

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

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HEARING

BEFORE THE

COMMITTEE ON  
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS  
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

ONE HUNDRED SIXTH CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

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THURSDAY, APRIL 6, 2000

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THE STATUS OF NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN CHINA AND TIBET

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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 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.

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 anti-China 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 non-urban 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 non-Tibetan 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 non-Tibetan 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 military 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 expressing 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 Tibetan 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 micro-enterprise 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 China'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 countries, 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 Buddhist 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 relationship 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 concerned 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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