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Last Updated: 10/23/2023

THE WHITE HOUSE
CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET

CO156

INCOMING

DATE RECEIVED: JULY 29, 1987

NAME OF CORRESPONDENT: MR. NYIMA SANGPO

SUBJECT: WRITES REGARDING THE PLIGHT OF TIBET UNDER
THE RULE OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

ROUTE TO: OFFICE/AGENCY	(STAFF NAME)	ACTION ACT CODE	DATE YY/MM/DD	DISPOSITION TYPE RESP	C COMPLETED D YY/MM/DD
DEPARTMENT OF STATE		RAR ORG	31 87/07/29	TR NANC 8708107	
REFERRAL NOTE:					
REFERRAL NOTE:					
REFERRAL NOTE:					
REFERRAL NOTE:					
REFERRAL NOTE:					

COMMENTS: _____

ADDITIONAL CORRESPONDENTS: MEDIA:L INDIVIDUAL CODES: _____

MI MAIL USER CODES: (A) _____ (B) _____ (C) _____

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*ACTION CODES:          *DISPOSITION          *OUTGOING          *
*                        *                        *CORRESPONDENCE:  *
*A-APPROPRIATE ACTION  *A-ANSWERED          *TYPE RESP=INITIALS *
*C-COMMENT/RECOM       *B-NON-SPEC-REFERRAL *      OF SIGNER      *
*D-DRAFT RESPONSE      *C-COMPLETED        *      CODE = A      *
*F-FURNISH FACT SHEET  *S-SUSPENDED        *COMPLETED = DATE OF *
*I-INFO COPY/NO ACT NEC*                        *      OUTGOING     *
*R-DIRECT REPLY W/COPY *                        *                        *
*S-FOR-SIGNATURE       *                        *                        *
*X-INTERIM REPLY       *                        *                        *
*****

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REFER QUESTIONS AND ROUTING UPDATES TO CENTRAL REFERENCE
(ROOM 75, OEOB) EXT-2590
KEEP THIS WORKSHEET ATTACHED TO THE ORIGINAL INCOMING
LETTER AT ALL TIMES AND SEND COMPLETED RECORD TO RECORDS
MANAGEMENT.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT
TRANSMITTAL FORM

S/S 8721825

DATE August 7, 1987

FOR: MR. GRANT GREEN
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
THE WHITE HOUSE

REFERENCE:

TO: President Reagan FROM: Mr. Nyima Sangpo
DATE: July 10, 1987 SUBJECT: The Plight of Tibet
Under the Rule of the People's Republic of China
REFERRAL DATED: July 31, 1987 ID# 508196
(IF ANY)

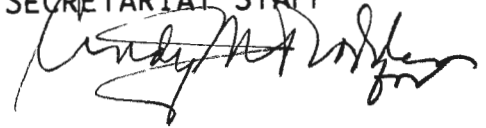
 THE ATTACHED ITEM WAS SENT DIRECTLY TO THE
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

ACTION TAKEN:

- A DRAFT REPLY IS ATTACHED.
 A DRAFT REPLY WILL BE FORWARDED.
 A TRANSLATION IS ATTACHED.
 AN INFORMATION COPY OF A DIRECT REPLY IS ATTACHED.
 XX WE BELIEVE NO RESPONSE IS NECESSARY FOR THE REASON
CITED BELOW.
 THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE HAS NO OBJECTION TO THE
PROPOSED TRAVEL.
 OTHER (SEE REMARKS).

REMARKS: Mr. Sangpo has written on behalf of the Assembly of Tibetan People's Deputies, a "government-in-exile" that the United States does not recognize. He is thanking the President for an action taken by the U.S. House of Representatives (which the Executive Branch opposed) and does not require a reply. To acknowledge receipt of his letter would imply recognition of a Tibetan "government-in-exile."

DIRECTOR
SECRETARIAT STAFF



8721825

T H E W H I T E H O U S E O F F I C E

REFERRAL

JULY 31, 1987

TO: DEPARTMENT OF STATE

ACTION REQUESTED:

DIRECT REPLY, FURNISH INFO COPY

DESCRIPTION OF INCOMING:

ID: 508196

MEDIA: LETTER, DATED JULY 10, 1987

TO: PRESIDENT REAGAN

FROM: MR. NYIMA SANGPO
CHAIRMAN
ASSEMBLY OF TIBETAN PEOPLE'S
DEPUTIES
GANGCHEN KYISHONG
DHARAMSALA-176215
DISTT. KANGRA, H.P. INDIA

SUBJECT: WRITES REGARDING THE PLIGHT OF TIBET UNDER
THE RULE OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

PROMPT ACTION IS ESSENTIAL -- IF REQUIRED ACTION HAS NOT BEEN
TAKEN WITHIN 9 WORKING DAYS OF RECEIPT, PLEASE TELEPHONE THE
UNDERSIGNED AT 456-7486.

RETURN CORRESPONDENCE, WORKSHEET AND COPY OF RESPONSE
(OR DRAFT) TO:
AGENCY LIAISON, ROOM 91, THE WHITE HOUSE, 20500

SALLY KELLEY
DIRECTOR OF AGENCY LIAISON
PRESIDENTIAL CORRESPONDENCE

DOS

GANGCHEN KYISHONG,
DHARAMSALA
Distt. Kangra, H.P.
INDIA.

Ref. No.

Dated July 10, 87

His Excellency
Mr Ronald Reagan
The President of the United States of America
Washington, D.C.
U.S.A.

Your Excellency,

It is with great satisfaction that we learn of the recent amendment on Human Rights Violations in Tibet passed unanimously by the House of Representatives of the United States Congress. On behalf of the six million Tibetans both in and outside Tibet, we take this opportunity of expressing our appreciation to the House of Representatives for its support for the just cause of the Tibetan people.

In order that Your Excellency is able to make a better judgement of the amendment when it comes before you for your approval and implementation, we take the liberty of enumerating briefly the record of the Tibetan experience under Chinese communist occupation.

For more than 2000 years Tibet existed as an independent nation. During this period in our history, we have been able to develop a civilization of our own, imbued by the teachings of the Buddha and inspired by the principle that every human being has the right to lead his life in peace and freedom. This culture has given the Tibetan people a measure of happiness and the opportunity for individual growth.

However, in 1949 the People's Republic of China invaded Tibet. The Tibetan Government appealed for help to the nations of the world, including the United States of America. Unfortunately no help was forthcoming from any quarter. With no other alternative, the Tibetan Government was forced to deal with the People's Republic of China on its own so as to preserve as much as possible the fast-dwindling freedom of the Tibetan people. In 1951 the representatives of the Tibetan Government signed under duress the 17-Point Agreement, clauses of which were violated one by one by China. Because of this and also because of the increasing repressive measures undertaken by the People's Liberation Army, especially in eastern and north-eastern Tibet, the Tibetan people formed a nation-wide resistance movement which culminated in the popular uprising in Lhasa in 1959. This was crushed by the might of the PLA and His Holiness the Dalai Lama, followed by tens of thousands of Tibetans who were able to escape, fled to India and other neighbouring countries.

Since then the experience of the Tibetan people under Chinese communist rule has been one of unending nightmare, relieved only recently by the so-called policy of liberalisation. As the Tibetans who have gone through it describe it, the experience was "one of hell on earth".

The followings are some of the major casualties of the Chinese communist rule of Tibet:

- 1) The independence which the Tibetans enjoyed for over 2000 years was extinguished overnight
- 2) Since 1949 1.2 million Tibetans died because of fighting, torture, imprisonment and starvation.



བོད་མི་མང་སྲིད་ལྷན་ཁག་གི་སྐྱོན་ལོག་གསུང་

ASSEMBLY OF TIBETAN PEOPLE'S DEPUTIES

GANGCHEN KYISHONG,
DHARAMSALA
Distt. Kangra, H.P.
INDIA.

Ref. No.

Dated

- 2 -

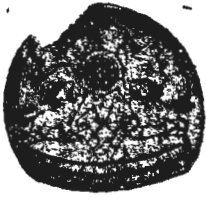
- 3) Tibet's unique civilisation, the fruit of more than 2000 years of development, was wiped out in a mere thirty years or so. Over six thousand religious monuments were destroyed and, the priceless works of arts and literature were carted away to China from where they found their way into the markets of Tokyo and Hong Kong.
- 4) Tibet's fragile economy, through mismanagement, is reduced to one of subsistence. Tibet today is far poorer than what it was before the invasion.
- 5) Racial discrimination is practised everywhere in Tibet. Chinese and their children obtain better employment and education. They enjoy greater amenities and facilities.

However, despite all these, the Chinese communists were not able to destroy the identity of the Tibetans. But their policy of "liberalization" is doing just that. Today all the three regions of Tibet are swamped by millions of Chinese immigrants. Already the teeming immigrants and the policy of racial discrimination by the Chinese authorities in Tibet are increasingly making the majority of the Tibetans jobless. If the transfer of Chinese population continues, it would result in fundamentally changing the demographic map of Tibet and reducing the Tibetans to a true minority in their own country. Today the Tibetans face the situation which the dinosaurs faced ages back: being mute witnesses to their own racial extinction.

It is in this light that we are convinced that the Tibetan issue has assumed greater urgency. We are also convinced that the United States of America under Your Excellency's forthright leadership is in a position to reverse its disastrous policies in Tibet.

The above are our observations, a brief summation of our experience under the occupation of Communist China. It is for the Government of the United States of America to confirm these. As such we suggest that either the Administration or the Congress send a fact-finding team to both Tibet and India to ascertain the truth of not only what we have stated but also the points of the amendments put forward in the House of Representatives. We also take the liberty of urging Your Excellency to meet with His Holiness the Dalai Lama, who despite great tragedy and tribulation, has steadfastly led the Tibetan people on the path of non-violence.

During the course of our struggle, we have realised our virtues as a people, nation and culture. Though we are helpless people with limited resources and have the misfortune to be under the continuing occupation of China, nevertheless, in our efforts for the fulfilment of our aspirations to independence, freedom, happiness and individual dignity, we have based our struggle on the non-violent teachings of the Buddha, which His Holiness the Dalai Lama has always impressed upon us. It is our conviction that our struggle for freedom and dignity should not disturb the peace and happiness of others. Consequently we have never resorted to terrorism which has become fashionable in this world of ours.



བོད་མི་མང་སྤྱི་འཐུས་ལྷན་ཚོགས་

ASSEMBLY OF TIBETAN PEOPLE'S DEPUTIES

GANGCHEN KYISHONG,
DHARAMSALA
Distt. Kangra, H.P.
INDIA.

Ref. No.

Dated

- 3 -

It is for these reasons that we are convinced that the United States of America should support the just cause of the Tibetan people with whom it shares so much in common.

With consideration of our highest esteem,

Nyima Sangpo
Chairman



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BETTER S

His Excellency,
Mr. Ronald Reagan
The President
The United States of America
Washington, D.C.
U.S.A.

ASSEMBLY OF TIBETAN PEOPLE'S DEPUTIES,
GANGCHEN KYISHONG,
DHARAMSALA-176215, DISTT. KANGRA,
H. P. INDIA,



བོད་མི་མང་སྐོར་འཕུལ་སྤྱོད་ཚོགས་པ

ASSEMBLY OF TIBETAN PEOPLE'S DEPUTIES

8721825

508196

Phone : 2481

205

GANGCHEN KYISHONG,
DHARAMSALA
Distt. Kangra, H.P.
INDIA.

Ref. No.

Dated July 10, 87

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Mr Ronald Reagan
The President of the United States of America
Washington, D.C.
U.S.A.

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ASSEMBLY OF TIBETAN PEOPLE'S DEPUTIES

GANGCHEN KYISHONG,
DHARAMSALA
Distt. Kangra, H.P.
INDIA.

Ref. No.

Dated

- 2 -

- 3) Tibet's unique civilisation, the fruit of more than 2000 years of development, was wiped out in a mere thirty years or so. Over six thousand religious monuments were destroyed and, the priceless works of arts and literature were carted away to China from where they found their way into the markets of Tokyo and Hong Kong.
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ASSEMBLY OF TIBETAN PEOPLE'S DEPUTIES

GANGCHEN KYISHONG,
DHARAMSALA
Distt. Kangra, H.P.
INDIA.

Ref. No.

Dated

- 3 -

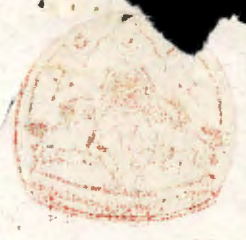
It is for these reasons that we are convineed that the United States of America should support the just cause of the Tibetan people with whom it shares so much in common.

With consideration of our highest esteem,

Nyima Sangpo
Chairman

10

འཕགས་ལྷན་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་འཕྲིན་ལྷན་པོ།



ASSEMBLY OF TIBETAN PEOPLE'S DEPUTIES

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འཕྲིན་ལྷན་པོའི་འཕྲིན་ལྷན་པོ།
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Ref. No.

APOLLO
BOND

[Handwritten signature]

APOLLO
BOND

THE WHITE HOUSE
CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET

0156

INCOMING

8722736

DATE RECEIVED: AUGUST 05, 1987

NAME OF CORRESPONDENT: JUCHEN T. NAMGYAL

SUBJECT: APPRECIATION FOR THE JUN 18 AMENDMENT ON
HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS IN TIBET AND REQUESTS
A U.S. FACT-FINDING TEAM BE SENT TO BOTH
TIBET AND INDIA TO ASCERTAIN THE TRUTH OF *

		ACTION		DISPOSITION	
ROUTE TO: OFFICE/AGENCY	(STAFF NAME)	ACT CODE	DATE YY/MM/DD	TYPE RESP	C COMPLETED D YY/MM/DD
DEPARTMENT OF STATE		RAR ORG	87/08/05	NAN	C 87/08/13
REFERRAL NOTE:					
REFERRAL NOTE:					
REFERRAL NOTE:					
REFERRAL NOTE:					
REFERRAL NOTE:					

COMMENTS: * THE PLIGHT OF THE TIBETAN PEOPLE UNDER
COMMUNIST CHINESE RULE

ADDITIONAL CORRESPONDENTS: MEDIA:L INDIVIDUAL CODES: _____
MI MAIL USER CODES: (A) _____ (B) _____ (C) _____

- *****
- | | | | |
|--------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|---|
| *ACTION CODES: | *DISPOSITION | *OUTGOING | * |
| * | * | *CORRESPONDENCE: | * |
| *A-APPROPRIATE ACTION | *A-ANSWERED | *TYPE RESP=INITIALS | * |
| *C-COMMENT/RECOM | *B-NON-SPEC-REFERRAL | * OF SIGNER | * |
| *D-DRAFT RESPONSE | *C-COMPLETED | * CODE = A | * |
| *F-FURNISH FACT SHEET | *S-SUSPENDED | *COMPLETED = DATE OF | * |
| *I-INFO COPY/NO ACT NEC* | | * OUTGOING | * |
| *R-DIRECT REPLY W/COPY * | | | * |
| *S-FOR-SIGNATURE | | | * |
| *X-INTERIM REPLY | | | * |
- *****

REFER QUESTIONS AND ROUTING UPDATES TO CENTRAL REFERENCE
(ROOM 75, OEOB) EXT-2590
KEEP THIS WORKSHEET ATTACHED TO THE ORIGINAL INCOMING
LETTER AT ALL TIMES AND SEND COMPLETED RECORD TO RECORDS
MANAGEMENT.

UNCLASSIFIED
(CLASSIFICATION)

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT
TRANSMITTAL FORM

S/S 8722738

DATE August 13, 1987

FOR: MR. GRANT GREEN
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
THE WHITE HOUSE

REFERENCE:

TO: President Reagan FROM: Juchen T. Namgyal
DATE: July 17, 1987 SUBJECT: Appreciation for
amendment on human rights violations in Tibet.

REFERRAL DATED: August 7, 1987 ID# 508540
(IF ANY)

THE ATTACHED ITEM WAS SENT DIRECTLY TO THE
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

ACTION TAKEN:

- _____ A DRAFT REPLY IS ATTACHED.
_____ A DRAFT REPLY WILL BE FORWARDED.
_____ A TRANSLATION IS ATTACHED.
_____ AN INFORMATION COPY OF A DIRECT REPLY IS ATTACHED.
XX _____ WE BELIEVE NO RESPONSE IS NECESSARY FOR THE REASON
CITED BELOW.
_____ THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE HAS NO OBJECTION TO THE
PROPOSED TRAVEL.
_____ OTHER (SEE REMARKS).

REMARKS: Mr. Namgyal has written on behalf of the Central Tibetan Secretariat, an arm of a "government-in-exile" that the United States does not recognize. He is thanking the President for an action taken by the U.S. House of Representatives (which the Executive Branch opposed) and does not require a reply. To acknowledge receipt of his letter would imply recognition of a Tibetan "government-in-exile".

SP/PA
1 DIRECTOR
SECRETARIAT STAFF

UNCLASSIFIED
(CLASSIFICATION)

8722736

T H E W H I T E H O U S E O F F I C E

REFERRAL

AUGUST 7, 1987

TO: DEPARTMENT OF STATE

ACTION REQUESTED:
DIRECT REPLY, FURNISH INFO COPY

DESCRIPTION OF INCOMING:

ID: 508540
MEDIA: LETTER, DATED JULY 17, 1987
TO: PRESIDENT REAGAN
FROM: JUCHEN T. NAMGYAL
SENIOR KALON
KASHAG
CENTRAL TIBETAN SECRETARIAT
GANGCHEN KYISHONG
SESSION ROAD, DHARMSALA
DIST. KANGRA (H.P.) INDIA

SUBJECT: APPRECIATION FOR THE JUN 18 AMENDMENT ON
HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS IN TIBET AND REQUESTS
A U.S. FACT-FINDING TEAM BE SENT TO BOTH
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THE PLIGHT OF THE TIBETAN PEOPLE UNDER
COMMUNIST CHINESE RULE

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RETURN CORRESPONDENCE, WORKSHEET AND COPY OF RESPONSE
(OR DRAFT) TO:
AGENCY LIAISON, ROOM 91, THE WHITE HOUSE, 20500

SALLY KELLEY
DIRECTOR OF AGENCY LIAISON
PRESIDENTIAL CORRESPONDENCE

508540

7
DOS 0711991



8722736

K A S H A G
CENTRAL TIBETAN SECRETARIAT

July 17, 1987

His Excellency
Mr. Ronald Reagan
President of the
United States of America
WASHINGTON, D.C.
U. S. A.

Your Excellency:

It was with utmost joy that we, the members of the Kashag (Cabinet) of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, have come to know about the June 18 amendment on Human Rights Violations in Tibet passed by the US House of Representatives. How can we thank the people of your great nation who have demonstrated their concern for the plight of our people through their representatives in the House. The amendment has brought great happiness to our people and, we have expressed our deepest sense of appreciation to the members of the House of Representatives.

The United States of America is generally regarded as the strongest advocate of freedom and human rights. It is for this reason that the people of Tibet had high hopes of receiving support from your nation when our country was occupied by the military power of the Chinese communists. Unfortunately, we did not receive satisfactory response from the Government of the United States at that time. However, the recent amendment in the House of Representatives came as a most welcome gesture from your country in favour of our cause.

For more than 2000 years, Tibet existed as an independent nation. All through those millenia, we had been able to develop a civilization that is unique and distinct in every respect. This culture based on the principles of peace and non-violence had given our people a measure of happiness and opportunity for individual growth.

However, in 1949 the People's Republic of China invaded our country. The Tibetan Government appealed for help to the nations of the world, including the United States of America. Sadly, no help was forthcoming from any quarter. Thus in 1959 the People's Republic of China succeeded in occupying Tibet. His Holiness the Dalai Lama and tens of thousands of Tibetans had to escape to India and other countries.

འགྲུབ་ལྷན་ཁང་།



K A S H A G
CENTRAL TIBETAN SECRETARIAT

- 2 -

Since then, the experience of the Tibetan people under Chinese communist rule had been one of unending physical brutalities, relieved only recently by the so-called policy of liberalization. It was indeed what many describe as "hell on earth" experience.

Some of the major casualties of the Chinese communist rule can be summed up as follows:

1. Since 1949 1.2 million Tibetans died because of fighting, torture, imprisonment and starvation.
2. Tibet's unique civilization, the fruit of more than 2000 years of development, was wiped out in a mere thirty years or so.
3. Over 6000 religious monuments were destroyed and the priceless works of art and literature were carted away to China from where they found their way into the markets of Tokyo and Hong Kong.
4. Tibet's fragile economy is reduced to one of subsistence. Tibet today is far poorer than what it was before the Chinese invasion.
5. Racial discrimination is practised everywhere in Tibet. Chinese and their children receive better facilities, better jobs and better education at the cost of our people.
6. The Chinese language is made the lingua franca of all administrative works in Tibet and Tibetan is neglected.
7. All the decision-making powers in Tibet is in the hands of Chinese officials. Tibetans are made rubber-stamp minor heads with no real authority whatsoever.

When the new leadership of China saw that the blatant brutalities of the old leadership did not result in the realisation of their aim which is the extermination of the identity and determination of our people, they switched over to their present policy of liberalization. This new policy is doing exactly what the past policy had failed to do. The religious freedom of this new policy extends only to superficial and demonstrative religious activities - making our religion look like blind faith while earning for

འགྲུབ་ལྷན་ཁང་།



K A S H A G
CENTRAL TIBETAN SECRETARIAT

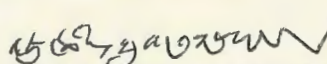
- 3 -

themselves the image of a tolerant government. What could not be seen is that there are so many subtle and passive restriction to the actual practice of our religion. This is true with all the other cultural activities of our people. The on-going transfer of Chinese population into Tibet is the single most serious development in Tibet uptil now. This is threatening to reduce our people into an insignificant minority in our own country.

In order to confirm the above facts, we suggest that either the Administration or the Congress send a fact-finding team to both Tibet and India to ascertain not only the truth of what we have stated, but also the points of the amendment put forward by the House of Representatives.

We hope and strongly appeal to Your Excellency and Your Excellency's Government to pass the said amendment and approve it when it is laid before you for your approval.

With consideration of our highest esteem,


(JUCHEN T. NAMGYAL)

SENIOR KALON

6



Handwritten text in Tibetan script

KASHAG
CENTRAL TIBETAN SECRETARIAT

...the range of a tolerant Government, what could
not be seen in that there are no many subtle and passive
resistance to the central direction of our religion. This is
true with all the other cultural activities of our people.
The on-going transfer of Chinese population into Tibet is
the single most serious development in Tibet since 1951.
This is the first time in the history of Tibet that a large
minority in our own country.

In order to continue the above trend, we suggest that either
the Administration of the Congress and a leading team
to both Tibet and India to ascertain not only the truth of
what we have stated, but also the points of the agreement
and forward to the House of Representatives.

We hope and strongly request to Your Excellency and your
Excellency's Government to pass the said agreement and approve
it when it is laid before you for your approval.

With consideration of our highest esteem,

Wangchuk
LHUNGPAL
SENIOR LIAISON

THE WHITE HOUSE
CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET

C0156

INCOMING

DATE RECEIVED: OCTOBER 30, 1987

8732965

NAME OF CORRESPONDENT: THE HONORABLE TOM LANTOS

SUBJECT: URGES UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT TO ENCOURAGE
AND FACILITATE FAVORABLE RESOLUTION OF THE
STATUS OF TIBET ALONG FIVE PROPOSALS OF THE
DALAI LAMA

ROUTE TO:		ACTION		DISPOSITION	
OFFICE/AGENCY	(STAFF NAME)	ACT CODE	DATE YY/MM/DD	TYPE RESP	C COMPLETED D YY/MM/DD
WILLIAM BALL		ORG	87/10/30	WB	987/11/20 TR
99003 ✓	REFERRAL NOTE:	R	87/11/10	TR	A87/12/02 TR
LABALL	REFERRAL NOTE:	A	87/12/03		C87/12/03
	REFERRAL NOTE:			TR	
	REFERRAL NOTE:				
	REFERRAL NOTE:				

COMMENTS: *Letter sent to all signees* TR

ADDITIONAL CORRESPONDENTS: 66 MEDIA:L INDIVIDUAL CODES: 1230 1240
MAIL USER CODES: (A) (B) (C)

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- | | | | |
|--------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|---|
| *ACTION CODES: | *DISPOSITION | *OUTGOING | * |
| *A-APPROPRIATE ACTION | *A-ANSWERED | *CORRESPONDENCE: | * |
| *C-COMMENT/RECOM | *B-NON-SPEC-REFERRAL | *TYPE RESP=INITIALS | * |
| *D-DRAFT RESPONSE | *C-COMPLETED | * OF SIGNER | * |
| *F-FURNISH FACT SHEET | *S-SUSPENDED | * CODE = A | * |
| *I-INFO COPY/NO ACT NEC* | | *COMPLETED = DATE OF | * |
| *R-DIRECT REPLY W/COPY * | | * OUTGOING | * |
| *S-FOR-SIGNATURE * | | | * |
| *X-INTERIM REPLY * | | | * |
- *****

REFER QUESTIONS AND ROUTING UPDATES TO CENTRAL REFERENCE
(ROOM 75, OEOB) EXT-2590
KEEP THIS WORKSHEET ATTACHED TO THE ORIGINAL INCOMING
LETTER AT ALL TIMES AND SEND COMPLETED RECORD TO RECORDS
MANAGEMENT.

UNCLASSIFIED

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT
TRANSMITTAL FORM

S/S 8732965

Date December 2, 1987

FOR: Mr. Paul Schott Stevens
Executive Secretary
National Security Council
The White House

REFERENCE:

To: President Reagan

From: Representative Tom Lantos

Date: Undated

Subject: Meeting with Members of Congress with His Holiness
the Dalai Lama of Tibet

WH Referral Dated: November 16, 1987

NSC ID# (if any): 525245

The attached item was sent directly to the
Department of State.

ACTION TAKEN:

A draft reply is attached.

A draft reply will be forwarded.

A translation is attached.


An information copy of a direct reply is attached.

We believe no response is necessary for the reason
cited below.

The Department of State has no objection to the
proposed travel.

Other (see remarks).

REMARKS:


Director
Secretariat Staff

UNCLASSIFIED



United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

DEC 2

Dear Congressman Lantos:

Thank you for your letter to the President, co-signed by sixty-six of your colleagues, regarding the five-point plan with regard to Tibet proposed by His Holiness the Dalai Lama in his statement of September 21, 1987.

The Administration strongly supports human rights in Tibet, as elsewhere in the world. The Department of State has spoken out publicly against abuses perpetrated against the Tibetan people over the years. During the recent outbreak of violence in Lhasa, we deplored the shooting of unarmed demonstrators by Chinese security forces and urged restraint on all sides to prevent further violence. We have expressed our concerns about the human rights situation in Tibet to senior Chinese officials both here and in Beijing and will continue to do so as circumstances warrant.

The Administration makes a distinction, however, between our unwavering support for human rights and our consistent position on matters involving Chinese sovereignty over Tibet. The United States does not recognize the Dalai Lama's claim to head a Tibetan government-in-exile, nor his contention that "under international law Tibet today is still an independent state under illegal occupation." The United States Government considers Tibet to be a part of China, where it has the status of an autonomous region. Neither the United States nor any other member of the United Nations recognizes, or has ever recognized, Tibet as a sovereign state independent of China. Nor do we believe that it would be helpful to the cause of human rights in Tibet to permit this issue to become linked to political questions involving the status of Tibet.

This distinction explains why the Administration cannot support the Dalai Lama's five-point program. This does not mean that we are opposed to elements in the program that are in accord with principles we espouse. Most importantly, the third element in the program calls for respect for the Tibetan people's fundamental human rights and democratic freedoms. We share the view that fundamental human rights and democratic freedoms should be respected in Tibet, as elsewhere, and that the Tibetan people should be free to develop culturally, intellectually, economically, and spiritually, and to exercise basic democratic freedoms.

The Honorable
Tom Lantos,
House of Representatives.

In other respects, the five-point program involves elements that are contrary to US policy or would constitute interference in the internal affairs of another country. For example, in calling for the transformation of the whole of Tibet into a zone of peace, the Dalai Lama made clear that this would require withdrawal of Chinese troops and military installations not only from the Tibetan Autonomous Region (TAR), but also from neighboring regions of China which the Tibetans refer to as Kham and Amdo. The United States favors reduced tensions along the Sino-Indian border but cannot dictate to China where its troops and military installations should be located within its borders.

The second element in the five-point program calls for the "abandonment of China's population transfer policy which threatens the very existence of the Tibetans as a people." Despite many unsubstantiated allegations that massive numbers of Chinese have been moved into Tibet, the United States Government has been unable to uncover evidence supporting the claim either that there has been a massive transfer of Chinese civilians into Tibet, or that such population movements as have occurred threaten the very existence of the Tibetans as a distinct people. We know of no basis for the claim in the Dalai Lama's statement that "even in the so-called Tibet Autonomous Region (i.e. central and western Tibet), Chinese government sources now confirm that Chinese outnumber Tibetans."

Statistical data relating to Tibet is scanty and of questionable reliability. Chinese official statistics indicate that the number of Chinese civilians resident in the Tibetan Autonomous Region has decreased in recent years and that Han Chinese constitute less than five percent of the population of the TAR, which consists overwhelmingly of ethnic Tibetans. Others believe the number of Han Chinese in the TAR to be substantially larger but cannot provide supporting data for their conclusions. From what little we know from the personal observations of travelers, most Han Chinese in the TAR live in urban areas, where they live in settlements and practice a life style that distinguishes them from the Tibetan residents. In most parts of Tibet, we have no reliable basis for determining the balance between the Han and Tibetan populations. In the case of Lhasa, the administrative capital of the TAR, where the preponderance of Chinese civilians in Tibet are located, the majority of the population is probably Han Chinese, although estimates of their numbers vary significantly.

With regard to the fourth element in the five-point program, restoration and protection of Tibet's natural environment would be consistent with worldwide efforts to

preserve our planet for future generations, of which we are strongly supportive. However, the United States Government does not take a position as to whether Tibet should be used for the production of nuclear weapons and dumping of nuclear waste, other than our view that such activities should be carried out with due consideration for human and environmental safety and the views of local inhabitants. In this connection, without in any way defending either Chinese nuclear programs or their location within China, we note that to the best of our knowledge the Chinese nuclear facilities to which this point presumably refers are located in sparsely-inhabited areas far from the Tibetan Autonomous Region.

The fifth element in the five-point program calls for the commencement of earnest negotiations on the future status of Tibet and of relations between the Tibetan and Chinese peoples. This proposal can only be evaluated in the context of other aspects of the Dalai Lama's statement. To the extent that this constitutes a call for negotiations between the Dalai Lama as the head of a Tibetan government-in-exile and the Chinese Government, the United States cannot support the proposal. However, we respect the Dalai Lama in his status as a prominent Tibetan religious leader and would welcome the resumption of a meaningful dialogue between the Dalai Lama and the Chinese Government that would facilitate the cultural, intellectual, economic, and spiritual development of the Tibetan people and their exercise of basic democratic freedoms within a framework of meaningful autonomy for minority peoples. We cherish such values for all peoples.

Since 1980, when the Chinese Government acknowledged the many grave wrongs that had been perpetrated in Tibet, there have been a number of encouraging changes in the Chinese Government's overall policies toward Tibet. Various Tibetans, including the Dalai Lama himself, have acknowledged that improvements in conditions in Tibet have occurred, although much more remains to be done. Unfortunately, events of the past two months have dealt a severe setback to this positive trend.

We do not believe that encouragement for Tibetan independence, or other actions lending support to the Dalai Lama's political claims as the head of a Tibetan government-in-exile, will advance the cause of human rights in Tibet or benefit the Tibetan people. On the contrary, such politically-motivated actions could jeopardize further improvements in conditions in Tibet and damage US relations with the People's Republic of China.

At the same time, the United States is not prepared to sacrifice its support for the cause of human rights in pursuit of improved relations with other countries. We must stand firm by our principles and be prepared to speak out whenever circumstances warrant. Expressions of concern for Tibetan human rights from the United States and other countries can be helpful in encouraging evolution in a favorable direction. The US Government will continue to do all it can to ensure respect for the dignity of man and individual human rights, in China as elsewhere.

Sincerely,

EF/s

J. Edward Fox
Assistant Secretary
Legislative Affairs

8732965

T H E W H I T E H O U S E O F F I C E

REFERRAL

NOVEMBER 16, 1987

TO: DEPARTMENT OF STATE

ACTION REQUESTED:
DIRECT REPLY, FURNISH INFO COPY

DESCRIPTION OF INCOMING:

ID: 525245
MEDIA: LETTER,
TO: PRESIDENT REAGAN
FROM: THE HONORABLE TOM LANTOS
U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WASHINGTON DC 20515

SUBJECT: STATE THAT THE TIBETAN PEOPLE HAVE SUFFERED FROM POLITICAL INSTABILITY, CULTURAL AND RELIGIOUS REPRESSION, VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS, AND SERIOUS DEGRADATION OF THEIR ENVIRONMENT. INDICATE THEIR SUPPORT FOR THE FIVE-POINT PROPOSAL OFFERED BY HIS HOLINESS THE DALAI LAMA TO CORRECT THIS SITUATION, AND ENCOURAGE YOU TO SUPPORT THIS PROPOSAL.

PROMPT ACTION IS ESSENTIAL -- IF REQUIRED ACTION HAS NOT BEEN TAKEN WITHIN 9 WORKING DAYS OF RECEIPT, PLEASE TELEPHONE THE UNDERSIGNED AT 456-7486.

RETURN CORRESPONDENCE, WORKSHEET AND COPY OF RESPONSE (OR DRAFT) TO:
AGENCY LIAISON, ROOM 91, THE WHITE HOUSE, 20500

SALLY KELLEY
DIRECTOR OF AGENCY LIAISON
PRESIDENTIAL CORRESPONDENCE

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: 11/4

TO: *Mary Ann*

FROM: **KATHY RATTE JAFFKE**
Office of Legislative Affairs

*This came back
without any O.K.
so I'm sending it
back your way.
KRC/JMD*

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 3, 1987

MEMORANDUM FOR:

WILLIAM L. BALL, III

FROM:

KATHY RATTE JAFFKE *KRJ*

SUBJECT:

Draft Approval

Attached for your review, is a proposed interim response to 67 House Members who asked the President to support the Dalai Lama's five-point proposal to restore peace and stability to Tibet.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: 11/10

TO: JIM

FROM: KATHY RATTE JAFFKE
Office of Legislative Affairs

You previously approved the drafts for these two joint letters.

As a rule, do you need to see the letters typed in final, or would you prefer that I send them out directly if you have O.K.'d the draft?

November 10, 1987

Dear Mr. Anderson:

Thank you for your recent letter to the President, cosigned by sixty-six of your colleagues, regarding a five-point plan proposed by the Dalai Lama to restore peace, to insure respect for the human rights of the Tibetan people and to preserve the cultural and spiritual traditions of Tibet.

We appreciate being advised of your interest and concern on behalf of the people of Tibet. In an effort to be of assistance, we have forwarded your letter and a copy of the Dalai Lama proposal to the appropriate Administration officials for their careful review. You will receive a follow-up reply in the near future.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

William L. Ball, III
Assistant to the President

The Honorable Glenn M. Anderson
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

WLB/KRJ/JWR/efr (sy6-WB8)

cc: w/copy of inc to Ed Fox, Congressional Affairs, State --
for DIRECT

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515

The Honorable Ronald Reagan
President of the United States
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

At a recent series of meetings with Members of Congress, His Holiness the Dalai Lama proposed a five-point plan to restore peace, to insure respect for the human rights of the Tibetan people, and to preserve the cultural and spiritual traditions of Tibet. The five-point proposal of the Dalai Lama has evoked considerable interest and attention here in the Congress. A copy of that proposal is attached.

4/23

Over the last three decades, the Tibetan people have suffered from political instability, repression of their ancient culture and religion, violation of their human rights, serious degradation of the environment of their homeland, and an officially sponsored migration of non-Tibetan peoples into Tibet. We believe that the proposals of the Dalai Lama clearly provide the best opportunity for progress toward resolving these problems.

On September 22, 1987, the Chairman and the ranking minority member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, the Chairman and the ranking minority member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, and the Co-chairmen of the Congressional Human Rights Caucus signed a letter to His Excellency Zhao Ziyang, the Prime Minister of the People's Republic of China, expressing their "grave concern with the present situation in Tibet and welcomed His Holiness the Dalai Lama's five point proposal as a historic step towards resolving the important question of Tibet and alleviating the suffering of the Tibetan people...and expressing their full support for his proposal."

While the principal parties involved in this issue are officials of the People's Republic of China on one hand and the Dalai Lama and his representatives on the other, the United States has a real interest in seeing the restoration of peace and stability in Tibet. We urge you to use your considerable influence and the full diplomatic resources of the United States Government to encourage and facilitate a favorable resolution of the status of Tibet along the lines proposed by the Dalai Lama.

Sincerely,

✓ *Tom Lantos* X

Tom Lantos
Member of Congress

✓ *Benjamin Gilman* X

Benjamin Gilman
Member of Congress

✓ *Don Edwards* X

Don Edwards
Member of Congress

✓ *John E. Porter* X

John E. Porter
Member of Congress

✓ *Charlie Rose* X

Charlie Rose
Member of Congress

✓ *Bill Broomfield* X

William Broomfield
Member of Congress

✓ Robert Garcia X
Robert Garcia, M.C.

✓ Bruce A. Morrison X
Bruce Morrison, M.C.

✓ Gerry Sikorski X
Gerry Sikorski, M.C.

✓ Richard Durbin X
Richard Durbin, M.C.

✓ Robert J. Mrazek X
Robert Mrazek, M.C.

✓ Thomas J. Manton X
Thomas Manton, M.C.

✓ Ed Markey X
Edward Markey, M.C.

✓ George Wortley X
George Wortley, M.C.

✓ James Jeffords X
James Jeffords, M.C.

✓ Matthew McHugh X
Matthew McHugh, M.C.

✓ Robert Lagomarsino X
Robert Lagomarsino, M.C.

✓ Arthur Ravenel X
Arthur Ravenel, M.C.

✓ Barney Frank X
Barney Frank, M.C.

✓ Bill Green X
Bill Green, M.C.

✓ Charles Hayes X
Charles Hayes, M.C.

✓ Dan Burton X
Dan Burton, M.C.

✓ Louise Slaughter X
Louise Slaughter, M.C.

✓ Mel Levine X
Mel Levine, M.C.

✓ William O. Lipinski X
William Lipinski, M.C.

✓ Steve Gunderson X
Steve Gunderson, M.C.

✓ Howard T. Berman
Howard Berman, M.C.

✓ Albert B. Bustamante
Albert Bustamante, M.C.

✓ Augustus F. Hawkins
Augustus Hawkins, M.C.

✓ Steny Hoyer
Steny Hoyer, M.C.

✓ Ernest Konnyu
Ernest Konnyu, M.C.

✓ William Lehman
William Lehman, M.C.

✓ Sander Levin
Sander Levin, M.C.

✓ Jan Meyers
Jan Meyers, M.C.

✓ Charles Rangel
Charles Rangel, M.C.

✓ Christopher Smith
Christopher Smith, M.C.

✓ Philip Crane
Philip Crane, M.C.

✓ Anthony Beilenson
Anthony Beilenson, M.C.

✓ Barbara Boxer
Barbara Boxer, M.C.

✓ Nancy Pelosi
Nancy Pelosi, M.C.

✓ Ronald Dellums
Ronald Dellums, M.C.

✓ Mervyn Dymally
Mervyn Dymally, M.C.

✓ Vic Fazio
Vic Fazio, M.C.

✓ Tony Hall
Tony Hall, M.C.

✓ Lawrence Smith
Lawrence Smith, M.C.

✓ Paul Henry
Paul Henry, M.C.

✓ Robert J. Matsui X
Robert Matsui, M.C.

✓ Henry A. Waxman X
Henry Waxman, M.C.

✓ Leon Panetta X
Leon Panetta, M.C.

✓ Tony Coelho X
Tony Coelho, M.C.

✓ Fortney (Pete) Stark X
Fortney (Pete) Stark, M.C.

✓ George E. Brown Jr. X
George Brown, Jr., M.C.

✓ Edward R. Roybal X
Edward Roybal, M.C.

✓ Esteban Torres X
Esteban Torres, M.C.

✓ Stephen Neal X
Stephen Neal, M.C.

✓ Julian Dixon X
Julian Dixon, M.C.

✓ Norman Y. Mineta X
Norman Mineta, M.C.

✓ Matthew B. Martinez X
Matthew Martinez, M.C.

✓ Michael DeWine X
Michael DeWine, M.C.

✓ Glenn Anderson X
Glenn Anderson

✓ James H. Bilbray X
James Bilbray, M.C.

✓ Jim Bates X
Jim Bates, M.C.

✓ Gus Yatron X
Gus Yatron, M.C.

✓ Barbara B. Kennelly X
Barbara Kennelly, M.C.

✓ Douglas Bosco X
Douglas Bosco, M.C.

✓ William J. Coyne X
William Coyne, M.C.

✓ James Oberstar X
James Oberstar, M.C.

CAPITOL HILL
September 21, 1987

STATEMENT OF HIS HOLINESS THE DALAI LAMA

The world is increasingly interdependent, so that lasting peace — national, regional, and global — can only be achieved if we think in terms of broader interests rather than parochial needs. At this time, it is crucial that all of us, the strong and the weak, contribute in our own way. I speak to you today as the leader of the Tibetan people and as a Buddhist monk devoted to the principles of a religion based on love and compassion. Above all, I am here as a human being who is destined to share this planet with you and all others as brothers and sisters. As the world grows smaller, we need each other more than in the past. This is true in all parts of the world, including the continent I come from.

At present in Asia, as elsewhere, tensions are high. There are open conflicts in the Middle East, Southeast Asia, and in my own country, Tibet. To a large extent, these problems are symptoms of the underlying tensions that exist among the area's great powers. In order to resolve regional conflicts, an approach is required that takes into account the interests of all relevant countries and peoples, large and small. Unless comprehensive solutions are formulated, that take into account the aspirations of the people most directly concerned, piecemeal or merely expedient measures will only create new problems.

The Tibetan people are eager to contribute to regional and world peace, and I believe they are in a unique position to do so. Traditionally, Tibetans are a peace loving and non-violent people. Since Buddhism was introduced to Tibet over one thousand years ago, Tibetans have practiced non-violence with respect to all forms of life. This attitude has also been extended to our country's international relations. Tibet's highly strategic position in the heart of Asia, separating the continent's great powers — India, China and the USSR — has throughout history endowed it with an essential role in the maintenance of peace and stability. This is precisely why, in the past, Asia's empires went to great lengths to keep one another out of Tibet. Tibet's value as an independent buffer state was integral to the region's stability.

When the newly formed People's Republic of China invaded Tibet in 1949/50, it created a new source of conflict. This was highlighted when, following the Tibetan national uprising against the Chinese and my flight to India in 1959, tensions between China and India escalated into the border war in 1962. Today large numbers of troops are again massed on both sides of the Himalayan border and tension is once more dangerously high.

The real issue, of course, is not the Indo-Tibetan border demarcation. It is China's illegal occupation of Tibet, which has given it direct access to the Indian sub-continent. The Chinese authorities have attempted to confuse the issue by claiming that Tibet has always been a part of China. This is untrue. Tibet was a fully independent state when the People's Liberation Army invaded the country in 1949/50.

Since Tibetan emperors unified Tibet, over a thousand years ago, our country was able to maintain its independence until the middle of this century. At times Tibet extended its influence over neighboring countries and peoples and, in other

periods, came itself under the influence of powerful foreign rulers — the Mongol Khans, the Gorkhas of Nepal, the Manchu Emperors and the British in India.

It is, of course, not uncommon for states to be subjected to foreign influence or interference. Although so-called satellite relationships are perhaps the clearest examples of this, most major powers exert influence over less powerful allies or neighbors. As the most authoritative legal studies have shown, in Tibet's case, the country's occasional subjection to foreign influence never entailed a loss of independence. And there can be no doubt that when Peking's communist armies entered Tibet, Tibet was in all respects an independent state.

China's aggression, condemned by virtually all nations of the free world, was a flagrant violation of international law. As China's military occupation of Tibet continues, the world should remember that though Tibetans have lost their freedom, under international law Tibet today is still an independent state under illegal occupation.

It is not my purpose to enter into a political/legal discussion here concerning Tibet's status. I just wish to emphasize the obvious and undisputed fact that we Tibetans are a distinct people with our own culture, language, religion and history. But for China's occupation, Tibet would still, today, fulfill its natural role as a buffer state maintaining and promoting peace in Asia.

It is my sincere desire, as well as that of the Tibetan people, to restore to Tibet her invaluable role, by converting the entire country — comprising the three provinces of U-Tsang, Kham and Amdo — once more into a place of stability, peace, and harmony. In the best of Buddhist tradition, Tibet would extend its services

and hospitality to all who further the cause of world peace and the well-being of mankind and the natural environment we share.

Despite the holocaust inflicted upon our people in the past decades of occupation, I have always strived to find a solution through direct and honest discussions with the Chinese. In 1982, following the change of leadership in China and the establishment of direct contacts with the government in Peking, I sent my representatives to Peking to open talks concerning the future of my country and people.

We entered the dialogue with a sincere and positive attitude and with a willingness to take into account the legitimate needs of the People's Republic of China. I hoped that this attitude would be reciprocated and that a solution could eventually be found which would satisfy and safeguard the aspirations and interests of both parties. Unfortunately, China has consistently responded to our efforts in a defensive manner, as though our detailing of Tibet's very real difficulties was criticism for its own sake.

To our even greater dismay, the Chinese government misused the opportunity for a genuine dialogue. Instead of addressing the real issues facing the six million Tibetan people, China has attempted to reduce the question of Tibet to a discussion of my own personal status.

It is against this background and in response to the tremendous support and encouragement I have been given by you and other persons I have met during this trip, that I wish today to clarify the principal issues and to propose, in a spirit of openness and conciliation, a first step towards a lasting solution. I hope this may

contribute to a future of friendship and cooperation with all of our neighbours, including the Chinese people.

This peace plan contains five basic components:

1. Transformation of the whole of Tibet into a zone of peace;
2. Abandonment of China's population transfer policy which threatens the very existence of the Tibetans as a people;
3. Respect for the Tibetan people's fundamental human rights and democratic freedoms;
4. Restoration and protection of Tibet's natural environment and the abandonment of China's use of Tibet for the production of nuclear weapons and dumping of nuclear waste;
5. Commencement of earnest negotiations on the future status of Tibet and of relations between the Tibetan and Chinese peoples.

Let me explain these five components.

1.

I propose that the whole of Tibet, including the eastern provinces of Kham and Amdo, be transformed into a zone of "Ahimsa", a Hindi term used to mean a state of peace and non-violence.

The establishment of such a peace zone would be in keeping with Tibet's historical role as a peaceful and neutral Buddhist nation and buffer state separating the continent's great powers. It would also be in keeping with Nepal's proposal to proclaim Nepal a peace zone and with China's declared support for such a proclamation. The peace zone proposed by Nepal would have a much greater impact if it were to include Tibet and neighboring areas.

The establishment of peace zone in Tibet would require withdrawal of Chinese troops and military installations from the Country, which would enable India also to withdraw troops and military installations from the Himalayan regions bordering Tibet. This would be achieved under an international agreement which would satisfy China's legitimate security needs and build trust among the Tibetan, Indian, Chinese and other peoples of the region. This is in everyone's best interest, particularly that of China and India, as it would enhance their security, while reducing the economic burden of maintaining high troop concentrations on the disputed Himalayan border.

Historically, relations between China and India were never strained. It was only when Chinese armies marched into Tibet, creating for the first time a common border, that tensions arose between these two powers, ultimately leading to the 1962 war. Since then numerous dangerous incidents have continued to occur. A restoration of good relations between the world's two most populous countries would

be greatly facilitated if they were separated — as they were throughout history — by a large and friendly buffer region.

To improve relations between the Tibetan people and the Chinese, the first requirement is the creation of trust. After the holocaust of the last decades in which over one million Tibetans — one sixth of the population — lost their lives and at least as many lingered in prison camps because of their religious beliefs and love of freedom, only a withdrawal of Chinese troops could start a genuine process of reconciliation. The vast occupation force in Tibet is a daily reminder to the Tibetans of the oppression and suffering they have all experienced. A troop withdrawal would be an essential signal that in future a meaningful relationship might be established with the Chinese, based on friendship and trust.

2.

The population transfer of Chinese into Tibet, which the government in Peking pursues in order to force a "final solution" to the Tibetan problem by reducing the Tibetan population to an insignificant and disenfranchised minority in Tibet itself, must be stopped.

The massive transfer of Chinese civilians into Tibet in violation of the Fourth Geneva Convention (1949), threatens the very existence of the Tibetans as a distinct people. In the eastern parts of our country, the Chinese now greatly outnumber Tibetans. In the Amdo province, for example, where I was born, there are, according to Chinese statistics, 2.5 million Chinese and only 750,000 Tibetans. Even in the so-called Tibet Autonomous Region (i.e., central and western Tibet), Chinese government sources now confirm that Chinese outnumber Tibetans.

The Chinese population transfer policy is not new. It has been systematically applied to other areas before. Earlier in this century, the Manchus were a distinct race with their own culture and traditions. Today only two to three million Manchurians are left in Manchuria, where 75 million Chinese have settled. In Eastern Turkestan, which the Chinese now call Sinkiang, the Chinese population has grown from 200,000 in 1949 to 7 million, more than half of the total population of 13 million. In the wake of the Chinese colonization of Inner Mongolia, Chinese number 8.5 million, Mongols 2.5 million.

Today, in the whole of Tibet 7.5 million Chinese settlers have already been sent, outnumbering the Tibetan population of 6 million. In central and western Tibet, now referred to by the Chinese as the "Tibet Autonomous Region", Chinese sources admit the 1.9 million Tibetans already constitute a minority of the region's population. These numbers do not take the estimated 300,000-500,000 troops in Tibet into account - 250,000 of them in the so-called Tibet Autonomous Region.

For the Tibetans to survive as a people, it is imperative that the population transfer is stopped and Chinese settlers return to China. Otherwise, Tibetans will soon be no more than a tourist attraction and relic of a noble past.

3.

Fundamental human rights and democratic freedoms must be respected in Tibet. The Tibetan people must once again be free to develop culturally, intellectually, economically and spiritually and to exercise basic democratic freedoms.

Human rights violations in Tibet are among the most serious in the world. Discrimination is practiced in Tibet under a policy of "apartheid" which the Chinese

call "segregation and assimilation". Tibetans are, at best, second class citizens in their own country. Deprived of all basic democratic rights and freedoms, they exist under a colonial administration in which all real power is wielded by Chinese officials of the Communist Party and the army.

Although the Chinese government allows Tibetans to rebuild some Buddhist monasteries and to worship in them, it still forbids serious study and teaching of religion. Only a small number of people, approved by the Communist Party, are permitted to join the monasteries.

While Tibetans in exile exercise their democratic rights under a constitution promulgated by me in 1963, thousands of our countrymen suffer in prisons and labor camps in Tibet for their religious or political convictions.

4.

Serious efforts must be made to restore the natural environment in Tibet. Tibet should not be used for the production of nuclear weapons and the dumping of nuclear waste.

Tibetans have a great respect for all forms of life. This inherent feeling is enhanced by the Buddhist faith, which prohibits the harming of all sentient beings, whether human or animal. Prior to the Chinese invasion, Tibet was an unspoiled wilderness sanctuary in a unique natural environment. Sadly, in the past decades the wildlife and the forests of Tibet have been almost totally destroyed by the Chinese. The effects on Tibet's delicate environment have been devastating. What little is left in Tibet must be protected and efforts must be made to restore the environment to its balanced state.

China uses Tibet for the production of nuclear weapons and may also have started dumping nuclear waste in Tibet. Not only does China plan to dispose of its own nuclear waste but also that of other countries, who have already agreed to pay Peking to dispose of their toxic materials.

The dangers this presents are obvious. Not only living generations, but future generations are threatened by China's lack of concern for Tibet's unique and delicate environment.

5.

Negotiations on the future status of Tibet and the relationship between the Tibetan and Chinese peoples should be started in earnest.

We wish to approach this subject in a reasonable and realistic way, in a spirit of frankness and conciliation and with a view to finding a solution that is in the long term interest of all: the Tibetans, the Chinese, and all other peoples concerned. Tibetans and Chinese are distinct peoples, each with their own country, history, culture, language and way of life. Differences among peoples must be recognized and respected. They need not, however, form obstacles to genuine cooperation where this is in the mutual benefit of both peoples. It is my sincere belief that if the concerned parties were to meet and discuss their future with an open mind and a sincere desire to find a satisfactory and just solution, a breakthrough could be achieved. We must all exert ourselves to be reasonable and wise, and to meet in a spirit of frankness and understanding.

Let me end on a personal note. I wish to thank you for the concern and support which you and so many of your colleagues and fellow citizens have expressed for the plight of oppressed people everywhere. The fact that you have publicly shown your sympathy for us Tibetans, has already had a positive impact on the lives of our people inside Tibet. I ask for your continued support in this critical time in our country's history. Thank you.

THE DALAI LAMA

THE WHITE HOUSE
CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET

0156
NSV17

INCOMING

DATE RECEIVED: NOVEMBER 16, 1987

NAME OF CORRESPONDENT: MR. RICHARD GERE

SUBJECT: EXPRESSES CONCERN OVER THE ILLEGAL RULE OF
TIBET AND URGES RECOGNITION OF ITS RIGHT TO
SELF-DETERMINATION AND OF HIS HOLINESS THE
DALAI LAMA'S GOVERNMENT-IN-EXILE

ROUTE TO: OFFICE/AGENCY	(STAFF NAME)	ACTION		DISPOSITION	
		ACT CODE	DATE YY/MM/DD	TYPE RESP	C COMPLETED D YY/MM/DD
FRANK CARLUCCI		ORG	87/11/16		C 87/11/20
	REFERRAL NOTE:				
CHUCK DONOVAN		RSI	87/11/16		C 87/11/16
	REFERRAL NOTE:				
<i>DOS</i>		R	87/11/25		A 87/12/04
	REFERRAL NOTE:				
	REFERRAL NOTE:				
	REFERRAL NOTE:				

COMMENTS:

State

ADDITIONAL CORRESPONDENTS: MEDIA:L INDIVIDUAL CODES: _____

MI MAIL USER CODES: (A) _____ (B) _____ (C) _____

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*ACTION CODES:          *DISPOSITION          *OUTGOING          *
*                        *                        *CORRESPONDENCE:  *
*A-APPROPRIATE ACTION  *A-ANSWERED          *TYPE RESP=INITIALS *
*C-COMMENT/RECOM       *B-NON-SPEC-REFERRAL *      OF SIGNER    *
*D-DRAFT RESPONSE      *C-COMPLETED        *      CODE = A     *
*F-FURNISH FACT SHEET  *S-SUSPENDED        *COMPLETED = DATE OF *
*I-INFO COPY/NO ACT NEC*                        *      OUTGOING    *
*R-DIRECT REPLY W/COPY *                        *                  *
*S-FOR-SIGNATURE       *                        *                  *
*X-INTERIM REPLY       *                        *                  *
*****

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REFER QUESTIONS AND ROUTING UPDATES TO CENTRAL REFERENCE
(ROOM 75, OEOB) EXT-2590
KEEP THIS WORKSHEET ATTACHED TO THE ORIGINAL INCOMING
LETTER AT ALL TIMES AND SEND COMPLETED RECORD TO RECORDS
MANAGEMENT.

10-10-1987
LARRY BROWN
10-10-1987

RECEIVED

87 NOV 18 P 4: 42

MEMORANDUM FOR THE DIRECTOR
SUBJECT: [Illegible]

TO: [Illegible]

FROM: [Illegible]

DATE: [Illegible]

RE: [Illegible]

[Illegible]

[Illegible]

[Illegible]

[Illegible]

[Illegible]

[Illegible]



S/S# 8734136
DATE December 4, 1987

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT
TRANSMITTAL FORM

FOR: Mr. Paul Schott Stevens
Executive Secretary
National Security Council
The White House

REFERENCE:

TO: President Reagan
FROM: Mr. Richard Gere
DATE: November 7, 1987
SUBJECT: Human Rights Abuses in Tibet

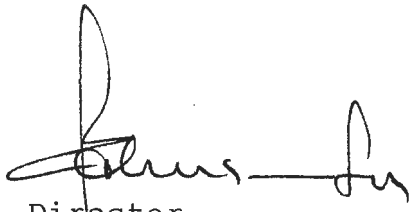
WH Referral Dated: November 25, 1987
NSC ID# (if any): 529211

The attached item was sent directly to the
Department of State

ACTION TAKEN:

- A draft reply is attached
 A draft reply will be forwarded
 A translation is attached
 An information copy of a direct reply is attached
 We believe no response is necessary for the reason
cited below
 The Department of State has no objection to the
proposed travel.
 Other (see remarks)

REMARKS:


Director
Secretariat Staff



United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

Mr. Richard Gere
Gere Productions, Inc.
45 East Ninth Street
New York, New York 10003

Dear Mr. Gere:

I am replying to your November 7 letter to President Reagan regarding human rights abuses in Tibet.

The U.S. Government strongly opposes human rights abuses in Tibet as it does in the rest of the world. Grave human rights abuses have occurred there, particularly in 1959 at the time of the Tibetan uprising and the flight of the Dalai Lama to India and again during the Cultural Revolution (1966-76). Hundreds of thousands of Tibetans perished in the course of armed clashes with Chinese troops, or from famine, mistreatment, and incarceration. Thousands of others suffered not only physical abuse and hardship, but also from attempts by Red Guards to eradicate Tibet's cultural, linguistic, and religious heritage.

Beginning in 1980, the Chinese publicly recognized their earlier policy and actions had been excessively harsh and adopted somewhat more liberal policies. Since then, a modest improvement of conditions in Tibet has been recognized even by the Dalai Lama. Nevertheless, human rights abuses continue in China and are detailed in the Department of State's yearly human rights country reports to Congress.

Recent events have again focussed attention on Tibet. The U.S. Government has deplored the shooting of unarmed demonstrators during a violent demonstration in Lhasa on October 1. We have urged the Chinese to exercise restraint in order to avoid future bloodshed. We have protested the Chinese expulsion of Western journalists from Lhasa and have urged that reporters be readmitted.

The U.S. Government considers Tibet to be a part of China, with the status of an autonomous region. At no time has the United States, or any other country, recognized Tibet as a sovereign state independent of China.

The U.S. Government will continue to do all it can to encourage respect for the dignity of man and individual human rights in China.

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Charles E. Redman". The signature is written in dark ink and is centered on the page.

Charles E. Redman
Assistant Secretary
for Public Affairs and
Department Spokesman

8734136

T H E W H I T E H O U S E O F F I C E

REFERRAL

NOVEMBER 25, 1987

TO: DEPARTMENT OF STATE

ACTION REQUESTED:

DIRECT REPLY, FURNISH INFO COPY

DESCRIPTION OF INCOMING:

ID: 529211

MEDIA: LETTER, DATED NOVEMBER 7, 1987

TO: PRESIDENT REAGAN

FROM: MR. RICHARD GERE
GERE PRODUCTIONS, INC.
45 EAST NINTH STREET
NEW YORK NY 10003

SUBJECT: EXPRESSES CONCERN OVER THE ILLEGAL RULE OF
TIBET AND URGES RECOGNITION OF ITS RIGHT TO
SELF-DETERMINATION AND OF HIS HOLINESS THE
DALAI LAMA'S GOVERNMENT-IN-EXILE

PROMPT ACTION IS ESSENTIAL -- IF REQUIRED ACTION HAS NOT BEEN
TAKEN WITHIN 9 WORKING DAYS OF RECEIPT, PLEASE TELEPHONE THE
UNDERSIGNED AT 456-7486.

RETURN CORRESPONDENCE, WORKSHEET AND COPY OF RESPONSE
(OR DRAFT) TO:
AGENCY LIAISON, ROOM 91, THE WHITE HOUSE, 20500

SALLY KELLEY
DIRECTOR OF AGENCY LIAISON
PRESIDENTIAL CORRESPONDENCE

8534136

THE WHITE HOUSE OFFICE

REFERRAL

NOVEMBER 25, 1987

TO: DEPARTMENT OF STATE

ACTION REQUESTED: DIRECT REPLY, FURNISH INFO COPY

DESCRIPTION OF INCOMING:

ID: 523211

MEDIA: LETTER, DATED NOVEMBER 7, 1987

TO: PRESIDENT REAGAN

FROM: MR. RICHARD GERE
 GERE PRODUCTIONS, INC.
 45 EAST NINTH STREET
 NEW YORK NY 10003

SUBJECT: EXPRESSES CONCERN OVER THE ILLEGAL RULE OF
 TIBET AND URGES RECOGNITION OF ITS RIGHT TO
 SELF-DETERMINATION AND OF HIS HOLINESS THE
 DALAI LAMA'S GOVERNMENT-IN-EXILE

PROMPT ACTION IS ESSENTIAL -- IF REQUIRED ACTION HAS NOT BEEN
 TAKEN WITHIN 9 WORKING DAYS OF RECEIPT, PLEASE TELEPHONE THE
 UNDERSIGNER AT 456-7488.

RETURN CORRESPONDENCE, WORKSHEET AND COPY OF RESPONSE
 (OR DRAFT) TO:
 AGENCY LIAISON, ROOM 91, THE WHITE HOUSE, 20500

SALLY KELLEY
 DIRECTOR OF AGENCY LIAISON
 PRESIDENTIAL CORRESPONDENCE

529211

~~RICHARD GERE~~

MSC
see CAD

November 7, 1987

President Ronald Reagan
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President,

I am deeply concerned about the people of Tibet. They have suffered greatly for almost forty years under illegal Chinese rule, and continue to suffer greatly. I applaud the legislation condemning Chinese human rights abuses that was passed unanimously by the House and the Senate this year, but I am outraged that the State Department policy condones China's continued genocide in Tibet. I urge you to use your good office to take strong action immediately to halt further executions and killings in Tibet and to halt the Chinese population transfer into Tibet that is extinguishing the Tibetan people. I also urge you to recognize Tibet's right to self-determination and to formally recognize His Holiness the Dalai Lama's Government-in-exile.

These acts will show the world that America can still be trusted to support freedom and honor in the world.

Sincerely,

