look forward to answering any questions you all might have. Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Ms. Taft appears in the appendix.]

Chairman GILMAN. Thank you, Secretary Taft, and we appreciate your extensive review of the situation.

Secretary Taft, when the importance of negotiations between Beijing and His Holiness and his representatives is discussed within the Administration, is it ever spoken of in terms of helping to defuse tensions in south Asia? Does the Administration take the view that the pressure India confronts from Chinese nuclear weaponry in Pakistan is related to China's occupation of Tibet? Is Tibet only perceived to be a human rights and cultural issue?

Ms. TAFT. I would like to have a more full answer provided to you by our assistant Secretary for south Asia, Karl Inderfurth, and I will get that. I must say that the dealings that I have on the Tibet issue are mostly on the human rights, the cultural preservation and the moral question. The nuclear perspective, and the military perspective are not ones in which I have been involved. I am sure there are very perhaps closely held discussions about that, but the Tibet issue did come up during President Clinton's visit to India, and I will get a confidential report to you on the nature of that.

Chairman GILMAN. If you could forward it to our Committee, we would like to distribute it to our Members. You mentioned in your testimony that you had made a request to meet with the Chinese Ambassador, and you have been denied that opportunity; is that correct?

Ms. TAFT. That is correct, several times.

Chairman GILMAN. When was the date of the latest request just approximately?

Ms. TAFT. Was February the time—in February.

Chairman GILMAN. How many times had you made an appeal?

Ms. TAFT. The first time I requested it was right after we had our hearing last year, and you said go ask for it, and I went and asked for it. It took several weeks before even an aid would call back my assistant on this. We have had the State Department ask for it. Susan Shirk has asked for it, several Senators have asked for it, and we have also put it in writing six times.

Chairman GILMAN. What is the response? No response?

Ms. TAFT. No response. When I asked for my visa to go visit China, we did get a response.

Chairman GILMAN. They allowed you to do that?

Ms. TAFT. No, sir.

Chairman GILMAN. They denied you.

Ms. TAFT. They said the timing was not convenient.

Chairman GILMAN. I am going to ask my staff to put a letter together and ask my colleagues who may want to join us in criticizing and objecting to the People's Republic of China denying a leading official of our State Department the opportunity to at least sit and talk about the problem and denying you access to China. So I am going to make certain that we do that.

You mentioned the congressional notification for the Bridge Fund and some other programs. It was our understanding that all of those funds were to go to the Bridge Fund. Why was the decision made not to make all of the funds available to the Bridge Fund, and could you explain that Bridge Fund a little more for us, Madam Secretary?

Ms. TAFT. I would be delighted to. The Bridge Fund is a wonderful enterprise. It has been working for several years in the Tibetan region doing microenterprise activities, agricultural enhancements, juice factories, a yak wool production, and they have a very solid base there. Last year Congress earmarked money for the first time, a million dollars for programs in China, and when we read the legislation, I will repeat it here because I know this is of concern, it said—"...\$1 million shall be made available to nongovernmental organizations located outside of the People's Republic of China to support activities which preserve the cultural traditions and promote sustainable development and environmental conservation in Tibetan communities in that country."

There also is, later in the text, a reference to the Bridge Fund. When we were trying to figure out what to do with this, we were a little stymied with the reference to making the funds available to nongovernmental organizations. The Bridge Fund was not written into the legislation per se. For this reason, I wanted to get the money out as quickly as possible because there are some very time-sensitive projects for the spring that are necessary. I thought what we should do is, as we did in the CN, allocate three quarters of it to the Bridge Fund immediately, and then see if there were other NGO's that would be available.

If it is the sense of this Committee that all of it should go to the Bridge Fund, please indicate that to us. We will be glad to do that. I have not had any other organizations come forward requesting money. So my sense is that if we don't hear in a couple of months from any other qualifying NGO's, the balance should go to the Bridge Fund. But I am—it is your earmark. Whatever guidance you have on this we would welcome.

Chairman GILMAN. Madam Secretary, has the Administration made any progress in helping to arrange for a meeting between the People's Republic of China, their officials and Tibetan officials?

Ms. TAFT. We have made no progress, but at every single bilateral meeting, every trip that any official takes to China it is on the agenda. It is discussed, and China keeps saying now is not the

right time or that His Holiness is not willing to engage. I think Mr. Gyari will have some more specifics about this, but it is a very, very frustrating time for us because there was so much optimism in 1998. Last year, however, there were so many sensitive anniversaries with the 40 years since the Dalai Lama left. China had the Tiannamen Square 10-year anniversary. There was the bombing of the Chinese Embassy in Belgrade, and it was not a good year. So I am hoping that is all behind us and that this year 2000 will be more optimistic. It really is in China's interest to launch this dialogue, and yet the ball is in their court.

Chairman GILMAN. When you are urging your colleagues in the Administration to help you bring the Chinese and Tibetans together for negotiations, do you point out that a resolution to the Tibetan problem would help stabilize the region?

Ms. TAFT. Absolutely, absolutely.

Chairman GILMAN. We want to thank you for your continued efforts on behalf of Tibet. I wish more nations would appoint a similar official as yourself so you wouldn't be a lonely advocate in global meetings.

Ms. TAFT. I feel like the Maytag repairman waiting for the phone to ring, but I think they will. We are very much looking forward to expanding our network, particularly with the European countries.

Chairman GILMAN. Thank you.

Mr. Rothman.

Mr. ROTHMAN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Madam Secretary, good morning.

Ms. TAFT. Good morning.

Mr. ROTHMAN. Mr. Chairman, I want to begin by thanking you and Ranking Member Gejdenson for holding this hearing today, and I would also like to acknowledge and thank Assistant Secretary Taft for her work as Special Coordinator for Tibetan Issues. Welcome to the Committee.

Mr. Chairman, the tragic occupation of Tibet gets to the heart of why the defense of human rights around the globe is so important, not only to Members of Congress, but to the American people. As I wrote to President Clinton just last week, I consider what the Chinese authorities have done and are presently doing in Tibet, their efforts to erase all traces of Tibetan culture to be a crime against humanity, and that is why I am pleased that the United States has introduced a resolution on China's human rights practices at the 56th session of the U.N. Commission on Human Rights that is presently meeting in Geneva, Switzerland. I believe our Nation has a moral responsibility to actively secure support for that resolution at the U.N. Commission on Human Rights and to ensure its passage.

It is my understanding, Madam Secretary, that last year many of our closest European partners voted against a resolution censuring China's human rights record. If that is so, at the end of my question I would be interested in your comments about that. Clearly China's efforts this year to thwart the passage of our resolution citing its poor human rights record cannot be justified. I urge you Madam Secretary to ensure that our Nation's representatives in Geneva serve notice to our allies in Europe and elsewhere that Chi-

na's oppressive rule over Tibet has not gone unnoticed by the American people and that it is of grave concern to the American people and jeopardizes any semblance of a normal relationship between the people of America and the people of China. It would be a shame and a setback to the cause of human rights in China for our resolution in Geneva to fail, due to a lack of support by America's European allies or anyone else.

Having said that, Madam Secretary, I would be interested to know what efforts are presently being made by our Administration to ensure passage of our resolution in Geneva.

Ms. TAFT. Thank you for your support of the resolution and support of our various initiatives. There are two steps that we have to go through to get the resolution discussed and hopefully passed. The first is even getting it considered. Last year when we introduced our resolution, we did not get but one or two countries to cosponsor it, and if you don't get a large number of countries to cosponsor, then the first hurdle of whether the resolution can even be discussed is in jeopardy.

Last year when China tried to prevent any discussion of the resolution and there was a vote on whether or not the resolution could be tabled for discussion, the Europeans voted along with us to oppose the Chinese blockage of that. But we didn't have enough votes, and so therefore China prevailed in having our resolution be just disregarded. So there never was discussion of it. Many of the Europeans told us last year that the reason they didn't cosponsor it and get a surge of support at the beginning was because we introduced it or we indicated we were going to introduce a resolution too late.

That is why this year we had 3 months lead time. We did it in January and we sent it to all of the capitals of Europe to ask them to cosponsor. We have followed that up with demarches. When we thought the demarches weren't strong enough we escalated them. We would get the Ambassador to go in, we had the Secretary making calls. We want right now cosponsors of the resolution so that we will be able to win on the no motion that China has promised they are going to introduce.

If China succeeds in not allowing this resolution to even be discussed, our feeling is that it is a great disservice to the whole Commission on Human Rights because where in the world should you be discussing human rights if not at the U.N. Commission on Human Rights? China is the only country that has ever tried to block discussion of its human rights record at the Human Rights Commission. They said to us last week that they were going to fight us to the end. We are now busily trying to get every member of the Commission to agree that that is not fair, and to support us against the "no motion."

We have yet to receive any cosponsors of our resolution but we are working on this really hard. The Secretary personally went to Geneva to urge support. We have been making very high level calls. I have been spending a lot of time. Harold Koh, our assistant Secretary for human rights, has been in Geneva for a couple of weeks. You are right, it ought to pass.

Mr. ROTHMAN. I ask unanimous consent for 10 more seconds.

Chairman GILMAN. Without objection.



Mr. ROTHMAN. Madam Secretary, may I just say thank you for your efforts, and if members of this body can assist the Administration by putting together letters signed by numerous Members of Congress, we would be happy to help.

Ms. TAFT. Thank you. The Chairman has already helped in one of the countries, and we are very appreciative of that, and we will give you a call. We will need your help.

Mr. ROTHMAN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman GILMAN. Ms. Secretary, I want you to know that many of our Members are calling on the embassies, urging them to oppose the no-motion resolution. I urge my colleagues, if you haven't, pick up the list from both our side of the aisle and minority side of the aisle to make some calls.

Mr. BEREUTER.

Mr. BEREUTER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Mr. Salmon has a mark-up, and I have to speak on the floor right now. I will be pleased to split my time with him. Let him ask the first question, and I will have the second half.

Chairman GILMAN. Without objection, Mr. Salmon.

Mr. SALMON. Thank you. I won't take long because I have to run for a vote. It is a crazy life around here. I appreciate you being here today. In regard to international relations with China, I think this and Taiwan are the two single biggest issues that we will have to deal with, and I just wanted to say for the record that I was privileged about a year ago to go to Tibet to meet with His Holiness the Dalai Lama, and to speak about this very issue.

My mission was threefold. No. 1, I went to ask for the release of Ngawang Choephel, and if not his release, that his mother visit him. The first issue was actually the dialogue with the Dalai Lama. The second issue was Ngawang Choephel. The third was to ask for the release of other prisoners the State Department believes are either political or religious prisoners.

I felt that the meetings with His Holiness as well as with other officials in China was very productive, but as we know, they operate in thousands of years cycles and not in the kinds of cycles we operate in. It is very frustrating sometimes.

I also led a delegation at the behest of Chairman Gilman to Beijing about 2 months ago with six Congressmen, and we met with President Jiang Zemin. It was the first issue I raised. We would like you to start a dialogue with His Holiness the Dalai Lama, and move toward a resolution of the Tibet issue. We didn't get immediate results on that.

But the second issue that we raised was the release of Sun Yun Yee, the political prisoner. We all know the story. I was really pleased that a week from that I got a call from the Ambassador, both Ambassadors, our Ambassador and the Ambassador of China saying, as a result of your efforts, we are releasing Sun Yun Yee, which was very pleasing. We are still waiting for an answer on dialogue with the Dalai Lama.

But I have introduced House Resolution 389, which requests or expresses a sense of Congress that we would like to see formal dialogue between His Holiness. I know that there are problems with bits of the language from the State Department in our resolution. I know that there is all kinds of politics going on all over the

place. But ultimately, let us put everything behind us. We are willing to work with anybody and everybody. We are willing to work with the State Department. We are willing to work with anybody on this Committee, but at the end of the day we would like to see a resolution from the Congress that says we would like to see a dialogue between His Holiness the Dalai Lama and President Jiang Zemin. I would appreciate any help you could give me. Thank you.

Mr. BEREUTER. Ms. Secretary, reclaiming my time or I will be out of time. I am sure your comments will get to Mr. Salmon. Madam Secretary, on the bottom of page two and three in your testimony, we still have the contrast in the language with what you told me. Please reconfirm and clarify which is true with respect to the population—the Han population of Lhasa versus Tibet.

On page 5, Madam Secretary, you have mentioned the all-party parliamentary session on Tibet at the European Parliament. I am very interested in that session. I would like, if you would, give us all documents that you were given there, and we would have a chance to submit them for the record. I would ask unanimous consent Mr. Chairman to include them in our hearing record.

Chairman GILMAN. Without objection.

Mr. BEREUTER. Madam Secretary, concluding my time, if you would like to respond to Mr. Salmon for the record here and tell me what you got out of this all-parliamentary meeting as briefly as you can, I would appreciate it. Thank you.

[The statement appears in the appendix.]

Ms. TAFT. We will get all the documents that came out of that. One of the things that I sensed from the parliamentary meeting in Brussels was a lot of frustration. Many of the parliaments have Tibet support group. Even France has about 124 members of its parliament which are part of their Tibet support group. But all parliaments are having a great deal of trouble getting their governments to do things like sign on to the human rights resolution that we have before Geneva right now. What we were trying to figure out is how do we make sure we are all sending the same message. There were two staffers from Congress, Mr. Berkowitz and Mr. Rees who attended as well, to show solidarity. We urged that our messages to China are the same, let us make sure that whenever there are high level meetings by our Presidents or our heads of State with the Chinese authorities, they should all promote the issue of the dialogue. They should all include the issue of human rights, not just economic discussions or bilateral discussions that don't deal with Tibet.

In Brussels, we did have solidarity. There was a resolution that was issued as a result of it and some very moving commentary by Kalon Tethong, who is from the government in exile, Mr. Gyari, Richard Gere, a number of other speakers.

But I want to jump very quickly to what also happened in Geneva, because I was so moved by an NGO meeting where, in a packed room of about 350 people, the Tibetan community and some Chinese dissidents were speaking on the issue of the China resolution and on Tibet. The point came up that many of the European countries were nervous about cosponsoring the U.S. proposed resolution on China because they did not want to disrupt their bilateral human rights dialogues with China. As you know, several coun-

tries, as well as the EU, maintain an annual or semiannual human rights meeting or dialogue. We have one, too, but it is moribund now as of last year.

In response to that concern, one of the Chinese dissidents said, and I will never forget it, he said, "you know, it is interesting that so many countries want their bilateral dialogue not disrupted with China. It is good to have a dialogue on human rights with China. It is good for these countries to have their dialogue, but the real dialogue China ought to have is the dialogue with their own people." That is what we are promoting in the dialogue with Tibet. Ironically that is what the Chinese are saying about Taiwan. They want a dialogue with Taiwan. We all want a dialogue on Tibet, and your support I really welcome.

Mr. BEREUTER. Thank you.

Chairman GILMAN. Thank you, Mr. Bereuter.

Mr. Gejdenson.

Mr. GEJDENSON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Do we know what—I am going to mispronounce this—Ngawang Choephel, who is an ethnomusicologist, do you know his status at the moment?

Ms. TAFT. He is in prison. He is sick. He has had hepatitis.

Mr. GEJDENSON. What is he accused of doing besides spying? What is the specific charge, do you know? If you don't know you can get it to me later.

Ms. TAFT. I will get it to you. It is a spy charge.

[The statement appears in the appendix.]

Mr. GEJDENSON. How many prisoners are there in Tibet?

Ms. TAFT. I don't know. We have asked that the international Committee for the Red Cross be allowed to make prison visits.

Mr. GEJDENSON. They have been denied?

Ms. TAFT. They have been denied.

Mr. GEJDENSON. Are there many buddist monks and nuns who have been thrown in jail?

Ms. TAFT. There are some in jail but many of them flee and go into India.

Mr. GEJDENSON. But there are many in jail?

Ms. TAFT. Yes, sir.

Mr. GEJDENSON. Now when the Soviet Union was in existence and the Soviet government was putting Jews and others in jail for religious beliefs, the United States responded with Jackson Vanik; is that correct?

Ms. TAFT. That is correct.

Mr. GEJDENSON. Our response today is that we have a free trade agreement before the Congress in May.

Ms. TAFT. Yes.

Mr. GEJDENSON. Can you explain the evolution of thinking there?

Ms. TAFT. I think that we have to keep in mind that our relationship with China is very, very complicated and multifaceted. We have already heard a number of issues that deal with nuclear weapons, WTO, human rights, but I want to say, sir, is that our objective is to try to have as much relationship with the people of China, and with the Chinese authorities on a variety of issues, on health issues, on scientific issues, on military issues. Regarding WTO and trade, it is really important that we get our businessmen also to have a dialogue with China on issues like human rights and

also to be accountable for Chinese behavior on trade issues. So I don't see it as competing. I see it as complementary.

Mr. GEJDENSON. You have done a great job defending the Administration's approach. I want to commend you. I understand the complexities here as well, I think, but I think that what we have seen in the last several years is frankly a worsening of the Chinese Government's reactions to the Tibetans, to people who want to e-mail something to somebody, to almost—to exercise clubs that seem to threaten the central government. I am not against contact.

I am for trade. I think we ought to get more of the trade than we have been getting and all those things, but I do think the Chinese look at us and say that we are kind of in this intellectual exercise when we deal with Tibetan rights and human rights and other things, but it is really inconsequential, and not just the United States. I think frankly the United States is the strongest voice here in a world that is silent, that, ignores every outrage in the world for an opportunity to do business, and I just think that somehow if these were Europeans, the outrage would be greater, but there is something about our society that when there are human rights abuses in places outside of central Europe, it is hard to get the American people excited.

There is some obviously who care about this in a more general sense, but it is hard to get the government excited as well, and I think that as people look at the debates that are coming ahead, and they are obviously complicated by lots of different issues, that if there is a country on earth that has a significant number of human rights violations, that seems to be going backward, not forwards, on dealing with these issues, it is the Chinese Government.

Chairman GILMAN. Thank you, Mr. Gejdenson.

Mr. Rohrabacher.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. Thank you very much. I too had another hearing that I was at, but rather than running off to it, I had to run back in after I was involved in that hearing in the beginning. So I am sorry I missed your opening statement, but I have looked through it.

First, let me ask you, is there evidence that the Communist Chinese regime in Beijing is putting weapons systems, missiles into Tibet?

Ms. TAFT. That issue came up earlier. I am going to have a report shared with the Chairman and the Members on this. That is not my brief. I don't get into nuclear weapons but there was some discussion. We will share with you what we have.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. We have seen unclassified reports that indicate that there are Chinese weapons systems being placed in Tibet. So let us go to the other end, what they are placing in Tibet are Han Chinese and weapons of mass destruction.

Ms. TAFT. Military personnel.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. Military personnel, and what is leaving Tibet is the Tibetan population. There is still an outflow of Tibetan people according to your testimony?

Ms. TAFT. Yes, sir.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. The population of Lhasa was?

Ms. TAFT. We were saying that in terms of the statistics, we think about 90 percent of the population of Lhasa is Han and Hui and only about 10 percent still Tibetan.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. 10 years ago, what was that?

Ms. TAFT. Let me just say at the takeover in 1949—1959, 100 percent of the people in Lhasa were Tibetans.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. Has that accelerated in the last 20 years?

Ms. TAFT. Many moved into Lhasa.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. So during the time period when we have had this engagement with this regime that was supposed to bring about a betterment, an improvement in the human rights situation, at least in terms of Tibet, it has had not only the opposite impact in terms of human rights, but we have actually seen weapons and systems being transported into Tibet. Mr. Chairman, just note that if there is any evidence of the abject failure of the policy of what they call engagement and which many of us see as appeasement to a totalitarian regime, it is what has been going on in Tibet, and frankly what your testimony is here today verifies that.

Mr. Gejdenson's point was very well made. I worked during the Reagan Administration and there was no talk of providing a Most Favored Nation status for Russia during the Reagan Administration. We improved the situation in Russia by confronting the Communist dictatorship rather than trying to say if we could only make them more wealthy and have more economic ties they would be more benevolent.

Mr. GEJDENSON. Would the gentleman yield.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. I would.

Mr. GEJDENSON. I would say it has been a bipartisan executive failure on China, that the Reagan Administration gave China most-favored-Nation status, the Bush Administration and yes, this Administration has continued that policy.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. Reclaiming my time, let me note that that is true and had there been dramatic improvements in Russia as there were during the Reagan Administration in the Chinese situation, we would have probably looked toward opening up trade relations with Russia but instead the repression continued. In China during the Reagan years let me add that there was an expansion of democracy which, after Ronald Reagan left office, was annihilated at Tiananmen Square, and I feel that there is some, criticism.

This isn't just aimed at the Administration. Let us face this. This policy of kissing the boots of these bloody despots in Beijing is not just the policy of Bill Clinton. It is the policy of a lot of Republican billionaires who are trying to do business and making money off China. That is what this all comes down to, and you are doing a great job. You are sincere. I appreciate you. You are one of the good people on this planet. I wish you success, but I am afraid that there are powers that be in this country, and especially in this Administration, that are undermining your good efforts, and the good efforts of the people on this Committee and elsewhere in Congress, that believe some of the fundamentals of this country's supposed to be about, which is life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness for all human beings, and not just the pursuit of profit by a few billionaires in the United States and power brokers that do their bidding.

I agree Tibet is really a bellwether, and the fact that things have been going the wrong way in Tibet should suggest to us that our policies in dealing with Communist China are wrong. In the end, if we ignore the human rights of the people of Tibet, we will hurt the security of our own country, and that is what we are finding out now.

So thank you very much.

Chairman GILMAN. Thank you, Mr. Rohrabacher.

Ms. Taft.

Ms. TAFT. Thank you for your support of Tibet and what we are trying to do. I do think it is really important for us to recognize the fact that China wants to come into prominence in the world. They sit on the Security Council. They are striving to get into the WTO. They are making a lot of efforts to be accepted in the international community. I think that sometimes they don't understand what we say and they don't understand our values. They don't understand how we operate in terms of universal values and universal human rights. But the only way that they are going to make progress is if we engage them in a variety of different ways, if they continue to hear from many Americans; if they continue to do work with our businessmen; if they continue to have dialogues with their own people; if they continue to allow tourists to come in, things will change.

I was first in China in 1979 and while I can't get in now, I have been several times and the country has changed. But we have to keep pressuring them and we have to continue showing that our values are the human rights values. I must say it was very surprising to me we didn't have people lining up to cosign our resolution on China this year, and many countries didn't want to do it because of the economic interests that they think they have.

Chairman GILMAN. Thank you, Ms. Taft.

Mr. Sherman.

Mr. SHERMAN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Ms. Taft, thank you very much for your efforts and your sincerity, but I think we have to face cold reality. I would ask everyone in this room for just a second to be very quiet, because if we are very quiet, we can hear the laughter in Beijing. Let us face it, we are here talking about human rights in Tibet and other types of Chinese actions toward Taiwan and, of course, their actions toward their own people, and yet next month this Congress is preparing to absolutely ensure that no matter what Beijing does in the human rights area, it will not lose a single penny.

Of course they will be obligated to listen to resolutions, put forward international forums. They will hire diplomats to go to play the defensive role in this elaborate ritual where they claim to care what resolution is passed, where they work to defeat what resolutions they can defeat, and then they can laugh at the entire process whether they win or lose this or that meaningless battle, because the fact remains they can't lose a single penny as long as they get the permanent MFN treatment that they are seeking in this Congress next month.

As my colleagues have pointed out, we never gave MFN upon the Soviet Union. We insisted upon calling it MFN and never gave it to them, and the Soviet Union and the United States had a rela-

tionship that was complicated and complex and multifaceted and nuclear, and one in which we wanted their people to see our businessmen and our ideas, but we never gave them MFN.

Now, for full disclosure in these human rights hearings, I do want to point out that I oppose MFN for China mostly because I think it is a bad trade deal. I think it ensures that our trade deficit with China will continue to be large and will be locked in at present levels. But I should point out that we lose every bit of real leverage we might ever have in dealing with China. We announce to them that no matter what happens, all that can ever happen is tough resolutions, signifying nothing.

Now, the only reason for China to seek a compromise with the leadership of Tibet is to defuse a potential problem that they might have where there could be another blow up. There could be another 1959. There could be something reminiscent of Czechoslovakia in 1968. There could be a test of their power in which they would have to deploy their troops. If they win next month, they know that that can't cost them a penny anyway. They would have to provide fuel for their soldiers to enter Tibet in greater numbers, but they don't stand a risk of losing a single penny. So the reason to compromise drifts away and they can simply rely on the iron boot to keep Tibet under control, should that become necessary.

What concerns me even more is that under this MFN deal, China will be free to use its power over individual companies to try to get them to pressure us not to even have hearings like this. I know that there will be lobbyists in the offices of some of us here saying, we are close to getting a good contract with the Chinese, we hate to think that we are going to lose it to a company in another part of the United States or lose it to the French.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. Will the gentleman yield for one moment?

Mr. SHERMAN. Yes.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. Has it been the gentleman's experience being in Congress, as it has been my experience, that those companies that are engaged in China actually go there to make money, and when it comes to influencing policy, they don't try to influence the policy there but instead spend their time trying to influence the policy here? That's been my experience.

Mr. SHERMAN. I don't know what they are doing in Beijing, but I do know that they try to influence policy here. What concerns me more is giving up the annual review because as long as we have the annual review, then China is somewhat limited. They can't get outrageous in the pressures they put on American companies, but if they have got permanent MFN, they can't publish anything in violation of WTO rules, but they can let it be known to this or that big company in your district or mine that it would be better for the company and better for the economics of your part of southern California or mine if we not talk like this here. Many of my colleagues have seen this wave of multibillion dollar company pressure.

Those same forces that are in our offices today demanding that we give, insisting that we give MFN to China will be in our offices tomorrow asking us to shut up because it is bad for trade and bad for business. Right now, if they dared to do that they would undermine their chances for the annual review, give up the annual review, and instead of that pressure being there to win the annual

review battle or to win the permanent MFN battle, that pressure will be here to try to control the statements of Members of Congress.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. Just one last request if the gentleman would yield.

Mr. SHERMAN. Yes.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. That is, I have asked businessmen who have come into my office to lobby me on this issue, how many of you have spoken to local officials or national officials in China where your companies are located about human rights violations? I have not met one that has told me that they have spoken out about certain business there to the people around their company. They could drag, and I understand at times they have actually dragged out of some of these corporate locations in China, political prisoners or religious prisoners, and just dragged them out and the businessmen have not stood up for them. Now what is that telling you?

Mr. SHERMAN. Reclaiming my time, I think our business people are sincere. I think they care about human rights in China, but they also care about the lives of their own employees, and when faced with the possibility of losing that little bit of an export market that we have in China, which I think is a little smaller than our market with Belgium, but knowing that that could be turned off by a simple oral comment by a Chinese Communist commissar, knowing that they are under that kind of pressure, I think it is not for lack of compassion, but perhaps a compassion for their own employees that exceeds their willingness to forego a contract in China. So I am not sure that I am quite as negative as my colleague from southern California on the motivations, but once we give all the cards to the government in Beijing, it will be very difficult.

Right now, if we heard a clear story of a business that was about to sign a contract, and then a commissar made a phone call and advised the business entity not to make that contract, we might do something about it. A few votes might go the other way on annual MFN. Once it is permanent, then nothing can change it. Whether it is missiles fired in the direction of Taipei just a few days before an election, or a crack down in Tibet of Czechoslovakia 1968 proportions, or the outrage of threatening to take away a contract if the company can't lobby more effectively here in Congress for Beijing's position, whatever it is, we are going to embolden those who have nothing to fear from this Congress should China enter WTO, and should the Congress give up annual review. Thank you.

Chairman GILMAN. Thank you, Mr. Sherman. Madam Secretary, we thank you for your patience and for sharing your thoughts with us. We do hope you are going to stay right on top of all of this on our behalf with regard to the Geneva Conference. You will continue to be of help with regard to the conference, but certainly I am appalled the People's Republic of China is not allowing you to sit with them to discuss this matter and denied you also the opportunity to meet in China with regard to this. We will welcome any further thoughts you may have along the way. Don't hesitate. You are going to send us some material and make it part of the record. Thank you.

Ms. TAFT. Thank you, and I would like to thank everybody, the staff as well as the members, for the support we have gotten this



past year. It has been great and I look forward to working with you. Thank you.

Chairman GILMAN. Thank you again.

**STATEMENT OF LODI G. GYARI, SPECIAL ENVOY, HIS  
HOLINESS THE DALAI LAMA**

Chairman GILMAN. Now we are pleased to welcome Lodi Gyari, the special envoy to His Holiness the Dalai Lama. Lodi Gyari was born in eastern Tibet where he received a traditional monastic education. He and his family fled from Tibet to India in 1959. Lodi Gyari was elected to the assembly of Tibetan's people's deputies, the Tibetan parliament in exile and subsequently became its Chairman. He then served as Deputy Cabinet Minister with his responsibilities to the council for religious affairs and for the Department of Health. In 1988, Lodi Gyari became Senior Cabinet Minister for the Department of Information and International Relations and Foreign Ministry.

Currently, Lodi Gyari works as a cabinet adviser and is a Special Envoy of His Holiness the Dalai Lama. Mr. Gyari is also the Executive Chairman of the Board of the International Campaign for Tibet, an independent Washington-based human rights advocacy group.

Welcome, Mr. Gyari. You may put your full statement in the record and summarize, or whatever you deem appropriate. Please proceed.

Mr. GYARI. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. It is once again a great honor for me to be here to testify before your Committee. Before I read my statement, I wanted to once again, Mr. Chairman, thank you and other Members of this Committee for the leadership that you have taken for the cause of the Tibetan people, and particularly, Mr. Chairman, yourself and the Ranking Member and Mr. Rohrabacher, some of our friends, we really greatly appreciate your support.

I am sorry that Mr. Bereuter could not be here because I have always felt that as the chairman of the Subcommittee that deals with the particular area where I come from, it is very important that I have the opportunity to be able to educate him more about the issue of Tibet. I do hope that I will have the opportunity in the near future.

Mr. Chairman, I wanted to make a brief summary of my written statement, which unfortunately has become rather lengthy because I was trying to unburden my problems in absence of any opportunity to discuss them with the Chinese. This Committee is more sympathetic. My remarks today I wanted to confine generally to the issue concerning the negotiations because I think that is the main reason why this hearing was called this morning.

I am afraid I do not really have anything positive to report in this regard. His Holiness continues to make every effort that he can to reach out to China's leaders, to find a negotiated settlement with regard to Tibet. In spite of a strong warning by the Chinese Government, he has remained consistent not only in his effort but also on his position. I had the honor of sending to the Members of the Committee a statement that His Holiness has made recently on

10th March, where he has very clearly reaffirmed his commitment to find a negotiated settlement without seeking total independence.

In this regard, I wanted to not only thank the leadership that Congress has provided but I also wanted to express my appreciation to the Clinton Administration. I think in the last few years, the President and Vice President, the Secretary of State and other senior leaders of the United States have made sincere efforts, and particularly I wanted to express my gratitude for the support and cooperation that I received from the Special Coordinator, Assistant Secretary Julia Taft, and also from her very able and very dedicated one single staff that she has working on this issue, Kate Friedrich.

In fact, I sometimes feel that with the tremendous support we have here in the Congress and this Committee, that we may even dare to ask for legislation to permanently have Ms. Taft as the Special Coordinator for Tibet till such time as we can have a breakthrough with regard to Tibet.

Having said that, Mr. Chairman, I want to say that I still do believe that the Administration can do more. I appreciate efforts that the President has made and the Secretary of State continues to make, but sometimes again, it also becomes a bit ritualistic. When I say ritualistic, I am not being critical because we ourselves, Tibetans, our own approaches become ritualistic. For example, every 10th March wherever we are, we go out somewhere outside the Chinese Embassy and demonstrate. We do it, because we need to do it, but also it becomes kind of ritualistic.

Similarly, I think when senior Administration officials take up the matter of Tibet with the Chinese government, sometimes it becomes ritualistic because it becomes one of the points you have been asked to raise with the Chinese, and then you just tick that little box and come back and report to your government that you have done your job.

I do believe that more could be done by this Administration, and I do hope that President Clinton in the remaining period of his presidency will make a more serious effort, because it is a legacy he can leave behind. I have always believed that if the U.S. Government combined, both the Congress and the Administration, if you really single-handedly pursue the matter of Tibet, I cannot believe this cannot happen.

So therefore, I want to urge this approach. I have been in touch with the Assistant Secretary Julia Taft, as well as with the senior people in the Administration in the next several months, a more vigorous effort could be made, and I do hope that they will do that.

Similarly, Mr. Chairman, I think there is also another way that both the Congress and the Administration can show your support for His Holiness and your commitment. As Assistant Secretary Julia Taft mentioned in her remarks that His Holiness would be visiting Washington, D.C., sometime at the end of June, and early July. That will give both the Congress and this Administration another opportunity to clearly demonstrate your support and also appreciation of the commitment of His Holiness to a nonviolent solution to the issue of Tibet. Such messages, I think, are very important.

I would like to comment on the Human Rights Commission in Geneva, which was discussed among yourselves and the Assistant Secretary. I was there with the Assistant Secretary last week, and I am going to go back there again to make another effort. I was very much encouraged by the hard work that was being done by a number of senior Administration officials.

But I still believe that President Clinton himself needs to take a much more active role in this effort. When President Clinton was in Geneva I was disappointed that he himself did not make any public support for this resolution. To be very candid, while there is appreciation on the part of the Tibetans and others for the lead you have taken, the Assistant Secretary will agree with me that there is also cynicism among a lot of people in Europe that the effort that's being made by the State Department is not really genuine. They say it is, in a way, to balance or camouflage the Administration's own effort to give China most favored nation trade status permanently.

I personally do not believe that. I think, and I have seen it, that the effort by the Administration is very sincere, and I wanted also to express my appreciation to the Secretary of State. She herself made a special visit to Geneva in strong support of this matter, but in the last few days I certainly want to urge more directly and through you that the President of the United States himself take a lead in this and to make other Europeans join as cosponsors and also make sure that we get through the no action as well as the resolution because I think an important message needs to be sent.

Now, specifically Mr. Chairman, I wanted to state here that I personally believe if there is a political will in China, a solution to Tibet, in my view, is not very difficult. What we are seeking, as is not separation, even though the Tibetan people have every right as, Mr. Chairman, you have clearly indicated. We have been a sovereign independent nation, a nation under occupation, but His Holiness, in his infinite wisdom, has called for a solution within the framework of China. Now, if there's political will, I say a solution is possible because China herself, in her Constitution, guarantees the Tibetan people autonomy, not only for the Tibetans within the Tibetan Autonomous Region (TAR), but for the Tibetans on the entire plateau.

One of the main reasons why I think China cannot make any move is she has become enslaved by her leftist policies in Tibet. Her policies in Tibet, her pronouncement on Tibet are very clearly out of that leftist tendency. It is very much like the Cultural Revolution period when it comes to Tibet. Now she has to be able to make a departure from that in order to be able to have a breakthrough.

If we don't do that, I am afraid that things in Tibet can really get out of hand. I don't say this to intimidate anyone. I know because I can feel it. I know because I am a Tibetan, because every policy that China carries out is deliberately provoking the Tibetans to go in the wrong direction, and I believe it will not be too many years before the Tibetans will become forced into some other form of a struggle.

For example, understanding the demise of the Panchen Lama, which many Tibetans believe was not a natural death, the recent

coming into exile of Agya Rinpoche, the recent passing over of a very, very important Tibetan religious leader who died because he was not given an opportunity to leave China for treatment in the United States for cancer, all these things are adding on to the bitterness of the Tibetan people.

In a very personal manner, Mr. Chairman, I lost my father last year. He passed away in India, and his passing away has also created a tremendous sense of bitterness, not only in my heart but in our entire family because his only crime was being a Tibetan, being unwilling to be enslaved.

So every day many Tibetans die in exile without being able to go back. Thousands of Tibetans die inside Tibet not having the opportunity to see their leader, the Dalai Lama. When anything like that happens, every time the bitterness, the resentment grows, and I can unfortunately guarantee you that if this continues there will be instability on the plateau of Tibet, which I think none of us would like to have.

So therefore, the issue of Tibet is not just a human rights issue. It is a issue of great geopolitical importance and, Mr. Chairman, yourself, in your opening remarks dealt with that in a very analytical manner. So I do hope, and I want to urge this Congress in the coming months to take that into consideration, study it and also implement policies which will reflect the importance of Tibet in its geopolitical dimension.

Now I am not making an official statement. This is my personal view, but if we do not find a solution soon, if China continues to say that Tibetans are happy inside Tibet, they are content, then most probably the only solution we have is for us to ask for a referendum. If the Chinese are really convinced that people are happy inside Tibet, we, on the other hand, feel the other way, I think the international community feels the other way.

If the Chinese are really convinced, then I think the best way to find out is to have a referendum, freely and fairly, a referendum and ask the Tibetan people, are they happy under Chinese rule, and if that answer, Mr. Chairman, is yes, I can assure you and you know him very well, that His Holiness will be the happiest person because he is not fighting for the restoration of his power. He, in fact, made it very clear that he has no desire to hold any official position.

So therefore, if we prolong this and I want to make very clear, and I do not want to surprise my friend Julia Taft of the State Department. This is not an official statement. I am not saying that we are now going to insist on a referendum. But if the Chinese continue to stonewall, then I do not think the only logical way for any sensible person, he will say all right, let the Tibetan people speak, let the Tibetans speak if they are happy or not happy. That, in my view, may be best alternate other than to let the situation get out of hand and become a matter of geopolitical instability in that area.

So these are the remarks that I thought, Mr. Chairman, I should make, and I will submit my full text for your record, and I have also, since I think some members have expressed some interest about what had happened in Brussels at this meeting of some members of parliament from 16 countries where they have passed

a resolution as a result of that meeting, I also have those documents, which I will also submit with my testimony for your record.

Chairman GILMAN. Thank you, Mr. Gyari. Without objection, your full statement and any supplementary document will be made part of the record. We thank you for taking the time.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Gyari appears in the appendix.]

Chairman GILMAN. Before proceeding with questions, we are very pleased to be joined today by a delegation of legislators and policymakers from Taiwan. Recently, the citizens of Taiwan stood up to Beijing and voted the way that they wanted to and elected the people and party that they believe will truly represent them. We welcome our Taiwan legislators to Washington and to our Committee. Thank you.

Mr. Gyari, a couple of questions and then I will turn to Mr. Rohrabacher. What restrictions, if any, have the People's Republic of China put on any negotiations with Tibet?

Mr. GYARI. Mr. Chairman, since 1998, in 1998 as Assistant Secretary also stated in her testimony, that we really felt that for the first time there may be some possibility of a breakthrough, but which was very short-lived. In fact, the public statement that was made in presence of President Clinton by President Jiang was both the beginning and end of that process, and ever since they have been stonewalling every effort, and there is no formal, no informal, and sometimes when the Chinese make statement as if indicating that there are some channels which is absolutely ridiculous, because I know, because I happen to be entrusted by His Holiness as the lead person in this regard. So unfortunately, Mr. Chairman, the brief answer is that there is no time of any nature at the moment.

Chairman GILMAN. Mr. Gyari, what can the Administration do to help facilitate any possible negotiations?

Mr. GYARI. As I said earlier, I think the Administration, in particular, Assistant Secretary Julia Taft is working very hard, but unfortunately, as she had indicated, she does not herself have any access to Chinese Government, and I was very encouraged to hear your remarks that your Committee will support her effort. I think there has been efforts by this Administration, but as I said in my earlier remark, I do believe, Mr. Chairman, the Administration, particularly at the level of President, a more vigorous effort could be made, and I had taken the opportunity to share some of the ways how I feel it could be done with senior people at the embassy, as well as with Assistant Secretary Julia Taft.

Chairman GILMAN. I am sure they can be of some help. Mr. Gyari, what is the government of Tibet willing to accept from Beijing at this point?

Mr. GYARI. Mr. Chairman, the Tibetan people, every one of us desires complete and total independence. Who isn't there? Any sensible human being, I think, would like to be completely free of any occupation in this day and age. We are now in the 21st century. However, our leader is deeply respected and admired, who is a friend of yours, and he, as you know, in his wisdom for the long-term interest of the Tibetans and Chinese, have opted for a solution within the framework of PRC. If the Tibetan people are given

a legitimate right to preserve their distinctive way of life, that we are able to maintain our cultural and religious heritage.

So, Mr. Chairman, in a nutshell, we are willing to find a solution without seeking total political independence.

Chairman GILMAN. Where would the Tibetan negotiators be willing to meet with the Chinese?

Mr. GYARI. Mr. Chairman, we have indicated to the Chinese time and again that we are willing to meet at any time at any place. We have made it very clear that it will be unconditional. Even through the very recent past, through mutual friends, I have again, once again, conveyed that at any time, right in the middle of the night, right in the middle of the ocean, if it is feasible we will be willing to go and meet with them and talk with them at any level provided that person, he or she, is the fully authorized person from the Chinese government.

Chairman GILMAN. It sounds like the Tibetans are willing to go to any length to have a negotiation.

Mr. GYARI. That is right, sir.

Chairman GILMAN. Has the State Department or other officials approached you or other members in the Tibetan government in exile to discuss negotiations with the government of the People's Republic of China? Has the Administration come forward and said we would like to work on this with you?

Mr. GYARI. I think the Clinton Administration, Mr. Chairman, I think is very committed, I think is very sincere in helping us find a negotiated settlement. As I said earlier, I do believe that more could be done. It is not a criticism, but I do hope and with your help, again, to urge this Administration to be more vigorous in the next 3 months.

Chairman GILMAN. Thank you.

Mr. Rohrabacher.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman, and thank you for your leadership, in this issue and on the issues of human rights. I don't know what we would do without Chairman Gilman. He has got a good heart and he is thinking about people who are being oppressed in different countries, and that has given this Congress and the United States some leverage to do some things that we couldn't do if we didn't have such a good-hearted person at the head of this Committee.

Thank you, Mr. Gilman.

I would like to ask a little bit about what has been going on in Tibet. What is the population of Tibet today?

Mr. GYARI. Congressman, it is very difficult to get exact figure, but our belief is that there is today, on the whole of Tibet, about 6 million Tibetans, give and take, a few hundred thousand on the whole of Tibet, about 6 million Tibetans.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. They have moved in how many Han Chinese now?

Mr. GYARI. Again, it is very difficult to get precise figure, but our estimate, which I believe is fairly correct, is there is about 7 million Chinese on the plateau of Tibet. So talking about the whole of Tibet, Chinese unfortunately already outnumber us in our homeland.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. So unfortunately a referendum that included everyone living there would not yield the kind of results you want.

Mr. GYARI. Yes. Obviously, Congressman, when I talked about, referendum, if ever such a referendum need to take place, it has to be very clear it has to be for the people who are of Tibetan origin, because the whole idea is to ascertain whether the Tibetans are happy or unhappy. So therefore, if the Chinese is also allowed to participate, then I think the whole exercise would be meaningless.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. We have some friends here from Taiwan who struggled long and hard for democracy in their own part of China, and there was a big fight, of course. The Chinese Communists are insisting from Beijing that Taiwan admit that it is part of China, and under their control, and actually would like to have them under their control, but if Beijing itself is more democratic, if there was actually a government in Beijing like we have in Taipei, which is a freely elected regime government that respects people's human rights, the actual, let us say, the desire or the demand for independence in Tibet would probably not be as great, probably people might be willing to, if it was a freer society, people of Tibet might not feel so compelled to pull away, isn't that correct?

Mr. GYARI. Yes, Congressman, I do agree with your sentiments. In fact, I remember His Holiness making some remarks a few years back that when the Chinese Government accused His Holiness of being a splittist, His Holiness, in a very humorous way, that the real splittists are the leaders in Beijing themselves, because if they had the policy which was one that takes into account the best interests of all the people that live within the confines of PRC today, then most probably the urge for the Tibetan people and others to get rid of the yolk of Chinese occupation would be much less. So certainly, Congressman, China, if it were more democratic, I think is going to be a long way, but even if China respects the rule of law will definitely be far better for all of us.

In fact, I think even for the American business people that you and one of your colleagues this morning talked about, I always tell them that look here, because some of your business people in this country should look at issues like Tibet as obstacles and unfortunately looks at people like me as unwelcome friend, because they feel I am an obstacle to their profit, their relation with China, but I always tell them that we can be allies because even for them, even for the business people, even for the Tibetans to live with the dignity, we need to have a China that respects rule of law. China that is governed, not by the whim and wish of a few Communist leaders, but a China that is governed by rule of law.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. Whether it is Tibet or whether it is Taiwan, there would be a great dissipating of this tension and potential conflict if there was a greater degree of freedom on the mainland of China and democracy. That is just so evident. We found that, by the way, there is a greater degree of freedom in Eastern Europe in what was the Soviet Union. There is less of a chance for conflict now in terms of the United States and fighting with its neighbors. Has there been the introduction of new weapons systems that you know into Tibet by the Beijing regime?

Mr. GYARI. Congressman, I am not trying to dodge your question. I certainly do believe that there are very sensitive and very highly advanced military installations on the plateau of Tibet. In fact, one of the many reasons why Jiang's China immediately after proclaiming the PRC invaded and occupied Tibet is for military and geopolitical reasons. So therefore, you see it is quite obvious. I think even a person with elementary knowledge of military and politics would agree. But precisely as to where and how many is not an area that I am an expert, but I do certainly know that there are a number of areas on the plateau of Tibet which are highly sensitive military installations that the Chinese Government has installed in the last many decades.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. Mr. Hu Chang Tau, I think is how you pronounce his name, was one time the Chinese overlord of Tibet and since moved on to Beijing where he is now looked at as perhaps a successor to Jiang Zemin. Was he a benevolent soul when he was in charge of your area of country?

Mr. GYARI. I don't think we have ever had any benevolent soul. They have all been ruthless, and Mr. Hu Chang Tau, Congressman, remember, came to Tibet at a time soon after the demonstrations that had happened in Tibet. He came because the then-Party Secretary, which was, for the first time, China sent, a minority, a Hui minority as party Secretary, and the Chinese leadership felt that since he himself was a minority, he was very soft with regard to Tibet. He was one of the party secretaries who will wear Tibetan dress, who will encourage some of the Chinese to speak Tibetan.

So Hu Chang Tau came to replace him. So obviously, the reason why they sent him there was not to be soft on Tibet, but to be much tougher on Tibet, but he himself has spent very little time, even when he was party secretary for Tibet, he spent most of the time in Beijing because by then, he was already being groomed for important responsibilities.

For the last many years he has been very silent on Tibet. Precisely I think he is being designated, as you have rightly said, as the future leader. So therefore, most probably, I think he may want to very deliberately stay away from sensitive issues such as Tibet. We haven't really heard much pronouncements from him with regard to Tibet publicly, but he has not, like any other Chinese leader, he hasn't been a friend when he was in Tibet. He was ruthless but was much more subtle. His ruthlessness was a much more subtle way.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. Thank you for your testimony today and thank you again, Mr. Chairman, for your leadership.

Chairman GILMAN. Thank you, Mr. Rohrabacher. Thank you for your kind remarks.

Mr. Crowley.

Mr. CROWLEY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Thank you for all your leadership in terms of human rights throughout the world and for holding this hearing today. This is my first time back in the room with all these new accoutrements and I am amazed at how high-tech we have become.

Mr. Gyari, thank you for your testimony. I am sorry I was unable to hear your full testimony, but I have it in writing and I will review it later. I just have a couple of questions for you. I am con-



cerned about the lack of religious freedom in China. It is probably the main reason for my opposition to PNTR, permanent normal trade relations, with the People's Republic of China. How many political prisoners are there in Tibet, or should I say, how many political prisoners of Tibetan origin are there in China, do you know?

Mr. GYARI. Yes, Congressman, we do have a figure, and that figure, I have no doubt, does not include everyone, because first of all, when I talk about Tibet, I am talking about the real Tibet, the historical Tibet, which is far more than the Tibet that Chinese talk about, because they are talking about the Tibet autonomous region which is less than half in terms of operation and area. So on the whole plateau of Tibet, I think the number of prisoners, especially political prisoners, can run into thousands. I know the exile government has compiled a list of prisoners and also a London based non-government group Tibet Information Network has also compiled a long form, I think, of about 600 political prisoners. This is a very well-documented figure of prisoners.

Mr. CROWLEY. This may also have been brought up before, forgive me if it has, but back in May 1998, after a visit by the EU to a prison, about 10 political prisoners were executed. Do you believe that our government has been outspoken enough on this issue?

Mr. GYARI. I think there has been ups and downs, I think. There has been times, I think, the Administration has been forthright. There has been times I think it has dragged its feet. So to summarize, I think this has not been consistent. I think there has been some inconsistency. I think that's one weakness of your China policies, not only with regard to Tibet. I believe that the United States policy toward China on a number of things has always tended to be inconsistent, and I think the Chinese have always taken full advantage of, be it trade, be it on human rights, be it on any number of bilateral relations.

Mr. CROWLEY. How many Buddhist monks and nuns have been imprisoned?

Mr. GYARI. The number, it could go into thousands. For example, just 3 months back, an area where I come from, I come from eastern part of Tibet, there for example within a period of 3 months, they have rounded up several hundreds of monks, but then sometimes they round them up for a few days, 3 weeks, 3 months, then they release them or sometimes they keep them without any trial for months together. In fact, in my area they have rounded up a very learned scholar a few months back, and I have learned about his activities because he studied in my monastery, and in fact, I have footages of the video that he has sent to me, and his only crime is that he was going out teaching Buddhism.

As part of that, he was showing reverence to His Holiness, the Dalai Lama. For that he was arrested, imprisoned and tortured. So this goes on throughout Tibet. In fact, I think separation against religious freedom has been so vigorous in the last few years, and I think Chinese are actually very much afraid of not only Buddhism, I think they really in nightmare. I think the Chinese leaders in Beijing live in nightmare because they have seen that it is the belief, the faith of people, even in Eastern Europe and Russia,

that finally brought about the ruination of the Communist world. So I think that they live in fear of religion.

Mr. CROWLEY. Are you saying that torture and death are consequences forced by a Buddhist monk who fails to sign on to a document that calls for the reunification of Tibet and China and calls for the recognition of the Panchen Lama and the rejection of the Dalai Lama?

Mr. GYARI. Yes. One of the main reasons why the Chinese Government arrest and imprisoned and tortured religious leaders is when they refuse to denounce His Holiness, when they refuse to accept the Chinese-appointed Panchen as their true Panchen, these are reasons, these are the grounds under which they are imprisoned and tortured, and for the Tibetans, this is a very part of their basic belief.

Mr. CROWLEY. Thank you, Mr. Gyari. Let me, once again, thank the Chairman for holding this hearing. Please give our regards to the Dalai Lama.

Mr. GYARI. Thank you, sir.

Chairman GILMAN. Mr. Gyari, did you say there are well over 600 prisoners still incarcerated—

Mr. GYARI. Yes, sir.

Chairman GILMAN [continuing]. By the Chinese?

Mr. Chabot.

Mr. CHABOT. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and I will be very brief. I do appreciate the Chairman holding this important hearing and we thank Mr. Gyari for his testimony here today, which I will review. I apologize for being absent during most of the meeting. We had markup going on in one of the other Committees that I am a member of, but human rights and the tragedy of Tibet and the treatment by China is something that is very important to this Committee, and I know very important to Chairman Gilman in particular. We intend to continue to follow this very closely, and our relations with China, the success or failure of that relationship, will be reflected in part with how they have treated Tibet, and how they will continue to treat Tibet. We know that Tibet will one day be free, hopefully sooner rather than later. There have been many lives that have suffered through this terrible ordeal with respect to China. We want to, again, thank you for being here today, and as I said, I will review your testimony. Thank you.

Chairman GILMAN. Thank you, Mr. Chabot. Mr. Gyari, please extend our very best wishes to His Holiness. We look forward to his visit at the end of June. We will try to work on a joint session. Hopefully with Ms. Taft's assistance, we may be able to convince the Administration that that would be a good idea. I am pleased you are able to work very closely with Secretary Taft, who has been doing an outstanding job for us. We wish you a safe trip. You have been traveling all over the world. May you continue to travel in safety with our best wishes. Committee stands adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 12 p.m., the Committee was adjourned.]

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**A P P E N D I X**

APRIL 6, 2000

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**NEWS**
**International  
Relations  
Committee**

**U.S. House of Representatives \* Benjamin A. Gilman, Chairman \* 2170 RHOB \* Washington, D.C. 20515**

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**ADMINISTRATION LACKS "UNDERSTANDING" ON TIBET, SAYS GILMAN**

**WASHINGTON (April 6) – U.S. Rep. Benjamin A. Gilman (20<sup>th</sup>-NY), Chairman of the House International Relations Committee, released the following statement today at a Full Committee hearing on "The Status of Negotiations between China and Tibet":**

During this past year conditions inside Tibet have been the worst since the cultural revolution. Religious freedom has been increasingly restrictive and political activity is met with swift, certain and severe repercussions. Increased numbers of monks, nuns and lay people are making the dangerous journey across the Himalayas to freedom in India. Many of them die along the way or once they do arrive they have had to have limbs amputated because of frost bite and gangrene. In addition, many refugees have been captured by the Chinese military and never resurface. Many are beaten and robbed, tortured and imprisoned by the PLA.

As conditions worsen inside Tibet, the government in Beijing fails to recognize the opportunity that His Holiness the Dalai Lama represents for a peaceful settlement to the problem.

Instead of accepting the fact he offers a simple, moderate and workable solution to the status of Tibet by his willingness to accept Tibetan autonomy within China, the Chinese government falsely accuses him of seeking independence and being personally concerned about his own future role in Tibet. Beijing refuses to negotiate with His Holiness or his representatives even though he has made it perfectly clear that he is not seeking the restoration of Tibet's rightful independent status.

Although we believe that Tibet deserves nothing less than the complete restoration of its full independence, we reluctantly support His Holiness' efforts for autonomy in the hope that it will help the Tibetan people and their culture to survive.

It is regrettable that the Chinese leaders believe that by manipulating the enthronement of a few religious leaders and by waiting until His Holiness grows old and dies, that they will eventually control Tibet and end Tibet's international support. Such a rationale is illogical and ignores reality.

The ridiculous image of atheists involving themselves in appointing religious leaders does not enhance peace but it is ludicrous and an embarrassment to the Chinese culture that for centuries deeply respected

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Buddhist teachings. It is a detriment to China's efforts to appear as legitimate world leaders and to be taken seriously as partners in bringing about peace and stability in Asia or elsewhere.

Time is not on Beijing's side. Nations around the world do not support the Tibetan people because of one man.

The Tibetan cause enjoys the global support that it does because it is a courageous attempt by a nation and a people who are trying to regain what is rightfully theirs by throwing off the repression of colonization. And it is in the interest of international stability to have Tibet once again serve as it had for 2000 years as a buffer zone strategically placed between India and China.

It is said that the greatest threat to peace in Asia are the tensions between India and Pakistan. However, the source of that potentially devastating nuclear war is China's gobbling up of Tibet, a vast nation on India's northern border that is the size of western Europe and a quarter of China's landmass. Now that Beijing shares a long border with India, it attempts to keep India off balance by transferring nuclear weapons to Pakistan. While Pakistan causes problems on India's western border, China has been currying favor with the Burmese military government on India's eastern border by selling them nearly \$2 billion of arms.

During the Second World War, Burma was called "the back door to India" by both the British and the Japanese. For the past three decades, China has steadily increased its political, military and economic influence in Burma.

And on the southern tip of India, China overwhelmingly remains Sri Lanka's main supplier of arms. In a recently published book, War at the Top of the World, author Eric Margolis points out:

"Most worrisome to India, though, is the steady increase of Chinese military power on the Tibetan Plateau, which confronts India with the specter of simultaneously facing serious strategic threats on its western, northern and eastern borders. This fear has led Indian strategists and politicians to warn that India was being "surrounded" by a hostile coalition of forces directed and armed by China.

"By the early 1990s, China had deployed 500,000 soldiers, a quarter of its standing army, on the Tibetan Plateau, half of them based on the border between India and Tibet, half in central Tibet. Four additional Chinese armies, each the equivalent of a 60,000-man army corps, were based [in areas of China that are geographically suited to support] operations from Tibet against India by delivering flanking attacks or providing follow-on reinforcements.

"As a result of China's modernization program, China's armies in Tibet are improving their firepower, communications and mobility. In addition, China's western armies received, along with those facing Taiwan, some of the newest and most advanced arms and equipment.

"Ever since occupying Tibet in 1950, the PLA has worked feverishly to build networks of all-weather roads, crisscrossing ...Tibet. Two other major roads lead to Pakistan and Nepal which border India. The new road system allowed China to move large military formations swiftly along the entire length of the Indian border, affording Chinese generals the ability to concentrate mutually supporting armies almost anywhere along the frontier. A chain of permanent bases, many with huge underground storage sites and heavy fixed fortifications, linked to rear echelons by good roads, has been extended like a new Great Wall along the length

(more)

of the border with India.

“The militarization of Tibet presented India with serious strategic and tactical problems. China quite literally commands the high ground from the 4,267-metre Tibetan Plateau. The PLA's forward positions are located at the very crest of the plateau; Indian positions are located, in many cases, below them. In the event of war, Indian troops must advance uphill to attack Chinese positions firing down on them.

“This serious tactical disadvantage is compounded by the chain of intelligence-gathering stations established by China along the plateau's southern edge, which allow China to monitor Indian air space, electronic communications and troop movements south of the Himalayas.

“China has constructed 14 major air bases on the Tibetan Plateau, and a score of tactical airstrips. These bases give the Chinese air force unquestioned domination of Tibet's air space, the forward edge of battle in the event of war, and the capability, for the first time, to fly sustained combat operations over India's north and strike all India's northern cities, including Delhi, Bombay and Calcutta. Chinese electronic intelligence atop the plateau... also confers an important advantage of combat information and battle management in any air war.

“But of all China's military emplacements on the plateau, by far the most alarming to India is an extensive series of missile bases and nuclear installations. At least 25 medium range ballistic missiles are based in Tibet, as well as a sizeable number of shorter-range tactical missiles, all carrying nuclear warheads. India's heartland and many of its major cities are now in range of Chinese missiles.”

China's dangerous expansion in Tibet and meddling in South Asia has brought the region to the brink of a nuclear catastrophe.

The State Department and the Administration have failed to understand the dynamics behind all this tension and continues to focus on Kashmir as if it is a localized and isolated phenomenon between Pakistan and India. It refuses to sanction China for violating the Nuclear Non Proliferation Treaty by transferring nuclear material to Pakistan and instead asks India to forgo nuclear arms.

We have seen no indication by Administration policy makers that they understand the significance of China's occupation of Tibet and how a resolution of that problem could defuse the serious tensions in the region.

We are told that there has been no progress made to ensure that China will contemplate negotiating with His Holiness the Dalai Lama or his representatives. Accordingly, we look forward to hearing from our witnesses today to learn how this situation can be remedied so that a disaster can be diverted and how to bring peace to the region.

*Testifying at the hearing were: the Honorable Julia Taft, U.S. Special Coordinator for Tibetan Issues, Assistant Secretary, Bureau of Population, Refugees and Migration, U.S. Department of State, and Lodi Gyari, Special Envoy for His Holiness The Dalai Lama.*

**Statement of Julia V. Taft,  
Special Coordinator for Tibetan Issues,  
House International Relations Committee  
April 6, 2000**

Mr. Chairman and members of the Committee, it is a great honor to appear before you today to testify on the current situation in Tibet.

I was appointed a little over a year ago to serve as Special Coordinator for Tibetan Issues. My policy goals are two-fold: first to promote a substantive dialogue between the Chinese government and the Dalai Lama or his representatives, and second, to help sustain Tibet's unique religious, linguistic, and cultural heritage.

Mr. Chairman as you and your colleagues know, disputes over Tibet's relations with the Chinese government have a long, complex history. Recognizing that this is your third hearing on Tibet, I do not propose to summarize it again today. Instead, I would like to describe the current circumstances in Tibet, talk a little about developments over the past year, and what I've been doing since my appointment.

Current Situation in Tibet

As our human rights report on China for 1999 makes clear, tight controls on religion and other fundamental freedoms continued and intensified during a year in which there were several sensitive anniversaries and events. This year's report documents in detail widespread human rights and religious freedom abuses. Besides instances of arbitrary arrests, detention without public trial, and torture in prison, there was also an intensification of controls over Tibetan monasteries and on monks and nuns. Religious activities were severely disrupted through the continuation of the government's patriotic education campaign that aims to expel supporters of the Dalai Lama from monasteries and views the monasteries as a focus of "anti-China" separatist activity. UNHCR reported that 2905 Tibetans left Tibet during the year, and Tibet Information Network reported that approximately 1/3 of those left to escape campaigns and pursue religious teaching in India.

In fact, two of Tibet's most prominent religious figures have left Tibet during the past 18 months reportedly for these reasons. The 14-year-old Karmapa, leader of Kagyu sect, and the third most revered leader in Tibetan Buddhism, left Tibet in late December to pursue religious teachings in India. Agya Rinpoche, former abbot of Kumbum Monastery, a senior Tibetan religious figure and an official at the Deputy Minister level, left China in November 1998. Among reported reasons for his departure were increased government pressure on Kumbum Monastery including the stationing of 45 government officials, the imposition of patriotic re-education, and a heightened role demanded of him by the Government in its campaign to legitimize Gyaltzen Norbu, the boy recognized by the Chinese leadership as the 11<sup>th</sup> Panchen Lama.

Although China has devoted substantial economic resources to Tibet over the past 20 years, it remains China's poorest region. Language problems severely limit educational opportunities for Tibetan students, and illiteracy rates are said to be rising sharply. The average life span of Tibetans is reportedly dropping, infant mortality is climbing, and most non-urban children are chronically undernourished.

Recent reports suggest that privatization of health care, increased emphasis on Chinese language curriculum, and continuing Han migration into Tibet are all weakening the social and economic position of Tibet's indigenous population. Lacking the skills to compete with Han laborers, ethnic Tibetans are not participating in the region's economic boom. In fact, rapid economic growth, the expanding tourism industry, and the introduction of more modern cultural influences also have disrupted traditional living patterns and customs, causing environmental problems and threatening traditional Tibetan culture.

In Lhasa (the capital of Tibetan Autonomous Region) Chinese cultural presence is obvious and widespread. Buildings are of Chinese architectural style, the Chinese language is widely spoken, and Chinese characters are used in most commercial and official communications. Drawn by economic incentives to the region, ethnic Han Chinese are estimated to comprise more than half the population of Lhasa; some observers estimate the non-Tibetan population of the city (mostly Han and Hui) to be roughly 90 percent.



Chinese officials estimate that 95 percent of Tibet's officially registered population is Tibetan, with Han and other ethnic groups making up the remaining 5 percent. These numbers reportedly do not include the large number of "temporary" Han residents, including military and paramilitary troops and their dependents, many of whom have lived in Tibet for years. The Dalai Lama, Tibetan experts, and others have expressed concern that development projects and other central Government policies encourage massive influxes of Han Chinese, which have the effect of overwhelming Tibet's traditional culture and diluting Tibetan identity.

Reports indicate that increased economic development combined with the influx of migrants, has contributed to an increase of prostitution in the region. Experts who work in the region report that hundreds of brothels operate openly in Lhasa; up to 10,000 commercial sex workers, mostly ethnic Han, may be employed in Lhasa alone. Much of the prostitution reportedly occurs in sites owned by the Party or the Government, under military protection. The incidence of HIV among prostitutes in Tibet is unknown, but is believed to be relatively high.

Because of the deterioration of the Chinese Government's human rights record, the U.S. Government announced on January 12 its intention to introduce a resolution focusing international attention on China's human rights record at this year's session of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights (UNCHR) in Geneva. We are working hard with other nations to defeat China's anticipated no-action motion and to pass the resolution.

Our criticism of China's human rights practices reflects core values of the American people and widely-shared international norms -- freedom of religion, conscience, expression, association, and assembly. These rights are enshrined in international human rights instruments, including the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, which China has signed but not yet ratified or implemented.

#### Other developments

In addition to utilizing multilateral human rights fora, the President and Secretary Albright have continued to use every available opportunity to urge the Chinese

leadership to enter into a substantive dialogue with the Dalai Lama or his representatives. President Jiang Zemin indicated to President Clinton during their June 1998 summit in Beijing that he would be willing to engage in such dialogue if the Dalai Lama affirmed that Tibet and Taiwan are part of China. Despite our repeated efforts throughout the year to foster such dialogue and the willingness expressed by the Dalai Lama, the Chinese leadership has not followed up on Jiang's remarks to the President. Nevertheless, the Administration remains committed to implementing an approach to human rights that combines rigorous external focus on abuses while simultaneously working to promote positive trends within China including, in the case of Tibet, Chinese willingness to engage with the Dalai Lama to resolve Tibet issues. I am convinced that this principled, purposeful engagement will produce results over the long-term.

We have also continued to raise individual cases of concern. Most notable is the issue of the welfare and whereabouts of Gendhun Cheokyi Nyima the boy recognized by the Dalai Lama as the Panchen Lama and his parents, who have been held incommunicado now for nearly 5 years. When we received disturbing, unconfirmed reports the boy had died in Gansu province and was cremated in secrecy, our Embassy in Beijing made formal representations expressing concern about his whereabouts and welfare. Although the reports of his death were unsubstantiated and thought to be untrue by the Tibetan exile community, the Administration publicly urged the Chinese Government to address continuing concerns of the international community about the safety and well-being of the child by allowing the boy and his family to receive credible international visitors, and to return home freely. The Chinese government has continued to refuse to allow direct confirmation of his well-being.

In response to an inquiry from the Congress, the Chinese Government acknowledged the whereabouts and earlier ill-health of Ngawang Choephel, the Tibetan ethnomusicologist and former Middlebury College Fulbright Scholar who was incarcerated in 1996 and is now serving an 18-year sentence on charges of subversion. We have repeatedly urged the Chinese government to allow his mother to visit him while incarcerated, as is her right under the Chinese Prison Law. However, her repeated requests to be allowed to visit him have not been granted. We have also

urged China to release Ngawang Choephel on medical grounds as a humanitarian gesture.

What I've Been Doing Over the Last Year?

Over the past year I have made it a point to learn all that I can about Tibetan issues so that I am able to ensure the effective presentation of these issues in our U.S.-China bilateral discussions. I have maintained close contact with the Dalai Lama's Special Envoy to Washington, Lodi Gyari. Throughout the year, I requested meetings with the Chinese Ambassador, however, such meetings have not been granted. I am hopeful that this year I will be able to sit down with the Ambassador and discuss the Chinese government's views on social, political, and economic issues related to Tibet, as well as explore ways we can help get the dialogue back on track.

I've met with scores of people from like-minded countries, government officials, people from foundations and academia, experts in U.S.-China relations and NGO officials. Each meeting has produced ideas on how to improve the situation inside Tibet, as well as substantive thoughts about how to restart dialogue. Despite the fact that I am the only Special Coordinator for Tibetan Issues world wide, my appointment has prompted other nations to identify counterparts to discuss this issue. I realize now that there is a wealth of knowledge and talent around the world interested in helping to improve the situation in Tibet. In fact, I just returned from Brussels where the European Parliament held an all-Party Parliamentary Session on Tibet to discuss multilateral efforts and how we can best coordinate future strategies.

In January I visited Dharmasala, India in my capacity as Assistant Secretary for Population, Refugees and Migration. The purpose of my trip was to evaluate and review the \$2 million in assistance programs the United States provides for Tibetan refugees.

After receiving a very warm welcome, I had the opportunity to meet with many members of the Central Tibetan Administration (CTA) to discuss the grant. I was overwhelmed by the tremendous sense of good will and community, especially among the younger generation despite the fact that this generation has never even seen Tibet. I learned on my visit that nearly the entire Central Tibetan

Administration is made up of Fulbright Scholars. These bright, young adults undoubtedly had much more lucrative opportunities in the United States, Europe or India, yet a remarkable 96% have returned to Tibetan settlements to make their talents available to the CTA. Equally impressive is how traditional Tibetan culture is integrated into nearly every facet of daily life.

However, having just been to Nepal in October where I met with new arrivals who were traumatized and had endured great hardship while crossing the Himalayas, I was anxious to visit the transit center in Dharmasala where all new arrivals spend some time before being placed in settlements throughout India. During my visit the center was teeming with refugees. The new arrivals were quiet, but far more animated than the refugees I had seen in Kathmandu just three months earlier. The rooms were crowded, but clean and orderly. Many were wearing the new shoes and dark pants they received after arriving at the Kathmandu reception center. Attached to the transit center was a small, three-room medical clinic for routine medical care.

Although the USG grant makes a very positive impact on the lives of these refugees by providing support for the reception centers, preventive health care, basic food, clothing, clean water and income-generating projects, I am looking into funding repatriation for Tibetans that return to Tibet from the PRM budget as well as exploring ways that IO's, NGO's, and private industry might be helpful in developmental assistance.

Additionally, I met with the Dalai Lama twice over the past year and I look forward to seeing him this summer when he is in Washington for the Smithsonian Folk Life Festival. During the meetings I have had with him, he reiterated his concern about the marginalization of the Tibetan people living in Tibet and requested that I devote some attention to finding ways to improve the lives of those still in Tibet through culturally sustainable enterprises. As I began to narrow down options on ways to be helpful, Congress appropriated \$1 million to support activities which preserve cultural traditions and promote sustainable development and environmental conservation in Tibet. The responsibility of the earmark was assigned to the Bureau of East Asia and Pacific Affairs and my office will have an important role in managing the money and monitoring the

performance of these new programs over the course of the year.

A Congressional Notification is before Congress which would allocate \$750,000 to the Bridge Fund for several agricultural and micro credit initiatives in Tibet. The remaining \$250,000 will be made available through a competitive process for NGO's who qualify for project funding.

#### Conclusion

The treatment of Tibetans by the Chinese government over the past 50 years has been inconsistent with international norms and standards of respect for fundamental human rights. The Dalai Lama has shown enormous courage in accepting the impracticality of insisting on independence and calling for "genuine autonomy" within Chinese sovereignty. Chinese spokesmen have responded by stating their willingness to engage in a dialogue with the Dalai Lama if he renounces independence and pro-independence activities. The problem appears to be solvable. Ultimately it comes down to a question of will, especially on Beijing's side. There are significant Chinese interests that could be advanced in moving forward on Tibetan autonomy. The Dalai Lama is still active and healthy; his prestige will be crucial in carrying the opinion of the Diaspora and most Tibetans in the autonomous regions. Only he can ensure the successful implementation of a negotiated settlement.

Conversely, maintaining order over an unhappy population is a drain on the resources of a still developing country. Widespread knowledge of China's human rights offenses in Tibet has brought about pressure on China's leadership to explain its Tibet policy to the international community. My impression is that the situation in Tibet deeply troubles China's international partners and foreign leaders and that this is affecting their diplomatic engagement in Western countries.

Since China's number one priority is the stability and the unity of the PRC, Chinese leaders may find that a more enlightened policy toward Tibet would be an important step toward enhancing the respect they have earned from the economic transformation of their country. It is my sincere hope that parties will resume dialogue that looked so

promising in 1998. Preservation of Tibet's unique cultural and religious traditions depends on it.

In closing, I would like to thank you for this opportunity to testify today. I look forward to working with you another year on this extremely important issue.



Statement of H.H. the Dalai Lama  
on the 41<sup>st</sup> Anniversary of the Tibetan National Uprising  
March 10, 2000

My sincere greetings to my fellow countrymen in Tibet as well as in exile and to our friends and supporters all over the world on the occasion of the 41st anniversary of the Tibetan National Uprising Day of 1959.

We are at the beginning of the 21st century. If we look at the events that took place in the 20th century mankind made tremendous progress in improving our material wellbeing. At the same time, there was massive destruction, both in terms of human lives and physical structures as peoples and nations sought recourse to confrontation instead of dialogue to resolve bilateral and multilateral problems. The 20th century was therefore in a way a century of war and bloodshed. I believe that we have learned valuable lessons through these experiences. It is clear that any solution resulting from violence or confrontation is not lasting. I firmly believe that it is only through peaceful means that we can develop better understanding between ourselves. We must make this new century a century of peace and dialogue.

We commemorate this March 10th anniversary at a time when the state of affairs of our freedom struggle is complex and multifarious, yet the spirit of resistance of our people inside Tibet continues to increase. It is also encouraging to note that worldwide support for our cause is increasing. Unfortunately, on the part of Beijing there is an evident lack of political will and courage to address the issue of Tibet sensibly and pragmatically through dialogue.

Right from the beginning, ever since the time of our exile, we have believed in hoping for the best but preparing for the worst. In this same spirit, we have tried our best to reach out to the Chinese government to bring about a process of dialogue and reconciliation for many years. We have also been building bridges with our overseas Chinese brothers and sisters, including those in Taiwan, and to enhance significantly mutual understanding, respect and solidarity. At the same time we have continued with our work of strengthening the base of our exiled community by creating awareness about the true nature of the Tibetan struggle, preserving Tibetan values, promoting nonviolence, augmenting democracy and expanding the network of our supporters throughout the world.

It is with great sadness I report that the human rights situation in Tibet today has taken a critical turn in recent years. The "strike hard" and "patriotic re-education" campaigns against Tibetan religion and patriotism have intensified with each passing year. In some spheres of life we are witnessing the return of an atmosphere of intimidation, coercion and fear, reminiscent of the days of the Cultural Revolution. In 1999 alone there have been six known cases of deaths resulting from torture and abuse. Authorities have expelled a total of 1,432 monks and nuns from their monasteries and nunneries for refusing to either oppose Tibetan freedom or to denounce me. There are 615 known and documented Tibetan political prisoners in Tibet. Since 1996, a total of 11,409 monks and nuns have been expelled from their places of worship and study. It is obvious that there has been little change with regard to China's ruthless political objective in Tibet since the early sixties when the late Panchen Lama, who personally witnessed Communist China's occupation of Tibet from the 50s to the beginning of the 60s, wrote his famous 70,000 character petition. Even today the present young reincarnate Panchen Lama is under virtual house arrest, making him the youngest political prisoner in the world. I am deeply concerned about this.

The most alarming trend in Tibet is the flood of Chinese settlers who continue to come to Tibet to take advantage of Tibet's opening to market capitalism. This along with the widespread disease of prostitution, gambling and karaoke bars, which the authorities quietly encourage, is undermining the traditional social norms and moral values of the Tibetan people. These, more than brute force, are successful in reducing the Tibetans to a minority in their own country and alienating them from their traditional beliefs and values.

This sad state of affairs in Tibet does nothing to alleviate the suffering of the Tibetan people or to bring stability and unity to the People's Republic of China. If China is seriously concerned about unity, she must make honest efforts to win over the hearts of the Tibetans and not attempt to impose her will on them. It is the responsibility of those in power, who rule and govern, to ensure that policies towards all its ethnic groups are based on equality and justice in order to prevent separation. Though lies and falsehood may deceive people temporarily and the use of force may control human beings physically, it is only through proper understanding, fairness and mutual respect that human beings can be genuinely convinced and satisfied.

The Chinese authorities see the distinct culture and religion of Tibet as the principal cause for separation. Accordingly, there is an attempt to destroy the integral core of the Tibetan civilization and identity. New measures of restrictions in the fields of culture, religion and education coupled with the unabated influx of Chinese immigrants to Tibet amount to a policy of cultural genocide.

It is true that the root cause of the Tibetan resistance and freedom struggle lies in Tibet's long history, its distinct and ancient culture, and its unique identity. The Tibetan issue is much more complex and deeper than the simple official version Beijing upholds. History is history and no one can change the past. One cannot simply retain what one wants and abandon what one does not want. It is best left to historians and legal experts to study the case objectively and make their own judgements. In matters of history political decisions are not necessary. I am therefore looking towards the future.



Because of lack of understanding, appreciation and respect for Tibet's distinct culture, history and identity China's Tibet policies have been consistently misguided. In occupied Tibet there is little room for truth. The use of force and coercion as the principal means to rule and administer Tibet compel Tibetans to lie out of fear and local officials to hide the truth and create false facts in order to suit and to please Beijing and its stewards in Tibet. As a result China's treatment of Tibet continues to evade the realities in Tibet. This approach is shortsighted and counter-productive. These policies are narrow-minded and reveal the ugly face of racial and cultural arrogance and a deep sense of political insecurity. The development concerning the flights of Agya Rinpoche, the Abbot of Kumbum Monastery, and more recently Karmapa Rinpoche are cases in point. However, the time has passed when in the name of national sovereignty and integrity a state can continue to apply such ruthless policies with impunity and escape international condemnation. Moreover, the Chinese people themselves will deeply regret the destruction of Tibet's ancient and rich cultural heritage. I sincerely believe that our rich culture and spirituality not only can benefit millions of Chinese but can also enrich China itself.

It is unfortunate that some leaders of the People's Republic of China seem to be hoping for the Tibetan issue to disappear with the passage of time. Such thinking on the part of the Chinese leaders is to repeat the miscalculations made in the past. Certainly, no Chinese leader would have thought back in 1949/50 and then in 1959 that in 2000 China would still be grappling with the issue of Tibet. The old generation of Tibetans has gone, a second and a third generation of Tibetans have emerged. Irrespective of the passage of time the freedom struggle of the Tibetan people continues with undiminished determination. It is clear that this is not a struggle for the cause of one man nor is it that of one generation of Tibetans. It is therefore obvious that generations of Tibetans to come will continue to cherish, honor and commit themselves to this freedom struggle. Sooner or later, the Chinese leadership will have to face this fact.

The Chinese leaders refuse to believe that I am not seeking separation but genuine autonomy for the Tibetans. They are quite openly accusing me of lying. They are free to come and visit our communities in exile to find out the truth for themselves.

It has been my consistent endeavor to find a peaceful and mutually acceptable solution to the Tibetan problem. My approach envisages that Tibet enjoy genuine autonomy within the framework of the People's Republic of China. Such a mutually beneficial solution would contribute to the stability and unity of China - their two topmost priorities - while at the same time the Tibetans would be ensured of the basic right to preserve their own civilization and to protect the delicate environment of the Tibetan plateau.

In the absence of any positive response from the Chinese government to my overtures over the years, I am left with no alternative but to appeal to the members of the international community. It is clear now that only increased and concerted international efforts will persuade Beijing to change its policy on Tibet. In spite of immediate negative reactions from the Chinese side, I strongly believe that such expressions of international concern and support are essential for creating an environment conducive for the peaceful resolution of the Tibetan problem. On my part, I remain committed to the process of dialogue. It is my

firm belief that dialogue and a willingness to look with honesty and clarity at the reality of Tibet can lead us to a viable solution.

I would like to take this opportunity to thank the numerous individuals, governments, members of parliaments, non-governmental organizations and various religious orders for their support. The sympathy and support shown to our cause by a growing number of well-informed Chinese brothers and sisters is of special significance and a great encouragement to us Tibetans. I also wish to convey my greetings and express my deep sense of appreciation to our supporters all over the world who are commemorating this anniversary today. Above all I would like to express on behalf of the Tibetans our gratitude to the people and the Government of India for their unsurpassed generosity and support during these past forty years of our exile.

With my homage to the brave men and women of Tibet who have died for the cause of our freedom, I pray for an early end to the sufferings of our people.

The Dalai Lama  
Dharamsala, India

**The Status of Negotiations Between China and Tibet  
Testimony  
before the House Committee on International Relations  
of Mr. Lodi Gyaltzen Gyari,  
Special Envoy of His Holiness the Dalai Lama  
April 6, 2000**

Thank you Mr. Chairman for the opportunity to appear before the International Relations Committee and respond to your concerns about the situation in Tibet, and especially the status of negotiations. I am particularly grateful that for some years the Committee has made the effort to schedule an annual hearing on or around 10 March, our Tibetan National Day. This was not possible this year due to conflicts in scheduling, but I appreciate the fact that the Committee recognized the gravity of the situation in Tibet and was interested in finding a date as soon as practicable for the hearing.

It is always a personal honor for me to represent the Tibetan people before this Committee that has done so much to advance the cause of Tibet in the United States Government. U.S. programs for humanitarian assistance to Tibetan refugees, Fulbright scholarships -- now called the Ngawang Choephel Tibetan scholarships, and Voice of America and Radio Free Asia Tibetan language broadcasting all have their origins in the interests of members of this Committee and its counterpart in the Senate.

Numerous Tibet resolutions have been authored and passed by this Committee, including in this session, a resolution which we support as introduced by Congressman Salmon, H.Res. 389, reaffirming that it is the sense of the House that a renewed formal dialogue should begin between the leadership of the People's Republic of China and the Dalai Lama or his representatives. Mr. Chairman and other distinguished members of the Committee, for all these measures, we are extremely grateful.

Today's hearing also serves as a timely reporting by the State Department on U.S. policy towards Tibet and progress in implementing that policy. It has been my distinct privilege to meet regularly with officials of the Clinton administration, including the National Security Council, and especially Assistant Secretary Taft, the U.S. Special Coordinator for Tibetan Issues. Mrs. Taft has tenaciously represented the politics and programs of this administration among the often competing interests of the State Department and in various exotic and foreign venues. I would like to express my sincere appreciation for her efforts and those of her able assistant, Ms. Kate Friedrich.

The decision taken by Secretary of State Albright in 1996 to name a Special Coordinator for Tibetan Issues can be attributed in part to her vision of a principled U.S. diplomacy rooted in American values of democracy and fundamental human freedoms. Certainly more directly, Secretary Albright's decision was once again a result of a commitment by members of this Committee

and its counterpart in the Senate to nudge successive administrations towards a more responsive position on Tibet. In 1996, that commitment was expressed in a section of the foreign relations authorization bill which called for the establishment of a Special Envoy for Tibet.

Assistant Secretary Taft, our second Tibet Coordinator, continues to amplify official U.S. support for Tibet, as her predecessor, Gregory Craig, did before her. At its inception, the central objective of the Office of the Tibet Coordinator was determined by Secretary Albright to be the promotion of dialogue between the Chinese leadership and His Holiness the Dalai Lama or his representatives. As the person entrusted by His Holiness the Dalai Lama with the responsibility of spearheading this effort, I fully acknowledge the challenge of that mandate. Nonetheless, its significance to a resolution for the Tibet issue is unparalleled. As this administration well understands, there can be no end to the suffering in Tibet until a negotiated settlement is achieved which will provide the six million Tibetans with the legitimate right to preserve their unique heritage and distinct identity.

On different occasions, Vice President Gore and President Clinton have elevated the issue of dialogue to a priority in important exchanges between the United States and the People's Republic of China, including the November 1997 and June 1998 summit meetings. During this period, there were some indications that Beijing would begin a process that could lead to meaningful dialogue. Specifically, during the 1998 summit, President Jiang spoke publicly of his willingness to enter into dialogue with the Dalai Lama. Regrettably, since that time, all doors have been shut to us. Whether the Chinese are now unwilling or unable to act with sufficient vision on Tibet, the position of His Holiness remains the same.

I have with me a copy of His Holiness the Dalai Lama's 10 March statement. I respectfully ask that the full text be included in the Committee record, and would like to read a small part at this point.

*"It has been my consistent endeavor to find a peaceful and mutually acceptable solution to the Tibetan problem. My approach envisages that Tibet enjoy genuine autonomy with the framework of the People's Republic China. Such a mutually beneficial solution would contribute to the stability and unity of China -- their two topmost priorities -- while at the same time the Tibetans would be ensured of the basic right to preserve their own civilization and to protect the delicate environment of the Tibetan plateau.*

*"In the absence of any positive response from the Chinese government to my overtures over the years, I am left with no alternative but to appeal to the members of the international community. It is clear now that only increased and concerted international efforts will persuade Beijing to change its policy on Tibet. In spite of immediate negative reactions from the Chinese side, I strongly believe that such expressions of international concern and support are essential for creating an environment conducive for the peaceful resolution*

*of the Tibetan problem. On my part, I remain committed to the process of dialogue. It is my firm belief that dialogue and a willingness to look with honesty and clarity at the reality of Tibet can lead us to a viable solution."*

Mr. Chairman, I have acknowledged the gratitude all Tibetans feel for the conviction this administration has demonstrated on the issue of Tibet. Do I believe, however, that all that was possible has been done? No I do not. I not only see opportunity in the remaining months of this administration, but also a need for a redoubling of efforts at this very moment.

First, the administration needs to invigorate its efforts to advance the issue of dialogue and take care not to raise it in a ritualistic or formulaic manner. Even in the recent past, cabinet level people have traveled to Beijing and reiterated calls for dialogue. But they must do more than that, and I have shared with the National Security Council and Mrs. Taft and her colleagues at the State Department some of our ideas about how this could be done. As the President considers his legacy, he should revisit the issue of Tibet.

It is my hope that President Clinton's just concluded visit to South Asia, as well as his intimate knowledge of China, have given him the opportunity to understand that a resolution of the Tibet issue not only benefits the Tibetans but that it is a key factor in bringing about lasting peace and stability in that whole region. We cannot afford to leave the issue of Tibet unattended, as it could contribute to an emergence of a situation not unlike those that have confronted us in the Balkans and elsewhere. I also urge this Committee to undertake a serious examination of the geopolitical significance of Tibet and enhance U.S. policies to reflect that importance.

Similarly, both the administration and the Congress have the opportunity to welcome the Dalai Lama early this summer. His Holiness has been invited by the Smithsonian Institution to give an address on the Mall as part of the National Folklife Festival's focus on the Tibetan culture. It will be his first visit to Washington since 1998, and I am hopeful that he will be received in official Washington in a manner that demonstrates the importance attached to finding a resolution of the Tibet issue and that confers on His Holiness proper appreciation for his leadership. I think we would all agree that His Holiness has become one of the foremost spokespeople for a responsible and ethical approach to living in the new millennium, and his role as a moral leader should be acknowledged.

This may well be the last visit of His Holiness during this administration, and it is important that there be a fulsome endorsement of his efforts to achieve a negotiated settlement. While President Clinton will be leaving his official duties as commander and chief behind, His Holiness has no such term limitation.

As we speak, some very committed and senior State Department officials are engaged in an effort to garner support for a U.S.-sponsored China resolution at the U.N. Human Rights Commission. I myself was in Geneva last week and saw how very hard they are working. I also wish to compliment Secretary Albright for making a special effort to stress U.S. concern for the human rights

situation in China and Tibet by flying to Geneva from South Asia to address the Commission. However, China has predictably mounted significant opposition to what it views as a serious threat to its prestige at the United Nations. The Chinese delegation has threatened to "fight to the end" to defeat the resolution, and we can be assured that they will hold no punches.

Nonetheless, the U.S. is at risk of missing a rare opportunity for some advantage. There is vocal and widespread cynicism among delegates at the Commission that the U.S.-sponsored resolution is merely a ploy to win Congressional approval for permanent normal trade relations for China. It is also understood that the E.U. nations, who will vote as a block in Geneva, are divided among themselves. Nonetheless, President Clinton who in 1995 was successful in securing European support for a China resolution, chose to be silent on the resolution when he visited Geneva two weeks past. Not only did he not use a critical opportunity to lobby for the resolution, but he did so in the context of a campaign that has him on an almost daily basis speaking out publicly for the passage of PNTR.

E.U. leaders will meet on April 10 and 11 in Brussels. The following day, April 12, is the last possible day for co-sponsorship at the Commission. It is my sincere hope that President Clinton's commitment to human rights will have been communicated personally to wavering European leaders before it is irrelevant.

There are those who believe that in order to influence China to do the right thing, it is first necessary to cajole China. I have always held the opposite view. China is an important nation whose leaders respect strength and candor. But China will never be a great nation while its leaders condone the abuse of its citizens. Neither should the international community hesitate to condemn China to the fullest extent when it continues to pursue a policy that contradicts all norms of moral and civilized behavior.

Last month's presidential election in Taiwan was particularly instructive on this very issue. Under a barrage of extreme rhetoric and even the threat of war, the people of Taiwan voted their conscience and elected the candidate most reviled by Beijing. One Chen Shui-bian supporter was reported in the Washington Post to have said on the eve of the election, "We know that there is an 800-pound gorilla across the Taiwan Strait, but what the rest of the world does not understand is that it is just a gorilla."

Again, I do not advocate a dismissive policy towards Beijing, but rather a policy based on the expectation that as an emerging power China is compelled to take on the responsibilities of leadership. However, if powerful and free nations, such as the United States, allow China to act with impunity and escape international condemnation, we should not be surprised at the kind of leader China will become.

My own understanding of China is based on the experience of occupation and the tremendous suffering my people have undergone. And no one feels that suffering or the burden of Tibet's freedom struggle more deeply than His

Holiness. This Committee is, of course, aware of the efforts His Holiness makes to raise the issue of Tibet internationally. Indeed, you have welcomed him in this very room many times. You may not be aware that he also meets with every new arrival from Tibet, roughly 3,000 each year. Their individual and personal tragedies are difficult for anyone to hear; the ugly accounts of Chinese brutality are difficult to comprehend or to forgive. Compiled together, in the many thousands, they weigh heavily on the heart.

It is said that generals can be the most tenacious advocates for peace because they know the price of war. This may be an awkward analogy in the case of His Holiness who is certainly not a general, but rather has been lauded around the world for his non-violent approach to conflict resolution. However, it is the intimate connection he has to the situation in Tibet, as well as the mutual long-term interest of the Tibetans and Chinese that His Holiness continues to seek a negotiated solution, From his 10 March statement:

*"If China is seriously concerned about unity, she must make honest efforts to win over the hearts of the Tibetans and not attempt to impose her will on them. It is the responsibility of those in power, who rule and govern, to ensure that policies towards all its ethnic groups are based on equality and justice in order to prevent separation. Though lies and falsehood may deceive people temporarily and the use of force may control human beings physically, it is only through proper understanding, fairness and mutual respect that human beings can be genuinely convinced and satisfied."*

Mr. Chairman, while His Holiness has exhibited patience and consistency in his efforts to engage the Chinese leadership, their failure to respond will no doubt lead to a more dangerous scenario. There is an Tibetan adage which says, "if someone who is righteous is deeply wronged, the ferocity of such a person can be awesome."

It may very well happen that the peace-loving people of Tibet will become completely the opposite. In fact, in our not too ancient past, before the arrival of Buddhism in Tibet, we Tibetans were a nation of warrior tribes. Even in recent history, my own mother, a Khampa women, fought against the Chinese on horseback. Some months back my father died in exile. His only crime was being Tibetan and unwilling to be enslaved by the Chinese. Thousands of Tibetans like my father die in exile every year. It was not an easy thing for him or for his children. And the bitterness we share has been compounded and passed to his grandchildren. I am simply saying to the Chinese, don't kick us around for too long, I have been saying this for some time and some people may think that I am just saying it. But I am saying it because I am genuinely frightened of such a prospect, and I can feel it in me.

Similarly, inside Tibet, there is increasing frustration. A flood of Chinese settlers are taking our land, our resources. Prostitution, gambling and karaoke bars, which the authorities quietly encourage, are undermining the moral values of our people. And, because the Chinese authorities see the distinct culture and religion of Tibet as the principal cause for separation, there is an attempt to

destroy the integral core of the Tibetan Buddhist identity. His Holiness is kept outside, away from his people. Although his presence is felt, his people have no access to him.

The untimely death in 1989 of the 10th Panchen Lama, took from the Tibetan people a fundamental refuge and struck a deep blow against their spirit. Last year, Agya Rinpoche, the abbot of Kumbum monastery, was granted asylum in the United States after a period of increasing exploitation by the Chinese authorities. At the time of his escape, Agya Rinpoche, as a Chinese government official at the Deputy Minister level, was the second most senior official ever to defect to the West and held the following positions: Deputy Chairman of the CCPC in Qinghai Province, Deputy Chairman of the Chinese Buddhist Association (for all of China), Chairman of the Buddhist Association in Qinghai, and the Deputy Chairman of the Chinese Youth Association. Agya Rinpoche accepted these promotions believing he could better protect the Tibetan people, and his monks at Kumbum. However, in his own words, "the costs to me of these promotions were great." He has recently made a statement which reads in part as follows:

*"Although Kumbum has been regarded by the Chinese government as a good model for other monasteries to follow, in 1997 the government decided to further emphasize at Kumbum its policy of "love motherland - love religion." Forty-five communist cadres were sent to the Monastery to live. All of the monks and residents of the Monastery, including me, were divided into 12 discussion groups, and the groups were forced to repeatedly denounce His Holiness the Dalai Lama, to remove all pictures of the Dalai Lama from the Monastery, and to sign contracts expressing love for the "motherland" and agreeing to keep religious practices within the government-prescribed regulations. These were all required against our will.*

*"In addition to the increased pressure that the Chinese government had placed upon Kumbum Monastery, I was singled out for special treatment -- which forced my decision that I had no choice but to try to escape from China right away. First, late in 1997, I learned that the Chinese government intended to require me to hold an elaborate ceremony at Kumbum in June 1998, coinciding with the celebration of the birthday of Lama Je Tsongkhapa, the founder of the Gelupa tradition of Tibetan Buddhism. The ceremony planned by the government would celebrate the third year of its identification of Gyaltsen Norbu as the so-called 11th reincarnated Panchen Lama. This would have been the first widely announced and publicly held ceremony for the Chinese government's Panchen Lama. Thereafter, the Chinese government intended to have this so-called Panchen Lama live at Kumbum and be educated under my auspices. From the bottom of my heart, I could not accept this Communist-appointed Panchen Lama, yet I was told that I would be required as the abbot of Kumbum to administer this entire enthronement ceremony myself. I could never recognize Gyaltsen Norbu, the Chinese appointed Panchen Lama, as the true Panchen Lama, and as a result, I could never conduct a religious ceremony in which he was being confirmed in that*



*position. To do so would violate my loyalty to His Holiness the Dalai Lama and my profoundest beliefs in Tibetan Buddhism."*

Mr. Chairman, Agya Rinpoche's flight from Kumbum, followed in December by the young Karmapa's escape from Tsurphu Monastery, the arrest and abuse of Geshe Sonam Phuntsog in Kandze, and the death of Gungthang Rinpoche at Labrang Tashikyil Monastery in February leave a terrible void in Tibet.

The essence of the practice of Tibetan Buddhism is the transfer of our spiritual philosophy from teacher to disciples. Because successive Chinese policies in Tibet have destroyed this distinct process, with all but a handful of learned religious leaders either dead, under detention or in exile, the loss of even these four important lamas to the Tibetan people is significant. Of course, the Dalai Lama is the foremost example of destruction to the link between teacher and disciples, and China's refusal to allow his return to his people the most profound commentary on the status of religious freedom in Tibet.

Each time an important leader is lost to us or treated inhumanely, our anger and frustration builds because we hold China responsible for this. For example, Tibetans universally believe that there was foul play in the case of 10th Panchen lama's death. Moreover, because Tibetans do not believe that the Chinese authorities act in their best interest, religious leaders are commonly called on to act on secular matters, Gungthang Rinpoche, took on the responsibility for settling disputes among Tibetan nomads pushed into competition for diminishing pasturelands due to Chinese encroachment and the imposition of artificial administrative areas. The loss of Gungthang Rinpoche was compounded by anger among Tibetans that he had been prevented by authorities from traveling abroad for cancer treatment.

Geshe Sonam Phuntsog, a well-known scholar and student of the abbot of my own monastery, Lumorab Monastery, was arrested and beaten for nothing except that he taught the Bodhi-dharma and by that demonstrated his reverence for His Holiness the Dalai Lama. This sad state of affairs in Tibet, illustrated here by these few cases, is why resentment is increasing and stability is far from guaranteed.

As I said early in my testimony, the 1998 Clinton-Jiang summit evoked hope that progress on Tibet would soon be at hand. This has not happened and there is some indication that Beijing has, in fact, privately adopted a hard-line position. In late 1999 a Tibetan-language journal from India published a confidential document in which a senior Chinese official is quoted as saying:

*"We have no need to engage in dialogues with the Dalai Lama. The Dalai Lama's return to China will bring a great risk of instability. We will then not be able to control Tibet. The Dalai Lama is now fairly old. At the most, it will be ten years before he dies. When he dies, the issue of Tibet is resolved forever. We, therefore, have to use skillful means to prevent his return."*

Assistant Secretary Taft and I recently were together in Brussels at a conference on Tibet attended by members of 16 European national parliaments and E.U. parliamentarians. On that occasion, Kalon T.C. Tethong, the Foreign Minister of the Tibetan exile government, offered the following analysis on China's hardened policy on Tibet. I would like to read from it in part and ask that the full text be included in the hearing record.

*"The new attitude and thinking on the Chinese leaders' part, we believe, has to do with the growing prestige of the institution of the Dalai Lama. Now His Holiness the Dalai Lama is an international figure and with growing spiritual followers world-wide, including Taiwan and China. This is especially irritating for the Chinese Communist Party whose ability to retain the loyalty of the Chinese populace is diminishing gradually, losing followers to traditional religious beliefs. It is in this context that some senior Chinese officials in December 1998 commented that even a visit to China by His Holiness the Dalai Lama would unleash great problems for China, make the Tibetans go crazy, and have an impact on the latent pro-democracy activists who could be galvanized by such a visit."*

In the meantime, China is pumping money onto the Tibetan Plateau for massive infrastructure, development and natural resource extraction projects. This economic boom is intended to attract more and more Chinese settlers in hopes that swamping the Tibetans in a sea of Chinese will consolidate Beijing's rule in Tibet. As Kalon Tethong predicts, "these may be dangerous delusions to entertain, and will only provoke an angrier form of Tibetan nationalism."

Here I thought I should bring to the attention of the Committee a recent news item indicating that the World Bank would lend \$5-7 billion to China in the next 3 years, primarily for projects in "Western China." I have never and do not now oppose economic development assistance for China, but rather have always viewed China as a deserving recipient. However, there are well-founded concerns that such an infusion of funds could facilitate China's colonial hold over Tibet and hasten the economic marginalization of the Tibetan people.

Institutions, such as the World Bank, can become powerful instruments not only in alleviating poverty but for bringing about stability and peace -- and even harmony and understanding among peoples. However, as an individual coming from the developing world, I have seen these multi-national institutions, with all the best intentions, sometimes become the cause of more suffering and, in fact, widen the gap between rich and poor. Under the leadership of James Wolfenson, I believe that the Bank can and is moving in the right direction. At least his personal philosophy and vision reflects an understanding of the realities that the various regions of the world confront. I will watch this new Bank scheme very closely and certainly hope to be included in deliberations if and when these funds are allocated to ensure that they will be of general benefit to the Tibetan people.

Mr. Chairman, I have attempted to explain in my testimony why vituperative rhetoric from Beijing has failed to bring about the desired results. Instead of unity and accord, it breeds anger and resentment.

I have reiterated the consistent position of His Holiness that he is willing and ready to enter into serious discussions with the Chinese leadership without preconditions.

And, I have appealed for stiffened resolve on the part of President Clinton and his administration in its dealings with China and its efforts on behalf of dialogue, especially in the remaining months. Immediately, the President must be more visible in pushing for European co-sponsorship of the China resolution at the U.N. Human Rights Commission.

Finally, if indeed the rationale behind Beijing's approach to Tibet is that the Dalai Lama cannot live forever, it could not be more simplistic or misguided. There are six million Tibetans who will carry our struggle to succeeding generations.

I recently wrote in the Far Eastern Economic Review that "While China is an important global power with the potential to become a leader among nations, she is also her worst enemy. Ignoring the value of working with the Dalai Lama ranks at the top of its self-destructive tendencies."

Mr. Chairman, the re-emergence of central Asia following the break-up of the Soviet Union should give pause for serious consideration by regional powers and the United States. For centuries, Tibet served as a buffer zone between the great empires of Asia. Since Tibet's occupation by the People's Liberation Army, China has inserted itself into the center-most, highest elevations of Asia, and a Chinese border war with India has been launched from Tibetan lands.

A positive response to the Dalai Lama, would prove to the world that China not only is genuinely capable of respecting diversity within her territories, but that it has assumed the mantle of responsible regional leadership.

Finally, let me reiterate for my Chinese brothers and sisters. His Holiness the Dalai Lama is the solution to the situation in Tibet. If the political will exists, no major hurdles to negotiations exist, at least on the fundamental issues.

One of the root problems that enslaves the Chinese leaders and makes it difficult for them to deal with Tibet in a forward-looking manner is the legacy of China's leftist policies which have been in place for the last several decades, in varying degrees at various stages. Even a casual study of China's pronouncements and policies in and with regards to Tibet clearly reflects this position.

The paramount concern of China is the unity of the Peoples Republic of China, and the Dalai Lama is committed to not seeking independence. Theoretically, China claims to have given the Tibetan people autonomous status

and the PRC Constitution provides such guarantees. Mind you, autonomous status is not limited to those Tibetans living within the boundaries of the Tibet Autonomous Region, but applies equally to the majority of Tibetans who live in other parts of Tibet. What is required is a reexamination of those Constitutional provisions and the enactment of changes that would meet the legitimate concerns and fulfill the aspirations of the Tibetan people, and which also reflect the commitments made to the Tibetan people by Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai, Hu Yaobang and Deng Xiaoping and others.

I am saying that not only is His Holiness not seeking independence, but the solution can be found within the Constitution of the People's Republic of China.

Therefore I strongly urge Chinese leaders, and once again seek the support of the international community, including this Congress and the administration to find an amicable solution for Tibet before it becomes too late. In particular I urge the Chinese leaders to break this vicious circle and resolve our differences through dialogue and negotiations.

If the Chinese continue to stonewall all efforts of His Holiness the Dalai Lama to find a negotiated settlement for Tibet within the framework of the People's Republic of China and continue to insist that the Tibetans in Tibet are happy and contented -- a view which the Tibetan people and the international community contest -- then the only solution may be to have a fair and free referendum to ascertain the true wishes of the Tibetan people. If the result of such a referendum affirms China's claim that the Tibetans are happy and contented, the His Holiness the Dalai Lama will be the happiest person of all. His fight is not for the restoration of his privileges and powers. He has made it repeatedly clear in a very categorical manner that he will neither seek nor hold any official position once the Tibet issue is resolved.

Let me clearly state that I am not, at this stage, calling for such a referendum. These are my own thoughts, but rationally I see such a path as the only alternative if there is no movement on the issue in the near future. His Holiness the Dalai Lama and the leadership in exile continue to be committed to finding a negotiated settlement within the framework of the People's Republic of China as I have stated over and over in this testimony.

Additional Question for the Record Submitted to  
Assistant Secretary Julia V. Taft  
By Rep. Douglas Bereuter  
Committee on International Relations  
April 6, 2000

**Question:** I request copies of all documents that you received from the All-Party Parliamentarian Session in Brussels.

**Documents Attached**

Participants List

CRS Paper - Tibet and China: Current Issues and  
Implication for U.S. Policy

Tibet Center for Human Rights and Democracy 1999 Annual  
Report. Tibet the Tightening of Control

The Dalai Lama's Five Point Peace Plan

Press Release: European Parliamentarians Call for EU  
Co-sponsorship of China Resolution

Discussion Draft Resolution on Tibet

**EUROPEAN PARLIAMENTARIAN CONFERENCE**  
**BRUSSELS 28 – 29 MARCH 2000**

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- Tenzin Gyamtso  
President, Tibetan Community in France
- Rinzin Thargyal  
President, Tibetan Community in Norway
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**Tibet and China: Current Issues and Implications for U.S. Policy**

Code RS20395 November 8, 1999

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Summary

**Recent Historical Background of Tibet**

Tibetan history is notable in two particular respects. One is the extraordinarily pervasive influence of Buddhism in all aspects of daily life. At one time, a sizeable number of Tibet's male population were monks and lamas, and eventually this ecclesiastical group became Tibet's temporal rulers as well as its spiritual leaders. The Dalai Lama, believed to be the reincarnation of Tibet's patron deity, was the highest and most revered among this ruling monastic theocracy.

The second noteworthy aspect of Tibetan history is the ambiguity and disagreement surrounding Tibet's long political relationship with China. Tibetans generally view Tibet as an historically independent nation that had a close relationship with a succession of Chinese empires. A succession of Chinese governments, on the other hand, have claimed Tibet as a political and geographical part of China.<sup>1</sup> In 1949-1950, the newly established communist government of the People's Republic of China (PRC) backed up this claim by sending military troops to occupy Tibet. Since then, Tibet has been under active Chinese rule as its westernmost province, Xizang (Tibet Autonomous Region). Much of the PRC's tenure there has been troubled, particularly during the tumultuous Cultural Revolution (1966-1976) when most monasteries, palaces, and other aspects of Tibetan Buddhism and culture were either damaged or destroyed. The International Campaign for Tibet claims that over 1 million Tibetans died during the first 30 years of PRC rule.

In 1959, at the age of 24, the Dalai Lama fled Tibet and went into exile in India with a group of his followers. He remains there today, along with a Tibetan refugee community of tens of thousands, and he is still widely regarded as the spiritual leader of the Tibetan people, their foremost advocate, and a figure of international stature. He has steadfastly maintained that Tibet is an independent country under illegal occupation by Chinese government forces. But he has also been willing to negotiate with Beijing, and has advanced a number of fairly moderate proposals regarding Tibet's future status. The Chinese government condemns the Dalai Lama's political activities and his leadership of a "government-in-exile," although it recognizes him as a major religious figure.

*Footnotes:*

<sup>1</sup>Such claims have been made by previous Chinese dynasties, the Republic of China government under Chiang Kai-shek (now the government on Taiwan), and the communist government of the People's Republic of China.



### **Tibet and U.S. Policy**

In the late 1980s, Tibet became a recurring issue in congressional consideration of matters relating to China. A number of factors have contributed to Members' greater interest. These include: the Dalai Lama's and the Tibetan community's ongoing political activities; reports of human rights abuses and China's continuing repressive social and political controls in Tibet; and the lack of consensus among U.S. policymakers over what U.S. policy should be toward China. On matters involving Tibet - as on many matters involving China - congressional views have often been at odds with those of the White House. As a matter of official policy, the U.S. government recognizes Tibet as part of China and has always done so, although some dispute the historical consistency of this U.S. position. Since normalization of relations with the PRC in 1979, a succession of both Republican and Democratic U.S. Administrations have favored policies of engagement with China. Thus, they have sought to minimize areas of potential tension with Beijing where Chinese leaders have taken strong positions, such as on the question of Tibet's political status.

But the Dalai Lama has long had some strong supporters in the U.S. Congress, and these Members have continued to put pressure on the White House to protect Tibetan culture and accord Tibet greater status in U.S. law despite Beijing's strong objections. Seemingly as a result of this congressional pressure, Presidents George Bush and Bill Clinton have each met with the Dalai Lama in the United States - meetings that were deliberately kept low-key and informal, but which nevertheless offended Chinese leaders.

### **Creation of a Special U.S. Envoy for Tibet**

Beginning in 1994, Congress began to consider measures to establish a Special U.S. Envoy for Tibet.' Senator Claiborne Pell, the initial sponsor of such a measure in the 103' Congress, believed that a Special Envoy was necessary to help focus U.S. Administrations on Tibetan issues: 'I recall how difficult it was to engage previous administrations in serious, knowledgeable discussions on Tibet ... A Special Envoy for Tibet would ensure that this important element of United States-China relations was continually reflected in policy discussions on a senior level. Moreover, it would assure that the same administration official would be available to the Congress for consultation on a thorough and consistent basis.' Provisions to create a Special Envoy were also introduced as sections of foreign relations authorization bills in the 104' and the 105' Congresses.'

#### *Footnotes:*

*'S. 2554, introduced by Senator Pell, was the first such measure, introduced in 1994.*

*'Statement by Senator Pell, Congressional Record, October 7, 1994, p. S14878.*

*'in the 104' Congress, that legislation was the American Overseas Interests Act of 1995 (H.R. 15 61 -Gilman, and S. 908-Hehms). The President vetoed this legislation on April 12, 1996; a veto override vote failed of passage in the House on April 30, 1996 (234-188). Similar legislation in the 105' Congress, H.R. 1486, was replaced by three separate bills after consideration by the House Rules Committee on June 3, 1997: H.R. 1757, authorizing appropriations for the State Department for FY 1 998-1999 (and containing the Tibet Special Envoy provision); H.R. 175 8, the European Security Act (NATO enlargement); and H.R. 1759, a foreign aid authorization and reform bill. The Special Envoy provision was dropped from this legislation before final passage.*

In each case, the provision called for the Special Envoy to have ambassadorial rank, and to actively promote negotiations between the Dalai Lama and the Chinese government. U.S. Administration officials opposed these provisions, primarily because of the creation of an ambassadorial rank position for an entity (Tibet) that the United States recognizes as part of China rather than an independent country in its own right. On October 31, 1997, in a move seen as a compromise, Secretary of State Madeleine Albright designated a Special Coordinator for Tibetan issues within the State Department, naming Gregory Craig to serve in the position concurrently with his job as Director of Policy Planning. Although the new Special Coordinator position did not come with ambassadorial rank, its creation nevertheless suggested there would be a higher level of official attention on issues involving Tibet. Consequently, the 105<sup>th</sup> Congress dropped the Special Envoy provision from subsequent legislation.<sup>1</sup> Since January 20, 1999, the position of Special Coordinator for Tibet has been held by Julia Taft, U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for Population, Refugees, and Migration. Assistant Secretary Taft met with the Dalai Lama in April 1999 in Frankfurt, and in August 1999 in New York.

#### **Current Issues: Implications for the United States**

In addition to issues involving Tibet's political status and that of the Dalai Lama's exiled community, many other aspects of Tibet-PRC relations have been sources of tension. There are long-standing disputes over basic statistics: the geographic area of Tibet, the number of Tibetans living there, and the number of ethnic Han Chinese residents. There are ethnic frictions between Tibetans and Chinese living in close proximity, with all the burdens of social discrimination and economic disparity that often accompany such frictions. And the still deep-rooted influence of religion in Tibet - as a way of life, a cultural identity, and an institutional force - clashes continually with the secular traditions and bureaucratic requirements of the Chinese communist government system. Among these entrenched tensions, a number of issues in particular have implications for Tibet's future, as well as political implications for U.S.-China relations. These issues are described below.

**Status of the Dalai Lama's Negotiations with China.** Relations between China and the Dalai Lama and his exiled followers have remained stalled for years, with no negotiations currently scheduled or even planned. In the past, both China and the Dalai Lama maintained that they were willing to hold discussions about Tibet's future. The Dalai Lama himself - whose views on the subject are more cautious and diplomatic than those of many of his followers - generally speaks of Tibetan interests within the context of rule by China. He has spoken of a future Tibet that is part of China, but which also has "cultural autonomy" within the Chinese system. But the Dalai Lama also has insisted that there should be no preconditions for any discussions he has with Beijing; instead, the negotiators should be able to address every issue in contention.

*Footnotes:*

*<sup>1</sup>For more on the 105<sup>th</sup> Congress' consideration of this legislation, see CRS Report RL30350, *China and the 105<sup>th</sup> Congress: Policy Issues and Legislation, 1997-1998*.*

In recent years, Chinese leaders have been highly critical of the Dalai Lama, going so far as to describe him as a "criminal" intent on splitting Tibet from China, and at times intimating that dialogue with him is impossible.' In June 1998, during President Clinton's summit trip to China, President Jiang Zemin appeared to take a more moderate position, indicating that the door to dialogue with the Dalai Lama was open. Since then, however, Beijing's position has hardened, with some speculating that Jiang had little support for his more moderate stance among hardliners in Beijing. China continues to insist that discussions with the Dalai Lama should have several preconditions, including: an absolute ban on the subject of independence for Tibet; and the Dalai Lama's public acknowledgment that Tibet and Taiwan are both part of China.

Some speculate that the Dalai Lama may have grown increasingly pessimistic about his ability to achieve a solution to Tibet's situation. He has implied that the moderate approach he has been pursuing has failed because of China's unwillingness to hold free-ranging talks, and has hinted that time may be running out for a negotiated settlement. Some are concerned that traditional Tibetan culture and values increasingly are being overwhelmed by the growing Chinese presence in Tibet. They worry about some of the educated and bilingual Tibetan elite, trained by the Chinese communists, who are now serving in government positions in Tibet and who therefore have more of a vested interest in the status quo. And, he has suggested that continued delay in achieving a negotiated settlement increases the possibility that frustrated Tibetans may resort to violence as an alternative to his own peaceful approach.

#### **Economic Development in Tibet**

Chinese government policies on economic development in Tibet appear to have helped raise the living standards of Tibetans, but at a high cost to Tibet's traditions and cultural identity. These policies have disrupted traditional living patterns and contributed to tensions between Tibetans and Chinese immigrants. In an evident effort to assuage Tibetan resentment, Beijing has spent substantial sums restoring Buddhist temples in Tibet. At a large work conference conducted on Tibet in 1994, Chinese officials adopted plans to increase economic activity in Tibet by 10 percent per year and continue substantial economic subsidies to help Tibet's backward economy. China since then has moved ahead with a number of major economic development and infrastructure projects. But the Dalai Lama and other Tibetans are concerned that Chinese economic activity in Tibet encourages huge migrations of non-Tibetans into the region - both technical personnel to work on the projects themselves, and entrepreneurs seeking new economic opportunities. Some have even suggested that Beijing has consciously pursued an economic development strategy in Tibet as a way to "solve" its Tibet problem, by ensuring that the Tibetan economy is tied more tightly into that of eastern provinces. The tensions inherent in balancing economic development priorities and cultural preservation concerns will continue to influence how American policymakers view China's Tibet policies.

#### *Footnotes:*

*"Annual Report on International Religious Freedom for 1999: China," U.S. Department of State, Bureau for Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor, Washington, D.C. September 9, 1999. Text can be found at: [http://www.state.gov/www/global]*

### World Bank Project Loan

Controversy arose in 1999 over a World Bank loan that was approved for China on June 24, 1999. One portion of the \$160 million "Western Poverty Reduction" loan, totaling \$40 million, would finance construction of a dam, irrigation system, and poverty alleviation activities in an area of Qinghai Province which many Tibetans consider part of historical Tibet. According to the Bank's estimates, this portion of the project also would involve resettlement of approximately 58,000 new people, most of whom are non-Tibetan, into this area of Qinghai. Critics of the loan maintain that the resettlement plans will reduce the overall share of the population that ethnic Tibetans now have in this region. Faced with strong criticism, the Bank suspended its final commitment on the Qinghai portion of the loan until the completion of an investigation by an independent Inspection Panel.'

The "Patriotic Education" Campaign. In 1991, two years after the Tiananmen Square crackdown, China launched a "patriotic education" campaign in an effort to resuscitate loyalty to the communist regime.' In the mid-1990s, the campaign became a government tool in efforts to control monastic activity in Tibet and discredit the Dalai Lama among Tibetans. Under the guise of "patriotic education," teams of Chinese officials visit Tibetan monasteries and subject Tibetan monks to "patriotic" education and training. The campaign requires monks to sign a declaration attesting to a number of patriotic statements, including rejection and denunciation of the Dalai Lama; acceptance of China's choice for the Panchen Lama; recognition that Tibet is part of China; and a promise not to listen to Voice of America broadcasts. There reportedly has been widespread and intensive resistance to this campaign. According to some reports, monks refusing to accept "patriotic education" or sign the corresponding declaration have been expelled from their monasteries. In addition to this-campaign, in January 1999, Chinese officials began a three-year campaign to foster atheism in Tibet. According to a U.S. government report, a propaganda official in Tibet described the new campaign in a television interview, saying "intensifying propaganda on atheism plays an extremely significant role in promoting economic construction ... and to help peasants and herdsmen free themselves from the negative influence of religion."

The Panchen Lama Succession. In 1995, controversy arose over the selection of the successor to the Panchen Lama, the second most important spiritual leader among Tibetans. When the Dalai Lama fled to India in 1959, the 10' Panchen Lama had remained behind, living in China until his death in 1989. Tibetans believe that when a high-ranking spiritual leader dies, his soul is then reincarnated to await rediscovery by special "search committees". In May 1995, the Dalai Lama announced that after years of searching - using search committees sanctioned by the Chinese government - Gedhun Choeki Nyima, a 6-year-old boy living in Tibet, had been found to be the legitimate reincarnation of the deceased Panchen Lama.

#### Footnotes:

- 'See CRS Report RS20392, "World Bank Loan to China for Qinghai Resettlement Project," by Jonathan Sanford.  
 'The first official document on this subject was "Circular on Fully Using Cultural Relics to Conduct Education in Patriotism and Revolutionary Traditions," Chinese Communist Party Propaganda Department@ 199 1. See also Suisheng Zhao, "A State-Led Nationalism: The Patriotic Education Campaign in Post-Tiananmen China," in *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, Vol. 31, pp. 287-302, 1998.  
 "Annual Report on International Religious Freedom for 1999: Tibet," September 9, 1999.

Chinese communist officials reportedly were furious that the Dalai Lama made his announcement unilaterally. They regarded it as a challenge to Beijing's authority to have a final say in this important decision. Chinese officials responded by maintaining that only they had the authority to name this spiritual leader. Consequently, in November 1995, Chinese leaders rejected the Dalai Lama's choice and announced they had discovered the "real" Panchen Lama - 5-year-old Gyaltzen Norbu, son of a communist yak herder. On November 29, 1995, he was officially enthroned as the 11th Panchen Lama in a ceremony attended by Tibetan monks and senior Chinese communist leaders. Immediately thereafter, both boys and their families were taken into custody by Chinese authorities and held in undisclosed locations in China. In June 1999, Gyaltzen Norbu, the boy recognized by Beijing, returned to Tibet for the first time, reportedly under heavy military protection. Gedhun Choeki Nyima, the boy recognized by the Dalai Lama, apparently remains under house arrest and has not been seen in over 4 years. The monk who headed the official search party, Chadrel Rinpoche, was arrested and is serving 6 years in jail, allegedly for collaborating with the Dalai Lama.

The decision of the Chinese government to become a direct player in the ancient spiritual rites of Tibetan Buddhism has several implications for Tibet's political future and for U.S.-China relations. First, it has complicated the political and religious environment by presenting Tibetans with potential rival centers of spiritual authority in the two Panchen Lamas, thus burdening the private religious decisions of Tibetans with possibly serious political consequences and raising the prospects for future religious strife and divided loyalties. In addition, the Chinese government's involvement in the Panchen Lama succession has led many observers to speculate that Beijing is positioning itself to choose the next Dalai Lama. In the eyes of Chinese leaders, such an option might improve Beijing's prospects for co-opting Tibet's religious leaders and marginalizing the Tibetan independence movement. But it also could create a long-term religious succession crisis in Tibet and cause serious rifts among Tibetans that could ultimately prove divisive and destabilizing for Chinese rule.

#### **Legislation in the 106<sup>th</sup> Congress**

S. 89 (Hutchinson). The Hutchinson bill would require the Secretary of State, when involved in official meetings with Chinese officials, to: request the immediate and unconditional release Ngodrup Phuntsog and other Tibetan prisoners of conscience; and call on China to begin serious talks with the Dalai Lama, without pre-conditions. The bill also states that the Secretary should seek international access to prisons in Tibet. Introduced on January 19, 1999, the bill was referred to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

**Tibetan Center for Human Rights and Democracy**  
**1999 annual report**  
**Tibet: The tightening of control**

**Executive Summary**

1999 marked the official celebration of fifty years of the founding of the People's Republic of China as well as forty years of the 'liberation' of Tibet. The symbolic importance of both these events was characterised by various attempts by the Chinese government to display its authority and legitimacy.

Within China and in Tibet there was a tightening of the state's control over every sphere to consolidate its power. Therefore any attempt at questioning the legitimacy of the state was ruthlessly crushed. And yet as the state tightened its iron grip over its citizens and subjects there were also various protests undermining the state authority, ranging from the protests within China by members of the Falung Gong sect, and the continuing resistance in Tibet and the international community over China's illegitimate occupation of Tibet and the abuse of Tibetan human rights for the past 49 years.

Preparations for the twin anniversary celebrations took the form of an increase in surveillance and repressive measures. The anniversaries were thus a celebration of state control rather than an expression of people's exercise of their freedom. The harsh suppression of a peaceful demonstration in Kandze in October resulted in the arrest of at least 80 Tibetans. This is an illustration of the extent of freedom of speech and expression granted to Tibetan people. Information received this year about the May 1998 Drapchi protests is equally disturbing. Eight prisoners have had their sentences extended for up to four years. Ten Tibetans are confirmed dead as a result of gun fire and torture following the protests.

The Chinese government claims that there has been 'earth-shaking' progress in social development and in the human rights situation in the last four decades under the communist rule. However the Chinese authorities refuse to acknowledge the fact that thousands of Tibetans continue to flee Tibet every year to escape from China's oppressive policies. This year 2,474 Tibetans fled Tibet including 1,115 children below the age of 18.

China continues to violate the human rights of the Tibetan people. Fundamental aspects of Tibetan society, including language and religion are viewed with suspicion by the government and are officially discouraged. The exercise of their right to speech results in their arbitrary arrests and detention. The disparities between the standard of living of Tibetans and the Chinese settlers are glaring. China's population transfer policy is greatly threatening Tibetan identity and access to resources.

Ever since the peaceful demonstrations in Lhasa in the late 1980's, the Chinese government increased its dominance of Tibet. The 'Strike Hard' campaign, initiated in 1996 is resulting in widespread violations in Tibet. Over 11,000 monks and nuns have been expelled from their monasteries, as 'work teams' imposed restrictive measure on religious activities. In 1999, this campaign was extended to lay communities as well. More than 2,000 Tibetans escape over the Himalayas every year to avoid these repressive and discriminatory measures.

International governments, lured by China's economic prospects, continue to capitulate to the Beijing government. The European Union decided not to co-sponsor a U.S. human rights resolution during the 55 UN Commission on Human Rights in Geneva, assuring its defeat. During state visits by Jiang Zemin to England and France, extraordinary efforts were made to prevent the Chinese leader from encountering peaceful protesters. These visits ended as victories of commerce and large contracts for British and French corporations, but defeat of human rights.

The World Bank sponsored Western China Poverty Reduction Plan marks the involvement, for the first time of an international organization in a project entailing massive population transfers into Tibet. Two foreign researchers and one Tibetan were arrested in 1999 for attempting to research this project.

The positive developments in international politics in 1999 included the increasing recognition of self-determination movements. The intervention of the international community in Kosovo and East Timor along with the worldwide condemnation of Russia's aggression in Chechnya is an encouraging sign for Tibet. There is an urgent need for increased pressure from foreign governments if Tibetans hope to gain their fundamental freedoms and human rights.

#### Freedom of expression

The existence of a right to freedom of speech and expression is rendered redundant by the harsh crackdown on people exercising this right. The expression of any view that contradict Chinese government policies are deemed anti national and the consequences include arrests and detention. In 1999, 115 Tibetans were arrested for peacefully expressing their beliefs.

The 'Strike Hard' campaign launched in 1996 aimed at eliminating allegiance to the Dalai Lama, the Tibetan Panchen Lama and Tibetan nationalism. Initially limited to the monastic institutions, the campaign was broadened in 1999 to include all of Tibetan society. In January of 1999, China launched an 'atheism' campaign thereby infringing on the right of Tibetans to freely practice their religion.

In Kandze 'Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture,' Sichuan Province, the People's Armed Police opened-fire at over 3,000 Tibetans who were holding a peaceful demonstration. As a result, 80 Tibetans were arrested, and an unknown number were injured.

#### Arbitrary arrests and detention

All forms of expression contrary to the policies of the Chinese Communist Party are grounds for detention in Tibet. In 1999, 130 Tibetans were arbitrarily arrested and detained by the Chinese government. The arbitrary nature of these arrests are reflected both by the reason for the arrests as well as the disregard of procedural safeguards. Once detained, their rights in the areas of pre-trial detention, fair trial guidelines and appellate procedure are violated.

In 1997, China revised their Criminal Procedure Law. These changes fall short of international standards and have not had any impact on the legal protections afforded to Tibetans accused of 'endangering national security.'

#### Political prisoners and prisoners of conscience

There are currently 615 known political prisoners and prisoners of conscience in Tibet. Of these, 156 are women, and 62 are serving sentences of ten years or more. 79 per cent of the known political prisoners are monks or nuns. The Chinese authorities monitor information about Tibet very strictly and it is possible that these numbers are higher.

The Chinese government continues to detain ten year-old Gedhun Choekyi Nyima, the XI Panchen Lama of Tibet, along with his family. His current condition and whereabouts are unknown. The Chinese authorities have consistently refused requests by concerned government and organisations seeking access to the child, including one by the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights. He is the youngest prisoner of conscience in the world.

Reports received in 1999, indicate that the prisoners involved in the May 1998 Drapchi Prison protests were beaten severely, placed into solitary confinement, and have had their sentences extended for up to four years. At least ten Tibetans were killed in the days and weeks following the protests. Eight political prisoners including Ngawang Sangdrol, the longest serving female political prisoner (currently serving a total of 21 years) in Tibet, have had their sentences extended.

Prominent political prisoners like Tanak Jigme Sangpo, Ngawang Choephel, Phuntsok Nyidron, Ngawang Phulchung, Jamphel Jangchub, Lobsang Tenzin, Phuntso Wangdu, Gyaltzen Dolkar and Jigme Gyatso are still imprisoned.

#### Torture in detention centers and prisons

The prevalence of torture as a means of crushing the resistance of individuals is alarming. There have been reports of the use of torture in almost every institution of the state, starting from incarceration, during initial detention, in transit to detention facilities, during interrogation, and in prisons and detention centers.

The widespread use of torture by agents of the state reduce the Chinese national laws prohibiting torture into hypocritical etchings on paper, with no corresponding realities.

The various methods of torture include: beatings, electric shocks, attacks by dogs, painful shackling, forced labour and exercise, prolonged periods of solitary confinement, deprivation of food and sleep, and denial of adequate medical care.

The Chinese government is a State Party to the Convention Against Torture. Since signing the convention in 1986, 69 Tibetans have died as a direct result of torture by officials of the Chinese government. Six Tibetans died due to torture in 1999. An additional four Tibetans died from torture in previous years, but information on these cases reached TCHRD in 1999.



#### Religious persecution

Since the expression of Tibetan nationalism is intrinsically linked to its religious practices, the Chinese government looks at religious persecution as one of the means to crush Tibetan nationalism.

In January 1999, a three-year 'atheism' campaign alleging that Buddhism is 'alien' to Tibet was launched. Allegiance to Tibet's religious leaders the Dalai Lama and Panchen Lama are banned, and the Chinese government attempts to control all aspects of religious activity. These policies are reminiscent of the policies imposed during the cultural revolution.

In 1999, 1,432 monks and nuns were expelled from their monasteries and nunneries, including 49 Tibetans arrested for resisting 're-education.' Since the beginning of the 'Strike Hard' campaign in April of 1996, TCHRD has recorded 11,409 expulsions, and 541 arrests of monks and nuns. 244 monks and nuns below the age of 18 have been expelled from their religious institutions. According to Chinese statistics, the number of expulsions represents one third of all monks and nuns in Tibet.

Since 1996, 261 monasteries and nunneries have been subject to the 're-education' programme. The other bodies that infringe religious freedom include the Democratic Management Committees and local Religious Affairs Bureaus. These bodies have the authority to supervise the activities of the monasteries. Under the pretext of supervision there are a number of restrictions placed on the age of the monks and nuns, in an attempt to reduce the monastic population.

#### Women and forced birth control

Despite the existence within national and international laws of protections afforded to the rights of Tibetan women, the Chinese government continues to violate these rights. Disregarding legislation guaranteeing concessions for minority groups, coercive family planning measures continue unabated in Tibet. Tibetan women are subjected to forced abortions, contraception and sterilisations by the Chinese authorities. 'Unauthorised' pregnancies have resulted in fines, intimidation and denial of privileges, including the right to education and employment for children. There are confirmed cases in 1999 of pregnant Tibetan women dying from forced sterilisation. The Chinese government's birth control policies results in the reduction of the Tibetan population.

#### Rights of the child

In contravention of its treaty obligations, the Chinese government consistently violates the rights of Tibetan children. As a consequence of transfer of Chinese into Tibet, Tibetan language and customs are becoming redundant. Thus Tibetan children are being deprived of their cultural rights and the long term effect of this is the dilution of the distinctive character of Tibetan identity. The long term effects of a denial of the rights of children is also to ensure that the Chinese authorities cultivate a more 'disciplined' and assimilated set of citizens for the future ensuring that the Tibetan resistance will not have a future.

The choice left to Tibetan parents is either to assimilate their children into the new Chinese society, or send them to India for a Tibetan education. Parents are increasingly compelled to send their children on the perilous journey into exile. In 1999, 1,115 children below the age of 18 arrived in India for education in Tibetan schools.

Tibetan children are denied their right to freedom of expression. There are currently 2 political prisoners below the age of 18 in prisons in Tibet and 21 others who were imprisoned as children but are now adults. Tibetan children are also denied their guaranteed right to freedom of religion. In 1999, 244 monks and nuns were expelled from their religious institutions as age restrictions were implemented throughout Tibet.

#### Population transfer

The transfer of Chinese into Tibet is the most serious threat to the survival of the Tibetan people and culture. Population statistics estimate that there are now more Chinese than Tibetans in Tibet. Tibetans are getting marginalised in all sectors of the economy. Combined with repressive birth control measures, it is clear that the effect of the Chinese policy is reducing the Tibetans to an insignificant minority in their own land.

The Western China Poverty Reduction Plan funded partially by the World Bank, if implemented will reduce the percentage of Tibetans in Dulan County from 22 to 14 per cent of the total population.

#### Violations of the rights to subsistence

Despite claims made by the Chinese authorities of economic development and growth in Tibet, the reports received indicate that these 'developments' have benefited only the Chinese settlers. According to recent United Nations Development Program data, Tibet places somewhere between 131 and 153 out of the 160 countries on their Human Development Index.

Repressive and unequal rural taxation measures are further exacerbating the conditions of poverty for Tibetan nomads and farmers. The unchecked power given to local authorities results in the further violation of the Tibetan peoples rights, and there have been many cases reported of forced labour being extracted in lieu of taxes. Most of the basic rights associated with a 'welfare state' like the right to housing and health remain unfulfilled.

#### Enforced disappearance

In 1999, TCHRD received information on 16 new cases of enforced disappearance in Tibet. Of the 12 cases reported in 1998, the conditions and whereabouts of three remain unknown. The Chinese government continues to detain Tibetans in unknown locations for prolonged periods of time. The families of these victims are not provided with any information about their whereabouts.

The condition and whereabouts of Gedhun Choekyi Nyima, the XI Panchen Lama of Tibet and with his family remain unknown.

#### Racial discrimination

Despite being a State Party to the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, Tibetans continue to be discriminated against by the Chinese government. The crucial factor is the lack of genuine political representation as this curtails the Tibetan people's ability to resist discriminatory measures in education, employment, health-care and housing.

Chinese population transfer and economic incentives favoring Chinese in Tibet exacerbate these discriminatory conditions. The Tibetan people are hence becoming the new social underclass in Tibet.

#### Recommendations

The evidence that TCHRD has gathered in the past year suggests that in 1999, China has been tightening its control over Tibet. This has resulted in the further violation of the rights of the Tibetan people in every aspect and sector of society as evidenced by this report. We request the International Community, the Chinese Government and the United Nations to urgently consider the following recommendations:

Ensure that China ratifies the ICCPR and the ICESCR and takes immediate steps to incorporate the norms laid down in the two covenants within their national legislation.

In light of the frequent cases of involuntary and enforced disappearances, we urge the UN Commission for Human Rights to set up a working group to investigate the cases of disappearances in Tibet.

We urge the UN Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights to demand a report from the Chinese government with respect to various components of the right to subsistence, to compare these with both the real situation as determined by NGO's and with the normative standards established by the ICESCR committee.

We support the proposed Optional Protocol to the CEDAW as it would allow an individual right to petition, ensuring that women victims still have a final recourse under an International Human Rights instrument.

We urge the Special Rapporteur on Torture who is due to visit China in the year 2000 to pay special attention to the material conditions in Tibet. We also strongly urge the Chinese authorities to co-operate with the Special Rapporteur to allow him unfettered access to the necessary information.

We urge the World Bank not to pass the \$40 million component of the loan which is a part of the Western Poverty Reduction Project as it would entail a massive transfer of Chinese into Dulan affecting Tibetan identity. We further urge the World Bank and all other International Organisations to ensure that they should not fund any project that involves a policy of population transfer.

Based on the suggestions made by the Special Rapporteur on Religious Intolerance on the importance of follow ups to in situ visits, it is our request that the Special Rapporteur who had last made his visit to China and Tibet in 1994, make a follow up visit to determine the extent of the violations of religious rights in Tibet.

We urge the Special Rapporteur on Racism, Racial discrimination and Xenophobia to visit Tibet and examine the Chinese Government's policies on education, employment, public representation, health and education, which discriminates against Tibetan people.

We demand that the Chinese government clarify the scope and extent of the term 'endangering state security' in its Criminal Procedural Law which in its present ambiguous form is used to suppress a number of rights, including the right to freedom of speech and expression.

We strongly demand the release of all political prisoners by the Chinese government, including those arrested for the exercise of their right to freedom of speech and expression.

Contravening all international norms pertaining to the rights of the child, the Chinese government has detained Gedhun Choekyi Nyima, the youngest prisoner of conscience in the world (the 11th Panchen Lama of Tibet since May 1995). We demand his immediate release.

We urge the Chinese government to ensure that prostitution in Tibet is curbed by strictly implementing the laws which deems prostitution illegal.

We urge the Chinese government to lay down a transparent taxation policy, especially in rural Tibet, to ensure that there is no misuse of power by the local authorities.  
Curtailement of Freedom of Expression



FIVE POINT  
PEACE PLAN  
FOR TIBET

*HIS HOLINESS THE DALAI LAMA*

## FIVE POINT PEACE PLAN

**T**he world is increasingly interdependent, so that lasting peace—national, regional, and global—can only be achieved if we think in terms of broader interest rather than parochial needs. At this time, it is crucial that all of us, the strong and the weak, contribute in our own way. I speak to you today as the leader of the Tibetan people and as Buddhist monk devoted to the principles of a religion based on love and compassion. Above all, I am here as a human being who is destined to share this planet with you and all others as brothers and sisters. As the world grows smaller, we need each other more than in the past. This is true in all parts of the world, including the continent I come from.

At present in Asia, as elsewhere, tensions are high. There are open conflicts in the Middle East, Southeast Asia, and in my own country, Tibet. To a large extent, these problems are symptoms of the underlying tensions that exist among the area's great powers. In order to resolve regional conflicts, an approach is required that takes into account the interests of all relevant countries and peoples, large and small. Unless comprehensive solutions are formulated, that take into account the aspirations of the people most directly concerned, piecemeal or merely expedient measures will only create new problems.

The Tibetan people are eager to contribute to regional and world peace, and I believe they are in a unique position to do so. Traditionally, Tibetans are a peace loving and non-violent people. Since Buddhism was introduced to Tibet over one thousand years ago, Tibetans have practiced non-violence with respect to all forms of life. This attitude has also been extended to our country's international relations. Tibet's highly strategic position in the heart of Asia, separating the continent's great powers—India, China and the USSR—has throughout history endowed it with an essential role in the maintenance of peace and stability. This is precisely why, in the past, Asia's empires went to great lengths to keep one another out of Tibet. Tibet's value as an independent buffer state was integral to the region's stability.

When the newly formed People's Republic of China invaded Tibet in 1949/50, it created a new source of conflict. This was highlighted when, following the Tibetan national uprising against the Chinese and my flight to India in 1959, tensions between China and India escalated into the border war in 1962. Today large numbers of troops are again massed on both sides of the Himalayan border and tension is once more dangerously high.

The real issue, of course, is not the Indo-Tibetan border demarcation. It is China's illegal occupation of Tibet, which has given it direct access to the Indian sub-continent. The Chinese authorities have attempted to confuse the issue by claiming that Tibet has always been a part of China. This is untrue. Tibet was a fully independent state when the People's Liberation Army invaded the country in 1949/50.

It is my sincere desire, as well as that of the Tibetan people, to restore to Tibet her invaluable role, by converting the entire country—comprising the three provinces of U-Tsang, Kham and Amdo—once more into a place of stability, peace, and harmony. In the best of Buddhist tradition, Tibet would extend its services and hospitality to all who further the cause of world peace and the well-being of mankind and the natural environment we share.

Despite the holocaust inflicted upon our people in the past decades of occupation, I have always strived to find a solution through direct and honest discussions with the Chinese. In 1982, following the change of leadership in China and the establishment of direct contacts with the government in Peking, I sent my representatives to Peking to open talks concerning the future of my country and people.

We entered the dialogue with a sincere and positive attitude and with a willingness to take into account the legitimate needs of the People's Republic of China. I hoped that this attitude would be reciprocated and that a solution could eventually be found which would satisfy and safeguard the aspirations and interests of both parties. Unfortunately, China has consistently responded to our efforts in a defensive manner, as though our detailing of Tibet's very real difficulties was criticism for its own sake.

To our even greater dismay, the Chinese government misused the opportunity for a genuine dialogue. Instead of addressing the real issues facing the six million Tibetan people, China has attempted to reduce the question of Tibet to a discussion of my own personal status.



It is against this background and in response to the tremendous support and encouragement I have been given by you and other persons I have met during this trip, that I wish today to clarify the principal issues and to propose, in a spirit of openness and conciliation, a first step towards a lasting solution. I hope this may contribute to a future of friendship and coopération with all of our neighbours, including the Chinese people.

This peace plan contains five basic components:

- 1. Transformation of the whole of Tibet into a zone of peace;**
- 2. Abandonment of China's population transfer policy which threatens the very existence of the Tibetans as a people;**
- 3. Respect for the Tibetan people's fundamental human rights and democratic freedoms;**
- 4. Restoration and protection of Tibet's natural environment and the abandonment of China's use of Tibet for the production of nuclear weapons and dumping of nuclear waste;**
- 5. Commencement of earnest negotiations on the future status of Tibet and of relations between the Tibetan and Chinese peoples.**

Let me explain these five components.

1

**I propose that the whole of Tibet, including the eastern provinces of Kham and Amdo, be transformed into a zone of "Ahimsa", a Hindi term used to mean a state of peace and non-violence.**

The establishment of such a peace zone would be in keeping with Tibet's historical role as a peaceful and neutral Buddhist nation and buffer state separating the continent's great powers. It would also be in keeping with Nepal's proposal to proclaim Nepal a peace zone and with China's declared support for such a proclamation. The peace zone proposed by Nepal would have a much greater impact if it were to include Tibet and neighbouring areas.

The establishment of peace zone in Tibet would require withdrawal of Chinese troops and military installations from the Country, which would enable India also to withdraw troops and military installations from the Himalayan regions bordering Tibet. This would be achieved under an international agreement which would satisfy China's legitimate security needs and build trust among the Tibetan, Indian, Chinese and other peoples of the region. This is in everyone's best interest, particularly that of China and India, as it would enhance their security, while reducing the economic burden of maintaining high troop concentrations on the disputed Himalayan border.

Historically, relations between China and India were never strained. It was only when Chinese armies marched into Tibet, creating for the first time a common border, that tensions arose between these two powers, ultimately leading to the 1962 war. Since then

numerous dangerous incidents have continued to occur. A restoration of good relations between the world's two most populous countries would be greatly facilitated if they were separated—as they were throughout history—by a large and friendly buffer region.

To improve relations between the Tibetan people and the Chinese, the first requirement is the creation of trust. After the holocaust of the last decades in which over one million Tibetans—one sixth of the population—lost their lives and at least as many lingered in prison camps because of their religious beliefs and love of freedom, only a withdrawal of Chinese troops could start a genuine process of reconciliation. The vast occupation force in Tibet is a daily reminder to the Tibetans of the oppression and suffering they have all experienced. A troop withdrawal would be an essential signal that in future a meaningful relationship might be established with the Chinese, based on friendship and trust.

2.

**The population transfer of Chinese into Tibet, which the government in Peking pursues in order to force a “final solution” to the Tibetan problem by reducing the Tibetan population to an insignificant and disenfranchised minority in Tibet itself, must be stopped.**

The massive transfer of Chinese civilians into Tibet in violation of the Fourth Geneva Convention (1949), threatens the very existence of the Tibetans as a distinct people. In the eastern parts of our country, the Chinese now greatly outnumber Tibetans. In the Amdo province, for example, where I was born, there are, according to Chinese statistics, 2.5 million Chinese and only 750,000 Tibetans. Even in the so-called Tibet

Autonomous Region (*i.e.*, central and western Tibet), Chinese government sources now confirm that Chinese outnumber Tibetans.

The Chinese population transfer policy is not new. It has been systematically applied to other areas before. Earlier in this century, the Manchus were a distinct race with their own culture and traditions. Today only two to three million Manchurians are left in Manchuria, where 75 million Chinese have settled. In Eastern Turkestan, which the Chinese now call Sinkiang, the Chinese population has grown from 200,000 in 1949 to 7 million, more than half of the total population of 13 million. In the wake of the Chinese colonization of Inner Mongolia, Chinese number 8.5 million, Mongols 2.5 million.

Today, in the whole of Tibet 7.5 million Chinese settlers have already been sent, outnumbering the Tibetan population of 6 million. In central and western Tibet, now referred to by the Chinese as the "Tibet Autonomous Region", Chinese sources admit the 1.9 million Tibetans already constitute a minority of the region's population. These numbers do not take the estimated 300,000-500,000 troops in Tibet into account-250,000 of them in the so-called "Tibet Autonomous Region.

For the Tibetans to survive as a people, it is imperative that the population transfer is stopped and Chinese settlers return to China. Otherwise, Tibetans will soon be no more than a tourist attraction and relic of a noble past.

## 3.

**Fundamental human rights and democratic freedoms must be respected in Tibet. The Tibetan people must once again be free to develop culturally, intellectually, economically and spiritually and to exercise basic democratic freedoms.**

Human rights violations in Tibet are among the most serious in the world. Discrimination is practiced in Tibet under a policy of "apartheid" which the Chinese call "segregation and assimilation". Tibetans are, at best, second class citizens in their own country. Deprived of all basic democratic rights and freedoms, they exist under a colonial administration in which all real power is wielded by Chinese officials of the Communist Party and the army.

Although the Chinese government allows Tibetans to rebuild some Buddhist monasteries and to worship in them, it still forbids serious study and teaching of religion. Only a small number of people, approved by the Communist Party, are permitted to join the monasteries.

While Tibetans in exile exercise their democratic rights under a constitution promulgated by me in 1963, thousands of our countrymen suffer in prisons and labour camps in Tibet for their religious or political convictions.

**Serious efforts must be made to restore the natural environment in Tibet. Tibet should not be used for the production of nuclear weapons and the dumping of nuclear waste.**

Tibetans have a great respect for all forms of life. This inherent feeling is enhanced by the Buddhist faith, which prohibits the harming of all sentient beings, whether human or animal. Prior to the Chinese invasion, Tibet was an unspoiled wilderness sanctuary in a unique natural environment. Sadly, in the past decades the wildlife and the forests of Tibet have been almost totally destroyed by the Chinese. The effects on Tibet's delicate environment have been devastating. What little is left in Tibet must be protected and efforts must be made to restore the environment to its balanced state.

China uses Tibet for the production of nuclear weapons and may also have started dumping nuclear waste in Tibet. Not only does China plan to dispose of its own nuclear waste but also that of other countries, who have already agreed to pay Peking to dispose of their toxic materials.

The dangers this presents are obvious. Not only living generations, but future generations are threatened by China's lack of concern for Tibet's unique and delicate environment.

**Negotiations on the future status of Tibet and the relationship between the Tibetan and Chinese peoples should be started in earnest.**

We wish to approach this subject in a reasonable and realistic way, in a spirit of frankness and conciliation and with a view to finding a solution that is in the long term interest of all: the Tibetans, the Chinese, and all other peoples concerned. Tibetans and Chinese are distinct peoples, each with their own country, history, culture, language and way of life. Differences among peoples must be recognized and respected. They need not, however, form obstacles to genuine cooperation where this is in the mutual benefit of both peoples. It is my sincere belief that if the concerned parties were to meet and discuss their future with an open mind and a sincere desire to find a satisfactory and just solution, a breakthrough could be achieved. We must all exert ourselves to be reasonable and wise, and to meet in a spirit of frankness and understanding.

Let me end on a personal note. I wish to thank you for the concern and support which you and so many of your colleagues and fellow citizens have expressed for the plight of oppressed people everywhere. The fact that you have publicly shown your sympathy for us Tibetans, has already had a positive impact on the lives of our people inside Tibet. I ask for your continued support in this critical time in our country's history. Thank you.

September 21, 1987.

**European Parliamentarians call for EU co-sponsorship of China resolution**

March 29, 2000, Brussels. Today, Members of the national parliaments of Belgium, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Ireland, Lithuania, Norway, Poland, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, The Netherlands, United Kingdom, Members of the European Parliament and staff representatives of the U.S. Congress met in Brussels to discuss the continuing Chinese occupation of Tibet.

Parliamentarians present had the opportunity to hear the U.S. Special Coordinator for Tibetan Issues explain U.S. efforts on Tibet. The Tibet Coordinator urged support at the 56th session of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights (UNCHR) for the U.S.-sponsored resolution on China. She welcomed the expressions of interest of parliamentarians to establish focal points in each country to help coordinate information and advocacy on Tibetan issues.

Parliamentarians present also heard from senior leaders in the Tibetan Government in Exile about the deteriorating situation in Tibet and China's refusal to engage in a constructive dialogue with His Holiness the Dalai Lama or his representatives.

Parliamentarians present were unanimous in their evaluation that the U.S., E.U., U.K. and French bilateral dialogues with China on human rights have failed to produce tangible improvements in China and Tibet. On the contrary, this past year has seen an increase in political repression and restrictions on religious freedom.

As the UNCHR is the authoritative forum to address the grave human rights abuses committed by China, parliamentarians present called on the European Union to co-sponsor the U.S.-sponsored resolution on China at the 56th session of the UNCHR.

Parliamentarians present strongly believe and asserted that unified support for the rights of the Tibetan and Chinese peoples do not threaten bilateral relationships but promotes the principle of the universality of human rights.

Parliamentarians present pledged to bring before their individual parliaments a resolution calling on the Chinese leadership to enter into meaningful dialogue with the Dalai Lama or his representatives leading to a negotiated settlement, and supporting the Dalai Lama's Five Point Peace Plan containing the following components: (1) transformation of the whole of Tibet into a zone of peace; (2) abandonment of China's population transfer policy; (3) respect for the Tibetan people's fundamental human rights and democratic freedoms; (4) restoration and protection of Tibet's natural environment; and (5) commencement of earnest negotiations on the future status of Tibet.

Parliamentarians present also agreed to urge their MEPs to promote a similar resolution at the level of the European Parliament.



**Discussion Draft Resolution on Tibet**

Whereas governmental and non-government organizations have reported an increase in political repression and restrictions on religious freedoms in Chinese occupied Tibet in 1999;

Recognizing that bilateral dialogues on human rights with the Government of the People's Republic of China have failed to produce meaningful improvements in the human rights of the Chinese and Tibetan peoples;

Commending the Government of the United States for introducing a resolution on China at the 56th session of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights;

Calls on the European Union to co-sponsor a resolution on China at the 56th session of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights;

Calls on the Chinese leadership to enter into meaningful dialogue with His Holiness the Dalai Lama a negotiated political settlement;

Expresses strong support for the Dalai Lama's Five Point Peace Plan containing the following components: (1) transformation of the whole of Tibet into a zone of peace; (2) abandonment of China's population transfer policy; (3) respect for the Tibetan people's fundamental human rights and democratic freedoms; (4) restoration and protection of Tibet's natural environment; and (5) commencement of earnest negotiations on the future status of Tibet.

Additional Question for the Record Submitted to  
Assistant Secretary Julia V. Taft  
By Rep. Sam Gejdenson  
Committee on International Relations  
April 6, 2000

**Question:** On what charge is Ngawang Choephel imprisoned?

**Answer**

- Ngawang Choephel, a young Tibetan who earlier had studied ethnomusicology at Middlebury College in Vermont for one year on a Fulbright Scholarship, was arrested while traveling in Tibet in September 1995, reportedly while filming traditional Tibetan music and dance. Mr. Choephel is a Chinese citizen and was traveling on a Chinese passport. He was charged with espionage under Article 4, Section 2 (5) of the National Security Law of the People's Republic of China. He is serving an 18-year prison sentence in Powo Tramo Prison in Tibet.
- The USG has made extensive representations to the Chinese Government urging his release. We have also been very active in urging the Chinese Government to allow Mr. Choephel's mother, Sonam Deckyi, to visit him in prison.