



Bay Area Friends of Tibet

N E W S L E T T E R

Fall 1997 • Volume 8, Number 2

Festival of Harps Benefit for Bay Area Friends of Tibet



On the evening of October 15th, at 7:00 p.m., at Grace Cathedral in San Francisco, there will be a unique, unprecedented event combining classical, medieval, and angelic music. The event is a three-part collaboration between the musicians known as the Festival of Harps, a record company called Imaginary Road Records, and Bay Area Friends of Tibet, the first American Tibet support group.

The Festival of harps is an on-going project begun in 1989 by the MultiCultural Music Fellowship, a Berkeley-based non-profit organization. Bay Area Friends of Tibet, also a Bay Area non-profit, was founded in 1983. Imaginary Road Records is a new label within Polygram Jazz and Classics, headed by Will



Ackerman, who also founded Windham Hill Records.

The program for the evening will include harpists and compositions from South America, Germany, Iberia and the United States. A short talk will be given by Peter Coyote with information about recent developments in Tibet. There will also be other artists accompanied by harps, including a Mongolian polyphonic vocalist, an offering from the local Tibetan community, and a recording of a recent speech given by the Dalai Lama in San Francisco, on the subject of children and making peace in our world. His talk will be accompanied by children playing harps.

For further information, please see the flyer enclosed in this newsletter.



A First-Hand Look at Tibet by U.S. Representative Frank R. Wolf



This report provides a brief account of the findings of Congressman Frank R. Wolf during his visit to Tibet in August 1997. Congressman Wolf is just the second sitting Member of the U.S. House of Representatives to visit Tibet since the occupation began in 1959. His first person discussions with individual Tibetans provide a sobering look at life there under a brutal Peoples' Republic of China (PRC) regime and paints a far different picture than the one served up by the Chinese government in Beijing.

Introduction

I recently returned from a journey to Tibet where I visited during the period August 9-

13, 1997. Accompanied by a member of my staff and by another Western man fluent in Tibetan and steeped in its culture, history and religion, we traveled with U.S. passports and on tourist visas issued by the government of China. At no time was I asked nor did I make known that I was a Member of Congress. Had I done so, I am sure that my visit would not have been approved just as other Members of Congress requesting permission to visit Tibet have been turned down.

Only one other sitting Member of the U.S. House of Representatives has visited Tibet since China began in 1959 its relentless (and largely successful) effort to squeeze the life and very soul out of this country, its culture and its people. Only three U.S. senators have visited Tibet in the last several decades and they were closely shepherded by the Chinese. Aside from U.S. ambassadors in Beijing and Assistant Secretary of State John Shattuck, I am unaware of visits by senior officials from any presidential administration during these years.

To be sure, an approved delegation visit to Tibet would not likely be all that revealing

since frank conversations with individuals could not take place. I cannot think of another place in the world where a tighter lid is kept on open discussion. Government agents, spies and video cameras guard against personal outside contact. Offenders, even suspected offenders, are dealt with quickly and brutally.

Human Rights Protection

My interest in Tibet and the driving force behind my visit centers on work to help in stopping religious persecution and protecting basic human rights. In 1996, the House passed three measures concerning these issues, one specifically relating to Tibet. This year I introduced H.R. 1685, the Freedom from Religious Persecution Act of 1997, which contains specific provisions relating to Tibetan Buddhism. It has over 100 co-sponsors. These are areas about which I and others care very deeply.

In Tibet humane progress is not even inching along and repressed people live under unspeakably brutal conditions in the dim shadows of international awareness.

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President's Message

It has been a busy and rewarding summer for us here at BAFoT. His Holiness' visit in June, his first to the Bay Area in three years, was balm for our spirits and nourishment for our souls. His inspiration continues to lead us on in this painful struggle.

There were over 300 Tibetans present at the private audience for the Tibetan community with His Holiness. It was very bitter-sweet for me, as are all Tibetan gatherings, to see so many Tibetans gathered together in one place. Being with them all is wonderful and heartbreaking at the same time. They should not be here, they should be in their home country.

The 4th annual west coast birthday celebration for His Holiness the weekend of the Fourth of July was a similar experience for me. There were somewhere between 500 and 600 Tibetans here from all over the western half of the US. It was incredible. But once again, it broke my heart. They should not be here, they should be in their home country.

Recent victories to celebrate:

The State Department's announcement of the appointment of a special aide for Tibet; it's not the envoy we have been asking for, but it's a step in the right direction; please see the articles in this newsletter.

Senator Frank Wolf made a covert trip into Tibet at the beginning of August. If you read nothing else in this newsletter, please read this.

Holiday Inn finally capitulated to pressure and is withdrawing from its partnership with Chinese authorities at the Lhasa Holiday Inn. Good work Free Tibet Campaign (formerly Tibet Support Group UK), Milarepa Fund, Students for a Free Tibet, and everyone else who helped with this campaign.

There are many people I would like to thank for their work these past several months:

Everyone on the board of directors of BAFoT has been doing an incredible job—Ralph Davies, Diane Hume, Ventul Rinpoche, Max Butler, Tashi Choden, and Sonam Gonsar.

The many volunteers who helped out at Tibet Day and with His Holiness' visit, especially Larry Gilliam, Gretchen Zachmann, Jamie Delman, Kompang Metri, and the entire membership of the Tibetan Association of Northern California

Nancy Pelosi and her incredibly inspirational speech at Tibet Day in March. Thank you Nancy for joining us, for all the work you do for Tibet. You do us great honor.

And lastly, profound gratitude to the man who gave me the cosmic kick in the backside I personally needed to continue in this work: Jose Ramos-Horta, whose words of encouragement, hope, and inspiration I pray will be heard by the Tibetan government in exile and all Tibetans everywhere and serve as a rallying cry for the struggle ahead.

Mr. Ramos-Horta gave one of the most eloquent speeches I, and I dare say everyone present at the public talk, have ever heard. He spoke about the inalienable right of self-determination, of the triumph of right over might, of the fact that the Tibetan people should not be seeking anything less than the return of their independence in their struggle against the Chinese. Tibet was an independent, sovereign nation before the Chinese occupation and Mr. Ramos-Horta reminded us all that Tibet has every right to be once again an independent, sovereign nation.

A disclaimer: I am not towing the party line in what I am about to say, so I ask you all to remember this is the opinion of only one person, but I myself believe there is no such thing as a "degree of autonomy under the Chinese" for the people of Tibet. NO SUCH THING. What incentive do the Chinese have to do this? None whatsoever. I know there is a referendum going on in the Tibetan community in exile regarding the options for the future direction of the struggle. I know, too, that the

referendum has created great dialogue in the community. I know, too, that those of us who support our Tibetan friends can do only that, support them in whatever choices they make. But I also know, from many heart-to-heart, candid (and some extremely confidential) talks with my Tibetan friends that what the majority of the Tibetan people inside and outside of Tibet truly want is independence. As Jigme Yugay pointed out in his editorial in our last newsletter regarding the question of independence, the question never should have arisen. 1.2 million Tibetans have died in the last fifty years. This is genocide. How can the world stand idly by as this takes place?? Again, if you read nothing else in this newsletter, please read Frank Wolf's account of his recent trip into Tibet. The world must be woken up to what is going on in Tibet.

And finally, my deepest gratitude to His Holiness the Dalai Lama, always, and without whom.

I look forward to seeing you ALL at the harp benefit, the film screening and most importantly, International Human Rights Day, December 10.

With warmest regards to you all,

Bonnie K. McCalla

Bay Area Friends of Tibet NEWSLETTER

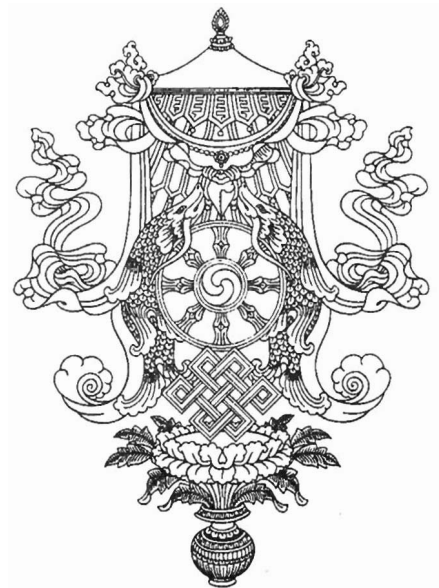
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Editorial Collective

Ventul Rinpoche
Max Butler
Ralph Davies
Jamie Delman
Diane Hume
Bonnie McCalla
Jigme Yugay

The Editorial Collective seeks more volunteers. The Newsletter accepts, at its discretion, Tibet-related advertisements that do not necessarily represent the views of BAFoT. Please contact BAFoT for information.

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International News

Albright to Name Special Aide on US Policy Toward Tibet

According to the *New York Times* and the *South China Morning Post*, Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright told Congressional leaders today that she would appoint a new "special coordinator" to oversee American policy toward Tibet.

The United States has never had diplomatic relations with Tibet, which it regards as part of China, but the creation of the new position would significantly raise the profile of Tibetan affairs within the Government, according to Administration and Congressional officials familiar with the plan.

The new coordinator, however, would not have the rank of ambassador, with the diplomatic credentials to act on behalf of the United States, nor would the appointment bestow any diplomatic recognition on Tibet. In that sense the idea would fall short of recent proposals in both the House and the Senate, which the Administration has opposed.

But the appointment is likely to rankle China, which has repeatedly accused other nations of interfering with internal matters by raising concerns over Tibet.

The special coordinator would have a broad mandate to orchestrate the Administration's policies internally and also to meet with Tibetan officials, including the exiled leaders based in India, officials said. The officials said the coordinator would also act as mediator between Chinese and Tibetan officials, trying to restart contacts.

Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights Gare Smith is being pushed for the job by pro-Tibet organizations and key allies in Congress.

But several questions remain about how powerful the US Coordinator on Tibet, as the post

is to be called, will be—and whether the Administration and Congress will fight over choosing a candidate. After Congress passed legislation calling on the Administration to appoint a special envoy for the region, Secretary of State Madeleine Albright agreed with lawmakers that she would appoint somebody by November 1—but the official would have the less diplomatically sensitive title of coordinator.

The issue has been thrust into the spotlight by a covert visit to Tibet this month by Congressman Frank Wolf, who drew China's anger by reporting that the region was suffering under China's "boot-heel."

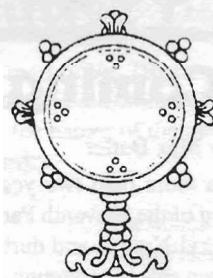
Mr. Wolf said the Tibet coordinator should be someone as tough and as prominent as Richard Holbrooke, the United States special envoy to Bosnia.

It is unclear whether Mr. Smith would fit Mr. Wolf's requirements. He is a former aide to Senator Edward Kennedy who has extremely good relations with staff members in Congress. During his time in the Senate he was known to push hard to focus Senate attention on the Tibet issue.

A Washington source close to the issue said Mr. Smith was considered by the pro-Tibet lobby as an "exceptional candidate."

The State Department has told Congressional leaders it is committed to the post and will give the coordinator the resources to travel to China and pursue dialogue with Beijing.

But China has not said whether it will allow the coordinator to travel to the Tibetan region—although the issue is likely to be under discussion between the two nations as they prepare for the October presidential summit in Washington.



Tibetan Government-in-Exile's Response to Announcement of Special Aide

We are extremely delighted with the announcement by the US Secretary of State Madeleine Albright regarding the creation of a special coordinator for Tibetan affairs within the State Department," said Kalon Sonam Topgyal, chairperson of the Kashag, the highest executive body of the exile Tibetan government.

"The creation of the special coordinator for Tibetan affairs within the State Department comes as a big morale booster to the six million Tibetan people throughout the world," said Kalon Sonam Topgyal.

"It's our sincere hope that the special coordinator's position will strengthen the efforts of His Holiness the Dalai Lama to peacefully solve the Tibetan issue and preserve and promote the distinct cultural and ethnic identity of the Tibetan people and to help regain the lost freedoms and rights of Tibet," said the Kalon.

"The US government's action will send a strong message to the Chinese leadership in Beijing that its actions in Tibet will be watched ever more closely by the international community," said Kalon Sonam Topgyal.

Are You a BAFoT Member?

BAFoT operates through the generous contributions of its members. If you are not a member, please join today. Send to: Bay Area Friends of Tibet, 2288 Fulton St., #312, Berkeley, CA 94704 / (510) 548-5879 / fax (510) 548-3785 / E-mail BAFOT@IGC.APC.ORG



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Book Review

The Coming Conflict with China

Reviewed by Max Butler

It has been more than two years since the kidnapping of the Eleventh Panchen Lama, Gedun Choekyi Nyima, and during that time no one has been able to communicate with him. The United States Government, whose representatives are so often talking about "family values," has done virtually nothing to either obtain his release or even verify that he is still alive. It seems that within the context of the Clinton Administration's hypocritical foreign policy the fate of this little child and his parents are a minor issue. More important than family values, human rights and religious freedom is the continuance of a myopic trade policy that is resulting in a huge and still growing US trade deficit that keeps in power an unscrupulous regime, intent upon maintaining its authoritarian grip around the necks of the Chinese and Tibetan peoples. How this came about and what the results of this foreign policy will be are the subjects of a new book by two prominent journalists, Russ Munro and Richard Bernstein.

Their book, entitled *The Coming Conflict with China*, is a savvy look at information that generally is not made available to the American public by the popular news media. The authors have worked for many years as news bureau chiefs in Beijing and thus, have had a close look at the workings of the Communist Chinese rulers and their spin doctors. The message they are giving the American public is that for the Communist Chinese the number one enemy of China is the United States. The reason for this is made quite clear by the economic and military growth now going on in China coupled with the need for Chinese leadership to divert the Chinese public's attention away from the growing number of domestic disasters into a super-nationalism, that aggressively asserts China's influence and control over the whole of Asia. According to the authors, this path that the current Chinese government is on will sooner or later result in a direct confrontation with the United States.

According to the authors, the current leadership in China no longer has the doctrinaire underpinning that was once provided by Communist ideology. After years of economic failure and the social chaos wrought by the Cultural Revolution, the Chinese people now have a deep cynicism toward their government. This cynicism and the rampant corruption in almost every area of daily life have severely affected the peoples' loyalty. Everything is

becoming a matter of money. In fact, the latest government propaganda slogan for home consumption goes something like, "You (the Chinese people) keep the Communist Party forever in charge, and the Communist Party will forever work to make you rich." But even with the booming economic growth in China, there are the terrible spectors of labor unrest, environmental degradation and an increase in the severity with which the Communist Party suppresses any form of dissent. Thus, the Communist leadership preoccupies itself with boosting an aggressive form of Chinese nationalism and the view that the United States and other Western nations are thwarting the Chinese nation's destiny as a rightful leader of Asia.

After acquainting the reader with the true view of the United States that is held by the Chinese government, Munro and Bernstein then proceed to detail the military build-up that has been going on in China for the last ten years. Apparently, as many as 300 weapons scientists from the former USSR are now working in China. They are building China's nuclear arsenal and war machine. China is also pur-

chasing nuclear missiles from Russia and expanding its Navy in order to both intimidate the island nations of Asia (namely Japan, Taiwan, the Philippines, New Zealand and Australia) and to exert control over the strategically important sea lanes of the South China Sea and the Straits of Taiwan.

And what is the response of the Clinton Administration to this military build-up? According to the authors, it is a confused one at best. It seems that Clinton's foreign policy, under the euphemistic name 'constructive engagement,' is basically one of appeasement. Munro and Bernstein point out that to foster this confused foreign policy, China has put together over very recent years some formidable lobbies in Washington. The chief function of these lobbies is to boost the China trade and to obfuscate the human rights abuses in China with the elusive prospect of American businesses making enormous profits in China. However, the only problem with this view, the authors point out, is that China will always want to maintain the US trade deficit and either apply the technology that it acquires legally or illegally from the West to satisfy the infrastructure and personal consumer needs of China, rather than to allow Western businesses to do this. This rather clever foreign policy on the part of China only requires throwing a few bones to specially picked American businesses and politicians in order to enlist them as very vocal supporters. Along with this strategy, we

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THIRD EYE TRAVEL

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More Than Meets The Eye

Local Spotlight



Photo by Jamie Delman

Local Tibetans and visiting friends enjoyed the festivities for H.H. Dalai Lama.

H.H. Dalai Lama's Birthday Party a Great Success

By Bonnie McCalla

For three days in July, one of the biggest Tibetan parties ever held on the west coast of the United States took place right here in the Bay Area. Some 500 to 600 Tibetans from all over the western half of the country and some from even further afield, gathered here with their western friends to celebrate His Holiness' birthday, as do Tibetans and their friends all over the world.

The Tibetan Association of Northern California ("TANC") organized this incredible event. On Friday and Saturday a soccer tournament took place in Sausalito. Teams from Seattle, Portland, Los Angeles, the San Francisco Bay Area, and Salt Lake City competed ferociously for two days. It was great fun to watch. We all had a wonderful time sitting in the sunshine, seeing old friends and making new ones.

On Friday and Saturday evenings we all

gathered together in San Rafael for dinner and after-dinner entertainment. On Friday night there was traditional Tibetan dancing followed by western dancing that lasted into the wee hours. Saturday night there was wonderful singing by many talented singers and then a dance competition among the groups from all the above-mentioned places.

On Sunday, the traditional picnic celebrated literally the world over for His Holiness' birthday took place at the Berkeley marina and was a great success. More singing, more dancing, a long-life puja for His Holiness, volleyball competitions, a mouth-watering potluck, a truly incredible day.

If you weren't able to join us this year, we look forward to seeing you at His Holiness' next birthday party, the greatest party of the year!

Tibet Calendar

Festival of Harps benefit concert for BAFoT

Wednesday, October 15, 1997, 7:00 PM.
Please see article and flyer in this newsletter.

International Human Rights Day candlelight vigil

December 10, 6:00 PM, in front of Chinese Consulate, corner of Geary and Laguna

Streets. For further information, please contact BAFoT at (510) 548-1271.

Fundraiser for Tibetan Association of Northern California

December 31, for information, please contact (510) 644-3775 or (650) 493-7388.

Volunteers are needed for all BAFoT sponsored events. Join the fun!

TANC Interim Executive Board

At the request of the Tibetan Association of Northern California ("TANC"), the following are the names of the interim TANC executive board:

Tashi Norbu	President
Jigme Yugay	Vice President
Chonyi Yangzom	Secretary
Dorji Lama	Treasurer
Tashi Chodon	Fundraiser/Events
Lobsang Dharchen	Youth Project Coordinator
Dechen Bartso	Public Relations Representative
Tashi Dhondup	TSG Liason
Tempa Jamyang	Fundraiser/Events
Sangyal Tashi	Fundraiser/Events
Sonam Tsering	Youth Project Coordinator
Thepo Tulku	Religious Affairs Coordinator
Chime Wangchuk	Cultural Director



New Video Documentary Scheduled to Start Shooting Soon

Tentatively titled *With Undivided Faith*, this 60 minute video documentary will offer an in-depth look at the Tibetan peoples' continuing efforts to preserve their cultural heritage and religious traditions under conditions of extreme hardship. It will be accompanied by a multimedia CD ROM and photographic book. The project will explore life in three Tibetan exile communities in India and Nepal. Tibetans able to flee to freedom across the Himalayas established over time and with great effort, vibrant new communities. Because of the harsh repression of Tibetans and their culture in Tibet, the Tibetans living free as exiles in foreign countries may prove to be the ultimate protectors of this unique and valuable culture.

The project will be directed by Steven Baigel, who has worked on several award-winning documentaries and has been photographing Tibetan exile communities since 1990. He will be assisted in this project by Diane Hume, designer and editor of over 60 books, multimedia software, and a member of the BAFoT board, and Robin Epstein, who has worked in television and video production since 1985 and is currently an associate producer at Ziff-Davis TV. Filming will begin this October.

A First-Hand Look at Tibet...

(continued from page 1)

I want the world to know what is going on in Tibet. When people know, they will demand that China change its policy of boot-heel subjugation and end what one monk I met termed "cultural genocide."

I found that the PRC has a near-perfect record of vicious, immediate and unrelenting reprisal against the merest whisper of Tibetan dissent. I met with monks, men and women on the street and others who risked their personal safety and well-being to steal a few moments alone with me to tell how bad conditions are in Tibet and to petition help and support from the West.

Tibet on the Map

Tibet is known as the roof of the world and, indeed it is. The Tibetan plain rises above 12,000 feet. At night, with skies so clear, more stars beam down on the observer than one can imagine. Beneath this roof is the former home of the Dalai Lama, the religious leader who ruled the country from the impressive Potala Palace in the capital of Lhasa. In 1959, when China commenced a relentless program to erase Tibet from the pages of history, the Dalai Lama left his homeland for India where he and countless other Tibetans who followed remain in exile today.

Tibet is about the geographic size of western Europe with a Tibetan population of around six million. It has been estimated that in the past four decades nearly one million Tibetans have been killed, starved or tortured. At the same time the PRC has undertaken a program of mass infusion of Chinese people who probably now outnumber Tibetans in their own country. There are no valid census data, but some estimate that in the capital of Lhasa there are about 160,00 Chinese and only about 100,000 Tibetans. The difference in numbers may be less startling in remote areas but the inescapable conclusion is that China is swallowing Tibet. Stores, hotels, bazaars, busi-

...we continued on what had become a nightmare tour...

nesses and tradesmen are largely Chinese. Storefront signs bear large Chinese writing beneath much smaller Tibetan inscriptions. Driving out from Lhasa, one encounters as many Chinese villagers, shepherds, farmers, construction workers and travelers as Tibetan. In short, Tibet is disappearing.

Tibet lies along the border of Bhutan, Nepal, India and Pakistan and is rich in resources including agriculture, timber and minerals. Its importance to China is both strategic and economic. China seems certain to maintain its death grip on this land and strives to do so behind sealed doors. There is no independent press in Tibet. I did not see a single newspaper or magazine available to the people. Television is extremely limited and tightly controlled by the PRC. Outside press is not welcome and not allowed. Only Voice of America, to which virtually all Tibetans listen, and Radio Free Asia, which is relatively new, beam information into Tibet. Nothing goes the other way except slips of information carried out by occasional tourists and visitors.

Tibet Up Close

What do the Tibetan people say? Before my trip I was told that individuals would seek me out as an obvious Western visitor to hear their story. I was also told this was very dangerous to them, that informers were everywhere and being caught talking to a westerner was a guar-

...in the past four decades nearly one million Tibetans have been killed, starved or tortured.

anteed ticket to prison and more. Frankly, I was skeptical that anyone would approach us. I was wrong. Someone took advantage of almost every opportunity for a guarded word or two.

During our first encounter with a Tibetan who realized we were westerners and one of us was fluent in Tibetan, we found that he could not contain himself. "Many are in jail, most for political reasons." We saw Drapchi prison, which is off the beaten path in a slum area. Guards in pairs were ever present.

We saw the Sangyip prison complex and then Gutsa prison. Prisons seem to be a growth industry in Tibet. We told the Tibetan not to take chances. He said it was so important that we see these places that he didn't care and we continued on what had become a nightmare tour. We passed the main security bureau, the intelligence headquarters and then the prison bureau, each heavily guarded. All the while we heard about monks and nuns and common men and women who were dragged away to prison and torture. He said, "Don't worry about me

at all," and continued to tell of the torture to which prisoners were subjected.

They are routinely beaten with sticks and kicked and poked with electric sticks (cattle prods with a huge electric charge). Political prisoners are isolated from the general prison population and kept in unlighted and unheated areas with no sanitary or medical facilities and almost no food or water.

He added that the people have no rights. They cannot talk freely. Even though Tibetans

What do the Tibetan people say?

view the Dalai Lama as their spiritual and political leader, they are forbidden to show their love for him. Possessing a picture of the Dalai Lama is an offense which could draw harsh and brutal punishment and imprisonment. "We (Tibetans) must have permission from the Chinese to do everything," he said. "We can do nothing on our own."

He further said, "The Chinese say we have freedom of religion but it is a lie. Despite the Chinese saying that Tibetans have freedom, there are no freedoms—not even one. Everything is controlled by the Chinese and we are repressed. We listen to Voice of America say the West supports Tibet, yet they continue doing business with China. That doesn't help. Tibet feels left out and ignored."

The Dalai Lama has asked America and Taiwan for help," he continued. "Please help the Dalai Lama because we are being ruined. The Chinese send Tibetan children to China for education and teach them Chinese ways. Tibet is disappearing little by little. The Tibetan language is being increasingly de-emphasized in schools and our culture is being wiped out."

All this from one man telling of his agony and the agony of his people. Yet, he ended by saying, "I am not afraid. Someday the sun will again shine in Tibet." Throughout, we found overwhelming support for and faith in the Dalai Lama by every single Tibetan with whom we had contact.

Religious Persecution

We visited numerous monasteries where monks, nuns and others sought us out. Their stories amplified what we had already learned. Every monastery we visited was tightly controlled by a small group of resident Chinese overseers. Every report we heard told of a dramatic reduction in the number of monks at each monastery. Many were imprisoned for not turn-

ing their back on the Dalai Lama or even refusing to give up pictures of him. Young monks under 15 (it was possible to enter a monastery as young as 6 years of age) were turned out. Since the cultural revolution many monasteries had been largely destroyed. Rebuilding has been painfully slow.

The slightest resistance to Chinese interference was met by the harshest punishment. It was common to hear reports of monks being imprisoned, many during "reeducation" which involves turning one's back on the Dalai Lama. Imprisonment means years of brutal beatings with infrequent visitors from the outside. And when imprisonment finally ends, monks are expelled from their monastery and exiled to their home village. Many try to escape to India or Nepal. Many do not make it.

We were told on several occasions that all monks are afraid. When asked what message they would like me to take back to America, I was told to say that they are not allowed to

The American people need to hear this message about Tibet.

practice their religion and that the people are suffering greatly. Their biggest hope is to be free from China. One said, "Please help us. Please help the Dalai Lama." He said if he were overheard talking to us he would immediately be put in prison for four or five years.

Other monks voiced their concern with not being free to practice their religion. Hundreds have been imprisoned simply for not removing pictures of the Dalai Lama from places of worship. Their prayers are restricted and they have few opportunities to talk away from their overseers, even in the monastery.

From monasteries all around Lhasa and the surrounding area, the message was the same. I am reluctant to be too specific in describing conversations because I do not want them traced back to a specific monk or person. To do so would be to impose a heavy sentence and punishment on someone already suffering an unbelievable burden.

At one place we met a woman at worship. When she realized we were American, she burst forth. As she talked she began sobbing. Tears poured down her face as she told us of conditions. She said, "Lhasa may be beautiful on the outside but, inside, it is ugly. We are not allowed to practice what we want to practice. Senior monks are gone and there are no replacements and they are our teachers."

Asked for a message to America, she said, "Please help us. Please help the Dalai Lama.

When there is pressure from the West, things loosen up a bit before returning to as before. Please have America help us."

Every single person with whom we spoke had positive feelings toward America. We were always given a thumbs up or a smile or a comment such as, "America is great." People would not stop talking to us, even when their safety was threatened. Sometimes we had to turn away just to keep them from being seen talking with us. Some even risked exposure by gesturing to us from roof tops to meet with them.

The Chinese Stranglehold

China's assault on the city, the countryside and the environment has been no less harsh than its assault on the people. Tibetan areas in Lhasa are being demolished and replaced with smaller and more confined structures with the remaining space given over to Chinese uses. The area at the base of the Potala Palace has been completely leveled and a new open space similar to Tiananmen Square has been created. Forests are being leveled and many have seen convoys of trucks piled with timber moving north into China.

This is not a pretty picture. The glowing reports of progress from Beijing or Shanghai where business is booming, skyscrapers are rising and industry, education and the standard of living are all soaring has a false ring when heard from the plain of Tibet.

America and the rest of the free world must do more to urge China to back off from its clear goal to plunder Tibet. The true story of Tibet is not being told. Aside from a courageous few journalists working largely on their own, the real story about Tibet is not reaching our ears. America and others must strive for more open coverage.

The U.S. government's policy seems to be based solely on economics; to open more and

Hundreds have been imprisoned simply for not removing pictures of the Dalai Lama from places of worship.

more markets with China and to ignore every other aspect of responsible behavior. The American people need to hear this message about Tibet. Knowing the real story, I believe the American public will decide that we need to do better and that we can do better. I hope this report is a beginning.

The clock is ticking for Tibet. If nothing is done, a country, its people, religion and cul-

ture will continue to grow fainter and fainter and could one day disappear. That would indeed be a tragedy. As one who visited a Soviet prison camp during the cold war (Perm Camp 35) and Romania before and immediately after the overthrow of the ruthless Ceausescu regime to see things first-hand, I believe conditions in Tibet are even more brutal. There are no restraints on Tibet's Chinese overseers. They are the accuser, judge, jury, prison warden and sometimes executioner rolled into one. Punishment is arbitrary, swift, vicious and totally without mercy and without recourse.

Recommendations for Action

Based upon these observations, I make the following recommendations:

1. The administration must appoint a special representative for Tibet who both understands the conditions there and who will aggressively pursue improvements.
2. The administration must raise with the PRC the issue of Tibet both before and during the forthcoming visit by Chinese President Jiang Zemin to Washington. Efforts to obtain release of political prisoners must be part of this initiative.
3. Efforts to open Tibet to international press and human rights groups must go forward. As long as the Chinese continue to exercise power away from public scrutiny, brutal excesses will continue.
4. I urge my colleagues in the House and in the Senate to make every effort to travel to Tibet. Congressional delegations (CODELs) traveling around Tibet will make a difference.
5. I urge my colleagues in the House and in the Senate to adopt a prisoner of conscience, and contact the PRC time and again on his or her behalf and also to frequently write directly to the prisoner.
6. I urge strong efforts to have officials from the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) and our Bureau of Prisons visit Tibetan prisons to observe conditions and treatment of prisoners and to strive for improvements.
7. I urge the administration to press for representatives from the free world to attend trials of Tibetans accused of political crimes as has been done in eastern Europe and elsewhere.
8. I urge religious leaders around the world to pressure the PRC for permission to visit Tibet.
9. I urge the administration and others to press the PRC to engage in negotiations and dialogue with the Dalai Lama concerning the future of Tibet.



The Coming Conflict with China...

(continued from page 4)

are now also witnessing the extent to which the Chinese Communists have gone, through the use of the illegal campaign contributions, to buy off American politicians and to attempt through them to subvert democracy in the United States.

With regard to the human rights situation and in particular the nightmare that is now going on in Tibet, the authors regrettably do not have much to say. They clearly show how Clinton's human rights policy is to "speak loudly but carry a small stick." When Clinton was first running for president and during the early period of his first term, he roundly condemned the Communist Chinese as tyrants. However, when the reality of politics, reelection and the wishes of his large financial supporters (WalMart for one) became more the focus of his attention, MFN was separated from the human rights issue and tough rhetoric was significantly toned down. It is the view of Munro and Bernstein that nothing could be more harmful toward establishing a respect for human rights in China and Tibet than this type of flip-flopping. The Chinese interpret it as weakness and confusion and feel in no way any need to mitigate their ruthless repression.

The authors of *The Coming Conflict with China* do not have much hope for the re-

establishment of an independent Tibet, but they do express their belief that if the US is steadfast both in word and deed in its support of human rights and democracy in China, there will be improvement in those areas. They also maintain that in the area of economics and national security, the United States must initiate and follow a stronger and more consistent policy of not allowing Beijing to get away with any of its technological thefts and continued closure of its markets to American products. They also recommend that Japan be bolstered militarily as a way to maintain the strategic balance in Asia. However, from reading their book it seems that the Communist Party will continue its growing hegemony in Asia and that within just a few years there will be a major conflict with China that may involve a military confrontation. This is why it is so important now to check this tendency with a strong and resolute foreign policy that refuses to turn a blind eye to the human rights abuses in China.

An unequivocal call for the end to the illegal occupation of Tibet and the release of the Panchen Lama, his family, and other Tibetan prisoners of conscience followed up by significant punitive measures if the Chinese Communists disagree, not only will ensure their

safety, it they are still alive, but also will help prevent an even larger catastrophe from happening. Thanks to Munro and Bernstein's book, there just might be a rethinking of US foreign policy and some hope for an eventual improvement of human rights in China and Tibet.



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