TIBET: STATUS OF THE SINO-TIBETAN DIALOGUE

HEARING

BEFORE THE

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

ONE HUNDRED TENTH CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

MARCH 13, 2007

Serial No. 110–26

Printed for the use of the Committee on Foreign Affairs

Available via the World Wide Web: http://www.foreignaffairs.house.gov/

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

34–036PDF WASHINGTON : 2007

For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office
Internet: bookstore.gpo.gov Phone: toll free (866) 512–1800; DC area (202) 512–1800
Fax: (202) 512–2250 Mail: Stop SSOP, Washington, DC 20402–0001

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS

TOM LANTOS, California, *Chairman*

HOWARD L. BERMAN, California
GARY L. ACKERMAN, New York
ENI F.H. FALEOMAVAEGA, American Samoa
DONALD M. PAYNE, New Jersey
BRAD SHERMAN, California
ROBERT WEXLER, Florida
ELIOT L. ENGEL, New York
BILL DELAHUNT, Massachusetts
GREGORY W. MEEKS, New York
DIANE E. WATSON, California
ADAM SMITH, Washington
RUSS CARNAHAN, Missouri
JOHN S. TANNER, Tennessee
LYNN C. WOOLSEY, California
SHEILA JACKSON LEE, Texas
RUBÉN HINOJOSA, Texas
DAVID WU, Oregon
BRAD MILLER, North Carolina
LINDA T. SANCHEZ, California
DAVID SCOTT, Georgia
JIM COSTA, California
ALBIO SIRES, New Jersey
GABRIELLE GIFFORDS, Arizona
RON KLEIN, Florida
VACANT
VACANT

ILEANA ROS-LEHTINEN, Florida
CHRISTOPHER H. SMITH, New Jersey
DAN BURTON, Indiana
ELTON GALLEGLY, California
DANA ROHRABACHER, California
DONALD A. MANZULLO, Illinois
EDWARD R. ROYCE, California
STEVE CHABOT, Ohio
THOMAS G. TANCREDO, Colorado
RON PAUL, Texas
JEFF FLAKE, Arizona
JO ANN DAVIS, Virginia
MIKE PENCE, Indiana
THADDEUS G. McCOTTER, Michigan
JOE WILSON, South Carolina
JOHN BOOZMAN, Arkansas
J. GRESHAM BARRETT, South Carolina
CONNIE MACK, Florida
JEFF FORTENBERRY, Nebraska
MICHAEL T. McCAUL, Texas
TED POE, Texas
BOB INGLIS, South Carolina
LUIS G. FORTUÑO, Puerto Rico

ROBERT R. KING, *Staff Director*
YLEEM POBLETE, *Republican Staff Director*
COBB MIXTER, *Professional Staff Member*
GENELL BROWN, *Staff Associate*

CONTENTS

Page

WITNESSES

The Honorable Paula J. Dobriansky, Under Secretary, Democracy and Global Affairs, U.S. Department of State 6
His Excellency Lodi G. Gyari, Special Envoy of His Holiness the Dalai Lama . 12
Mr. Richard Gere, Chairman of the Board of Directors, International Campaign for Tibet 23

LETTERS, STATEMENTS, ETC., SUBMITTED FOR THE HEARING

The Honorable Paula J. Dobriansky: Prepared statement 9
His Holiness the Dalai Lama: Statement on the Forty-Eighth Anniversary of the Tibetan National Uprising Day 14
His Excellency Lodi G. Gyari: Prepared statement 20
Mr. Richard Gere: Prepared statement 28

APPENDIX

Material Submitted for the Hearing Record 49

TIBET: STATUS OF THE SINO-TIBETAN DIALOGUE

TUESDAY, MARCH 13, 2007

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS,
Washington, DC.

The committee met, pursuant to notice, at 10:05, a.m. in room 2172, Rayburn House Office Building, Hon. Tom Lantos (chairman of the committee) presiding.

Chairman LANTOS. The committee will come to order.

In a world marked daily by deadly violence, the patient and peaceful struggle of Tibetans for their religious and cultural freedom is a powerful source of inspiration. Despite continued brutal oppression by Beijing, the Tibetan people and their leaders in exile maintain a heroic commitment to nonviolence and dialogue in their fight for fundamental human rights, rights which are the birthright of all human beings.

No one epitomizes the wisdom and power of peace more than my friend His Holiness the Dalai Lama. Two decades ago, when His Holiness presented his five-point peace plan for Tibet to the Human Rights Caucus that I had the privilege of founding, no other U.S. Government body would give him an audience. Twenty years later, his characteristically quiet plea on behalf of his people is heard loud and clear by the President of the United States and governmental leaders around the globe.

I am proud that Congress will again take the lead in recognizing His Holiness and the ongoing plight of Tibetans when it presents to him the Congressional Gold Medal in October of this year. The Dalai Lama will join the ranks of other great peacemakers who have received this award, including Pope John Paul II; Elie Wiesel, the conscience of the Holocaust; Nelson Mandela, the hero who conquered apartheid; and Mother Teresa.

The Dalai Lama has sacrificed greatly in his pursuit of Tibetan freedom. Forced to flee his homeland, he spent his life serving the cause of his people in exile. Yet his dedication to peace and dialogue remains unwavering.

Through the Sino-Tibetan dialogue, the Dalai Lama has pursued a negotiated solution to the Tibetan issue with the Chinese Government. One of our distinguished witnesses today, my friend Lodi Gyari, is a special envoy to the talks.

I welcome you to the committee, Lodi, and look forward to hearing your testimony on the status of these important talks.

In five rounds of discussions, His Holiness has made it clear to the Chinese Government that despite their claims to the contrary,

he does not seek Tibetan independence, but only genuine autonomy in Tibet's cultural, religious, and economic affairs within the context of Chinese sovereignty. Instead of embracing the Dalai Lama's overture for peace, Beijing has resolutely refused to make any concessions to the Tibetans in the 5 years of the talks. It takes two to tango, and the Tibetans have been dancing alone.

Meanwhile, the human rights situation in Tibet has declined precipitously. The Tibet section of the just-released State Department Human Rights Report states that in 2006, and I quote: "Chinese authorities continue to commit serious human rights abuses including torture, arbitrary arrests and detention, house arrests, surveillance of dissidents, and arbitrary restrictions on freedom of movement."

It is important to continue to draw attention to this matter lest the world forget.

I am pleased that my dear friend, the distinguished and world-renowned actor Richard Gere, a longtime friend of Tibetans and a tireless supporter of Tibetan human rights, is here to give our committee his views on the current human rights situation in Tibet.

Beijing must understand that the stalemate in the Tibetan talks is not in China's own interests. With each day that the Chinese Government refuses to enter into serious dialogue over the issue of Tibet and fails to take tangible steps to provide true autonomy to the Tibetan people within the borders of the People's Republic of China, the stain on the moral authority of China grows broader and deeper.

China's remarkable economic development over the last three decades has brought material betterment to millions within the People's Republic of China, and it thrust China on to the global stage as an emerging world power, but Beijing must understand that it will take more than spaceships and skyscrapers for the international community to recognize it as a global leader worthy of great power status.

China must meet the good-faith efforts of His Holiness the Dalai Lama and his envoys with good faith of its own. China states that it is a country dedicated to peace as it develops and strengthens. Proof of its peaceful rise must first come from within its own borders.

Our own Government, the U.S. Government, has a moral responsibility to promote the peaceful resolution of the problem of Tibet on terms that are mutually accessible to the Tibetan people and to the Chinese Government.

Through the Tibet Policy Act of 2002, which I had the privilege to author, it is the law of this land that the United States will work to preserve the cultural identity of Tibetans.

I look forward to hearing from our distinguished witness, Under Secretary of State for Democracy and Global Affairs, Secretary Paula Dobriansky, on our Government's effort to encourage and support this critically important dialogue that we hope we will one day soon allow His Holiness to return to his Tibet and bring peace to a people who have suffered far too long.

It is my pleasure now to turn to my friend and colleague, Ranking Member Congresswoman Ros-Lehtinen.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you so much, Mr. Chairman, and I would also like to welcome the witnesses who will be appearing before our committee this morning.

Tibet is a subject that is dear to the hearts of many of us here, including to both Chairman Lantos and to me, in recognition, as the chairman had said, of the many enduring and outstanding contributions to peace, nonviolence, human rights, and religious understanding by His Holiness. I coauthored, along with Chairman Lantos, House Resolution 4562, which honors the Dalai Lama with the Congressional Gold Medal, and we all look forward to that day very soon when His Holiness will receive this well-deserved medal.

Why is there a mystical attraction to so many Americans for Tibet, a mountainous land almost half the world away, variously known as the Roof of the World and the Land of Snows? Part of the reason may lie with the patience, the perseverance, the benevolence and the integrity of the Tibetan people, especially in the face of extremely dire circumstances. And these characteristics are personified best by Tibet's great religious leader, the Dalai Lama, who has earned the world's respect and admiration.

With such international acclaim, one must ask the question why does Beijing stubbornly continue to refuse to sit down and talk to this distinguished Noble Peace Prize winner about his middle-way approach? The reason must be clear: Cultural domination by China requires religious suppression in Tibet.

The recently released State Department Report on Human Rights Practices in Tibet for 2006 leaves little cause for optimism. For example, last September, the Chinese People's Armed Police fired on approximately 80 refugees of Tibet seeking to cross into Nepal, killing a 17-year-old nun and wounding several others. Three of the surviving refugees were rounded up, sent to labor camps, and they were reportedly tortured with cattle prods. Moreover, the State Department reports that arbitrary arrests in areas of Tibet continue unabated, and respect for religious freedom remains in the category of poor. The report also notes that Beijing exercised strict control over most monasteries through the so-called democratic management committees, and they imposed strict limits on the number of monks in major monasteries.

Many fear the Tibetans will soon become a minority in their own land, like the Mongols in Mongolia, or worse, who suffer the fate of near extinction as with the Manchus in Manchuria. The inauguration of the railroad line last July attended by the Chinese President has reportedly brought a further deluge of Chinese transient workers, business persons and tourists into Tibet.

Can Tibet truly remain Tibet given these expanding demographic pressures? Congress, through activities such as funding the Radio Free Asia Initiative and legislative requirements raised in the Tibetan Policy Act in 2001, which I cosponsored along with Chairman Lantos, has sought to move our Nation's Tibetan policy forward in constructive directions. However, it has been recently reported that Radio Free Asia's Broadcasting Board of Governors is considering to cut back broadcasting by one-third and completely eliminate Cantonese language services in its fiscal year 2008 budget recommendations.

The priority which the Congress places on Tibetan broadcasting should be clearly evident to those attending this hearing. With regard to Cantonese language broadcasting, it should be evident that Congress has a clear interest in having uncensored news available to 150 million Chinese people living in China's most vibrant economic region, the Pearl River Delta.

With regard to the Tibetan Policy Act, it is my understanding that our Special Coordinator for Tibetan Issues has consistently been denied access by the Chinese regime to Tibetan areas. This is a direct affront to the congressional intent articulated in the law calling for the coordinator to conduct regular travel to Tibetan areas. I would urge the State Department to immediately seek to remedy this situation.

The same would be true of the congressional intent for the establishment of the United States branch office in Lhasa. We should insist on reciprocity before allowing Beijing to open any additional consulates, and Lhasa should be at the top of our list.

Further, the Tibetan Policy Act states that the Secretary shall ensure that Tibetan language training is available to our Foreign Service officers, and that every effort is made to ensure that a Tibetan-speaking Foreign Service officer is assigned to a United States post in the People's Republic of China responsible for monitoring developments in Tibet. What is the status of the implementation of this provision?

In closing, I would simply reiterate the deep and abiding interest of the American people in the people of Tibet, and I welcome our witnesses here this morning. I look forward to hearing their insights, and I thank the chairman for calling this hearing.

Chairman LANTOS. I want to thank my friend, and I want to associate myself with her observations.

At our last hearing, our colleague Congressman Scott did not get a chance to ask questions. We ran out of time. So with my colleagues' concurrence, I will begin the opportunity with him.

Congressman Scott.

Mr. SCOTT. Thank you, Chairman Lantos. You have been very kind. I certainly appreciate that gesture.

This is an extraordinarily important hearing, and I want to thank the panelists for coming. I especially want to thank you, Mr. Gere, for what you have been doing for an awfully long time. You are a fine actor, but your contribution to making the world a better place is certainly right up there with your performances on the screen, especially with what you have done with HIV/AIDS, your leadership in founding the House of Tibet. Very, very, very important.

Let us hope that this hearing will shed a stronger emphasis to be placed on China, that they can move in a very responsible way to bring—help to bring a very long-deserved and lasting peace to the people of Tibet.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I yield back the balance of my time.

Chairman LANTOS. Thank you. Mr. Rohrabacher.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. And, again, let me congratulate you. Over the years you have provided such leadership on this issue and other human rights issues. You have my admiration. Again, today, you have demonstrated this

leadership on a very significant issue. Paula Dobriansky, for years, has also been involved in human rights efforts. So we have a first-class team before us.

Let me congratulate Mr. Gere. You are the only guy in Hollywood that I know that has done a movie that portrays the type of repression that exists in China. We have businessmen over there who are making blood money, basically slave wages and betraying their own working people in setting up factories over there. Mr. Gere showed what the consequences are to some of the businessmen who go over there. So thanks for getting word out that way, and I wish we had more leadership in Hollywood in getting the word out.

But, again, Mr. Chairman, over the years you have done so much. The American people wouldn't know, the free world would not know, the horror story that is going on in Tibet without you. So thank you very much.

Chairman LANTOS. Thank you very much. Congressman Ackerman.

Mr. ACKERMAN. I just want to associate myself with the remarks of the chairman and of the ranking member. I think they said everything that has to be said. So it has been said, so it shall be written.

Chairman LANTOS. Mr. Tancredo.

Mr. TANCREDO. I have no opening remarks.

Chairman LANTOS. Mr. Faleomavaega.

Mr. FALEOMAVAEGA. I would like to echo the sentiments by my good friend from New York. You have certainly been the stalwart and have demonstrated to the members of this committee over the years an outstanding leadership as far as human rights are concerned, with the gentleman also from New Jersey, Mr. Chris Smith. And I applaud all that you have done over the years that I have been a member of this committee.

And I certainly welcome our witnesses, Under Secretary Dobriansky, Mr. Gyari, and Mr. Gere, and hopefully that the substance of our dialogue we are having this morning will be proven fruitful; hopefully somewhere, somehow, that we could reach the leadership of China to see that there may be a change at heart and see that the good people of Tibet will be given proper attention and care.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman LANTOS. Thank you. Mr. Boozman.

Mr. BOOZMAN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Again, I appreciate yours and the ranking member's leadership on this, and I look forward to the testimony.

Thank you.

Chairman LANTOS. Mr. Smith.

Mr. SMITH OF WASHINGTON. I would say almost word for word what my colleague just said. I look forward to the testimony.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman LANTOS. Mr. Wu.

Mr. WU. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I just want to briefly comment that I was in Tibet about 20 years ago during one of those brief openings of the window in Tibet and traveling around on foot. I guess I was convinced of the sincerity

of the Tibetan people's difficult relations with Han Chinese, and for those of you who don't know, that would be people of my ethnic descent. And unless my bona fides were attested to by some Caucasian Americans that I was traveling with, it was very difficult to get folks to open up. And I have—I have no doubt as to the authenticity and the sincerity of the people of Tibet for a future different from the recent past.

On a more humorous note, back then I used to say, well, the situation is difficult. I don't see that Tibet will be independent any more than the State of Texas will someday be independent. And after the last 5 or 6 years, I still adhere to that view, but I am more open to the independence of Texas.

So we will see what the future brings, and all possibilities are on the table. I look forward to a peaceful and just resolution of the issues between the Han and all of the minority peoples of China.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman LANTOS. I thank my friend from Oregon, and let me just say that to the best of my knowledge, Texas has a lot of cultural autonomy.

Our first witness is the distinguished Under Secretary of State for Democracy and Global Affairs Paula Dobriansky. In this capacity she is responsible for a broad range of foreign policy issues, including democracy, human rights, labor, refugee and humanitarian relief matters, and environmental and science issues.

She has also been designated as the Special Coordinator for Tibetan Issues, and I am delighted to welcome her to the committee.

The floor is yours, Madam Secretary.

STATEMENT OF THE HONORABLE PAULA J. DOBRIANSKY, UNDER SECRETARY, DEMOCRACY AND GLOBAL AFFAIRS, U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Ms. DOBRIANSKY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman and members of the committee. It is a pleasure to be here today to testify on the status of negotiations between the Dalai Lama's representatives and the Chinese Government. And I especially want to thank you, Mr. Chairman, and the committee for your long-standing support of Tibet. I would also like to thank Lodi Gyari, the International Campaign for Tibet, and their very dedicated chairman Mr. Richard Gere who are with us today, as well as the nongovernmental organizations who are working tirelessly for the rights of the Tibetan people.

I am submitting my full testimony for the record.

The United States considers Tibet to be part of the People's Republic of China. Our goals are two-fold: To promote a substantive dialogue between the Chinese Government and the Dalai Lama or his representatives, and to help sustain Tibet's unique religious, linguistic, and cultural heritage.

In 2002, under the leadership of Chairman Lantos and former Chairman Hyde, the Congress passed the Tibet Policy Act, which supports the Tibetan people and safeguards their unique identity. As Special Coordinator for Tibetan Issues, I work to ensure that the Tibet Policy Act is fully carried out, and I remain deeply involved in all aspects of our Tibet policy. I meet regularly with representatives of the Dalai Lama and the Dalai Lama himself. In

fact, in November 2006, I traveled to Dharamsala, India, to see him. These candid exchanges provide an opportunity to hear directly from the Dalai Lama on the status of the dialogue, the human rights situation in Tibet and the needs of Tibetan refugees.

As this committee is aware, 2002 also marked the year that representatives of the Dalai Lama and the Chinese leadership reestablished contact for the first time in 20 years. They began a series of discussions, the fifth and most recent occurring in February 2006 in China. The United States Government has urged China at the highest levels to continue these discussions. We have also encouraged China to meet directly with the Dalai Lama.

A full report of our exchanges is provided in the congressionally mandated Tibetan Negotiations Report. Now at the outset, we were greatly encouraged by the promise of these discussions; however, recently we have become more concerned that they have not produced results. In the past year, the dialogue has not advanced. The Chinese Government has ramped up negative rhetoric, and there are no indications from Beijing that they are prepared to engage on issues of concern to us or the international community.

There are over 100 Tibetan political prisoners in jail for expressing their peaceful views. Gendhun Choekyi Nyima, the boy recognized by the Dalai Lama as the Panchen Lama, remains incommunicado. And the completion of the railroad linking Lhasa to mainland China is increasing Han migration and having a harmful impact on Tibet's fragile environment.

Most recently, the People's Armed Police opened fire at a group of Tibetans near the border of Nepal killing a 17-year-old nun and capturing at least three dozen others. The Chinese official media asserted that the People's Armed Police shot in self-defense, but a Romanian film crew who happened to be in the area has proof to the contrary. Our Ambassador to China and others in the U.S. Government, including many Senators and Representatives, have repeatedly asked for an explanation. So far, none has been provided.

President Bush and Secretary Rice continue to urge Chinese officials directly to engage in substantive dialogues with the Dalai Lama or his representatives. The President met with the Dalai Lama during his last visit to Washington in November 2005 and expressed his continued strong support for the Tibetan people and for their religious freedom. Later that month the President traveled to China and met with President Hu Jintao and Prime Minister Wen-Jiabo. In their meetings the President highlighted the importance of religious freedom and human rights and urged direct dialogue with the Dalai Lama. President Bush said "it would be wise for the Chinese Government to invite the Dalai Lama to China so that he can tell them exactly what he told me in the White House . . . that he has no desire for an independent Tibet." He again encouraged the continuation of dialogue with the Dalai Lama during his April 2006 meeting with President Hu Jintao. Secretary Rice reiterated this appeal during her October 2006 trip to China, and just last week, Deputy Secretary John Negroponte also raised our concerns.

While the Chinese have yet to respond positively, we will continue to urge them to allow the visits as a way of building trust

between the two sides. The administration's vision and hope is for China to be a responsible stakeholder in the global system. We seek to identify those areas in which we have a common interest and where we differ.

We also encourage China to understand our concerns and alter its behavior in ways that will advance not only our interests and those of the international community, but China's own. China's positions on human rights and democracy are examples of areas in which we do not see eye to eye, but continue to seek candid and frank discussions.

As National Security Adviser Stephen Hadley said on the eve of President Hu's April visit to Washington,

> "If China wishes to become a responsible stakeholder, China should match its expansion of economic freedom with the expansion of political freedom. China's leaders need to see that they cannot let their population increasingly experience the freedom to buy, sell, and produce while denying them the right to assemble, speak, and worship."

In conclusion, despite a lack of progress, we remain staunchly committed to these objectives. In recent years, we have seen a continued crackdown on civil society in China, revealing the unease Chinese leaders have manifested across the country, not just in Tibet. Officials in Beijing have expressed concern about possible unrest in China, and their Tibet policy is part of their broader concerns.

As China's role on the international stage grows, and as the 2008 Beijing Olympic Games approach, Beijing should begin to live up to the obligations expected of a global stakeholder and international leader. Beijing may find that a more enlightened policy toward Tibet would be an important step toward enhancing and complementing the respect it has earned from economic transformation.

President Bush said, "China's leaders will discover that freedom is indivisible, that social and religious freedom is also essential to national greatness and national dignity." It is in China's self-interest to diffuse tensions in Tibet by moderating their repressive and assimilationist policies, by substantially engaging the Dalai Lama or his representatives, and by inviting the Dalai Lama to China.

The Dalai Lama seeks to resolve longstanding differences with the Chinese. His position has been consistent and clear. He wants genuine autonomy for Tibet, not independence. Moreover, he can be an asset to the difficult challenge of regional and national stability. He indisputably represents the opinion of most Tibetans, and his moral authority transcends Tibetan interest.

In March 1959, 48 years ago this month, the Dalai Lama fled Tibet. It is my great hope that Chinese leaders take this opportunity to pursue a negotiated settlement with the Dalai Lama that provides the next generation with peace, prosperity, and stability.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman LANTOS. Thank you very much, Secretary.

[The prepared statement of Ms. Dobriansky follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF THE HONORABLE PAULA J. DOBRIANSKY, UNDER SECRETARY, DEMOCRACY AND GLOBAL AFFAIRS, U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee, I am delighted to appear before you today to testify on the status of negotiations between the Dalai Lama Representatives and the Chinese Government. I appreciate the interest and support Members of this Committee have provided on this issue. I would also like to thank Lodi Gyari, the International Campaign for Tibet, and Richard Gere who are with us today as well as the non-governmental organizations who are working tirelessly for the rights of the Tibetan people.

The United States considers Tibet to be part of the People's Republic of China. Our goals are two-fold: to promote a substantive dialogue between the Chinese government and the Dalai Lama or his representatives, and to help sustain Tibet's unique religious, linguistic, and cultural heritage.

I would like to highlight key recent developments, describe the current circumstances in Tibet, and briefly mention actions taken by the Administration.

Key developments

In 2002, under the leadership of Chairman Lantos and former Chairman Hyde, the Congress passed the Tibet Policy Act which supports the Tibetan people and safeguards their unique identity. As Special Coordinator for Tibetan Issues, I work to ensure that the Tibet Policy Act is fully carried out, and I remain deeply involved in all aspects of our Tibet policy. I meet regularly with representatives of the Dalai Lama, and the Dalai Lama himself. In fact, in November 2006, I traveled to Dharamsala, India to visit him. These candid exchanges provide an opportunity to hear directly from the Dalai Lama on the status of the dialogue, the human rights situation in Tibet, and needs of Tibetan refugees.

As this Committee is aware, 2002 also marked the year that representatives of the Dalai Lama and the Chinese leadership re-established contact. These meetings represent the first formal communication between the two sides in 20 years. There have been five meetings in all, the most recent took place in February 2006 in China. The previous meetings occurred in September 2002, May/June 2003, September 2004, and June/July 2005. The U.S. government has urged China, at the highest levels, to continue these discussions. We have also encouraged China to meet directly with the Dalai Lama. A full report of our exchanges is provided in the Congressionally mandated Tibet Negotiations Report.

At the outset, we were greatly encouraged by the promise of these discussions. However, recently, we have become more concerned that they have not produced results. In the past year, the dialogue has not advanced, and the Chinese government has ramped up negative rhetoric concerning the Dalai Lama. In August 2006, the newly appointed Communist Party Secretary in the Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR), Zhang Qingli, sharply criticized the Dalai Lama, and dismissed his "Middle Way Approach" as "splittism." Comments like these and others from Beijing cast doubt on the seriousness of the negotiations.

Our bilateral Human Rights Dialogue with the Chinese, unfortunately, also remains suspended. We have made clear to Beijing that we are prepared to resume a formal Human Rights Dialogue under the condition that it be results-based. We are not interested in talk for talk's sake. At the same time, I should emphasize that human rights form an integral part of virtually every high-level meeting we have with the Chinese, from the April 2006 visit of President Hu Jintao to Washington, to Secretary Rice's frequent discussions with Foreign Minister Li Zhaoxing, to Deputy Secretary Negroponte's meetings in Beijing earlier this month, to Ambassador Randt's regular interactions with high-level Chinese officials in Beijing.

The Chinese authorities released political prisoner Nun Phutsog Nyidrol in 2004, one-year shy of her full sentence, and permitted her to travel to the U.S. to receive medical attention in March 2006. Later, she bravely testified before the UN Human Rights Council that during her 15 years in prison, government authorities severely beat and tortured her regularly. The Administration, many Members of Congress and the International Religious Freedom Commission had pushed for her release, and we were pleased when she was allowed to leave. However, we continue to stress to the Chinese that releasing one prisoner is not enough.

One of the most notable prisoners, whom we continue to inquire about, is Gendhun Choekyi Nyima, the boy recognized by the Dalai Lama as the Panchen Lama, and his parents. The boy was detained by authorities in 1995 and will turn 18 years old in April. The Chinese maintain that he is a "normal schoolboy" living in China. However, China has refused to permit anyone from the international community to visit the boy and his family in order to confirm his welfare and well-being. Verbal assurances are not sufficient to allay international concerns. Agree-

ment to such a visit would send a very positive signal to the world about China's intentions with regard to religious freedom.

Current Situation in Tibet

The situation on the ground in Tibet remains extremely serious. The State Department's annual Human Rights Report for 2006 states that tight controls on religion and other fundamental freedoms remain serious problems. The report describes in detail widespread human rights and religious freedom abuses, including instances of arbitrary arrest, detention, torture in prison, and official controls over Tibetan monasteries and institutions. There are over 100 Tibetan political prisoners who are in jail for expressing their peaceful views.

The shooting incident on the Nepal border last fall was a stark reminder of how difficult conditions can be for Tibetans. On September 30, 2006, the People's Armed Police (PAP) at the Nangpa La pass shot at a group of approximately 70 Tibetans attempting to cross into Nepal. They killed a 17-year-old nun, Kelsang Namtso and wounded several others. While 43 members of the group arrived in Kathmandu, many members of the group were captured by the soldiers. A 15 year-old who later escaped to India reported that three dozen of these were tortured and forced to do hard labor. The whereabouts of the remaining members of the group are unknown. During my November trip to Dharmasala, I received a first-hand account of the chilling incident from a young Tibetan man who escaped the PAP with the help of mountaineers. Over a candlelit map, he described for me exactly what happened and showed me the path the refugees were attempting to cross when the PAP began shooting.

China's official media has asserted that the People's Armed Police shot in self-defense. However, eyewitness accounts and footage shot by a Romanian film crew show that the soldiers were unprovoked and fired directly at the Tibetans. Our Ambassador to China and others in the U.S. Government, including many Senators and Representatives, have repeatedly asked for an explanation. So far, none has been provided.

Unfortunately, this is not an isolated incident. The International Campaign for Tibet reports that in October 2005 Chinese troops fired at a group of about 50 Tibetans attempting to cross into Nepal. In June, border police arrested 13 Tibetans near Tingri who were planning to cross into Nepal. There have been no reports on their current whereabouts.

Tibet remains China's poorest region even though China has devoted substantial economic resources to Tibet over the past 20 years. The rate of illiteracy is the highest in China at 47%, nearly twice that of the second-ranked province, and malnutrition among Tibetan children remains high.

In 2005, state media reported that Tibetans and other minority groups make up 75% of all government employees in the Tibet Autonomous Region. However, Han Chinese hold the key positions, and the Tibetans holding government positions were prohibited from worshipping at monasteries or practicing their religion.

Concern has risen over recent development projects and other central government policies which continue to promote an influx of Han Chinese, and other ethnic groups into Tibet. There has been great concern about the opening of the Qinghai-TAR railroad, and increased migration to the Plateau. On July 1, President Hu Jintao traveled to Lhasa to inaugurate the railroad. By September, official press reports stated that the line had carried 272,700 passengers: 40% were tourists, 30% business people and the remaining 30% were students, transient workers, traders, and people visiting relatives.

USG Actions

As Special Coordinator for Tibetan Issues, I remain engaged in all aspects of our Tibet policy. I work closely with relevant bureaus and agencies in our government, and maintain a wide range of contacts in the NGO, academic and diplomatic communities to help ensure support for the protection of Tibet's human rights and preservation of its unique linguistic, religious, and cultural heritage. I also meet with former Administration officials, and other China and Tibet experts to discuss opportunities and challenges to advance Tibet issues.

As previously mentioned, I traveled to Dharamsala, India in November, an important destination for most Tibetans to visit after they arrive in India. Besides meeting with the Dalai Lama, I also had the opportunity to visit with Tibetan refugees and saw a number of U.S. supported programs that assist refugees and enhance democracy efforts. I was struck by the rich culture and active religious life. Much of our assistance supports the refugee reception centers, health services, educational programs, and special vocational training for Tibetans age 19–27. All of these facilities give the Tibetans the tools to adopt to life as new refugees in India, as well

as providing them with education in their native Tibetan language and culture, which they often have not been able to receive inside Tibet.

The President met with the Dalai Lama during his visit to Washington on November 9, 2005 and expressed his continued strong support for the people of Tibet and for their religious freedom.

Later that month, the President traveled to China and met with President Hu Jintao and Premier Wen Jiabao. In their meetings, the President highlighted the importance of religious freedom and human rights and urged direct dialogue with the Dalai Lama. President Bush said "he thought it would be wise for the Chinese Government to invite the Dalai Lama to China so that he can tell them exactly what he told me in the White House . . . that he has no desire for an independent Tibet." He again encouraged the continuation of the dialogue and direct discussions with the Dalai Lama during his April 2006 meeting with President Hu. Secretary Rice reiterated this appeal during her October 2006 trip to China and just last week, Deputy Secretary John Negroponte also raised our concerns. While the Chinese have yet to respond positively, we will continue to urge them to allow the visit as a way of building trust between the two sides.

The Administration's vision and hope for China is to be a responsible stakeholder in the global system. Our objective is to seek to identify those areas in which we have common interests and where we differ. We also encourage China to understand our concerns and alter its behavior in ways that will advance not only our interests and those of the international community, but China's own. China's positions on human rights and democracy are examples of areas in which we do not see eye-to-eye, but continue to seek candid and frank discussions with Chinese officials. As National Security Advisor Stephen Hadley said on the eve of President Hu's April visit to Washington "If China wishes to become a responsible stakeholder, China should match its expansion of economic freedom with the expansion of political freedom. Chinese leaders need to see that they cannot let their population increasingly experience the freedom to buy, sell and produce, while denying them the right to assemble, speak and worship."

Conclusion

Despite a lack of progress, we remain staunchly committed to these objectives. In recent years, we have seen a continued crackdown on civil society in China, revealing the unease Chinese leaders have manifested across the country, not just in Tibet. Officials in Beijing have expressed concern about possible unrest in China, and their Tibet policy is just part of their broader concern.

As China's role on the international stage grows and as the 2008 Beijing Olympic games approach, China should begin to live up to the obligations expected of a responsible global stakeholder and international leader. Beijing may find that a more enlightened policy toward Tibet would be an important step toward enhancing and complementing the respect it has earned from its economic transformation. As President Bush has said, "China's leaders will discover that freedom is indivisible—that social and religious freedom is also essential to national greatness and national dignity." It is in China's self-interest to defuse tensions in Tibet by moderating their repressive and assimilationist policies; by substantively engaging the Dalai Lama or his representatives; and by inviting the Dalai Lama to China.

The Dalai Lama seeks to resolve longstanding differences with the Chinese. His position has been consistent and clear, he wants genuine autonomy for Tibet, not independence. Moreover, he can be an asset to the difficult challenge of regional and national stability. He indisputably represents the opinion of most Tibetans, and his moral authority transcends Tibetan interests.

In March 1959, forty-eight years ago this month, the Dalai Lama fled Tibet. It is my great hope that Chinese leaders take this opportunity to pursue a negotiated settlement with the Dalai Lama that provides the next generation with peace, prosperity, and stability.

Chairman LANTOS. Our next witness is Lodi Gyari, who was born in Nyarong, Eastern Tibet, where he received a traditional monastic education.

Realizing that the Tibetans need to publicize their struggle to the world, he became the editor of the *Tibetan Freedom Press* and founded the *Tibetan Review*, the first ever English-language journal published by Tibetans in exile.

Mr. Gyari was one of the founding members of the Tibetan Youth Congress, an organization of over 10,000 members. Currently he

serves as Special Envoy of His Holiness the Dalai Lama. He is the lead person designated by His Holiness the Dalai Lama to commence negotiations with the Chinese Government.

He is also the executive chairman of the board of the International Campaign for Tibet, an independent Washington-based human rights advocacy group.

We are pleased to have you, Mr. Gyari, and you may proceed at your own pleasure.

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

Mr. GYARI. Mr. Chairman, Congresswoman Ros-Lehtinen and other members, I am really very grateful and honored that I am invited once again to come to your committee to testify.

During our difficult and our, very candidly, depressing times, it is heartening to be in your presence and to hear from you and other members of your deep-felt support for the struggle of the Tibetan people.

One of the most rewarding experiences that I have ever had is being here for the last many years and to see there is a strong bipartisan support that His Holiness the Dalai Lama and the Tibetan people wish to have, which is clearly manifested by this hearing. So I wanted to, once again, on behalf of His Holiness, as a Tibetan, and deeply say how grateful we are.

And I am also very grateful to President Bush. He has been consistent, as my friend Under Secretary Dobriansky shared with you just a minute back, at every opportunity that he had in a meeting with the Chinese leaders. He has never felt to rest the issue with Tibet, and we greatly appreciate it.

I am also very grateful to the Secretary of State for her interest, but we are particularly gratified and feel honored that they have appointed Under Secretary Dobriansky, a person with a tremendous skill and experience, to be the Special Coordinator for Tibetan Issues. For the last 6 years, Under Secretary Dobriansky and I worked very closely, and I must—you know, I want to take this opportunity to also express our gratitude to your personal interests. And as you have mentioned, her recent visit to Dharmasala was not only important because she was seeking only to reach His Holiness personally and discuss with him the issues confronting the Tibetan people, but it was clearly the assurance of how seriously this country, this Congress, and this administration cares about the issue of Tibet.

Mr. Chairman, I will submit my written testimony for the record——

Chairman LANTOS. Without objection.

Mr. GYARI [continuing]. But will touch on most important issues for which you have asked me to come up to testify, many with regard to the current status of our talks with the Chinese Government. My friend and chairman of the board of the International Campaign for Tibet, Richard Gere, will deal with the other issues relating to Tibet. So I will limit my remarks specifically to the issue of the process of the dialogue.

And I am also very grateful both to you and Congresswoman Ros-Lehtinen for actually articulating more elaborately than I

could the issues of Tibet, where His Holiness stands and where, I think, Mr. Chairman, you have very clearly stated. So I did not repeat what exactly is the position of His Holiness the Dalai Lama. He took a very courageous and difficult position, as you, yourself, know, because you invited him 20 years back to come and speak. He had also for the first time at that time shared with the world that he had taken the difficult but courageous decision not to seek independence, but make a full commitment to find solutions for his people within the framework of the People's Republic of China, but for genuine autonomy of the Tibetan people.

In spite of the unresponsive attitude from the Chinese Government, he has remained full on his commitment. In fact, I wanted to seek your permission to enter for the record a statement that His Holiness issued just a few days back on the 10th of March commemorating the National Uprising Day of the Tibetan people in 1959 in which he once again very, very clearly reaffirms his commitment to seek a solution not for independence for Tibet, but for general autonomy for the Tibetan people.

Chairman LANTOS. Without objection.

[The information referred to follows:]

The Statement of His Holiness the Dalai Lama on the Forty-Eighth Anniversary of the Tibetan National Uprising Day

10 March 2007

On the occasion of the forty-eighth anniversary of the Tibetan people's peaceful uprising in Lhasa in 1959, I offer my prayers and tribute to all those Tibetans who have suffered and sacrificed their lives for the cause of the Tibetan people. I also express my solidarity with those who are presently suffering repression and imprisonment.

In 2006, we witnessed both positive and negative changes in the People's Republic of China. On the one hand, the hard-line position was intensified with a campaign of vilification against us, and more disquietingly, heightened political restriction and repression in Tibet. On the other hand, in China itself, we saw some improvement with regard to the freedom of expression. In particular, there is a growing feeling among Chinese intellectuals that material development alone is not sufficient and that there is a need to create a more meaningful society based on spiritual values. Views that the present system is inadequate to create such a society are gaining ground, as a result of which belief in religion in general, and particularly interest in Tibetan Buddhism and culture is growing. Moreover, there are many who express their wish that I make a pilgrimage to China and give teachings there.

President Hu Jintao's continued call for a harmonious society is laudable. The basis for the realization of such a society is to foster trust among the people, which can take place when there is freedom of expression, truth, justice and equality. Therefore, it is important that officials at all levels not only take heed, but also implement these principles.

With regard to our relations with China, since around 1974, realizing the inevitability of an opportunity to engage some day in dialogue with China, we have made preparations to achieve genuine, unified autonomy for all Tibetans, as enshrined in the Chinese constitution. In 1979, China's paramount leader Deng Xiaoping proposed that except for independence, all other issues regarding Tibet could be resolved through negotiations. As this was in accord with our thinking, we adopted a mutually-beneficial Middle-Way policy. Since then, for twenty-eight years, we have consistently and sincerely pursued this policy, which was formulated as a result of thorough discussion and analysis, based on the broad objectives of addressing the immediate and long-term interests of both Tibetans and Chinese, peaceful co-

existence in Asia and protection of the environment. This policy has been endorsed and supported by many pragmatic Tibetans in and outside Tibet and by many countries.

The most important reason behind my proposal to have genuine national regional autonomy for all Tibetans is to achieve genuine equality and unity between the Tibetans and Chinese by eliminating big Han chauvinism and local nationalism. This will contribute to the country's stability through mutual help, trust and friendship between the two nationalities and to the maintenance of our rich culture and language based on a proper balance between spiritual and material development for the benefit of the whole of humanity.

It is true that the Chinese constitution guarantees national regional autonomy to minority nationalities. The problem is that it is not implemented fully, and thus fails to serve its express purpose of preserving and protecting the distinct identity, culture and language of the minority nationalities. What happens on the ground is that large populations from the majority nationalities have spread in these minority regions. Therefore, the minority nationalities, instead of being able to preserve their own identity, culture and language, have no choice but to depend on the language and customs of the majority nationality in their day-to-day lives. Consequently, there is a danger of the languages and rich traditions of the minority nationalities becoming gradually extinct.

There is nothing wrong with infrastructural development such as railway in itself. However, it is a source of deep concern that ever since the railway line became operational, Tibet has seen a further increase in Chinese population transfer, deterioration of its environment, misuse and pollution of its water, and exploitation of its natural resources, all causing huge devastation to the land and all those who inhabit it.

Although there has been a certain number of educated and capable communist party members among the people of minority nationalities, it is unfortunate that very few of them have attained leadership positions at the national level and some of them have even been given different labels such as separatists.

In order to provide real benefits for both the majority and minority nationalities as well as the central and local governments, a meaningful autonomy should be put into place. Since this particular autonomy is for the minority nationalities, the demand for a single administration of the Tibetan nationality is sincere, just and transparent. It is clear to the world that we have no hidden agenda. As such it is the sacred duty of all Tibetans to continue our struggle towards fulfilling this reasonable demand. No matter how long it takes, our courage and determination shall remain unchanged until we fulfill our aspirations. The struggle of the Tibetan people is not about the struggle for the status of a few Tibetan individuals; it is the struggle of a people. We have already transformed the exile Tibetan administration and community into a

genuine democratic system, with a succession of leaders elected for the people by the people themselves. We have thus set up a deeply-rooted, vibrant social and political institution that will carry forward our struggle from generation to generation. In the end, the ultimate decisions will be made democratically by the people themselves.

Since the resumption of direct contacts between the Tibetans and Chinese in 2002, my representatives have conducted five rounds of comprehensive discussion with concerned officials of the People's Republic of China. In these discussions, both sides were able to express in clear terms the suspicions, doubts and real difficulties that exist between the two sides. These rounds of discussion have thus helped in creating a channel of communication between the two sides. The Tibetan delegation stands ready to continue the dialogue anytime, anywhere. The Kashag will provide the details in its statement.

I greet all those Tibetans in Tibet—communist party members, leaders, officials, professionals and others—who have held on to the Tibetan spirit by continuing their efforts to work for the genuine interest of the Tibetan people. I express my deep admiration for their immense courage to do whatever they can in the service of the people of Tibet. I also express my deep admiration to the Tibetans in Tibet who, against all odds, have made efforts to preserve the Tibetan identity, culture and language, and for their steadfast courage and determination in realizing the aspirations of Tibetan people. I am confident that they will continue to strive for our common cause, with renewed dedication and commitment. I urge all Tibetans in and outside Tibet to work unitedly for a secure future based on equality and harmony of nationalities.

I would like to take this opportunity to whole-heartedly thank the people and Government of India for their unwavering and unparalleled generosity and support to us. I also express my gratitude to all those governments and people in the international community for their concern and support to the Tibetan issue.

With my prayers for the peace and wellbeing of all sentient beings.

The Dalai Lama 10 March 2007

N.B. Translated from the Tibetan

Mr. GYARI. So on his behalf, I would like to reassure this committee of our firm commitment.

Again, I think Under Secretary Dobriansky dealt at great length and specifically about the discussions that my delegation has been having with the Chinese Government. I have met with them since 2002 five times. And, again, as you, Mr. Chairman, have clearly mentioned, unfortunately I do not, today, have information to share with you to say that we have met any measured breakthrough.

But at the same time, I also wanted to assure you that we remain optimistic. In fact, one of the things that stem from the Tibetan movement is always to be optimistic. Of course, they are saying that Tibetans are always betrayed because of our too much optimism, and the Chinese are betrayed by their too much suspicion. But we remain optimistic.

In spite of not having any measured breakthrough, I wanted to say the last five rounds have been very useful. In fact, for the first time, I can tell you, Mr. Chairman, that we have a very, very clear understanding exactly from our point of view what are the problems. I was able to share with my Chinese counterparts not only verbally, but in a very, very detailed way what exactly is it that His Holiness is asking for in order to find a solution for the Tibetan people.

So I think now we have reached a critical stage. Therefore, this hearing is very important. This hearing demonstrates your interest, and I hope that my counterpart in Beijing also pays attention to this, that we have now come to a place where both sides have a very clear, precise understanding of his positions, and our positions are still very far away. Our differences are many; some differences are big, and some are fundamental. But if there is a political will, we have also reached the stage where we can begin to sort out things.

I want to assure you, again, that His Holiness the Dalai Lama and we have the political will in spite of so many problems. And we have prepared ourselves to go for the sixth round of our meetings.

Again, I do not have the information to share with you. I hope I had to say that the Chinese Government has given me a time and a date when to come for the next round. I do not have that. At the same time, Mr. Chairman, I do think that they are prepared to invite us back again in the next few months for our sixth round. That will be very crucial, in my view, because we go back fully prepared to address some of the concerns the Chinese have.

Of course, we also have concerns. We need to clarify some of the doubts they have, but my hope in the interim is that they have also spent the time seriously looking at the issues that we have put on that, too. So I do hope, as I said, that we will be able to continue this process of dialogue.

I just want to touch briefly on what are the issues that are confronting us at the moment. One is the whole history of, you know, our relation. As you know, the Chinese Government has continued to demand that His Holiness make a statement of Tibet having been part of China sometimes, they say, ever since the beginning, or sometimes they say from the seventh century. Sometimes they say from the 13th century. But, nevertheless, you know, the effect

that the Chinese way of interpreting our religion and our way of interpreting our religion is totally different.

It will be, I think, fruitless, particularly under the present circumstances, for us to find common interpretation of how we look at our past relations. Going back to the past, Mr. Chairman, is also not really present. Even individually for many of us, for example, myself as the key interlocutor going back past, even to the recent past for the last 50 years is painful for us. It only brings back memories that we wanted to try to—not to revisit. We would like to focus on the future. This is a historic approach. Let us not talk about history, but let us start from a way that is a part of China factually, and, more importantly, a government that will give Tibetan people autonomy. That is one major problem of disagreement.

The other part is about the original autonomy, because Chinese, I think, tell people they have given Tibetans autonomy. Yes, maybe on paper. We also say in the Constitution and in many of the Chinese votes does give fairly degree of autonomy, but the reality is that does not exist on the ground. So therefore, we—since His Holiness has fulfilled one most important condition that he must not seek independence, we believe that it is the right of the Tibetan people to say that the Chinese must implement fully their own Constitution, their laws, by giving the Tibetan people genuine autonomy.

The third, Mr. Chairman, is, you know, His Holiness has asked Tibetans are one people; even the Chinese accept that when they count the different nationalities, they count up all of the nationalities as one single nationality. We are one nation with a common language, a common culture, with common hopes and aspirations, so that we would like all of the Tibetan people to be governed by one single administration, which is not there today.

There are other issues, two other issues which I personally feel could be sorted out even though, of course, my Chinese counterparts do measure them as difficult issues. One is that they are under the impression that His Holiness is asking that as a part of this agreement, that all these Chinese troops, the People's Liberation Army, and master records that you have referred to, and they are also under the impression that we are asking for homogeneous, that we want the whole of the Tibetan area to be only inhabited by the Tibetan people. This is definitely a misunderstanding of His Holiness' position. And, Mr. Chairman, you know his position so well, and many of your members, some of them, Dharmasala. You have hugged him. And this is not the view of His Holiness.

Yes, of course, we do say that the Tibetans must remain the majority of Tibet; otherwise the whole idea of preserving our identity, which the administration is also committed, to which your Congress is also committed, cannot be protected if we become a minority in our own area.

Yes, His Holiness is not pleased. If he had his way, he would like to have the whole world demilitarized, but that is himself speaking as a Buddhist leader.

These are issues I think in the next rounds of our discussions I think we will be able to sort out. These are, just briefly, to share with you some of the problems that are confronting us. And we

have, as I said earlier, taken full note of China's conference. My team is ready.

So I remain optimistic as a Tibetan. We are fully committed. I do hope that my Chinese counterparts will invite me back without much delay and look for solution when His Holiness the Dalai Lama, is still leading. This is a historic opportunity that the Chinese must not fail to seize. I tell every time, don't look at His Holiness as your problem; he is the solution for all of us, because some Chinese leaders unfortunately believe that the Tibet issues are one single person driven. The Dalai Lama is over 70 years old. Once he is not there, the issue will go away. This is a very, very dangerous and unfortunate thinking.

I hope they will be wise enough to understand that they have to look for a solution while he is in charge, while he is leading, because in absence of that, I am really worried. I feel frightened. Sometimes my Chinese friends feel that I kind of threaten them when I say that in his absence, there will even be violence. I am not threatening. I am worried, because I am worried for our children. I am worried for China's children. So I do hope, once again, that they will understand and reach out to this man of peace to resolve the issue.

There are some encouraging signs. The position to leadership under President Hu Jintao talks about peaceful rights, talks about harmonious society, and I hope that he means it. And if he means it, how can you have a harmonious society without resolving issues such as Tibet? How can China have a peaceful rise internationally without resolving the issue of Tibet?

I know that my Chinese friends accuse us of internationalizing issues of Tibet. But you all agree Tibet became an international issue because of China's exile policies. I don't want to waste your time. I don't want to spend my time coming here to testify, but it is because of the policies that we are here.

But we are very optimistic, and this afternoon, Mr. Chairman, after testifying, I leave for Europe, then to India, and I will certainly take back to His Holiness this great friendship and the spirit that he enjoys and the Congress and the witness from the administration.

And then finally I just want to say that, again for His Holiness's behalf, as a Tibetan how grateful I am to the Congress for providing so much tangible—not huge in numbers, but the tangible support for Tibet, various programs, be it scholarship, be it for assistance for insight, for the human assistance. And then also, Congressman Ros-Lehtinen also mentioned it about the Voice of America and the Radio Free Asia. I am not really, to be very frank, you know—I tell my friends the administration being so supportive with Speaker Nancy Pelosi, with Chairman Lantos and with friends like Ros-Lehtinen, but still we must not send the wrong message to the Chinese. It is not about the dollar and cents. Any expression of less support will be seen as a weakening of your commitment for Tibet.

So I want to, again, express my deep gratitude, and finally, as a Tibetan, not as an envoy for His Holiness the Dalai Lama, I am really so much honored that when you decided to give His Holiness the Congressional Gold Medal. I think, you know—so with that,

once again, Mr. Chairman, and personally for me, it really has been a great honor to know you for almost, I think, 23 or 24 years, and many of you.

And so thank you once again.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Gyari follows:]

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

Mr. Chairman:

Thank you for inviting me to testify before your committee. Your decision to hold this hearing is a clear demonstration of how deeply members of this committee and the US Congress as a whole care about the issue of Tibet, helping His Holiness the Dalai Lama and the Tibetan people overcome their present plight. As you know, I have had the honor of appearing before your predecessors, Chairman Hamilton, Gilman and Hyde. I want to thank you, Chairman Lantos, in particular, for your longstanding commitment to the Tibetan issue, and your close, personal friendship with His Holiness the Dalai Lama. I also want to express my deep appreciation to Rep. Ros-Lehtinen for her energetic and invaluable support.

I am also grateful to President Bush for his steadfast support of His Holiness the Dalai Lama's sincere efforts to find a mutually beneficial solution to the Tibet issue, and to Dr. Condoleezza Rice for her interest and support both while she was at the White House and now in her present position as Secretary of State. I am also grateful for their selection of Under Secretary Paula Dobriansky to serve as the Special Coordinator for Tibetan Issues. This Administration has chosen someone who is experienced and skilled, and committed to moving this issue forward. I have been very fortunate to have worked with her closely over these past six years.

It is gratifying to know that other governments are also registering their support for Tibet. In the last two months alone, a comprehensive resolution on Tibet passed in the European Parliament, and motions on Tibet in Canada, Austria, Scotland, and initiatives in several other countries were launched. These signal interest around the world in seeing a mutually beneficial resolution of the Tibet issue.

The Chinese authorities criticize us for internationalizing the Tibet issue. But the fact of the matter is that Tibet became an international issue from the beginning precisely because of Chinese actions. The only remedy in front of us is to resolve the issue through dialogue.

At the outset, I want to again formally convey to the members of this committee the full commitment of His Holiness to a peaceful, negotiated settlement to the Tibet question within the framework of the People's Republic of China.

His Holiness firmly restated his position in his annual March 10th statement marking the anniversary of the Tibetan national uprising in 1959. Mr. Chairman, I seek your permission to enter His Holiness's March 10, 2007 statement into the record. Thank you.

Since the 1970's, His Holiness has taken the difficult but courageous position to find a mutually beneficial solution for the future of Tibet within the People's Republic of China. Therefore, His Holiness defines his Middle Path approach this way: Tibetans will not seek restoration of independence, and the Chinese government will respect the distinctive character of the Tibetan people, thereby making it possible for the Tibetan people to enjoy genuine regional autonomy.

Today, I would like to focus my remarks on the status of the dialogue with the People's Republic of China and the challenges and opportunities this process presents. As you know, in my capacity as Special Envoy of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, I have been entrusted by him to serve as the lead interlocutor to engage the Chinese leadership on Tibet. Since 2002, my delegation has held five rounds of meetings with our Chinese counterparts. I cannot tell you that we have yet made a substantial break-through. Nevertheless, I want to inform you that we consider the five rounds of meetings an important move in the right direction.

For the first time, after decades of being in and out of contact, we have been able to convey to the Chinese leadership in an unambiguous manner the position of His Holiness and the steps that need to be taken in order for the present unfortunate situation to be resolved.

We also have a much clearer understanding of the Chinese government's position, their concerns, as well as a better idea of some of their misconceptions.

Mr. Chairman, our differences in viewpoints are numerous: some are indeed large and fundamental. The good news is that even my Chinese counterparts agree that it is a positive development that we each now have a clearer grasp of one another's divergent perspectives.

As a result, we have now reached the stage where if there is the political will on both sides, we have an opportunity to finally resolve this issue. Mr. Chairman, I can assure you that we have the political will to do so and that we will not give up. We have over and over again demonstrated this by our actions, in spite of difficulties, provocations, and the legitimate frustrations of our people.

At this time, I would like to share some of the fundamental issues we have discussed with our Chinese counterparts in our dialogue.

First, on the question of the historical relationship between Tibet and China, we believe that revisiting history will not serve any useful purpose, as we and the Chinese each have very different perspectives on past relations. Instead, His Holiness believes that what is important is the future, based on today's reality that Tibet is part of the People's Republic of China.

We have also witnessed time and again revisiting history does not work. This exercise will only pull us apart, not bring us together.

Second, since His Holiness has addressed China's fundamental concern that Tibet remains a part of the People's Republic of China. Therefore, the Chinese government should reciprocate by acknowledging the legitimate needs of the Tibetan people to have genuine regional autonomy. According to the Chinese Constitution, the law on Regional Ethnic Autonomy as well as the White Paper on Regional Ethic Autonomy in Tibet, the Tibetan people are entitled to the following rights: full political right of autonomy; full decision-making power in economic and social development undertakings; freedom to inherit and develop their religious belief; and freedom to administer, protect and be the first step to utilize their natural resources, and to independently develop their educational and cultural undertakings.

In treating the Tibetan people with respect and dignity through genuine autonomy, the Chinese leadership has the opportunity to create a truly multi-ethnic, harmonious nation without a tremendous cost in human suffering.

Third, His Holiness believes there should be a single administration for the Tibetan people inside China so that their unique way of life, tradition, and religion can be more effectively and peacefully maintained. Today, less than half of the Tibetan people reside in the Tibet Autonomous Region. The rest reside in Tibetan autonomous counties and prefectures in Qinghai, Gansu, Sichuan and Yunnan provinces. All Tibetans residing in these areas share the same language, ethnicity, culture and tradition, and it would be impossible to achieve a negotiated solution for some and not others. Indeed, there is every reason, including the lesson of history, to believe that such an approach would cause tremendous instability on the Tibetan plateau.

Finally, there are two additional points that need to be addressed by the negotiations. The Chinese have the impression that His Holiness is asking for all Tibetan areas to be populated solely by Tibetans. Similarly, that his position is that Tibet must be free of the People's Liberation Army. We are fully aware that these are issues of concern to the Chinese government as these matters have been raised in our meetings. We have clarified these positions sufficiently to dispel their misconceptions. I am confident that through our discussions we will be able to further diminish these concerns.

For a more detailed discussion on these points, I request that the following statement on the negotiations which I delivered at the Brookings Institution last November be submitted for the record. Thank you.

We have no illusions that coming to a negotiated solution will be easy. Having identified each others' position and differences, it is now our sincere hope that both sides can start making serious efforts to build trust and find common ground. In furtherance of this goal, His Holiness has made the offer to go personally to China on a pilgrimage. He believes one of the strongest common bonds between the Tibetan and Chinese people is their shared Buddhist faith. There has been some initial reaction to this offer from certain Chinese officials that was favorable to this proposal. Unfortunately, these have been overshadowed by the recent harsh criticism of His Holiness from other quarters.

As you are probably aware, my Chinese counterparts have also been very active in briefing diplomatic missions as well as foreign offices and meeting with international leaders about their own position on these issues. Obviously, I differ with their characterizations. But, I welcome their decision to engage the international community on these issues.

As His Holiness announced in his March 10th statement, my colleague, Envoy Kelsang Gyaltsen, and I are ready to continue the dialogue anytime, anywhere. Since our last round, we have had several in-depth sessions with His Holiness and with Professor Samdhong Rinpoche, the democratically-elected head of the Kashag (cabinet). We possess the sincerity and commitment to pursue these talks to a result, and have genuinely considered the views of our counterparts. Likewise, it is

my sincere hope that my counterparts have taken into full account of our fundamental positions and concerns.

Now is the time for a resolution to this issue. I hope the Chinese leadership seizes this opportunity. His Holiness is widely recognized and admired for his honesty and integrity. He has been pragmatic and flexible in wanting to negotiate with the leadership in Beijing on the kind of status Tibet should enjoy in the future, and has held steadfast to his commitment to non-violence and dialogue as the only means of resolving the issue of Tibet.

Every Tibetan, including communist cadres as well as independence advocates, reveres His Holiness. It is a reality today that in spite of their tremendous suffering resulting from some of China's policies, the Tibetans have not resorted to violent means to respond to this injustice. This is largely because of the unwavering insistence on peace and reconciliation by His Holiness and the hope he provides to his people.

Some detractors in the Chinese Government believe that the aspirations of the Tibetan people will fade away once His Holiness passes. This is a dangerous and short-sighted approach. Certainly, the absence of His Holiness will be devastating to the Tibetan people. But just as importantly his absence will mean that the Chinese leadership will be left on their own to account for the problem. It is certain that the Tibetan issue will become more difficult to resolve with his absence, and that having had their beloved leader pass away in exile will create deep and irreparable wounds in the hearts of the Tibetan people. In the absence of His Holiness, there is no way that the entire population will be able to contain their resentment and anger. And it only takes a few desperate individuals or groups to create major instability. This is not a threat—it is actually something I fear—and it is also a statement of fact. His Holiness's world view, his special bond with the Tibetan people and the respect he enjoys in the international community all make the person of His Holiness key both to achieving a negotiated solution to the Tibetan issue and to peacefully implementing any agreement that is reached. This is why I have consistently conveyed to my Chinese counterparts that far from being the problem, His Holiness is the solution.

President Hu's call for a "harmonious society" within China and "peaceful rise" internationally provides some indications of the positive approach and direction his generation of leaders may choose to take.

Mr. Chairman, we do not have a confirmed date for the next round, but I am in regular contact with my counterparts and we will have the sixth round of dialogue within a month or two. While these negotiations have been difficult, and at times painful, I must say, however, that my Chinese counterparts have conducted themselves in an exemplary manner.

In closing, I want to thank you and the US Congress for continuing to encourage the Chinese leadership to engage meaningfully in the dialogue process as it the only avenue to a peaceful and mutually satisfactory resolution of the Tibetan issue.

As Special Envoy, I also have the responsibility to thank you on behalf of His Holiness the Dalai Lama for the concrete and tangible assistance you have provided to Tibetan people in exile and in Tibet. While small in size, these programs have had a huge impact on the lives of many ordinary Tibetans and are a life-line to countless others.

As a Tibetan, I am also deeply touched by this Congress bestowing the Congressional Gold Medal, its highest honor, on His Holiness the Dalai Lama. It is a tremendous expression of support for him, and recognition of his leadership on behalf of peace and nonviolence. This high honor is being given, at a particularly appropriate time, when the world is being shattered by ethnic and sectarian conflict.

Chairman LANTOS. Thank you very much.

I would like to now ask Mr. Richard Gere to join the witness table.

Richard Gere is an internationally-known, extraordinary film actor, who is a dedicated social activist and a deeply committed philanthropist. For more than a quarter century, he has worked to bring attention and effective solutions to humanitarian issues that are rooted in intolerance, injustice, and inequality.

Through his private foundation, the Gere Foundation, Richard Gere has served as a long-term advocate of human rights and charitable causes. He was the founding chairman of Tibet House and joined the board of directors of the International Campaign for

Tibet to address more effectively both national and international forums of influence. To bring awareness to the Tibetan crisis, Mr. Gere has addressed our committee repeatedly, the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, the Congressional Human Rights Caucus, the European Parliament, and the United Nations Human Rights Commission in Geneva.

He is recognized globally as a passionate advocate of human rights, and it is an honor for me, as chairman of this committee, to welcome him to the committee.

I am delighted to have you, Mr. Gere.

STATEMENT OF MR. RICHARD GERE, CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS, INTERNATIONAL CAMPAIGN FOR TIBET

Mr. GERE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I am going to read my statement so I don't ramble and take up too much time here, but I am happy to have a lively discussion when we are done with our statements.

Chairman Lantos, Representative Ros-Lehtinen, other members of the committee, many of you I know quite well over many years on many different subjects. I would like to thank you for the opportunity to address this committee. I also wish to compliment Chairman Lantos and Representative Ros-Lehtinen for beginning their examination of China with the Tibet issue. I think it is very, very, very important. It makes a very strong signal to our friends on the other side of the planet.

There are also signals that today's hearing returns us to a rigorous examination of China and United States-China policy that Congress used to conduct with more regularity.

The time has come for an intensified public discourse on China. China's global role is significant and developing, and Americans expect and need solid analysis of Chinese issues from our politicians. We have recently entered a politically charged Presidential campaign season. Soon after the Democratic and Republican nominating conventions take place, the 2008 Olympics will open in Beijing, undoubtedly intensifying the American people's focus on China. In light of major United States manufacturing losses, a rapid military build-up, Shanghai's economic instability, religious persecution and the defilement of the environment, Americans want to understand what is happening inside of China, how it impacts us and changes us in our world.

We are repeatedly asked to weigh the cost of the United States-led war on terror. There is virtual silence from our political leaders on China and its 1.3 billion people.

As China rises to accept its very public role as host to the 2008 Olympic Games, our political leaders have a responsibility to help us understand China and prepare us for the sure-to-be radically changed post-Olympics China that will follow. Instinctively Americans realize that China will emerge as either our greatest partner or our greatest competitor. And in the weeks and months ahead, this must be addressed in both parties' platforms and clearly articulated in the upcoming Presidential campaigns and debates.

Among the many areas where congressional leadership has shaped United States-China policy, Tibet does stand out. Mr.

Chairman, for 20 years now we have known each other, and we have talked about this issue, and usually it hasn't been happy discussions either. We have very heavy hearts. We can gauge the problems of Tibet.

I have listened with appreciation and admiration as you and your colleagues have registered outrage over human rights abuses and urge strategies to move China toward genuine systematic reform, but we still face an uphill battle here. The human rights situation for Tibetans has not improved.

Nonetheless, the tremendous outpouring of international support for Tibet and His Holiness the Dalai Lama, including, and I believe most significantly, congressional actions, have had a bearing on Beijing, so much so that we have come to believe that the Tibet issue we are facing now can be resolved. As strange as that sounds, it can be resolved. I think the testimony speaks to that.

Confidence in this premise has inspired legislation crafted in this committee and in its Senate counterpart to mandate the appointment of a Special Coordinator for Tibetan Issues with a responsibility to promote a negotiated solution for Tibet. Three successive appointments of high-level officials to this position by United States Secretaries of State have been committed to the engagement of Chinese officials and the envoys of His Holiness the Dalai Lama in a process of dialogue. You have heard from Under Secretary Dobriansky, who is an extraordinary person, I must tell you. We have all come to love her and respect her on so many levels, human, professional, and otherwise; and from Lodi Gyari, one of my oldest and dearest friends, and certainly one of the most competent people I have ever been—had the pleasure to meet in government, in any government.

On discussions with China, your testimony suggests a way forward given sufficient political will in Beijing, which unfortunately is absent now. I think it is fair to say that all parties are considering when and how the direct participation of His Holiness the Dalai Lama can be engaged to achieve a positive resolution for both parties. And a win-win is possible here. For those of us who know His Holiness, it is impossible to conceive that his involvement would be an impediment or a stumbling block. In fact, the Nobel Peace Laureate is the perfect partner for an equitable solution.

So why has Beijing been so unwilling to embrace the simple truth? China craves success and respectability. Its economic success is, in most ways, indisputable, and certainly hosting the Olympics is a high-prestige occasion. But what concerns me and other Americans is how China is winning respectability and extending its influence as a global player, and at what cost to us.

However, with regard to Tibet, respectability rests on legitimacy, and China has come to its claim on Tibet by invasion and occupation and not through the Communist revolution that provided legitimacy for the party's rule in China. The Dalai Lama embodies China's lack of legitimacy and is therefore—it is reasonable to assume the Chinese leaders fear that a return of the Dalai Lama to Tibet and the emotional welcome that surely he would receive would only underscore this point. But that is clearly a shortsighted point of view that belies President Hu Jintao's commitment to a harmo-

nious society that he talks about quite often, which is inclusive of Tibetans and all other ethnic minorities in China.

Ironically the Dalai Lama actually affords China the opportunity for a lasting, peaceful solution with the Tibetan people that would otherwise be impossible. The stability and legitimacy the Dalai Lama would bring is very good, indeed, for China for their short- and long-term interests.

Unfortunately nothing illustrates China's failure of respectability more vividly than its current policies and actions in Tibet. Since the Chinese invasion of Tibet in 1949–1950, Tibetans who did not escape into exile with His Holiness the Dalai Lama have been systematically brutalized and increasingly marginalized.

I was just reading again the State Department report that just came out on Tibet. It reads the same that it did 20 years ago, and worse. As China changes, these policies in Tibet do not change. If anything, they become more brutal. China's breakneck economic success has, in Tibet, led to inappropriate economic and social policies that make certain the even further and perhaps permanent marginalization of Tibetans. These policies which are rapidly transforming Tibet are based on an urban technocratic model that favors Chinese settlers and does not take into account Tibet's needs, Tibetans' needs, Tibetans' views, or the way of life that has sustained them most successfully on the highest plateau of Asia for centuries. These policies present the most serious threat by the Chinese yet to the survival of Tibet's unique religious, cultural and linguistic identity.

The chilling reality of China's treatment of Tibetans was exposed in a short film that Under Secretary Dobriansky talked about. It was shot last September by Sergiu Matei, a Romanian mountain climber and cameraman who himself lived through oppression and hardship in his native country, in Romania.

I recently had the privilege of meeting Sergiu in Berlin in January. He told me of his climbing near the Tibet-Nepal border as he and his companions witnessed Chinese border police open fire on a group of Tibetan refugees, mostly nuns, monks, and small children, 7, 8, 9 years old, who were making the treacherous crossing into Nepal through the Nangpa-la, which is the mountain pass. After 22 days of walking, 22 days of walking, they were half-an-hour from freedom, and in Sergiu's film the sharp crack of gunfire is heard, and Kelsang Namtso, a 17-year-old Tibetan Buddhist nun, falls dead in the snow. In the film you see just these figures coming across the mountain, spots of black moving. The shot is heard, and one of the spots falls into the snow. She was shot like an animal.

Kelsang Namtso was escaping Tibet in order to practice her religion in freedom and to seek a blessing from His Holiness the Dalai Lama. The reasons for her dangerous journey into exile, which ultimately led to her death, were similar, way too similar to the many thousands of Tibetans who risk their lives escaping from Tibet each year.

I must note here that since 1991, Congress has provided humanitarian assistance administered through the UNHCR and the Central Tibetan Administration of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, for the care of Tibetan refugees. And I have been to these refugee cen-

ters up there, and I can tell you that the Tibetans that are successful in making that crossing, that many of them would clearly die without the assistance that the American people and Congress have provided to them. So I thank you all for that, and they thank you. Believe me, they know where the help comes from.

China's initial response to the international news of the shooting of 17-year-old Kelsang Namtso was to say that its police fired on the Tibetans in self-defense. After Sergiu's film was shown on the BBC, NBC, CNN, and YouTube, China adjusted its explanation claiming that the murder of Kelsang Namtso reflected, and I quote, "normal border management." This is hardly the response of a country that is seeking respectability.

Even as Chinese leaders may be weighing the pros and cons of genuinely engaging the Dalai Lama as a partner, there is a growing interest among Chinese people themselves in Tibet's culture, religion and still largely pristine lands. The Chinese people are hungry for spiritual sustenance. After 60 years of official and enforced atheism, they are rediscovering their deep Buddhist roots in China, and they are finding them compatible with their modern lives and their future aspirations.

Today it is not uncommon or unknown to see Chinese on pilgrimage to Tibet's holy places, and Chinese monks are known to study timeless Buddhist principles, wisdom, and compassion with Tibetan Buddhist masters. Well-to-do Chinese tourists arriving in Lhasa by the hundreds of thousands now, I think clearly over 1 million have come on the new train from Beijing, cross thousands of miles of extraordinary and magnificent landscape. One can only imagine the impact of these wide open spaces on people who mostly experience daily life in Chinese environmentally ravaged urban centers.

Five of the ten most polluted cities in the world are in China. And urgency to protect the environment is building within China, and many Chinese see Tibet as a natural treasure that must be protected. We need to encourage this. Many of us see the possibility of Tibet becoming an enormous environmental reserve, a zone of peace, an area that China can claim with pride.

It is imperative that Congress encourage and convince China that the survival of Tibet's spiritual and cultural heritage is vital not only for the Tibetan people but also congruent with its own ambitions for success and respectability. China's journey toward greatness will only be enhanced by embracing and preserving Tibet's unique culture and pristine land.

Mr. Chairman, the Dalai Lama is willing to visit China. I strongly believe such a visit would build confidence and trust between the two parties and would certainly allay Chinese fears concerning the Dalai Lama and what his presence in Tibet would portend. Those of us who know His Holiness could never doubt his sincerity. We must use every opportunity available to us to impress upon President Hu Jintao and other Chinese officials in every situation the importance of extending an invitation for this visit. It is imperative for the human rights of the Tibetan people, for the survival of their unique identity, and for the legitimacy of China that the Dalai Lama is meaningfully involved in decision making on Tibet's future, and clearly China could have no better friend than the Dalai Lama.

The award of the Congressional Gold Medal to His Holiness the Dalai Lama will occur this October, and all Americans applaud this as a clear statement of United States support for a peaceful resolution in Tibet. And just prior to that, China's National Party Congress will convene and we will offer an important opportunity for China to rethink its Tibet policy, based not on the past but on China's maturing stature in the world today. It is my hope that China will generate a creative atmosphere of openness and possibility that sets the stage for an invitation to and an acceptance by His Holiness the Dalai Lama to visit China.

It is important that His Holiness the Dalai Lama is able to continue to speak with confidence about the path he is committed to pursue in China, and, as has been said many times already, but I will say it again to make it absolutely clear, the path we are talking about and His Holiness has continued to speak about for 20 years leads to a genuinely autonomous Tibet within the People's Republic of China. There is no mistake about this. Every time the Chinese say, "Well, he is really talking about independence," he is not talking about independence. A truly autonomous Tibet within the People's Republic of China, it is simply that.

As I conclude my time before the committee, I would like to return to the issue of the United States programmatic support for Tibet and urge this, the authorizing committee, to renew its commitment and secure full funding for the programs that are still in place that are preserving cultural tradition, that promote sustainable development and environmental conservation in Tibet, promote democracy and human rights documentation, provide humanitarian assistance for Tibetan refugees, continue the Tibetan scholarship program, the Tibetan cultural exchange program, and Voice of America and Radio Free Asia Tibetan broadcasts, desperately important.

These programs have been the lifeblood of Tibetan diaspora and, most importantly, they have provided hope and confidence to the Tibetans inside of Tibet. These have to remain fully funded. You can't cut any money. There is not that much money to begin with, but it would send such a horrible signal to the Chinese that there is a lack of commitment or a waning commitment from the United States public. And it is not true. They indicate strong support of our Government for Tibet and they express the will of the American people.

Finally, and personally, for President Hu Jintao, this is really an extraordinary opportunity for him right now to secure his position as a great modern Chinese leader, to enjoy the embrace of the rest of the world and set a precedence of trustworthiness for the solution of far more complex issues facing China. A creative and peaceful solution in Tibet will surely be the foundation of the harmonious society President Hu so envisions.

To be honest, there is an extraordinary yet narrow window of opportunity right now between China's National Party Congress and the 2008 Olympics in Beijing. President Hu is presented with a unique moment in history to define his legacy. Let us hope and pray that he does take advantage of that.

And one final observation: An equitable solution Tibet is good for Tibet. It is good for China, it is good for Asia, it is good for Amer-

ica, it is good for the world. And it is an unmistakable demonstration of China's evolution as a responsible nation and people and, quite simply, is the right thing to do. I thank you all very much for your time.

Chairman LANTOS. Thank you very much, Mr. Gere.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Gere follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF MR. RICHARD GERE, CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS, INTERNATIONAL CAMPAIGN FOR TIBET

Chairman Lantos, Representative Ros-Lehtinen, Members of the Committee:

As Chairman of the Board of the International Campaign for Tibet, I would like to thank you for this opportunity to address the Committee. I also wish to compliment the Chairman Lantos and Representative Ros-Lehtinen for beginning their examination of China with the Tibet issue and say how gratifying it is to know that today's hearing signals a return to the rigorous examination of China and US China policy that Congress used to conduct more regularly.

The time has come for an intensified public discourse on China. China's global role is significant and developing, and Americans expect and need solid analysis of China's issues from our politicians. We have recently entered a politically charged presidential campaign season. Soon after the Democratic and Republican nominating conventions take place, the 2008 Olympics will open in Beijing undoubtedly intensifying the American people's focus on China. In light of major US manufacturing losses, Shanghai's economic instability, religious persecution, human rights abuses, military build-up and the defilement of the environment, Americans want to understand what is happening inside China and how it will impact us and our world.

We are repeatedly asked to weigh the costs of the US-led war on terror, but there is a virtual silence from our political leaders on China and its 1.3 billion people.

As China rises to accept its very public role as host to the 2008 games, our political leaders have a responsibility to help us understand China and prepare us for the sure-to-be-radically changed post-Olympics China that will follow. Instinctively, Americans realize that China will emerge as either our greatest partner or greatest competitor and in the weeks and months ahead this must be addressed in both parties' platforms and clearly articulated in the upcoming presidential campaigns.

Among the many areas where congressional leadership has shaped US China policy, Tibet stands out. Mr. Chairman, for twenty years, you and I have been meeting to discuss Tibet, mostly with heavy hearts. I have listened with appreciation and admiration as you and your colleagues register outrage over human rights abuses and urge strategies to move China towards genuine, systematic reform but we still face an uphill battle and the human rights situation for Tibetans has not improved.

Nonetheless, the tremendous outpouring of international support for Tibet and His Holiness the Dalai Lama, including and I believe most-significantly, congressional actions, have had a bearing on Beijing, so much so that we have come to believe the Tibet issue we are facing can be resolved.

Confidence in this premise has inspired legislation crafted in this Committee and in its Senate counterpart to mandate the appointment of a Special Coordinator for Tibetan Issues with the responsibility to promote a negotiated solution for Tibet. Three successive appointments of high level officials to this position by US Secretaries of State have been committed to the engagement of Chinese officials and the envoys of His Holiness the Dalai Lama in a process of dialogue.

You have heard from Under Secretary Dobriansky on the initiatives taken by President Bush and his administration and from Lodi Gyari on his discussions with the Chinese. Their testimonies suggest a way forward, given sufficient political will in Beijing which thus far has been sadly lacking. I think it is fair to say that all parties are considering when and how the direct participation of His Holiness the Dalai Lama can be engaged to achieve a positive resolution for both parties. A win-win is possible. For those of us who know His Holiness, it is impossible to conceive that his involvement would be an impediment or a stumbling block. In fact, the Nobel Peace Laureate is the perfect partner for an equitable solution. So why has Beijing been so unwilling to embrace this simple truth?

China craves success and respectability. Its economic success is in most ways indisputable and certainly hosting the Olympics is a high-prestige occasion. But what concerns me and other Americans is how China is winning respectability and extending its influence as a global player. And at what cost to us?

However, with regard to Tibet, respectability rests on legitimacy, and China has come to its claim on Tibet by invasion and occupation and not through the Communist revolution that provided the legitimacy for that party's rule in China.

The Dalai Lama embodies China's lack of legitimacy and it is therefore reasonable to assume that Chinese leaders fear that a return of the Dalai Lama to Tibet and the emotional welcome that would greet him, would only underscore this point. But that's clearly a short sighted point of view that belies President Hu Jintao's commitment to a "harmonious society" which is inclusive of Tibetans and all other ethnic minorities in China. Ironically, the Dalai Lama actually affords China the opportunity for a lasting and peaceful solution with the Tibetan people that would otherwise be impossible. The stability and legitimacy the Dalai Lama would bring is very good indeed for China's short and long term interests.

Unfortunately, nothing illustrates China's failure of respectability more vividly than its current policies and actions in Tibet. Since the Chinese invasion of Tibet in 1949–50, Tibetans who did not escape into exile with the Dalai Lama have been systematically brutalized and increasingly marginalized. China's breakneck economic success has, in Tibet, led to inappropriate economic and social policies that make certain the even-further and perhaps permanent marginalization of Tibetans. These policies, which are rapidly transforming Tibet, are based on an urban, technocratic model that favors Chinese settlers and does not take into account Tibetans' needs, views or the way of life that has sustained them successfully on the highest plateau of Asia for centuries. These policies present the most serious threat by the Chinese yet to the survival of Tibet's unique religious, cultural and linguistic identity.

The chilling reality of China's treatment of Tibetans was exposed in a short film shot by a Sergiu Matei, a Romanian mountain climber and cameraman who himself lived through similar hardships under Soviet Rule. I recently had the privilege of meeting Sergiu in Berlin. He told me of his climbing near the Tibet-Nepal border as he and his companions witnessed Chinese border police open fire on a group of Tibetan refugees, mostly nuns, monks and small children, who were making the impossible crossing into Nepal through the Nang Pa-la pass. After twenty-two days of walking, they were a half hour from freedom. In Sergiu's film, the sharp crack of gunfire is heard and Kelsang Namtso, a 17-year old Tibetan Buddhist nun falls dead in the deep snow. She was shot like an animal.

Kelsang Namtso was escaping from Tibet in order to practice her religion in freedom and to seek a blessing from the Dalai Lama. The reasons for her dangerous journey into exile, which ultimately led to her death, were similar to many of the thousands of Tibetans who risk their lives escaping from Tibet each year. I must note here that since 1991 Congress has provided humanitarian assistance, administered through the UNHCR and the Central Tibetan Administration of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, for the care of Tibetan refugees. I myself have been to these refugee centers, without which many of those Tibetans who do cross safely into Nepal and onwards into India would not survive.

China's initial response to international news of the shooting of Kelsang Namtso was to say that its police fired on the Tibetans in self-defense. After Sergiu's film was shown on the BBC, NBC, CNN and U-tube, China adjusted its explanation claiming that the murder of Kelsang Namsto reflected "normal border management," hardly the response of a country that is seeking respectability.

Even as Chinese leaders may be weighing the pros and cons of genuinely engaging the Dalai Lama as a partner, there is a growing interest among the Chinese people themselves in Tibet's culture, religion, and still largely pristine lands. The Chinese people are hungry for spiritual sustenance after sixty-years of official and enforced atheism. They are rediscovering deep Buddhist roots in China and are finding them compatible with their modern lives and future aspirations. Today, it is not uncommon to see Chinese on pilgrimage to Tibet's holy places and Chinese monks are known to study the timeless Buddhist principles of wisdom and compassion with Tibetan Buddhist masters.

Well-to-do Chinese tourists, arriving in Lhasa by the hundreds of thousands on the new train from Beijing, cross thousands of miles of magnificent landscape. One can only imagine the impact of these wide open spaces on people who mostly experience daily life in China's environmentally ravaged urban centers. Five of the ten most-polluted cities in the world are in China. An urgency to protect the environment is building within China, and many Chinese see Tibet as a natural treasure that must be protected. We need to encourage this. Many of us see the possibility of Tibet becoming an enormous environmental reserve, an area that China can claim with pride.

It is imperative that Congress encourage and convince China that the survival of Tibet's spiritual and cultural heritage is vital not only for the Tibetan people but

also congruent with its own ambitions for success and respectability. China's journey towards greatness will only be enhanced by embracing and preserving Tibet's unique culture and pristine land.

Mr. Chairman, the Dalai Lama is willing to make a visit to China. I strongly believe such a visit would build confidence and trust between the two parties and would certainly allay Chinese fears concerning the Dalai Lama and what his presence in Tibet would portend. Those of us who know His Holiness could never doubt his sincerity. We must use every opportunity available to us to impress upon President Hu Jintao and other Chinese officials the importance of extending an invitation for this visit. It is imperative for the human rights of the Tibetan people, for the survival of their unique identity, and for the legitimacy of China that the Dalai Lama is meaningfully involved in decision making on Tibet's future. China could have no better friend.

The award of the Congressional Gold Medal to His Holiness the Dalai Lama will occur this October and all Americans applaud this as a clear statement of the United States' support for a peaceful resolution in Tibet. Prior to that, China's National Party Congress will convene which offers an important opportunity for it to rethink its Tibet policy based not on the past but on China's maturing stature in the world today.

It is my hope that China will generate a creative atmosphere of openness and possibility that sets the stage for an invitation to and an acceptance by His Holiness to visit China. It is important that His Holiness the Dalai Lama is able to continue to speak with confidence about the path he has committed to pursue with China. And let us be absolutely clear again, that path leads to a genuinely autonomous Tibet within the People's Republic of China. And with it, all the national harmony and goodwill that that relationship would imply.

As I conclude my time before the Committee, I would like to return to the issue of US programmatic support for Tibet and urge this, the authorizing Committee, to renew its commitment and secure full funding for programs that: 1) preserve cultural tradition 2) promote sustainable development and environmental conservation in Tibet 3) promote democracy and human rights documentation 4) provide humanitarian assistance for Tibetan refugees; 5) preserve the Tibetan Scholarship Program, the Tibetan Cultural Exchange Program, the Voice of America and Radio Free Asia Tibetan broadcasts.

These programs have been the life blood of the Tibetan Diaspora and most importantly, they have provided hope and confidence to Tibetans inside Tibet. They indicate the strong support of our government for Tibet, and they express the will of the American people.

Finally and personally, for President Hu Jintao, this is an extraordinary opportunity to secure his position as a great modern Chinese leader, to enjoy the embrace of the rest of the world and set a precedence of trustworthiness for the solution of the far more-complex issues facing China. A creative and peaceful resolution in Tibet would surely be the foundation of the "harmonious society" President Hu so envisions.

To be honest, there is an extraordinary yet narrow window of opportunity between China's National Party Congress and the 2008 Olympics in Beijing. President Hu is presented with a unique moment in history to define his legacy. Let us hope and pray he takes advantage of it.

I will offer a final observation. An equitable solution in Tibet is good for Tibet, good for China, good for Asia, good for America, good for the world and an unmistakable demonstration of China's evolution as a responsible nation and people . . . and quite simply, it's the right thing to do.

Thank you.

Chairman LANTOS. I want to thank all three of our distinguished witnesses. Let me just say, Mr. Gere, this was an extraordinarily thoughtful and substantive testimony. You will be interested to know that I drafted a letter to President Hu that I am circulating to all members of this committee and the Congress, urging him to receive His Holiness the Dalai Lama this year prior to the Olympics, because there is nothing a Chinese leader could do that would be more effective in setting the proper tone for the 2008 Olympics in Beijing.

And let me say, speaking only for myself, but I hope for all of my colleagues, that I am fully in support of the full funding of all

Tibet-related programs. That is the least we can do and I believe Congress will respond to the challenge.

Mr. GERE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman LANTOS. I am very grateful for your testimony. We will begin the questioning with Congresswoman Ros-Lehtinen.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. As always, Mr. Lantos, you are very kind and gracious to me. Sometimes some of our newer members don't get the opportunity. So I would be glad to yield my time if Mr. Inglis would like the time. No? Okay then.

First of all, I want to congratulate Secretary Dobriansky for doing a magnificent job on this issue. She has taken on so much already at the State Department here; it is just one more item and a very important one that I know she takes so seriously. And I thank our other two distinguished witnesses as well.

I wanted to touch on something that you have already addressed, which is the broadcasting issue. I had made in my opening statements some inquiries about the funding levels. And, Secretary Dobriansky, if you could tell us about what would be the impact of these proposed budget cuts of Radio Free Asia and the Voice of America in Tibetan language broadcasts? Refugees coming out of Tibet have consistently reported that uncensored overseas radio broadcasting in the Tibetan language is really a lifeline for them to the outside world, and I know that you have strong commitment to ensuring that broadcasts that we have through our Voice of America programs continue. If you could elaborate a little bit on what your department is doing on this issue. Thank you, Paula.

Ms. DOBRIANSKY. Thank you, Congresswoman.

The Board for International Broadcasting commissioned an assessment of not only Tibetan but broadcasting in a number of areas. And a report that has been put out by Radio Free Asia and specifically focused on Tibetan services, came out with the assessment that in the Tibetan service that there is some duplication between Voice of America and Radio Free Asia; that at the same time, they also in the report stated that there were periods of when broadcasts occurred where there was no listenership; and thirdly, they also discussed the issue of the different dialects, in particular, that for the Kham dialect, that most who understand and know the Kham dialect can also understand the UKey dialect. In other words, some of the dialects are interchangeable.

As a result of the report, the board came out with a recommendation for cutting back. I contacted the chairman of the Board of Broadcasting to discuss this issue because we have heard from the community, we have heard from Envoy Lodi Gyari among others, about the importance of this issue.

I will say that is the background—as to your broader question, broadcasting does matter. I would agree with my colleagues here, very strongly, that it is an important tool and instrument. In fact, now when we engage China on issues related to the Internet, it is actually in Tibet where you have less than really 1 percent that have access to the Internet. So broadcasting really becomes a very invaluable tool.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you. Yes.

Mr. GYARI. If I may, I also had an opportunity not only to write but to meet with the chairman of the board. And Congresswoman,

I told him very candidly in my meeting as well as my communication, I thought the position by the board was contrary to the position that the President has taken. I respect the independence of this committee, but I think it does not reflect the tremendous concern that the Congress and the administration have.

So it is unfortunate. But nevertheless, as I said earlier, you know, with your leadership with the administration being supportive, that this will be ratified because any reduction and any of the programs at this stage, at this very crucial stage will send a humongously wrong message. I will go to the areas of the assessment they haven't met which, you know, I think I will certainly do with the competent people. But I also disagree with that assessment about also the different dialectics, people understanding.

But I just wanted to say one thing: That this is a very important program, especially for us, because we have chosen a nonviolent way of struggle and to struggle—the voices such as the Voice of America program, Radio Free Asia, plays humongously very important. So I wanted to reinforce how important these programs are.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman LANTOS. Thank you. Mr. Faleomavaega.

Mr. FALEOMAVAEGA. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I wanted to thank our distinguished witnesses for their most eloquent statements.

I did have the privilege and honor of visiting Dharamsala. I visited also with the Dalai Lama and many members of our Tibetan community living in that part of India. I think one of the issues or problems, as Mr. Lodi Gyari had indicated earlier, one reason that there was so much tension, especially bringing the military might of the Chinese Government, because of this thought of independence as it was advocated earlier by the Dalai Lama and his followers. So now there has been a complete change of thought and intention on the part of the Dalai Lama that we are seeking total autonomy, and I would really appreciate it if Mr. Lodi Gyari would kind of specify exactly what the substantive issues that the Dalai Lama wanted to put forth are.

You said there are five points, or something to that effect, about total autonomy. And this is where I am a little fuzzy myself. Can you help us? And what you really mean by total autonomy?

You mentioned cultural history as one of the differences that need to be refined or reviewed or revised, if you will. Do you feel that if we overcome the hurdles of these five points advocated by the Dalai Lama that would ease the tension or allow perhaps the People's Republic of China, the leaders, to be more amenable in terms of what we are seeking here?

Mr. GYARI. Thank you very much for asking this question. It will give me an opportunity to be more elaborate, but I also want to thank you for your trip to Dharamsala with Chairman Gilman. You know, we very well remember it. It really was a great honor.

Mr. FALEOMAVAEGA. I wanted to say, Mr. Gyari, it was one of the most spiritual experiences that I have had in my entire life.

Mr. GYARI. Yes. Congressman. What His Holiness is asking is, as you have very rightly said, that he is not asking for Tibetan independence. He is asking for genuine autonomy for the Tibetan people. He is also asking precisely exactly what the Constitution of

China itself has already in writing guaranteed but not implemented. According to the Chinese Constitution, the law on the original ethnic autonomy as well as the paper on original autonomy for Tibet that the Chinese Government has published, they said that Tibet should have a full position in power in economic, social, freedom to inherit, their religious belief, freedom to administrator protect and be forced to use the natural resources and independently have educational culture undertakings.

So these are, in fact, what His Holiness is asking, is nothing more, nothing less, than what the Chinese Constitution does say that we are entitled to. So he is not asking for—you know, sometimes our Chinese friends say that the Dalai Lama is asking for greater autonomy, Dalai Lama is asking for Hong Kong-style autonomy. What he is asking for precisely is to implement what the Chinese Constitution says it guarantees the Tibetan people. So I think it is just as simple as that.

Mr. FALEOMAVAEGA. And in the interest of time, Mr. Gyari, I am going to definitely pursue this and I would definitely like to at a later time hopefully get the specifics.

Mr. Gyari, you pose some very interesting observations, too, and your statement indicated that the People's Republic of China, the tremendous potential of being a partner, also could be a competitor, and I wanted to note it could also be our greatest enemy.

And it is hard to say that some of our leaders here in the Washington Beltway consider China as the next monster, if you will excuse the expression, rather than looking at it as our great partner in terms of stabilizing the Asian Pacific region in so many ways; but, unfortunately, it is viewed very differently by some of our people here in Washington as well.

But I wanted to ask you, in your honest statement, here is the problem that I am confronted with. We have Chechnya. We don't talk too much about that with Russia. We have West Papua, New Guinea. We don't talk too much about that with Indonesia. And Taiwan and Hong Kong and the situation in Tibet.

Tibet has become an international issue that everybody in the world is aware of, yet the perception being that Tibet is more of a domestic internal matter that has to be settled between the Tibetans and the Chinese Government. How would you go about in bringing about that the issue is not just between Tibet and the People's Republic—it is an international issue, no different as it is between the Russians and Chechnya, Indonesia and West Papua.

Mr. GERE. Look, I think all these things are related; there is no question about that. There is a radical difference in quality, and it has to be recognized by all of us. The Tibetan movement has been wholly nonviolent. It is a movement that has been fueled at great cost to the Tibetan people. There could be Tibetan terrorists now and you would be reading about it every day in the newspaper, the same way that you read about other conflicts, and some that are culturally much closer to us, including Ireland and the West Bank, et cetera.

But I think we are dealing with something that is unique on this planet, and that we are dealing with a culture that at its root has made the commitment to be nonviolent, to forgive, to move on, to look at our highest possibilities and aspirations as human beings.

I think that is why they have captured the imagination of the world.

But I remember a story His Holiness told me after screening Martin Scorsese's film, *Kundun*, about his life, and he hadn't seen the movie yet. We had all seen it many times, but there was a screening to show him the movie. And we spent the whole movie watching him watch the movie of his life. And it was quite enlightening. And he was very quiet after the film and we had wanted to have some feedback. And I said well, let's go get some tea. We went to another room, we had some tea, had some cookies and a little time passed. I said, Your Holiness could you say a few words? His Holiness had been quite silent, more silent than I remember him being and I have known His Holiness 25 years or more. And he said, you know the scene at the end of the movie where my Khampa guards took me out of Tibet and we reached India, across the border into India, and the Khampa warriors went back into Tibet, and I realized I would never see them again. In fact, they had all been killed by the Chinese. And then he turned his back on Tibet and looked into India, and he looked around and he said, I didn't have a friend in the world. And then he looked around to us, and he says, "Now I have friends everywhere." For one reason, the quality of his heart.

Now, the Dalai Lama is a unique creature, but he is not unique in the Tibetan culture. This is something that they have so assimilated into everything that is Tibetan. This is the jewel of the planet. This can inform us of how to transform how we live on this planet; that fosters forgiveness. It looks to the future in expansion of wisdom and compassion. That is why it is different.

Chairman LANTOS. Thank you.

Mr. FALEOMAVAEGA. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman LANTOS. Thank you and thank you for those words, Mr. Gere.

Mr. Rohrabacher.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Let me just note, as Mr. Gere had just suggested, the Tibetan movement is a totally peaceful movement. There are other such peaceful movements in China, Mr. Gere, as you are very aware. The Falun Gong——

Mr. GERE. Absolutely.

Mr. ROHRABACHER [continuing]. Which are basically people who believe in yoga and meditation are being brutalized beyond imagination. I was chairman last session of the Oversight Investigation Subcommittee. We had a hearing on that where it indicated that members of the Falun Gong are simply disappearing by the hundreds, if not by the thousands, and some of the prisons that they are taken to——

Mr. GERE. By the tens of thousands.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. Tens of thousands, yes, sir. Thank you. And many of the prisons they are taken to happen to do a very robust trade in organs, in organ transfer, organ transplants throughout the world. Talk about the most ghoulish dictatorial monstrous activity, that has got to be it. And the fact that American businessmen go to China in order to exploit the situation there for their own benefit is a disgrace, is a national disgrace. And I would hope

that your pleas, the pleas we have heard today calling on the Chinese to take advantage of an opportunity for them now that we have had a change in leadership in China. China is moving on with the Olympic Games. We have an opportunity now to change course.

And I certainly am very grateful to our three witnesses today and to you, Mr. Chairman, for providing this platform to call out to China, to reach out to the leaders of China, that this is an opportunity to change course. And there shouldn't be a situation where an American Congressman says it is a disgrace to do business in China. It should be a pleasure for and an honor for us to be working with Chinese people to help build their economy. But you can't do that under a vicious dictatorship that represses people for their religious convictions and tries to stamp out any type of opposition to their policies. For example, what we have in Tibet.

Mr. Gere—and perhaps I would like to ask this of the panel—one of the things we were looking into when I was chairman last session was the theft of Tibetan treasure by this regime. And we must do, Mr. Chairman, our utmost to see that this billions of dollars' worth of ancient treasures that they had in Tibet are not sold by this regime. Much of them already have been looted and, I might add, transferred to handle some of the expenses of the Communist Party in China.

But what are we doing now to make sure that some of these artifacts that have managed to survive are not destroyed, and thus those people in the Tibetan plateau have lost such a part of their culture?

Ms. Dobriansky, do you have any thoughts on that?

Ms. DOBRIANSKY. Well, this is an important issue. In fact we have had discussions, all of us, about the preservation of Tibetan artifacts. It is critical and crucial to the preservation of Tibet's culture, heritage. In fact, one of the areas that came up was the issue of actually artifacts, whether there would be those artifacts related to Tibet that would be affected in cultural exchanges between the United States and China. And the fact is that anything related to Tibet, in fact, will be preserved, and we have that commitment to that policy.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. Is there some kind of legal action that the administration can take against people who, for example, would deal in artifacts?

Ms. DOBRIANSKY. That would be something I would have to look into on the legalities.

[The information referred to follows:]

WRITTEN RESPONSE RECEIVED FROM THE HONORABLE PAULA J. DOBRIANSKY TO QUESTION ASKED DURING THE HEARING BY THE HONORABLE DANA ROHRABACHER

The U.S. has a number of laws designed to discourage the sale of cultural artifacts including the U.S. National Stolen Property Act and the Archaeological Resources Protection Act. Both the PRC and the US are states party to the 1970 UNESCO Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. I suggest, Mr. Chairman, if we do not have legislation that makes it a very stiff penalty to deal with the type of stolen goods and stolen artifacts like this, that we look into that. There might be something we could do to add pressure on that.

Finally, and my time is running out, I just want to compliment you, Mr. Gere, again. Your film on China where the businessman is going through this——

Mr. GERE. *Red Corner* it was called.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. *Red Corner*.

Mr. GERE. I know. You were reaching. I was trying to help you out.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. Thank you for doing that. I would hope that China is the subject and the repression there is a subject of closer examination by Hollywood, because we do our part here, and I think Hollywood, of course—I disagree with them, of course, on some of their issues——

Mr. GERE. I have heard that.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. But I appreciate very well that you stand up and you have stood up on China and Tibet and helped alert the American people and the viewers of films to the fundamental immorality that is going on.

So thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. GERE. If I could add one thing. Thank you very much for your kind words.

In terms of business, there are two minds about this. And we are divided amongst ourselves. Do we want to stop business in China? No, we really don't. The point is, having rules of engagement. What are the rules of businesses going in? What are the rules of employing? What are the rules of conduct of American business?

Mr. ROHRABACHER. I have a rule called free trade between free people but not between slaves. And the rule is you don't exploit cheap labor——

Mr. GERE. Absolutely.

Mr. ROHRABACHER [continuing]. In order to make a buck. And especially the cheap labor that is cheap because of a repressive regime that destroys the rights of the people of that society. So that is my rule anyway.

Mr. GERE. But business with good rules can have an enormous change factor in China.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. Well, I haven't seen it. I haven't met one——

Mr. GERE. Well, no one follows the rules; that is why.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. I never met one businessman who ever stood up for even the human rights of his employees.

Mr. GERE. If we make everyone stand up—and this is an argument I have when I go to Europe and speak on this issue—if all of us, all the countries in the EU and the United States decide that this is the way we are going to do business with China, things would change radically overnight. The Chinese are very clever, and they cherry pick who they deal with and make rules with who they deal with and set us against each other.

If we are uniform in our point of view with our rules of engagement with China, we could have enormous effect there.

Chairman LANTOS. Thank you. The gentleman from Georgia, Mr. Scott.

Mr. SCOTT. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

I would like to ask Ms. Dobriansky, Mr. Gyari, and Mr. Gere this concern. The Dalai Lama is a very popular, very credible spokesman for the Tibetan people, and rightfully so. He has received the

Congressional Medal of Honor, Gold Medal, and actually he has just received a professorship at Emory University in my district in Atlanta.

But my point is this: To what degree is this, his prominence and his popularity, what does that play in the mind of the Chinese Government? Is it a help or is it a hindrance in increasing the dialogue with the Chinese Government?

Mr. GERE. Well, I think we all have spoken to that in testimony here. The biggest issue is they perceive His Holiness to be the problem and this causes enormous fear. Now, reasonably, from a certain point of view, they have reason to be fearful because he stands for truth, and the Tibetan people love him so much beyond whatever the Chinese can do to them. That will always be there in the heart of a Tibetan.

But conversely, to be used properly and honestly, the partnership with the Dalai Lama is going to be the best tool to create a Tibet that is the treasure trove that they would want Tibet to be, to have Tibetans who are productive, who are not demonstrating. There is not an internationalization of the Tibet issue.

Look, I want Hu Jintao to win the Nobel Peace Prize, I want Hu Jintao and the Dalai Lama to be holding each other's hands with smiles on their faces on the cover of *Time* magazine. If China can understand that that is all possible and the embrace of the world that would come along with that, it is just a tweak of the mind, it is the tweak of point of view that the Dalai Lama really is the one that they can make a deal with that will be so good for China.

Mr. SCOTT. That is what I can't understand. I just can't understand the basic nature of this fear that China has, especially given the fact of their recently being awarded the upcoming Olympics, their holding of $360 billion in debt in our Treasury, there are examples of openness that are coming.

Mr. GERE. They are very young. They are 50 years old. They are very young, and they have hundreds of years of being colonized. It makes people very insecure, and it is going to take them a while to become as secure as we would want them to be and behave like a secure member of our human community. And we have to encourage that. Clearly, we go through those stages here in America as well. I mean, people behave well when they feel secure. And it is something that the U.S. Congress can do, the U.S. President can do. It is what the EU can do, continually to lead them to a place that leads them to confidence, where they are behaving the way the rest of the reputable world behaves. But we have to be vigilant about this, continually leading them, I hate to say it, but like a child in a way. Continuing to say this is the way we do this, this is the way we have learned to do this. Not 50 years but over hundreds of years, in some cases many hundreds of years and thousands of years, of developing culture in a modern society, one that is trying to be democratic. You can see them inching toward democracy, fearful of it, having seen what happened in the former Soviet Union, fearful of it, and rightly so.

The brigands now that are controlling much of the former Soviet Union is not particularly good for all people, but true democracy doesn't fully exist in Russia right now. So there is reason for them to be fearful, but we could help that process. We should be engaged

at fundamental levels, continually encouraging them in the right way.

Mr. SCOTT. Let me just see if I can get a couple specifics from you, especially given the fact of the economic and military strength of China which makes economic sanctions and direct intervention to protect that, the people of Tibet seem to be a little bit unrealistic. What mechanisms do you feel there are for the United States Congress specifically and/or our Government to actually elicit change in the conduct of the Chinese Government toward the Tibetan people?

Mr. GERE. Most change comes person to person, I find in my life. It doesn't come from sanctions. It doesn't come from bullying. It comes from dialogue. It comes from constantly talking and encouraging. The Chinese are not by nature people who want to sit down and talk about things. But I think it is something that if they are going to be part of the world now, and world leaders that they want to be in terms of respect and responsibility, that is what we do in the world. We talk about things.

Now, as they become more highly educated, clearly things will change rapidly. With money comes education, comes change. Democracy usually follows. We can expect that that will happen. But I think we have to consider that we have to be engaging constantly. We have to spend the time.

I remember talking in the Middle East; the people that have been successful in the Middle East are the ones who sit down and have coffee with each other and talk about their families. Things happened with Yasser Arafat, things happened if you took the time to sit down and have a cup of coffee with him and talk turkey. If you went in and think you are going to get a deal or bully him into something, it was never going to happen.

This is a tremendous commitment of time and energy to talk to the representatives of China. Now, Hu Jintao is not a democratically elected person. This is a creature who came out of the Communist structure, very much a collectivized mind, you know, he doesn't step up. Jiang Zemin was a bit different. He was a business guy and from Shanghai. He didn't come out of that same political machine.

So it is a little bit harder to get someone like President Hu Jintao in a room and talk, have a cup of coffee and get that kind of conversation, but that is what is going to change things. Education, continually talking, being comfortable, this is how we do things in the world, and being unified in how we approach these things.

Mr. SCOTT. I can tell you that I believe our committee will soon be going to China. I am sure the chairman will make sure that this is at the top of our agenda.

Mr. GERE. If Tibet comes up in every conversation, believe me it is meaningful.

Mr. SCOTT. Thank you.

Mr. GERE. Thank you, sir.

Chairman LANTOS. Thank you very much. The gentleman from New Jersey.

Mr. SMITH OF NEW JERSEY. Mr. Chairman, as the committee begins its work, I want to thank you for making Tibet the first issue

that we talk about vis-a-vis China. I think that is telling. It does underscore your personal commitment and that of the members of this committee in promoting human rights in Tibet.

And again, I want to thank you also for the Tibet Policy Act. In answer to my colleague a moment ago, that is a very tangible way of promoting democracy and freedom in the much beleaguered Tibet. And I believe, Mr. Gyari, you said it well. Things do happen.

I was late for today's hearing because I was introducing a panel on Northern Ireland, the country for which Secretary Dobriansky is the Special Envoy. And we had a number of people who heretofore had been at each other's throats, who are now working side-by-side, having buried the gun and the hatchet to try to get to an autonomous Northern Ireland. It is not independent. It is autonomous, and with devolved powers from Westminster.

Mr. Gere, you might recall several years ago at one of our hearings, you were sitting with the assistant secretary for the Population Refugee and Migration Bureau, and, as you did then and today, made an appeal that we fully fund Tibetan refugees. And sitting across from you, our assistant secretary said, I will.

I would hope, Madam Secretary Dobriansky, that you would really take back the concerns of this committee, of Mr. Gere, of all of us, that these programs be fully funded. It is vitally important. Many of us were concerned that the refugee budget is below what we think it ought to be. That needs to be plussed up. And certainly a priority, if not the priority, has to be those refugees. So I do hope you would take that back from his admonition just a moment ago.

Let me just ask a couple questions. First of all, Mr. Gyari, you might want to answer this one. Has Hu Jintao or anybody in the Chinese leadership provided any details whatsoever on the whereabouts on the Panchen Lama?

I would ask Secretary Dobriansky, if you would, the International Religious Freedom Act has worked extremely well with a number of countries. We know Vietnam, while it has not achieved success, has made some progress because there was an MOU with the government and with the United States because they were designated a CPC country. Same goes for Saudi Arabia where some progress is hopefully going to be made soon, but there is an effort to try to forge an agreement.

As my colleague, Dana Rohrabacher, pointed out a moment ago, we know there is widespread repression of religious freedom in China, whether it be the Catholics, the Wigurs, the Muslims, the Falun Gong and the Protestants who are not part of the officially recognized church and a special animosity toward the Tibetan Buddhists.

Why is there not some kind of penalty phase which leads to a negotiation or an MOU of some kind with Beijing and the United States because they are CPC country? They have been designated that, year in and year out, but there has been no penalty phase to the best of my knowledge. Maybe something is going on behind the scenes that I don't know about, but it seems to me this is a golden opportunity. The law provides or prescribes in excess of a dozen specific things that could be done in terms of penalty to try to get a movement toward recognizing this universally recognized human right.

On the issue of torture, I think, Mr. Gere, you made a good point a moment ago; that 20 years later, reading the Human Rights Report, it is the same report. Some of the old victims, but unfortunately with a plethora of new victims that are now being singled out.

I note, Mr. Chairman, that when the Chinese surprisingly led Manfred Nowak, Special Rapporteur on Torture, into China—he went to three prisons in Tibet—one of those with whom he met, an inmate named Gyatso, found himself retaliated against which violates every canon of U.N. human rights contracts. Yet, there has been no response, to the best of my knowledge, from the Human Rights Council, the Convention against Torture, or the Refugee Convention, who have a treaty body panel of experts.

Maybe, Ms. Dobriansky, you might want to speak to what are we doing to get those panels to do their implementation when it comes to the egregious use of torture which is endemic in China, especially against the Tibetans.

Finally, the Olympics, a great opportunity; but we know that when the Asian games were held with the Women's Conference 10 years ago—I was the co-chair of the delegation that went there—they cracked down on the Tibetans. So when international visitors come in, it seems to me that there is a countermove; rather than an opening, a crackdown.

What are we doing to ensure that the Olympics at least provide some opening? Certainly a visit by the Dalai Lama would be outstanding and we would all hope and pray for that and work—you know, sign Mr. Lantos' letter with regards to that. But when the opposite happens, the secret police are fanned out, and I am afraid dissidents, religious believers and Buddhists in Tibet cawill be further cracked down upon. And that would be an outrage, beyond outrageous.

Ms. DOBRIANSKY. Let me go first, if I may. First on refugees, let me assure you the funding is maintained. We care a great deal about the welfare of Tibetan refugees. There is not only the same level but also there are some additional resources that have been put in by the Bureau of Population, Refugees, and Migration.

Secondly, you referred to the issue of China being designated as a country of particular concern in the International Religious Freedom Report. That is the case. We have not opted for other avenues. We would be glad to explore those with you. However, we have opted for a continued engagement at this time in trying to actually encourage the Chinese forward.

I will say this, that it has been of concern to us, that, yes, in the area of religious freedom there has not been improvement. So let me simply say that we have pursued a path of engagement in trying to get results that way. We would be interested in hearing your views on this matter.

With regard to torture, we have in the Human Rights Report, this is an area that is one of the areas that is certainly featured and highlighted with regard to Tibet. We have tried to put forward these issues not only related to Tibet, but human rights abuses in and throughout China.

The Human Rights Commission, as I heard you mention, has unfortunately not stepped up to the plate to address these issues. In

fact, we have had some great disappointment with the agenda of the Human Rights Commission. We do think that these are the kinds of issues that need to be addressed in multilateral and international fora. And finally——

Mr. SMITH OF NEW JERSEY. Panel of experts with regard to the Torture Convention, it seems to me, especially with Manfred Nowak's report, they should be working on this night and day to censure or to hold China to account. That is why you have a treaty body and a group of experts to do just that.

Ms. DOBRIANSKY. Again, I think there are a number of fora, including the one you mentioned, in which these issues should be addressed.

In terms of the Olympics, we would agree. We think that the Olympics afford an opportunity of engagement in indicating the importance that we attach to human rights, that we do attach to codes of conduct; that we also, to an extent planned, not only from the government but working with other governments and working with the private sector, to advance those important priorities.

Finally, if I may just say that we did take note. The Chinese recently came forward and announced that because of the Olympics that they will permit journalists coming into China to have free and open access with anyone with whom they would like. Tibet was not included in that, and we would like to see all of China included in that recent initiative taken by Chinese officials.

Chairman LANTOS. Thank you. Thank you very much. I think we will have to move on.

The gentleman from California, Mr. Costa.

Mr. COSTA. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. Another good gathering by the Foreign Affairs Committee here. The leadership you have been providing since January, this year, with the committee oversight and the focus I think is, as many members and I have spoken, is to be recognized and commended.

It is fitting and appropriate, in focusing on China and Asia, that we talk about Tibet and religious freedom. I can remember my first visit some 13 years ago in China, in Shanghai and Beijing during the Easter time, and trying to attend Palm Sunday services in Beijing, and then later on, Easter services in Shanghai, and seeing the hunger for religious freedom and the constraints that clearly the Chinese Government place on it.

Secretary Dobriansky, I have a question of you. I actually have a couple questions. I believe ultimately governments and leaders do what they believe is in their own interest. And I guess I would—and some of the ideas have been vetted already this morning. But what is precisely, in your view, the policy of the administration in the remaining 2 years to exercise—and we have talked about the upcoming Olympics and such—but what precise levers do you believe that we have the opportunity to focus on those levers to encourage the Chinese Government to do what we all want discussed here this morning, what we believe is in their interest, given the timelines?

Ms. DOBRIANSKY. I think one of the most important levers that we have had and we have, Congressman, and we have discussed it here, is the role that China desires to play internationally. China is very desirous of not only engaging internationally but being part

of international discussions, having a stature across the board. As part of that, we know how crucial it is that it should be meshed with responsibility.

We made appeals at official levels and in public speeches and privately that we want to see China as a responsible stakeholder. We want to have China as engaged internationally and as an international player, but responsibility comes with that. And we think that if they are desirous of moving along that path, we need to encourage them to take on these responsible areas, like in terms of changing their human rights practices, like engaging in the discussions on Tibet; but not just with discussions, but with results and with action.

Mr. COSTA. So in essence you are saying that it is the administration's intent over the next few years to keep their eye on the ball and to ensure that these points are raised each and every time in all negotiations?

Ms. DOBRIANSKY. Absolutely. In fact, let me say to you that already has been the case. Even if the Olympics were not being held, that has been the case. The President has raised the issue of Tibet in all meetings with all Chinese officials. So have other officials of the U.S. Government, including the Secretary of State. I had cited this in my opening remarks.

Mr. COSTA. Thank you.

Mr. Gere, you spoke movingly of your visits with His Holiness. And I am wondering from your own perspective in your own visits to Tibet, and I assume to China, what reaction you have received, because you have been obviously very outspoken on this issue for many years and are to be commended and noted for that. What are the reactions you get from the Chinese people?

Mr. GERE. From the Chinese people?

Mr. COSTA. Yes.

Mr. GERE. Well, again, it is a Communist country, so you get two different responses. You get the response when people are watching and then you get the response when you are in private. The private response is always supportive, always supportive. Not surprisingly so, because the Tibet issue is not one of annihilation of China. It is so opposite. It has defined a better situation for the Chinese as well.

When we talk about the survival of the Tibetans, it is not to the destruction of China. It is to find a way for all of us on this planet to achieve the optimum, and I think they get it. The Chinese people get that.

Now, there is a level of Chinese who have been so intoxicated with negative ideas about Tibetans—I mean, I have some friends of mine, Chinese friends of mine from the human rights community, who have left China, who have confessed to me that the programming they have received since they were kids they still have to deal with: That the Tibetans kill children and drink their blood and have all of these special rights. I mean insanity, insanity. But still, when you are fed that kind of thing since you were a kid, it is very difficult to remove it totally and not have a stain left.

Now, China does have that. They have given that to their people. That is a poisonous gift they give to their children, and we have to deal with that. But we can deal with that.

Now, the Dalai Lama is the greatest spokesperson for a point of view that is inclusive of everyone being saved, and that is why at this point I am always emphasizing the fact to get His Holiness in the room with responsible Chinese. If that were to happen, things would change radically overnight. There is no question in my mind about it.

What can we do? What can Congress do? I think that we can start to codify what these talks are, the dialogue. What is the goal of this dialogue that has now had five rounds? Where are they going? Do they need to be so open-ended that they don't go anywhere? Should they be regularized? Should they be meeting once a month until something is achieved and have a pretty clear idea where these talks are going?

These are the issues. These are not fools. Everyone involved in these talks knows what the issues are. It is like in the West Bank and in Israel; everyone knows what the issues are. Everyone knows what the deal is going to be in the end. It is pretty clear here, the same thing.

Now, can we force that? Maybe. If we keep talking about it over and over again. Yes, we want the meetings to be once a month for the next 5 years or 2 years or 1 year, whatever it may be, and this is what we are moving towards. We are moving toward a resolution of these issues, and these are the issues we are going to be dealing with. We can be specific about that. Lodi hates it when I talk this way.

Mr. COSTA. My time has expired but, Mr. Gere, thank you for your insight and thank you for your passion.

Mr. GERE. Thank you very much.

Chairman LANTOS. The gentleman from California, Mr. Royce.

Mr. ROYCE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I just wanted to start here by commending Mr. Gere for the Gere Foundation, for your human rights work and also for your patience in articulating and laying out what I think logically would be the steps needed in order to reach a solution.

I do want to ask you, one of the concerns that I have is with the movement of the Han Chinese into Tibet. There is sort of a clock running in terms of preserving the culture, with all of the pressure and the new rail line and all of that. I wanted to ask you about that.

I also wanted to commend Ms. Dobriansky who is following in her father's footsteps in terms of a lifetime commitment to human rights, and this is a very impressive panel.

Mr. GERE. Do you now how many things that she takes care of?

Mr. ROYCE. I do. Unbelievable.

Mr. GERE. Trafficking human beings, et cetera, et cetera, et cetera, it goes on and on. Unbelievable.

Mr. ROYCE. Anyway, let me ask you that just in terms, Mr. Gere——

Mr. GERE. There is an issue that—I mean, one of the central issues here is the cultural cohesiveness of Tibet, Tibetans, Tibetan culture. And one thing you have to realize is that Tibet was broken up into pieces in 1950 with the invasion. The map of Tibet was redrawn. So you have half of the Tibetans live in Chinese provinces now. They are not in the TAR, in the Tibetan Autonomous Region.

And that is one of the major issues we are dealing with here. What happens to those people? Even if there is a deal made in the TAR, there are still 3 million people that are Tibetans—dress, talk, think, behave, worship as Tibetans—that are in Chinese provinces now.

Now, the deal has to somehow encompass them as being culturally autonomous within China. That is the negotiation point. That is the thing to talk about. It is rational. It is simple. It is not about destroying anything. It is building, preserving. But there is the issue as far as I can see, the major one to be discussed. Everything else is pretty simple, frankly. All these things are pretty simple. This is a deal that the Chinese can cut and win. That is what is so bizarre.

It is not like Taiwan. Taiwan is so complex and so energized with emotion and potential violence there. Tibet is winnable.

Now, in terms of the train, the train clearly is there for two reasons. It is for economic reasons. The Chinese have taken out of Tibet all the easy wealth that is on the ground. They took out $80 billion worth of timber immediately. Now they have to work a little harder to get the wealth out. They also need to supply—I don't know how many troops—how many thousands of Chinese troops are stationed—at one point it was 600,000. I don't know how many now. Let's say 500,000, 600,000 Chinese troops are stationed in Tibet. They have to be supplied, and the fields of Tibet can't supply them. So they have got to bring in supplies. The railroad will do that.

Also the population transfer which is, I believe, is considered a class C genocide in Geneva. I believe it is. Class C is population transference. What they have done in Manchuria and Mongolia is just swamped the indigenous people with Han Chinese. That hasn't happened yet to that degree. Perhaps in all of Tibet, China now is a higher population, somewhere between 6 million and 7 million perhaps. But that is mostly in the cities. And you have to understand, too, Tibet is a large country. It is as large as Western Europe. Rural Tibet is basically Tibetan. That can be saved.

Mr. ROYCE. The other question about saving the culture has to do with the whereabouts and the well-being of the boy designated by the Dalai Lama as the 11th reincarnation of the Panchen Lama. And I was wondering if you or Mr.——

Mr. GERE. I think that is for Lodi to speak to.

Mr. ROYCE. Lodi, would you like to tell us what you know about the whereabouts? Because that is part of the cultural tradition.

Mr. GYARI. Thank you very much. First I want to thank my friend, Congressman Smith, for adopting—I know him back when many Members of Congress each adopted a Tibetan prisoner. It was Congressman Smith who adopted the young Panchen Lama. Unfortunately, we have no information. He will soon be 18 years old. That is very sad. And I think, Congressman, you have said something very important, this young boy who is now going to be a grown-up person soon. It is not about one individual person. In a way, it symbolizes Tibetan culture, our tradition. Chinese may find it, you know, very difficult to understand, but the fact is that the institution of incarnations is a very important part of the Tibetan Buddhist belief system. So when we talk about this issue, we

are talking about the core of the Tibet issue; the right of the Tibetan people, the right of the Tibetan Buddhist leadership to decide, not atheist government, in choosing the religious leaders.

So I do hope that, once again, that the Chinese Government, you know, even at this, you know, let our will have the wisdom to free the Panchen Lama and to have international access to him. So once again, I thank you all, particularly Congressman Smith, for really being champion of this particular issue.

Thank you very much.

Ms. DOBRIANSKY. May I just add, Mr. Chairman?

Chairman LANTOS. Please.

Ms. DOBRIANSKY. We have asked on a number of occasions to visit with and to look into the welfare of the Panchen Lama. And our requests, official requests, have been denied.

Mr. ROYCE. Thank you, Paula.

Chairman LANTOS. Thank you very much. Ambassador Watson.

Ms. WATSON. I welcome all of you, and, Mr. Gere, it is good to see you in this role.

Mr. GERE. Thank you.

Ms. WATSON. My question goes to Under Secretary Dobriansky. As the Tibetans are considered as a minority group, and it looks like China has looked at programs that will help these groups specifically, how are those programs progressing? Are the laws that support the Tibetans, are they being enforced, and do they know what are their rights and what rights they have been given as a minority and as part of China?

Ms. DOBRIANSKY. First let me start with the last part of your question. I think that not only in Tibet, but throughout all parts of China, we need to work harder in terms of ensuring that all people know their rights.

One of the challenges, especially in Tibet, is that you have a high rate of illiteracy, the highest in China itself, and so there is a dire need to work more in that area through NGOs, through others on the ground in educating and providing educational opportunities for young Tibetans and, no less, for them to know what their rights are.

Secondly, in terms of programs, I will tell you that I think the programs that we have supported have really made a significant difference. First, in Tibet itself, His Holiness has highlighted the importance of the environment and his concern about environmental degradation. He has also talked to the issue of economic equality for Tibetans, and he has also expressed concern about the migration of the Han Chinese into Tibet and the dire need to undertake efforts to preserve Tibetan culture and heritage.

Programs in Tibet matter, but not only that, let me also add, we support programs outside in Dharamsala, in Katmandu. I recently visited Dharamsala in which I had the benefit to actually to see first-hand many of the young Tibetans who were learning their language, learning about their culture, and very desirous of having an impact on the sustainment of the Tibetan heritage not only outside, but especially inside. Our programs matter greatly.

Ms. WATSON. Let me just ask you this before I am out of time. I am really concerned about this area of the world, and I was wondering if we—well, first, if USAID is able to get into that area and

give assistance. And number two, would a delegation of Congresspeople be able to get visas to go into those areas? I know in the past some of them have been rejected.

Ms. DOBRIANSKY. First, USAID does not have a post or mission in China. Secondly, we do work through NGOs in the Tibet Fund in providing assistance into Tibet, and that is the way we have provided for assistance as well as for those Tibetans who have come out of Tibet, as I have suggested.

As to visas, I would urge you to visit. We heard earlier that there will be a congressional delegation that is planning to visit China, and I think we certainly would welcome your requesting——

Ms. WATSON. I supposedly am on that, and I was talking to our lead member if we could get up there to Tibet. I don't know if time will allow us, but this is an area that I think we need to pay more attention to and probably get USAID from our Embassy in China, and also to support the NGOs. But maybe we can make a difference in that area, so we will probe it with you.

Ms. DOBRIANSKY. Also, let me just add a footnote, and the footnote is specifically in terms of our posting our Tibet-related programs, because we don't have a USAID mission in China, we operate out of our post in Bangkok. There is a connection there.

Chairman LANTOS. Thank you very much.

One final question from Congressman Smith.

Mr. SMITH OF NEW JERSEY. Thank you so much, Mr. Chairman.

If I could, Secretary Dobriansky, the issue of partnering with the secret police in China or the police apparatus with regards to the Olympics, it seems to me that if past is prologue, time and again, any time any big event happens, it is the invitation for crackdowns. What are we doing to ensure that human rights principles are observed so that Tibetans who might want to come to Beijing and sneak out or in any way express displeasure with the policies are not, with our unwitting compliance or partnership, being subjected to harassment or abuse?

Ms. DOBRIANSKY. On human rights, the issue of human rights in our dialogue at all levels, starting with the President on down has always been a priority in our discussions with the Chinese. It has been an issue that has always been addressed.

Specifically, you know that we have had a human rights dialogue. That dialogue was suspended in 2002 because of the lack of concrete outcomes, results, and since that time Secretary Rice had proposed, in fact, to the Chinese the need to have engagement on these issues, and suggested that we have discussions, not a formal dialogue, but discussions on the human rights issues at a senior level.

The Chinese came back and had indicated that they want to do this at a working level. We do not find that acceptable.

In response to your question, this will be front and center, as it has been as we go forward. You can expect the President to raise the importance we attach to human rights, and the protection of human rights, on down to our more operational levels.

Chairman LANTOS. I know I speak for every member of this committee in expressing our profound thanks and appreciation to all members of the panel. You have given us singularly valuable and

substantive testimony, and we hope the beneficiaries will be the people of Tibet.

The hearing is adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 12:10 p.m., the committee was adjourned.]

APPENDIX

Material Submitted for the Hearing Record

Remarks as prepared for delivery by
Lodi Gyaltsen Gyari
Special Envoy of H.H. the Dalai Lama
at
the Brookings Institution, Washington, D.C

November 14, 2006

Seeking Unity Through Equality:
The Current Status of Discussions Between His Holiness the Dalai Lama and the Government of the People's Republic of China

I would like to thank the John L. Thornton China Center and the Center for Northeast Asian Policy Studies of the Brookings Institution for providing this opportunity to discuss the current status of discussions between representatives of His Holiness the Dalai Lama and the Chinese government. Since 2002 the two sides have completed five rounds of discussions. These have gone a long way towards establishing a climate of openness that is essential to reaching mutually agreeable decisions regarding the future of the Tibetan and Chinese people.

We Tibetans have been encouraged by the new focus within China's leadership on the creation of a "harmonious society." A society built on harmony is a society built on consensus and one that takes into account the needs of all its peoples. This is particularly true in a country like today's China, which is comprised of so many distinct nationalities.

Similarly, we are encouraged by the concept of China's "peaceful rise", whereby it will develop as a "modern socialist country that is prosperous, democratic, and culturally advanced."[1] While this philosophy candidly addresses a number of issues that confront China today, to be lasting it must take into account the aspirations of the Tibetan people; peace and stability can only be achieved by peaceful means. Embracing its diversity and protecting the identity of the Tibetan people is integral to China's successful "peaceful rise".

His Holiness the Dalai Lama's forward-looking approach to Tibet's future shares a common vision with these ideals of harmony and peaceful development, as illustrated by his deep understanding of humanity's interdependence and his philosophy of universal responsibility. In an address to the European Parliament, His Holiness said,

> "Today's world requires us to accept the oneness of humanity… The world is becoming increasingly interdependent. Within the context of this new interdependence, self-interest

[1] *China's Peaceful Rise, Speeches of Zheng Bijian*, Brookings Institution Press, Washington, D.C; 2005

clearly lies in considering the interest of others. Without the cultivation of a sense of universal responsibility our very future is in danger."[2]

Current Dialogue

Today I would like to share some of the Tibetan experiences and challenges as we seek to find a solution to the current situation in Tibet. As the lead individual designated by His Holiness the Dalai Lama to reach out to the Chinese leadership, my observations will hopefully contribute to the furtherance of a climate of trust and honesty, which could ultimately lead to a mutually beneficial agreement.

Ever since the re-establishment of contact between representatives of the Dalai Lama and the Chinese leadership in 2002, concerned individuals, organizations and governments have shown a keen interest in better understanding our discussions. Up until the present we have resisted giving details, knowing that China prefers to operate cautiously and free of scrutiny, particularly on sensitive issues like Tibet, and recognizing that to openly discuss the dialogue could adversely impact the process. Thus, in our public statements following each of the five meetings so far, we only provided a general assessment without divulging the content of our discussions.

In recent times, however, there have been articles in the Chinese media, under a pseudonym,[3] detailing our discussions with the Chinese leadership. Similarly, we have learned that our counterparts in the United Front Work Department of the Chinese Communist Party have been briefing foreign diplomats based in Beijing about our discussions. We do not take issue with the Chinese authorities making this information public. As a matter of fact, we would have liked our dialogue process to be as transparent as possible from the beginning. But, these developments have led to the circulation of speculative, uninformed, and one-sided information about some of the important issues at stake. This has not only sent a confusing message to the international community, but also distorted His Holiness the Dalai Lama's position on and good intentions to the Chinese people. This, I firmly believe, is counter productive to the goal of building a harmonious society in China and promoting China's peaceful rise in the world.

Thus, I thought it both necessary and useful to address some of the views circulating, which fail to reflect the Tibetan point of view, in order to help the process move forward in a positive direction.

The five rounds of discussions that we have had with the Chinese leadership have brought our dialogue to a new level. Today, there is a deeper understanding of each other's positions and the recognition of where the fundamental differences lie. On the surface it may appear that there have been no break-throughs and that a wide gap persists in our positions. But the very fact that the two sides have been able to explicitly state our positions after so many decades represents a significant development. How can we even attempt to make real progress unless we fully understand our differences?

---

[2] Speech of His Holiness the Dalai Lama to the European Parliament, October 14, 2001, Strasbourg, France

[3] For example, Yedor. *On the "Middle Way" of the Dalai Lama.* Xinhua, July 26, 2006

Our Chinese counterparts have also remarked on the progress we have made through our discussions. Following our fourth round of meetings in July 2005 I reported that Vice Minister Zhu Weiqun "stated that we need not be pessimistic about the existing differences and that it was possible to narrow down the gaps through more meetings and exchange of views."[4]

Today I will highlight several issues which are of utmost importance as we continue our dialogue with the Chinese leadership — His Holiness the Dalai Lama's firm commitment to a resolution that has Tibet as a part of the People's Republic of China, the need to unify all Tibetan people into one administrative entity, and the importance of granting genuine autonomy to the Tibetan people within the framework of China's Constitution.

Status of Tibet

China's lack of trust in His Holiness the Dalai Lama and the Tibetan people is one of the most critical obstacles we currently face in our dialogue. To take a case in point, the Chinese side seems to believe that because His Holiness the Dalai Lama has stated that he wants to look to the future as opposed to Tibet's history to resolve its status vis-à-vis China, he has some sort of hidden agenda. This could not be farther from the truth.

Revisiting history will not serve any useful purpose, as the Tibetans and Chinese sides have different viewpoints of their past relations. We have therefore chosen to base our approach on Tibet's future, not on the past. Debates over Tibet's history, before we have reached mutual trust and confidence, are counter productive, making it more difficult for the Tibetans and Chinese alone to untangle this issue.

In 1979 Deng Xiaoping laid down the framework for resolving the issue of Tibet by stating that other than the issue of Tibetan independence anything else could be discussed and resolved.[5] Thus, His Holiness the Dalai Lama has said we should recognize today's reality that Tibet is a part of the People's Republic of China. He is committed to his decision that we will not raise the issue of separation from China in working on a mutually acceptable solution for Tibet.

While the Dalai Lama's Middle Way approach involves resolving the issue of Tibet within the framework of the People's Republic of China, it also embodies his deep concern for the survival of the Tibetan identity, culture, religion, and way of life. It was adopted by His Holiness after deliberating at length with Tibetan leaders in exile over many years. It is now fully endorsed by the democratically established institutions in exile, including the Assembly of Tibetan People's Deputies and the popularly elected Chairman of the Cabinet, Professor

---

[4] *Statement by Special Envoy of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, Kasur Lodi Gyari, Head of the Tibetan delegation for the fourth round of meetings with the Chinese leadership*, Dharamsala, July 7, 2005. Zhu Weiqun is a Vice Minister in the United Front Work Department.

[5] This assurance was conveyed by Deng Xiaoping to Gyalo Thondup, the brother of H.H. the Dalai Lama, in 1979. It was reiterated by Li Xianian to the first fact-finding delegation sent by His Holiness the Dalai Lama to China and Tibet in 1979. It was restated to Gyalo Thondup by Ding Guangen, head of the United Front Work Department of the Chinese Communist Party, during their meeting in Beijing on June 22, 1992. It was further confirmed by a Chinese Foreign Ministry statement on August 25, 1993.

Samdhong Rinpoche. Rinpoche's role in this effort has been crucial. Because of prevailing conditions His Holiness is not in a position to openly seek the endorsement of the Tibetans inside Tibet. Nevertheless, he has used every opportunity to explain his approach and has received favorable reactions from all levels of Tibetan society. He has also been encouraged by the strong support expressed by a number of Chinese intellectuals and scholars.

The Middle Way approach represents the Dalai Lama's commitment to look to the future, instead of the past, to find a solution that will provide maximum autonomy for the Tibetan people and bring peace and stability to the People's Republic of China and the entire region.

Single Administration for the Tibetan People

Since His Holiness the Dalai Lama has addressed the fundamental concern of the Chinese government about the status of Tibet, it is our expectation that they should reciprocate by acknowledging the legitimate needs of the Tibetan people.

Today, less than half of the Tibetan people reside in the Tibet Autonomous Region. The rest reside in Tibetan autonomous counties and prefectures in Qinghai, Gansu, Sichuan and Yunnan provinces. All Tibetans residing in these Tibetan areas share the same language, ethnicity, culture, and tradition.[6] Furthermore, just as the Chinese nation has sought to unify many different regions into one nation, the Tibetan people, too, yearn to be under one administrative entity so that their way of life, tradition, and religion can be more effectively and peacefully maintained.

Historically the division of a nationality area into many administrative units contributed to the weakening and erosion of that nationality's unique characteristics, as well as its ability to grow and develop. This can also hinder or even undermine the nation's peace, stability and development. Such a situation is in contradiction to the founding goals of the People's Republic of China, namely the recognition of the equality of all nationalities. Thus in order to thrive, the Tibetan people cannot remain divided, but must be accorded the equality and respect befitting a distinct people.

The Chinese side makes the argument that the present-day Tibet Autonomous Region parallels the area under the former Tibetan government. Thus, their argument continues, our position that the entire Tibetan people need to live under a single administrative entity is unreasonable. This question will lead us inevitably to the examination of Tibet's historical legal status under the Tibetan government and will not help in reaching a common ground on which to build a common future. The Chinese Government has redrawn internal boundaries when it has suited its needs[7] and could do so again in the case of Tibet to foster stability and to help ensure Tibet's characteristics remain intact. The point here is not about territorial division, but how to best promote Tibet's culture and way of life.

---

[6] *White Paper on Tibetan Culture*. Information Office of the State Council of the People's Republic of China. June 22, 2000

[7] In 1954 Baicheng city was moved from Heilongjiang Province to Jilin Province. In 1955 Xikang Province (a Tibetan area) was divided into two and merged with the Tibet Autonomous Region and Sichuan Province. In 1988 Hainan Province was created after separating it from Guangdong Province and in 1997 Chongqing Municipality was created out of Chongqing City and surrounding areas in Sichuan Province.

The Chinese side is also characterizing our position as a demand for the separation of one-fourth the territory of China. First of all, since the Tibetans are not asking for the separation of Tibet from China, there should be no concern on this front. More importantly, it is a reality that the landmass inhabited by Tibetans constitutes roughly one-fourth the territory of the People's Republic of China. Actually, the Chinese government has already designated almost all Tibetan areas as Tibet autonomous entities: the Tibet Autonomous Region, Tibet Autonomous Prefectures or Tibet Autonomous Counties.[8] Thus, our positions on what constitutes Tibet are really not so divergent.

Having the Tibetan people under a single administrative entity should not be seen as an effort to create a "greater" Tibet, nor is it a cover for a separatist plot. It is a question of recognizing, restoring and respecting the integrity of the Tibetans as a people and distinct nationality within the People's Republic of China. Furthermore, this is not a new or revolutionary idea. From the beginning, the Tibetans have raised this issue and representatives of the Chinese government have recognized it as one that must be addressed. In fact during the signing of the 17 Point Agreement in 1951, Premier Zhou Enlai acknowledged that the idea of unification of the Tibetan nationalities was appropriate.[9] Similarly, in 1956 Vice Premier Chen Yi was in Lhasa and said that it would be good for Tibet's development as well as for the friendship of Tibetans and Chinese if in the future the Tibet Autonomous Region included all ethnic Tibetan areas, including those now in other provinces.[10]

The Tibetan people are striving for the right of a distinct people to be able to preserve that very distinctiveness through a single administrative entity. This would give the Tibetans a genuine sense of having benefited by being part of the People's Republic of China and would embody the respect for the integrity of the Tibetans as a distinct people.

The Chinese leadership is clearly aware that this aspiration of the Tibetan people is voiced not just by His Holiness the Dalai Lama and the Tibetans in exile, but by Tibetans inside Tibet, including prominent members of the Communist Party. Knowing this, certain elements of the Chinese leadership have lately been trying to alter the public perception by orchestrating and arranging written opposition to the aspiration by some of the Tibetans inside Tibet.

Genuine Autonomy

According to the Chinese Constitution, the law on Regional Ethnic Autonomy[11] as well as the White Paper on Regional Ethnic Autonomy in Tibet[12], the Tibetan people are entitled to

---

[8] *Administrative Division of Tibetan Areas.* Website of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China. www.fmprc.gov.cn.

[9] Ngapo Ngawang Jigme's conversation with Chinese leader Zhou Enlai in May 1951. This was confirmed by China's leader Ulan Fu to Tibetan official Phuntsok Tashi Takla during their meeting in Beijing on May 29, 1982.

[10] Goldstein, Sherap, Siebenschuh. *A Tibetan Revolutionary, The Political Life and Times of Bapa Phuntso Wangye,* University of California Press, 2004. p 206. Chen Yi was leading the Central government's delegation to launch the Preparatory Committee for the establishment of the Tibet Autonomous Region.

[11] *People's Republic of China Regional Ethnic Autonomy Law.* Issued by the Second Session of the Sixth National People's Congress on May 31, 1984 (effective October 1, 1984) and amended at the 12th Meeting of the Standing Committee of the Ninth National People's Congress on February 28, 2001.

the following rights: full political right of autonomy; full decision-making power in economic and social development undertakings; freedom to inherit and develop their traditional culture and to practice their religious belief; and freedom to administer, protect and be the first to utilize their natural resources, to independently develop their educational and cultural undertakings.

Similarly, the Chinese Constitution says:

> "All nationalities in the People's Republic of China are equal. The state protects the lawful rights and interests of the minority nationalities and upholds and develops the relationship of equality, unity and mutual assistance among all of China's nationalities... Regional autonomy is practiced in areas where people of minority nationalities live in compact communities, in these areas organs of self-government are established for the exercise of the right of autonomy. "[13]

In treating the Tibetan people with respect and dignity through genuine autonomy, the Chinese leadership has the opportunity to create a truly multi-ethnic, harmonious nation without a tremendous cost in human suffering. As Hu Yaobang, then General Secretary of the Chinese Communist Party, said:

> "It is not possible to achieve a genuine unity amongst the nationalities of the country as long as complete autonomy is not implemented in the areas of the minority nationalities..."[14]

Some detractors in the Chinese Government allege that our proposal for a single administrative entity for the Tibetan people and the implementation of genuine regional autonomy as provided in the Constitution is really an effort to restore Tibet's former system of government in Tibet today, or an effort by His Holiness the Dalai Lama to personally regain power over all of Tibet. Nothing is farther from the truth. In his March 10, 2005 statement His Holiness reiterated his position saying,

> "My involvement in the affairs of Tibet is not for the purpose of claiming certain personal rights or political position for myself nor attempting to stake claims for the Tibetan administration in exile. In 1992 in a formal announcement I stated clearly that when we return to Tibet with a certain degree of freedom I will not hold any office in the Tibetan government or any other political position and that the present Tibetan administration in exile will be dissolved. Moreover, the Tibetans working in Tibet should carry on the main responsibility of administering Tibet."[15]

The task at hand is to develop a system that would grant the kind of autonomy required for the Tibetans to be able to survive as a distinct and prosperous people within the People's

---

[12] *Regional Ethnic Autonomy in Tibet* issued by the Information Office of the State Council of the People's Republic of China on May 23, 2004, Beijing.

[13] Article 4, Constitution of the People's Republic of China, adopted on December 4, 1982.

[14] Speech by visiting General Secretary of the Chinese Communist Party, Hu Yaobang, in Lhasa on May 29, 1980.

[15] *The Statement of His Holiness the Dalai Lama on the 46th Anniversary of the Tibetan National Uprising Day, March 10, 2005*, Department of information & International Relations, Central Tibetan Administration, Dharamsala.

Republic of China. So far in our discussions with our Chinese counterparts we have not proposed specific labels for how Tibetan areas would be designated, such as a special administrative region, although it should be noted that the Chinese-authored 17 Point Agreement[16] does propose a similar arrangement for Tibet. Nor have we specifically proposed formulas that ask for higher or lower levels of autonomy than Hong Kong and Macao. Each of these areas has its unique characteristics, and in order to succeed, their solutions must reflect the needs and qualities of the region. We have specifically conveyed to our counterparts that we place more importance on discussing the substance than on the label.

The Tibetans have the legitimate right to seek special status, as can be seen in the following quote by Ngapo Ngawang Jigme. He is the most senior Tibetan in China's hierarchy who, by virtue of his position, has endorsed many of China's views on Tibet. In 1988 he said,

> "It is because of the special situation in Tibet that in 1951 the Seventeen Point Agreement on the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet, between the central people's government and the local Tibetan government, came about. Such an agreement has never existed between the central government and any other minority regions. We have to consider the special situation in Tibetan history while drafting policies for Tibet in order to realize its long-term stability. We must give Tibet more autonomous power than other minority regions. In my view, at present, Tibetan Autonomous Region has relatively less power of autonomy compared with other autonomous regions, let alone compared with provinces. Therefore Tibet must have some special treatment and have more autonomy like those special economic zones. We must employ special policies to resolve the special characteristics which have pertained throughout history."[17]

Other important Tibetan leaders, including the late Panchen Lama[18] and Bapa Phuntsok Wangyal,[19] have strongly advocated the legitimacy of Tibet's special status. Similarly, the former General Secretary of the Chinese Communist Party, Hu Yaobang, had acknowledged that Tibet is unique from other autonomous regions and provinces and has argued that the validity of Tibet's special status must not be contested.

Other Issues Needing Clarity

There are some issues, which are based on misperceptions of His Holiness's views by detractors in the Chinese side, including the allegation that His Holiness the Dalai Lama is asking for all Tibetan areas to be populated solely by Tibetans and to be rid of the People's

---

[16] The 17-point Agreement was signed on May 23, 1951 by representatives of the Tibetan and Chinese Governments. In the agreement, the suzerainty of China was accepted but it also stated that Tibet would be able to continue full self-governance, including the continuation of the government system under the Dalai Lama. From 1951 to 1959 the Dalai Lama did his best to abide by this Chinese-authored agreement, but the Chinese Government breached the agreement, forcing him to seek asylum in India.

[17] Apei Awang Jinmei (Ngapo Ngawang Jigme). *"When did Tibet come Within the Sovereignty of China", Bulletin of the History of the Tibet Communist Party*, Volume 3, 1988 (General Series No. 21), published in translation in *Background Papers on Tibet*, Tibet Information Network, London; 1992.

[18] 70,000-character petition by the Panchen Lama to the Chinese Government, May 1962.

[19] Goldstein, Sherap, Siebenschuh. *A Tibetan Revolutionary, The Political Life and Times of Bapa Phuntso Wangye*, University of California Press, 2004.

Liberation Army. The detractors in the Chinese government have deliberately misinterpreted His Holiness' concerns in these areas, just as they denounce any effort to manifest the Tibetan identity as separatist. His Holiness has very honestly expressed the need for the Tibetan people to maintain their distinctive way of life and protect Tibet's fragile environment. He has had this in mind when he raises concerns about the large influx of people from other parts of the People's Republic of China and the extensive militarization of Tibetan areas. We are fully aware that these are issues of concern to the Chinese government as these matters have been extensively discussed during our meetings. I am confident that through the negotiations process we will be able to dispel these concerns.

Benefits of Resolving the Tibet Issue Now

The Dalai Lama is widely recognized and admired for his honesty and integrity. He has been pragmatic and flexible in wanting to negotiate with the leadership in Beijing on the kind of status Tibet should enjoy in the future and has held steadfast to his commitment to non-violence and dialogue as the only logical means of resolving the issue of Tibet.

Every Tibetan, including communist cadres as well as independence advocates, reveres His Holiness. It is a reality today that in spite of their tremendous suffering resulting from some of China's policies, the Tibetans have not resorted to non-peaceful means to respond to this injustice. This is largely because of the unwavering insistence on peace and reconciliation by the Dalai Lama and the hope he provides to his people.

Some detractors in the Chinese Government seem to believe that the aspirations of the Tibetan people will fizzle out once the Dalai Lama passes away. This is a most dangerous and myopic approach. Certainly, the absence of the Dalai Lama would be devastating for the Tibetan people. But more importantly his absence would mean that China would be left to handle the problem without the presence of a leader who enjoys the loyalty of the entire community and who remains firmly committed to non-violence. It is certain that the Tibetan position would become more intractable in his absence, and that having had their beloved leader pass away in exile would create deep and irreparable wounds in the hearts of the Tibetan people.

In the absence of the Dalai Lama, there is no way that the entire population would be able to contain their resentment and anger. And it only takes a few desperate individuals or groups to create major instability. This is not a threat, but a statement of fact.

The Dalai Lama's world view, his special bond with the Tibetan people and the respect he enjoys in the international community all make the person of the Dalai Lama key both to achieving a negotiated solution to the Tibetan issue and to peacefully implementing any agreement that is reached. This is why we have consistently conveyed to our Chinese counterparts that far from being the problem, His Holiness the Dalai Lama is the solution.

Conclusion

Providing genuine autonomy to the Tibetan people is in China's interest as it makes efforts to create a peaceful, stable and harmonious society. But resolving the Tibetan issue is also important to the international community, particularly to our region. The historically volatile

Central Asian region has revived and has already become an area of conflict. Here Tibet can play a stabilizing role, which is important to the countries in the region such as India, China, and Russia, as well as to the United States and other countries. Tibet, which for centuries played the vital role as a buffer in the region, can help create a more cohesive and stable region by serving as a valuable bridge. A number of political observers from the region also acknowledge that resolving the Tibet issue is an important factor in the normalization of India-China relations.[20] Understanding the great mutual benefit for all concerned, His Holiness has consistently supported closer India-China relations.

There is also increased awareness of the vital importance of the Tibetan plateau from the environmental perspective. Just on the issue of water alone, it is an undeniable fact that over the next few decades water may become as scarce a commodity as oil. Tibet is literally the life-source of the region, serving as the source of most of Asia's major rivers. Therefore, protecting Tibet's fragile environment should be accorded the highest priority.

To date, the Chinese authorities have resorted to political and military pressure, and intimidation to stifle the Tibetan people. This is clearly demonstrated by some of the recent actions by the top Party leader in the Tibet Autonomous Region as well as the persistent attempt to deny the Tibetan people of their religious freedom and other human rights. These actions can not only harm the sincere efforts by both sides for a mutually beneficial reconciliation, but also create embarrassment and difficulty to the Chinese leadership; they will do substantial damage to China's efforts to be a peaceful and responsible power internationally and the creation of a harmonious society at home.

As my colleague, Envoy Kelsang Gyaltsen, and I have conveyed to our Chinese counterparts during our meetings, the task before us is not impossible. The seemingly insurmountable gaps between us can be diminished through honest discourse and hard work. With His Holiness' unambiguous commitment to the integrity and sovereignty of the People's Republic of China, China's leaders must recognize the aspirations of the Tibetans to survive as a distinct people, a commitment that is already enshrined in China's laws.

We have no illusions that coming to a negotiated solution will be easy. Having identified each others' position and differences, it is now our sincere hope that both sides can start making serious efforts to find a common ground and to build trust . In furtherance of this goal His Holiness has made the offer to go personally to China on a pilgrimage.[21] This has met with considerable opposition from Tibetans, both inside and outside Tibet, as well as from friends in the international community who are not convinced of China's sincerity. But His Holiness is committed to doing everything he can to dispel the climate of mistrust that continues to exist.

---

[20] Rabgye, Sharlho. *Sino-Tibetan Dialogue in the Post-Mao Era: Lessons and Prospects*. Policy Studies No. 12, East-West Center, USA; 2004. p.29. It refers to Beijing University academics' presentation at the Fourth Work Forum on Tibet in 2001 "that rapprochement with the Dalai Lama would reduce China's strategic risks in the volatile region of the Indian subcontinent."

[21] *The Statement of His Holiness the Dalai Lama on the 47th Anniversary of the Tibetan National Uprising Day*, March 10, 2006, Department of information & International Relations, Central Tibetan Administration, Dharamsala.

We fully support China's effort to create a harmonious society as well as its aspirations for a peaceful rise. After all, its successful, peaceful rise will depend on internal harmony and stability, which can hardly be achieved without the Tibetan issue being resolved. The People's Republic of China is a multi-ethnic nation state whose internal diversity is a reality. It is based on this reality that a harmonious society needs to be created. And in looking forward to finding a solution for Tibet, it is in China's best interest to have the Tibetan people accept their place within the People's Republic of China of their own free will.

His Holiness the Dalai Lama and the Tibetan people are deeply grateful for the outpouring of interest and support from the international community. It is an invaluable source of inspiration. At the same time, we are fully aware that ultimately the issue needs to be resolved directly between the Tibetans and Chinese. It is my sincere hope that the day will come soon when His Holiness the Dalai Lama can come to you with his usual humble, Buddhist gesture of folded hands to thank you, instead of seeking your help.

I also wanted to share with you that my delegation has received the warmest hospitality and the highest courtesy from every level of the Chinese government during our visits. Similarly the personal conduct of our counterparts has been exemplary.

His Holiness the Dalai Lama has a vision of the Tibetans being able to live in harmony within the People's Republic of China. Today's China was born out of an historical movement for the people's self-determination and the Constitution asserts that it is based on principles of equality. Let us build our relations on this equality and give the Tibetan people the dignity to freely and willingly be a part of this nation. We cannot re-write history, but together we can determine the future.

---------xxxx----------