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THE CRISIS IN TIBET: FINDING A PATH TO PEACE

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BEFORE THE

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THE CRISIS IN TIBET: FINDING A PATH TO PEACE

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 23, 2008

U.S. SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON EAST ASIAN AND PACIFIC AFFAIRS,
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS,
Washington, DC.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to notice, at 2:35 p.m., in room SD–419, Dirksen Senate Office Building, Hon. Barbara Boxer (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Present: Senators Boxer, Feingold, Menendez, Cardin, Hagel, and Murkowski.

OPENING STATEMENT OF HON. BARBARA BOXER, U.S. SENATOR FROM CALIFORNIA

Senator BOXER. The subcommittee shall come to order.

Today, the Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee on East Asian and Pacific Affairs meets to examine the ongoing crisis in Tibet and to review options for achieving a meaningful and lasting solution to this matter.

The protests that began in Tibet on March 10, 2008, mark the latest chapter in the Tibetan struggle against Chinese oppression. For over half a century, the People's Republic of China has chipped away at Tibetan culture, Tibetan religion, and Tibetan identity.

Today, freedom of religion, expression, and assembly are all severely restricted. Flying a Tibetan flag, or even possessing an image of the Dalai Lama, is grounds for punishment, including arrest.

The State Department's most recent Country Report on Human Rights Practices details severe human rights abuses in Tibet, including, "torture, arbitrary arrest, and detention." According to the report, repression of religious freedom is on the rise.

The Government of China even "adopted new regulations and other measures to control the practice of Tibetan Buddhism, including measures that require government approval to name all reincarnated lamas."

The wave of largely peaceful protests that began in early March and that turned violent as the month wore on were met with an increase in so-called, "patriotic education," by the Chinese Government. The Chinese Government's patriotic education campaigns require, among other things, that Buddhist monks denounce the Dalai Lama as a separatist.

It is clear that, during the protests, both Tibetans and Han Chinese suffered injuries and deaths, but, because the international

media was expelled from Tibet during the protests, reports differ on the numbers and identities of those killed and detained. Some reports indicate that up to 4,000 Tibetans, including monks, were arrested, with 1,000 expected to face trial by Chinese authorities before May 1. Tensions remain high, and the prospect of further violence is real.

The Chinese Government claims that the Dalai Lama orchestrated the protests and the riots in Tibet, but the Dalai Lama has consistently denounced violence. He has said clearly, "I appeal to the Chinese leadership to stop using force and address the long simmering resentment of the Tibetan people through dialogue with the Tibetan people." In addition he said, "I also urge my fellow Tibetans not to resort to violence." So, the reports that you hear, saying that the Dalai Lama is behind the violence, don't add up, because he's very clear when he says, "I urge my fellow Tibetans not to resort to violence."

In a written appeal directly to the Chinese people on March 28, 2008, the Dalai Lama reiterated—and this is important—that he has, "no desire to seek Tibet's separation from China," but that he seeks to, "ensure the survival of the Tibetan people's distinctive culture, language, and identity."

While the eyes of the world are certainly on China as we move toward the Summer Olympic Games in Beijing, I certainly hope, and I know I speak for others, that the Chinese Government views the present situation as an opportunity to move the Tibet issue forward in a way that is acceptable to all sides. Any solution must respect the fundamental human rights and religious freedom of the Tibetan people. In pursuit of that settlement, the Chinese Government must engage in meaningful dialogue with the Dalai Lama.

Today, we will hear from a number of distinguished witnesses on how to move forward toward peace in Tibet.

On our first panel, we will hear from the Deputy Secretary of State, John Negroponte. Prior to his current assignment, he served as the first Director of National Intelligence. Secretary Negroponte has also served as a U.S. Ambassador to Iraq and as the U.S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations.

On our second panel, we will hear from Mr. Richard Gere, the president of the Gere Foundation and the chairman of the board for the International Campaign for Tibet. Mr. Gere has been a tireless champion for the people of Tibet, as well as for a number of other causes. Mr. Gere will make a statement on Tibet before introducing our third witness, Mr. Lodi Gyari. Mr. Lodi Gyari is the Special Envoy of His Holiness the Dalai Lama. Mr. Gyari was born in Tibet in 1949. He was forced, with his family, to flee to India in 1959, where he began his lifelong advocacy work on behalf of the Tibetan people. As the Special Envoy of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, Mr. Gyari is the top individual designated to negotiate with the Government of the People's Republic of China. So, I say to my colleagues, we have a lot of people here today who really have an ability to change some outcomes.

On our third panel, we will hear from Mr. Steven D. Marshall, a senior advisor to the Congressional-Executive Commission on China. He spent nearly two decades traveling and researching the human rights situation in China and the Tibetan areas of China.

He has served as an expert consultant on China and Tibetan issues for Members of Congress and the executive branch.

And finally, we'll hear from Dr. Lobsang Sangay, a senior fellow in the East Asian Legal Studies Program at Harvard University Law School. After graduating from college in India, Mr. Sangay won a Fulbright scholarship to complete his master's degree at Harvard Law School. He subsequently went on to become the first Tibetan to earn a doctorate degree from Harvard Law School. For the last 13 years, much of his work has been focused on his Track II initiative, an effort to bring together Chinese and Tibetan scholars.

So, I certainly look forward to hearing from all our witnesses this afternoon. And as we get through this, I hope, in my closing statement, to put out some thoughts of my own on how we can really move forward to find a resolution. But, I think it's going to be good for me to wait until we hear from everyone, because we certainly have some great experts here before us.

And it is my pleasure now to turn to the ranking member of the subcommittee, Senator Murkowski.

STATEMENT OF HON. LISA MURKOWSKI, U.S. SENATOR FROM ALASKA

Senator MURKOWSKI. Thank you, Madam Chair. I truly appreciate your holding this hearing. Very important. Certainly very, very timely.

I, too, look forward to the testimony from the very distinguished panels that you have assembled, and I think that they will be in a position to give all of us a great deal of information, not only on this subcommittee, but, truly, to all those who care about Tibet.

The loss of life as a result of the protests in Lhasa and the Tibet autonomous areas, whether it's the loss of a Tibetan monk or a Han Chinese or any other civilian, I think we would all agree, is highly, highly regrettable.

I believe that there's a generally shared view within this room that, just as protests on the part of the Tibetan monks should be peaceful, the Chinese authorities must also differentiate between peaceful protestors and rioters. The aggressive tactics in this conflict have only served to escalate the level of violence and inflame passions, truly, around the world.

I do share the concern of many about the inability of the international media and the nongovernmental organizations to freely report on the conditions in Tibet, for without this transparency it is—it's truly difficult to distinguish the truth from the rumor.

I'm also very concerned about the reports of the Patriotic Education campaign, where the Tibetan monks are forced to denounce their culture and denounce the Dalai Lama. Perhaps the inflammation of passions is the intentional; whether it's to put pressure on the international community over the upcoming Summer Olympics and to highlight the plight of the Tibetan people and their culture, or to stoke a sense of nationalism to solidify opinion at home. What it has not done, however, is brought us any closer to resolving the future of Tibet. And, in fact, it appears to have done just the opposite.

During the course of today's hearing, I'm hopeful that we'll learn more about how the events of these past 6 weeks have impacted the prospects for a mutually acceptable long-term solution to Tibet's future, and what role the United States can, and hopefully will, play in that solution. I do look forward to hearing the testimonies of the witnesses, their insights, and their wisdom that they can provide on this issue.

And, with that, Madam Chair, I will conclude my remarks so that we can hear from our witnesses. And, thank you.

Senator BOXER. Thank you very much.

I'm going to call on our colleagues for 5 minutes each.

Senator Menendez.

STATEMENT OF HON. ROBERT MENENDEZ, U.S. SENATOR FROM NEW JERSEY

Senator MENENDEZ. Thank you, Madam Chair. And thank you for holding this important hearing.

You know, the recent developments in Tibet, in which Buddhist monks and other ethnic Tibetans were violently punished, and, in some cases, killed, for participating in protests, are disturbing, and they should be unacceptable to anyone who believes in basic human rights and in those freedoms that we enjoy. And it seems to me that the United States needs to be more than a spectator, it needs to be a strong voice of the world. We are reminded that these recent developments in Tibet are only the latest chapter in the long history of Chinese human rights concerns.

And I get concerned, Madam Chair, when I hear Stephen Hadley, the President's National Security Advisor, in his appearance on "This Week" on April 13, in which he erroneously referred to Nepal seven times when speaking about Tibet. And I wonder, is that emblematic of the lack of focus of this administration on Tibet? The eyes of the world are on Tibet as China prepares for the Olympics, and we wish the administration's eyes were so focused, as well. It has continued to employ what it calls "quiet diplomacy" in that approach, but, in my mind, that hasn't had much visible results. Even at a time when our leverage is great, the Olympics are approaching, that vision that the Chinese talk about, "One World, One Dream," well, it's time to put that to a test. And when the need is even greater, with monks at risk of starvation in locked-down monasteries, with 4,000 in detention, with 1,000 in TAR facing trial by May the 1st, with patriotic education sweeps continue, what tangible results can we cite from the private-channel approach that we have seen the administration take so far?

And lastly, Madam Chair, it seems to me that we have an access problem, a lack of visits by independent human rights monitors through religious institutions to evaluate the welfare of monks and nuns; international medical corps, the medical facilities in and around Lhasa, to evaluate the conditions of care for those injured in the demonstrations; accounting from the Chinese authorities for all the missing and the dead by name and location; and assurances that detainees will be processed according to international standards of due process and the rule of law. The United States has a lot of international tools at its disposal—the ICRC, the U.N. Commission—U.N. Human Rights Commissioner, U.N. rapporteurs—

that it can call upon to improve access and avoid bilateral obstacles. Why isn't the administration engaged in those?

So, I will cease there, because I'm looking forward to hearing the testimony of the Assistant Secretary.

And, we will pursue those questions when the opportunity comes.

Senator BOXER. Absolutely. Absolutely.

And I'm very pleased that so many colleagues have come, because I know there are so many demands on their time. And I think it speaks to the importance of this issue.

Senator Hagel.

STATEMENT OF HON. CHUCK HAGEL, U.S. SENATOR FROM NEBRASKA

Senator HAGEL. Madam Chairwoman, thank you. And I will withhold until we have an opportunity to hear our witnesses. But, thank you and our colleague, Senator Murkowski, for scheduling this hearing. It's important, and it cuts to the essence of who we are as Americans, and it is a critical issue for the world. So, thank you.

Senator BOXER. Thank you very much, Senator.

Senator Cardin.

STATEMENT OF HON. BENJAMIN L. CARDIN, U.S. SENATOR FROM MARYLAND

Senator CARDIN. Madam Chairwoman, thank you very much. And I appreciate very much your holding this hearing.

I agree with colleague Senator Menendez and his comments, and Senator Hagel. This is a defining issue for our country.

What's happening in Tibet cannot go unchallenged. The Chinese Government needs to be held accountable. The United States and the international community have options to become more effective in protecting human rights.

I have the honor of chairing the Senate Helsinki Commission, which is well known for its record on human rights, internationally. And I think this Nation can play a stronger role.

I look forward to hearing from our distinguished panelists, and I hope that we can become more effective in standing up against the violations of basic rights, by China or any other country.

Senator BOXER. Thank you very much, Senator.

And we're now going to begin with our first panel. And he's got that panel all to himself, The Honorable John D. Negroponte. And we'll set the clock for 10 minutes so you don't have to rush through. And we look forward to hearing from you.

STATEMENT OF HON. JOHN D. NEGROPONTE, DEPUTY SECRETARY OF STATE, DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON, DC

Ambassador NEGROPONTE. Thank you very much, Chairman Boxer, Senator Murkowski, other members of the committee. I'm pleased to be here today to talk about the situation in Tibet. I have submitted a longer statement for the record, and these are some brief oral remarks.

A little over a month ago, what began as peaceful protests in Lhasa erupted into violence and loss of lives and property, span-

ning the Tibetan areas of China. We are deeply troubled by the reports of bloodshed, arrests, and mistreatment of protesters in and around Tibet. The administration, at all levels, beginning with President Bush and Secretary Rice, has called for the Chinese Government to exercise restraint, and for all sides to refrain from violence.

We have repeatedly urged China to engage in dialogue with the Dalai Lama directly and through his representatives. As the President has said, "There is no better person for Chinese authorities to talk to than the Dalai Lama. He is the undisputed spiritual leader of the Tibetan people, and is a man of peace." The Chinese Government should seize the opportunity to talk to the Dalai Lama, as someone who has repeatedly stated, as you observed, Chairman Boxer, that he opposes violence and does not seek independence for Tibet. If Beijing does not engage with the Dalai Lama now, it will only serve to strengthen those who advocate extreme views. Public vilification of the Dalai Lama will not help defuse the situation.

The United States Government recognizes Tibet as part of the People's Republic of China, and we welcome a stable, peaceful, and prosperous China. We engage China as a growing economic powerhouse, as a nuclear Permanent-Five Member of the United Nations Security Council, and an increasingly important actor on the international scene. At the same time, we have serious concerns about the recent events, human rights conditions and limits on religious freedom in Tibet.

The Tibetans have legitimate grievances stemming from years of repression and Chinese policies that have adversely impacted their religion, culture, and livelihoods. An increasingly influential China has the responsibility to protect and uphold the rights of its minority groups. Furthermore, stability in China, which is in our interest, will not be possible unless Beijing addresses Tibetan grievances. We want to see a confident, strong China that protects the human rights of its citizens and acts responsibly around the world.

Accordingly, we urge the authorities in Beijing to reexamine longstanding policies in Tibetan areas that exacerbate tensions. We seek unfettered access to Tibet for diplomats and journalists, and the release of those protesters who expressed their views peacefully.

I would like to underscore that our support for human rights in Tibet did not just start this year. We have engaged the People's Republic of China on this issue since we established diplomatic relations in 1979. The President's meetings with the Dalai Lama and his attendants last fall at the Congressional Gold Medal Ceremony honoring the Dalai Lama were strong signals of our support. We also show support for human rights in Tibet in our everyday working-level interactions with China. Our Office of the Special Coordinator for Tibetan issues, established over 10 years ago, is another example of our commitment to human rights and religious freedom for Tibetans.

Let me now turn to the question of the Beijing Olympics. President Bush has announced his intention to attend the Olympics, and has made clear that he believes that it is important to show the 1.3 billion Chinese people that we welcome their entrance onto the

international stage. The Dalai Lama has said that he supports Beijing's hosting of the Olympic Games, and does not support a boycott. An Olympic boycott or sanctions could inflame tensions and polarize attitudes. Let me assure you that this administration will continue to take the opportunity—before, during, and after the Olympics—to urge improvements from the Chinese on Tibet and human rights.

For Beijing and China's Tibetan populations, there is a way forward. Through outreach and genuine dialogue, China and the Dalai Lama can begin to bridge differences, explore the meaning of genuine autonomy, and address longstanding grievances.

As part of our China policy, I believe that the United States can play a constructive role by continuing to urge substantive results-based dialogue between China and the Dalai Lama to better the lives of Tibetans in China.

We note that there have been six rounds of talks with the Dalai Lama's representatives since 2002, with the last held in 2007. In the end, only the Chinese Government and the Tibetans themselves can address and resolve their differences. We look to them to do so peacefully and in accord with international standards of religious freedom and human rights.

Thank you for your attention. Madam Chairman, I'd be happy to try and answer any questions that the committee may have.

[The prepared statement of Ambassador Negroponte follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF HON. JOHN D. NEGROPONTE, DEPUTY SECRETARY OF STATE, DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON, DC

Chairman Boxer, Senator Murkowski, members of the committee, I am pleased to be here today to talk about the situation in Tibet.

A little over a month ago, what began as peaceful protests in Lhasa erupted into violence and the loss of lives and property spanning the Tibet Autonomous Region and other Tibetan areas of China. The United States welcomes a stable, peaceful, and prosperous China, and we have a broad agenda with that country, which is a growing economic powerhouse, a nuclear P–5 member, and an increasingly important actor on the international scene. At the same time, we engage China in a way that is supportive of our political values—urging respect for human rights, religious freedom, and democracy. The United States recognizes Tibet as part of the People's Republic of China, but we have very serious concerns about the recent events, human rights conditions, and limits on religious freedom there. The United States calls upon the PRC Government to exercise restraint in resolving the recent unrest and urges dialogue with the Dalai Lama, but it is up to China and the Tibetans to resolve their differences. In this testimony, I would like to touch on the recent events in Tibet, outline our response, and discuss next steps.

RECENT EVENTS AND THE ADMINISTRATION'S RESPONSE

To the best of our knowledge, peaceful protests began in Lhasa on March 10, led by several hundred monks from three monasteries. Reports that Chinese police mistreated and arrested some of the monks angered Tibetans in Lhasa. On March 14, interaction between the protesters and the authorities in Lhasa descended into violence, including attacks on ethnic Han and Hui Muslim residents and their property. This violence led to a security crackdown and widespread arrests by the Chinese authorities. Over the next several days, protests spread to many other Tibetan areas of China. Chinese authorities have confirmed that security forces responded to protests in some areas with deadly force. Accurate information about the number of people killed or injured in the protests, riots, and subsequent crackdown and on the number of people arrested has been difficult to ascertain. While the Chinese Government has organized two tightly controlled trips for journalists and one for diplomats to Tibetan areas, it continues to restrict access to those areas, impose a virtual media blackout, and refuses access to the detainees. Last week, China's state-run media acknowledged the detention of approximately 4,000 individuals in

Lhasa and in parts of Gansu province. Reports of mistreatment of detainees are numerous.

We are deeply troubled by the reports of bloodshed, arrests, and mistreatment of detainees, and share the concerns of Members of Congress and the American people over these disturbing events. The President and Secretary Rice have called for the Chinese Government to exercise restraint and for all sides to refrain from violence. We urge all Tibetans to heed the Dalai Lama's call for nonviolence as well. We have, at all levels of the administration, urged China to engage in substantive dialogue with the Dalai Lama directly and through his representatives. At the same time, we urge China to take a close look at longstanding policies in Tibetan areas that have created tensions because of their impact on Tibetan religion, culture, and livelihoods, to allow unfettered access to Tibet for diplomats and journalists, and to release protestors who expressed their views peacefully. We are also concerned about strident rhetorical attacks against the Dalai Lama.

Since the outbreak of protests in March, we have spoken out about Tibet frequently and at the highest levels. The President expressed his concern to President Hu during a March 26 phone call. Secretary Rice has called Foreign Minister Yang and has spoken with him and publicly about the situation numerous times. I have personally discussed the situation with Chinese Ambassador Zhou Wenzhong and with the Dalai Lama's Special Envoy, Lodi Gyari (LOW-dee GARE-ee), who I understand will be testifying in a few moments. On Monday, Under Secretary for Democracy and Global Affairs, Paula Dobriansky, met with the Dalai Lama in her capacity as Special Coordinator for Tibetan Issues. On the other side of the Pacific, our Embassy in Beijing, led by Ambassador Randt, has repeatedly pressed U.S. concerns with high-level officials in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Secretary Paulson also raised our concerns during his most recent trip to China. While we have made heavy use of our bilateral channels, we have also joined the European Union and others in raising our concerns at a March 25 meeting of the United Nations Human Rights Council in Geneva. Other leading members of the international community have joined us in calling for restraint and dialogue with the Dalai Lama.

U.S. SUPPORT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IN TIBET

I'd like to underscore that our support for human rights in Tibet did not start just this year. Our efforts with the PRC have spanned the history of our relationship since we established diplomatic relations in 1979. As the Secretary recently said, we show our support for human rights in Tibet in what we do every day in our working-level interactions with China. The President's meetings with the Dalai Lama in both of his terms in office and his attendance at the Congressional Gold Medal ceremony honoring the Dalai Lama last fall are important demonstrations of support at the highest levels of the U.S. Government. The efforts of our Office for the Special Coordinator for Tibetan Issues, established over 10 years ago, are another tangible example of our commitment to human rights and religious freedom for Tibetans.

The Tibetans have legitimate grievances, stemming from years of repression and Chinese policies that have adversely impacted Tibetan religion, culture, and livelihoods. In the months preceding the protests, restrictions on religious freedom were further tightened, leading to increased frustration among the local Tibetan population. In order to be a great and respected power, China will have to make real efforts to guarantee to its own citizens the internationally recognized rights and fundamental freedoms enshrined in China's own constitution and in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. During the Secretary's trip to Beijing in February, the Chinese agreed to resume our human rights dialogue. We hope to move quickly to resume the dialogue and use the opportunity to hold substantive discussions on the situation in Tibet at that meeting.

As the President said, there is no better person for Chinese authorities to talk to than the Dalai Lama since he is the undisputed spiritual leader of the Tibetan people. He is also a man of peace. The Chinese Government should seize the opportunity to talk to those Tibetans, represented by the Dalai Lama, who oppose violence and do not seek independence for Tibet. If Beijing does not engage with the Dalai Lama now, it will only serve to strengthen those who advocate extreme views. An increasingly influential China has the responsibility to protect and uphold the rights of, and respect for, minority groups like Tibetans. Stability in China is also in our interest. We want to see a confident, strong China that protects the human rights of its citizens and acts responsibly around the world. Stability will not be possible unless Beijing addresses the grievances of the Tibetans and works together with them to preserve their culture, language, and religious freedom.

TIBET AND THE OLYMPICS

The Dalai Lama has said that he supports Beijing's hosting of the Olympic Games and does not support a boycott. President Bush has announced his intention to attend the Olympic Games in Beijing and has made clear that he believes that it is important to show the Chinese people that we welcome their entrance onto the international stage. As our Secretary said recently, these Olympics are not just a moment of pride for the Chinese Government but also for 1.3 billion Chinese citizens. Calls for an Olympics boycott or sanctions could polarize attitudes on both sides.

While, for these reasons, the U.S. Government wants to see a successful Olympics and does not support calls for an Olympics boycott, we recognize that some have a different view about a boycott. This position reflects real concerns, widely held in the United States and elsewhere, over China's human rights record. Let me assure you that this administration will continue to take the opportunity before, during, and after the Olympics to talk to the Chinese about Tibet and human rights. We continue to urge China to fulfill its Olympics bid commitments to increase access to information and expand freedom of the press, including in Tibetan areas, as well as take other steps to improve its record on human rights and religious freedom.

THE WAY FORWARD

Our policy toward China aims to shape the choices that Chinese leaders make about how to use their growing power. We use our bilateral discussions, as the President has noted, to make our concerns clear to Chinese officials and to encourage China to be a responsible actor at home and around the world. For the Chinese Government and the Tibetan people of China, there is a way forward. Through outreach and genuine dialogue, China and the Dalai Lama, the spiritual leader of the vast majority of Tibetans, can begin to bridge differences, explore the meaning of genuine autonomy and address longstanding grievances. As part of our China policy, I believe that the United States can play a constructive role in continuing to urge substantive, results-based dialogue between China and the Dalai Lama to better the lives of Tibetans in China. We note that there have been six rounds of talks with the Dalai Lama's representatives since 2002, with the last held in 2007. In the end, only the Chinese Government and the Tibetans themselves can address and resolve their differences. We look to them to do so peacefully and in accord with international standards of religious freedom and human rights.

Senator BOXER. Thank you very much, Mr. Secretary.

I think each of us will have 7 minutes, and we'll go back to a second round, if we need to.

Secretary Negroponte, on April 2, 26 of my Senate colleagues joined me in sending a letter to Chinese President Hu Jintao about the situation in Tibet, and our letter called on the Government of China to do three things: First, to allow independent monitors and the foreign press unfettered access to the region; second, to release of those Tibetans detained for a peaceful protest; and, third, to engage in substantive dialogue with the Dalai Lama to restore stability and bring genuine autonomy to the region.

Now, I was pleased to see that Undersecretary of State Dobriansky echoed those three requests in an op-ed that appeared earlier this week in the Washington Post.

Now, Mr. Secretary, in your opening statement, you detail the high-level discussions that have taken place between United States and Chinese officials on Tibet, but you didn't mention whether these high-level discussions have yielded any tangible results on these three matters: Allowing independent monitors and foreign press unfettered access, releasing Tibetans detained for peaceful protests, and engaging in substantive dialogue with the Dalai Lama to restore stability, et cetera. So, I guess my question is: Have these talks yielded any tangible results?

Ambassador NEGROPONTE. What I would say in response, Madam Chairman, is, yes, as I mentioned, we have made

demarches at various levels, from the President on down. The President, the Secretary of State, myself, Ms. Dobriansky, our Ambassador, of course, on a very regular basis. But, I think that the results, thus far, I regret to report to you, have been minimal, at best. I would say, in one area, we pressed, very early on during this situation, for access by our consular officials who are stationed in the province adjacent to the Tibetan Autonomous Region, for access to Tibet, and that was—has not yet been granted. There was one group of diplomats, including an American embassy diplomatic official, who was given a guided tour of Lhasa at a fairly late stage in this situation. But, I'd say that, thus far, none of the requests and suggestions that we have made have been significantly addressed by the Beijing authorities. But, I have no doubt that they are aware, and vividly aware, of what it is that we are advocating.

Senator BOXER. Well, I mean, it's discouraging. I know that you're discouraged that, so far, we haven't seen anything bear fruit. And that's one of the reasons, frankly, that I wanted to have this hearing. I'm hoping to push hard here, in our way, in each of our ways, to, maybe make some progress.

Now, in 2002, President Bush signed the Tibetan Policy Act. That law states that the Secretary of State, "should make best efforts to establish an office in Lhasa, Tibet, to monitor, political, economic, and cultural developments in Tibet." Now, I understand that such an office has not been established, and the United States monitors events in Tibet from our consulate in Chengdu, which is more than 750 miles away from the Tibetan capital of Lhasa. Do you agree that the United States should have a permanent diplomatic presence in Lhasa?

Ambassador NEGROPONTE. The answer—the short answer to that is yes. We establish consulates in our respective countries, China and the United States, on a basis of reciprocity, and we each have given each other lists of cities in which we would like to establish consulates. And Lhasa is one of those cities listed in our list for—request for establishing a consular office. But, up until now, we have not been able to achieve that. In other words, it depends on the reciprocal consent of the Chinese Government. But, it is a priority for us to establish a consulate; and, were the Chinese Government to grant us permission to establish such a consulate in Lhasa, I'm confident that we could establish such an office in very short order.

Senator BOXER. OK. Now, is Lhasa the first on that list of priorities?

Ambassador NEGROPONTE. It is.

Senator BOXER [continuing]. Of all of the cities?

Ambassador NEGROPONTE. Well, we have six or seven on the list, and Lhasa is not the first, but I think that, in today's context and given the events that have happened, if the authorities in Tibet were to say that we were welcome to establish a consulate in Lhasa, I think we would promptly do that.

Senator BOXER. Well, that's not my question. I think, if this is truly a priority, and you don't need to answer this, but I think we all know—all of us sitting here—that when we have requests to make, the priority of those requests are always very important. And, given what has happened in the Tibetan region, I would hope

you might go back and rejiggle these cities and put Lhasa at the top. I hope you consider speaking with Secretary Rice about that.

Ambassador NEGROPONTE. I think that's a very fair suggestion.

Senator BOXER. Thank you. Thank you.

Let me ask you this. Do you, and I don't mean to put you on the spot on this, but you're a diplomat, and you'll figure out how to answer it. [Laughter.]

I know you have so much experience, because I've met with you over the years, but what I'm waiting for is an extremely strong and clear statement from the President on this issue, one that basically says, "I stand by the Dalai Lama. The Dalai Lama does not want, you know, to have a separate—is not a separatist, he wants to resolve this peacefully." And I'm—because the President is going to the opening ceremonies and—I think—when I was asked about it, I just said, "Look, this is something that he could decide, but it doesn't"—because the—I feel bad for the athletes who have trained and all of that, so I understand all that, and I'm not being critical at all. But, what I think is important to do something. For example, make this strong statement, and also go to the Tibetan region.

So, my question to you is: As a diplomat, do you think it's possible that the President would consider making a clear, very strong and unequivocal statement, that he stands with the Dalai Lama and that his intention is, yes, to go to the Olympics, but also to go and visit the Tibetan region? Is that a possibility?

Ambassador NEGROPONTE. Well, let me answer it this way. The President, not only figuratively, but literally, has stood with the Dalai Lama. And you, perhaps, were at that ceremony, where he conferred the Congressional Gold Medal on the Dalai Lama. And that was a very strong statement, and one that was taken and done over the fairly vigorous objections of the Chinese authorities, but the President persisted and insisted on doing that. So, I don't think there's any doubt where the President stands on the issue of the Dalai Lama and human rights in Tibet. And, frankly, I can hardly think of a stronger advocate of human rights in our Government than the President of the United States. So, we're going to——

Senator BOXER. So, do you think he would consider, or would you talk to him about, you know, visiting the Tibetan region? Because if he goes to China for the Olympics, it seems to me that could show a balance, that he's going to the Olympics for the athletes, but he wants to make a statement, and he's going to go to the Tibetan region. Any chance of that, that you'd support that recommendation?

Ambassador NEGROPONTE. I will certainly convey that suggestion, but I would not want to give you any prediction——

Senator BOXER. OK. But, I hope you'll consider it——

Ambassador NEGROPONTE [continuing]. As to what the likelihood there might be, right.

Senator BOXER [continuing]. Because I think it would very important—yes, he did stand with the Dalai Lama, as did we all, but this is different because of the Olympics and because some world leaders are not going, et cetera, et cetera. I think his going to the Tibetan region, either before or after, would be very important.

Well, I'll stop——

Ambassador NEGROPONTE. But, I just want to make one more point.

Senator BOXER. Yes.

Ambassador NEGROPONTE. Madam Chairman, I do think it's important to make, and I should have made it right at the outset. The President also believes it is very important, given the relationship we have with China and the different equities at stake, including human rights in China, that he have good relationships with the top Chinese leaders, so that he can engage them on these and many other delicate issues. So, I don't think he wants, while totally supportive of human rights in China, he also wants to maintain the kind of relationship with Chinese authorities that permits him to get his message effectively across, and to not burn his bridges with the top Chinese leaders.

Senator BOXER. Well, I don't think I've suggested that. I don't think——

Ambassador NEGROPONTE. No, I don't think you have.

Senator BOXER [continuing]. Anybody has suggested it. And I can tell you this, when you really do have friends, you've got to tell them when you think they're wrong. Otherwise, it isn't a friendship. It's not really a friendship.

OK. Senator Murkowski.

Senator MURKOWSKI. Thank you, Madam Chair.

I want to continue this discussion about the dialogue. And you have said, Mr. Secretary, that—repeatedly—that the key is with the dialogue. And Paula Dobriansky, in her op-ed that the chairman mentioned, says, "Meaningful dialogue presents the only viable way forward." And yet, I think all have expressed the level of frustration that the dialogue continues, and you have multiple rounds of talks, and we're really not seeing that positive action, we're not seeing the good results, or, really, results at all, coming forward.

You've also just indicated, then, that sanctions, at least as they might fit in with the Olympics, would only serve to inflame the tensions, and that is not the route to take. Well, if we're not making progress on dialogue, and sanctions are not the route to take because they only serve, further, to inflame tensions, what can we do more?

Ambassador NEGROPONTE. We haven't made progress—or, they have not made progress on dialogue, although, as you know, there have been discussions, in fits and starts over the past years, since 2002, there have been seven sessions. There was dialogue previously, during the previous 20 years, ever since Deng Xiaoping, there have been sporadic efforts at coming to some kind of an understanding. So, I don't think we should rule out the possibility—indeed, we shouldn't lose hope that that kind of dialogue cannot be resumed at some point, and hopefully sooner rather than later.

There's also dialogue with our interlocutors in Beijing, and I think we have to keep bringing to their attention the concerns that we have about this situation. And I would have thought, given the outpouring of reaction that there's been to the Olympics and some of the protests that have taken place in Europe and elsewhere, that they must be very mindful of the issues that this is creating for China's image. And I would have thought that they have an inter-

est in thinking hard about what they can do, through a process of dialogue and other peaceful means, to work their way out of the very difficult and unsatisfactory situation in which they find themselves at the moment.

Senator MURKOWSKI. Well, and that was going to be one of my question, too, is, If you—you've recognized that it really is between Tibet and China, they are the ones who must resolve this issue. We can offer our input and help to facilitate, but, you know, sometimes maybe we're not the best facilitator, or the best one to carry the message, so you look to others who can put that pressure. And, as you mentioned, the protests in Europe, the—yesterday—I guess it was yesterday—in response to demonstrations in China and the boycotts of the French companies, France sent three high-level diplomats to China to soothe the tensions over there, which makes you wonder whether China is essentially prepared now to use its economic clout to influence the international pressure on the subject of Tibet, or even Taiwan, a completely different subject from today's hearing. But, it does make you wonder, How can we further attempt to influence China, when they don't appear to be "influence-able"?

Ambassador NEGROPONTE. Well, I guess——

Senator MURKOWSKI. It's not a word, but——

Ambassador NEGROPONTE. No——

Senator MURDOWSKI [continuing]. You know my point, here. [Laughter.]

Ambassador NEGROPONTE. I certainly do. And I think it's hard, although I think that any country, China or any other country, in the world—cares about its international image. But, I think, more fundamentally, and as I said in my opening statement, they care about their own stability and the harmony of their own society. After all, Hu Jintao wants to create a harmonious society. Well, they've got some signs of fairly serious disharmony, if that's a word, in Tibet and in the Tibetan-populated adjacent to the Tibetan Autonomous Region. So, I think they've got to be encouraged to see their way through this situation, and see their way to a point where they would realize and appreciate, I hope, that their own best interests are probably served by some kind of a dialogue about meaningful autonomy and some kind of a peaceful resolution of the Tibetan situation that is respectful of Tibetan human rights and their religion within the context of Chinese sovereignty. No one here is suggesting Tibetan independence.

Senator MURKOWSKI. Have we made any progress—you mentioned that, apparently, at least one guided tour was provided to a diplomat. In terms of the access that we have requested be given to diplomats and to journalists, is there anything there, that we can point to, where there has been a little bit of progress made?

Ambassador NEGROPONTE. I believe there's been a bit more access given to journalists. I have just been told that there were three tours for journalists.

Senator MURKOWSKI. In recent months, then, or——

Ambassador NEGROPONTE. Since this crisis erupted.

Senator MURKOWSKI. Yes.

Ambassador NEGROPONTE. So, that's to the good. I believe there's been a bit of a reduction in the profile of the security forces, in

terms of the display of the army and so forth. And I think there probably are some measures that, if they were able to take, I think would perhaps help defuse this situation, such as lowering the security profile and taking a number of measures that wouldn't be tantamount to offering independence or anything else.

Senator MURKOWSKI. And we have encouraged or suggested that they do just that?

Ambassador NEGROPONTE. Well, I certainly would encourage the Chinese to do them. I mean, keeping the Liberation Army's profile low, try to equip their police with less intimidating uniforms and gear, things like that. Certainly the more serious problems have to do with the Beijing authorities' attempts to manage the religious affairs of the Tibetan people, which I think goes to the heart of the cultural questions at issue here. And also to stop, and Paula Dobriansky mentioned this in her op-ed piece, the vitriolic campaign against the Dalai Lama, who, after all, does not advocate independence, does not advocate boycotting the Olympic Games, and I said in my remarks, we believe is a man of peace.

Senator MURKOWSKI. Thank you. My time is expired.

Thank you.

Senator BOXER. Thank you, Senator.

Senator Feingold.

Senator FEINGOLD. Thank you, Madam Chairman, for holding this timely and important hearing.

Thank you, also, to the witnesses who come before this committee to provide us with your assessment of the situation in Tibet.

Over the past few weeks, the waves of protests throughout Tibet have been met with brutal violence and an equally brutal crackdown. These tactics are a clear reminder of the injustices inflicted on the Tibetan people and the political and cultural and religious oppression that continues there. After almost 30 years, it is long past time for the Chinese Government to end these abuses and engage in meaningful dialogue with the Tibetan people, so I look forward to hearing more responses from Deputy Secretary Negroponte with regard to what actions the administration is taking to make clear to—this clear to the Chinese Government.

The United States Government must use every available opportunity to engage China on its human rights record and its responsibilities as a key member of the international community. We cannot treat human rights as a side issue while we focus on trade or other pressing matters. And we cannot give China a pass, simply because of its power and importance. China is a great power, but it is not yet a good power. I hope this and future administrations, as well, will recognize that supporting human rights in China in and around the world is in our country's interests and consistent with our country's highest values.

Mr. Negroponte, can you clarify what kinds of leverage the United States Government has with China when it comes to encouraging them to engage in direct dialogue with the Tibetan leaders? And have any new points of leverage emerged since the outbreak of the protests?

Ambassador NEGROPONTE. Well, I think that the most effective leverage, if one could call it that, Senator, is engagement with the authorities in Beijing, and to call to their attention the concerns we

have about this situation. In other terms, I think there are those who might advocate some kind of sanctions or a boycott of the Olympics and so forth, and, in our view, we think that that kind of behavior would seriously risk being counterproductive and would not advance us towards our objective. So, I think it's through intense diplomatic dialogue.

Senator FEINGOLD. Well, I understand, when Secretary Paulson was in China to discuss trade issues as a part of a routine economic exchange between the two nations, he agreed to raise concerns with—or, about Tibet. Can you elaborate on what is meant by "raising concerns" in this context? Has the administration conveyed concerns about the crackdown in Tibet directly to the Chinese Government?

Ambassador NEGROPONTE. We certainly have. I cannot replay for you here the exact words of Secretary Paulson's conversation, but as I mentioned earlier, even President Bush has raised our concerns about Tibet with President Hu Jintao. Secretary Rice has. I have, when I deal with my counterpart, the Executive Vice Foreign Minister of China. And what we basically say is, "We're concerned about what we believe to be the abuse of the human rights and the religious rights and cultural freedoms of the Tibetan people, and we believe that you need to, you should, take measures to address this question through meaningful dialogue with Tibetan representatives."

Senator FEINGOLD. Given that India is host to the largest number of Tibetan exiles, what role do you see India playing with regards to Tibet and, specifically, in any dialogue, and how is the United States engaging with India on this point?

Ambassador NEGROPONTE. I think I'd have to take that question, Senator. It's a very good question, and I suspect that there have been discussions. I just cannot recall them at this particular moment.

Senator FEINGOLD. If you could get that to me later, I'd appreciate it, Mr. Negroponte.

Ambassador NEGROPONTE. Yes.

[Ambassador Negroponte's response follows:]

India has hosted over 100,000 Tibetan refugees, the largest population outside China, since 1959, when the Dalai Lama and others fled China. The Indian Government provided many of the Tibetans who entered India before 1986 with registration certificates and residence permits, which could enable them to rent homes, operate businesses, conduct financial transactions, and travel internationally. Since 1986, Tibetans have continued to enter India; after they receive an audience with the Dalai Lama they are often placed in various educational, vocational and religious institutions throughout the country. Tibetans regularly tell U.S. Government officials that the Indian Government treats them very well.

Since 1991, the U.S. has funded reception centers and education, water, and health care programs for Tibetan refugees in India. Last year, for example, we provided $2.5 million to the Tibetan Refugee Reception Centers in Delhi, Dharamsala, and Kathmandu (Nepal) which provide food, accommodation, clothing and transportation fare to newly arrived refugees from Tibet. The Indian Government has been receptive to U.S. offers of assistance to Tibetan refugees.

We are involved in quiet discussions with the Indian Government on the possible resettlement of some Tibetan refugees in the United States. U.S. officials at all levels regularly meet with both Indian Government officials and Tibetan exile leaders to confer about the situation in the region and to emphasize the U.S. position that China should engage in substantive dialogue with the Dalai Lama and address policies in Tibetan areas that have created tensions due to their impact on Tibetan religion, culture, and livelihoods. The Under Secretary for Democracy and Global Af-

fairs, Paula Dobriansky was in India on April 23 and 24 for meetings with the Indian Government, where a number of issues surrounding Tibet were discussed.

Sensitivities in the India-China relationship, resulting in part from a longstanding border dispute and competition for regional influence, have limited India's ability to facilitate dialogue between the Chinese Government and the Dalai Lama and his representatives. However, the Indian Government and its people have appealed to both the Chinese Government and the Dalai Lama and his representatives to resolve their differences through such a dialogue.

Senator FEINGOLD. I note in your testimony that you discussed United States support for human rights in Tibet since 1979, and that, while a consular office does not exist in Lhasa, that you do, in your testimony, highlight the Office of the Special Coordinator for Tibetan Issues. How does this office coordinate with you on China policy, the Embassy in China, and other United States agencies?

Ambassador NEGROPONTE. Well, the coordinator for Tibet happens also to be the Undersecretary for Global Affairs, Ms. Paula Dobriansky, and we coordinate with each other directly. We consult on these matters. And Ms. Dobriansky has the lead on issues with regard to Tibet. And we work together in trying to implement the various policies that she advocates and for which she's responsible. And she also relates, as well, to our Ambassador in Beijing on these issues. She maintains contact, of course, with the Tibetan community, including one of our panelists today, Mr. Lodi Gyari, and plays quite an active role in the issue of seeking to protect and advance the rights of the Tibetan people.

Senator FEINGOLD. I'm also concerned about the arrest of those, by the Chinese Government, during the protests. Could you briefly discuss if the U.S. Government is aware of their locations and how they are being treated?

Ambassador NEGROPONTE. Well, the reports that we've had is that there have been many instances of mistreatment, but, as far as locations and the particulars of these instances, I would have to get that back to you for the record.

[Ambassador Negroponte's response follows:]

In an April 10 report, the Congressional-Executive Commission on China cited an official Chinese report stating that over 4,400 persons had either surrendered voluntarily to authorities for engaging in "beating, smashing, looting, and burning" during riots, or had been detained on suspicion of engaging in such activities. Many of the individuals who surrendered voluntarily were subsequently released by authorities; however, Tibetan exile groups estimate that about 3,000 remain in custody. We have repeatedly asked for unfettered access to the Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR) and other Tibetan areas of China so that, among other things, U.S. diplomats could observe judicial proceedings against Tibetans charged in connection with recent events in Tibetan areas. Since the Chinese Government has denied such requests, we have not been able to independently confirm these numbers.

As was widely reported in the international press last week, the Lhasa Intermediate People's Court has issued sentences ranging from three years to life in prison to 30 Tibetans for their alleged participation in violent acts during the protests. We are concerned about reports that these individuals were not afforded basic protections of due process. We were particularly disturbed that criminal defense lawyers who volunteered to represent the detainees were denied permission to do so.

Through our bilateral channels, the United States has raised, repeatedly and at the highest levels, our serious concerns regarding the status and treatment of those detained and arrested for their alleged participation in the protests. President Bush and Secretary Rice have spoken to their Chinese counterparts to urge restraint and the release of protesters who expressed their views peacefully. Ambassador Clark T. Randt at our Embassy in Beijing has raised the issue repeatedly with high-level officials in the Chinese Government. Officers from our Embassy and our consulate

General in Chengdu have repeatedly pressed Chinese officials at all levels for information regarding detainees, for unfettered access to the TAR and other affected areas, and for information on individual cases. to date, we have not received a positive response to our requests.

We have called on the Chinese Government to ensure that all legal and administrative proceeding against persons alleged to have participated in violent acts during the recent protest throughout Tibetan areas of China are conducted in a manner that is both transparent and consistent with Chinese law and international human rights norms. We will continue to raise these concerns with our Chinese interlocutors, including as part of our upcoming bilateral human rights dialogue with China.

Senator FEINGOLD. Is it something we're working on?

Ambassador NEGROPONTE. It certainly is, and it's certainly a concern that we raise.

Senator FEINGOLD. And what——

Ambassador NEGROPONTE. But with limited access.

Senator FEINGOLD. Yes.

Ambassador NEGROPONTE [continuing]. I think it becomes a bit of a problem, and it's one of the reasons we would like to be able to have direct access to the Tibetan Autonomous Region for our people.

Senator FEINGOLD. Well, I'd—if—after this, if you could tell me what, specifically, we're doing to try to——

Ambassador NEGROPONTE. Right.

Senator FEINGOLD [continuing]. Get that done, I'd appreciate it.

I thank you for your testimony.

Thank the Chair.

Senator BOXER. Thank you.

Senator Menendez.

Senator MENENDEZ. Thank you, Madam Chairlady.

And, Mr. Secretary, it's good to see you again.

Ambassador NEGROPONTE. Thank you.

Senator MENENDEZ [continuing]. I have a great respect for you, been happy to have supported your nomination. We've worked on several things. But, I must say, when the Chair talked about your diplomatic ability to answer, it is being fulfilled richly today.

I appreciate that you've said a lot, but I haven't heard very much, and maybe that's the way it's going to be for the rest of the hearing. But, let me just ask you, what—I think Senator Murkowski was trying to get at this—what are the other policy options? If there are none, there are none. Let us know. But, what are the other policy options, what are the other levers, beyond this quiet diplomacy that is going on, that can be pursued, and that should be pursued? Because, I have to be honest with you, several decades after this quiet diplomacy that has been going on through various administrations, Democrat and Republicans alike, it seems to me that what we have is a string—a history of human rights violations, forced abortions, prison-camp labor, child labor, Tibetan ethnic cleansing, the exiling of the Dalai Lama, a support for a Sudanese Government that continues to pursue genocide in the Darfur region of the Sudan, a huge trade deficit that fuels the Chinese military industrial complex, and a country that largely owns our debt and constricts, I think, sometimes, some of our policy pursuits. So, from my perspective, this quiet engagement, this is the record, at least one perspective of the record, so give us some policy options here, if there are any, beyond this quiet diplomacy.

Ambassador NEGROPONTE. I think I was fairly forthright with the chairman when she asked me, "Are these efforts that we're making, thus far, having any effect with respect to the situation in Tibet?" and I said I didn't think they had any particular effect, as yet, although I would like to hope that that situation can improve.

You asked me what other levers do we have, what else can we do. As I said, I think the dilemma is that whenever one looks at using, or the possibility of using, various kinds of levers of influence, one has to do that in the context of, first of all, whether one thinks it would be effective with respect to the particular situation at hand, and the other is, one has to look at it in the context of the overall relationship.

One encouraging piece of news, Senator, is that the Chinese Government has agreed to resume a human rights dialogue, bilateral human rights dialogue with us, which was suspended more than a year ago, and that we had been asking them to resume. And they have finally agreed to do that. They did that in the last several weeks. And we will be scheduling such a meeting in the month of May.

Senator MENENDEZ. Well, we're glad to hear we're going to resume a dialogue that was suspended by the Chinese. That's good. But, let me get to something more concrete.

The reality is that we talk about the Olympics, which, in my mind, is the premier moment. And I agree the Olympics should not be boycotted, but there is a difference between boycotting the Olympics, which means not going to it, and having the President of the United States not go to the opening ceremony, which I think is a powerful message to the Chinese, but falls far short—our athletes will be able to go, the President may go to other events after that. But, the world will be watching at the opening, and it seems to me that the Olympic fundamental principles of Olympism, which are incorporated in the Olympic Charter, says the following, "The goal of Olympism is to play sport at the service of the harmonious development of man, with the view to promoting a peaceful society concerned with the preservation of human dignity." And it further goes on to say, as part of the charter's fundamental principles, "Any form of discrimination with regard to a country or a person on grounds of race, religions, politics, gender, otherwise is incompatible with belonging to the Olympic movement." Why not stand with the fundamental principles of Olympian—of Olympism and the Olympic Charter?

Ambassador NEGROPONTE. Well, I mean, obviously, we subscribe to those principles.

Senator MENENDEZ. And why not, then, go to the opening ceremony, as a commitment to those principles?

Ambassador NEGROPONTE. No, I understand your question. What I would say in reply is that the President has been invited to attend the Olympics in Beijing, he has said he would attend, and he has not made any change to those plans. But, as far as the situation in Tibet is concerned, there's going to be an issue after the Olympics, as well.

Senator MENENDEZ. Well, I agree, but one of your major levers will have been lost, and you haven't described any levers to me, before, that have seemed to produce any great success.

Let me, finally, ask you—in 2007, Congress appropriated over $4 million for programs in Tibet. And as the ranking—as the chairperson of the subcommittee on all of our foreign assistance, I'm interested—it included public health, education, sustainable development, environmental conservation, preserving cultural traditions, and protecting human rights. It requires that United States representatives to international financial institutions support projects in Tibet, only if they do not encourage the migration and settlement of non-Tibetans into Tibet or the transfer of Tibetan-owned properties. How effective have these programs been in achieving their goals? And what further measures can Congress take to—in terms of this type of foreign assistance—to achieve the efforts that we want in Tibet?

Ambassador NEGROPONTE. Apparently, Senator, since 1997, the United States Government has provided approximately $25 million in assistance to support ethnic Tibetan communities in China. These programs began as exchange programs through the old United States Information Agency, and have now expanded into community development programs managed by USAID. We also provide support to Tibetan-language broadcasting to China by Radio Free Asia and the Voice of America, and apparently we are planning to increase that level of broadcasting by about 30 percent, and we're also providing humanitarian assistance to newly arrived Tibetan refugees in Nepal and India, in cooperation with the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees.

I think these are important programs, particularly, the broadcasting. I think the concern that we are able to show for the plight of the Tibetans through those broadcasts is important. But, clearly, none of these measures are as important as the fundamental improvement that could take place if there were a real, meaningful dialogue between the Chinese authorities and the people of Tibet.

Senator MENENDEZ. Thank you, Madam Chair.

Senator BOXER. Thanks.

I'm going to give everyone an extra 5 minutes for a second round.

And I will start off by saying, I think what you're sensing here is a bit of frustration that, you know, there doesn't seem to be an action agenda here. There seems to be goodwill and caring and compassion, but there is frustration——

I thought you left, Senator, but I will—I will finish my sentence and then—no, I'm going to yield to you.

So, that's the context in which I'm going to ask my second round. So, you can think about that.

And now I'll call on—no, no, Senator, please. You have a 7-minute round. Yes.

Senator CARDIN. Thank you, Madam Chair. I was in the outer room with an appointment. I apologize for that. And I apologize for the disruption.

Secretary Negroponte, you know from our prior discussions I have the utmost confidence in your diplomatic skills and your service to our country, but I must tell you, I disagree with the strategies that this administration and previous administrations have used in regards to China.

We were told that if we engaged China, we will be more successful in the policies that we are trying to implement. So, we engaged

China on trade, and they don't enforce our intellectual property rights. They subsidize, they manipulate currency, and they get all the advantages of the U.S. market. We have a huge deficit today with China as a result of it. We are told that dialogue will bring about change. And it hasn't brought about change.

We're then told that, by dialogue, we can change the human rights records of that country. That was one of the main reasons, one of the main justifications given for normalizing trade relations with China. We find that the press is not free, the rights of dissent are not there. We are told that dialogue will make a difference, and it hasn't.

Now, in Tibet, we're told, once again, that dialogue is the right course. In the meantime, the Chinese Government, as you point out, is manipulating the press to the point that the public within China supports many of the oppressive policies that the Chinese Government is using. This makes it even more difficult for us to see the types of changes in China that we would like to see.

So, I must tell you, I have a hard time understanding this administration's policy as it relates to China. I want to be at the table with China. I want the dialogue to continue with China. I don't want to cut off relations with China. But, I think China today feels that they can do pretty much whatever they want to, that they have more leverage against us than we have against them. Therefore, the likelihood of them changing their course because of pressure put on by our country is minimal, because they don't believe we'll do anything.

Now, tell me where I'm wrong. Because I hope I am wrong. I must tell you, I am deeply concerned about the passive policies of this country for many years, predating this administration, as it relates to our relationship with China. Today, I think we're paying a heavy price, not just in the human rights violation, which is against our principles, but on international trade and many other fronts where China has not been helpful as a friend of the United States.

Ambassador NEGROPONTE. I would say this, Senator. I think it's a much more mixed picture than the one that you paint. I think that engagement with China is a long-term proposition. If you look at the economic side, for example, our exports to China now are starting to grow at a very rapid rate. And I know we have a deficit, but our exports went up to $65 billion last year, up 18 percent from the previous year.

Senator CARDIN. May I just challenge you on that issue? Because, of course, the trade imbalance has only grown since we have engaged China in normal trade relations, and the manipulation of China's currency is still extreme. Even though we've seen a change in the United States values, the Chinese practice of holding their currency to ours has prevented a fair exchange that all economists say should take place between their currency and ours.

Ambassador NEGROPONTE. Well, the renminbi, the Chinese currency, is now under seven renminbi to the dollar, which is the first time since 1994. So, there has been an appreciation. It's appreciated about 18 percent since July 2005, when they abandoned their currency. But, all I'm trying to say is, this is a multifaceted, very broad relationship. I lead our dialogue with China, the so-

called "senior dialogue" with my counterpart, and we talk about global issues, we talk about security on the Korean Peninsula. China is very important to the whole issue of the Six-Party Talks on North Korea. We talk about Darfur, where they're sending an engineering battalion, and they have, I think, moderated their position with respect to the Sudan. And we work with them on such intractable issues as the question of Iran and its nuclear program.

So, it's a much more mixed picture, and I don't think it's quite so categorical as you suggested.

Senator CARDIN. I would certainly agree with you that it is a complicated arrangement. I'm not sure there's so much of a mixed message, but clearly on human rights and clearly on economic issues, we have not accomplished what was anticipated when we normalized relations with China. At that time we were told that if we could only communicate with China, if we could only bring them into the major powers in discussing responsibility and what it means to become a major power, that we would see dramatic changes occur. Yes, we've seen dramatic changes occur in China. They're a lot more competitive, and they are unfairly penetrating our market, but we haven't seen the type of responsible conduct that was at least part of the deal.

I remember, when we normalized trade with China, we set up a commission that was supposed to look at human rights issues. That commission hasn't been very active. And certainly, as we were told at the time, we'd have to put teeth into it because having that information and putting a spotlight on it wouldn't be enough. Well, we put a spotlight on a lot of things, we talk a lot, and I appreciate the fact that the President met with the Dalai Lama. I think that was a very positive move, a very positive move. And we are putting a spotlight on this issue. And the international press has been pretty clear about it. But, we have to be stronger. We're stronger with our closer allies than we are sometimes with those countries that we're just timid about, and I just think it's wrong.

So, I would just urge us all to be more aggressive in making it clear to China that it's wrong for the government in power to act as oppressively as they did in Tibet. It was wrong. They can't justify it under any circumstances. There has to be a price to pay internationally when that type of conduct goes without correction.

Thank you, Mr. Secretary.

Senator BOXER. Thank you very much.

So, we're going to have 5 minutes more, whoever would like to.

And I think, again, what I was saying is that there is a sense of frustration on both sides of the aisle. It seems every time we get to a point, you know, again, we feel your compassion and concern, and I believe it's real, but China's important. China's important. Of course China's important. I voted to have normalized trade relations with China, even though I had a lot of concerns, because I don't want to isolate China, but, at the same time, when you welcome China into the world, and we're their biggest customer, and the good things that they're getting because of our customers, you've got to be honest here, and you can't be timid, as the good Senator from Maryland said.

So, you know, I'm going to—just going to go through a few ideas with you, because what I'd like to see out of this administration is,

you know, a six-point plan, one of them being that we're going to make opening a consulate in Lhasa our No. 1 priority of the new offices we want to open up. And that would be a good signal. No. 1. We're reviewing it, we're moving it up on the list to No. 1. I think that would be good.

No. 2, a strong statement by the President that, since he's going to China, he will go to the Tibet region. I think that's very important.

Three—and this—I will ask you this question, because I don't know the answer on this one—because our European friends are pretty strong on this—Germany, France, the United Kingdom—are you talking with them about this? Are you working on some kind of a plan where we could all work together on approaching China? Are you already doing this?

Ambassador NEGROPONTE. There was a meeting of the Human Rights Council in Geneva recently, and we worked with our European friends on that issue.

Senator BOXER. In what way did you work on the issue? What did you say we should do together?

Ambassador NEGROPONTE. Well, no, what I'm saying is that there was an expression of concern at that Council about what the Chinese are doing in Tibet, and we worked with our European friends on the statements that were made there. But, in terms of some kind of a concerted policy, I'm not aware that we have any——

Senator BOXER. OK.

Ambassador NEGROPONTE [continuing]. Such initiative underway at the moment.

Senator BOXER. OK. Well, that's something I think we should consider, because unity gives strength. I mean, that gives more oomph to what we're trying to do.

Is the State Department insisting that there be U.S. diplomats at the trials of the Tibetans, those 1,000 people that we think are going to have a trial?

Ambassador NEGROPONTE. Well, we want——

Senator BOXER [continuing]. May 1?

Ambassador NEGROPONTE. We want the maximum access possible, and, quite frankly, Madam Chairman, this was one of the first issues that I raised with the Ambassador of China when he came in to see me on this Tibet issue very early on, is, we really want access for our people, and as soon as possible. And I think it's——

Senator BOXER. Has that been done?

Ambassador NEGROPONTE [continuing]. Something we should continue to insist upon——

Senator BOXER. OK.

Ambassador NEGROPONTE [continuing]. And we have not been given adequate access.

Senator BOXER. Right.

Ambassador NEGROPONTE. And we would like——

Senator BOXER. So, you are insisting——

Ambassador NEGROPONTE. Yes.

Senator BOXER [continuing]. That there be U.S. diplomats at the trials and U.S. diplomats, journalists, and humanitarian missions

be allowed into the Tibetan region. Are you insisting verbally, or are you insisting in writing, or is it back-channel?

Ambassador NEGROPONTE. Well, no, this was in conversations that I had with the Ambassador of China when he came in to call on me officially at the Department of State. I didn't say access specifically to the trials, I said access to Tibet.

Senator BOXER. Are you aware that the U.N. is trying to get special rapporteurs on torture, extrajudicial killings, religious freedom, and the High Commissioner on Human Rights into the country—into the Tibetan region, rather?

Ambassador NEGROPONTE. I wasn't specifically aware of it, but I'm not surprised, and I think that would be good idea.

Senator BOXER. All right. Well, let me just say—I mean, I think, just from the things that I've suggested—Senator Murkowski, Senator Menendez, Senator Cardin—I mean, I'm hoping—and what I'm going to do at the end of all this is just send you a letter about, you know, what an action plan——

Ambassador NEGROPONTE. Right.

Senator BOXER [continuing]. Might look like, and maybe you could let us know. Because, I'll tell you something, the days are going forward, the trials are coming, the Olympics are coming, the torch is going around the world, people are upset, there's violence, and so on, the Dalai Lama says he doesn't want, you know, a separate country, the Chinese says he does, and this thing is getting dangerous. And so, again, I just want you to know—and I will call on my colleagues to complete this round—how much I appreciate your coming here today. I think it's important that you did. And we appreciate it, but we hope that you will be working with us as we formulate an action plan on this, so that it's not just, "We're trying. We're upset, but China's important." You know, I get all that. But, we need to have an action plan, and I don't think anything that any of us here have suggested is, you know, that far out of commonsense thought. So, will you work with us as we move forward?

Ambassador NEGROPONTE. Thank you for that, and we look forward to receiving your letter.

Senator BOXER. That'd be great. And hopefully we can do a joint letter across the aisle.

Senator Murkowski.

Senator MURKOWSKI. Thank you, Madam Chair. I didn't have a final question, but I appreciate your suggestions, Madam Chairman, in terms of action items. I think it is important to know that, as we all leave this hearing, that there is going to be more than just the same attempt at dialogue.

One quick question for you, Mr. Secretary, in terms of the financial institutions that may be at play. What role does the World Bank play in Tibet? And—I'm asking the question, because we've talked about—well, perhaps, sanctions as they relate to the Olympics are not the way to go, but we know that, in dealing with other issues, sometimes the way to get attention is through the financial route. Can you enlighten me a little bit, in terms of the financial——

Ambassador NEGROPONTE. Right.

Senator MURDOWSKI [continuing]. Institutions that——

Ambassador NEGROPONTE. Yes.

Senator MURDOWSKI [continuing]. Might be at play here?

Ambassador NEGROPONTE. Well, to the best of my knowledge, they have no role in Tibet.

Senator MURKOWSKI. OK.

Ambassador NEGROPONTE [continuing]. And, of course, China itself, at the moment, is in quite a favorable——

Senator MURKOWSKI. Right.

Ambassador NEGROPONTE [continuing]. Financial position, with 1.6 trillion, or almost 1.7 trillion, in reserves. And, in fact, they've invested quite a bit in the economic modernization of Tibet. I think that's actually been one of the controversial issues for the Tibetan residents there, because there's been an issue of the migration, the inward migration of Han Chinese into the Tibet Autonomous Region. So, the impact of modernization, I think, is one of the issues for the people of Tibet. But, no, there is no role, that I'm aware of, of the World Bank in Tibet.

Senator MURKOWSKI. Madam Chair, recognizing that we do have two other panels, I will reserve my time. Thank you.

Senator BOXER. Thank you so much.

Senator Menendez.

Senator MENENDEZ. Thank you, Madam Chair. Just a couple of quick questions.

Mr. Secretary, in the fiscal year 2009 budget, the President requested cuts to Radio Free Asia and Voice of America. These programs include Tibetan broadcasts, and we have been told that cuts in all broadcasts to the PRC are still planned. So, if we're going to increase Tibetan——

Ambassador NEGROPONTE. We are.

Senator MENENDEZ [continuing]. Increases—well, then, I'm—assume the President's going to change, or seek a further request from the Congress than what he submitted, because right now what we have is cuts, not improvements.

Ambassador NEGROPONTE. The current plan is to increase those broadcasts through the end of the fiscal year, and we'll obviously have to address the issue you raise, because that budget was sent up, I believe, prior to the recent situation with respect to Tibet. But, we certainly don't want to cut our broadcasts.

Senator MENENDEZ. So, your increase was only because of the incidents that took place, is that——

Ambassador NEGROPONTE. Excuse me?

Senator MENENDEZ. Your increase that you talked about is only because of the incidents——

Ambassador NEGROPONTE. I believe so, yes.

Senator MENENDEZ. Oh.

With reference to the consulate question, isn't it true that the Chinese wants consulates here in the United States?

Ambassador NEGROPONTE. Yes.

Senator MENENDEZ. Isn't it true that there's reciprocity of agreement—we have to agree to those, as well?

Ambassador NEGROPONTE. Yes.

Senator MENENDEZ. Is it true, then, if you were to say that Lhasa—"If you don't get Lhasa, you don't get another consulate here in the United States," that that would be leverage for you?

Ambassador NEGROPONTE. That would be leverage. We have on our list six or seven consulates that we want in China, so in fact, I think we've asked for more in China than they have asked of us. But, in any case, I take the suggestion that Chairman Boxer put forward, which is that we, perhaps, ought to bump up the priority that we assign to Lhasa on our list of consulates that we would like to seek in China.

Senator MENENDEZ. Finally, the International Olympic Committee's evaluation of China's 2001 Olympic bid documented that, "It was confirmed to the Commission that there will be no restrictions on media reporting and movement of journalists, up to and including"—up to and including—"the Olympic Games." And, at that time, the Secretary General of the Beijing Bid Committee said, "I think we will give the media complete freedom to report, when they come to China. We have made our guarantees in our bid documents. All the world's media will be welcome to come to China." So, what steps are we taking to ensure that China abides by its commitment to the IOC to allow media access, including in Tibet?

Ambassador NEGROPONTE. Well, clearly that—what they've done with respect to Tibet is not consistent with that commitment, and I think we must continue to call that to their attention.

Senator MENENDEZ. We have IOC representatives, don't we, from the United States? Are we raising our voices, in this respect?

Ambassador NEGROPONTE. Well, and we also have our own voice.

Senator MENENDEZ. No, but this is the committee that ultimately oversees the bidding process and the fulfillment of the games. It seems to me that we have another point of leverage.

I just don't think—just to echo the chairlady's comments, which I join in, totally—that the different points of leverage that are available to the United States Government are not being as proactively pursued as they can be. And I would hope that the message you take away from today's hearing, and for others who couldn't be here today, is that we are looking for a much more proactive policy.

Thank you, Madam Chair.

Senator BOXER. Thank you.

Senator Cardin.

Senator CARDIN. I'll yield back my time so we can get to the next panel.

Senator BOXER. OK.

Well, thank you very much, Mr. Secretary. We——

Ambassador NEGROPONTE. Thank you, Madam Chair.

Senator BOXER [continuing]. Do appreciate all the time. And, of course, you're welcome to stay or leave. I know you have a——

Ambassador NEGROPONTE. Thank you.

Senator BOXER [continuing]. Hectic schedule.

Ambassador NEGROPONTE. Appreciate it.

Senator BOXER. And we are honored to call up our second panel: Mr. Richard Gere, president of the Gere Foundation, and chairman of the board, International Campaign for Tibet; and Mr. Lodi Gyari, Special Envoy of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, in Washington, DC.

Mr. Secretary, I see that—the cameras are here for you, right? [Laughter.]

Is that—they're all following you. Or for me, for that matter. [Laughter.]

[Pause.]

Senator BOXER. What we're going to do is—Mr. Richard Gere is going to make a statement, and then he's going to introduce Mr. Gyari, and then we'll hear from Mr. Gyari.

So, Mr. Gere, whenever you're ready, we're ready for you. And we thank you very much for being here.

STATEMENT OF RICHARD GERE, PRESIDENT, THE GERE FOUNDATION, AND CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD, INTERNATIONAL CAMPAIGN FOR TIBET (ICT), NEW YORK, NY

Mr. GERE. I don't know much about this media thing of microphones and this, but——

[Laughter.]

Mr. GERE. Look, I'm just so pleased and—on many levels—that this meeting has taken place, but also the incredible education that you all have on this subject. It's something that touches me very deeply.

Madam Chairman, Senator Murkowski, and other members of the subcommittee, thank you for inviting me here today to speak on the crisis of Tibet.

And, as we know, this is an incredibly vast subject, which is not just Tibet, but takes into account the entire area of Asia, and now the entire world. So, I'm going to confine myself to a smaller area, and—in a brief statement—and turn this over, actually, to my friend.

I'm here as chairman of the board of directors of the International Campaign for Tibet, which advocates on behalf of the rights of Tibetans and a negotiated solution on the future of Tibet. I am here also to introduce and support my long-time friend and colleague Lodi Gyaltsen Gyari, who is the lead negotiator with the Chinese Government in his role as Special Envoy to His Holiness the Dalai Lama.

Madam Chairman, it was only 6 months ago that we gathered here across the street in the Capitol Rotunda to witness a most moving and remarkable historic event. It was the awarding of a Congressional Gold Medal to His Holiness the Dalai Lama. It really was an amazing thing. For me, deeply emotional. I was humbled, and I was very honored to watch His Holiness receive from the United States Congress its highest recognition for his lifelong devotion to peace, compassion, and total nonviolence, and for speaking the truth about the condition of his people.

Not only did the ceremony touch me spiritually, it made me deeply proud to be an American. I was there with the President of the United States, Members of Congress, both parties standing side by side with the Dalai Lama, in unified support of his efforts on behalf of the Tibetan people. By becoming the first American President to appear publicly with His Holiness, President Bush sent a clear signal of his commitment to put the United States on the side of human rights and religious freedom and to preserve the cultural and linguistic uniqueness of the Tibetan people.

On March 10, a vortex opened up over Tibet, the unleashing of countless layers of frustration and resentment. The unrest inside

Tibet, which continues to this day, did not start because of the Beijing Olympics, it was not instigated by the Dalai Lama, no matter what the Chinese authorities have so offensively claimed; the spontaneous demonstrations and unrest which were the direct result of nearly six decades of brutal repression and calculated efforts to control religious practice and attack the very foundations of Tibetan religious, cultural, and ethnic identity. The cultural resolution is still alive and very well inside of Tibet.

I've been especially disturbed by the news that some monks have resorted to suicide after being forced to denounce His Holiness the Dalai Lama as part of the oppressive patriotic education campaign now underway in monasteries and schools throughout Tibet.

There's a particular story, that moves me, of a monk named Lekstok, from Goman Monastery. Lekstok was an elderly man. He was 75 years old. After the demonstrations started, they were confined to their monastery. He left with two students to get some food and supplies. The Chinese security forces came upon them, beat them, threw them in jail, continued to beat and torture them for several days, released them. Lekstok and his two students went back to the monastery, and, very soon after, he wrote a note saying that he could no longer take the repression, and he killed himself.

Please understand how deeply this offense is of denouncing His Holiness, what that feels like to a monk or a nun, and how much suicide violates one of the cardinal precepts of the Buddhist faith. You can sense how deeply depressed and tortured these people are.

There's actually another person here I'd like to introduce. Is Ngawang Sangdrol here? Yeah, this is a success story, in many ways. I want to make sure I have the information here.

Now, Ngawang is a former Tibetan nun and a political prisoner. She was 13 years old when she was arrested, and she was detained and tortured for political activities. She'd go on to spend 11 years as a political prisoner in the infamous Drapchi prison in Lhasa. Her crime was to publicly call for freedom in Tibet and declare her love for the Dalai Lama. Thirteen years.

The efforts of the current Bush administration and the U.S. Congress secured Ngawang Sangdrol's early release from prison and allowed her to travel to the United States. Since then, she has served as a tireless advocate for the Tibetan people, traveling the world to share her firsthand account of repression in Tibet.

We did have some effect, in this case; we did get her out of prison. And we can do these things, if we put our minds to it, and that really is the issue that we're all speaking to. If we put our minds to it.

Since Buddhism took hold in Tibet, 1,300 years ago, Tibetans have worked single-pointedly to rid themselves of anger and violence and hatred, turning these into the noble expressions of love, compassion, and forgiveness. This is their cultural legacy. But, they have been left with so little opportunity and have experienced so much brutality for so many years, they have reached the tipping point of despair and hopelessness. But, right now the whole world is watching.

At the Congressional Gold Medal Ceremony, the President expressed his solidarity for the plight of the Tibetan people and embraced the Nobel Peace Prize Laureate and his cause of basic free-

doms and human decency in Tibet. Yet, today, when Tibetans are in their greatest moment of need, we have heard only a passing comment from the President of the United States.

I was pleased to read the piece from Undersecretary Dobriansky that was published in the Washington Post on Monday, and it was a good article, following some previous very public fumbling on the issue, which was referred to before, when the National Security Advisor, Stephen Hadley, commented on the crisis, mentioning Nepal repeatedly, and, for some reason, didn't say the word "Tibet." I was beginning to wonder how we can trust this administration to do the right thing when they can't even find Tibet, apparently, on the map.

I'm still waiting for the President to throw some weight behind this issue and become publicly engaged. We're looking for effective policies that yield results for those who are suffering now. We're in a tug-of-war between freedom and repression; literally, survival and extinction. The cycle will not end until we see a negotiated solution grounded in genuine harmony and trust between the Chinese and Tibetan peoples.

Let's not be fooled by the Communist Party's concept of a "harmonious society," which is the catch phrase now that's going around. We now know that this is a very hollow slogan. Genuine peace and stability do not emerge from the barrel of a gun. Genuine harmony between people is based on the ability to speak the truth. And this requires dialogue and goodwill, both of which, if we listen to the rhetoric coming out of Beijing, are in short supply among the Chinese leadership.

We must avoid further alienating the Chinese people, who themselves have been victimized and are governed by the same leaders that are authorizing the crackdown in Tibet. It's desperately important that we ensure that our Chinese brothers and sisters have access to the truth, and we must hope and pray that they will take advantage of the opportunity.

Of course we applaud the Chinese for their extraordinary economic success and the sense of national achievement. It was interesting, when I was in San Francisco for the demonstrations there, with the passing of the torch. I became aware of this really interesting subtlety between ethnic pride and national pride. And what I was sensing there was a—of course there's a sense of "Chineseness," and especially "Han Chineseness" in this moment. It's not necessarily for the Communist Party or for any governmental system, but, of course, a natural sense of being Chinese and being proud of that. And we have to be aware of this distinction.

At the same time, we must not fail to take pride in the principles that have made our own nation great, are enshrined in the universal declaration of human rights and hold in their realization the real promise of world peace. The United States and like-minded nations must do whatever we can to redirect Chinese ambition onto the path of democracy and human rights for everyone.

Paradoxically, the present crisis can be seen as an opening to create a framework for the Chinese leadership themselves to initiate a meaningful results-based dialogue with the Dalai Lama. Surely, Chinese leaders, despite what they say, must realize that His Holiness, with his unwavering commitment to peace, non-

violence, and an autonomous Tibet within the structure of the PRC, is critical to the lasting stability of the region.

For Tibetans and for the larger world, only the Dalai Lama can serve as a foundation of legitimacy for Chinese rule. Key to moving forward is developing a better understanding of the internal political dynamics within the Chinese leadership concerning Tibet. Are there differences of opinion? Are there voices of sanity there?

One such light in the darkness is a recent resolution signed by over 100 very, very courageous Chinese intellectuals in the mainland demanding a rethinking of China's Tibet policy, calling for an immediate end to the demonization of Tibetans. And from that I'll quote, "We hold that we must eliminate animosity and bring about national reconciliation, not continue to increase divisions between nationalities. A country that wishes to avoid the partition of its territory must first avoid divisions among its nationalities. Therefore, we appeal to the leaders of our country to hold direct dialogue with the Dalai Lama. We hope that the Chinese and Tibetan people would do away with the misunderstandings between them, develop their interactions with each other, and achieve unity. Government departments, as much as popular organizations and religious figures, should make great efforts toward this goal."

We don't know what's happened to them, by the way, but I'm curious.

This gives us tremendous wonder as to how and why Chinese leaders continue to make such wrong-handed policy statements and decisions that run so counter to their national goals. Are there Communist leaders brave enough to envision a positive resolution in Tibet that will enhance China internally and internationally as a nation of peace, prosperity, and genuine harmony?

The one-party system has created a political culture that does not allow for unwelcome news to move up the chain. Field reports of growing hopelessness, anger, and resentment inside of Tibet—in the cities and villages, and among the nomads—have had little chance of making it to the desks of top officials. So, it's not hard to imagine that the extent of the uprisings and the international reaction have caught them off guard. We know we are witnessing a complete breakdown of China's Tibet policy. And I suspect leaders in Beijing are coming to realize this, too.

If we learn more about the internal Chinese debate, we can identify opportunities for moving forward on a dialogue that benefits both China and Tibet as their interests are definitely not mutually exclusive. Key to this is President Hu Jintao himself. This is clearly a defining moment for him—tests his leadership, offers him a distinct opportunity, possibly for greatness. He was the party chief in the Tibet Autonomous Region during the 1989 crackdown. His rise to power was propelled by the hardline approach he held at that time. Some have suggested that Hu, with his background, is well positioned for a Nixon-goes-to-China moment on the Tibet question. Let's hope that he has both the courage and the stature to heed the call.

American leaders and other heads of state must urge him to seize the critical moment and remind him of the great lost opportunity for China and its—and his—emerging legacy if he does not.

Now, more than ever, instead of blaming the Dalai Lama, Beijing must reflect on the failures of its strategy for Tibet. It's in his own long-term interest to recognize what led to the current instability and to engage, for the first time, to the genuine grievances of the Tibetan people, and embrace the Dalai Lama as a partner in earnest dialogue. I urge Congress to vigorously promote policies toward this goal before it's too late.

Finally, I want to express my deep appreciation for the political and programmatic support that the U.S. Congress has provided for the Tibetan people. It was suggested before, and it has been wonderful. It's not always been easy to keep the financing and support there, but it has been there, and I thank you all for that. This support, from humanitarian assistance to refugees to Voice of America, Radio Free Asia, Tibetan Language Broadcasts, it's all been crucial. It's created a nation of people who still believe in the United States of America as a beacon of freedom. And, in a sometimes very dark world, that's incredibly important to them. Of this support, the American people can be very, very proud.

Over the years, it's been my pleasure to get to know many Members of Congress and United States Government officials who work to advance Tibetan issues. Some are long retired, like Senator Claiborne Pell. Others, like Senator Moynihan and my dear friend Congressman Tom Lantos, are gone from us now. Julia Taft, who held the position of Special Coordinator for Tibetan Issues of the State Department, has also recently passed away. Just days before her passing, the International Campaign for Tibet awarded Julia its Light of Truth Award, which is very important to us, for her significant contributions to the public understanding of Tibet and its people. I know Julia also had many friends in the Congress who supported and respected her work to promote the best humanitarian engagement possible by these United States with those less fortunate around the world.

Thank you very much.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Gere follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF RICHARD GERE, PRESIDENT, THE GERE FOUNDATION AND CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS, INTERNATIONAL CAMPAIGN FOR TIBET, NEW YORK, NY

Madam Chairman, Senator Murkowski, other members of the subcommittee, thank you for inviting me here today to speak on the crisis in Tibet.

I am here as the chairman of the Board of Directors of the International Campaign for Tibet, which advocates on behalf of the rights of Tibetans and a negotiated solution on the future of Tibet. I am also here to introduce and support my longtime friend and colleague, Lodi Gyaltsen Gyari, who serves as lead negotiator with the Chinese Government in his role as Special Envoy of His Holiness the Dalai Lama.

Madam Chairman, it was only 6 months ago that we gathered here, across the street in the Capitol Rotunda, to witness a most-moving and remarkable historic event—the awarding of the Congressional Gold Medal to His Holiness the Dalai Lama. I was honored and humbled to watch as His Holiness received from the United States Congress its highest recognition for his lifelong devotion to peace, compassion, and nonviolence, and for speaking the truth about the condition of his people.

Not only did the ceremony touch me spiritually, it made me deeply proud to be an American and to see the President and Members of Congress, of both parties, standing side by side with the Dalai Lama in unified support of his efforts on behalf of the Tibetan people. By becoming the first American President to appear publicly with His Holiness, President Bush sent a clear signal of his commitment to put the

United States on the side of human rights and religious freedom, and to preserve the cultural and linguistic uniqueness of the Tibetan people.

On March 10, a vortex opened up over Tibet: The unleashing of countless layers of frustration and resentment. The unrest inside Tibet, which continues to this day, did not start because of the Beijing Olympics. It was not instigated by the Dalai Lama, no matter what the Chinese authorities have so offensively claimed.

The spontaneous demonstrations and unrest were the direct result of nearly six decades of brutal repression and calculated efforts to control religious practice and attack the very foundations of the Tibetan religious, cultural, and ethnic identity.

The Cultural Revolution is still alive and well inside Tibet.

Since Buddhism took hold in Tibet 1,300 years ago, Tibetans have worked single pointedly to rid themselves of anger, violence, and hatred turning these into the noble expressions of love, compassion, and forgiveness. This is their cultural legacy. But they have been left with so little opportunity and have experienced such brutality for so many years that they have reached the tipping point of despair and hopelessness.

Now the whole world is watching. At the Congressional Gold Medal ceremony, the President expressed his solidarity for the plight of the Tibetan people and embraced the Nobel Peace Prize Laureate and his cause of basic freedoms and human decency in Tibet. Yet, today, when Tibetans are in their greatest moment of need, we have heard only a passing comment from the President.

I was pleased to read the piece that Under Secretary Dobriansky had published in the paper on Monday. Following some previous very public fumbling of this issue, even from the President's top National Security advisor (Two Sundays ago on ABC's "This Week," National Security Advisor Steven Hadley commented on the crisis by erroneously mentioning "Nepal" seven times, never once uttering the word "Tibet." [1]), I was beginning to wonder how we can trust this administration to do the right thing when they cannot even find Tibet on a map.

I still am waiting for the President to throw some weight behind this issue and become publicly engaged. We are looking for effective policies that yield results for those who are suffering now.

We are in a tug of war between freedom and repression, survival, and extinction. The cycle will not end until we see a negotiated solution grounded in genuine harmony and trust between the Chinese and Tibetan peoples.

Let us not be fooled by the Communist Party's concept of a "harmonious society." We know now that this is a hollow slogan. Genuine peace and stability do not emerge from the barrel of a gun. Genuine harmony between people is based on the ability to speak the truth. This requires dialogue and goodwill, both of which—if we listen to the rhetoric coming out of Beijing—are in short supply among the Chinese leadership.

We must avoid further alienating the Chinese people, who themselves have been victimized and are governed by the same leaders that are authorizing the crackdown in Tibet. It is desperately important that we ensure that our Chinese brothers and sisters have access to the truth, and we must hope and pray they will take advantage of the opportunity. Of course, we applaud the Chinese for their extraordinary economic success and sense of national achievement. At the same time, we must not fail to take pride in the principles that have made our own Nation great, are enshrined in Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and hold in their realization the real promise of world peace. The United States and like-minded nations must do whatever we can to redirect Chinese ambition onto the path of democracy and human rights.

Paradoxically, the present crisis can be seen as an opening to create a framework for the Chinese leadership themselves to initiate a meaningful, results-based dialogue with the Dalai Lama. Surely China's leaders, despite what they say, must realize that His Holiness, with his unwavering commitment to peace, nonviolence, and an autonomous Tibet within the structure of the PRC, is critical to the lasting stability of the region. For Tibetans and for the larger world, only the Dalai Lama can serve as a foundation of legitimacy for Chinese rule.

Key to moving forward is developing a better understanding of the internal political dynamics within the Chinese leadership concerning Tibet. Are there differences of opinion? Are there voices of sanity? One such light in the darkness is the recent resolution signed by over 100 very courageous Chinese intellectuals demanding a rethinking of China's Tibet policy and calling for an immediate end to the demonizing of Tibetans and I quote, "We hold that we must eliminate animosity and bring about national reconciliation, not continue to increase divisions between nationalities. A country that wishes to avoid the partition of its territory must first avoid divisions

[1] This Week with George Stephanopolous, ABC, April 13, 2008.

among its nationalities. Therefore, we appeal to the leaders of our country to hold direct dialogue with the Dalai Lama. We hope that the Chinese and Tibetan people will do away with the misunderstandings between them, develop their interactions with each other, and achieve unity. Government departments as much as popular organizations and religious figures should make great efforts toward this goal."

This gives us tremendous wonder as to how and why, Chinese leaders continue to make such wrong-headed policy decisions that run so counter to their national goals. Are there Communist leaders brave enough to envision a positive resolution in Tibet that will enhance China internally and internationally as a nation of peace, prosperity, and genuine harmony?

The one-party system has created a political culture that does not allow for unwelcome news to move up the chain. Field reports of growing hopelessness, anger, and resentment inside Tibet, in the cities, in the villages, among the nomads, have had little chance of making it to the desks of top officials.

So it's not hard to imagine that the extent of the uprisings, and the international reaction, have caught them way off guard. We know we are witnessing a complete breakdown of China's Tibet policy. I suspect that leaders in Beijing are coming to realize this too.

If we can learn more about the internal Chinese debate, we can identify opportunities for moving forward on a dialogue that benefits both China and Tibet as their interests are definitely not mutually exclusive.

President Hu Jintao is key to this. This is a defining moment that tests his leadership and offers him a distinct opportunity for greatness. He was Party Chief in the Tibetan Autonomous Region during the 1989 crackdown. His rise to power was propelled by the hard-line approach he held at that time. Some have suggested that Hu, with this background, is well-positioned for a "Nixon goes to China" moment on the Tibet question. Let's hope that he has both the courage and the stature to heed the call. American leaders and other heads of state must urge him to seize the critical moment, and remind him of the great lost opportunity for China and its- and his- emerging legacy if he does not.

Now, more than ever, instead of blaming the Dalai Lama, Beijing must reflect on the failures of its strategy for Tibet. It is in its own long-term interest to recognize what has led to the current instability, and to engage for the first time with the genuine grievances of the Tibetan people and embrace the Dalai Lama as a partner in earnest dialogue. I urge Congress to vigorously promote policies toward this goal before it's too late.

Finally, I want to express deep appreciation for the political and programmatic support that the U.S. Congress has provided to the Tibetan people. This support—from humanitarian assistance to refugees to Voice of America and Radio Free Asia Tibetan language broadcasts—has been crucial and has created a nation of people who still believe in the United States of America as a beacon of freedom in a sometimes very dark world. Of this support, the American people can be very proud.

Over the years, it has been my pleasure to get to know many Members of Congress and U.S. Government officials who work to advance Tibetan issues. Some are long retired, like Senator Claiborne Pell, others like Senator Moynihan, are gone from us. Julia Taft, who held the position of Special Coordinator for Tibetan Issues at the State Department has also recently passed away. Just days before her passing, the International Campaign for Tibet awarded Julia its Light of Truth Award for her significant contributions to the public understanding of Tibet and its people. I know Julia also had many friends in the Congress who supported and respected her work to promote the best humanitarian engagement possible by these United States with those less fortunate around the world.

Senator BOXER. Thank you so much, Mr. Gere.

You could stay at the table, if you wish, or you could take your other seat, however you feel more comfortable, because I know that we're going to hear from Lodi Gyari.

I just want to say to you, just for myself, that I've watched your work through the years for so many important causes. This one just has been extraordinary. And I just really do—and I say this to you, and I've said it to others, because I am from California, and I so support those from my State who give up their privacy. It's not—I mean, we kid around about the cameras. They're here, because you're here. And this could be annoying to you. The fact is, you're willing to give up your privacy for such a noble and honor-

able cause. And for me, it's really helpful, and for those of us here, because there's just so much we can do to get the cameras here. And, believe me, we can't compete with this. So, we are absolutely, just thrilled and delighted that you care so much that you would come here today and share your thoughts.

And, by the way, you really did give us a very important, I think, picture into this whole issue that I don't think we had before. So——

Mr. GERE. Well, thank you very much, Senator.

I—just as a closing comment, this Tibet issue is not a small issue. There are 6 million Tibetans in the TAR and Tibetan regions that are now outside of the TAR, as defined by China since their invasion. This is an issue much larger than Tibet, and it has to do with—it speaks to who we are as a people——

Senator BOXER. I agree.

Mr. GERE [continuing]. Who we want to be. As a nation, what do we really stand for? The values that are inherent in the Tibetan experiment, which was an extraordinary experiment, like the United States of America—they decided to make something new, something extraordinary that was really based on love and compassion and understanding, and institutions that would create more people of great love and great compassion and great sense of brotherhood and sisterhood. And that's why we have to stand by them. We're speaking to ourselves as we speak for the Tibetans.

Thank you very much.

Senator BOXER. Well, it does make us feel more noble when we take these issues on.

And we're very honored to have the Special Envoy of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, Mr. Lodi Gyari.

And is 10 minutes enough time for you, sir? Are you—is that all right?

Mr. GYARI. That's good.

Senator BOXER. OK. Very good.

STATEMENT OF LODI GYARI, SPECIAL ENVOY OF HIS HOLINESS THE DALAI LAMA, WASHINGTON, DC

Mr. GYARI. Thank you very much, Madam Chairperson and other members of the committee.

I'm really very grateful for this very timely hearing that you have called for. And, in fact, I would rather, before I start my presentation, make some remarks or observations of the very important, I think, exchange that you had with the Deputy Secretary of State. And I wanted to, at the very beginning, urge the Madam Chairperson and others that you follow up and work closely with the administration in the manner that you have suggested, because I do agree with some of your colleagues—Senator Menendez, for example. While we are very grateful to the administration, and particularly to the Congress, for your sympathy and for your understanding, but there has to be a little more than expression of sympathy, which, obviously, we very much appreciate. So, I think the number of, you know, issues that you have listed, I think, is a really very good starting point, because I think the Chinese Government—I do not, you know, claim to know so much, but I have dealt with them. You know, they are very, you know, serious, sensible

people, and they respect people when they are also very serious and they mean, you know, what you say. So, I think you need to send a very clear and precise message.

And I think you did ask very good questions about leverage. And, you know, it was one of the most, I think, constructive hearings—I'm not saying that the other hearings that I have been to have not been constructive, but today I saw a real serious effort.

I can also clearly see, Madam Chair, you have mentioned, that on both sides there's a, really, kind of feeling of, you know, frustration. So—but, I think there was good beginning here today. And on the list of things that you've suggested, maybe also—and you did allude to that—I think, very close cooperation between the Western democracies, because this time we are also very gratified to see that the voices that you have across Atlantic—the Germans, the Brits, the—particularly the French and the Australians—everyone has, you know, really come out. So, I think one of your—you know, on the list of things that you wanted to suggest, if you could also very strongly encourage the administration that they work together with other world democracies.

I would also like to urge the Congress, too, to reach out to your counterparts, you know, across, with the European Parliament, for example, which has taken a great leadership together with you on this issue, because this is, I think—it's unfortunate, this tragic situation that is happening in Tibet. In a strange way, you know, it gives the people of Tibet new opportunity. So, I felt, you know, so much, you know, moved.

And also, I want, at the very beginning, really emphasize on that, because I want something concrete to come out of, you know, this hearing, as is the intention of the chair and of the ranking member.

I know you wanted, Madam Chair, that I come here today and share with you, first of all, you know, what, in our view, has led to the present situation, and what is the present situation, and what could be the future prospects.

I will not mince words. The present situation, the tragic situation, is the result of misrule, mistreatment, policies of Chinese Government, period. I think everyone knows that. It is beyond any doubt. In fact, the ultra- leftist elements of the Communist Party took total control over the Tibet policy way back since 1957, and ever since—ever since, with regard to Tibet, the policy is conducted by the extreme leftist wing of the party. And this is the result of that—you know, that policy.

And, as my friend and, you know, colleague, you know, Richard, mentioned, I also hope that President Hu Jintao and the present leaders will take this opportunity to really clean house, other than making, you know, baseless charges against His Holiness, which no one, you know, no one believes. What do other, you know, to investigate—first of all, to reexamine their own policy that has not worked, and then hold people responsible that has misled them for the last many decades. Misled them. And today, the Chinese leaders in Beijing feel embarrassed, feel unhappy. That anger or that unhappiness should not be directed towards His Holiness, but towards those within the system that has led them into this present situation.

At the same time, you know, while, you know, holding the Chinese fully responsible, if I may say so, candidly, I think the international community also has some responsibility. I will be very frank. Because I think, while there were expressions of sympathy for us periodically, sometimes, you know, very visible manner, but, to be very candid, you know, Tibet was not given the attention that it deserved. This, unfortunately, you know, Madam Chairperson, is—I mean, is not only with regard to Tibet. The only tragic situation happens when only, you know, many human lives have been lost, then it seems that the governments and the world really does wake up. Quite often, very late for the situation. But, I just hope that, with regards to Tibet, it is not too late.

So, you know, while expressing my gratitude, I also, you know, want to be very candid to say that the world has not done enough. And I do hope that, you know, this is the beginning of a real serious, not just lip sympathy for the Tibetan people.

But, I also wanted to say today that the fact that you are holding this hearing, Madam Chairperson, you are sending a very powerful message. This is something that I think many people don't understand. In fact, I know that there are also few—fortunately few people who feel sometimes all, you know, the Western nations kind of lip sympathy for Tibet or holding of hearings sends the wrong message, it incites—it, in fact, makes the Tibetan people feel some sense of hope and they then do some stupid things.

I wanted to tell you, it is totally the opposite. The fact that, in spite of so much suffering, that the Tibetan people have been able to maintain patience and not to resort to violence—No. 1, is the influence of the leader, His Holiness the Dalai Lama. And the second, the credit really can go to people like yourselves, who from time to time did send a message to Tibetan people, said that, "You are not totally forgotten. You are not totally forgotten." And that is the reason why, in spite of so much suffering, that there has been certain degree of stability on the plateau.

But, you are beginning to witness the Tibetan people—the Tibetan people are beginning to really, sometimes, you know, feel, you know, that they have been ignored for too long, and the symptoms are, you know, becoming very clear.

I also wanted to—I know—I mean, many of you know, but sometimes I think people take it kind of very casually, you know, when we talk about nonviolence. Unfortunately, even among my own community, there are some people who think, "Well, nonviolence is something very passive, you know, something that, you know, make only, sometimes, weak people can, you know, important." I will tell you that, in fact, I think, to struggle nonviolently is the most difficult struggle. Most difficult. You just can't say that, "Oh, I have become nonviolent," as if it is kind of declaration, and then, from that day on, you are nonviolent. No. Every moment, it is a new dedication that we have to make to remain nonviolent. And we can only do it, again, because of the leader that we have.

I will just share with you how, a few years back, as the leader of the Tibetan Delegation, I had the opportunity even to go to my birthplace. If you see some of the footages of my visit, you see me, kind of, you know, with a smile, trying to be nice. But, I will tell you today of the pain that I was going through. I was visiting a

monastery that I grew up, because I was a young monk. Seventy percent of it is total ruins—70 percent of it in total ruins now. You know, a place that I grew up, you know, as a child, total ruins. And I actually visited—which my colleagues also, you know, do not know—I also visited the site where I know my grandmother was tortured to death. I also visited the site where my elder brother was starved to death. In spite of that, because of the leadership that His Holiness provide, because of the commitment that we have made to nonviolence, you see me all smiles with my Chinese counterparts.

I'm sharing this with you because you understand and appreciate more the part of struggle that His Holiness has led us. So, please help us stay on this course, because this is not only important for us, this is also important for China.

I'm sorry for being emotional. I was trying to be here, you know, all, you know, business and to making you a presentation.

Senator BOXER. No, it's very appropriate. Please.

Mr. GYARI. But, let me also now, again, briefly touch—and I know that my colleague has done it, and also, in fact, you know, Deputy Secretary has also touched on that the situation on the ground is very explosive. Very explosive. There have been demonstrations in over 90 places, covering almost about 50 or nearly 60 counties, both in the autonomous region, but outside of it. So, this clearly shows the danger, the intensity of the situation. And our biggest concern right now, Madam Chairperson, is not really the dialogue. I mean, dialogue is important. I assure you that we are absolutely committed, because that is the only way out. But right now His Holiness is so much saddened with the situation, his biggest priority right now is: What can he do immediately for those who have been detained—what will happen to them? Those who have been injured and are not having the possibility to get any medical help, because many of them are hurt—we know from the experience of 1987 and 1988, many would be dying right now because the choice for them is either to go to some kind of Chinese medical clinic, which may, first of all, not even accept them, but, if they do, that means immediate arrest and imprisonment. So, there are many who are literally dying without any medical help.

I mean, I have talked, myself, with a person who's a relative, was one of those who got shot in Lhasa. What did they do? They were from the eastern part of Tibet, from outside of Tibet Autonomous Region. They knew that if they went to the hospital or the clinic, they would immediately be arrested. Fortunately, for them, they had a vehicle. So, what they did is, they loaded this person who was injured and drove—left Lhasa, hoping that if they can somehow manage to reach their own native area, they may then be, through their personal connections, be able to provide some medical help. What happens? Because of excessive bleeding, this person dies on the way. I mean, this is just one example, because I know this as a firsthand information. And there are many such things happening.

So, at the moment, our biggest concern is the plight of those arrested, those being tortured, and the very tense situation that they have created throughout Tibet, so much so that His Holiness, even in this hour of crisis, you know, had the wisdom to personally write

to Chinese President on the 19th of March, just a week after the major demonstrations that erupted in Lhasa—and I had the honor of forwarding that through my channels—offering—His Holiness said that, you know, "Look, you know, we must all, at the moment, try to walk together so that this tragic situation could be—could be brought under control."

Senator BOXER. Mr. Gyari, I'm going to ask you to sum it up in a minute, because we do have some questions.

Mr. GYARI. Yes. Certainly, yes.

Senator BOXER. And we have a third——

Mr. GYARI. Yes.

Senator BOXER [continuing]. Panel. So——

Mr. GYARI. So, anyway, I just wanted to let you know that, you know, our biggest concern right now is the tragic situation. This is why we want you to help. And you have——

Senator BOXER. Yes.

Mr. GYARI [continuing]. Also already alluded to that.

And then, with regards to, you know, the other factor is, we are also very much concerned, because Chinese, you see, now as a result of the present situation, have started, you know, a massive kind of policy of discrimination against Tibetans. Now, this is fact that you see—you can verify, the State Department can verify—now every Tibetan, even if you're a party member, if you are identified as a Tibetan nationality, you are only, now, allowed to walk, check into certain exclusive hotels throughout China. You cannot just—if you are Tibetan, mind you, you—not a Lama, not a nun—if you are Tibetan—you can be party member, but if your identity card says that you are a Tibetan nationality, you cannot even check into any hotel or any accommodation, as all other Chinese citizens can do. And if your identity card says that you are Tibetan nationality, you cannot get a passport easily; on the other hand, the Chinese at this—given passports very easily, because they would like the economic advantage to be taken.

So, what I'm saying is that there is very dangerous discrimination by the Chinese Government to the Tibetans as people, and this is really leading into tremendous animosity between the two peoples. This is of great concern.

Now, with regard to the future of dialogue, I will just summarize. As I said earlier——

Senator BOXER. Mr. Gyari, we're going to have to finish your testimony in 1 minute, because I have to leave this room at a certain time, and I need to have time to——

Mr. GYARI. Certainly, yes. So, anyway, then let me just summarize——

Senator BOXER. So, I'm going to give you 1 minute, and then we're going to ask you questions.

Mr. GYARI. Yes.

Senator BOXER. OK.

Mr. GYARI. We are fully committed to the policy of engagement. You know, that I can assure you. Obviously, you see, when next round happens, it cannot be business as usual, because of the tragic situation. What we need is a clear assurance from the Chinese Government that they're willing to discuss the matter seriously.

So, I think that will be, you see, you know, the—some of the main issues that I want to share. My written testimony is on the record, which I hope, you know, you will study carefully and reflect upon.

Thank you very much.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Gyari follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF LODI GYARI, SPECIAL ENVOY OF HIS HOLINESS THE DALAI LAMA, WASHINGTON, DC

Madame Chairwoman and members of the committee, at this critical time for Tibet, I wish to express my appreciation to the Congress for its unwavering support for His Holiness the Dalai Lama and his efforts to find a peaceful solution for Tibet. I thank you for convening this timely hearing and Deputy Secretary Negroponte for his appearance. What he says on Tibet today will certainly be heard in Beijing.

I would like to thank my dear friend, Richard Gere, for his introduction and, of course, for the years of hard work and splendid achievement he has produced with the International Campaign for Tibet and for His Holiness and the Tibetan people.

You have invited me to present His Holiness the Dalai Lama's views on the current crisis and his plans for achieving a comprehensive and lasting solution to the Tibet question. In brief, the current crisis is a manifestation of decades of Chinese misrule and mistreatment of the Tibetan people, influenced by ultra-leftist elements of the Party that took control of Tibetan policy as early as 1957, and made worse by decades of misleading information produced by local authorities for the central government.

Among the most disturbing developments in Tibet is the segregation of Tibetans from Chinese society. Tibetans are now instructed to stay or return to their registered place of residence; they are prohibited from accessing services, like hotels, unless specifically designated for their use; and they are routinely harassed and detained simply because they are Tibetan. Chinese servers in many restaurants are choosing not to serve Tibetans.

The Chinese Government, which, as a tenet of its economic growth strategy has encouraged travel for its citizens, restricts travel for Tibetans. If you are a Tibetan nationality, you are required to attain several clearances before you are issued a passport. In some Tibetan areas, such as my own Nyarong County in Kanze Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Tibetans are not even allowed to leave the country. This and existing social and economic disparities are reducing Tibetans to second-class status, giving every appearance of Tibet being a back-water colony and not a harmonious part of a multiethnic China that Chinese leaders are promising.

Professor Phuntsok Wangyal, founder in 1942 of the Tibetan Communist Party, who became one of the first victims of the ultraleftists, wrote to Chairman Mao and Premier Zhou—in his own blood from his prison cell on a copy of the Communist Party Manifesto—that "fascism, and Great Han Chauvinism are the main irreconcilable enemies of all the Tibetan people." That advice is as relevant today as it was in the early days of the People's Republic of China.

While the Chinese Government readily accuses His Holiness the Dalai Lama of "splittist activities," ironically, it is they that have adopted deeply divisive strategies to address the question of Tibet.

The Tibetan people are grateful for the global outpouring of sympathy for what is occurring in Tibet, but we must also acknowledge that the international community has for too long lacked sufficient will to push for a resolution of the Tibet question. It is unfortunate that the world seems to wake up to a situation only when it already has become a tragedy, with much loss of life and devastation on the ground. The Chinese leadership may not like the fact that what they have considered to be an "internal affair" is now an international issue. Nonetheless, it is a situation of their own making, for which they must bear full responsibility. They can no longer pretend that there are not fundamental problems in their policies in Tibet.

On Monday, the Washington Post ran an editorial, "The Way Forward in Tibet," written by Under Secretary Paula Dobriansky, the Special Coordinator for Tibetan Issues. Its publication coincided with the Under Secretary's meeting with His Holiness in Ann Arbor, Michigan, where he was giving teachings. We appreciate this comprehensive public statement on the part of the Bush administration, which included that "the best way for China's leaders to address Tibetan concerns is to engage in dialogue with the Dalai Lama." We have heard this same message from Deputy Secretary Negroponte.

We have been seized with the situation in Tibet since March 10 when the demands of a group of monks for religious freedom and the release of others who had been jailed for celebrating the honor bestowed on His Holiness last fall—the Congressional Gold Medal—sparked an outbreak of anger and aggression against the Chinese presence in Lhasa and, tragically, the loss of many lives.

Demonstrations have continued and spread throughout Tibet—and the number of the Tibetan dead, missing, and detained continues to rise. Chinese forces continue to conduct acts of retaliation and intimidation against the Tibetan people, including the most contemptible attempts at reeducation, even of school children by Communist Party work teams. A climate of tension and fear exists that the Tibetans have not experienced since the time of the Cultural Revolution.

SITUATION IN TIBET

Individually and collectively, people around the world have denounced China's actions and attempted to intervene. Hundreds of Chinese intellectuals have boldly signed an open letter condemning Beijing's response to the crisis. The U.N. High Commissioner for Human Rights requested—and was denied—urgent permission to visit Tibet. The European Parliament and the U.S. Congress moved quickly to pass resolutions calling on the Chinese Government to show restraint and to engage directly with His Holiness to find solutions for the underlying causes of the problems in Tibet. Beijing has heard this same message from heads of state and eminent persons around the globe.

We continue to ask that the international community to press for immediate remedies for the suffering of the Tibetan people, the most critical of which is access by journalists, diplomats, and humanitarian missions to Tibet.

We would like to recognize the important contribution of the Tibetan language broadcast services at Voice of America and Radio Free Asia, and Voice of Tibet, which have served as a critical line of communication in and out of Tibet.

In brief, with little official information available, we can report that:

- Chinese Government authorities have acknowledged the surrender or detention of some 4,000 Tibetans.
- We know of numerous deaths as a result of Chinese forces firing into crowds of demonstrators in several areas of Tibet.
- Many monasteries have been sealed off and under lockdown across Tibet, and monks within subjected to many deprivations and punishments.
- Police have been carrying out house-to-house night raids in Lhasa, in villages and nomad encampments, dragging away many Tibetans.
- Hundreds of Tibetans have been loaded onto the new train in Lhasa and taken away to prisons in China.
- Large numbers of Chinese forces have been sent to all the Tibetan areas where demonstrations have occurred. In the Amdo and Kham areas of eastern Tibet, demonstrations have been widespread and large-scale, and retaliation has been brutal.
- One or more instances of protest have been reported in at least 52 county-level locations, as well as Chengdu (the capital of Sichuan), Lanzhou (the capital of Gansu) and Beijing.
- More than 98 protests have been counted so far, and they are still happening. In only one of those protests, as far as we are aware, has violence been used against Chinese civilians.
- In recent weeks a new wave of protests has begun, in response to stringent patriotic education campaigns in monasteries and requirements to denounce the Dalai Lama. The actions of the authorities are doing nothing to create stability—they are provoking further resentment, despair, and unrest. For instance, in a raid on Labrang Monastery on April 15, Chinese forces smashed altars in monks' cells and burned images of the Dalai Lama that some monks had kept at great risk. At Tongkor Monastery in Kardze, photographs of His Holiness were trampled upon. When monks and laypeople protested about the actions of the work team and called for His Holiness to return to Tibet, troops fired into the crowd, killing 15 Tibetans including monks, a young woman, and a teenage boy.
- In the Tibet Autonomous Region alone, authorities have announced that they will try some 1,000 Tibetans by May 1. China has virtually closed the TAR. With the exception of two show-tours, no journalists or diplomats have secured permission to visit the TAR since the crisis began, so these trials will be carried out absent outside observers.

We urgently ask the international community—especially those governments involved in rule-of-law programs with China—to insist that the legal cases of Tibetans

detained as a result of the current crisis are considered according to international standards of due process, and that political prisoners be treated humanely.

We welcomed the reminder yesterday in a State Department statement that "the intentional withholding of necessary medical treatment for political reasons is a serious violation of human rights."

CHINESE MISSTEPS AND TIBETAN EFFORTS TO ENGAGE

It is difficult to watch events unfolding in Tibet. I have long warned that such a crisis could be provoked by Chinese policies such as authorizing the Communist Party to recognize reincarnate lamas—or by unique actions Beijing has taken—such as the abduction of the young Panchen Lama. Friends of China knowledgeable about Tibet have cautioned that moving progressively harshly to constrain the Tibetan Buddhist identity while creating circumstances that facilitate the movement of hundreds of thousands of Chinese up and onto the Tibetan plateau would heighten tensions.

Beijing must now reverse course. Chinese leaders must look to the underlying causes of the problems, conduct whatever housekeeping may be necessary in their personnel and policies, and reach out to His Holiness and the Tibetan people in the spirit of inclusion and mutual benefit so that together we can achieve peace in Tibet.

The situation in Tibet has of course created conditions that make our engagement with Beijing difficult. Throughout the period of crisis, I have been using existing channels of communication with Chinese officials to convey our urgent concerns. What I have been hearing back is nothing but the usual rhetoric, very similar to what Chinese Government spokespeople are saying publicly. On March 19, His Holiness, himself, sent a letter to Chinese President Hu Jintao. We continue to make efforts to begin a discussion on a peaceful way forward. As a first step, His Holiness has offered to send a delegation to Tibet that we believe could ease anxiety among Tibetans and contribute to the restoration of calm. To say, as some media have reported, that we are in discussions with the Chinese Government is unfortunately an overstatement of fact.

From the onset of this crisis, we have expressed our concern to Beijing about whipping up nationalist sentiment against the Tibetan people and His Holiness, even blaming the so-called "Dalai clique" for inciting the demonstrations. Such charges are baseless.

We are asking for an international impartial investigation of the true causes which have led to the recent crisis.

His Holiness has been deeply concerned by the deep division that has been created in the minds of the Chinese and Tibetan people within a period of several weeks, and will likely endure for the foreseeable future. His Holiness is deeply saddened by this, particularly because he has made so much effort to outreach to the Chinese people on a personal level and because he knows that real stability depends on tolerance, mutual understanding, and peaceful coexistence.

On March 28, His Holiness issued a public appeal to the Chinese people, reflective of his many initiatives to connect with them. Many of these initiatives have been warmly received. We have increasingly seen among many Chinese in and outside China, a new fascination with the Tibetan culture, an emerging consideration for the protection of Tibet's fragile environment, and also a kind of renaissance of Tibetan Buddhism in China. These developments had been very encouraging.

If possible, I would like to request that the full text of His Holiness the Dalai Lama's Appeal to the Chinese People be included as part of the record of today's hearing.

OVERALL ISSUE OF TIBET

On the overall issue of Tibet, the position of His Holiness remains unchanged in key areas. First, his commitment to the Middle Way is unwavering. He is not seeking independence for Tibet but, rather, genuine, meaningful autonomy for the Tibetan people within the People's Republic of China. Chinese law makes considerable commitments to regional national autonomy, so there exists already a legitimate platform for discussion. However, the prevailing system lacks legal assurances that provisions of autonomy are not given by the state on the one hand and taken away by the state on the other hand. This is the crux of the problem with autonomy and why His Holiness is seeking "genuine" or "meaningful" autonomy.

Second, His Holiness is uncompromising in his commitment to nonviolence. This is not just the core principle of the Tibetan struggle. It is the message he carries around the world in his public teachings. As the spiritual leader of the Tibetan people, it defines his very existence. Even at this time, His Holiness believes that the

principle of nonviolence is so essential to the Tibetan identity that he has said repeatedly that he would disassociate himself from a Tibetan movement that departs from a nonviolent path.

Third, His Holiness remains fully committed to a policy of engagement with China to resolve the issue of Tibet. It is in this area where I have the honor to serve His Holiness at chief negotiator with the Chinese Government, a process the Tibetans have been engaged in on an on-and-off basis since 1979. After serious efforts by us—and the urgings of many in the international community—we were able to reestablish a formal dialogue with Beijing in 2002. We have had six rounds of dialogue since that time, the most recent in June/July of 2007. Those discussions have served the purpose of providing the opportunity to build relations and convey our positions.

The Tibetan position entails a single ask—that we are able to maintain the distinctive Tibetan identity into the future. Central to this ask is the political right of autonomy. According to the Chinese Government's own analysis of its law on regional ethnic autonomy, the Tibetan people are entitled to the full political right of autonomy; full decisionmaking power in economic and social development undertakings; freedom to inherit and develop our traditional culture and to practice our religious belief and freedom to administer, protect, and be the first to utilize our natural resources, and to independently develop our educational and cultural undertakings.

The other central point is that such autonomy must be provided to all Tibetans living in contiguous Tibetan areas, an area roughly defined by the geography of the Tibetan plateau, governed by a single administrative unit under a single unified policy.

The recent tragic events in Tibet clearly demonstrate that even though Tibetans have been divided among different provincial administrations, they remain unified by their identity and their aspirations. A piecemeal solution for the future of Tibet that takes into account only the Tibetans in the TAR would not resolve the Tibet problem. This has been tried in the past and has failed.

A WAY FORWARD

In the 4th and 5th rounds of our dialogue with the Chinese, we had expansive discussions around these issues, and both sides came away with a very clear understanding and a sense that we were moving forward. However, during the 6th round, we saw a hardening of the Chinese position.

We cannot pretend that if our next round of discussions were held now, it would be business as usual given the scale of the crackdown and the fact that protests are continuing almost daily. The present emergency situation must be resolved before we can really talk about the future. However, if both sides are determined to find a solution through genuine engagement—and it is my duty today to assure you that His Holiness remains fully committed to that effort—then, we will find a way. However, the true sentiments of the Tibetan people, evident in the current crisis, have given both sides the clear mandate that when we next talk, we can waste no time; rather, we must deal with the real issues and produce results so that genuine peace is at last restored in Tibet.

Therefore, we ask of those advising both sides to continue with the dialogue process that they press the Chinese side to provide assurances of their commitment to real and concrete progress.

We believe that China's way forward in Tibet envisages two possible scenarios. The more hopeful scenario is that Chinese leaders realize that, in spite of some constructive efforts to improve the lives of the Tibetan people, many Tibetans are profoundly unhappy—and some have even shown their unhappiness at the cost of their own lives. In this scenario, a sensible approach would be for Beijing to commit to constructive dialogue with His Holiness or his representatives whereby genuine and meaningful autonomy for Tibetans and unity and stability for the PRC are assured.

The second scenario reflects the more rigid Chinese attitude. In this scenario the Chinese Government continues to implement repressive measures and looks forward to a final solution where Tibet's unique identity is subsumed and entirely assimilated into China. We might suspect that such a policy—which would include the intensification of the anti-Dalai Lama campaign and in-migration of Chinese settlers—would further develop after the Beijing Olympics in August. In either scenario we see a strong role for the international community.

On the humanitarian side, we are asking that governments engage international human rights mechanisms—such as U.N. human rights rapporteurs and private NGOs, like the International Committee of the Red Cross and Doctors without Borders—in coordinated efforts to press the Chinese Government for access to Tibet so that the immediate suffering of the Tibetan people can be addressed.

On the political and diplomatic side, we are respectfully requesting of all our international government contacts that they meet with Chinese officials in discussions on remedies for the underlying issues that have contributed to the current crisis, and urge dialogue.

We have been encouraged by the active engagement of many countries, including the Germans, Australians, British and, particularly, the French in this regard. Even, India and Japan, who have sensitive relations with China, have felt the need to speak out by calling for restraint and dialogue. Just last week, the Japanese Prime Minister challenged the Chinese Foreign Minister's attempt to characterize Tibet as a domestic issue, saying that China had to "face the fact that Tibet had become an international problem."

In stark contrast, the Government of Nepal, which shares a long history with Tibet, has behaved in a most reprehensible manner, cracking down on Tibetans who live in Nepal and have been protesting in solidarity with the brothers and sisters inside Tibet. Nepal is acting almost as an extension of the brutal regime on the other side of the Himalayas, a reaction that has many Nepalese deeply disturbed and ashamed for their government.

I would like to close my testimony by mentioning the recent passing of Julia Taft who served the United States in many capacities, including as the second Special Coordinator for Tibetan Issues, appointed by Secretary of State Madeleine Albright. Julia was an extraordinary friend of Tibet and would have been a powerful advocate in this time of crisis.

Senator BOXER. Thank you, Mr. Gyari.

I am very touched by your testimony. And I really do appreciate the fact that you believe these types of hearings can be very helpful.

You know, many, many years ago, I was involved in the issue of human rights in the former Soviet Union, and I was very fearful, at first, to shine the light on what was happening, because I thought it would lead to more abuse of the people there. And I was really taught, by the very people who were suffering, that I was wrong, that you must shine the light of truth on these matters. And I think that's key. One of the many things that I am very concerned about is the fact that the Chinese Government keeps saying that the Dalai Lama wants independence, and that he fans the flames of hatred among the Chinese toward those in the Tibet region.

And I guess I need to ask you: How can we help on this? I mean, one PRC official said, "The Lhasa incident has once more exposed the separatist essence and the hypocrisy and deceitfulness of the alleged peace and nonviolence of the Dalai Clique." And, you know, meanwhile, the Dalai Lama is saying, "We need to find a peaceful and mutually beneficial solution." He has no desire to seek Tibet separation. And yet, the PRC puts out these very inflammatory statements.

And I guess my question—because it worries me—is: Is this going to lead to the Chinese people just getting very worked up and upset at those from the Tibet region? Do you see this as something that is happening now, that they're spreading this nontruth about what the Dalai Lama has done, and they're saying he's responsible for this—are you worried about——

Mr. GERE. Oh, yes.

Senator BOXER [continuing]. The impact? And how can we get the truth out?

Mr. GYARI. We are very much worried. In fact, to cover the wrong policies of the Chinese Government, I think the Chinese Government is playing a very dangerous game, and, in fact, I think

it is a very unpatriotic—if I can use that term—of making this into almost a ethnic conflict between——

Senator BOXER. Yes.

Mr. GYARI [continuing]. The Chinese and Tibetans, which I think us unpardonable, because China talks about, you know, harmonious society. On the other hand, you see the Chinese Government deliberately creating this rift between the Tibetans and Chinese.

Well, I do not know what we can do to—you know, but as far as we're concerned—especially, His Holiness, is making so much effort in the last few weeks. One of his main focuses has been trying to reach out. He's been writing to the Chinese people. Tomorrow, he will make exclusive, again, appeal to Chinese Buddhists and other, you know, people who believe in the religion, explaining to them, asking their help, so that the Chinese Government do not create this rift, you know, between the peoples, which I think will be, you know, as I said, you know, we are very much worried, and, you know—but, you know, we are doing what we can, and we certainly also need to help here.

Now, about the—as I said, I think, unfortunate policy of Chinese Government, not his Holiness. He made it very clear that he is not seeking independence. Even now, under such difficult circumstances, he's repeating, every day, you know, many times, that he is not seeking independence, that he's looking for solution within the framework of the People's Republic of China.

Senator BOXER. Well, let the word go out from this committee that we—we're very concerned, and we expressed our concern to the Chinese Government, that the way to resolve this is through peaceful means and sitting around the table and working it out, not by inflaming passions and, you know, spreading violence. It would be terrible.

So, I have one last question for you. It's my understanding—am I right on this?—that China has sealed off the Friendship Bridge. Is that correct? Is the Friendship Bridge still sealed off?

Mr. GYARI. Yes. Not only that, you know, one of the things that really worries us is that China has made the Nepal almost an extension of the PRC. You know, not only they have a—but we know, or we have information, that the Chinese officials have been very, you know, casually crossing over to the Nepal side, conducting——

Senator BOXER. But, is it true that the bridge has been sealed off? Because the Associated Press says that it's sealed off and that no refugees have arrived at the U.N.-run Tibetan Reception Center in Katmandu. Normally 200 to 250 flee Tibet each month. So, is—I'm just trying—because, since I'm going to come up with this list of six or seven action items, I guess I want to know, is that bridge still closed?

Mr. GYARI. It is closed.

Senator BOXER [continuing]. As far as you——

Mr. GYARI. In fact, you know, we were speaking with the person—you know, our city has a staff there. There's only, now, about three or four people at the Refugee Settlement Center, where we normally have several hundred at this time of the year.

Senator BOXER. OK.

Mr. GYARI. So, the Chinese have sealed up the borders, and they are flooding Tibet with armed personnel. So, this is the situation.

Senator BOXER. Very, very, very worrisome.

Well, I want to thank you so much, sir. You have been a very important witness.

And I'll ask Senator Murkowski to finish up this panel with 5 minutes or whatever she needs.

Senator MURKOWSKI. Thank you, Madam Chair.

Senator BOXER. Seven is fine.

Senator MURKOWSKI. And thank you, Mr. Gyari. Your testimony was very compelling this afternoon. I certainly appreciate your words about the difficulty and the struggle to maintain a policy of nonviolence. Your very personal stories are really, again, very, very compelling.

I will tell you, listening to the responses from Secretary Negroponte, understanding Undersecretary Dobriansky's comments that she has made in her op-ed about—a recognition that the preconditions, as she terms them—the preconditions for dialogue that China has called on, that China has asked for, have been met. And I think that they understand that those have been met. And yet, they must find other areas where there is disagreement so that they don't have to engage in that dialogue. And your very specific examples of how, even what might be considered a small act, denying a Tibetan citizen the opportunity to check into a hotel, for instance, can increase the tension—and you used the term "ethnic conflict" that is being built in China through incidents just such as that; or whether it's the issuance of passports—you're treating your citizens differently, depending on where they are coming from. And if you want to further inflame ethnic conflict, you, kind of, build up through smaller incidents like this and hope others on the outside don't notice. So, I think the record should reflect that we're noticing.

I wanted to ask you, during the Dalai Lama's recent visit to the United States, he had noted that there had been some contact at that time between Chinese officials and his representatives through some back-channel means shortly after the initial protests. Can you elaborate a little bit on what these contacts may have been and if, in fact, they have yielded anything?

Mr. GYARI. Thank you very much, Senator.

First of all, I was very happy to see Paula Dobriansky's opinion piece. She and I went together to meet with His Holiness that very day. And I think that reflects the policy of the present, you know, administration.

Answering specifically to your question, His Holiness is referring to the contact, that I mentioned, with my counterparts, as I mentioned earlier, as early as 19th of March, you know, just, you know, almost, you know, a week after the situation. You know, we got in touch with them. I am in touch with them. But, unfortunately, at the present moment what is coming through that channel is more rhetoric than anything constructive. But, we are mentioning those connections. There has been, I think, a little bit exaggerated report in the section of the media, as if, you know, these contacts are bringing some results. But, I must, you know, disappoint you all to say that so far it is bringing no concrete result.

But, we are mentioning those contacts. We will mention those contacts, because we do consider those contacts very important.

Senator MURKOWSKI. Of the action items that Chairman Boxer mentioned, whether it is, you know, encouraging President Bush to visit Tibet when he is in China for the Olympics, any of the other action items that she mentioned, the consulate in Lhasa, what would you consider to be the most significant action item that we could take?

Mr. GYARI. Most important, you know, I think, is the one that you also have on the top of your list, is U.S. diplomatic presence in Lhasa. I think the recent, you know, situation has proven beyond doubt that the lack of diplomatic access on the plateau is one of the reasons, to be very frank today, even the Secretary, you know, was unable to provide you with as much information that you wanted, and neither do we have that. So, I think, you know, I would say that among the list, you know, all of them are very important, but the most important, I would say, and besides, as part of your Tibetan Policy Act—in fact, I think the administration is obligated to not only act on that, but really put it on high priority, because it has been there for several years. You know, I really do hope that, as one your colleagues had alluded, that with the Chinese, not only you said that you want that, but, you know, unless you get your consulate in Lhasa, she will not get any consulates, that, you know, she would like to have in your country, you know, for all kind of economic and other access which China is, you know, very much after.

Senator MURKOWSKI. Thank you. I appreciate that.

Thank you, Madam Chair.

Senator BOXER. Senator Murkowski, that was an excellent question, and I think what you brought out is that having eyes and ears on the ground is so crucial, because there's so much disinformation. And it's a dangerous situation, with the shutting off of the bridge so you can't even find out what's really happening.

So, I just want to thank you so very much, sir——

Mr. GYARI. Thank you very much.

Senator BOXER [continuing]. Mr. Gyari, and we'll——

Mr. GYARI. Thank you very much.

Senator BOXER [continuing]. Work closely with you——

Mr. GYARI. Thank you very much.

Senator BOXER [continuing]. As we move forward.

Thank you.

And now we'd ask our final panel, Mr. Steve Marshall, senior advisor, Congressional-Executive Commission on China, Dr. Lobsang Sangay, senior fellow, East Asian Legal Studies, to come forward.

[Pause.]

Senator BOXER. Gentlemen, I understand you've been told 5 minutes, and we'll give you 6, in case you want to slow down a little bit. So, each of you will have 6 minutes, and we'll start with Mr. Steve Marshall, senior advisor, Congressional-Executive Commission on China, Washington, D.C.

Mr. Marshall, welcome.

STATEMENT OF STEVE MARSHALL, SENIOR ADVISOR, CONGRESSIONAL-EXECUTIVE COMMISSION ON CHINA, WASHINGTON, DC

Mr. MARSHALL. Chairman Boxer and members of the committee, thank you very much for the opportunity to testify here today on the events in the Tibetan areas of China and on the prospects for peace.

My experience on the Tibetan Plateau began in the mid-1980s, and I've visited many of the areas, townships, and monasteries where the protests and crackdowns are taking place. I witnessed, at close range, the events in 1989 that led to martial law in Lhasa. I know that Tibetans are facing very serious consequences.

The cascade of Tibetan protests began in Lhasa on March 10, 2008. By the end of March, it had swept across much of the ethnic-Tibetan area of China. Except for periods of armed conflict between Tibetan and Chinese forces, and periods of politically driven social chaos, no Chinese Government has been confronted by an upsurge of Tibetan discontent as widely dispersed, sustained, and popular since the Chinese Communist Party established the People's Republic of China in 1949.

Chinese public security forces, mainly the People's Armed Police, moved swiftly to establish lockdowns in each protest site. As of today, the situation in Tibetan protest areas is as grim as it is fluid, and it will negatively impact tens of thousands of Tibetans. Chinese security forces and government authorities are sealing off protest areas, cutting communications networks, and confiscating communications equipment, including mobile phones and computers. As a result, the information flow today is much less now than it was a few weeks ago. Unconfirmed reports tell of severe abuse and maltreatment to detainees, including inadequate food and water, severe overcrowding, and beating. The authorities have reportedly transferred substantial numbers of detainees away from their areas of residence, often to locations unknown to their families.

Very little information is available about the legal process facing thousands of detained Tibetans. Aggressive implementation of political indoctrination campaigns is following swiftly in the wake of crushed protest. Reports are emerging of anger at the new campaigns by monks who refuse to comply with official demands to condemn the Dalai Lama. A second wave of detentions is taking shape. Authorities compel ordinary Tibetans to assembly publicly, denounce the Dalai Lama, and state that he was behind the protest and riot activity.

A number of issues led to and result from this crisis. Two key factors distinguish the current protest from those of March 1959 in Lhasa and from the March 1989 protests and rioting that led to martial law in Lhasa.

First, the 2008 protests have spread far beyond Lhasa in the Tibet Autonomous Region, and into Tibetan Autonomous Prefectures located in Qinghai, Gansu, and Sichuan Provinces.

Second, the protesters have continued to persevere, even as Chinese security forces established and tightened lockdowns. The total of official acknowledged detentions is rising steeply, but the official

figures reflect only the fraction of protests that Chinese officials wish for observers to see. The actual numbers are far higher.

Officials have released no information at all about the actions of security forces against Tibetan protesters in more than 40 of the counties where peaceful protests have reportedly taken place.

The Chinese leadership chose to blame the Dalai Lama for the protests and for the resulting pre-Olympics news reporting that has been critical of China. At the same time, they chose not to acknowledge Tibetan dissatisfaction with policies that have not delivered the rights and freedoms nominally protected under China's constitution and legal system.

Are there Tibetans in exile who set out to encourage protest activity in the runup to the Olympics? Yes, there are. But Chinese officials have provided no evidence at all that links the Dalai Lama to such objectives and activities.

Chinese officials are also blaming the Dalai Lama for Tibetan violence during rioting in Lhasa and in other locations. They do so by seeking to hold him personally accountable for the views of individuals and groups in what Chinese authorities call the "Dalai Clique."

Are there Tibetans in exile who acknowledge interest in a violent struggle for Tibetan independence and who have encouraged destructive action in China during the pre-Olympic period? Yes, there are. But the Dalai Lama's actions and his public statements and his consistently pacifist counsel to Tibetans, wherever they live, place him at odds with violent intentions and actions.

China's policies toward Tibetans have been the root case of protests and riots. There is no credible evidence to support Chinese government claims that the Dalai Lama or the "Dalai Clique" manipulated Tibetans into protesting and rioting.

Communist Party power over China's legislative and regulatory process allows the government virtually unlimited ability to oppose unpopular programs among Tibetans. The function and legitimacy of Tibetan Buddhism has been especially hard hit since 2005. Tibetan protestors and their widespread calls for Tibetan independence have provided an unprecedented referendum on China's autonomy system. Weak implementation of the regional ethnic autonomy law is a principal factor preventing Tibetans from protecting their culture, language, and religion. The Chinese leadership's refusal to recognize the role of Chinese policy in driving Tibetan discontent, and their insistence on blaming the Dalai Lama, puts the Chinese leadership in an increasingly risky position.

Senator BOXER. OK, I'm going to ask you to——

Mr. MARSHALL. Thirty seconds. Fifteen seconds?

Senator BOXER. Yes. You can have 30.

Mr. MARSHALL. Tibetans will not accept a Chinese-appointed replacement of the 14th Dalai Lama. There is no reason at all to suppose that Tibetans will come to terms with Chinese policies. To assert otherwise, as Chinese do, is a gross miscalculation that could lead to local and regional security being put at heightened risk for decades to come. There can be no prospect for a durable resolution to the current crisis unless the Chinese Government implements an ethnic autonomy system that respects the rights of ethnic minori-

ties to manage their own affairs and that engages the Dalai Lama in that process.

Thank you, Chairman Boxer.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Marshall follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF STEVEN MARSHALL, SENIOR ADVISOR AND PRISONER DATABASE PROGRAM DIRECTOR, CONGRESSIONAL-EXECUTIVE COMMISSION ON CHINA, WASHINGTON, DC

Chairman Boxer and members of the committee, thank you for the opportunity to testify today on the events in the Tibetan areas of China, and on the prospects for "peace."

My experience on the Tibetan plateau dates to the mid-1980s, and I have visited many of the areas, towns, and monasteries where today's protests and crackdown are unfolding. I witnessed at close range the events of 1989 that led to martial law in Lhasa. I know that Tibetans are facing very serious consequences.

The cascade of Tibetan protests began in Lhasa on March 10, 2008, then, by the end of March, had swept across much of the ethnic Tibetan area of China. Except for periods of armed conflict between Tibetan and Chinese Armed Forces and periods of politically driven social chaos, no Chinese Government has been confronted by an upsurge of Tibetan discontent as widely dispersed, sustained, and popular since the Chinese Communist Party established the People's Republic of China in 1949. Chinese public security forces, principally the People's Armed Police (PAP), moved swiftly to establish lockdowns in each protest site.

As of today, the situation in Tibetan protest areas is as grim as it is fluid, and will negatively impact tens of thousands of Tibetans. Chinese security forces and government authorities are sealing off protest areas, cutting communications networks and confiscating communications equipment (including mobile phones and computers). As a result, the flow of information from protest areas is much less now than it was weeks ago. Unconfirmed reports tell of severe abuse and maltreatment to detainees—beating, inadequate food and water, and severe overcrowding. Authorities reportedly have transferred substantial numbers of detainees away from their areas of residence, often to locations unknown to their families. Very little information is available about the legal process facing thousands of detained Tibetans. Aggressive reimplementation of political indoctrination campaigns is following swiftly in the wake of crushed protests. Reports are emerging of anger at the new campaigns by monks who refuse to comply with demands to condemn the Dalai Lama. A second wave of detentions is taking shape. Authorities compel ordinary Tibetans to assemble publicly, denounce the Dalai Lama, and state that he was behind the protest and riot activity.

A number of issues led to and result from this crisis.

- Two key factors distinguish the current protests from the March 1959 Lhasa uprising and the March 1989 protests and rioting that led to martial law in Lhasa. First, the 2008 protests have spread far beyond Lhasa and the Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR), and into Tibetan Autonomous Prefectures (TAPs) in Qinghai, Gansu, and Sichuan provinces. Second, the protestors have continued to persevere even as Chinese security forces established and tightened lockdowns.
- The total of officially acknowledged detentions is rising steeply—but the official figures reflect only the fraction of protests and resultant detentions that Chinese officials wish for observers to see. The actual numbers are far higher. Officials have released no information about the actions of security forces against Tibetan protestors in more than 40 of the counties where peaceful protests reportedly took place.
- The Chinese leadership chose to blame the Dalai Lama for the protests and for the resulting pre-Olympics news reporting critical of China. At the same time, they chose not to acknowledge Tibetan dissatisfaction with policies that have not delivered the rights and freedoms nominally protected under China's Constitution and legal system. Are there Tibetans in exile who set out to encourage protest activity in the runup to the Olympics? Yes, there are; but Chinese officials have provided no evidence that links the Dalai Lama directly to such objectives and activities.
- Chinese officials also blame the Dalai Lama for Tibetan violence during rioting in Lhasa and in other locations. They do so by seeking to hold him accountable for the views of individuals and groups in what Chinese authorities call "the Dalai clique." Are there Tibetans in exile who acknowledge interest in a violent

struggle for Tibetan independence, and who have encouraged destructive action in China during the pre-Olympic period? Yes, there are; but the Dalai Lama's actions and public statements, and his consistently pacifist counsel to Tibetans—wherever they live—place him at odds with violent intentions and actions.

- China's policies toward Tibetans have been the root cause of the protests and riots. There is no credible evidence to support Chinese Government claims that the Dalai Lama (or "the Dalai clique") manipulated Tibetans into protesting and rioting. Communist Party power over China's legislative and regulatory process allows the government virtually unlimited ability to impose unpopular programs among Tibetans. The function and legitimacy of Tibetan Buddhism has been especially hard-hit since 2005.
- Tibetan protestors, in their widespread calls for Tibetan independence, have provided an unprecedented referendum on China's autonomy system. Weak implementation of the Regional Ethnic Autonomy Law is a principal factor preventing Tibetans from protecting their culture, language, and religion. The Chinese leadership's refusal to recognize the role of Chinese policy in driving Tibetan discontent, and their insistence on blaming the Dalai Lama, puts the leadership in an increasingly risky position.
- Tibetans will not accept a Chinese-appointed replacement of the 14th Dalai Lama nor is there any reason to suppose that they will come to terms with Chinese policies. To assert otherwise, as the Chinese do, is a gross miscalculation that could place local and regional security at heightened risk for decades to come. There can be no prospect for a durable resolution to the current crisis unless the Chinese Government implements an ethnic autonomy system that respects the right of ethnic minorities to manage their own affairs, and engages the Dalai Lama in that process.

The surge of events began on the anniversary of the date in 1959 when the 14th Dalai Lama fled People's Liberation Army artillery shells and escaped into exile. When Tibetans learned of their loss, the result was the 1959 Lhasa Uprising. Forty-nine years later, 300 monks of Drepung Monastery attempted to walk to the center of Lhasa, the capital of the Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR). Their protest march was the largest by orders of magnitude since the current period of Tibetan dissent began in 1987. Security forces halted the monks and turned them back. Hundreds of Sera Monastery monks made a similar attempt the next day and were blocked by security forces. On March 14 a protest in Lhasa's Tibetan quarter turned into a riot that PAP let go unchecked for most of the day. The level of destruction and loss of life surpassed that of the March 1989 Lhasa riots, when President Hu Jintao served as the TAR Party Secretary, and authorities did not put a decisive end to the events until midnight of the third day, when the PLA marched into Lhasa and initiated 14 months of martial law.

The dispersal and persistence of protests even as PAP established and maintained lockdowns distinguishes the 2008 events from those of 1989 and 1959, and makes them more significant. By early April, unofficial sources reported Tibetan protests in more than 50 county-level administrative areas. Nearly two-thirds of the counties are located outside the TAR in Tibetan Autonomous Prefectures (TAPs) that the Chinese Government established in Qinghai, Gansu, and Sichuan provinces. The scale of popular participation tests China's assertion that the protests are the result of instigation by "a small handful" of supporters of "the Dalai clique." Most protests and protestors were peaceful, according to unofficial accounts, but in some locations (Lhasa, Aba county in Sichuan, and several counties in Gannan TAP in Gansu) Tibetans attacked government offices, private businesses, and citizens. China's state-run media has focused exclusively on such incidents, broadly characterizing the protests as "riots" and the protestors as "rioters"—a troubling signal that authorities may seek to mask prosecution of peaceful protestors who exercised their basic human rights as justifiable state action against violent criminals. The Tibetan Government-in-exile and some advocacy groups, on the other hand, have sometimes described as "peaceful protests" those events during which Tibetans caused property damage and personal injury.

The totals of officially acknowledged detainees are rising steeply, but international onlookers are glimpsing only the incidents and consequences that Chinese officials wish for them to see. In the nine counties where authorities have reported rioting on specific dates between March 14 and March 19, the protests resulted by early April in more than 20 fatalities caused by Tibetan rioters and more than 4,400 persons in police custody after they surrendered voluntarily for participating in rioting or were detained by police for doing so. At least half of the 4,400 persons had been released by early April, according to official reports.

In more than 40 of the counties where such protests reportedly occurred, Chinese officials have provided no information about the actions of security forces against

peaceful Tibetan protestors. Authorities took measures to prevent Tibetans from sharing information about the protests and their consequences including confiscating cell phones and computers in lockdown locations, turning off cellular transmission facilities, and interfering with Internet access, according to unofficial accounts. International journalists and foreign journalists have been barred from entering Tibetan areas. Based on fragmentary, unconfirmed reports, the protests have resulted in more than 140 deaths of Tibetan protestors and an additional number of Tibetans detained for peaceful protesting estimated to number in the thousands.

Faced with a choice between blaming the protests on the Dalai Lama, or acknowledging acute Tibetan dissatisfaction with policies that do not deliver the rights and freedoms nominally protected under China's Constitution and legal system, the Chinese leadership blamed the Dalai Lama. Even as protests continued to pop up in secured areas, the Party-state apparatus moved to restore "stability" by reasserting and strengthening the very policies that stoked Tibetan frustration in the first place. In the most ferocious attack on the Dalai Lama since China's era of economic reform began in 1978, TAR Party Secretary Zhang Qingli, a Hu Jintao protege who like his mentor served the Communist Youth League and gained field experience in Gansu province, described the Dalai Lama as "an evil spirit with a human face and the heart of a beast." Aggressive campaigns of "patriotic education" spread through counties where Tibetans had in previous days and weeks used protests to reject the tenets of Party-led indoctrination. Officials confronted monks, nuns, students, farmers, and nomads with demands to sign or thumbprint statements denouncing the Dalai Lama, accept as legitimate the Panchen Lama installed by the Chinese Government in 1995 (instead of Gedun Choekyi Nyima, the boy whom the Dalai Lama recognized as the Panchen Lama), and agree that Tibet has been for centuries a part of China.

There are Tibetans in exile who set out to encourage protest activity by Tibetans in China in the runup to the Olympics, but Chinese officials have provided no evidence that links the Dalai Lama directly to such objectives or activities. Nonetheless, the Chinese Government holds the Dalai Lama personally responsible for statements and actions of Tibetan groups that he does not seek to control and that do not seek to be controlled by him, that do not support the Dalai Lama's policies, and that do not have previously demonstrated capacity to exert significant influence on events in the Tibetan areas of China. China's Ministry of Public Security (MPS) presented in an April 2 Xinhua report "evidence" that "the Dalai clique"—and by extension the Dalai Lama—"masterminded" the March 14 riots in Lhasa, a charge that the government later expanded to include Tibetan rioting in other provinces on other dates. All of the alleged events that the MPS characterized as evidence applied to persons and groups that the report refers to collectively as "the Dalai clique." None of the alleged events that the MPS characterized as evidence showed a direct link to the Dalai Lama.

MPS "evidence" linking the Dalai Lama to the protests and riots focused principally on the Tibetan People's Uprising Movement (TPUM, www.tibetan uprising.org), an alliance formed in January 2008 of five India-based Tibetan groups, chief among them the Tibetan Youth Congress (TYC). TPUM's Web site states that the groups aim to "revive the spirit of the Tibetan national uprising of 1959" and to "seize the Olympic spotlight and shine it on China's shameful repression inside Tibet." The groups seek Tibetan independence and reject the Dalai Lama's Middle Way Approach to accept Tibetan "genuine autonomy" under Chinese sovereignty. TYC President Tsewang Rigzin told the Wall Street Journal on March 20 that he disagrees with the Dalai Lama's policy and observed, "I don't see people out on the streets protesting for a 'Middle Way.'"

There are also Tibetans in exile who acknowledge Tibetan interest in a violent struggle for Tibetan independence, and who have encouraged destructive action in China during the pre-Olympic period, but the Dalai Lama's longstanding policy of nonviolence, and his consistently pacifist counsel to Tibetans, place him at odds with any such intention. Then-TYC President Kalsang Phuntsok said in December 2005 that some TYC members are attracted to "violence-infested movements," such as those in the Middle East, that they see "achieving results" (Reuters, December 29). In February 2007, former TYC President Lhasang Tsering told approximately 200 Tibetans attending a public forum in India that the Olympics provide an opportunity to sabotage public infrastructure in China during an Olympic countdown when Chinese officials "most need to be well-behaved." Likening Tibetan activists to "mosquitoes who barge into bedrooms bringing in epidemics," he told the attendees, "For a committed activist you don't need CIA's support to cut a telephone line in Beijing or throw an iron rod on the power cables in Shanghai. These kinds of sabotages can be done by any ordinary person, and can weaken the power from inside. Sometimes the whole city goes dark by one simple but technically correct

act." (http://www.phayul.com/news/article.aspx?id=15653). The Dalai Lama, on the other hand, has repeatedly urged Tibetans to refrain entirely from violence. On April 6, he called on Tibetans living in exile to "not engage in any action that could be even remotely interpreted as violent."

The Chinese Government has not provided a convincing argument that the Dalai Lama (or "the Dalai clique") manipulated Tibetans into protesting and rioting—instead, credible analysis supports the observation that China's policies toward Tibetans resulted in such actions. Increasing Tibetan resentment against Chinese policies that impact diverse areas of Tibetan life—religious and economic, urban and pastoral—sheds light on why monks, townsfolk, and nomads risked participating in protests across a wide swath of the Tibetan plateau.

The function and legitimacy of Tibetan Buddhism—the core of Tibetan culture—has been especially hard-hit since 2005. New legal measures closely regulating monastic life in the TAR took effect in January 2007. Nationwide measures establishing state supervision of the centuries-old Tibetan tradition of identifying, seating, and educating boys whom Tibetans believe are reincarnations of Buddhist teachers took effect last September. The government can use such legal measures to remold Tibetan Buddhism to suit the state. The anti-Dalai Lama and patriotic education campaigns antagonize Tibetans in general, but they are especially harmful to Tibetans who regard the Dalai Lama, in his capacity as the spiritual leader of the Gelug tradition of Tibetan Buddhism, as their guide on the Buddhist path toward enlightenment. Zhang Qingli, since his arrival in the TAR in November 2005, has raised the Party's attack against the Dalai Lama to a post-Cultural Revolution high.

The Qinghai-Tibet railway, a premier project of Great Western Development program, entered service in July 2006 and is reconfiguring the economic and employment outlook for Tibetans in Lhasa and nearby urban centers. Based on Congressional-Executive Commission on China analysis of fragmentary and sometimes contradictory official information, more than a half million railway passengers, most of whom are likely to be ethnic Han, may have traveled during to the TAR during the first 18 months of operation to seek work, trade, and business opportunities. The railway's impact could overwhelm Tibetans and sharply increase pressure on the Tibetan culture. Another state-run program to settle Tibetan nomads into compact communities is nearing completion throughout Tibetan areas, and has resulted in severe disruption to an important sector of the Tibetan culture and economy. Nomads have participated in the recent protests in substantial numbers, placing some counties on the protest map for the first time since 1987.

Communist Party control over China's legislative, governmental, and policy-making process, as well as contradictory provisions in Chinese laws and regulations, support the government's unrestricted ability to implement unpopular programs among Tibetans. A core failure of the legal framework is the weak implementation of China's Regional Ethnic Autonomy Law (REAL), the state's principal legal instrument for managing the affairs of ethnic minorities. The REAL declares in its Preamble that the practice of autonomy conveys the state's "full respect for and guarantee of ethnic minorities' right to administer their internal affairs." In practice, the right of Tibetans to protect their culture, language, and religion, and to manage policy implementation on issues such as economic development and the environment, is extremely circumscribed, if not negligible. Instead, the government prioritizes economic development programs that drive economic growth at a brisk rate, such as Great Western Development, but the Han population benefits disproportionately because much of the funding is channeled into infrastructure construction and urban development.

Tibetan protestors, in their widespread calls for Tibetan independence, have provided an unprecedented referendum on China's autonomy system. Did they speak for the Tibetan majority who kept silent (and safe)? In a society without a free press, and in which opposition to Party policy can lead to imprisonment, no one can know for certain. By systematically failing to implement the REAL's core commitment to allow ethnic minorities to run their own internal affairs, the Party has demonstrated to Tibetans that their cultural outlook under the status quo is bleak. Ironically, the Party has undercut the Dalai Lama's campaign to persuade Tibetans to set aside the goal of independence and instead accept "genuine autonomy" under Chinese sovereignty. Many believe the Dalai Lama is the only person sufficiently influential among Tibetans to prove himself a decisive factor in working with the Chinese leadership to transform ethnic autonomy into an enduring success.

The Chinese leadership's refusal to recognize the role of Chinese policy in driving Tibetan discontent, and their insistence on blaming the Dalai Lama, places the leadership in an increasingly risky position. If the leadership were to take advantage of the Dalai Lama's offer to help lead Tibetans toward compromise, then hard-liners

would cast it as capitulation. In such circumstances, the leadership would recoil and back away from compromise in an attempt to preserve its power unchallenged. Instead, the Party has signaled that it may wait for the Dalai Lama to pass away, calculating perhaps that when the Dalai Lama's life comes to end, so will the issues that China associates with him. The Chinese Government will use the legal measures that it has already issued to supervise the selection of a new Dalai Lama, and pressure Tibetans to express their acceptance of the matter. Eventually, the government may hope, Tibetans will leave the 14th Dalai Lama in the past.

If the leadership believes that Tibetans will accept a Chinese-appointed replacement of the 14th Dalai Lama and come to terms with Chinese policies, it could prove to be a miscalculation that places local and regional security at heightened risk for decades to come. As the impact of Chinese legal measures and policies continue to diminish the core elements of Tibetan culture—religion, language, and self-identity—the Dalai Lama installed by China will grow from boyhood to maturity and into old age. Many Tibetans may see in him a provocative symbol of Tibetan loss and humiliation, promoting deepening of Tibetan resentment. The recent protests, spread throughout a vast area beyond Lhasa, answered by a military-style response and intensification of the policies that fueled the eruption in the first place, may have already sewn the seeds for what someday could become the next generation of Tibetan protest.

The prospect for a mutually beneficial and durable outcome could decline from poor to virtually nonexistent unless the Chinese Government resolves to fully implement the ethnic autonomy system, and to engage the Dalai Lama in that process. If Chinese and Tibetans—along with their friends, neighbors, and partners—see in the current wave of Tibetan protests a daunting challenge, then each side should contemplate the potential outcome during a future scenario in which the 14th Dalai Lama may no longer be available to urge Tibetans to back away from violence. Will a future Chinese President be able to explain persuasively to China's citizens why the leadership failed to meet with the Dalai Lama when they had the opportunity? The current Chinese leadership would do well to ask themselves the following question: Will a future Chinese President believe that a persuasive explanation even exists?

Chairman Boxer, the staff of the Congressional-Executive Commission on China has prepared a list of concrete recommendations to address the current crisis. I would ask that this list be submitted for the record for the committee's consideration:

1. Commence direct talks between the Chinese Government and the Dalai Lama;
2. Distinguish between peaceful protestors and rioters, honor the Chinese Constitution's reference to the freedoms of speech and association, and do not treat peaceful protest as a crime;
3. Provide a detailed account of Tibetan protest activity in each location where such activity took place;
4. Provide details about each person detained or charged with a crime, including each person's name, the charges (if any) against each person, the name and location of the prosecuting office ("procuratorate") and court handling each case, and the name of each facility where a person is detained or imprisoned;
5. Allow access by diplomats and other international observers to the trials of people charged with protest-related crimes;
6. Allow international observers and journalists immediate and unfettered access to Tibetan areas of China;
7. Ensure that security officials fulfill their obligations under articles 64(2) and 71(2) of China's Criminal Procedure Law to inform relatives and work places (monasteries in the case of monks) where detainees are being held;
8. Encourage and facilitate the filing of compensation suits under Chinese law in cases of alleged wrongful arrest, detention, punishment and other official abuses during the recent protests;
9. Permit international observers to monitor closely the implementation of China's new Regulation on Open Government Information, which comes into force on May 1, 2008, with special emphasis on implementation in Tibetan areas;
10. Strictly enforce the Regulations on Reporting Activities in China by Foreign Journalists During the Beijing Olympic Games and the Preparatory Period, with special emphasis on access to and in Tibetan areas of China.

The Congressional Executive Commission on China (CECC) invites members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Members of Congress, and the global Internet public to visit the Commission's Web site (http://www.cecc.gov) for addi-

tional information and updates on the unfolding events in the Tibetan areas in China. Please visit the Commission's Political Prisoner Database via a link on the CECC home page or at http://ppd.cecc.gov for information about Tibetans and other Chinese citizens detained or imprisoned for exercising their human rights.

Senator BOXER. Thank you so very much.

And then, last, but certainly not least, we welcome you, Dr. Lobsang Sangay. You have been very patient. Senior fellow, East Asian Legal Studies Program at Harvard University Law School.

And I just want to thank both of you, in this panel, for coming forward.

We look forward to your testimony.

STATEMENT OF LOBSANG SANGAY, SENIOR FELLOW, EAST ASIAN LEGAL STUDIES PROGRAM, HARVARD UNIVERSITY LAW SCHOOL, CAMBRIDGE, MA

Dr. SANGAY. Thank you, Madam Chairperson—Senator Boxer, and members of the subcommittee, for the honor of speaking before you today.

I also appreciate the Senate's strong support for Tibet; specifically, Senate's letter to President Hu Jintao and the Senate's Resolution on Tibet, passed recently. You have demonstrated your leadership, and the convening of this hearing attests to your commitment to end the crisis in Tibet.

I also agree with our Special Envoy, Lodi Gyari, that the recent uprising in Tibet is a failure of 50 years of Chinese Government occupation and misrule in Tibet. Like him, my family also suffered great deal. One of my aunts was pregnant and had to jump into river with an infant in her hand, because she found the weekly humiliation too much to bear. And my uncle also died of hunger in prison. So, in that sense, nonviolence is tough, dialogue is tough. Having said that, I still believe that meaningful dialogue between His Holiness the Dalai Lama and the Chinese Government can bring a lasting solution to the Tibet issue.

China wants to be a great nation. History has shown, greatness cannot be bought in the marketplace and cannot be bought with force. Greatness has to be earned.

In the last 50 years, China has transformed itself from a poor nation to booming economy. The world is mesmerized by its rapid modernization and economic growth. It is yet to be determined what kind of greatness is China heading for.

The way China treats Tibet will reflect what kind of powerful nation China becomes. The present situation presents both a crisis and a tremendous opportunity. Now is the time for the Chinese leadership to demonstrate, not only its strength, but also its reason, as well as its compassion, to try to build a harmonious society for all.

The scale and magnitude of the recent uprising in Tibet reflects the tipping point for the Tibetan people. As is often the case in ethnic conflict, when economic marginalization combines with cultural assimilation and political crackdown, you have all the elements of a potent and dangerous situation.

If the tragedy in Tibet is not at rest soon, unfortunately the possibility of escalating tension and conflict are not a question of "if," but "when."

Now, what can the Senate do? As Madam Chair asked the question—and you would like to have action plan, and I have a suggestion. A first step would be to allow the Dalai Lama to be seen and heard by the Chinese people.

Specifically, on March 13, Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao said, on Hong Kong television, that Dalai Lama should use his influence to end violence in Tibet. I believe the Chinese Government should allow the Dalai Lama to respond to Premier Wen Jiabao's call. In order for this to happen, the Chinese Government should allow the Dalai Lama to speak directly to the people in Tibet.

If the Chinese Government is serious and sincere, then instead of demonizing him and blocking him out, they must allow his voice, his image, and his message of peace, justice, and reconciliation to reach the Chinese public directly. If the Dalai Lama were allowed to transmit a message to Chinese media in China to use his authority amongst Tibetan people to ensure peace and harmony of the Olympic Torch passing through Tibet and the Games itself, this would be a significant step forward in dialogue. This would demonstrate to the Chinese public and Chinese leadership the sincerity of the Dalai Lama.

Finally, I strongly believe that our first priority is to build trust between Chinese and Tibetan people. Mutual understanding will require both sides to take some risk. Allowing the Dalai Lama's message to be heard inside China would be a powerful first step.

Let me conclude by saying, in my current position at Harvard I have worked earnestly and in good faith on facilitating people-to-people exchanges between Chinese and Tibetan scholars, which have led to six very productive sets of meetings over the past 6 years. I sincerely believe dialogue is the pathway to harmony, and I also believe it is possible.

Now is the time for His Holiness the Dalai Lama and the Chinese Government to sit down face to face and reach a lasting and mutually agreeable solution. I pray that American leadership, through your Senate office, will strongly support this approach.

Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Dr. Sangay follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF DR. LOBSANG SANGAY, SENIOR FELLOW, EAST ASIAN LEGAL STUDIES PROGRAM, HARVARD UNIVERSITY LAW SCHOOL, CAMBRIDGE, MA

Thank you, Chairwoman Senator Boxer, and members of the subcommittee, for the honor of speaking before you today. I applaud the actions of the Senate during this crisis, most notably the Senate letter to President Hu Jintao, sent on April 2, and the Senate resolution passed on April 9 (S. Res. 504—110th Congress (2008)). You have demonstrated your leadership, and the convening of this hearing attests to your commitment to support a positive way forward out of the current crisis.

There is now a window of opportunity for meaningful dialogue between the two sides to find a lasting solution to the Tibet issue. The issue will not go away, and the earlier it is addressed, the better it will be for all.

CHINA AS A GREAT NATION

China wants to be a great nation. History has shown that greatness cannot be bought in the marketplace. Greatness must be earned. In the last 50 years, China has transformed itself from a poor nation to a booming economy. The world is mesmerized by its rapid modernization and hopes that along with its economic growth, forward strides will be made by and for its people in all spheres, not just economic.

The way China treats Tibet will reflect what kind of great nation China becomes. The present situation presents both a crisis, and a tremendous opportunity—an op-

portunity for the Chinese Government to demonstrate legitimacy in its leadership and confidence in its position by sitting down to negotiate with the Dalai Lama. Now is the time for the Chinese leadership to demonstrate not only its strength, but also its reason and its compassion as it builds a harmonious society for all.

HISTORY AND NATIONALISM

For China, the building of the modern nation-state was a response to a bitter history of Western imperialism during the late Qing Empire. Nation-state building was an effective way to fend off further foreign encroachment in a world dominated by Western norms of international practices. The Chinese Government today perceives the Tibet issue from the perspective of Chinese nationalism, but fails to understand that Tibetans also perceive themselves as victims, or rather victimized by former victims of Western imperialism. The inability of the Chinese Government to move beyond the constraints of this type of nationalism presents a huge obstacle to confronting the core issues facing the Tibetan people.

New thinking is needed for the nation of China to continue its evolution toward greatness. Let us be optimistic in anticipating that in contrast to the war-ridden 20th century, the 21st century will be dominated by themes such as globalization, interdependence, and cross-cultural understanding and tolerance. The Dalai Lama's middle path approach of seeking genuine autonomy within the framework of China has substantial legitimacy in the context of China's own rich history.

A HISTORIC OPPORTUNITY

The scale and magnitude of the recent uprising in Tibet reflects a tipping point for the critical mass of the Tibetan people. As is often the case in ethnic conflict, when economic suffering combines with political issues relating to identity and dignity, you have all the elements of a potent and dangerous situation. If the tragedy in Tibet is not addressed soon, the possibility of escalating tension and conflict are not a question of if, but when.

China has a historic opportunity before it. As it rises to the world stage to host the Olympic Games, now is the time for it to extend its hand to the Dalai Lama and the Tibetan people to enhance its proper place as a leader amongst nations.

STEPS FORWARD

A significant step would be for the Chinese Government to allow for the normalization of the Dalai Lama within China. This is the first step toward genuine dialogue—to allow the Dalai Lama to be seen and heard by the Chinese people.

Specifically, the Chinese Government should allow the Dalai Lama to respond to Premier Wen Jiabao's call for him to use his influence to restore calm and order amongst the Tibetan people. In order for this to happen, the Chinese Government must allow the Dalai Lama's message to be heard inside China. Instead of attacking him and blocking him out, they should allow his voice, his image and his message of peace, justice, and reconciliation to reach the Chinese public directly. If the Dalai Lama were allowed to publicly transmit a message inside China, to use his authority amongst the Tibetan people to ensure peace and harmony of the Olympic torch passing through Tibet, and the Games itself, this would be a significant step forward in dialogue. It would also demonstrate to the Chinese public, and the Chinese leadership, the sincerity of his position. It would open up space for Chinese and Tibetan people to work together toward a harmonious common future.

At this critical juncture, another urgent need is to enable the Chinese and Tibetan people to have more access to the free flow of information. Controls over access to information in China pose a serious impediment to China's progress. Specific to Tibet, the fact that foreign correspondents are denied access to Tibetan areas only undermines China's own interests and position. Here, it is imperative that we continue to do what we can to support the process of opening up windows and channels to information, knowledge and understanding for the mutual benefit of Tibetans, Han, and for China itself.

Finally, as a beneficiary of the Fulbright Program, which facilitated my enrollment in Harvard Law School in 1995, I have come to see the strategic value of academic exchanges. In my current position at Harvard, I have worked earnestly and in good faith on facilitating people-to-people exchanges between Chinese and Tibetan scholars which have led to six very productive sets of meetings over the past 6 years. Ultimately the Tibet issue has to be addressed through dialogue between Chinese and Tibetan people.

The suggestions I have put forward here are based on one principle, and that is that our first priority is to build trust between the two sides. There is nothing more urgent now than to create momentum for mutual understanding and that will re-

quire both sides to take some political risk. The first step toward this is to allow the Dalai Lama's message to be heard, not in the West, but inside China itself.

I pray that American leadership will actively support this approach. Having engaged in promoting dialogue between Chinese and Tibetan scholars for the last decade, I strongly believe dialogue is the best way to solve the Tibet issue peacefully.

Senator BOXER. Well, I so appreciate both of your statements.

Mr. Sangay, I'm very interested—and I think Senator Murkowski is, as well—in what we can do to allow that kind of communication, because a message of peace from the Dalai Lama would go a long way, I think, to making sure that the people in Tibet get the message and the—within the Tibet region and the rest of China, as well. Because what is worrying me, as I said before to Mr. Gyari, is my concern, as I read the press—and this is just from the press, I don't know if it's true—that there's more and more strain between those outside Tibet and those inside Tibet. In other words, I'm fearful that the majority of the Chinese people are, maybe, getting more hostile toward the Tibetan people. I don't know if that's true, so maybe that would be my question. Do you think that there—what do you think, if you could characterize the views of the majority of the Chinese toward the Tibetan people—would you say that they have an attitude, as we say in America, "Live and let live," or, "Gee, we don't understand them," or—what do you think? Because we know so little about—can't find out, really, the true public opinion. But, your sense of it, what do the—most of the Chinese people feel toward the Tibetan people?

Dr. SANGAY. Until the recent uprising, I feel most of the Chinese were ignorant of what was going on, or they really did not care, because, you know, Tibet is in the western region, which is marginal in their day-to-day life.

Since the uprising, because of the Chinese Government one-sided or overemphasis on the afternoon of 14 March riots in Lhasa, I think it has unleashed, unfortunately, Han Chinese chauvinism and nationalism toward Tibetan people. That has distorted the image of Tibetan people. And that begs the question, actually—because, on the one hand, the Chinese Government projected Tibet and Tibetan people before the uprising as peaceful, loving, grateful, loyal, and smiling citizens of China. After the protests, now the Tibetans are projected as disloyal, ungrateful thugs, vandalizers, and killers. Now, which image is true? You know? That, I think, the Chinese people has to ask, because they were being given one image for the last 50 years, now they are given the other image. I think this distortion of image calls for a need for the Chinese people to hear His Holiness' message of peace——

Senator BOXER. Yeah.

Dr. SANGAY [continuing]. Directly. And then—that's why we propose this, because Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao himself proposed this. He said Dalai Lama should use his influence to end violence in——

Senator BOXER. Right.

Dr. SANGAY [continuing]. Tibet.

Senator BOXER. Right

Dr. SANGAY. That's the proposition. And I think the—through the office of Senate and the U.S. leadership to respond and say, "Well, let Dalai Lama hear—let the Chinese people in China and Tibetan people in Tibet hear what he has to say."

Senator BOXER. It's a good point, because the Chinese leadership has said that—has challenged the Dalai Lama and said, "Tell them to stop the rioting," and—which he said, "Look, I'm not behind it." But, if he could address everyone, I think that is a very, very smart recommendation, and I'm going to discuss these recommendations with my colleague here, and I—I hope that, perhaps, we'll put that on the list. But, we're going to have a bipartisan action plan, and that's certainly something I'm going to recommend. Thank you.

And, Mr. Marshall, first of all, you're very wise to have, as one of the—I think, deputy staff director, Charlotte Oldham-Moore, because, basically, she taught me everything I know about this region of the world, and I miss her very much. She used to work for me. And my loss is your gain. But, I'm very happy to see Charlotte here, and wanted to welcome——

Mr. MARSHALL. We're fortunate.

Senator BOXER. I wanted to welcome her.

And this is my last question. And it is this. Mr. Marshall, you and I are sort of on the same path of this action plan, and you've come up with some ideas in your written testimony. And one of them is what the international observers should do: They should be granted access to trials, given immediate access to the Tibetan areas of China, a couple of other things. My question is this. Are there international observers that are both credible and acceptable to the Government of China?

Mr. MARSHALL. The foreign diplomats who are already in China would be one of the most ideal and easily available resources, because they are allowed to attend trials and other legally oriented events. So——

Senator BOXER. OK

Mr. MARSHALL [continuing]. If they were able to do this, that would be great. Almost any international observer who is not closely aligned with one or another——

Senator BOXER. All right.

Mr. MARSHALL [continuing]. Political position——

Senator BOXER. So, people who are already in the country, that they trust. Very good.

Mr. MARSHALL. I believe——

Senator BOXER. No, that's very, very helpful as we come up with this action plan.

So, I just want to thank you very much. I'll turn over, to close, to Senator Murkowski.

Senator MURKOWSKI. Thank you, Madam Chairman.

And my apologies to you, gentlemen, I had to step out, so I wasn't able to hear most of your oral testimony here, but I have had an opportunity to prepare some questions for you.

Mr. Sangay, your comments about the need for all of China to hear from the Dalai Lama, I think, just speaks to the point that we have made in letters, in committee, here, that there must be greater access to the international media, greater access to the nongovernmental organizations in the areas, so that we can know what is truly being said, and others can know, fully and fairly, what is being said. Most important, there.

Mr. Sangay, you have—you've said, in the past, that you believe that—and this is your statement—"With the passing of the Dalai

Lama, Tibetans will become more radicalized." I'm wondering if that is still your position, and whether or not the events of the last few weeks have either shifted or perhaps strengthened that view. What is happening out there, kind of, for the future of Tibet?

Dr. SANGAY. I just want to thank you, first, for accepting our proposition, or at least my proposition. It's true, still, the information inside China and Tibet are distorted. Radio Free Asia and Voice of America are trying their best to disseminate information, but it's still jammed and blocked. And they deserve support.

Now, as for radicalization of Tibetan people, yes, unfortunately, I do think so, because one key factor that, I feel, is the age of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, because for any agreement to work, time if of the essence. You need time, not just to negotiate the deal, but it has to implement. To effectively implement it, it takes time. And then, His Holiness is already 73 years old. And then—that's why I think one of the reasons of recent uprising in Tibet is because of His Holiness. And that is made very clear by the protests and uprising in 90-plus areas, because the universal and united slogan of all the Tibetans, man and woman, nomads and farmers, everybody was same thing. There was "Long live the Dalai Lama. We want him back. He is our leader. He should be back to the land he was born, to the land where people are still loyal and dedicated to him." They desperately want to see him.

Now, if that situation—if that prospect dims, I think Tibetans will be more frustrated, more radicalized. Because, as it is, there is economic marginalization, there is cultural assimilation, there is political control. Now, on top of that, the emotional threat that they have with His Holiness and the faith that they have with His Holiness, if they see the prospect that he's not going to be seen or returned to Tibet, that would definitely radicalize the Tibetan people inside Tibet, unfortunately. I'm sad to say it. And that would not be a scenario which will help the Chinese Government, China, and also the Tibetan people. And that situation, we must avoid. For that to happen, I think we need a process through which, you know, dialogue has to take place. And for that to happen, His Holiness' message of peace, his voice, his image has to be transmitted inside China, so the Chinese people can hear him and decide for themself what kind of leader he is. The rest of the world knows what kind of leader he is. But, the Chinese people should decide, not just rely on, you know, one-sided distorted image that they're trying to project.

Senator MURKOWSKI. So, when you hear the comments that were made earlier by Secretary Negroponte, that the policy perspective or the policy push that we make is continued, and meaningful dialogue, you look—you must be frustrated even more than some of those who are engaged in that dialogue, because you're saying there's a timeliness, there's an imperative here. You have a leader who is not getting younger, and the situation could become worse for China, should there not be resolution in the very short term.

Dr. SANGAY. Yes, there is a corelationship between dialogue not working and violent or uprising in Tibet. For example, in 1951, His Holiness the Dalai Lama was in the border of India. He could just cross over. But then, his representatives in Beijing signed what—so-called 17-point agreement with the Chinese Government.

Though it was signed under duress and force, His Holiness felt, you know, "I will give one more try to work out with the Chinese Government," and he returned to Lhasa, and he tried his best to work with the Chinese Government. But, by 1959, the—His Holiness realized, and—realized that Chinese Government was more interested in consolidating their position in Tibet, rather than implementing their own agreement, which was forced on Tibetans. So, he had to flee. That led to the major uprising in Lhasa in 19-—Lhasa and all over Tibet in 1959.

Now, in 1982 and 1984, His Holiness the Dalai Lama sent two delegations to Beijing to negotiate with the Chinese Government on the future prospect of Tibet, because the then leader of China said anything other than independence can be discussed. With that premise, he sent his representative, but upon the arrival in Beijing, they were told that, you know, they will make five-point offer to the Dalai Lama to restore his political position and status. But, His Holiness the Dalai Lama made it very clear at that time, he said, "I'm not interested in my own political position, but I'm interested in the welfare of 6 million Tibetans."

Now, after 1984, it was very clear that the liberal and more moderate leader, Hu Yaobang, was losing power, and then that led to the closure of the negotiation. Then, 1987, 1989–87, 1988, 1989 uprising happened in Lhasa and neighboring areas.

Now, recently, since 2002, His Holiness sent six delegations as—he was chief negotiator, he went. Since 2002—the six delegation went. Each time, they came back empty-handed. Right? And then, that led to—that is one of the reason the—for the recent uprising, because Tibetans in Tibet felt that they want to see His Holiness the Dalai Lama back, but they felt that these—the dialogue—so-called dialogue—is just, you know, a waste of time or that the Chinese Government is just taking Dalai Lama for a ride. And that, kind of, I think, fueled resentment and that led to the uprising. So, there is a co relation between dialogue not working and an uprising. And the key is always been His Holiness the Dalai Lama. So, Tibetans in Tibet, they want to see, they are desperate to see His Holiness the Dalai Lama back, and if that is not fulfilled, it will be tragic for all of us, and then situation inside Tibet will be unfortunate for all of us.

Senator MURKOWSKI. Well, thank you.

I want to appreciate—I appreciate both of you being on the panel, but also for the very important perspective that you have shared with us.

Thank you, Madam Chairman.

Senator BOXER. Thank you, Senator Murkowski. It's great to be your partner as we work on this.

And I was told that the last Tibet legislation that's been referred to was really just advisory. It said we should do this and should do that. And I'm thinking maybe some of the things that we agree on maybe we should write some legislation. So, let's work together as a followup to this. And I think that Secretary Negroponte certainly opened the door to working with us. So, let's do that.

And I'd ask unanimous consent that the record be kept open for additional statements until the end of the week.

Senator BOXER. And I ask unanimous consent that an appeal to the Chinese people by the Dalai Lama, be included in the record; that remarks prepared for delivery by Mr. Gyari—it's—the speech is called "Seeking Unity Through Equality"—be included in the record; that the names of ten Tibetan political prisoners, submitted by the Congressional-Executive Commission on China, be submitted for the record; and that the statement for the record from the Commission on International Religious Freedom be included in the record.

[The information referred to above can be found in the Appendix to this hearing print.]

Senator BOXER. And, with that, I think we conclude the business.

Again, we thank everybody for their patience and for their testimony.

And we stand adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 5:08 p.m., the hearing was adjourned.]

APPENDIX

Responses to Additional Questions Submitted for the Record by Members of the Committee

RESPONSES TO QUESTIONS SUBMITTED TO DEPUTY SECRETARY OF STATE JOHN NEGROPONTE BY SENATOR RICHARD G. LUGAR

Question. In the view of the Administration, what is the current status of the commitments made by China when it was seeking to host the Olympic Games?

Answer. When Beijing was selected as the host city for the 2008 Olympic Games, the International Olympic Committee (IOC) and Beijing's Organizing Committee for the Olympic Games (BOCOG) signed a "host city compact" specifying the terms China was to fulfill as host of the Games. We are not privy to this agreement, but we know that in addition to addressing such matters as security and pollution controls, China made certain commitments regarding press and media freedom. In its Olympic bid application, BOCOG stated that there would be "no restrictions on journalists in reporting on the Olympic Games." BOCOG stated in its September 2003 Olympic Action Plan that "in the preparation for the Games, we will be open in every aspect to the rest of the country and the whole world."

At the end of 2006 China promulgated temporary rules for foreign journalists, which became effective in January 2007 and eliminated the requirement for journalists to seek approval from authorities before conducting interviews. However, these regulations specifically exempted the Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR), where special permits continued to be required for reporters. The Foreign Correspondents Club of China reported earlier this year that the regulations improved overall reporting conditions for foreign journalists, but that problems with enforcement of the regulations remained a challenge. Since the unrest in Tibet, access to Tibetan areas has been restricted and tight controls have been imposed on communications limiting information flow from those areas.

We are deeply concerned by these restrictions and have pressed Chinese officials at the highest levels to provide access to all Tibetan areas for media, diplomats and international observers. Such controls on the press and the free flow of information not only damage China's international reputation, but also run counter to China's promise to open China to the world, increase media access, and allow foreign reporters greater freedom to report in all parts of China before and during the 2008 Olympic Games.

Question. In the administration's dialogue with China over Tibet issues, have the Chinese been forthcoming as to why they will not sit down and talk directly with the Dalai Lama? Have they laid out any specific pre-conditions before they will agree to such talks?

Answer. On April 25, the Chinese government announced that Chinese officials would meet with the Dalai Lama's representatives for "private" discussions. A meeting between Chinese officials and the Dalai Lama's envoys took place in Shenzhen on May 4. We see this as a constructive first step towards what we hope will be substantive, results-based dialogue. With respect to pre-conditions for direct talks with the Dalai Lama, Chinese authorities have repeatedly stated that he must take measures to end acts of violence, refrain from "sabotage" of the Olympic Games, and curtail his "separatist" activities. As stated in Under Secretary Dobriansky's April 21 op-ed in the Washington Post, the Dalai Lama has met China's pre-conditions, in that he has repeatedly and publicly said that he does not seek independence, renounces violence, and supports China's hosting of the Olympics. In our view, harsh rhetoric against the Dalai Lama is counterproductive and serves to further enflame ethnic tensions. We continue to believe that the path to genuine stability in Tibet is through substantive dialogue with the Dalai Lama and his representatives, and we have made this clear to China's leaders.

Additional Material Submitted for the Record

An Appeal to the Chinese People by the Dalai Lama

Today, I extend heartfelt greetings to my Chinese brothers and sisters around the world, particularly to those in the People's Republic of China. In the light of the recent developments in Tibet, I would like to share with you my thoughts concerning relations between the Tibetan and Chinese peoples, and make a personal appeal to all of you.

I am deeply saddened by the loss of life in the recent tragic events in Tibet. I am aware that some Chinese have also died. I feel for the victims and their families and pray for them. The recent unrest has clearly demonstrated the gravity of the situation in Tibet and the urgent need to seek a peaceful and mutually beneficial solution through dialogue. Even at this juncture I have expressed my willingness to the Chinese authorities to work together to bring about peace and stability.

Chinese brothers and sisters, I assure you I have no desire to seek Tibet's separation. Nor do I have any wish to drive a wedge between the Tibetan and Chinese peoples. On the contrary my commitment has always been to find a genuine solution to the problem of Tibet that ensures the long-term interests of both Chinese and Tibetans. My primary concern, as I have repeated time and again, is to ensure the survival of the Tibetan people's distinctive culture, language and identity. As a simple monk who strives to live his daily life according to Buddhist precepts, I assure you of the sincerity of my personal motivation.

I have appealed to the leadership of the PRC to clearly understand my position and work to resolve these problems by "seeking truth from facts". I urge the Chinese leadership to exercise wisdom and to initiate a meaningful dialogue with the Tibetan people. I also appeal to them to make sincere efforts to contribute to the stability and harmony of the PRC and avoid creating rifts between the nationalities. The state media's portrayal of the recent events in Tibet, using deceit and distorted images, could sow the seeds of racial tension with unpredictable long-term consequences. This is of grave concern to me. Similarly, despite my repeated support for the Beijing Olympics, the Chinese authorities, with the intention of creating a rift between the Chinese people and myself, the Chinese authorities assert that I am trying to sabotage the games. I am encouraged, however, that several Chinese intellectuals and scholars have also expressed their strong concern about the Chinese leadership's actions and the potential for adverse long-term consequences, particularly on relations among different nationalities.

Since ancient times, Tibetan and Chinese peoples have lived as neighbors. In the two thousand year old recorded history of our peoples, we have at times developed friendly relations, even entering into matrimonial alliances, while at others we fought each other. However, since Buddhism flourished in China first before it arrived in Tibet from India, we Tibetans have historically accorded the Chinese people the respect and affection due to elder Dharma brothers and sisters. This is something well known to members of the Chinese community living outside China, some of whom have attended my Buddhist lectures, as well as pilgrims from mainland China, whom I have had the privilege to meet. I take heart from these meetings and feel they may contribute to a better understanding between our two peoples.

The twentieth century witnessed enormous changes in many parts of the world and Tibet too was caught up in this turbulence. Soon after the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949, the People's Liberation Army entered Tibet finally resulting in the 17-point Agreement concluded between China and Tibet in May 1951. When I was in Beijing in 1954/55, attending the National People's Congress, I had the opportunity to meet and develop a personal friendship with many senior leaders, including Chairman Mao himself. In fact, Chairman Mao gave me advice on numerous issues, as well as personal assurances with regard to the future of Tibet. Encouraged by these assurances, and inspired by the dedication of many of China's revolutionary leaders of the time, I returned to Tibet full of confidence and optimism. Some Tibetan members of the Chinese Communist Party also had such a hope. After my return to Lhasa, I made every possible effort to seek genuine regional autonomy for Tibet within the family of the People's Republic of China (PRC). I believed that this would best serve the long-term interests of both the Tibetan and Chinese peoples.

Unfortunately, tensions, which began to escalate in Tibet from around 1956, eventually led to the peaceful uprising of March 10, 1959, in Lhasa and my eventual escape into exile. Although many positive developments have taken place in Tibet under the PRC's rule, these developments, as the previous Panchen Lama pointed out in January 1989, were overshadowed by immense suffering and extensive destruction. Tibetans were compelled to live in a state of constant fear, while the Chinese government remained suspicious of them. However, instead of cultivating enmity towards the Chinese leaders responsible for the ruthless suppression of the Tibetan people, I prayed for them to become friends, which I expressed in the following lines in a prayer I composed in 1960, a year after I arrived in India: "May they attain the wisdom eye discerning right and wrong, And may they abide in the glory of friendship and love." Many Tibetans, school children among them, recite these lines in their daily prayers.

In 1974, following serious discussions with my Kashag (cabinet), as well as the Speaker and the Deputy Speaker of the then Assembly of the Tibetan People's Deputies, we decided to find a Middle Way that would seek not to separate Tibet from China, but would facilitate the peaceful development of Tibet. Although we had no contact at the time with the PRC—which was in the midst of the Cultural Revolution—we had already recognized that, sooner or later, we would have to resolve the question of Tibet through negotiations. We also acknowledged that, at least with regard to modernization and economic development, it would greatly benefit Tibet if it remained within the PRC. Although Tibet has a rich and ancient cultural heritage, it is materially undeveloped.

Situated on the roof of the world, Tibet is the source of many of Asia's major rivers; therefore, protection of the environment on the Tibetan plateau is of supreme importance. Since our utmost concern is to safeguard Tibetan Buddhist culture - rooted as it is in the values of universal compassion - as well as the Tibetan language and the unique Tibetan identity, we have worked whole-heartedly towards achieving meaningful self-rule for all Tibetans. The PRC's constitution provides the right for nationalities such as the Tibetans to do this.

In 1979, the then Chinese paramount leader, Deng Xiaoping assured my personal emissary that "except for the independence of Tibet, all other questions can be negotiated." Since we had already formulated our approach to seeking a solution to the Tibetan issue within the constitution of the PRC, we found ourselves well placed to respond to this new opportunity. My representatives met many times with officials of the PRC. Since renewing our contacts in 2002, we have had six rounds of talks. However, on the fundamental issue, there has been no concrete result at all. Nevertheless, as I have declared many times, I remain firmly committed to the Middle Way approach and reiterate here my willingness to continue to pursue the process of dialogue.

This year, the Chinese people are proudly and eagerly awaiting the opening of the Olympic Games. I have, from the start, supported Beijing's being awarded the opportunity to host the Games. My position remains unchanged. China has the world's largest population, a long history and an extremely rich civilization. Today, due to her impressive economic progress, she is emerging as a great power. This is certainly to be welcomed. But China also needs to earn the respect and esteem of the global community through the establishment of an open and harmonious society based on the principles of transparency, freedom, and the rule of law. For example, to this day victims of the Tiananmen Square tragedy that adversely affected the lives of so many Chinese citizens have received neither just redress nor any official response. Similarly, when thousands of ordinary Chinese in rural areas suffer injustice at the hands of exploitative and corrupt local officials, their legitimate complaints are either ignored or met with aggression. I express these concerns both as a fellow human being and as someone who is prepared to consider himself a member of the large family that is the People's Republic of China. In this respect, I appreciate and support President Hu Jintao's policy of creating a "harmonious society," but this can only arise on the basis of mutual trust and an atmosphere of freedom, including freedom of speech and the rule of law. I strongly believe that if these values are embraced, many important problems relating to minority nationalities can be resolved, such as the issue of Tibet, as well as Eastern Turkistan, and Inner Mongolia, where the native people now constitute only 20% of a total population of 24 million.

I had hoped President Hu Jintao's recent statement that the stability and safety of Tibet concerns the stability and safety of the country might herald the dawning of a new era for the resolution of the problem of Tibet. It is unfortunate that despite my sincere efforts not to separate Tibet from China, the leaders of the PRC continue to accuse me of being a "separatist." Similarly, when Tibetans in Lhasa and many other areas spontaneously protested to express their deep-rooted resentment, the

Chinese authorities immediately accused me of having orchestrated their demonstrations. I have called for a thorough investigation by a respected body to look into this allegation.

Chinese brothers and sisters—wherever you may be—with deep concern I appeal to you to help dispel the misunderstandings between our two communities. Moreover, I appeal to you to help us find a peaceful, lasting solution to the problem of Tibet through dialogue in the spirit of understanding and accommodation.

With my prayers,

THE DALAI LAMA, *March 28, 2008.*

Seeking Unity Through Equality

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?

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[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

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[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.

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[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

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[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

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[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

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[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.

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[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.

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Tibetan Political Prisoners

21 April 2008

Ten Tibetan Political Prisoners

Compiled from information made available to the public through the Political Prisoner Database (http://ppd.cecc.gov) by the Congressional-Executive Commission on China (www.cecc.gov) as well as through other Commission publications.

Jigme Gyatso (Chinese name: Jinmei Jiacuo) 晋美加措
Jinme Jiacuo, a former monk who operated a restaurant in Lhasa, was sentenced in November 1996 and is serving an 18-year sentence for printing leaflets, distributing posters, and later shouting pro-Dalai Lama slogans in prison. He is serving his sentence, which will be complete on March 30, 2014, in Qushui Prison near Lhasa. Unofficial sources have reported that he has suffered from jaundice, has difficulty walking and bending, and was hospitalized for several weeks in 2006.

Choeying Khedrub (Chinese name: Quyin Kezhu) 曲因克珠
Quyin Kezhu, a monk living in Suo county in the Tibet Autonomous Region, was sentenced to life imprisonment for endangering state security in November 2000. He and several other men set up a political group that printed and distributed leaflets. He is serving his sentence in Qushui Prison near Lhasa.

Bangri Chogtrul, or Jigme Tenzin (Chinese name: Jinmei Danzeng) 晋美旦增
Jinmei Danzeng, a lama who lived as a householder, was convicted of inciting splittism and sentenced to life imprisonment in September 2000. He and his wife managed a children's home in Lhasa. The Lhasa Intermediate People's Court commuted his sentence from life imprisonment to a fixed term of 19 years in July 2003, and then reduced his sentence by an additional year in November 2005. He is serving his sentence, which will be complete on July 30, 2021, in Qushui Prison near Lhasa. He suffers from heart disease and gallstones.

Tenzin Deleg, or Angag Tashi (Chinese name: A'an Zhaxi) 阿安扎西
A'an Zhaxi, a lama of Jamyang Choekhorling Monastery, located in Yajiang county, Ganzi Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Sichuan province, was sentenced in December 2002 to death after a two year reprieve for "committing crimes concerning explosions" and "inciting the split of the country." The Sichuan High People's Court commuted his sentence to life imprisonment in January 2005. He is serving his sentence in Chuandong Prison in Sichuan province and receives medical treatment for high blood pressure and coronary heart disease.

Gedun Thogphel (Chinese name: Gengdeng Cuopei) 更登措培(音)
Gengdeng Cuopei is one of four monks of Khangmar Monastery, located in Hongyuan county, Aba Tibetan and Qiang Autonomous Prefecture, Sichuan province, who reportedly were detained in January 2003 after they led prayers for the Dalai Lama. He reportedly was sentenced to 12 years' imprisonment in August 2003 and transferred to Aba Prison, located in Mao county.

Drolma Kyab (Chinese name: Zhuomajia) 卓玛加(音)
Zhuomajia, a school teacher in Lhasa, reportedly was drafting a Chinese-language commentary that addressed topics including Tibetan sovereignty, democracy, religion, and the Tibetan

experience under communism. A second draft addressed topics such as the location of Chinese military bases in Tibetan areas. The Lhasa Intermediate People's Court sentenced him on September 16, 2005, to 10 years and 6 months' imprisonment for espionage and illegally crossing the border. He is serving his sentence in Qushui Prison, near Lhasa.

Sonam Gyalpo (Chinese name: Suolang Jiebu) 索郎杰布(音)
Suolang Jiebu, a tailor in Lhasa, was one of several Tibetans detained before the 40th anniversary of the Tibet Autonomous Region on September 1, 2005. State security officials searched his Lhasa home on August 28 and found photos and videotapes of the Dalai Lama and printed matter. The Lhasa Intermediate People's Court sentenced him on June 9, 2006, to 12 years' imprisonment for espionage. He is serving his sentence in Qushui Prison, near Lhasa. He previously served a three-year sentence for putting up political posters in September 1987.

Ronggyal Adrag (Chinese name: Rongji Azha) 荣吉阿扎(音)
Rongji Azha, a nomad, climbed onto a stage at a horse-racing festival in Litang county, Ganzi Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Sichuan province, on August 1, 2007, and shouted slogans calling for the Dalai Lama's return to Tibet, the release of Gedun Choekyi Nyima (the Panchen Lama identified by the Dalai Lama), freedom of religion, and Tibetan independence. The Ganzi People's Intermediate Court sentenced him on November 20, 2007, to eight year's imprisonment for inciting splittism.

Adrug Lupoe (Chinese name: Azhu Lubo) 阿珠禄波(音)
Azhu Lubo, a monk of Litang Monastery, was detained in connection with the case of his uncle, Rongji Azha, a nomad sentenced to eight years' imprisonment for shouting slogans in August 2007 at a horse-racing festival in Litang county, Ganzi Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Sichuan province. Officials accused Azhu Lubo of writing and posting pro-independence posters, and of involvement in an attempt to provide photographs to "overseas organizations" (photographs were of a police crackdown in the area). The Ganzi Intermediate People's Court sentenced him on November 20, 2007, to 10 years' imprisonment for espionage and inciting splittism.

Jamyang Kunkhyen (Chinese name: Jiayang Kunchen) 加羊坤臣(音)
Jiayang Kunchen, a school teacher, was detained in the case of Rongji Azha, a nomad sentenced to eight years' imprisonment for shouting slogans in August 2007 at a horse-racing festival in Litang county, Sichuan province. Officials accused Jiayang Kunchen of writing and posting pro-independence posters, and of involvement in attempting to provide photographs to "overseas organizations" (photographs were of a police crackdown in the area). The Ganzi Intermediate People's Court sentenced him on November 20, 2007, to 9 years' in prison for espionage and inciting splittism.

Statement Submitted by the U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom

UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON
INTERNATIONAL RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

Statement for the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations Hearing
"THE CRISIS IN TIBET: FINDING A PATH TO PEACE"
April 23, 2008

The ongoing repression of legitimate Tibetan demands for greater religious freedom has been a constant source of resentment and an important element sparking recent protests. On March 27, 2008 courageous monks at Jokhang Temple affirmed to foreign reporters visiting Lhasa that repression of religious freedom lies at the heart of Tibetan demands for greater freedom and autonomy. Religious freedom abuses in Tibet have long been some of the worst in China. For too long, the Chinese have employed a 'security' approach to Tibetan Buddhism--preferring repression, control of leadership decisions, castigation of the Dalai Lama, and 'patriotic education' over freedom of thought, conscience, and religion. That approach is no longer viable; in fact, it is counterproductive.

The unrest in Tibet is troubling and there continues to be a need for a consistent and concerted international effort to urge restraint, effective monitoring, and meaningful dialogue. The United States Commission on International Religious Freedom has urged the U.S. government to call for an independent investigation into the unrest in Tibetan-inhabited areas of China, including reports of violence by both police as well as some civilian protesters. The Commission has also called for the release of peaceful protesters from detention, a full accounting of all the individuals who have been killed, detained, or gone missing in the unrest, permission for international observers to gain unrestricted access to the Tibetan Autonomous Region (TAR) and other Tibetan-inhabited areas including permission to enter jails and prisons to monitor the treatment of detainees and investigate allegations of torture in custody, and immediate access by the injured to medical treatment.

Short-term steps to address the aftermath of current protests must be coupled with long-term efforts to engage in meaningful dialogue that addresses Tibetans demands for greater freedoms. The Commission strongly supports the longstanding United States' policy of calling on Chinese authorities to reopen direct negotiations with the Dalai Lama with the goal of constructing a concrete roadmap that will establish true religious freedom and greater autonomy for Tibet inside China.

China can show its commitment to this goal by taking immediate, confidence-building steps that will improve religious freedom for all Tibetans including repealing new laws requiring government approval of all lamas; affirming that minors should be able to engage in religious education at any age; ensuring safe passage for Tibetans traveling to Nepal or India; announcing that devotion to the Dalai Lama, including displaying and venerating his picture, is not a criminal act; unconditionally releasing all detained monks and nuns, and allowing the Dalai Lama-

selected Panchen Lama, Gendun Choekyi Nyima, who is being held by Chinese government officials, to receive international visitors.

The Commission has urged President George W. Bush not to attend the opening ceremony of the Olympic Games in Beijing this summer unless there is substantial improvement in respecting Tibetans' religious freedom, including through the opening of direct and concrete talks with the Dalai Lama, the Tibetan Buddhists' spiritual leader. If the president does attend the opening, the Commission proposes that he first visit the Tibetan regional capital, Lhasa, or another Tibetan area, in an affirmation of the U.S. commitment to religious freedom for Tibetans, as well as for China's other growing religious communities.

Prepared Statement of Hon. Barack Obama, U.S. Senator From Illinois

Madam Chairwoman, I commend you for holding this hearing today. Like you, I've been deeply concerned about the recent events in Tibet. I welcome our witnesses, including Deputy Secretary of State Negroponte and Lodi Gyari, the special representative of His Holiness the Dalai Lama. Lodi has held six rounds of dialogue with the Chinese Government over the past several years in search of a solution that will bring genuine reconciliation between the Tibetan people and the Chinese Government. A negotiated settlement between China and the Dalai Lama remains the best hope for a resolution of this crisis. Right now, the most important thing is to seize this moment when the world's attention is focused on Tibet to reach an agreement that will guarantee religious freedom for the Tibetan people, protect Tibetan culture and language, and provide meaningful autonomy for Tibetans in the areas of economic development and environmental protection.

The Dalai Lama has met all of the conditions that China requires for dialogue to succeed. The Dalai Lama recognizes that Tibet is part of China, and he does not advocate independence for Tibet. The Dalai Lama supports engagement and dialogue with China. Even after the recent violence, the Dalai Lama has indicated his continued support for holding the Olympic Games in Beijing. And the Dalai Lama acknowledges that China has brought economic development to the Tibetan plateau, improving the standard of living for millions of Tibetans.

Most importantly, the Dalai Lama is a man of peace. I had the privilege of speaking with the Dalai Lama during his trip this month to the United States. He reiterated to me that he continues to condemn the violence that erupted recently in Lhasa and other Tibetan cities. This commitment to peace, nonviolence and religious tolerance is why the United States Congress honored the Dalai Lama with the Congressional Gold Medal last October.

China should recognize the opportunity that exists to begin a new chapter in Tibet's troubled history. That new beginning should start with an understanding of the origins of the recent unrest. There is little mystery about why Tibetans remain unhappy. The Tibetans who took to the streets in March were clear about their grievances. They want the freedom to practice their religion and maintain their culture without state interference—rights guaranteed to China's nationalities under the PRC's constitution—and they seek a meaningful voice in Tibetan affairs.

For decades, China has kept tight controls on Tibetan Buddhism, and for decades China has directed the economic affairs of Tibet without listening to the Tibetan people. China's repressive policies are not unique to Tibet—Chinese in other parts of the country also routinely express their frustration at the government's failure to respect their fundamental human rights.

The fact that Tibetan unrest is not unique also tells me that the United States response to the unrest must go beyond simple condemnations of China's conduct. We need to redouble our efforts inside Tibet—with funding for nongovernmental organization such as the Bridge Fund—to strengthen the voice of the Tibetan people in the areas of economic development and cultural preservation. And throughout China, we need to do much more to foster respect for the rule of law, religious freedom, transparency, and accountability in government. China's heavy hand in Tibet is a symptom of a much larger problem—the failure of the Chinese Government to listen to the legitimate grievances of its people and to respond constructively to those complaints.

Thank you again, Madam Chairwoman, for convening this important hearing.

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