

CARROLL COLLEGE

WHERE THE "LAND OF SNOWS" MEETS THE "BIG SKY":  
A STUDY OF THE TIBETAN-U.S. RESETTLEMENT PROJECT  
IN MONTANA

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## INTRODUCTION

Leaving your country, family, and heritage, and stepping off an airplane into a foreign country can be an exciting, yet overwhelming, experience. One thousand Tibetan refugees have experienced this, as they entered the United States in 1990-1993. This was part of the Tibetan-U.S. Resettlement Project. The Tibetans have been placed in cluster communities around the United States, one of them being Missoula, Montana.

The reasons for the development of the Resettlement Project can be explained by examining the history of Tibet. By looking at the past we are able to understand the difficulties the Tibetans have been experiencing with China.

The relocation of Tibetans from their native land into the United States will affect their lives forever. Through the formation of the Tibetan-U.S. Resettlement Project, the Tibetan plight for freedom has been aided. How the U.S. government chooses to respond to the issue of Tibet will affect the future of Sino-American relations. The future of Tibet and the Tibetans is uncertain; but what remains certain is their continuing fight for independence.

**CHAPTER ONE**  
**THE HISTORY OF TIBET**

Tibet, or Xizang, is located in South-central Asia, and lies between the 28th and 36th parallels of north latitude and the 79th and 99th meridians of east longitude.<sup>1</sup> Tibet is north of India and Nepal, south of the Chinese region Xinjiang, and in the southwestern portion of China. (See Figure 1.) The capital of Tibet is Lhasa. Tibet covers an area of approximately 470,000 square miles and the average elevation is 16,000 feet above sea level.<sup>2</sup> Geographically, Tibet is "enclosed on the south by the Himalayas, and the Iranian plateau, flanked on the south-east by the Kirthar and Sulaiman ranges and on the south-west by the Zagros."<sup>3</sup> Tibet can be divided into four areas. In the north-west is Changtang, a high altitude area. To the south is U-Tsang, which is bordered by the Himalayas. Kham is located to the east and is the most fertile area. Last, to the north of Kham is Ambo. The national boundary of China is on the eastern borders of Ambo and Kham.<sup>4</sup>

Tibet's climate is variable, with differing temperatures in the valleys and plateaus. Temperatures range, in Fahrenheit, from 80 degrees in the summer to -27

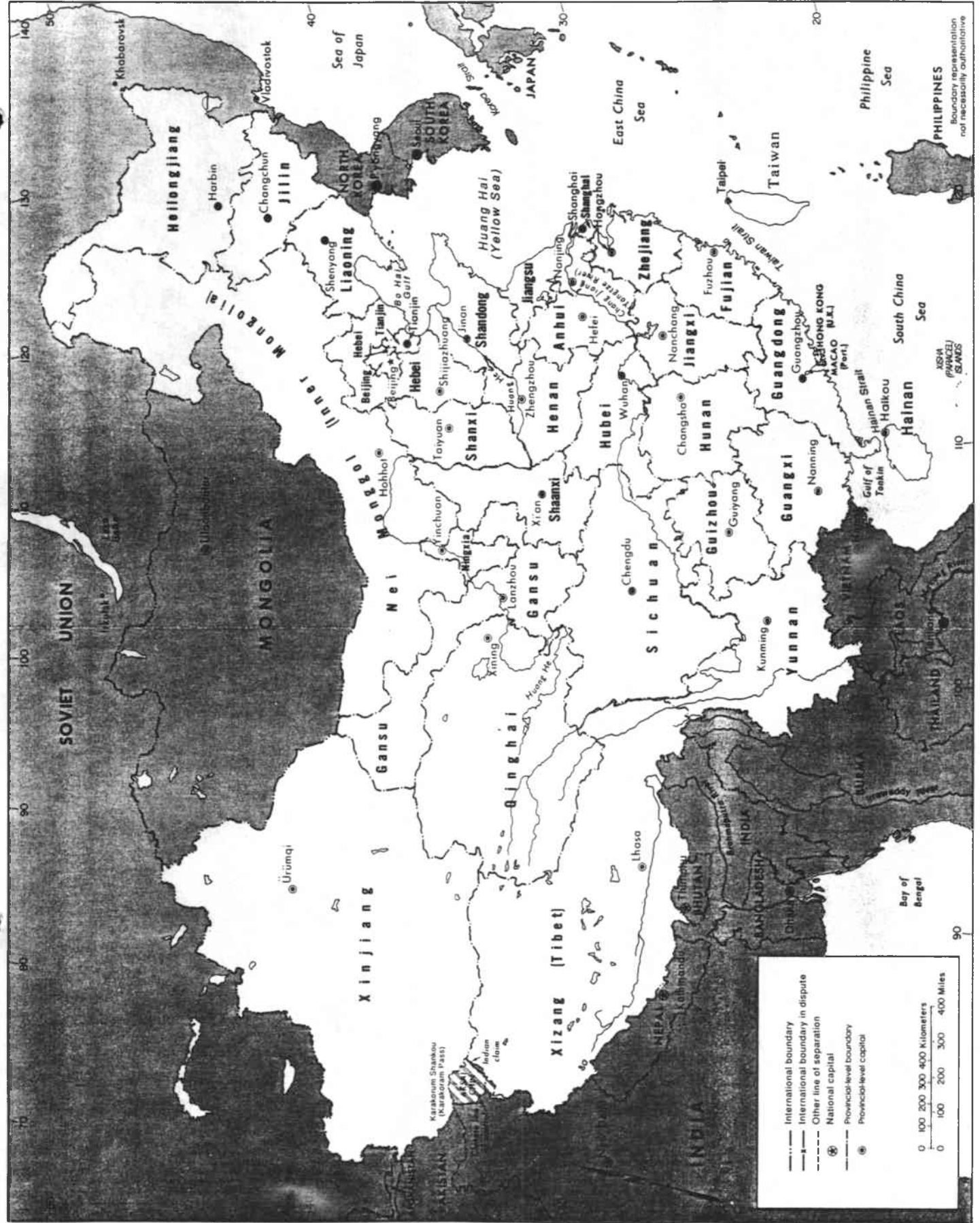


Figure 1. China, 1988

degrees in the winter. Snow, rain, and strong cold winds are some of the weather conditions that affect Tibet.<sup>5</sup> Due to the climate, Tibet is referred to as the Land of Snows. The yak is an important animal in Tibet and it is used as a source of transportation. Not many roads existed until the Chinese government began the building of a modern transportation system in the 1950s and 1960s.<sup>6</sup>

The religion of Tibet is Lamaism, a form of Buddhism. The religious, spiritual, and political leader is the Dalai Lama. The Dalai Lamas held their position in Tibet from 1642 to 1959.<sup>7</sup> The Dalai Lama remains in power from the time of recognition until his death, when a new Dalai Lama is recognized. The Potala, in Lhasa, is a monastery where the Dalai Lama had traditionally run his government.

The current Dalai Lama is His Holiness Tenzin Gyatso, the Fourteenth Dalai Lama of Tibet. (See Figure 2.) Tenzin Gyatso was born on July 6, 1935.<sup>8</sup> He is "held to be the reincarnation of each of the previous thirteen Dalai Lamas of Tibet."<sup>9</sup> At the age of two he was recognized as the Dalai Lama and installed at Lhasa when he was four years old.<sup>10</sup> On November 17, 1950, the Dalai Lama was officially enthroned and given "his majority."<sup>11</sup> Despite the Dalai Lama's traditional influence in Tibet, this has not stopped the Chinese from intervening into Tibetan affairs.

Starting in 1720, the Chinese Manchu forces began their intervention in Tibetan politics and affairs.<sup>12</sup> With the



His Holiness The Dalai Lama

Figure 2. Tenzin Gyatso, the Fourteenth Dalai Lama of Tibet

Source: Hugh E. Richardson, Tibet & Its History, 2d. ed., revised and updated (Boston: Shambhala Publishing, Inc., 1984).

collapse of the Qing Dynasty in 1912, Tibet regained its autonomy and the Chinese troops were removed.<sup>13</sup> Tibet was then declared an autonomous region and the Tibetans continued their religious and cultural activities under the supervision of the Dalai Lama. "Autonomous regions are areas heavily populated by non-Chinese minorities. Some of these minorities, like the Tibetans, continue to challenge the authority of the central leaders."<sup>14</sup> The Tibetans in some aspects are a distinct cultural group. They have their own distinct form of religion, language, culture, and customs. Due to their religious beliefs in Lamaism, the Tibetans reject the use of armed force and violence. They lived a peaceful, kind, and compassionate life in accordance with their religion from 1912 until 1950.

In October 1950, China's communist forces, the People's Liberation Army (PLA), invaded Tibet and occupied the main parts of the region within one year.<sup>15</sup> China considered this a "peaceful liberation" of Tibet.<sup>16</sup> This invasion was the beginning of the violent repression of the people in Tibet. The invasion had a strong effect on Tibetans, causing feelings of uncertainty, fright, anger, and confusion. They could not understand the reason for the invasion. Tibetans believed the Chinese invasion was clearly a form of aggression. Since 1950 the Chinese have claimed Tibet to be a part of China, but the Tibetans strongly disagree with this view, and consider themselves a

separate nation.<sup>17</sup>

In January 1951, pressure from the PLA forced the Fourteenth Dalai Lama to flee Lhasa to secure his safety. He then traveled to Dromo, Sikkim, a state of India located near the Tibetan border with Nepal.<sup>18</sup> While in Dromo, the Dalai Lama sent a delegation to Beijing in hopes of negotiating some form of understanding, and "make it clear to the Chinese leader that Tibet did not require 'liberation', just continued peaceful relations with our great neighbour."<sup>19</sup>

On May 23, 1951, the Dalai Lama's delegation was coerced into accepting a Seventeen-Point Agreement for the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet.<sup>20</sup> This agreement was to guarantee "Tibetan autonomy, under Chinese rule."<sup>21</sup> The Seventeen-Point Agreement for the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet was signed without the Dalai Lama's permission by representatives of the government of the People's Republic of China, referred to as the "Local Government" of Tibet. He was upset by the Agreement because it contained many falsifications and preposterous implications. The first clause "stated that the Tibetan people shall unite and drive out imperialist aggressive forces from Tibet. The Tibetan people shall return to the big family of the Motherland--the People's Republic of China." The Dalai Lama was appalled by this clause. He responded, "Tibet had never been a part of China. In fact . . . Tibet has ancient claims to large

parts of China." The rest of the Agreement was equally upsetting to the Dalai Lama. The main point that was expressed in the Agreement was "from now on the Land of Snows answered to the People's Republic of China."<sup>22</sup> Despite these harsh terms, the Dalai Lama had hoped to receive Chinese cooperation and in mid-1951 he returned to Tibet.

For the next eight years, there was extreme tension in the lives of the Tibetans. They lived as best as possible under Chinese rule, with the Dalai Lama teaching the Tibetans to always keep their spirits high:

no matter how bad things become, they will eventually get better. In the end, the innate desire of all people for truth, justice and human understanding must triumph over ignorance and despair. So if the Chinese oppressed us it could only strengthen us.<sup>23</sup>

Even with the best of attitudes the Tibetans could not stop the violence or make the situation better. On March 10, 1959, despite the Tibetans' strong beliefs in non-violence, the citizens of Tibet revolted against Chinese rule, and fighting began.<sup>24</sup> Hundreds of monasteries were destroyed; their numbers decreased from 2,464 to 10.<sup>25</sup> During the three-day rebellion 870,000 Tibetans were massacred.<sup>26</sup> Ironically, all the damage and killing was done by the Chinese who had wanted a "peaceful liberation."

In spite of all of these events the Dalai Lama still did not reprimand China: "There was no point in being negative: that only makes a bad situation worse."<sup>27</sup> On

March 17, 1959, the Dalai Lama fled Lhasa and sought safety in India. He responded to this aggression by setting up a Tibetan government in exile in Dhramasala, India. By the end of 1959, 17,000 Tibetans had fled Tibet and settled in refugee camps in India.<sup>28</sup>

Despite the flight of refugees to India, riots continued to take place in Tibet. The Tibetans have not stopped protesting Chinese control, and seeking "independence for Tibet."<sup>29</sup> These protests led to poor relations between Tibet and the Chinese central authorities and resulted in the 1959 Tibetan rebellion. These difficulties continue to the present time.<sup>30</sup>

Beginning in the 1950s and continuing through the 1960s, China continued to suppress and maintain tight control over the Tibetans. China worked to modernize Tibet's feudal system, but the Tibetans continued to adhere to their traditions. Since the annexation of Tibet in 1965, it has been administered as an autonomous region.<sup>31</sup> When Mao Zedong, Chairman of the Republic of China and the Chinese Communist Party, died on September 9, 1976, the Chinese began to relax their tight control over the Tibetans. Monastery reconstruction was permitted and Buddhist religious life resumed despite the Chinese destruction of most of their cultural and religious heritage.<sup>32</sup>

Tibetan pro-independence protests have been frequent

since 1987 and the Chinese have again tightened their control over the Tibetans. "Despite the problems in controlling the people, China's presence here [Tibet] is likely to endure because it regards Xizang [Tibet] as a fortress that protects the Chinese southwestern flank against both India and the Soviet Union."<sup>33</sup>

China has done its best to keep the outside world from discovering the harsh realities that have been taking place in Tibet. In 1987, "the Chinese government had imposed martial law in Lhasa and ordered all Western journalists out of Tibet. They had subsequently imposed an effective news embargo on the region."<sup>34</sup> China has succeeded in keeping the involvement of foreign countries at a minimum. The United States has never officially committed itself to aiding Tibetan independence for fear of offending the Chinese.<sup>35</sup> Nonetheless, individuals in the United States have slowly become aware of Chinese repressive actions in Tibet.

On September 21, 1987, the Dalai Lama delivered an address on Capitol Hill. He discussed and outlined his main points pertaining to the future status of Tibet. This became known as the Five-Point Peace Plan. The contents of the Five-Point Peace Plan are as follows:

1. The 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 Tibetan and Chinese peoples.<sup>36</sup>

Due to his never-ending efforts to ascertain peace in Tibet, on December 10, 1989, the Dalai Lama was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in Oslo, Norway.<sup>37</sup> Despite his efforts, he has been unable to stop the Communist oppression of his people.

By 1990, many changes had taken place in Tibet. The population of Tibet was approximately ten million in 1950, but by 1990 China had reduced the Tibetan population to six million. Meanwhile, 7.5 million Chinese immigrated to and settled in Tibet. Finally, 1.2 million Tibetans were killed because of their beliefs; and from 1959 to 1990 100,000 Tibetans were forced into exile and are now living in refugee camps in India and Nepal. China has been committing genocide on the Tibetan people for the past forty-two years.<sup>38</sup> The Tibetans have become minorities in their own region and are victims of numerous Human Rights violations.<sup>39</sup> The standard of living has dropped. Malnutrition, unjustified imprisonments, numerous forms of torture, and killing have become daily occurrences for many Tibetans. The Chinese have accomplished their suppression of Tibetan culture.<sup>40</sup>

Due to the suppression of the Tibetans, refugee resettlement areas have become vital to the survival of their culture. Tibetan culture, heritage, and religion play key roles in their daily life. The suppression of speech and religious acts they practiced in Tibet has crushed and changed their lifestyle. Because of Chinese repression, Tibetans are being punished and not allowed to live freely. The establishment of refugee resettlement areas have allowed Tibetans the freedom to live the lives they believe in, while preserving their heritage and customs.

The refugee settlements in India and Nepal are overcrowded and impoverished, creating the need for new resettlements areas. This problem has been addressed by a coalition of Tibetans-in-exile and their American supporters in the development of the Tibetan-U.S. Resettlement Project.

## ENDNOTES

<sup>1</sup>H. E. Richardson, A Short History of Tibet (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1962), 3.

<sup>2</sup>American Educator Encyclopedia, 1972 ed., s.v. "Tibet."

<sup>3</sup>Gavin Hambly, ed., Central Asia (New York: Delacorte Press, 1969), 2.

<sup>4</sup>[Tenzin Gyatso, the Fourteenth Dalai Lama of Tibet], Freedom in Exile: The Autobiography of the Dalai Lama (New York: Harper Collins Publishers, 1990) 3-6.

<sup>5</sup>Richardson, A Short History of Tibet, 8-9.

<sup>6</sup>American Educator Encyclopedia.

<sup>7</sup>Jonathan D. Spence, The Search for Modern China (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1990), 791-792.

<sup>8</sup>Freedom in Exile, 3.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., 11.

<sup>10</sup>Sidney Piburn, ed., The Dalai Lama, A Policy of Kindness: An Anthology of Writings By and About the Dalai Lama, With a Foreword by Claiborne Pell (Ithaca, NY: Snow Lion Publications, 1990), 11-12.

<sup>11</sup>Freedom in Exile, 53-54.

<sup>12</sup>Spence, The Search for Modern China, 68.

<sup>13</sup>Richardson, A Short History of Tibet, 102.

<sup>14</sup>Gary K. Bertsch, Robert P. Clark, and David M. Wood, Comparing Political Systems: Power & Policy in Three Worlds, 4th ed. (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1991), 306.

<sup>15</sup>Spence, The Search for Modern China, 525.

<sup>16</sup>Freedom in Exile, 52.

<sup>17</sup>Richardson, A Short History of Tibet, 185, 189.

- <sup>18</sup>Freedom in Exile, 57-60.
- <sup>19</sup>Ibid., 62.
- <sup>20</sup>Ibid., 63-65.
- <sup>21</sup>Steve Weissman, "Last Tangle in Tibet," Pacific Research & World Empire Telegram 4 (July-August 1973), 3.
- <sup>22</sup>Freedom in Exile, 63-65. To see the full Seventeen-Point Agreement for the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet, consult Richardson, A Short History of Tibet, 275-278.
- <sup>23</sup>Freedom in Exile, 81.
- <sup>24</sup>Spence, The Search for Modern China, 587.
- <sup>25</sup>Fox Butterfield, China: Alive in the Bitter Sea (New York: Times Books, 1982), 429.
- <sup>26</sup>U.S. Tibet Committee, Tibet: Over 40 Years of Tiananmen Terror, Pamphlet (New York: U.S. Tibet Committee, n.d.), in possession of the author.
- <sup>27</sup>Freedom in Exile, 100.
- <sup>28</sup>Richardson, A Short History of Tibet, 235.
- <sup>29</sup>Robert L. Worden, Andrea Matles Savada, and Ronald E. Dolan, eds., China: A Country Study (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1988), xxxix.
- <sup>30</sup>Power & Policy in Three Worlds, 306.
- <sup>31</sup>H.J. De Blij and Peter O. Muller, Geography Regions and Concepts, 6th ed. (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1992), 529.
- <sup>32</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>33</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>34</sup>Spence, The Search for Modern China, 728.
- <sup>35</sup>Weissman, "Last Tangle in Tibet," 10.
- <sup>36</sup>Freedom in Exile, 247-248.
- <sup>37</sup>Piburn, A Policy of Kindness, 9.
- <sup>38</sup>U.S. Tibet Committee, Tibet: Over 40 Years of Terror.

<sup>39</sup>Snow Lion Newsletter & Catalog (Ithaca, NY), Summer 1992.

<sup>40</sup>Hambly, Central Asia, 274-275; China: A Country Study, xxxix.

## CHAPTER TWO

### THE TIBETAN-U.S. RESETTLEMENT PROJECT

Through the encouragement and advice of the Dalai Lama's government in exile, the Central Tibetan Administration (CTA), the United States has been able to help relieve some of the pressures on the Tibetan refugees by developing the Tibet Fund. The Tibet Fund was founded in 1981 at the request of the Dalai Lama; it is a tax-exempt charitable organization. The central purpose of the Tibet Fund is to preserve the "unique culture and identity of Tibet outside of the Tibetan homeland."<sup>1</sup> The work of the Tibet Fund has helped the U.S. recognize the need for new resettlement areas. Although India's government has provided considerable aid to the large number of Tibetans that continue to flee their homeland, it is unable to give adequate relocation assistance due to lack of resources. This was the basis for creating the Tibetan-U.S. Resettlement Project (TUSR) in 1989. Tenzin N. Tethong, Board member of the Tibet Fund, and Edward J. Bednar, President of the TUSR, have worked toward the establishment of this non-profit and non-governmental organization. The purpose of TUSR is to relocate displaced Tibetans and

to devise a resettlement plan in keeping with the ultimate objectives of the Tibetan community-in-exile; the preservation of Tibetan culture and identity; support for Tibetan refugee settlements in India and Nepal; and in the long run, reconstruction of the Tibetan homeland.<sup>2</sup>

The next step was for the TUSRP to work with the U.S. government to establish the proper documents and laws which would allow the Tibetan immigrants to enter the United States. Congressman Barney Frank, D-MA, succeeded in amending the Immigration Act of 1990 "to allow displaced Tibetans in India and Nepal to qualify for special immigrant visas."<sup>3</sup> Also, Provisions of the Immigration Act of 1990, under "Diversity" Visas, required that "1,000 visas be allocated to displaced nationals from Tibet over the following three years."<sup>4</sup>

With the passage of special immigration laws for Tibetans, the Resettlement Project's foundation was coming together. In March of 1990, Tethong, Bednar, and members of the Tibet Fund traveled to Dhramasala, India, where they presented their accomplishments to the Dalai Lama and the CTA. Upon approval of the project from the Dalai Lama and the CTA, they returned to the United States and formed a Board of Directors.

TUSRP is internationally administered in Dhramasala under the Dalai Lama, and the national office is in New York. The New York office is in charge of setting up a network of cluster communities throughout the United States. The CTA was responsible for selecting the 1,000 Tibetans

that have immigrated to the United States.<sup>5</sup>

A network of cluster communities has been developed in several areas in the United States and the Tibetans were placed in these sites upon their arrival. The cluster sites do not receive federal funding; therefore, donations and voluntary efforts are used for funding. The cluster sites need to "build up sufficient geographic concentration to maintain social cohesiveness, Tibetan cultural identity, and easy access to centrally located resettlement services."<sup>6</sup>

To become a cluster community, a city submitted an application to TUSRП and was investigated by its representatives. If there was enough evidence that the city was an acceptable site, TUSRП granted official approval. Currently, there are nineteen cluster communities located in the United States: Albuquerque, New Mexico; Amherst, Massachusetts; Boise, Idaho; Boston, Massachusetts; Austin, Texas; Chicago, Illinois; Darien, Connecticut; Ithaca, New York; New York City, New York; Madison, Wisconsin; Missoula, Montana; Portland, Oregon; Salt Lake City, Utah; San Francisco, California; Los Angeles, California; Seattle, Washington; Minneapolis and St. Paul, Minnesota; Charlottesville, Virginia; and Burlington, Vermont.<sup>7</sup>

Once a cluster community was established, there were many responsibilities that needed to be accepted. A Project Coordinator and a Steering Committee were the main supervisors in the development of the cluster site. They

worked toward obtaining all the necessary resources and were in charge of the project.<sup>8</sup> Each cluster site needed to arrange and prepare the following steps for each Tibetan immigrant before arrival: sponsorship, employment, housing, finances, publicity, U.S. entry documents, household goods, clothing, health care, English as a second language, acculturation, and religious affairs.<sup>9</sup>

Financially, all funding was obtained from private resources, because under the special Tibetan Immigration Provisions no federal funding was available. The CTA and TUSRP are still in the process of expanding resources for funding. The travel costs from India to the U.S. were approximately \$700 per person. According to the TUSRP, "the estimated cost of resettling each Tibetan is over \$2,000."<sup>10</sup> The best way to obtain financial aid for the expenses was through fundraising.

People in the cluster community chose to become sponsors for the Tibetans. The sponsor's obligation was to aid a Tibetan with the adjustments of resettlement. An application form that provided basic information about the sponsor was completed. This was used to certify that the sponsor was suitable. The sponsor needed to be a highly motivated and well qualified person, able to provide a "personal human connection for introducing the Tibetan newcomer to life in the United States."<sup>11</sup>

Employment for the Tibetans was authorized before their

arrival was secured. A job letter, an offer of employment for a Tibetan refugee, was used to determine overseas visa eligibility. The U.S. government would only admit an immigrant with evidence that he/she had a job upon arrival. The job letter also verified that the Tibetan would not become a public expense. Immigrants were exempt from any form of welfare for the first three years. When the CTA received a package of job letters, the overseas coordinator matched the visa applicants with the best jobs. The CTA then sent data about the Tibetans to the TUSRPs and cluster sites, and an affidavit of support needed to be signed by the sponsor.<sup>12</sup>

Housing was arranged, but the Tibetans could stay with their sponsors until they were acquainted with the city. More permanent steps were then taken in finding a suitable apartment, while keeping in perspective the size, price, and accessibility. Household goods were also needed. Several items that were immediately useful were food, furnishings, household items, clothing, appliances, and transportation or information on the transportation systems. The best way to obtain these was through public contributions.<sup>13</sup>

The acculturation of the Tibetans was very important. Once the Tibetans were settled in a cluster site, they were introduced to the community's economic and social systems. The sponsors began this with a tour of the city and then worked to acquaint them with their lifestyle. Some

important points explained were shopping, transportation, money management, and how to obtain health care. A religious affiliation was to be set up that would allow the Tibetans a place of worship. It was also crucial that, if English was not known, tutoring took place so that the immigrants would be able to adapt to the community faster and with greater ease.<sup>14</sup>

Before entering the United States, pre-arrival documents for refugees had to be obtained. Each Tibetan needed a visa application containing, police clearance, fingerprints, photographs, and State Department application forms. A physical examination was also given and passed. When all of these documents were in order, the Tibetans had to pass the visa interview at the U.S. Consulate. After arriving in the U.S., the Tibetans obtained a document stamped "temporary evidence of permanent residence." This expired in eight to twelve weeks, and a permanent "green card" was mailed to the Tibetan. The "green card" gave the Tibetans authorization to work. The Tibetans also needed to apply for a social security card.<sup>15</sup> If all the necessary arrangements were made, the resettlement of the Tibetans flowed much more easily.

Publicity was crucial to the project. Through the media the public became more knowledgeable of the Resettlement Project which facilitated a stronger cluster site. Even though publicity was beneficial, the privacy of

the Tibetans needed to be protected.<sup>16</sup>

The first group of Tibetan immigrants arrived in the U.S. in April 1992. On April 17, seven arrived on the West Coast, and on April 18, eight arrived at New York's JFK airport. By the summer of 1992 there were approximately 500 Tibetans in the United States. By the end of 1993 all 1,000 immigrants had arrived, giving the U.S. an estimated Tibetan population of 1,500.<sup>17</sup>

The intention of the Tibetan-U.S. Resettlement Project has been to aid the Tibetans in preserving their culture and heritage. The cluster communities have enabled the Tibetans to continue their lifestyles in a more adequate and safer environment. By examining the cluster community in Missoula, Montana, we will be able to see specific accounts of how the Tibetans have adapted to this new life and how it compares to their lives in their homeland.

## ENDNOTES

<sup>1</sup>Tibetan-U.S. Resettlement Project, National Cluster Site Manual, in possession of the author, 1-2.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., 2.

<sup>3</sup>Congressional Quarterly Almanac, vol. 46 (Washington D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Inc., 1991), 476.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., 482-483.

<sup>5</sup>National Cluster Site Manual, 2.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., 3.

<sup>7</sup>The Tibet-Montana Connection (Newsletter of the Tibetan-U.S. Resettlement Project-Montana), Summer 1992.

<sup>8</sup>National Cluster Site Manual, 4-6.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., 5-6.

<sup>10</sup>Tibetan-U.S. Resettlement Project-Montana, Pamphlet (Missoula, MT: Tibetan-U.S. Resettlement Project, n.d.).

<sup>11</sup>National Cluster Site Manual, 5-7.

<sup>12</sup>National Cluster Site Manual, 7-8.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid., 8, 11.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid., 12-14.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid., 10-11.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid., 10.

<sup>17</sup>News Tibet (Office of Tibet, New York), May-August 1992.

## CHAPTER THREE

### THE TIBETAN-U.S. RESETTLEMENT PROJECT-MONTANA

Out of the 1,000 Tibetans placed throughout the United States, sixteen have been located in Missoula, Montana.<sup>1</sup> The possibility of Missoula, Montana, becoming a cluster site in the Tibetan-U.S. Resettlement Project was recognized while Carlene Gonder was in Dhramasala in March 1990. When Ed Bednar learned that Gonder was from Montana, he made a statement referring to Montana and Tibet as being "a marriage made in heaven."<sup>2</sup>

Montana is an ideal location for a resettlement cluster community. Montana and Tibet have some geographical similarities. The ranges of the temperatures are comparable and they both have a beautiful mountainous landscape. This has enabled Tibetans to relate Montana to their homeland, and feel more at "home." Montanans are known for generally being open minded, kind, accepting, helping, and friendly. These qualities have aided in the acceptance and acculturation of the Tibetans.<sup>3</sup>

The University of Montana is located in Missoula. This gives the cluster site access to resources that are helpful in the resettlement process. Missoula also has "a Tibetan

Buddhist Center and an active Tibetan support group," which has given the Tibetans a location to continue their worship and practice their religious customs.<sup>4</sup> There are several people living in Montana who have traveled to Tibet or Nepal; their experience and knowledge are a beneficial resource. These factors explain Montana's decision to apply to become a cluster site.<sup>5</sup>

Missoula, Montana, was approved by TUSRP to become a cluster community in December 1991, and this created the Tibetan-U.S. Resettlement Project-Montana (TUSRP-Montana). In September 1992, Missoula had completed the planning and work necessary to be ready for the arrival of the Tibetans. As of October 30, 1992, nine Tibetans had arrived in Missoula. Twenty were expected to arrive by the first week in January 1993, but only nineteen Tibetans came to Missoula.<sup>6</sup> As of March 1994, eighteen Tibetans are living in Missoula. Sixteen of the Tibetans are from the resettlement areas in India and the other two are students at the University of Missoula on Fulbright Scholarships. The names of the sixteen Tibetans are:

Males:	Females:
Dawa Tsering	Thinlay Chodon
Pema Kunsang Takza	Lhamo Tsering
Tashi Phuntsok	Ngawang Choeden
Tseten Phuntsok	Pasang Dolma
Samten Waser	Tseten Phuntsok
Nyingchak Tsering	Sonam Doma
Yeshe Lewa	Nyima Dolma
Lobsang Khedup	
Palden Dhondup. <sup>7</sup>	

The TUSRP-Montana Project Coordinator is George Bonini.

Nancy Treuhaft was the Chairperson for the Steering Committee until she stepped down in November 1993. Mike Roy, the Treasurer, has replaced her until she is able to return. Treuhaft feels that she needs to remain objective and keep a distance in the TUSRП-Montana. She believes that if you become too personally involved in the plight of the Tibetans you can lose your perspective and objectivity. For these reasons and personal purposes, Treuhaft took a leave of absence from her position as Chairperson. She currently is becoming re-involved with TUSRП-Montana. These are just three of the numerous individuals who have been working to make the Tibetan dream a reality in Montana.<sup>8</sup>

The TUSRП-Montana office originally consisted of many subcommittees in which individuals worked on specific tasks to aid in the transition of the Tibetans into Missoula. The office was run by these individuals, including volunteers, supporters, and interns from the university. These individuals and the subcommittees included:

- Mike Roy - Chairperson
- Roy Andes - Employment
- Dr. Frank and Susanne Bessac - Sponsorship
- Dr. Chris and Marie-Ange Buzan - Employment
- Sue Commerford - Media and Publicity
- Gregory Kennett - Fundraising
- Pemba Lama - Acculturation
- John Patrick Murphy - Acculturation
- Libby Sale - Housing and Household Goods
- Ginny Therriault - English as a Second Language
- Beth Thompson, M.D. - Health Care
- George Bonini - Project Coordinator.<sup>9</sup>

The TUSRП-Montana office and subcommittees worked in the above areas for the first three months; it was then

hoped that the Tibetans would begin to take over the responsibility for these duties. The subcommittees are no longer as involved with the Tibetans, but many individuals remain in contact with the refugees and help them when the need arises. However, the TUSRП-Montana workers are concerned with keeping a balance between helping too much or too little. They try to avoid the possibility of the Tibetans relying on them excessively.<sup>10</sup>

The TUSRП-Montana will continue to help the Tibetans deal with any problems that might develop. The Tibetans rarely voice their problems and dislikes directly to the members of the TUSRП-Montana. They do not want to impose upon the members who have helped them so much already. The TUSRП-Montana and the other cluster communities in the U.S. expected the Tibetans to take over and become involved with the project, meetings, and events, but this has not been the case. The Tibetans do not see this as a priority in their lives; their priorities are survival and work.<sup>11</sup>

The responsibility of the TUSRП-Montana is currently to give the Tibetans a feeling of support and to supervise them in their new environment. In the beginning of the TUSRП, the cluster communities around the U.S. met every six months at a national meeting to discuss the progress made and possible future actions. These national meetings are no longer being held. The next step that the TUSRП and the TUSRП-Montana are going to pursue is the reunification of

Tibetan families. However, the main intent of the TUSRП and TUSRП-Montana continues to be an effort to help the Tibetans eventually return to a "free" Tibet.<sup>12</sup>

The lives of the Tibetans in Missoula have been satisfying and beneficial. They enjoy Missoula, despite some complaints about the weather being too cold. The Missoula community has responded well to the Tibetans. They feel welcomed and accepted. The Tibetans remain faithful to their ideal of an independent Tibet and look forward to the day when they can return to their families and native land.<sup>13</sup> (See Figure 3.)

When the Tibetans first arrived in Missoula they lived with their sponsors. While living with the sponsors they were introduced to the American and Missoulan lifestyles. Many Tibetans had a difficult time understanding the need for insurance--paying for something they do not see. They also were amazed with the supermarkets and the concept of not bargaining for the price. Some other problems they have are adjusting to are the banking system and driving. The sponsors helped the Tibetans improve their English and adapt to their new environments.<sup>14</sup>

Once housing was found for the Tibetans and they had begun adjusting to their new lifestyle, they moved in to a house or an apartment. Libby Sale, head of the subcommittee on housing and housing goods, works in real estate. She was able to purchase a house, which was then used for meetings,



Figure 3. A group of Tibetan refugees in Missoula, Montana.  
November 1992

and in which nine of the Tibetans rented rooms. After a period of time, living with so many people became difficult and the Tibetans moved into apartments. Some Tibetans rent rooms above the "Osel Shen Phen Ling"--the Tibetan Buddhist Meditation Center. Other Tibetans are living in houses or apartments with other Tibetans to help with the expenses.<sup>15</sup>

The first priority of the TUSRPM-T was to make sure the Tibetans had an acceptable job. If the Tibetans desired a second job, then they were more on their own in finding it. The Tibetans have a strong work ethic. They will take any job, and most of them have two or three jobs. The Tibetans work more than one job because they need to have enough money for three expense situations. They need enough money for their current living expenses. Secondly, they have to save money for trips to India to see family, to bring family members to the U.S., and for when they finally are able to return to an independent Tibet. Thirdly, they send money to their families living in India, Nepal, and Tibet.<sup>16</sup>

On March 10, 1994, I had the pleasure and enlightenment of spending the day with the Tibetans and Nancy Treuhaft. March 10th is the anniversary of the Tibetan National Uprising Day. It was the thirty-fifth anniversary of the Tibetan revolt against Chinese rule in 1959. Missoula declared March 10th Tibet National Day. In commemoration of this date, every year the Dalai Lama delivers an address to the Tibetans. (See Appendix A for the Dalai Lama's

Address.) This day is an emotional time for all Tibetans. In Missoula the day was observed by a number of events.

The Tibetans and Tibet supporters gathered at the Missoula County Courthouse steps. The Tibetans were dressed in their native celebratory clothes. They carried the Tibetan flag and signs stating, "Tibet is not part of China!" and "Free Tibet!" With a police escort, we then marched to Caras Park in dedication and remembrance of March 10, 1959. At Caras Park there were statements of the Dalai Lama, presentations, and Tibetan national songs. But before the events took place at the park, there was two minutes of silence in respect for the 1.2 million who have died. The feelings that were expressed by the Tibetans are unexplainable.

The Tibetans and their supporters urged that this day be respected, and for people to give their moral support to the goal of a "free" Tibet. They requested all local merchants not to sell Chinese goods for the day. The community was urged not to buy any Chinese goods. The community was also requested to inform people of the suppression that has taken place in Tibet by the Chinese. The community was encouraged to contact government officials and urge them to address the issue of Tibet. To end the day, that evening they had a pot luck dinner and video documentary.

After the morning events, the march and presentations,

I spent the afternoon and early evening with Nancy Treuhaft and some of the Tibetans. I was able to talk to them and find out their feelings about the TUSR, Montana, work, and the future of Tibet. I was able to visit "Osel Shen Phen Ling"--the Tibetan Buddhist Meditation Center--see their living quarters, and even have some tea.<sup>17</sup> We also went to the airport and picked up some Tibetans who were returning from a trip in which they visited families in India.

Talking with the Tibetans gave me a new understanding and allowed me to see the Tibetan situation in a different light. The Tibetans are very friendly and you can sense their strong cultural and religious ties, and how these ties have an influence on their lives.

The Tibetans have lived difficult lives. They have experienced significant changes throughout the past forty-four years under the Chinese. Through these changes, their culture, heritage, and spiritual lives have been affected. Despite Tibetan attempts to keep their culture alive, it has faded under Chinese suppression. The destruction of monasteries, the exile of the Dalai Lama, and the suppression of their beliefs have resulted in a changing of their ideals. Their commitment to non-violence and peace have been tested. Tibetans still believe in these values, but many Tibetans are beginning to believe that violence is inevitable if they want to "free" Tibet. Living in India and now the U.S., the Tibetans have taken another step away

from their culture, heritage, and homeland. They have adjusted to this change, but it is getting more and more difficult for them to practice and live their traditional Tibetan lifestyle. When talking to Tashi Phuntsok, I asked him how he felt about the difficulty in preserving the Tibetan culture. He responded, "You have to keep your culture in your heart and mind; this is where it is important."<sup>18</sup>

The Tibetan-U.S. Resettlement Project-Montana has made a terrific effort in aiding the Tibetans in preserving their culture and improving their lifestyles. The Tibetans enjoy Missoula and are very thankful for the support they receive from the TUSRП and the community. Both the TUSRП-Montana and the Tibetans remain committed to their hopes and prayers for the full restoration of Tibetan independence.<sup>19</sup> The Tibetans have brought a new experience to Montana, and the community has benefited greatly from its exposure to these people, their culture, and their spiritual lives. Yet not withstanding these contributions, one day hopefully the refugees will be able to leave Missoula and live in Tibet.

## ENDNOTES

<sup>1</sup>One might question the stability of such a small community. Is it possible for this size community to support an active culture system? Too many communities with small numbers of Tibetans may cause more harm than good. For the Tibetan community to survive and continue its culture, the number of Tibetans may need to be larger.

<sup>2</sup>Carlene Gonder, "Montana Preparing to Make Application as a Potential Cluster Site," Tibetan-U.S. Resettlement Project, Newsletter, Summer 1991, in possession of author.

<sup>3</sup>National Cluster Site Manual, 4-6.

<sup>4</sup>Gonder, "Montana Application Cluster Site."

<sup>5</sup>Nancy Treuhaft, Missoula, MT, to author, Helena, MT, TLS, 8 October 1992, in possession of author.

<sup>6</sup>Nancy Treuhaft, Chair Steering Committee of Tibetan-U.S. Resettlement Project-Montana, interviewed by author, 3 November 1992, Helena, MT.; Nancy Treuhaft, interviewed by author, 10 March 1994, Missoula, MT.

<sup>7</sup>Treuhaft, interview, 10 March 1994. The reason for the separation of the names into males and females is because there is no difference in gender for names.

<sup>8</sup>The Tibet-Montana Connection; Treuhaft, interview, 10 March 1994.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid.

<sup>10</sup>Treuhaft, interview, 10 March 1994.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid.

<sup>13</sup>Tibetans living in Missoula, interviewed by author, 10 March 1994, Missoula, MT.

<sup>14</sup>Treuhaft, interview, 10 March 1994.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid.

<sup>16</sup>T Tibetans, interview, 10 March 1994; Treuhaft, interview, 10 March 1994. The types of jobs that the Tibetans have range from working in laundromats, restaurants, and offices.

<sup>17</sup>The tea was very unique. It was very sweet and had milk in it. They normally use yak butter in their tea, but since it is not easily available they use a lot of sugar.

<sup>18</sup>T Tibetans, interview, 10 March 1994.

<sup>19</sup>T Tibetans, interview, 10 March 1994; Treuhaft, interview, 10 March 1994.

CHAPTER FOUR  
AN ANALYSIS OF THE TIBET-U.S. RESETTLEMENT PROJECT  
AND ITS EFFECT ON SINO-AMERICAN RELATIONS

An examination of the Tibetan-U.S. Resettlement Project and Missoula, Montana, as a cluster community suggests many difficult questions that need to be considered. Is the Tibetan-U.S. Resettlement Project the answer to the Tibetans' problems by helping them get out of the impoverished resettlement areas and moving to the United States? Is it possible that a small community of twenty to fifty Tibetans in a city will preserve the Tibetans' culture and continue their quest for freedom in Tibet? Is the TUSRП changing the way things are in Tibet? Another significant problem is that China maintains that Tibet is a part of China. The Tibetans, meanwhile, believe that they comprise their own nation and that the Chinese are unfairly taking control of them. In essence, who does Tibet "belong" to? These are important questions to think about when discussing the problems in Tibet and trying to find solutions.

The Tibetan-U.S. Resettlement Project does not solve the problems in Tibet; it is only aiding in making the plight of individual Tibetans better. This should not

become the solution, but a source of recognition for the Tibetan crisis. Even though some Tibetans are living in the United States, this does not require that they simply give up their ties to Tibet. Still, the refugees have to work, live, and survive in an American environment. They may be able to practice their religion and meet occasionally, but they are even farther from their homeland, culture, and heritage. The Tibetans will be in a new place with new experiences, and their lifestyles will also be new to Americans. By keeping open minds and not being judgmental, by accepting and understanding, the Americans and Tibetans will be able to learn from one another.

The TUSRП has helped ease the stresses on the other resettlement refugee areas. The 1,000 Tibetans that have come to the U.S. have gained a better lifestyle and are improving their economic status, but this does not resolve the problems in Tibet, India, and Nepal. The Dalai Lama is still in exile and the people are still being suppressed.

The direct effect of the TUSRП on Sino-American relations is difficult to judge. The work of the TUSRП may upset Chinese officials, for the Chinese consider Tibet part of China; the Chinese do not believe that outsiders should interfere in this internal issue. On the other hand, since the TUSRП has helped Tibetans in exile, namely in India and Nepal, this does not affect China directly. Moreover, the TUSRП has removed 1,000 people who might challenge China's

control over Tibet.

Sino-American relations have progressed over the last two centuries, influencing the foreign policies of China and the United States. On October 1, 1949, the People's Republic of China (PRC) under Mao Zedong was established.<sup>1</sup> Under this new communist government Sino-American relations deteriorated and tensions increased. Slowly, from 1969 to 1974, under the Nixon administration, the U.S. worked to improve relations with China. However, it was not until March 1, 1979, under President Jimmy Carter, that the U.S. formally recognized the PRC.<sup>2</sup>

After the death of Mao Zedong in 1976, the head of the PRC became Deng Xiaoping and he continues to control the PRC and the Communist Party today. Under this new leadership, the government carried out a number of reforms in the 1980s. These reforms focused on the economy and the political system. The economic reforms took place in the agricultural zone, the foreign economic sector, and the urban economy. The political reform's purpose was "to create a more efficient, but nonetheless party-dominated, authoritarian system." Deng Xiaoping also began to strengthen China's relations with the United States.<sup>3</sup>

With these reforms the Chinese government began loosening its central control over the people and the economy. This enticed students into demonstrating for greater democratic reforms. By 1989 many demonstrations for

democracy were taking place in China. On June 4, 1989, the Tiananmen Square Massacre took place. This suppression of the people reestablished China's strict governmental control over its people.<sup>4</sup> Economic reforms may have taken place in China, but the official Chinese ideology has not changed. As one commentator noted, "No one has a clue what will happen when Deng Xiaoping dies. Perhaps something unexpected. Those who speculate about the future are regarded as foolish. The country is so large, so complicated and growing so fast that speculation about the present is difficult enough."<sup>5</sup>

Since its beginning, the relationship between the U.S. and China has had its ups and downs. Following the Tiananmen Square Massacre, Sino-American relations have become increasingly tense. Nevertheless, the United States is still economically, strategically, and politically tied to China. The economic and commercial ties that the U.S. has maintained with China has influenced U.S. political attitudes toward that country. The U.S. has sometimes felt that it has had a special relationship with China, and this leads to the idea that the Chinese will one day become more "democratic." But this notion has proven to be false because the ideology of the PRC has not changed. The Communists are in control and their ideology is far from democratic.

Sino-American relations have thus become increasingly

tense in recent years. An article in Newsweek reported: "Last June [1993] President Clinton renewed China's most-favored-nation (MFN) trading status--but warned Beijing to clean up its human-rights act or face higher tariffs on its exports to the United States in 1994. In August Washington slapped economic sanctions on China, which it said sold components for M-11 ballistic missiles to Pakistan in violation of a treaty banning such sales."<sup>6</sup> Beijing, China, was up against Sydney, Australia, in attempting to host the 2000 Summer Olympics. When Australia was awarded this honor,

many of the stunned [Chinese] boosters knew who to blame: the U.S. congressmen and human-rights activists who had mounted a campaign against Beijing's bid. "Why," asked one Beijing resident, "does the U.S. go out of its way to get into other people's business?" China had staked its national honor on the Olympics contest. Now its humiliating defeat threatens to throw an even deeper chill over Washington's already frosty relations with Beijing.<sup>7</sup>

China's hostility toward the American criticism and what the Chinese see as interference in their internal affairs is not surprising. China's response to the U.S. does not consist of economic sanctions, but rather of attempts to limit U.S. involvement in China. "In its exasperation with Washington, Beijing might now restrict the movement of U.S. journalists."<sup>8</sup> China and the U.S. recognize the importance of working to maintain good relations with each other, but China is becoming impatient with U.S. demands. "With its Olympics dreams shattered,

Beijing has run out of another reason to heed Washington's wishes."<sup>9</sup>

Communist China has frequently been subjugated to U.S. pressure and criticism for its actions, aggression, and human rights violations. The issue of Tibet can be included in this because of the obvious aggression, suppression, and human rights violations that have taken place. The U.S. is critical of China's actions not only in Tibet, but throughout China. Nevertheless, the U.S. government's response to Chinese actions in Tibet has been limited. There has been some governmental criticism and recognition of the situation in Tibet. This has resulted in the allowance of the 1,000 Tibetans into the United States, but without governmental funding. However critical the U.S. is of China, no real course of action has been taken by the government in condemning China or rectifying the situation in Tibet.

The U.S. government and American citizens may be upset, but have responded minimally to the Tibetan issue due to the risk of severing relations with China. Tibet is not a critical issue in Sino-American relations. Tibet does not pose a threat to American security, whereas China claims that Tibet is a critical boundary in maintaining its national security. Americans and the government may not approve of the situation in Tibet and they may privately voice their objections, but the U.S. government is not

willing to make Tibet a major political issue. The U.S. would rather maintain diplomatic and economic relations with the PRC than disrupt the existing balance of power.

If the U.S. were to respond to China's actions in Tibet, it would be through economic sanctions. The U.S. can threaten to enforce economic sanctions and higher tariffs if China does not change its policies and actions in Tibet. The problem with economic sanctions is that they rarely produce the desired political changes. In the long-run, economic sanctions have little or no effect and usually require further actions, such as a military response. But due to the American unwillingness to get involved militarily in Tibet, and the Tibetans' policy of non-violence and peace, this is not a plausible solution.

In respect to U.S. governmental involvement, the future for Tibet currently looks dim. The U.S. believes that China is more important than Tibet. The U.S. government can perhaps bring attention to the problems in Tibet with the hope that China will soften its control. If problems continue concerning Tibet, and the U.S. government does get involved with restoring Tibetan independence, it is certain that conflicts will arise in Sino-American relations.

On the unofficial level, many actions are being taken on behalf of Tibet with the hope of bringing changes. The Tibetans have appealed to the public for aid, rather than armed force. The public can participate in a Boycott, which

is a boycott of toys made in China.<sup>10</sup> The public is also encouraged not to buy goods made in China. (See Appendix B for a description of these events.) A petition with 250,000 signatures was delivered to the U.N. Secretary General on March 10, 1992, the 33rd anniversary of the 1959 revolt in Tibet, in an effort to persuade the United Nations to take action.<sup>11</sup>

Tibet has been under Chinese suppression for the last forty-four years. Tibetans continue to live their lives in exile or in harsh repression in Tibet. The Tibetan-U.S. Resettlement Project has allowed the United States to achieve a better understanding of the Tibetan crisis. For now, the Resettlement Project allows a few Tibetans to live a safer and more peaceful life. Until current conditions change, the future of the Tibetans remains uncertain. The Chinese are not going to give up Tibet and the Tibetans are not going to quit fighting for the independence of a free Tibet. Who will win this battle? Only time will tell, but the hopes for a free Tibet will never die. In the words of the Dalai Lama: "For those of us in exile, I said that our priority must be resettlement and the continuity of our cultural traditions. As to the future, I stated my belief that, with Truth, Justice, and Courage as our weapons, we Tibetans would eventually prevail in regaining freedom for Tibet."<sup>12</sup>

## ENDNOTES

<sup>1</sup>Immanuel C.Y. Hsu, The Rise of Modern China, 4th ed. (New York: Oxford Printing Press, 1990), 633.

<sup>2</sup>Warren I. Cohen, America's Response to China: A History of Sino-American Relations, 3rd ed. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990), 167-69, 196, 201-02.

<sup>3</sup>Cohen, 200-14; Steven M. Goldstein, China at the Crossroads: Reform After Tiananmen, Headline Series (New York: Foreign Policy Association, Winter/Spring 1992) 12-33.

<sup>4</sup>Spence, The Search for Modern China, 739-46; Goldstein, 12-33.

<sup>5</sup>Joe Klein, "Seasick in a Rising Tide," Newsweek, 25 October 1993, 37.

<sup>6</sup>Pascal Privat, Kari Huus, and Melinda Liu, "A Billion Broken Hearts," Newsweek, 4 October 1993, 73.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid.

<sup>10</sup>Save Tibet (U.S. Tibet Committee, Newsletter, New York), Spring 1992.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid.

<sup>12</sup>Freedom in Exile, 159.



ANNUAL ADDRESS OF TENZIN GYATSO  
THE FOURTEENTH DALAI LAMA OF TIBET

THE OFFICE OF TIBET  
241 EAST 32ND STREET, NEW YORK, NY 10016

(embargoed till 9 March 1994)

**Statement of His Holiness the Dalai Lama on the Occasion of the 35th  
Anniversary of the Tibetan National Uprising Day**

Today, as we observe the 35th anniversary of our National Uprising Day, I wish to take stock of our 14 years' efforts to find a peaceful and realistic solution to the Tibetan issue through honest negotiations with the Chinese government. In my endeavor to restore freedom, peace and dignity to our country and people, I have always sought to be guided by realism, patience and vision.

For the past 14 years, I have not only declared my willingness to enter into negotiations but have also made maximum concessions in a series of initiatives and proposals which clearly lie within the framework for negotiations as stated by Deng Xiaoping in 1979, that "except for independence of Tibet, all other questions can be negotiated." The ideas put forward in my Five-Point Peace Plan for Tibet in 1987 and the Strasbourg Proposal in 1988 envisage a solution which does not ask for the complete independence of Tibet. However, the Chinese government has even refused to enter into negotiations of any kind. It has also avoided discussing any question of substance, insisting that the only issues to be resolved are those pertaining to my personal return to Tibet. The issue is not about my return to Tibet. I have stated this time and again. The issue is the survival of the six million Tibetan people along with the protection of our distinct culture, identity and civilization.

I have made it clear that the negotiations must center around ways to end China's population transfer policy, which threatens the very survival of the Tibetan people, respect for Tibetans' fundamental human rights and entitlement to democratic freedom, the de-militarization and de-nuclearization of Tibet, the restoration of the Tibetan people's control over all matters affecting their own affairs, the protection of Tibet's natural environment. Moreover, I have always emphasized that any negotiation must comprise the whole of Tibet, not just the area which China calls the "Tibet Autonomous Region."

I have maintained this approach for the last 14 years in spite of the disappointment and criticism expressed by many Tibetans to my moderate stand. I have not forgotten that 1.2 million Tibetans have died and that Tibet has suffered immeasurably since the occupation of our country by Communist China. I also know that every Tibetan hopes and prays for the full restoration of our nation's independence.

Nevertheless, I had hoped that my middle-way approach would eventually create an atmosphere of mutual trust conducive to fruitful negotiations and exert a restraining influence on the repressive Chinese policies in Tibet. Here I appreciate the many Tibetans who have supported my initiatives and felt they were a practical necessity.

The Chinese government has rejected my overtures one after another and has consistently attempted to confuse the real issue. Meanwhile, the magnitude and gravity of the situation inside Tibet has dramatically escalated. Developments in Tibet have been marked by an intensification of the Chinese policy of suppression, the marginalization of the Tibetan people in our own country, the gradual extermination of our unique culture and religion, and the destruction and exploitation of Tibet's environment.

I must now recognize that my approach has failed to produce any progress either for substantive negotiations or in contributing to the overall improvement of the situation in Tibet. Moreover, I am conscious of the fact that a growing number of Tibetans, both inside as well as outside Tibet, have been disheartened by my conciliatory stand not to demand complete independence for Tibet. Because of my statement, some Tibetans have come to believe that there is no hope at all for the Tibetan people regaining their basic rights and freedoms. This, and the lack of any concrete results from my conciliatory approach towards the Chinese government over the past 14 years have caused disillusionment and undermined the resolve of some Tibetans.

Internationally, my initiatives and proposals have been endorsed as realistic and reasonable by many governments, parliaments, and non-governmental organizations. But, despite the growing support of the international community, the Chinese government has not responded constructively.

I have left no stone unturned in my attempts to reach an understanding with the Chinese. We have had to place our hopes on international support and help in bringing about meaningful negotiations, to which I still remain committed. If this fails, then I will no longer be able to pursue this policy with a clear conscience. I feel strongly that it would then be my responsibility, as I have stated many times in the past, to consult my people on the future course of our freedom struggle. Just as the late Indian Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, stated in the Indian parliament on December 7, 1950, I too have always maintained that the final voice with regard to Tibet should be the voice of the Tibetan people. Whatever the outcome of such a consultation, it will serve as a guideline for our future dealings with China and the reorientation of the course of our freedom struggle.

I continue to remain committed to finding a peaceful and negotiated resolution to the issue of Tibet with the Chinese government directly. But the Chinese are merely paying lip service to this approach. It is evident that only increased international political and economic pressure can bring a sense of urgency to bear on the Chinese leadership not merely to pay lip service but to resolve the problem of Tibet peacefully and amicably. The tragedy of Tibet can be relieved through the determined and concerted efforts of various governments and NGOs championing human rights, liberty and democracy the world over.

## THE OFFICE OF TIBET

If the Tibetan issue can be resolved peacefully, through mutual openness and understanding, I am convinced that it will help alleviate the anxiety felt in the minds of the six million residents of Hong Kong. It will also have a positive effect on China's relationship with Taiwan and enhance its international image.

Today, we remember those brave Tibetans who fought and died for the cause of our nation and those who are languishing in Chinese prisons. We also pay our respects to our courageous brothers and sisters in Tibet who are continuing the struggle for the freedom of our people under extremely adverse conditions.

The course of history and the present world atmosphere are favorable to the aspirations of our nation. Our cause is gathering momentum. Fearful of these developments, China has now formulated policies to undermine our administration in exile as well as to create discord and division in our community. Therefore, every one of us must be alert and renew our commitment to the just cause of our country.

I firmly believe that the day is close when our beloved Land of Snow will no longer be politically subjugated, culturally ravaged and economically and environmentally exploited and devastated. Our dedication, sacrifice and hard work will eventually lead our captive nation to freedom and peace in dignity. However, it is important that our struggle must be based on non-violence.

On behalf of all the Tibetan people, I want to take this opportunity to express our deep appreciation and gratitude to our many friends throughout the world for their support of our cause. I must also thank the many parliaments and governments that have started to take a serious look at the Tibetan problem. Another positive development of recent years is support for our cause even amongst the Chinese people. For example, a long letter written on October 5, 1992, by the well-known Chinese dissident, Wei Jingsheng, to Deng Xiaoping, speaking out against his government's unjust claims over Tibet and their misguided policies there, has just become public. These expressions are the manifestations of genuine human respect for truth and justice. I take this opportunity especially to thank our Chinese brothers and sisters the world over for their support and encouragement. Finally, I wish to reiterate our immense gratitude and appreciation to all the countries where Tibetan exiles have been given asylum, particularly to the people and government of this country, which has become a second home for the majority of the Tibetans in exile.

India

My prayers for peace and welfare of all sentient beings.

10 March 1994  
Dharamsala

## APPENDIX B

TIBETAN PROTEST FLYERS  
MARCH 10, 1994

## SAY "NO!" TO CHINESE GOODS

For more than forty years, the formerly sovereign country of Tibet has been controlled and occupied by the Chinese communist government. Tibetans have been starved, imprisoned, tortured, and executed; more than 1.2 million Tibetans have died as a result of Chinese oppression. Six thousand Tibetan monasteries, nunneries, and centers of learning have been devastated, and 60 percent of Tibet's literature has been destroyed by the Chinese communists. Now China's leaders have set out to eliminate the Tibetan national and cultural identity by a policy of population transfer designed to make the Tibetans a minority in their own country.

As this policy of repression has continued, China has become a major exporter of goods to the U. S. Have you looked at the labels of items you have purchased recently? Many billions of dollars worth of goods come from China, whose communist government denies fundamental human rights to both Tibetans and its own people. Many items are "Made in China" by political prisoners and child labor. When you buy holiday decorations, look at where they are made -- do you want such a repressive regime represented in your home? Do you want toys and other holiday presents for your children to bear the stigma of this regime? Do you want to wear clothing and use sporting goods that are identified with such a source?

We believe that the time has come to say "No!" to Chinese goods, until the Chinese leaders grant internationally recognized human rights to their people and freedom to the Tibetans. Just as in South Africa, it will take economic pressure to get the message across to greedy political leaders that their human rights policies are unacceptable and must be changed. Just as Mandela and de Klerk have received the Nobel Peace Prize for their work in improving the South African situation, we want a leader of China to receive a Nobel prize for granting freedom to Tibet and the Tibetans. The Dalai Lama of Tibet already has received this prize for his work toward world peace; now it's time for the Chinese to have an enlightened leader.

To help the cause of Tibetan freedom, we request that you send a copy of this letter to ten of your friends. Unlike the Chinese communist government, we do not have the resources to launch a mass media campaign in support of the Tibetan cause. But just ten rounds of this letter will bring this message to millions of people in the U. S. and elsewhere. Please participate in keeping the chain unbroken -- this act of compassion is sure to bring great merit to you.

This letter has been initiated by the Los Angeles Friends of Tibet, Suite 924, 505 South Beverly Drive, Beverly Hills, CA 90212 (tel. (310) 289-4654). Further information about Tibet may be obtained from the International Campaign for Tibet, 1518 K Street NW, Suite 410, Washington, DC 20005 (tel. (202) 628-4123, FAX (202) 347-6825).

IN MONTANA: U.S. Tibet Committee - Montana (a grassroots political organization based in New York with the Office of Tibet);  
P.O. Box 8722; Missoula, MT 59807; Tel. - (406) 523-7616.

**SUPPORT TIBETAN FREEDOM**

# BOYCOTT TOYS MADE IN CHINA

## BOYCOTT TOYS MADE BY A GOVERNMENT THAT...



### ...is destroying Tibetan children's homeland

Chinese troops entered Tibet in 1949 and since then 1.2 million Tibetans, one-sixth of the population, have perished as a direct result of China's military rule. Children in Tibet grow up in a homeland whose rich traditions and culture are being destroyed by the PRC's brutal occupation. Many Tibetan children are deprived of education, or forced to attend schools where Tibetan language, history and culture are supplanted by Mandarin Chinese and Communist ideology. The Chinese use Tibet as a nuclear and chemical weapons testing site, and are stripping Tibet of its natural resources such as uranium, gold and timber. Chinese soldiers hunt endangered Tibetan snow leopards with machine guns. The Chinese government has redrawn political boundaries reducing Tibet to little more than a third of its original size, and two of Tibet's major provinces have been annexed into Chinese territory to strengthen Beijing's claims to sovereignty. The Chinese government may soon leave Tibetan children without a homeland.

### ...persecutes Buddhist and Christian practitioners

Since 1987 hundreds of monks and nuns in Tibet have been imprisoned. Few have escaped severe beatings and torture. The hostility felt by Chinese officials towards religious practitioners who engage in political activities is readily apparent in a 1989 Chinese-authored article which referred to these monks as "the scum of the religious circles." In February 1991, over 54 Chinese priests were imprisoned; many have not been heard from since. In 1989, several Chinese Protestants were arrested and three Chinese seminarians were stripped naked and forced to lie on cold concrete as they were repeatedly burned by the police. A police raid against Catholics in Youton village seriously injured 88 people including children. In Guangdong province, Christmas celebrations have been banned this year.

### ...uses political and religious prisoners as forced labor

The Chinese government uses an estimated 16-20 million Chinese prisoners as forced slave labor, and Chinese prison officials are evaluated and ranked by their prison's profits, according to reports by *BusinessWeek*, *The Los Angeles Times*, *Newsweek*, *Asia Watch* and the U.S. State Department.

### ...exploits children for labor

Child labor is common in China's new economic zones where 10-year old girls work 15 hour days at 10 dollars a month to meet the holiday demand for toys. One official said, "We can work these girls all day and all night."

### ...beats, imprisons, and orphans children

One June 15, 1991 Chinese police beat several Tibetan children age 9-12 for their "counter-revolutionary" activities. In 1989, Lhakpa Tsering age 14 was beaten and sentenced to two years in prison for handing out "counter-revolutionary" literature. Another student was tortured and beaten to death for shouting pro-independence slogans. One third of all Tibetan refugees are children smuggled out of Tibet by their parents in a desperate attempt to preserve Tibetan culture.



#### For further information contact:

The U.S. Tibet Committee National Headquarters  
241 East 32nd Street, New York, NY 10016, Tel: 212/213-5011

*This "Boycott" is being implemented worldwide, and has received endorsements from: Fang Lizhi, China's foremost human rights advocate, Joan Baez, President of Humanitas, the AFL-CIO, Chinese Alliance for Democracy, Federation for a Democratic China, Human Rights in China, International Campaign for Tibet, International Lawyers Committee for Tibet, Tibetan Rights Campaign, the U.S. Tibet Committee, and others.*

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