APPENDIX-1
SEVENTEEN POINT AGREEMENT

1. The Tibetan people shall unite and drive out imperialist aggressive forces from Tibet. The Tibet should return to big family of the Motherland- the Peoples Republic of China.

2. The local government of Tibet shall actively assist the People’s Liberation Army to enter Tibet and consolidate the national defense.

3. In accordance with the policy toward nationalities laid down in the Common Program of the Chinese People’s Political Consultative Conference, the Tibetan people have the right of exercising nationalist regional autonomy under the leadership of Central People’s Government.

4. The Central Authorities will not alter the existing political system in Tibet. The Central Authorities also will not alter the established status, functions, and powers of the Dalai Lama. Officials of various ranks will hold office as usual.

5. The established status, functions, and powers of the Dalai Lama and of the Panchen Ngoerhtheni shall be maintained.

6. By the established status, functions, and powers of the Dalai Lama and of the Panchen Ngoerhtehni are meant the status, functions and powers of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama and of the Ninth Panchen Ngoerhtheni when they were in friendly and amicable relations with each other.

7. The policy of freedom of religious belief laid down in the Common Program of the Chinese People’s Political Consultative Conference shall be carried out. The religious beliefs, customs, and habits of the Tibetan
people shall be respected, and Lama monasteries shall be protected. The central authorities will not effect a change in the income of the monasteries.

8. Tibetan troops shall be reorganized by stages into the People's Liberation Army, and become a part of the national defense forces of the Peoples Republic of China.

9. The spoken and written language and school education of the Tibetan nationality shall be developed step by step in accordance with the actual conditions Tibet.

10. Tibetan agriculture, livestock raising, industry, and commerce shall be developed step by step, and the people's livelihood shall be improved step by step in accordance with the actual conditions in Tibet.

11. In matters related to various reforms in Tibet, there will be no compulsion on the part of the central authorities. The local government of Tibet should carry out reforms of its own accord, and when the people raise demands for reform, they shall be settled by means of consultation with the leading personnel of Tibet.

12. In so far as former pro-imperialist and pro-KMT officials resolutely sever relations with imperialism and KMT and do not engage in sabotage or resistance, they may continue to hold office irrespective of their past.

13. The People's Liberation Army entering Tibet shall abide by all the above-mentioned policies and shall be fair in buying and selling and shall not arbitrarily take a single needle or thread from the people.
14. The Central People's Government shall conduct the centralized handling of all external affairs of the area of Tibet; and there will be peaceful coexistence with neighboring countries and establishment and development of fair commercial and trading relations with them on the basis of equality, mutual benefit, and mutual respect for territory and sovereignty.

15. In order to ensure the implementation of this agreement, the Central People's Government shall set up a military and administrative committee and a military area headquarters in Tibet, and apart from the personnel sent there by the Central People's Government, shall absorb as many local Tibetan personnel as possible to take part in the work. Local Tibetan personnel taking part in the military and administrative committee may include patriotic elements from the local government of Tibet, various districts, and leading monasteries; the name list shall be drawn up after consultation between the representatives designated by the Central People's Government and the various quarter concerned, and shall be submitted to the Central People's Government for appointment.

16. Funds needed by the military and administrative committee, the military headquarters, and the People's Liberation Army entering Tibet shall be provided by the Central People's Government. The local government of Tibet will assist the People's Liberation Army in the purchase and transport of food, fodder, and other daily necessities.

17. This agreement shall come into force immediately after signature and seals are affixed to it.
APPENDIX-2

Five Basic Components of 'Five Point Peace Plan for Tibet'

First announced by the Dalai Lama during his address to the United States Congressional Human Rights Caucus, delivered in Washington, D.C. on September 21, 1987

1. Transformation of the whole of Tibet into a Zone of Peace;

2. Abandonment of China’s population transfer policy which threatens the very existence of the Tibetans as a people;

3. Respect for the Tibetan people’s fundamental human rights and democratic freedoms;

4. Restoration and protection of Tibet’s natural environment and the abandonment of China’s use of Tibet for the production of nuclear weapons and dumping of nuclear waste;

5. Commencement of earnest negotiations on the future status of Tibet and of relations between the Tibetan and Chinese peoples.
APPENDIX-3

TESTIMONY OF L. DESAIX ANDERSON,
PRINCIPAL DEPUTY SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR EAST ASIAN AND PACIFIC AFFAIRS
BEFORE THE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS
UNITED STATES SENATE

JULY 28, 1992

Mr. Chairman, I welcome the opportunity to appear before you today to discuss U.S. government policy and policy and the situation in Tibet.

U.S. Policy Toward Tibet

The United States stands for the protection of human rights throughout the world. China is no exception. President Bush was the first world leader to speak out against the tragic violence against unarmed demonstrators that occurred at Tiananmen in June 1989, and the first to implement sanctions against China. Indeed, the United States remains the only country with such sanctions still in place.

Human rights is a central item on our bilateral agenda with China and an important aspect of our policy of comprehensive engagement. During his visit to Beijing last November, Secretary Baker devoted over half of his talks with Chinese leaders to a discussion of human rights. While our efforts have yielded progress much remains to be done.

Situation In Tibet

Tibet has been an important element in our human rights dialogue with Beijing. I know you will hear from others today about the current situation in Tibet. So before I discuss our efforts in regards to Tibet, let me give you our views as well.
Tibet suffered terribly—as did the rest of China—from the depredations of the Cultural Revolution, dating roughly from 1966-76. Monasteries were destroyed, books were burned, and practicing Buddhists were thrown in jail.

The Chinese government began to reverse the reprehensible actions of that period in the early 1980's when then-party General Secretary Hu Yaobang visited Tibet and initiated a policy of reopening monasteries and reinvigorating Tibetan culture and society. The result was a revival of Tibetan Buddhism and a rebirth of the Lhasa monasteries. Displays of religious veneration toward the Dalai Lama are tolerated, and his photograph is prominently displayed in temples and reportedly, even in some government offices. However, after pro-independence demonstrations began in 1987, China's new policy of greater cultural and religious tolerance was overlaid by increased efforts to repress displays of separatist sentiment. Chinese security forces have beaten and detained those, including Buddhist monks and nuns, who have demonstrated in Lhasa for independence. Such demonstrations are frequent, perhaps several a month. We have condemned the Persecution of peaceful demonstrators. Beijing's economic and aid efforts in the Tibetan autonomous region have produced greater prosperity over the past ten years. A side effect has been an influx of Han Chinese and Hui (Chinese Moslems) traders and small businessmen, fueling Tibetan fears of being overwhelmed in their homeland. It is very difficult to judge the degree of in-migration of Han Chinese in Tibet lump the Tibetan Autonomous Region with parts of the provinces of Sichuan, Qinghai, and Yunnan, in which Han Chinese and Tibetan have lived together for hundred years. In the ethnically more
homogenous area of the Tibetan Autonomous Region, most non-Tibetan migrants are temporary residents, including ethnic Han security forces, who are most prominent in Lhasa, and who rotate back to their home bases. The increasing numbers of Han small businessman and traders who have moved to Tibet in search of economic opportunity have benefited from China's nationwide policies of relaxed travel restrictions and encouragement of private enterprise. There does not appear to be a conscious Chinese government policy of attempting to Sinocize Tibet.

U.S. Policy

We have consistently raised our concerns about the situation in Tibet with Chinese officials. We have also spoken out strongly in opposition to human rights abuses in Tibet and will continue to do so. We publicly deplored the use of excessive force in suppressing demonstrations in Lhasa in 1987 and 1989 and we raised our concerns with the Chinese leadership at that time. We urged the Chinese to exercise restraint in order to avoid future bloodshed.

More recently, we have expressed our concern about those imprisoned in Tibet for the peaceful expression of their political views. The rights to freedom of expression and freedom of religion are universal. No nation should deny those fundamental rights to its citizens.
During Secretary Baker's visit to Beijing in November 1991, he again made clear to the Chinese government our concern about those imprisoned in Tibet for political reasons. Both Secretary Baker and Under Secretary Kanter, on a later visit, presented the Chinese with lists of Tibetan prisoners of special concern with an appeal for justice.

Our embassy and consulate officials in China visit Tibet as often as possible to assess and monitor the situation there and to reiterate our interest in the human rights situation. We also maintain informal contacts with Tibetan groups' abroad to benefit from their expertise and to ensure understanding of the US position.

We have given tangible expression to our about Tibet in other ways. The Voice of America last year began broadcasting in Tibetan. That broadcast, originally only 15 minutes per day, has now been expanded to a half-hour and is enormously popular.

The United States is providing assistance to Tibetan refugees in India and funding for the UN High Commissioner for Refugees to assist Tibetans transiting Nepal. The United States Embassy in New Delhi has begun to issue the 1000 special immigrant visas for displaced Tibetans that were authorized by the Immigration Act of 1990; the first of these Tibetans have already arrived in the US and the United States Information Agency is providing scholarship for 30 Tibetans per year to study in the United States.
These efforts make clear that the administration shares the concern of Congress and Americans in general about Tibet. This concern is motivated by our respect for human rights and for the religious and cultural legacy of Tibet, which is represented by the Dalai Lama. President Bush’s own respect for the Dalai Lama as a religious figure was clearly demonstrated when he received the Dalai Lama at the White House in April 1991.

The United States, like all other governments throughout the world, considers Tibet to be a part of China, with the status of an autonomous region. No country recognizes Tibet as independent of China. The United States has never taken the position that Tibet is an independent country, nor has it recognized the Dalai Lama as leader of a government-in-exile.

It is our hope that the Chinese leadership will actively seek progress in its dialogue with the Dalai Lama’s elder brother who visited China earlier this month at Beijing’s invitation. We believe the only way to resolve the differences between Tibetans, including those in exile, and the Chinese government is through dialogue. Our hope is that such talks could result in an agreement for increased Tibetan participation in the Governing of Tibetan affairs.

It is our belief that we can be most effective in dealing with China by staying engaged with the Chinese government on a strong support for human rights in Tibet and will continue to urge the Chinese government to respect the unique religious and cultural heritage of the Tibetan people.

Thank you.
APPENDIX-4

RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES WITH TIBET

Report Mandated by the Section 536 (a) (2) of Public Law 103-236
(Foreign Relations Authorization Act, Fiscal Years 1994-1995)

United States Department of State

October 1994

State of Relations

Historically, the United States has acknowledged Chinese sovereignty over Tibet. Since at least 1966, U.S. policy has explicitly recognized the Tibet Autonomous Region of TAR (hereafter referred to as “Tibet”) as part of the People’s Republic of China. This longstanding policy is consistent with the view of the entire international community, including all China’s neighbors: no country recognize Tibet as an independent state, the United States does not conduct diplomatic relations with the self-styled “Tibetan government-in-exile”. The United States continues, however to urge Beijing and the Dalai Lama to hold serious discussions at an early date, without preconditions, and on a fixed agenda. The United States also urges China to respect Tibet’s unique religious, linguistic and cultural traditions as it formulates policies for Tibet.

Internationally revered for his spiritual and moral leadership, and honored with the Noble Prize for peace, the Dalai Lama has been a committed advocate of nonviolent change and resolution of disputes. To show respect for his religious leadership and courtesy to adherents of Tibetan Buddhism, senior U.S. officials—including the President and Vice President of the United States
have met from time to time with the Dalai Lama. In addition, administration officials at appropriate levels occasionally meet the Dalai Lama’s representatives informally, to exchange views about conditions in Tibet. These informal meetings are a routine part of normal U.S. diplomacy, and do not imply recognition of the political goals of exile groups.

Conditions in Tibet

In Tibet, where Buddhism and Tibetan nationalism are closely intertwined, relations between nationalism are closely intertwined, relations between Buddhists and Secular authorities have been tense. The Chinese government tightly controls Tibetan Buddhism and does not tolerate religious manifestations that advocate Tibetan independence. The government condemns the Dalai Lama’s political activities and his leadership of a “government-in-exile”, but recognizes him as a major religious figure. Government religious authorities have suppressed the open veneration of the Dalai Lama by Tibetans.

The Chinese government has expended substantial sums to reconstruct the most important Tibetan sacred sites, including the Potala Palace. The practice of religion in Tibet is hampered, however, by the limits the Government imposes on religious education and by the small size of the religious community compared to traditional norms. Monks at some Tibetan monasteries known for their opposition to Chinese rule face severe travel restrictions.

Chinese government development policies have helped raise the living standards of Tibetans, but also have disrupted traditional living patterns. In
some instances, the Government has tried to adopt policies responsive to Tibetan sensitivities, but in doing so has encountered the dilemma of how to respect their culture without damaging their interests. In Tibet, for example, there is a two-track school system, with one track using standard Chinese and the other teaching in the Tibetan language. Students can choose which system to attend. (The same dual system is used in Xinjiang and other provinces with large non-Han populations). One negative side effect of this policy to protect and maintain minority cultures has been reinforcement of a segregated society. Under this separate educational system, those graduating from schools taught in languages other than standard Chinese are at a disadvantage in competing for jobs in government and business, which require good spoken Chinese. These graduates must take remedial language instruction before attending universities and colleges.

The Chinese Communist Party's avowed policy of boosting minority representation in the Government and the CCP has led to some increase in the number of members of minorities in leadership positions. This increase has failed, however, to alter the reality that ethnic minorities are effectively shut out of all but a few positions of real political and decision making power. Some minorities resent Han officials holding key positions in minority autonomous regions. Ethnic minorities in Tibet, Qinghai, Xinjiang and elsewhere have demonstrated against Han Chinese authority. Central authorities have made it clear that they will not tolerate opposition to Beijing's rule in minority regions.
A significant development for conditions in Tibet occurred in July 1994, when the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) and the State Council called a large-scale work conference on Tibet. The third of its kind since 1980, this work conference brought delegations from the CCP and central government organizations, as well as provincial representatives and delegates from certain urban areas. In preparation for the work conference, a number on "investigation teams" evidently traveled to Tibet in May 1994, spending several weeks analyzing the economic and political situation there. The work conference focused on setting economic development goals, pledging to increase economic activity in Tibet by 10 percent per year. Beijing leaders also made it clear that Tibet would retain "special flexibility" in implementing reform policies mandated elsewhere in China. Finally, in a major speech covered extensively in willingness to "welcome back" the Dalai Lama to Tibet, so long as "he abandons advocacy of Tibetan independence and ceases activities to split the motherland."

Other than approving more vigorous efforts to boost economic development in Tibet, the work conference produced no fundamental shift in the Chinese government's policy toward Tibet. Increased economic development will likely mean the transfer to, or temporary duty in, Tibet of an uncertain number of ethnic Han technical personnel, and may also draw an additional "floating" population of ethnic Han Chinese seeking to take advantage of new economic opportunity.
Support for Human Rights in Tibet

Increased protection of human rights is an important element of US policy toward China. We have placed particular emphasis on the need for improved human rights performance in Tibet. In public statements and private exchanges with Chinese officials, the Administration has made clear to the Chinese that the United States cannot ignore continued human rights abuses in Tibet, and that increased respect for human rights in Tibet will foster a climate in which Sino-US relations might improve.

In our conversations with the Chinese, we have called for an end to the use of force against those in Tibet who peacefully demonstrate to express their political and religious beliefs. We have also called for an end to the detention of prisoners of conscience, to the abuse and torture of prisoners and for a general improvement in prison conditions.

We have also made clear to the Chinese government our support for the protection of Tibet's unique religion and culture. We have called on the Chinese to ensure that the unique Tibetan religious, cultural and linguistic heritage is protected and preserved. In this regard, the Voice of America broadcasts regularly to Tibet in the Tibetan language. We have pressed the Chinese to cease interference with those broadcasts and have sought to resume technical level talks to resolve the dispute over VOA jamming. The Chinese side agreed to resume these technical talks during a bilateral human rights dialogue held in Washington in October 1994.

Our policy seeks to support respect for the human rights of ethnic Tibetans, as we do for all Chinese citizens. We have worked assiduously, but
as yet without success, to include references to Chinese government practices affecting the human rights of Tibetans and other minorities in annual resolutions on -China at the UN Human Rights Commission. We consistently have noted in public that prisoners of conscience seem to be treated more harshly in Tibet than elsewhere in China. Recent releases of important political and religious prisoners have not included Tibetans.

The ability of the United States to promote respect for human rights by the Chinese authorities is closely related to the strength of our bilateral relationship with China. A serious disruption of US-China relations would gravely undermine any hope for the United States to foster greater respect for the human rights of ethnic Tibetans in China. For this reason, a vigorous bilateral relationship with China, in which advocacy of respect for Tibetan culture, religion and language is one important element, is essential to preserve and expand US influence on issue relating to Tibet.
The United States recognizes the Tibet Autonomous Region to be part of the People’s Republic of China. Preservation and development of Tibet’s unique religious, cultural, and linguistic heritage and protection of its people’s fundamental human rights continue to be of concern.

**Respect for the Integrity of the Person**

Because the Chinese Government strictly controls access to and information about Tibet, it is difficult to state precisely the scope of human rights abuse there. It is known, however, that during 1994 Chinese government authorities continued to commit widespread human rights abuses in Tibet, including instances of torture, arbitrary arrest, and detention of Tibetan nationalists for peacefully expressing their political views, and rigid controls on freedom of speech and the press, particularly for Tibetans. There are credible reports that authorities in organizations indicate that a Tibetan nun died on June 4 in a prison hospital, reportedly as a result of beating by guards. In May Tibetan officials reported that a former public security official in Tibet was sentenced to 9 years in prison for causing the death of a suspect while torturing him to obtain a confession.
The United Nations

Working Group on Arbitrary Detentions has concluded that China is arbitrarily detaining 32 Tibetans and has called for their release.

The authorities permit most traditional religious practices except those seen as a vehicle for political dissent, which they ruthlessly suppress. They continue to detain and prosecute monks and nuns who have expressed dissenting political views in public. Legal safeguards for Tibetans detained or imprisoned are inadequate in design and implementation, and lack of independent outside access to prisoners or prisons makes it difficult to access the extent and severity of abuses protests were reported to have occurred in Lhasa, the capital, and elsewhere during 1994, resulting in swift detention for participants. According to credible reports, in January 11 nuns were sentenced to terms of 2 to 7 years' imprisonment for taking part in a pro-independence demonstration in 1993. Another group of 14 nuns reportedly had their prison sentences increased by up to 9 years for singing pro-independence songs. In May a demonstration by Tibetan shopkeepers protesting tax increases took on political overtones, and several dozen Tibetan monks and nuns were detained, apparently for raising independence slogans. Police responded without using excessive force, reflecting better riot control training; no lives were lost. Tibetan political prisoners such as Ngawang Pulchung and Jempel Tsering remained imprisoned in 1994, although Yulo Dawa Tsering and three other Tibetans were released in November.
Freedom of Religion

In Tibet, where Buddhism and Tibetan nationalism are closely intertwined, relations between Buddhists and secular authorities continued to be tense in 1994. The Government does not tolerate religious manifestations that advocate Tibetan independence, and it has prohibited a large traditional festival which has in the past been used to encourage separatist sentiment. The Government condemns the Dalai Lama’s political activities and his leadership of a “government-in-exile”, but it recognizes him as a major religious figure. Government religious authorities in 1994 forbade party and government officials displaying the Dalai Lama’s photograph, including in their homes, and removed his photographs from sale at bazaar shops. His photos remain in prominent positions in most temples in Tibet. The autonomous region government in Tibet also ordered Tibetan officials who have children studying in India to bring them back to Tibet immediately.

In 1994 the Chinese Government continued to take steps to ameliorate damage cause in the 1960’s and 1970’s to Tibet historic religious buildings and other aspects of its cultural and religious heritage. The Government has expended substantial sums to reconstruct the most important sacred sites of Tibetan Buddhism. A 5-year project to restore the Potala Palace (the most important Tibetan Buddhist center) in Lhasa was concluded in August 1994 at a cost of $6.4 million. The Government also provided funding in 1994 for the restoration of two other major religious sites in Lhasa, the Jokhang and Ganden monasteries. Ganden had been completely destroyed during the Cultural Revolution. Public contributions also helped to rebuild these and
many smaller monasteries. Although the Government denied it, the practice of religion in Tibet continued to be hampered by the limits the Government imposes.

On the number of resident monks in several of Tibet’s main temples. There are 34,000 Buddhist monks and nuns in Tibet, according to official figures, a small number compared to traditional norms. Tibetan Buddhists claim that they are restricted in the numbers and training of religious practitioners, even though limits on resident monks are not strictly observed in practice. Monks at some Tibetan monasteries known for their opposition to Han Chinese domination may still face travel restrictions.

Economic Development and Protection of Cultural Heritage

Like China’s 54 other minority ethnic groups, Tibetans receive preferential treatment in marriage policy, family planning, university admission, and employment. Chinese government development policies have helped raise the living standards of Tibetans, but also have disrupted traditional living patterns.

The Government has sought to preserve the Tibetan language, but in doing so has encountered the dilemma of how to preserve the language without limiting educational opportunities. In Tibet primary schools at the village level teach in Tibetan. Many pupils end their formal education after graduating from these schools, which usually only have two or three grades. Those who go on to regional primary schools and beyond, particularly after junior high school, receive much of their education in Chinese, although some areas provide instruction in Tibetan through junior high school. Efforts to
expand Tibetan language instruction are hampered by lack of materials and competent teachers at higher levels.

In July 1994, the Chinese Communist Party and the State Council conducted a large-scale work conference on Tibet. The third of its kinds since 1980, this work conference was attended by delegations from the CCP and central government organizations, as well as provincial representatives and delegates from certain urban areas. The conference focused on setting economic development goals, pledging to increase economic activity in Tibet by 10 percent a year. The plan included a total of $270 million in investment projects, continuing the government policy of providing substantial budget subsidies to develop Tibet's backward economy. China's leaders also made clear that Tibet would continue to receive central government financial assistance and would retain "special flexibility" in implementing reform policies mandated elsewhere in China. In a speech covered extensively in the Chinese press, President Jiang Zemin reiterated Beijing's willingness to "welcome back" the Dalai Lama to Tibet, so long as "he abandons advocacy of Tibetan independence and ceases activities to split the motherland."

Although the work conference approved plans to boost economic development in Tibet, it produced no change in the Chinese Government's policy toward Tibet. The Dalai Lama continued in 1994 to express concern that development projects and other central government policies encourage a massive influx of Han Chinese into Tibet, which has the effect of overwhelming Tibet's traditional culture and diluting Tibetan demographic dominance in Tibet. Freer movement of people throughout China in recent years, and the prospect of
economic opportunity in Tibet, has led to a substantial increase in the non-Tibetan population (including China's Muslim Hui minority as well as Han Chinese) in Lhasa and other urban areas. Most of these migrants profess to be temporary residents, small business run by ethnic Han and Hui peoples (mostly restaurants and retail shops) are becoming more numerous in or near some Tibetan towns and cities. Roughly one-third of the population of Lhasa is Han Chinese.

Chinese officials assert that 95 percent of Tibet's officially registered population is Tibetan, with Han and other ethnic groups making up the remainder. Increased economic development will likely mean the transfer to, or temporary duty in, Tibet of a greater number of non-Tibetan technical personnel, and may also increase the number of immigrants from China's large floating population seeking to take advantage of new economic opportunities.

Economic development, fueled by central government subsidies, is changing traditional Tibetan ways of life. While the Chinese Government has made efforts in recent years to restore the physical structures and other aspects of Tibetan Buddhism and Tibetan culture damaged or destroyed during the Cultural Revolution, repressive social and political controls continue to limit the individual freedoms of Tibetans.
APPENDIX-6

U.S. POLICY TOWARD TIBET

TESTIMONY OF JEFFREY BADER,
DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY FOR EAST ASIAN AND
PACIFIC AFFAIRS
BEFORE THE SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE

Washington, D.C.
May 13, 1997

Mr. Chairman, I appreciate the opportunity to testify today on U.S. policy toward Tibet. This hearing is particularly timely coming in the immediate wake of the April 21-24 visit to Washington of the Dalai Lama.

Background

There are over two million ethnic Tibetans living in the Tibetan Autonomous Region of the Peoples Republic of China, and perhaps another two to three million living in adjacent areas in China, notably in Qinghai, western Sichuan, Gansu, and Yunnan. About 125,000 Tibetan refugees and their descendants live in India and Nepal, and a few thousand others are scattered in other countries. There are about a thousand in the United States. For the Tibetans who live in Tibet, the last 50 years have been tumultuous. The entry of the People’s Liberation Army into Tibet in 1951 brought to an end the period that began with the 1911 revolution in China and the collapse of any effective Chinese presence in Tibet. In 1951, Tibetan representatives signed a 17 point agreement, which opened the way to the PLA despite the reservations of the Dalai Lama and his advisors. Chinese inroads into the traditional Tibetan way of life touched off violent opposition by the late 1950’s, leading the Dalai Lama to flee to India in 1959. Guerrilla warfare continued in some areas for a
few years, but was effectively suppressed. The Cultural Revolution in the 1960's hit Tibet early and hard. The Panchen Lama, who had been supportive of the Chinese authorities, was imprisoned for 15 years. Thousands of monasteries were closed and destroyed. Tibet suffered irreparable cultural damage, and Buddhism came under attack as a feudal relic.

With the end of the Cultural Revolution there was a policy review leading to liberalization, beginning with the visit of the late General Secretary of the Communist Party Hu Yaobang to Tibet in 1980. The inflow of Han Chinese into Tibet slowed. More Tibetans were elevated to positions within the Region's political leadership. Greater sensitivity was shown to Tibet's religious and China cultural traditions. Monasteries were rebuilt and reopened. Many prisoners were released. The Dalai Lama sent a series of delegations to Tibet, and discussions with the Chinese began. Beijing indicated a willingness to accept the return of the Dalai Lama and his followers to Tibet under certain conditions.

Nineteen-eighty-seven saw a major alteration in Chinese policy toward Tibet toward a harder line. The Dalai Lama placed a new emphasis on seeking contacts in the West in order to rally support against the weakening of Tibet culture and religion. Late in the year, serious riots broke out in Lhasa in support of independence, followed by other outbreaks over the next few years. The Chinese responded with increased security measures, including crackdown on monasteries. Martial law was declared for a time. Discussions with the Dalai Lama's representatives halted. This trend has continued since then. A Work Conference on Tibet in 1994 placed heightened emphasis on
economic growth over accommodation with the Dalai Lama and preservation of Tibet culture.

Although reverence for the Dalai Lama appears to be near universal, this is not to say that Tibetan politics are without fault lines. Factions, regional and sectarian loyalties, differences between religious and civil authorities, arguments between modernizers and conservatives, and other splits have plagued the Tibetan polity, among Tibetans inside and outside Tibet, throughout this century. Some Tibetans have worked with the Chinese even in the most tense of times. Other young Tibetans today are contemplating the use of violence in their frustration, despite the Dalai Lama’s clear and consistent advocacy of non-violence and efforts to reach a negotiated solution with the Chinese over Tibet’s rights and status. Two generalizations appear beyond dispute: 1) There is considerable animosity between Han Chinese living in Tibet and ethnic Tibetans; and 2) Most Tibetans are dissatisfied with current political arrangements and institutions in Tibet.

Efforts by the Dalai Lama and Beijing to reach accommodation have been on-again off-again for the last two decades. During the period of liberalization inaugurated by the 1980 Hu Yaobang visit, the Dalai Lama sent several delegations at Beijing’s invitation to observe conditions in Tibet. Subsequently, for reasons described above, the atmosphere for talks has soured. The Dalai Lama tried to revive a basis for discussion by putting forward a new proposal in a speech in Strasbourg in 1988, in which he declared Tibet would accept autonomous status within the Peoples Republic of China, with the Chinese rejected the proposal as disguised independence for
Tibet. The Dalai Lama declined a Chinese invitation to visit Beijing for the Panchen Lama's funeral in early 1989, and the Chinese hard-line policy culminated in a politburo meeting late that year that decided the Dalai Lama would not be part of the solution in Tibet. Talks with the Dalai Lama have effectively been sidetracked since then, though contacts continue sporadically. The Chinese government has devoted substantial resources to Tibet over the years: a 1980 report stated that China had given Tibet subsidies equivalent to 4.2 billion dollars since 1952, and Beijing claims to have given a further 2.4 billion dollars since then for economic development.

Nonetheless, substantial economic problems remain. Tibet is China's poorest region. While Tibet has experienced a substantial growth rate in recent decades, its growth has been slower than most other regions in China.

Not all Tibetans view Chinese investment and economic development in Tibet in totally positive terms. Many maintain that employment in investment projects disproportionately benefits ethnic Han Chinese and other non-Tibetans. Hundreds of thousands of non-Tibetans have come to Tibet in recent years to work either on development projects or to serve those who do. The "floating population" of Lhasa, the main city in Tibet, was recently estimated at over 200,000, as compared to its registered permanent population of 400,000. Inflows of non-Tibetans have increased tension and raised concerns over the loss of Tibet's special character.

The autonomy that China grants to Tibet has resulted in some benefits or privileges, notably relaxed family planning norms, use of ethnic Tibetans cadres in a majority of government jobs, and Tibetan representation in the
National People’s Congress. Perhaps 10,000 Tibetans have gone to secondary or tertiary study in China’s 10 Nationalities Institutes in other parts of China. The human rights situation in Tibet is highly unsatisfactory. Chinese authorities commit widespread human rights abuses, with instances of death in detention, torture, arbitrary arrest, detention without public trial, long sentences for Tibetan nationalists for peacefully expressing their religious and political views, and intensified controls on religion and on freedom of speech and the press. The authorities permit many traditional religious practices, but not those seen as a vehicle for political dissent. The government continues to closely supervise monks and monasteries which it seen as breeding grounds for Tibetan nationalism. Chinese authorities are seeking to increase the use of Chinese in education, down to the first grade, a practice which has offended Tibetans in the past. a fuller account of the situation is contained in the State Department’s human rights report published early this year.

The U.S. Role

What is U.S. policy toward Tibet? The United States considers the Tibet Autonomous Region or TAR (hereafter referred as “Tibet”) as part of the Peoples Republic of China. This long-standing policy is consistent with the view of the entire international community, including all China’s neighbors: no country recognizes Tibet as a sovereign state. United States acceptance of China’s claim of sovereignty over Tibet predates the establishment of the Peoples Republic of China. For instance, in 1942, we told the Nationalist Chinese government then headquartered in Chongqing (Chungking) that we had “at no time raised (a) question” over Chinese claims to Tibet. Because we
do not recognize Tibet as an independent state, the United States does not conduct diplomatic relations with the representatives of Tibetans in exile. However, the United States does try to maintain contact with a wide variety of representatives of differing political groups inside and outside China with views on Tibet. This includes contacts with individuals in Dharmsala, Tibetans in US, and visits to Tibet by Embassy and Consulate General Chengdu staff.

The United States has urged China to respect Tibet’s unique religious, linguistic and cultural traditions, and the human rights of Tibetans as it formulates its policies for Tibet. The United States encourages China and the Dalai Lama to hold serious discussion aimed at resolution of differences at an early date, without preconditions.

We have consistently asserted that any questions surrounding Tibet and its relationship to Chinese authorities in Beijing should be resolved by direct dialogue between the Tibetans, in particular the Dalai Lama, and the Chinese. The United States stands for the protection of human rights throughout the world, and the human rights issues remains a key element of our bilateral relationship with China. Our policy seeks to improve respect for the human rights of ethnic Tibetans, and for all Chinese citizens. We have appealed for the release of Tibetan prisoners of conscience. We have called upon the Chinese government to cease using against peaceful demonstrations in Tibet. Most recently, we spoke out when the conviction and sentencing of Tibetan monk Chadrel Rinpoche and two others was announced last week, apparently for his role in selection of a new Panchen Lama designated by the Dalai Lama as the successor to the second-most revered position in Tibet’s Buddhist hierarchy. We have also called upon China to improve prison conditions and to end the abuse and torture.
We have raised our concerns about Tibet consistently during bilateral talks. Secretary Albright raised concerns over human rights, including Tibet, both during her visit to Beijing in February, and during Vice Premiere Qian Qichen's visit to Washington in April. She repeated our call for a dialogue between Beijing and the Dalai Lama.

The US Embassy in Beijing has frequently raised our human rights concerns. It has raised the case of the Tibetan ethnomusicologist Ngawang Choephel, who was sentenced to 18 years imprisonment late last year on the charge of endangering China's national security. We have said that we cannot understand why such a sentence should have been imposed when there has been no public explanation of why his activities were unlawful. Embassy and Consulate General Chengdu personnel visit Tibet from time to time to discuss the situation there with local officials and observe conditions. Ambassador Sassrer visited Tibet April 16-18 and made a strong presentation of our views on human rights in all of his official meetings there. In addition to our bilateral efforts, we have also addressed our concerns about human rights in Tibet through multilateral channels. We worked with like minded countries at the United Nations Human Rights Commission in Geneva this year to table a resolution on the human rights situation in China, including Tibet. Unfortunately, the Chinese countered with a no-action motion, which effectively blocked discussion of the resolution and a vote on its provisions. The mere fact that a resolution was tabled signaled our concern. The effort that the Chinese put into defeating the resolution is a measure of their awareness and sensitivity on this issue.
The Dalai Lama would obviously be a key player if discussions develop between the PRC and Tibetans living outside China. As a sign of the great respect the President and Vice President have for the Dalai Lama as a religious leader, they have met with him on a number of occasions, most recently on April 23. Secretary of State Albright and Assistant Secretary of State Shattuck met with the Dalai Lama on April 24, when he shared his views and concerns with some members of the Secretary's Advisory Committee on Religious Freedom Abroad.

Other U.S. Activities:

The United States provides humanitarian assistance to Tibetan refugees in India and also contributes to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNCHR) to assist Tibetans transiting Nepal. Most US government funding to the refugees in India goes to the Tibet Fund, a US private voluntary organization, to underwrite assistance programs for Tibet refugees in India. These programs support reception centers, preventive health care, and income-generating projects, and supply basic food, clothing, and clean water. As part of the Immigration Act of 1990, 1000 “displaced Tibetan” were given special immigration visas, and have since resettled throughout the United States. The United States Information Agency provides scholarships for Tibetan students and professionals to study in the United States. Over 140 students have participated in this program since 1988, and almost all have returned to India and Nepal upon completion of their studies to the welfare of the Tibetan refugee communities there. The Tibetan Service of
the Voice of America broadcasts two hour-long programs in the Tibetan language each day. Often, it interviews ethnic Tibetans, and has interviewed the Dalai Lama on at least five occasions. VOA Tibetan Service signals have been subjected to interference, with mixed success, almost from the first VOA Tibetan language broadcast signals. Although China agreed to resume these technical talks during our October 1994 bilateral human rights dialogue, the dialogue and the technical talks have remained suspended.

Radio Free Asia began broadcasting to China in Mandarin on September 29, 1996, and in Tibetan on September 29, 1996. The RFA signal is rated as fair or good, and no jamming has been noted. I would add that the Chinese Foreign Ministry in Beijing and Embassy here formally protested at the time of RFA’s initial broadcast operations, terming the broadcasts a relic of cold war mentality and interference in China’s internal affairs. We replied that RFA is a US nonprofit private corporation, which receives grant funds from the Broadcasting Board of Governors, part of USIA, the purpose or which is to provide accurate and comprehensive news and commentary, not propaganda.

Conclusion

In closing, Mr. Chairman, let me say that the treatment of Tibetans by the Chinese government in the 48 years since the founding of the Peoples Republic of China has been harsh, inconsistent with international human rights norms, and unacceptable. There have been moments, notably in the early 1950’s and the early 1950’s and the early 1980’s, when it seemed a more
enlightened policy by Beijing might prevail, but these speak out, publicly and privately, about the abuses of human rights that mark PRC policy in Tibet.

At the same time, we do not believe that a challenge to Chinese sovereignty or resort to violence offers a way to improvement of the situation. No Chinese government for centuries has been prepared to accept the idea of an independent Tibet. There is no reason to believe this one will.

The Dalai Lama has shown courage in accepting the impracticality of insisting on independence, whatever his views within China.

Chinese spokesmen have responded by stating their willingness to engage in a dialogue with the Dalai Lama if he renounces independence and pro-independence activities. The gap between the stated positions of the two sides would appear to outside observers to be bridgeable.

The problem appears to be one of will, especially on Beijing's side. We hope that the parties will resume the dialogue that looked so promising in the 1980's. Preservation of Tibet's unique cultural and religious traditions depends upon it.

But it is not only Tibetans who would benefit from more equitable treatment. China as a whole would as well. Tranquility and public order may be jeopardized by failure to satisfy fundamental needs of China's minority peoples. Maintaining order over a restive population is drain on the scarce resources of a still developing country. And finally, what we hear so often from Chinese leaders is China demands above all respect. Chinese leaders will find that a different, more enlightened policy toward Tibet would be a long
step toward enhancing the respect the have earned from the economic transformation of their country.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.
Mr. Speaker, Senator Mitchell, Representative Gephardt, Senator Dole and Representative Michel, Senators, Congressmen and other distinguished guests, and Brothers and Sisters:

When I was a small boy living in Tibet, President Roosevelt sent me a gift: a gold watch showing phases of the moon and the days of the week. I marvelled at the distant land which could make such a practical object so beautiful. But what truly inspired me were your ideals of freedom and democracy. I felt that your principles were identical to my own, the Buddhist beliefs in fundamental human rights—freedom, equality, tolerance and compassion for all.

Today, I am honored to stand under this great dome and speak to you. I do so as a simple Buddhist monk: someone who tries to follow the Buddha’s teaching of love and compassion, who believes, as you do, that all of us have the right to pursue happiness and avoid suffering. I always pray that the good core of our human character—which cherishes truth, peace and freedom—will prevail.

Our generation has arrived at the threshold of a new era in human history: the birth of a global community. Modern communication, trade and international relations as well as the security and environmental dilemmas we all face make us increasingly interdependent. No one can live in isolation.
Thus, whether we like it or not, our vast and diverse sense of universal responsibility.

I also stand as a free spokesperson for the people of Tibet.

While your soldiers were fighting Communist Chinese troops in Korea, China invaded Tibet. Almost nine years later, in March, 1959—during the suppression of a nation-wide revolt against Chinese occupation—I was forced to flee to India. Eventually, many thousands of my compatriots followed me. Since then, Tibetan refugees have lived in exile. We were heartened in 1959, 1961 and 1965 by three United Nations Resolutions recognizing the Tibetan people's fundamental rights, including the right to self-determination. Your government supported and voted for these resolutions.

China, however, ignored the views of the world community. For almost three decades, Tibet was sealed from the outside world. In that time, as a result of China's efforts to remake our society, 1.2 million Tibetans—one fifth resources were devoured. And in a few short decades the artistic, literary and scientific legacy of our ancient civilization was virtually erased.

In the face of this tragedy, we have tried to save our national identity. We have fought for our country's freedom peacefully. We have refused to adopt terrorism. We have adhered to our Buddhist faith in non-violence. And we have engaged in a vigorous democratic experiment in the exile community as model for a future free Tibet.

Tibet today continues to suffer harsh oppression. The unending cycle of imprisonment, torture, and executions continues unabated. I am particularly
concerned about China’s long term policy of population transfer onto the Tibetan plateau.

Tibet is being colonized by waves of Chinese immigrants. We are becoming a minority in our own country. The new Chinese settlers have created an alternate society: a Chinese apartheid which, denying Tibetans equal social and economic status in our own land, threatens to finally overwhelm and absorb us. The immediate result has been a round of unrest and reprisal. In the face of this critical situation, I have made two proposals in recent years.

In September of 1987, here on Capitol Hill, I presented a Five Point Peace Plan. In it, I called for negotiations between Tibet and China, and spoke of my firm resolve that soon Tibet will once again become a Zone of Peace; a neutral, demilitarized sanctuary where humanity and nature live in harmony. In June of 1988, at the European Parliament in Strasbourg, I elaborated on my call for negotiations, and made personal suggestions which would protect the territorial integrity of the whole of Tibet, as well as restore the Tibetan people’s right to govern themselves. I also suggested that China could retain overall responsibility for the conduct of Tibet’s foreign relations.

It has been almost three years since the Strasbourg Proposal. In that time, many Tibetans have expressed profound misgivings over my stand for being too conciliatory. Beijing did respond: but the response was negative. The Chinese government, it is clear, is unwilling to engage in meaningful dialogue. As recent events in China indicate, the Communist leadership refuses even to acknowledge the wishes of its own people. I regret that my
sincere efforts to find a mutually beneficial solution have not produced meaningful dialogue. Nevertheless, I continue to believe in a negotiated solution. Many governments and parliaments, as well as the U.S. Congress, support this effort.

For the sake of the people of China as well as Tibet, a stronger stand is needed towards the government of the People's Republic of China. The policy of 'constructive engagement', as a means to encourage moderation, can have no concrete effect unless the democracies of world clearly stand by their principles. Linking bilateral relations to human rights and democracy is not merely a matter of appeasing one's own conscience. It is a proven, peaceful and effective means to encourage genuine change. If the world truly hopes to see a reduction of tyranny in China, it must not appease China's leaders.

Linking bilateral relations to respect for basic rights will significantly decrease the present regime's readiness to resort to further violence, while increasing the strength of the moderate forces which still hope for a peaceful transition to a more open society. These efforts should be viewed not as an attempt to isolate China but as a helping hand to bring her into the mainstream of the world community.

In the future, I envision Tibet as an anchor of peace and stability at the heart of Asia: a Zone of non-violence where humanity and nature live in harmony. For hundred years the Tibetan plateau was a vital buffer between Asia's great powers: Russia, China and India. Until Tibet is once more demilitarized and restored to its historical neutrality, there can be no firm
foundation for peace in Asia. The first step is to recognize the truth of my country’s status; that of a nation under foreign occupation.

Recently, the United States has led the international community in freeing a small country from a cruel occupation. I am happy for the people of Kuwait. Sadly, all small nations can not expect similar support for their rights and freedoms. However, I believe that a “new world order” cannot truly emerge unless it is matched by a “new world freedom”. Order without freedom is repression. Freedom without order is anarchy. We need both a new world order that prohibits aggression and a new world freedom that supports the liberty individuals and nations.

I would like to conclude by recalling a recent and moving experience. On my last trip to the United States, I was taken to Independence Hall in Philadelphia. I was profoundly inspired to stand in the chamber from which your Declaration of Independence and Constitution came. I was then shown to the main floor before the Liberty Bell. My guide explained that two hundred years ago this bell pealed forth to proclaim liberty throughout your land. On examining it, however I couldn’t help noticing the crack in the bell. That crack, I feel, is a reminder to the American people who enjoy so much freedom, while people in other parts of the world, such as Tibet, have no freedom. The Liberty Bell is a reminder that you cannot be truly free until people everywhere are free. I believe that this reminder is alive, and that your great strength continues to come from your deep principles.

Finally, my main task here today is to thank you—the Congress of the United States—on behalf of six million Tibetans for your invaluable support.
in a critical time of our struggle. The Congressional bills and resolutions you have passed over the last five years have given the Tibetan people renewed hope.

I offer you my prayers and thanks, and I appeal to you to continue working for the cause of liberty.

Thank you.