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A3-0369/92

REPORT

of the Committee on Foreign Affairs and Security
on the situation in Tibet

Rapporteur: Mr Jannis SAKELLARIOU

PE 152.419/final

* Consultation procedure requiring a single reading
** Cooperation procedure (first reading)

**II Cooperation procedure (second reading) requiring the votes of a majority of the current Members of Parliament
*** Parliamentary assent requiring the votes of a majority of the current Members of Parliament

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At the sitting of 2 April 1990 the President of the European Parliament announced that he had forwarded the motion for a resolution by Mrs. Muscardini and other on the situation in Tibet (B3-0460/90) pursuant to Rule 63 of the Rules of Procedure, to the Committee on Foreign Affairs and Security as committee responsible.

At its meeting of 22 May 1990 the committee decided to draw up a report.

At its meeting of 9 November 1990 the committee decided to include in its report the following motions for resolutions which had been referred to it as committee responsible:

- B3-1375/90 by Mrs. Aglietta and Mr. Langer on the situation in Tibet; announced in plenary sitting: 14 September 1990;
- B3-1557/90 by Mr. Coates and other on the situation in Tibet; announced in plenary sitting: 8 October 1990.

At its meeting of 6 February 1991 it appointed Mr. Sakellariou rapporteur.

At its meetings of 20 September 1991, 27 November 1991, 22 September 1992 and 6 November 1992 the committee considered the draft report.

At the last meeting it adopted the resolution unanimously.

The following took part in the vote: Baron Crespo (chairman); Ferrer (for Cassanmagnago-Cerretti first vice-chairman), Romeos (for Crampton second vice-chairman); Sakellariou (rapporteur); Belo (for Cravinho), Avgerinos, Baget Bozzo, Bertens, Fernandez Albor, Gawronski, Habsburg, Llorca Vilaplana, Magnani Noya, Onesta, Veil.

The report was tabled on 16 November 1992.

The deadline for tabling amendments will appear on the draft agenda for the part-session at which the report is to be considered.

A.
MOTION FOR A RESOLUTION

on the situation in Tibet

The European Parliament,

- having regard to the motions for resolutions:
 - a) by Mrs Muscardini and others on human rights and EEC economic activity in China (B3-0460/90)
 - b) by Mrs Aglietta and Mr Langer on the situation in Tibet (B3-1375/90)
 - c) by Mr Coates and others on the situation in Tibet (B3-1557/90)

- having regard to its resolutions of 15 October 1987, 16 March 1989, 15 March 1990 and 13 February 1992¹,

- expressing its grave concern at the violations of fundamental human rights of the Tibetan people, as referred to in United Nations Resolutions 1353 (XIV), 1723 (XVI) and 2079 (XX),

- expressing its concern, mindful of Resolution 1991/10 of 23 August 1991 of the United Nations sub-commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, at violations of fundamental human rights and freedoms that threaten the distinct cultural, religious and national identity of the Tibetan people,

- having regard to the UN Secretary-General's note on 'The situation in Tibet' (E/CN.4/1992/37) presented to the 48th Session of the Commission on Human Rights,

- having regard to draft resolution L.49 of 27 February 1992 on 'The situation in Tibet' introduced by Portugal on behalf of the Twelve and co-sponsored by Austria, Costa Rica, Finland, Iceland, Liechtenstein, Norway, Panama and Switzerland, expressing concern at the human rights violations and calling upon the Government of China to 'ensure the full observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms of the Tibetans',

- having regard to the information acquired during the hearing on human rights in Tibet held by the European Parliament on 24 and 25 April 1990,

- having regard to the experience of the European Parliament's delegation during its stay in Lhasa from 20 to 23 September 1991 and especially to the fact that the freedom of movement of the individual members of the delegation was restricted and that they were prevented from obtaining information outside the official programme for the visit, discussions with individual members of the Tibetan population and religious dignitaries being consistently prevented by the presence of security forces in large numbers,

1) OJ No.C 305 of 16.11.1987, p.104 and p.114
OJ No.C 096 of 17.4.1989, p.130 and p.140
OJ No.C 096 of 17.4.1990, p.152, p.256 and p.257
OJ No.C 067 of 16.3.1992, p.128 and p.141

- having regard to the report of the chairman of the Delegation for relations with the People's Republic of China of 4 November 1991 on the delegation's visit to the People's Republic of China from 20 to 23 September 1991,
- having regard to the report of the Committee on Foreign Affairs and Security (A3-0369/92),

- A. recognizing that the Tibetans are a people according to international law,
- B. noting that self-determination, a fundamental principle enshrined in Articles 1(2) and 55 of the United Nations Charter, is affirmed as a right of peoples in Article 1 of the United Nations Covenants on Civil and Political Rights and on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights:

'All peoples have the right to self-determination. By virtue of this right, they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development.'

- C. recalling, however, that in his determination to secure the human rights of Tibetans by peaceful means, the Dalai Lama has made clear that he does not insist that Tibet should become totally independent;
- D. noting with deep anxiety the continued denial of the Tibetan people's right to self-determination, in spite of the fact that according to the relevant international law, a broad range of possibilities are available to pave the way for the attainment of this right,
- E. considering insufficient the legal autonomy presently granted to the Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR) by the Chinese Government, and regretting that even this limited autonomy exists only in law but not in fact and that the economy is managed and local natural resources are exploited with insufficient regard to the needs and priorities of the Tibetan people,
- F. noting with concern that traditional Tibet has been arbitrarily divided into five parts in accordance with the colonial policy of 'divide and rule' and that more than half of the Tibetan territory and population has been incorporated into the adjacent provinces of Sichuan, Yunnan, Gansu and Qinghai,
- G. deploring the continued violation of the fundamental human rights and freedoms of the Tibetans, including both civil and political rights and economic, social and cultural rights,
- H. particularly concerned by the manipulation of the demographic structure through the encouragement given to the resettlement of Chinese in Tibet, which marginalizes the Tibetan culture and threatens the identity of the Tibetans as a distinctive people and their ability to effectively participate in any political process both currently and if Tibet were to become democratic in the future,
- I. distressed by the continued violations by China of its international obligations, as evidenced by the prevalence of mass executions, political detention and torture,

- J. extremely concerned by the continued military occupation of Tibet by Chinese troops and armed police and the reported deployment of Chinese nuclear missiles, which pose a threat to peace and stability in this region and, in addition, divert urgently needed resources from regional, national and local development projects,
- K. deploring the destruction wrought on the natural environment of Tibet by a mistaken agricultural policy, a politically motivated immigration policy and the ruthless exploitation of the country's natural resources, which contravenes the UN Declaration of the Rights of Peoples to Sovereignty over Natural Resources and has resulted in major deforestation around the upper reaches of Asia's greatest rivers, with catastrophic implications for the future of the region,
- L. particularly concerned by the attacks on Tibetan culture, such as, discrimination against the Tibetan language in government and in the education system, and the strict supervision of monasteries and religious observance, in open disregard of long-standing Tibetan traditions and customs despite nominal autonomy,
- M. noting with concern the discriminatory nature of the health and education system in Tibet, which places in jeopardy the future of an entire people,
- N. noting that most of the Tibetan population lives outside the TAR: while the TAR has 2.2 million inhabitants according to official figures of the Chinese authorities, a further 2.5-4 million Tibetans live outside the TAR in the Tibetan Autonomous Prefectures of Hainan, Haibei, Huanghan, Gannan, Golok, Yushu, Nhapa (Aba), Garze and Dechen and in the 'Mongolian, Tibetan, Kazakh Autonomous Prefecture of Haixi'; the fate of these people must also be taken into account as the Tibetan people strive to gain independence.
- O. Convinced that the traditional wisdom and culture of the Tibetan nation and its spiritual leadership will find a gentle and peaceful way to assert and attain their rights,
- 1. Condemns the human rights violations inflicted on the Tibetan people and calls on the People's Republic of China to respect human rights as defined in international law;
- 2. Demands the release of all political prisoners and a halt to torture and intimidation in Tibet and urges the Chinese Government to invite a neutral and impartial institution such as the International Committee of the Red Cross to visit all detention facilities and prisoners;
- 3. Calls for an immediate halt to the environmental degradation and economic exploitation perpetrated by the Chinese in Tibet, and insists that the management of natural resources and the economy be entrusted to local Tibetan authorities;
- 4. Appeals for an end to discrimination against Tibetans in health and education services, further efforts to improve the health and education levels of the Tibetan population and genuine improvement of the health and education facilities available to the Tibetan population;

5. Calls for the immediate reversal of policies that encourage the mass transfer of Chinese to Tibet in violation of the Tibetan people's right to self-determination; the right for the Tibetan people to decide democratically on levels and patterns of immigration; and the promotion of Tibetan as the language of government and education in Tibet;
6. Recommends that, in the highly sensitive area of birth control policy, a sensible, culturally and socially acceptable settlement be found, taking into account the convictions of the Tibetan population and the country's special situation;
7. Advocates the termination of all measures restricting the Tibetan's freedom of movement within the TAR even after the lifting of martial law (e.g. the occasional blockading of individual cities or areas); notes in particular that the freedom of monks to travel is restricted, the aim obviously being to prevent contacts between monasteries;
8. Welcomes the recent visits to Tibet permitted to the Australian, Swiss, Austrian and other delegations, but regrets the selective and conditional nature of access to Tibet, particularly the refusal of permission to the rapporteur of the European Parliament's Political Affairs Committee to visit Tibet in his official capacity; deplors interference in the composition of delegations and the limits imposed on the freedom of movement of delegation members and on what foreign delegation members may observe while in Tibet; condemns in particular the persecution of Tibetans who talk to delegation members without permission or supply information to foreign delegation members which deviates from that prescribed by the Chinese authorities;
9. Abhors the censorship of communications and the limitations imposed on journalists, including denial of entry and expulsion, and the confiscation of documents and films from Western travellers and journalists;
10. Declares its solidarity with the numerous Tibetans serving sentences of up to 19 years in detention for expressing or publishing their political opinions;
11. Welcomes the recent openness of the Chinese Government in supplying information about the numbers of political prisoners (those held for 'counterrevolutionary offenses') in Drapchi prison and hopes figures will be published for other categories of prisoners, e.g. prisoners being 'held for investigation' in Public Security Bureau detention and interrogation camps such as Gutsa and New Seitu and also political prisoners in 'reform and re-education through labour' camps at Sangyip and Powo Tramu and other unacknowledged prison camps;
12. Demands the full involvement of Tibetans, with international observation, in the reconstruction of all culturally sensitive sites, particularly the Potala palace, which should be made a UNESCO 'World Heritage Site';

13. Regrets that the various constructive initiatives of the Dalai Lama's government in exile have not been acknowledged as a basis for serious negotiations; considers that a willingness to reconsider the Dalai Lama's five-point plan of 1987 might offer a renewed prospect of a peaceful and acceptable solution of the Tibetan question, and appeals to the Chinese Government to reconsider its refusal of the Dalai Lama's October 1991 request to visit Tibet and in a positive spirit to invite him to visit Tibet in 1993;
14. Urges the resumption of negotiations between the Tibetan government in exile and the Chinese authorities;
15. Urges the consideration in these negotiations of genuine self-determination and, as a first step and sign of goodwill, recommends the incorporation of all Tibetan territories into a single administrative and political unit;
16. Is aware that Tibet will not find its way to democracy by its own efforts and that on the termination of its one-sided dependence on the People's Republic of China economic support measures will be needed to enable the country to use its natural resources independently and to bring its economic and political isolation to an end;
17. Calls upon the Commission to make the granting of assistance to China conditional on the observance of basic human rights and freedoms, particularly in Tibet, and to report on the situation in Tibet annually;
18. Urges the Commission to ensure in its relations with China that an appropriate percentage of funds, projects and scholarships is allocated to Tibet,
19. Insists that EEC-funded or supported projects in Tibet must genuinely serve the interests of the Tibetan people and involve a majority of Tibetans at all levels and that, where this cannot be achieved immediately, provision must be made for Tibetans to be trained in order to replace the Chinese managers, experts and technicians sent to the country;
20. Instructs its President to forward this resolution to the Council, the Commission, the Member States, the Government of the People's Republic of China, the Dalai Lama and the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

EXPLANATORY STATEMENT

The Chinese government claims that Tibet is a part of China, which they 'peacefully liberated' in 1951, and have since subsidized and developed economically. The Dalai Lama and the Tibetan National Assembly (democratically elected by Tibetan exiles) claim that Tibet is a distinct country under colonial occupation. Hu Yaobang, then General Secretary of the Chinese Communist Party, visited Tibet in May 1980. Wang Yao, the official interpreter on Hu's mission, reported that Hu declared:

'The Tibetan people's lives have not been much improved. There are some improvements in some parts but in general Tibetans still live in relative poverty, in some areas the living standards have even gone down ... We feel that our party has let the Tibetan people down. ... We have worked nearly thirty years but the life of the Tibetan people has not been notably improved. Are we not to blame?'

(reported by Wang Yao, official interpreter on Hu's mission, May 22-31 1980, at conference 'Tibet 1950-1990' at SOAS, London, 5 April 1990, organized by Robbie Barnett)

Hu Yaobang was dismissed in 1987, in part due to his Tibet policy.

I. European Parliament and United Nations Action on Tibet

A. EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT ACTION:

The Political Affairs Committee commissioned this report in May 1990 and appointed a rapporteur to visit Tibet for a fact-finding mission. However, the Chinese authorities refused the rapporteur permission to visit Tibet. The refusal indicates bad faith in relations with the European Parliament. This and an appropriate decision by the European Parliament's Enlarged Bureau led the European Parliament's delegation for relations with the People's Republic of China to decide to make a forthcoming visit to China conditional on its being permitted to visit Lhasa and on the question of human rights being placed on the agenda for the delegation's discussions. The findings of this fact-finding mission by the delegation, which largely confirm Parliament's fears about the human rights situation, can be found in the report by the chairman of the delegation.

The European Parliament passed resolutions expressing concern about the situation in Tibet in 1987, 1989, 1990 and 1992.

The first expresses grave concern over deaths in Lhasa during the disturbances of September-October 1987, 'urges the Chinese Government to respect the rights of the Tibetans to religious freedom and cultural autonomy', and suggests the Dalai Lama's five-point programme could form the basis of a settlement (15.10.1987, Joint Resolution replacing Docs. B2-1008, 1013, 1027, 1053 and 1070/87).

The second notes the deaths of Tibetan demonstrators at the hands of the Chinese security forces in 1989, condemns 'the violent repressive measures' used in

Lhasa, calls for martial law to be lifted and discussions to be held between the People's Republic of China and the Dalai Lama (16 March 1989, Joint Resolution replacing Docs. B2-1508, 1511, 1524 and 1540/88).

The 1990 resolutions urge the Chinese authorities to allow journalists to travel freely in minority areas in China, and to seek a peaceful solution to ethnic problems in Tibet (15 March 1990, Doc. B3-572/90), and condemn 'the use of intimidating practices by China vis-à-vis Tibetans who are asking for the liberty of their people', particularly the death sentence passed on Lobsang Tenzin, then a 22-year-old student (15 March 1990, Doc. B3-551/90).

The situation in Tibet has also been discussed on several other occasions. The Dalai Lama has twice addressed the Parliament, in a visit to Strasbourg in 1988 and as keynote speaker at a hearing on Tibet held by the Political Affairs Committee in Brussels in April 1990. Several questions and motions for resolutions have been submitted in recent years.

B. UNITED NATIONS ACTION:

In 1959, 1961 and 1965 the General Assembly passed resolutions (Nos 1353-XIV, 1723-XVI and 2079-XX respectively) expressing 'grave concern' at the 'violation of fundamental human rights of the Tibetan people', the suppression of their distinctive cultural and religious life and 'the autonomy which the Tibetans had traditionally enjoyed'. The second and third of these resolutions recognize the right to self-determination for the Tibetan people.

With the improvement of Sino-Western relations, and the PRC's entry into the UN in 1971, Tibet was not discussed in the UN again until 1985 at the 41st session of the Commission on Human Rights. The issue was again raised at subsequent sessions of this Commission, and in the Sub-committee on the Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities in 1988, 1989 and 1990, in the Committee against Torture in 1990, and in the Committee on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination in the same year. In 1989 the General Assembly discussed Tibet for the first time since 1965.

At the 47th session of the Commission on Human Rights in 1991, the report of the Special Rapporteur on executions stated that he had sent cables to the Chinese Government concerning four Tibetans sentenced to death. It further detailed allegations that over 450 Tibetans had been killed by security forces in March 1989. The Chinese representative contested the allegations of human rights abuses in Tibet and attributed them to disinformation spread by 'separatists and foreigners with ulterior motives'.

In August 1991, the UN Sub-committee on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities adopted a resolution (1991/10) on 'The Situation in Tibet'. Expressing concern at 'continuing reports of violations ... which threaten the distinct cultural, religious and national identity of the Tibetan people', it called on China to respect the rights and freedoms of the Tibetans and requested the UN Secretary-General to report on the situation to the Commission on Human Rights.

The Secretary-General's report to the 48th Session of the UN Commission on Human Rights, a 70-page document entitled 'Situation in Tibet' (E/CN.4/1992/37), is a compilation of material submitted by the Permanent Representative of China to the United Nations and by seven non-governmental organizations in consultative status with ECOSOC: Amnesty International, Human Rights Advocates, Habitat

International, the International Fellowship of Reconciliation, the International League for Human Rights, LAWASIA and the Minority Rights Group. The material provided by the Tibetan government in exile and by Asia Watch was mentioned but not included in the compilation since they lacked consultative status.

At the 48th session of the Commission, a draft resolution on 'The Situation in Tibet' (E/CN.4/1992/L.49) was introduced by Portugal on behalf of the Twelve. Calling on China to ensure 'the full observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms of the Tibetans', it requested a further report in 1993. Austria, Costa Rica, Finland, Iceland, Liechtenstein, Norway, Panama, Sweden and Switzerland asked to appear as co-sponsors. A revised draft, L.49 Rev.1, 'Situation in China/Tibet', with Australia, Canada, Japan and the USA as additional co-sponsors, was left in abeyance after the adoption of Pakistan's motion for 'no action'.

II. Human Rights Abuses

After the relative liberalizations from 1980-1987, a policy of 'Merciless Repression' in response to protests is now in force (in the words of Qiao Shi, Politburo member in charge of security, June 1988). This policy reached its peak with the imposition of martial law from 7 March 1989 to 30 April 1990.

The Amnesty International report on the TAR (Tibet Autonomous Region), 1990, states that 'Tibetans have continued to be detained for peacefully exercising their right to hold and express opinions'. It alleges numerous cases of detention without charge or trial.

In a joint publication dated February 1992, Asia Watch and the Tibet Information Network provide a detailed list of 360 political prisoners held in the Lhasa area alone. Amnesty's Report on 'Repression in Tibet, 1987-1992' calls for an end to detention (including extra-judicial detention) of political prisoners.

Where trials do take place, they do not meet international standards, and detainees are routinely subject to torture and ill-treatment. Basic freedoms are denied, with censorship of mail and telephone calls (as documented by US Congressional Reports). The abuses continue in spite of the lifting of martial law.

In 1988, six monks from Ganden monastery received sentences ranging from 7 to 12 years in prison for possession of flags and leaflets. In 1989, ten monks from Drepung monastery were imprisoned for 5 to 19 years for 'crimes' such as producing a Tibetan translation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (Defying the Dragon - China and Human Rights in Tibet, jointly issued by LAWASIA and the Tibet Information Network, March 1991, p. 118).

Not only are the individual rights of Tibetans often denied, their collective rights are under attack.

A. SELF-DETERMINATION

The right of peoples to self-determination is recognized as a human right in the first article of the UN Charter and both International Covenants on Human Rights. Self-determination has been defined as the collective right of peoples 'to freely determine, without external interference, their own political status

and to pursue their economic, social and cultural development' (International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, G.A. Res. 2220 A XXI, 16 December 1966; and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, G.A. Res. 2220 A XXI, 16 December 1966).

Tibetans are a distinct racial and ethnic group. They have a particular culture and language, a Tibeto-Burmese language distinct from Indian and Chinese languages and dialects. A national consciousness is evident in the nature of protests in which independence has been called for and the Tibetan flag paraded. In 1988 an international meeting of experts under the auspices of UNESCO in Paris produced a working definition of a 'people' (UNESCO, 'International Meeting of Experts on Further Study of the Concept of the Rights of Peoples,' Final Report and Recommendations, 22 February 1990, mimeo SHS-89/Conf.602/7, pp. 7-8). By every one of these criteria the Tibetans are a people under international law. However, they are denied their right to self-determination as the Chinese Government continues to impose its control and persecute those who express discontent with Chinese rule. The Chinese Government claims that the legal autonomy granted fulfils the right to self-determination due to the Tibetan people, a position not supported by factual evidence or international law.

B. POPULATION TRANSFERS AND BIRTH CONTROL POLICY

Population transfers and birth control policies threaten to render the Tibetan people a minority in their own country, as has occurred in other minority areas under Chinese control, such as Inner Mongolia and Manchuria. This seriously threatens the Tibetan culture and identity, and would cause a fundamental imbalance in the political process were a democratic system to be introduced. A structure of incentives exists encouraging Chinese to move to Tibet. In some parts of Tibet, particularly urban areas and areas outside the TAR, Chinese outnumber Tibetans. Tibetan exile sources and some western commentators even claim that Chinese outnumber Tibetans in the TAR (see the Dalai Lama's 'Five-Point Plan', which quotes 'Chinese sources' for the claim that Tibetans are a minority in the TAR; see also Avedon, J., Tibet Today, Wisdom Publications, 1987; Van Welt Van Praag, M.C., Population Transfer and the Survival of the Tibetan Identity, Special Report Series, US Tibet Committee, NY 1986, p. 11).

A strict birth control policy is in force in China. Birth limitations are also imposed in some parts of Tibet, where the average population density is about one hundred times less than the average in China. The eugenics aspect of this policy is particularly worrying. In late 1988, the Chinese Government proposed a new eugenics law forbidding 'retarded people' to have children, so as to 'raise the quality of the population'. China's State Statistical Bureau subsequently announced that most of China's 10-20 million retarded people live in the countryside, with the largest population in Tibet (Thonden, Phintso, in Tibetan Review, May 1991). UNICEF does report a higher rate of cretinism in Tibet than in China, but this is due to lack of iodine rather than to hereditary factors and should be addressed by improving Tibetans' access to health services.

C. CULTURE AND RELIGION

While freedom of religion is legally guaranteed in Tibet, China closely monitors religious institutions in the area. Structures of control unrelated to the

Buddhist tradition, such as the 'Democratic Management Committees', the 'monastic eyes and ears of the security police' (Defying the Dragon, p. 12), have been introduced in the larger monasteries. Hundreds of monks and nuns have been expelled from monasteries in the Lhasa area and detained without being charged. Often the best students and senior teachers have been expelled, thus limiting teaching in some monasteries. Strict quotas regulate the permissible number of student monks and nuns and severe restrictions have been placed on the admission of novices.

D. LANGUAGE

Although it has been announced that Tibetan would be the official language of the TAR government, Chinese remains the language of political decision-making, and education in Chinese is consistently superior to that in Tibetan. In secondary schools children choose between the Tibetan (with Chinese) stream, and the Chinese (with English) stream. As English is necessary for university entrance examinations, choosing the Tibetan stream makes future university attendance more difficult. Tibetan values are absent from textbooks, and Tibetan history and culture are distorted to serve the Chinese Communist Party's perspective.

E. HISTORY

The Chinese justification for their control of Tibet rests on their claim that historically Tibet was part of China. Tibet and China were politically associated under Mongolian rule in the thirteenth century and under the Manchu's in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. However, prior to the Chinese invasion in 1950, Tibet was a fully functioning independent state with its own currency, army and postal system, which conducted its own foreign relations and fulfilled the criteria for statehood specified in international law. The TAR and PRC governments deny this, and censor discussion of any version of Tibetan history other than their own.

The PRC government has used European historical concepts such as 'feudal' and 'serfdom' to good advantage to discredit the pre-1950 government and society in Tibet. Scholars such as Franz Michael ('Rule by Incarnation', Westview) consider this comparison inappropriate and refer to the geographical specificity of cultures. A comparison with the situation in contemporary inland Chinese and Central Asian societies would be to the advantage of the Tibetans.

The Chinese authorities have a record of altering historical sites for ideological reasons. The refurbishment recently carried out on the Potala and Jokhang are worrying due to the lack of international access and only token Tibetan participation.

F. ECOLOGY

The PRC government exploits Tibet's land and natural resources for its own short-term benefit. Roads, airports and large military camps have been built to serve the needs and objectives of the Chinese People's Liberation Army (PLA). The militarization of Tibet has brought several hundred thousand troops, their dependants and service staff to Tibet. Chemical weapons exercises were held in Tibet in 1988, and Indian intelligence sources indicate that nuclear weapons are

stored at three separate sites. Numerous credible reports point to the mining and processing of uranium at several locations, under PLA control.

'China has listed 44 minerals it hopes to mine in Tibet, including what one official described as half the world's uranium deposits, and already extracts borax, gold, chromite and other minerals; timber is extracted at twice the pace it is re-planted, with up to 50 lorries leaving Tibet laden with virgin timber for China (every hour).'

(Robbie Barnett, briefing for International Alert, July 1990)

The deforestation has particularly serious ecological consequences.

The much-criticized hydroelectrical project at Yamdrok Tso is nearing completion. While it appears that concessions have been made to Tibetan sentiment, the project is basically flawed and was unambiguously rejected by the Panchen Lama while he lived.

Nomadic pasturelands have been destroyed by misguided policies of the 1960s and 1970s. Still today, the PRC government imposes irrelevant central policies on the nomads, instead of trusting their judgement. 'It would indeed be ironic if after surviving the destructive Cultural Revolution, these nomads' way of life was destroyed by modern notions of conservation and development that are based on faulty evidence and flawed assumptions' (Melvyn Goldstein, National Geographic, June 1989).

There has been one report of nuclear dumping by the Indian Press Agency UNI in September 1988.

In 1991 Greenpeace reported an arrangement to ship sewage sludge from the USA to Tibet, under the pretext of 'importing silt for agricultural fertilizer'. The BBC reported an underground nuclear explosion in North Eastern Tibet in October 1988. China has at least three nuclear missile sites in the TAR, according to Indian intelligence sources. While access to Tibet is so restricted, these allegations cannot be investigated.

G. ECONOMY

Tibetans in urban areas of the TAR are reported to suffer chronic unemployment, resulting in part from the influx of Chinese, and their privileged access to jobs due to the special conditions offered them to induce them to move to the TAR and to their superior informal connections with members of the local bureaucracy. Whole work units have moved to Tibet under the 'Help Tibet Prosper' campaign. While they build in Lhasa, they tend to exclude Tibetan labour.

Chinese claim to have subsidized Tibet considerably. But Chinese economists (Wang and Bai, The Poverty of Plenty, Macmillan 1991) report that 97% of the subsidies go to the 15% of the population who live in towns, while the majority of Tibetans are rural dwellers. As Hu Yaobang observed in 1980, Chinese funds have failed to alleviate the poverty of the Tibetan people. Tibet is still one of the poorest areas under Chinese control. A large amount of money must be spent on maintaining the People's Liberation Army units stationed in Tibet. (Estimates of the numbers of Chinese soldiers in Tibet vary between 60 000 and half a million; see Defying the Dragon, p. 77.) Some funds are spent on

development projects. However, these are often of limited benefit to those most in need. While 80-90% of the TAR population are farmers and nomads, development projects have been concentrated in Lhasa. A 1200-room Holiday Inn, a sports stadium, a local TV station, offices and residences (mostly for Chinese officials) have been built in the capital. However, most Tibetan homes in the old quarters of Lhasa remain without heating or plumbing, and have only intermittent electricity and a sewage system centuries old (Thonden, p. 18). The authorities have addressed this problem by demolishing traditional Tibetan houses. Reconstruction is rare.

H. HEALTH AND HYGIENE

Hygiene conditions have improved little since 1951. While several hospitals have been built in major towns and near military installations, there have been reports that full access is limited to the Chinese military and officials and high-ranking Tibetan cadres. The authorities report that more has been spent per head on health care in Tibet than in other provinces. While this is commendable, a more even distribution and the development of traditional Tibetan medicine should be encouraged.

III. Status of Tibet

A. A COMPARISON BETWEEN THE DE JURE AND DE FACTO STATUS OF THE TAR

Legally Tibet enjoys:

1. Local legislative power granted by the state
2. The right to implement state laws and policy and carry out specific policies and measures in light of existing conditions
3. The guarantee of the freedom of the Tibetan people to use and develop their spoken and written language
4. The right of minority nationality cadres, mainly Tibetan, to take key posts at various levels
5. The right to manage and plan the local economy
6. The right to administer education, culture and health care and to promote the Tibetan culture
7. The right to protect, exploit and utilize local natural resources
8. The right to conduct foreign trade

(Luo Qun, The Tibetan People's Rights of Autonomy, New Star Publishers, Beijing 1991)

The measures of autonomy legally granted to Tibet are, however, circumscribed:

1. The Chinese central government ultimately controls policy. While the local government makes some of its own decisions, these are largely made by Chinese officials in the TAR, as few Tibetan cadres have any real power.

2. Policies such as birth control, timber felling and construction are carried out according to Chinese interests and standards, and suggest insensitivity to local conditions.

3. In July 1988 it was announced that Tibetan would be the official language of the TAR government. However,

'Chinese is the language of political decision making, and the language of government and party meetings, even if the majority of those present are Tibetan. Regardless of the fact that a Tibetan can now take the TAR government entrance exam in Tibetan, a job is unlikely without good knowledge of Chinese.'

(Defying the Dragon, p. 84)

The education system relegates Tibetan to an inferior status.

4. In China the formal government structure is paralleled by the Communist Party hierarchy, which holds real power. While the four nominal heads of the TAR government since its foundation in 1965 have been Tibetan, no first secretary of the TAR Regional Committee of the Chinese Communist Party has been Tibetan. Although some Tibetans do exercise significant influence in the TAR government, the price of this power is the adoption of Chinese norms.

'There are many Tibetans in high positions in the administration in Tibet. However, to achieve these positions normally involves gaining membership of the Communist Party, a privilege only granted to those who are avowed atheists, show commitment to the political goals of the PRC and are trusted to implement them.'

(Defying the Dragon, p. 75)

5. Chinese superior economic status in Tibet does not suggest a high degree of Tibetan economic control.

'The overwhelming evidence suggests that the Chinese disrupted an essentially self-sufficient society and caused, through their brutality and colonialism, massive food shortages and widespread hunger as the masses were put to work to feed their new masters.'

Stephen Corry, Project Director of Survival International, UN ECOSOC NGO, quoted in Tibetan Review, May 1991)

The economy has become less self-sustaining and more dependent on China's allegedly superior economy. However, it is interesting to note that, until the departure of the Tibetan Government in 1959, Tibetan enterprise income was consistently in the black. It plunged into deficit from 1960, never to recover. Over the same period, state investment grew from 30 to 98 % of output value. Output quadrupled, but administrative costs went up ten times. In August 1991, TAR officials announced a one billion yuan programme to 'attain 70 % of grain requirements'. Tibet before 1959 was not only self-sufficient, but also had sizeable grain reserves (Minority Rights Group in UN E/Cn.4/1992/37).

6. Education is consistently discriminatory, as testified by Nyima Tsamchoe, a Lhasa high school student, and Sangye, a former judge in the Tibetan People's High Court, at the UN Subcommission on Human Rights in 1990. Only 5% of Tibetan children continue beyond primary school (see motion for resolution on behalf of the Socialist Group, DOC_EN\SOC\88015).

7. Natural resources are exploited for Chinese benefit with little concern for the long-term ecological consequences.

8. Chinese control trade as well as other policy in the TAR.

B. CONTRAVENTION OF COMMITMENTS TO TIBET UNDER INTERNATIONAL LAW

China is subject to a body of international law, articles of which are violated by actions in Tibet.

The PRC fails to adhere to the following International Agreements, to which it is a party:

The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination
The Convention against Torture and other Cruel and Inhuman or Degrading Treatment and Punishment

The following conventions are also violated. While China has not signed them, it is still legally bound to observe them as they have assumed the stature of 'customary international':

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights
The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights
The International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights

C. INADEQUACY OF TIBET'S PRESENT LEGAL AUTONOMY

It is important that China is pressured to meet its legal obligations to Tibet, under both international and internal law. However, to demand that China respect its legal commitment to autonomy in the TAR is inadequate for the following reasons:

1. Some traditional Tibetan areas are now outside the TAR. The TAR includes all of the former central western Tibetan province of U-Tsang and part of the former eastern portion of Kham. The remaining portion of Kham and the former Tibetan province of Amdo were formally incorporated in the 1950s into Tibetan autonomous 'prefectures', 'counties' and a 'township', within Qinghai, Gansu, Sichuan and Yunnan provinces. These areas still house a significant Tibetan population and are claimed as part of Tibet by the Tibetan government in exile and the Dalai Lama. Pro-independence activities, resulting in some arrests, have been reported in these areas.

2. Self-determination is a key issue.

(i) It is guaranteed as a human right by international conventions (in the first article of the UN Charter and both International Covenants). Chinese law establishes a measure of autonomy for Tibet but does not allow for self-

determination. The term 'autonomy' is often used in a limited sense to describe rights granted to minority populations within a nation state. The autonomy legally granted to Tibet does not constitute an adequate expression of self-determination.

(ii) In Tibet's case the comprehensive and racist nature of the Chinese attack on the Tibetan people, their culture and environment makes it doubtful that individual human rights can be ensured unless collective human rights are established for the Tibetan people.

(iii) The Tibetan government in exile and the Dalai Lama demand self-determination for the Tibetan people.

The colonial nature of Chinese control, and the claims that some areas outside the TAR are part of Tibet are recognized in a recent US Senate resolution:

'To express the sense of the Congress that Tibet, including those areas incorporated into the Chinese provinces of Sichuan, Yunnan, Gansu, and Qinghai that have historically been a part of Tibet, is an occupied country under established principles of international law whose true representatives are the Dalai Lama and the Tibetan Government in exile as recognized by the Tibetan people.'

(US Senate resolution, 21 May 1991, No. S.CON.RES.41)

IV. Solutions

It is urgent and imperative that the situation in Tibet be alleviated.

Urgent because Tibetans continue to be denied basic freedoms. Their right to determine their identity as a people is threatened by population transfer and birth control policies, and attacks on their culture, religion, language and history. Particularly in view of the population transfer policy, the next decade could be crucial in deciding the fate of the Tibetan people.

Imperative, not only for the Tibetan people but internationally. With its borders on China, India, Nepal and Bhutan, Tibet is of strategic importance both politically and ecologically. China's annexation of Tibet resulted in a war in 1962 and lesser conflicts in 1987. Many Indian authorities regard the present detente as precarious. China has militarized and nuclearized Tibet. Ecologically:

'Tibet houses the upper reaches of the Brahmaputra, the Salween, the Mekong, the Yellow River, and the Yangtse, thus deforestation, which results in soil erosion, increased river silting and flooding has particularly severe consequences.

As the watershed of the great rivers, Tibet holds the key to environmental stability in much of South-eastern and Eastern Asia - as we have seen recently in the tragic floods in Bangladesh, directly associated by some experts with deforestation in Tibet.'

(Robbie Barnett, Environment: Crisis in Eastern Tibet, London 1990)

A. THE DALAI LAMA'S PROPOSALS

In 1987 the Dalai Lama outlined his Five-Point Peace Plan in Washington. He proposed:

1. Transformation of Tibet into a Zone of Peace
2. Abandonment of China's policy of population transfers
3. Respect for the Tibetan people's fundamental human rights and democratic freedoms
4. Restoration and protection of Tibet's natural environment and abandonment of China's use of Tibet for producing nuclear weapons and dumping nuclear waste
5. Commencement of earnest negotiations on the future status of Tibet and relations between the Tibetan and Chinese peoples.

The European Parliament resolution of 1987 recommended the five-point plan as the basis for negotiations between China and Tibet. In his Strasbourg address in 1988, the Dalai Lama elaborated on his five-point plan and offered the Chinese control of Tibet's defence and foreign policy in exchange for virtually complete Tibetan internal autonomy.

However, due to the Chinese lack of response and out of respect for the opinion of the Tibetan National Assembly (democratically elected by exiled Tibetans) and of Tibetans inside Tibet that he had conceded too much the Dalai Lama declared that his offer had become invalid, while reaffirming that he remained open to any constructive proposals from the Chinese side.

B. THE INTERIM 'ETHNIC SOLUTION'

While failing to address key issues such as self-determination, an 'ethnic solution' could effectively alleviate the plight of the Tibetans in the TAR in the interim.

An ethnic solution would involve the Tibetanization of language and culture in the TAR system and would promote economic recovery by reducing the expense of subsidizing Chinese immigrants, each costing four times more than a Tibetan (Panchen Lama in his 1987 statement to the Chinese People's Congress).

(i) Reversal of the policy of population transfer and withdrawal of the Chinese population from the TAR (except those with special skills such as doctors, engineers and teachers). Some Chinese people in Tibet view Tibet as an alien area in which they live temporarily due to material advantages available to them there. Many would leave voluntarily if the balance shifted between their access to economic advantages in Tibet and in the Chinese interior.

(ii) Establishing Tibetan as the language of government and education. The present nominal status of Tibetan as the language of government should be made genuine. Tibetan should be the dominant language in schools and in higher education, with the quality of teaching in Tibetan equal to that in Chinese.

The ethnic solution has received qualified endorsement from people with very different political views about Tibet's situation (see Goldstein, Melvyn C., The Dragon and the Snow Lion: The Tibet Question in the 20th Century, in: China Briefing, the Asia Society 1990, and Thonden, in: Tibetan Review, May 1991). It is a relatively realistic plan. It does not depend on Chinese-Tibetan

negotiations. Perhaps in response to Western pressure the Chinese would implement such a plan. It has some things in common with the Chinese reform programme in Tibet in the early 1980s, and could show the world that Chinese rule in Tibet need not be totally colonial in nature. It would benefit the Tibetan population in the TAR and might gain tacit approval from the Dalai Lama and the Tibetan National Assembly, particularly if the population transfer is genuinely curbed.

Unfortunately, the 'ethnic solution' does not address the plight of the more than three million Tibetans who live outside the TAR in the dozen 'Autonomous Tibetan Prefectures, Counties and Townships', which were previously the Tibetan provinces of Kham and Amdo.

C. RECOMMENDATIONS OF THIS REPORT

This report recommends immediate action, which should include the following elements:

1. The reversal of population transfers of Chinese into Tibet. Tibetanization of language (in government and education) and of culture in Tibet.
2. Measures to bring the health and sanitation services available to the Tibetan population to the same level as those for the Chinese.
3. The immediate cessation of human rights abuses and of ecological and economic exploitation perpetrated by the Chinese authorities in Tibet.
4. The incorporation of all Tibetan areas inside and outside the present TAR into a single administrative and political unit.
5. A resumption of negotiations between the Chinese authorities and the Dalai Lama and Tibetan government in exile.
6. The consideration in these negotiations of self-determination in its full sense, also extending to the former provinces of Kham and Amdo.

MOTION FOR A RESOLUTION

by Mrs MUSCARDINI, Mr RAUTI, Mr FINI and Mr MAZZONE

pursuant to Rule 63 of the Rules of Procedure

on human rights and EEC economic activity in China

The European Parliament,

- A. having regard to the savage wave of repression unleashed by the Chinese authorities following the events of Tiananmen Square,
 - B. whereas there are still 12 000 people in China held in maximum security prisons and awaiting trials which, since no defence lawyers will be present, will be merely a sham,
 - C. having regard to the return to centralized planning, the reimposition of state controls on the distribution of raw materials and the allocation of resources and the collapse of the myth of Chinese economic development,
 - D. whereas China's leaders are promising aid and credits to Third World countries in spite of the grave condition of their own economy, with an internal debt of US\$ 21 bn, an external debt of US\$ 144 bn and a 75% increase in the external deficit,
 - E. having regard to the requests for credits made by the Chinese leadership to the Asian Development Bank and the World Bank, which contradict its aspirations to a role in the Third World,
1. Calls for verification of the fairness of the trials and the validity of the charges made as a precondition for consideration of any requests for economic aid to the People's Republic of China;
 2. Calls for the resumption of economic activity by the European banks in China to be conditional on respect for human rights and the relaunching of the reforms of recent years;
 3. Instructs its President to forward this resolution to the Council and the Commission.

MOTION FOR A RESOLUTION**by Mrs AGLIETTA and Mr LANGER****pursuant to Rule 63 of the Rules of Procedure****on the situation in Tibet**The European Parliament,

- A. having regard to the hearing on Tibet,
- B. having regard to the human rights violations committed by the Chinese authorities against the population of Tibet,
- C. whereas martial law was imposed in Lhasa on 8 March 1989 and was only lifted 418 days later,
- D. whereas, under martial law, dozens of people were killed and over 2000 arrested, some of whom are still being held, and there was no guarantee of obtaining a fair trial,
- E. whereas the Chinese have nuclear weapons in Tibet and, along with some European countries, have established sites for the disposal of radioactive waste,
- F. whereas China has carried out uncontrolled deforestation, thereby creating an environmental imbalance which will affect the entire planet,
- G. having regard to the peace plan of the Dalai Lama, winner of the Nobel peace prize,
 - 1. Calls on the Chinese authorities to end all violations of human, legal and defence rights, close radioactive waste disposal sites, withdraw nuclear weapons and stop uncontrolled deforestation;
 - 2. Calls for all Tibetans imprisoned under martial law or for political reasons to be released and all trials in progress to be annulled;
 - 3. Calls on the Chinese authorities to start negotiations with a view to granting Tibet autonomous status;
 - 4. Calls on the Commission and the Council to exert the utmost pressure on the Chinese Government so that it cannot persist in refusing to enter into negotiations.

MOTION FOR A RESOLUTION

by the members COATES, SAKELLARIOU and VAN PUTTEN
on behalf of the Socialist Group

pursuant to Rule 63 of the Rules of Procedure

on the situation in Tibet

The European Parliament,

- A. having regard to United Nations Resolutions 1353 (XIV), 1723 (XVI) and 2079 (XX),
- B. extremely concerned at the evidence of serious human rights violations committed in Tibet by the Chinese authorities given by various witnesses at the European Parliament's public hearing on this subject on 24 and 25 April 1990,
- C. having regard to the five-point peace plan put forward by the Dalai Lama on 21 September 1987,
 1. Condemns the human violations inflicted upon the Tibetan people in Tibet and calls on the People's Republic of China to respect the principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights;
 2. Calls, therefore, for peace talks to be resumed as soon as possible between the Dalai Lama and the Chinese authorities;
 3. Calls on the Foreign Ministers meeting in EPC to use their good offices with both sides to bring about a just and peaceful solution to the Chinese-Tibetan conflict;
 4. Instructs its President to forward this resolution to the Council, the Foreign Ministers meeting in EPC, the Government of the People's Republic of China, the Dalai Lama and the United Nations Secretary-General.



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