

# Tibet-related external propaganda and Tibetology work in the new era

Zhao Qizheng's\* statement at the conference on national research  
in Tibetology and external propaganda on Tibet

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Republic of China. This is translated from the original in Chinese.)*

The specialists, scholars and comrades,

This conference is summoned to discuss our national Tibetology and external propaganda works on Tibet. The aim is to discuss how we, under the new situation, can make our Tibetology work more effective for external propaganda on Tibet. This is the first meeting to which we have invited you to discuss ways of improving Tibetology work from the point of view of external publicity. This is also the first meeting to discuss ways of improving our external publicity on Tibet from the perspective of Tibetology. At the outset, I, on behalf of the Central Government's Propaganda Department and State Council's Information Office, would like to ardently welcome the specialists and scholars to this meeting. I would also like to pay my respect to the specialists and scholars for their many years of efforts and exceptional achievement in Tibetology and external propaganda on Tibet.

External publicity on Tibet is an important element of our country's external propaganda. It is also a very important element of our struggle against the Dalai clique and hostile western forces. We need to carry out result-oriented and pin-pointed research on Tibet issue. We also need to carry out diligent external propaganda on Tibet. These efforts are related not only to national and nationalities unity, but also to the open-door reform, progress and stability of our country. Therefore, this is the common responsibility of our propaganda department and cultural institutes.

Here, I would like to raise some points regarding the current situation of the struggle on the issue of Tibet and ways of improving our external propaganda on Tibet for the reflection of comrades.

## **A. The current situation of Tibet-related struggle:**

The so-called issue of Tibet is the main pretext for western countries, including the United States, to westernize and split our country. Western countries, including the United States, want to topple our country and further the cause of their own social and value systems and national interests. In order to achieve this, they will never stop using the Tibet issue to westernize and split our country and weaken our power. The Dalai clique has never changed its splittist nature; it

has never stopped its activities to split our country. Therefore, our struggle against the Dalai clique and hostile western forces is long-drawn, serious and complicated.

Presently, the struggle between us and the Dalai clique has taken a new turn. Since last year, western countries, mainly the United States, have started military intervention in the affairs of the Yugoslavian federation. This successful intervention in the name of ethnic religion led to a serious development of a new culture of interventionism, which, in turn, has resulted in an increase in the use of Tibet issue. The US Administration is employing a doubled-faced strategy, by which it combines the pressure for Sino-Tibet dialogues with open support to the Dalai. The US support for the Dalai clique is becoming ever more pronounced. The Dalai clique, by strengthening its unholy alliance with international anti-China elements and powers, combines clamour for dialogues with activities to internationalize the Tibet issue. It employs carrot-and-stick policy to openly oppose and split China. Indications of its renewed violent activities are becoming more apparent.

First: The Dalai clique has taken one full forward step to increase its activities to push for the internationalization of the Tibet issue. It does this in the following manners:

One: the Dalai attends international conferences in the guise of personal visits. He frequently visits different countries in the name of spiritual teaching. In this way, he advertises Tibetan independence and consolidates his base in Europe and the United States. At the same time, he increasingly infiltrates the developing countries of South America, Asia and Africa, and lobbies high-level UN human rights experts for their concerns on Tibet issue. The ultimate aim is to put the issue of Tibet once again on the UN table. The Dalai clique's strategy is to split the Motherland, win political support and UN actions.

Western leaders cooperate with each other to offer ever more elaborate receptions to the Dalai and to upgrade the reception status for him. They make every possible effort to enhance the Dalai's image and make him an international figure. During their high-level meetings and courtesy calls, they tell each other about the Dalai and make joint attempts to put pressure on our nation and gain the position of mediator for themselves. In 1999 the Dalai paid 17 visits to 14 countries, a record in the last few years. Most remarkably, his 1999-itinerary included—apart from the United States and Europe where he travels frequently—major developing countries of Latin America, Asia and Africa, such as Brazil, Chili, Argentina, South Africa, Israel, etc. This year the Dalai, more than ever before, has made efforts to visit southeast Asian countries like Thailand and South Korea around China through his contacts. The Tibet Support Group Conference, held some time back, openly proposed increasing the Groups' effectiveness in Latin America and Africa. It is possible that they will make every effort to establish Tibet support Groups in many Asian countries.

Two: Organized splittist campaigns against China has accelerated with more openness and greater urgency. Over the past few years, the Dalai clique has taken advantage of anniversaries and UN-sponsored international conferences to repeatedly undertake varying commemorative campaigns and demonstrations in order to raise hullabaloo over Tibet issue in all directions. During every foreign visit of our leaders, last year, the Dalai clique, with covert incitement and

help from western countries as well as Tibet Support Groups, interfered and created disruption through protest rallies. In this way, they gained the highest-level international platform and intervention. This year, the Dalai clique has made detailed plans to take advantage of every UN-sponsored international meeting to create publicity and generate pressure. In addition, the Dalai clique launched an unprecedentedly-strong campaign against China at the 56<sup>th</sup> UN Human Rights Commission.

Three: The Dalai clique has increased its activities to cement ties with other ethnic splittist forces and anti-China forces. In order to achieve the aim of Tibetan independence, the Dalai clique has strengthened interdependent ties among different domestic and international splittist and anti-China forces, such as the independence movements of Taiwan and Xinjiang, democracy movements, Falung Gong and conservative elements. In this way, the Dalai clique tries to create a united anti-China force. When Chen Shuiben was elected the new leader of Taiwan, the Dalai and the exile Tibet parliament sent congratulatory messages. Moreover, chairpersons of the exile government's parliament and cabinet were sent to attend his induction ceremony. This year, the Dalai has made every effort to visit Taiwan. Just five days after the swearing-in ceremony of Chen Shuiben, the Democratic Progressive Party of Taiwan announced the establishment of Taiwan-Tibet Alliance. Moreover, in the name of external human rights relationship, the Taiwanese gave US\$ 120,000 to the Dalai clique. Furthermore, the Taiwanese in Los Angeles decided to observe every June as the Tibet Foundation month. They made statements and collected donations, and invited the Dalai to give a talk. At the same time, relationship between the Mongolian independence movement, Xinjiang independence movement, democracy movement, anti-China Tibet Support Groups in different countries and the Dalai has strengthened. The third Tibet Support Group Conference, held in May, decided to set up an International Network of Tibet supporters. The conference revised the strategy of the Dalai clique and Tibet Support Groups.

Secondly, with one full forward stride, the Dalai clique has intensified the splittist campaign of Tibetan independence movement. The Dalai said that whether the Tibetan independence movement succeeded or not would depend ultimately on the Tibetans in Tibet. The best course, he said, is for all Tibetans to take the responsibility of their own development. In the last few years, the Dalai clique has openly focussed its splittist campaign on weakening China's economic power and interfering in our nation's economic relations with other countries. Since last year, the Dalai groups, with support from anti-China western forces, have undertaken campaigns to cut off the World Bank loan to our population movement program in the Tulan county of Qinghai province, to disrupt PetroChina's entry into the American stock market, to prevent our entry into WTO, to obstruct the granting of US permanent trade relations status to China, and to get people in different countries to boycott our goods. Under the pretext of environment and development issues, they submitted petitions, openly targeting our economic interests.

The action plan of the third Tibet Support Group Conference, organized not very long ago, was focussed on strategy. It openly proposed international campaigns to obstruct or completely stop the Chinese government projects and joint-venture foreign investments that do not benefit the people of the Tibet Autonomous Region. Also, in the recent years the Dalai clique, with the help

of western non-governmental organizations, has deepened its infiltration into the western cultural and educational circles, thereby, establishing a broad base for Tibetan independence. By recruiting the youth, the Dalai clique gives Tibetan independence the nature of cultural grassroots level movement. At the same time, the Dalai clique has formed the so-called football club to infiltrate the international sports circle.

Thirdly, the Dalai clique's activities have become more beguiling than ever before; they have intensified their pressure tactics through apolitical propaganda. Following the direction of the United States and other western countries, the Dalai clique has recently changed its strategy. During public gatherings, the Dalai portrays himself as a humble spiritual teacher and pretends to be seeking dialogues and autonomy. He lays pretence to non-violence and makes utmost efforts not to mix politics in his talks. He speaks on religion, ethics, culture, democracy, freedom and human rights. This has gained him unprecedented international support and solidarity.

One: In tune with the international trend for resolving conflicts through dialogues and discussions, the Dalai clique clamours everywhere for dialogues and puts public opinion pressure on our country.

Two: Since western countries recognize Tibet as an inalienable part of China, the Dalai states that he has given up independence in favour of autonomy. In this way, he mobilizes the public opinion in favour of joint intervention and pressure for dialogues.

Three: Waving the banner of democracy and human rights, the Dalai publicizes that he does not want to revive Tibet's old social system. Instead, he expresses the need to have democracy in Tibet. By using democracy and human rights to gain western favour, the Dalai tries his best to westernize and split our country.

Four: The Dalai says all kinds of things in the name of religion and culture. He accuses our country of destroying the religion and culture of Tibet; he claims that he is seeking autonomy to protect Tibetan culture and religious freedom. Taking advantage of this opportunity, he tries to gain the solidarity and support of international community.

Five: The Dalai makes public opinion about his own reincarnation. He shouts that his reincarnation will be born outside China in a free, democratic country. He has created the theory that a reincarnation can be born even while the lama is alive; the hidden agenda is the perpetuation of the long-drawn, complex issue of Tibet. At the same time, the Dalai clique infiltrates our country through a number of secret means, such as by using the religious issue. For example, he masterminded pressure tactics on the Shugden issue. He incited the Karmapa, spiritual leader of Tibetan Buddhism, to turn against his country and flee to the foreign country. In this way, he disrupts Tibet's security.

The world media is monopolized by westerners. The Dalai clique's long deceptive propaganda, having taken a lead, has a good standing in the world public opinion. In addition, they use modern media facilities like Internet, films, television, etc. to carry out massive propaganda in a number of imaginative ways. As a result of this, lies advocated and spread by them are

considered as reliable facts on the issue of Tibet. The westerners' powerful machinery for making public opinion has created a lot of misunderstanding about our country in the minds of foreigners. Similarly, there are lots of biased views. On top of this, the eastern and western views on human rights are different. Our value system is different from that of the west. Our historical development, religion, and level of economic development are also different from theirs. This makes our thinking different. Therefore, there are numerous reasons why we cannot afford to take lightly our struggle against the Dalai clique and our external propaganda work on the Tibet issue. We must take this work very serious. The coming period will be very crucial for our struggle against the Dalai clique. In a short time, it is difficult to reverse the present situation where the enemy's fortune on the international arena is running high and ours low. Our struggle for the international public opinion will be more rigorous and complicated than ever before. Our external propaganda work on Tibet will be very difficult. Therefore, we must work hard and make improvements.

At the same time, we must know the overall benefit of our external propaganda on Tibet and favourable conditions for carrying this out.

First of all, reflecting the importance attached to this work by the Communist Central Government, President Jiang Zemin himself have in the recent years given systematic guidance on struggle against the Dalai and on external propaganda on Tibet. The Central Government has decided the major political strategies. Our most important political responsibility is to publicize our work in Tibet and to struggle for international public opinion.

The second condition is that Tibet is part of China. This is a fact accepted by the governments of all countries. Basically, ours is a just struggle against the splittists while the Dalai clique's splittist campaign is unjust and has few friends.

Thirdly, Tibet is under the effective control of the Central Government. We have implemented the Party's benevolent nationality religious policy in Tibet and made its people rich. The progress and development of Tibet is apparent to all. We have the truth and others support on our side. Therefore, we need not fear any ideology or argument. This is the most favourable condition on our side.

Fourthly, our political security, economic development, social progress, nationality unity, and ever-increasing international prestige are favourable conditions for the success of our works.

Fifthly, the Dalai is nearing his end, and the exile Tibetans' internal differences are becoming more acute. Therefore, we have the time on our side.

Sixthly, we have had considerable experience in the field of external propaganda on Tibet. For the first time, we have formed a group of well-trained Tibetologists. More importantly, under the overall leadership of the Central Government, all our concerned agencies are able to struggle unitedly as one entity. All of these are new opportunities for strengthening and improving our external propaganda on Tibet.

**B. Tibetology institutes and specialists must use their potential as this is an indispensable part of our external propaganda on Tibet in the new era:**

Since 1991 the Central Government's External Propaganda Department has organized a series of annual meetings to review, plan and organize our external propaganda work on Tibet. Our external propaganda against the Dalai clique and hostile western forces has continued to make improvements over the past decade. With the passage of time, our propaganda has become more effective, and target and goal clearer. We have formed a special group to carry out external propaganda and have succeeded in protecting our national interests and improving our image. We have made relentless efforts over the past decade to publicize Tibet's progress and development. We have pin-pointed and exposed their, mainly the Dalai's, crime, refuted their claims and created public opinion on Tibet issue. We have published two White Papers, entitled *Tibet: Its Ownership and Human Rights Situation*, and *New Progress in Human Rights in Tibet Autonomous Region*.

In addition, under the direction of the Central Government's External Propaganda Department, we have published over 500 news reports and made nearly 100 films and television programs, exposing the Dalai clique's crime, which were distributed in over 100 regions. We have also published and distributed over 2 million copies of more than 60 types of Tibet-related information material, such as articles, translations, booklets, flyers, posters, etc. We have sent 23 groups of artistes to give performances at international cultural and experience-sharing fora in over 80 cities in over 40 countries. They have given over 400 performances to over 800,000 people. Different types of exhibitions from over 50 countries, including France, Italy, India and Australia, were held successfully. We have invited over 400 foreign delegations—consisting of over 2,000 journalists, in addition to government officials, members of upper and lower parliament houses and other dignitaries—for visits to Tibet. These programs were very effective in making the international community understand the true situation of Tibet, in clearing up the concerned foreign dignitaries' misunderstanding on Tibet, in challenging the Dalai clique and hostile western forces' rumours, and in undermining the influence of hostile international elements. In this way, we have made a fairly good beginning in building favourable international public opinion.

However, our propaganda has not progressed enough to meet the expectations of the Communist Central Government and requirements of the struggle on Tibet issue. And, it is out of tune with the reality of Tibet. We still do not have many avenues of external propaganda; our achievement is unsatisfactory. We have not been able to translate the truth and resources at our disposal into international propaganda advantage. Therefore, our voice in the international arena is still modest.

That is why the ninth meeting on Tibet-related external propaganda, held in the early part of this year, gave us a vision by proposing a study of changing times as a base on which to build a coordinated, idea-oriented, focussed and effective external propaganda to thoroughly expose the Dalai's crime. It also proposed creating websites on the issue. We have made efforts to this effect too. One noteworthy part of our effort was the formation of the group of Tibetology institutes and specialists in tune with the trend of time. We have to channelize the truth,

resources and huge contingent of Tibetologists at our disposal to obtain special results that are greater than ever before.

As you all know, since the end of the cold war, non-governmental organizations have proliferated and become an important force with influence on international relations and development. The world is known as a global village. Statistics show that there are now 30,000 non-governmental organizations, playing active roles throughout the world. Out of them, 1,500 are recognized by the United Nations. The number of western non-governmental organizations with connections to Tibet is extremely large; most of them serve the political interests of western anti-China forces and the Dalai clique. The Dalai forces and their voice dominate the non-governmental organizations with Tibet connections. Most members of these organizations are intellectuals and specialists. Books and commentaries written by them, as renowned grassroots level scholars, have strong influence on the western public and international fora.

Therefore, as stressed by the ninth meeting on Tibet-related external propaganda, we should maximize the use of our 50 Tibetology centres and 1,000 Tibetologists to carry out external propaganda work on Tibet. Under appropriate banners of non-governmental organization, they should form a national force of Tibetologists and participate in Tibet-related activities of international non-governmental organizations. Our Tibet specialists should make well-planned visits to foreign countries. Similarly, foreign Tibetologists should be invited to country for conferences on Tibet. In this way, we should promote cultural exchange, discussion, cooperation, and friendship with foreigners. We should enhance our influence on international Tibetologists. By means of cultural exchange, we should enhance our influence on western community and its opinion. By means of culture, we should promote effective struggle for favourable public opinion regarding our work in Tibet.

We should develop suitable research projects by using our Tibetologists, particularly those of Tibetan nationality, as well as our historical relics, cultural scriptures and other resources, which are not available to others. Specialists and scholars should work together and support serious research works on important issues in order to produce heart-winning scholarly arguments. Effective scholarly arguments must be made available for our external propaganda on Tibet. We should appreciate the unique value of renowned writers' works for the promotion of external propaganda on Tibet. With far-sight, determination and proper planning, we should organize projects to publish foreign language books on the deeper issues that have wide interest, but are misunderstood, in foreign countries. We should participate in western intellectual activities and promote our views in the western community through their own intellectuals.

**C) Tibetology work must produce maximum results in external propaganda on Tibet:**

Westerners are waging a protracted and overall war on us on the issue of Tibet. This is a well-planned public opinion and psychological war. In this urgent war for our basic national interests and international prestige, comrades involved in ideological and scholarly works, particularly the specialists and intellectuals in this meeting, have a special role to play. For this, we need to have a long-term strategy and mental preparation. In addition, we need to plan and organize ourselves to fight each battle carefully.

The external propaganda on Tibet issue is a very complicated matter. The Dalai clique and hostile western forces have a history of several decades of anti-China activities and propaganda. As well as having complete experience and expertise, they command an army of specialists in this field. They have also developed a complete network of cooperation between nations, between organizations, between parliaments and governments, between governments and peoples, between grassroots level organizations, between media and governments, between non-governmental organizations and media, etc. In this way, they launch their campaigns under various guises and through different methods. In the struggle for public opinion on the issue of Tibet, our adversary is an organized international anti-China force. To counter this united force, we have to build an effective organization and network. The external propaganda struggle for public opinion should be treated as an important work, requiring relentless attention. We should launch a coordinated assault on different fronts.

In this overall struggle for public opinion on the Tibet issue, Tibetology institutes should become an effective army. In our Tibet-related external propaganda, we should use our departments of foreign affairs, information, security, law, nationality, religion, culture, etc. We need specialists with knowledge on our internal and external affairs as well as those with experience in undertaking campaigns. In addition, we need Tibetology scholars and professors from the academic departments of nationality, religion, philosophy, political science, law, history and archaeology. Effective use of Tibetologists and specialists is the core of our external propaganda struggle for public opinion on Tibet.

To sum up, the main responsibilities and potential of Tibetology research in our external propaganda on Tibet are to produce ideas, results, intellectuals, and confrontation strategies. To put it in another words, Tibetology research, in consideration of the needs of our external propaganda, must support our propaganda for public opinion by producing scholastic arguments, handy materials and consummate intellectuals for external propaganda. Tibetologists should develop confrontation strategies and approaches. They should produce effective articles, ideas and materials for external propaganda.

To begin with, Tibetology centres and experts must lend powerful scholastic arguments to our external propaganda and struggle for public opinion on Tibet-related issues. The basic aims of our external propaganda are to provide true information on Tibet, to counter the Dalai clique and anti-China western forces' rumours, criticism and smear campaigns against our policies in Tibet and to foil their subterfuge to split the motherland. The development of academic research and knowledge on Tibet issue is an indispensable precondition and foundation of our external propaganda for public opinion on Tibet. Academics have a responsibility to provide powerful, scholarly argument in support of our external propaganda for public opinion on Tibet. The work of external propaganda on Tibet should be carried out politically, imaginatively and artistically. It should be built on the foundation of indepth, systematic research. If our argument were built on the foundation of unreliable scholarly research, our external propaganda would be like a lake whose source has dried up; it will never be effective. Propaganda's aim is to convince people, win their hearts and influence them. Our external propaganda on Tibet should clear up the confusion of the so-called Tibet issue, created by the Dalai clique and hostile western forces. It should educate the international community to the truth of the so-called Tibet issue, and

convince them of the real situation in Tibet and of the legitimacy of our policies in Tibet. On the issue of Tibet, the truth is on our side. The point is to use our imagination to explain the truth, expose their lies and win the hearts of the audience.

This is what we mean by imaginative and scholastic external propaganda on Tibet. The Dalai clique and hostile western forces use deception to create anti-China public opinion; they distort the facts. More importantly, they have created a culture of false arguments. If we want to separate truth and myth about Tibet and conduct an effective propaganda on our works in Tibet, we have to develop an intellectual argument on issues of nationality, religion, human rights and culture. Such an argument should be understandable and acceptable to the international community. Most importantly, it should be based on the foundation of indepth research, dovetailing China's history and its present situation. As well as explaining Tibet's history and present situation, the argument should drive home the benevolence of our policies in Tibet, and refute the disinformation of the Dalai clique and hostile western forces. The argument should prove that Tibet is an inalienable part of China, that the democratic reform was absolutely necessary, that the present autonomous arrangement for Tibet is the best and most effective way to protect the equality of nationalities and to guarantee the right of autonomy to the Tibetan people, and that the atheist government of the Communist Party of China gives religious freedom.

If we do this, our external propaganda will be effective as we are confident that truth is on our side. Whether we are able to produce imaginative intellectual argument or not will depend on how diligently our Tibetologists work. In the last few years, our Tibetologist comrades have worked hard and made tremendous contribution to the unity of the Motherland and nationalities, to the preservation of Tibetan culture and tradition, and to the success of our external propaganda for public opinion on Tibet. However, considering the need and situation of our external propaganda, our research on Tibetology is still inadequate and ineffective, and lacks confrontational edge.

Our research activities and their impacts are still a bit scattered. They lack the required organization and planning. There is much research on Tibet's history, but little on the present situation and future development. There is much academic research, but little effort to use this to face the ground reality of international confrontation. There is much work on Tibet's history, but little research to build an intellectual argument to carry out our external propaganda. Lots of research materials have been published in Chinese and Tibetan languages, but not enough in foreign languages to influence international opinion. We have not been able to influence the international public opinion. We do not have enough internationally-known Tibetan intellectuals. We do not have adequate intellectual arguments to carry out our external struggle.

Be that as it may, Tibetology research has its own characteristics and expectations. The entire Tibetology research need not concentrate on external propaganda work; one should not expect this. However, a section of Tibetologists should make considerable efforts to build an intellectual argument to meet the needs of our external struggle on Tibet issue. This is not only the need of external propaganda for public opinion on Tibet, but also an impetus to the development and modernization our Tibetology work.

Imagine, how can our scholars and intellectuals face the challenge of international academic exchange if our academic research does not show concern for the real issue of Tibet and international debates on Tibet issue, if it does not challenge the lies promoted by the Dalai clique and hostile western forces, and if it allows the demonized image of Tibet, as created by western forces, to remain for long in the international community? If we are unable to project the true image of changing Tibet, how can we claim that we have the right to speak on the issue of Tibet on the international forum?

We must recognize this issue from the most important political perspective. We must diligently promote academic research to suit the needs of Tibet's modern development and our external struggle. Such efforts should be built on the foundation of Marxist views on nationality, religion, culture and human rights. By working hard on the development of intellectual argument on Tibet issue, we should develop our own all-round perspective, our own basic intellectual argument, and our own material on Tibet issue. We should gradually develop a complete body of intellectual arguments, which has the potential to attack others and defend our position on the international forum. We should produce very powerful ideas and intellectual arguments to support our external propaganda work for public opinion on Tibet.

I call on you to discuss whether this can be adopted as the future objectives of our Tibetology work. Towards this end, the Central Government's External Propaganda Department will give a considerable organizational support.

Secondly, our Tibetology institutes and specialists have become an effective army of external propaganda for public opinion on Tibet. As a matter of fact, the very act of writing and publishing books by the specialists of our Tibetology institutes is for external propaganda and public opinion. We should not underestimate the contribution of scholarly works to our external propaganda for public opinion; westerners have a lot of respect for this kind of works.

As we know, it is only a few books that have made such a deep impression on western perspective on Tibet issue. In the past few years, the western media has continued to sensationalize the Tibetan issue. At the same time, there has been an increase in the publication of books on Tibet in the west. Currently, 900 Tibet-related titles are available on the internationally-known website, <amazon.com> Out of this, over 163 are Dalai-related titles. Last year, Tsering Gyatso (sic, translator), a Tibetan in UK, published a book, entitled *The Dragon in the Land of Snows*, in London. This book became very famous and was clamoured as a surprising work. John Knaus, former CIA agent, published *Orphans of the Cold War: America and Tibet's Struggle for Survival*. This book also created clamour for some time. The Dalai-related books, such as *Art of Happiness*, *Ethics for the New Millenium*, and *Political Philosophy of the Fourteenth Dalai Lama* became the US bestsellers in 1999. We cannot underestimate the negative impact of these books on our nation.

Tibetology has become the object of international attention in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The scope of Tibetology is expanding internationally; Tibetologists are mushrooming; Tibetology institutes are also multiplying. There are more than ten Tibetology institutes in America and Europe. Some

well-known universities have established Tibet study departments and specialized programs. Of course, all of them do not serve western political interests; some of them are serious academic institutes. However, generally speaking, the majority of western Tibetology institutes and Tibet-related organizations have connections with western government and the Dalai clique. Even if they do not have direct connections, they still have deep influence on western perspective and the Dalai clique. Their research on Tibet is politically biased and fraught with many mistaken views. A section of them serve western anti-China forces and the Dalai clique.

Under the pretext of research work on Tibet, they malevolently distort Tibet's history and the Central Government's policy in Tibet. The most famous of them is the Dalai-hired Michael van Walt of Dutch nationality. His work, *The Status of Tibet*, published in 1987, provides legal arguments in support of Tibet's independence. This book is extremely famous in the western academic circle. Without any regard to our objection, the Dalai clique makes every attempt to include him as advisor of their delegation for dialogues with the Central Government.

Therefore, if we publish books and articles that are geared to meet the confrontational needs of our struggle against the Dalai clique and hostile western forces, they will serve as material for our external propaganda and as weapons for external struggle. Particularly, succinct and well-written works are as effective as missiles in the battlefield. However, such works should be factual with ability to strike the important views of foreign adversaries; the arguments should be clear and credible; sources quoted should be reliable; there should be footnotes and bibliographies. To sum it up in one sentence, they must be standard works, combining political and scholarly elements.

In the recent years, our Tibetologists have produced a fair amount of meaningful works. If we select some of them, make necessary adaptations, translate them into foreign languages and publish them, they will become effective tools of external propaganda. From now on, we will implement this in an organized manner. In the recent years, we have catalogued China's books on Tibet and have also compiled annexures. To the outside world, we introduced all Tibetology works that had been produced from the Tibet Autonomous Region and other Tibetan areas since the establishment of our nation. This has received the acclaim of foreigners and produced sufficient benefits.

In addition, we must produce some well-designed need-based research projects and mobilize specialists to produce specialized research works with strong confrontational character and high academic standards. These works should be in foreign languages to answer the needs of foreigners. They should then be printed and published to form a section of exceptional materials for our external propaganda.

Thirdly, Tibetology institutes and specialists should promote exchange programs and make important contribution by explaining away the misunderstandings and convincing people with our viewpoints. As a rule, the western public does not trust government propaganda so much. They put a slightly more faith in the statements of grassroots level experts, intellectuals and scholars. Therefore, it is certain that Tibetologists and Tibetology institutes can make a tremendous impact in our external propaganda on Tibet.

Tibetology institutes—in the form of grassroots level institutes and in a well-planned, goal-oriented manner—should build connections with relevant foreign organizations and individuals, and organize exchange programs. At all fronts, they should build friendship and explain away misunderstandings. They should try to understand the manner in which foreigners create public opinion; they should propagate our government's policy in Tibet and progress of Tibet. They should also clear misunderstanding and create greater awareness on our nation. They should work hard and attain success in changing foreign public opinion on Tibet issue.

From now on, the Central Government's External Propaganda Department will annually organize well-planned, goal-oriented foreign visits by several groups of Tibetologists as a part of exchange program. We will also invite foreign Tibetology institutes and Tibetologists who are friendly to our nation. In addition, our Tibetology institutes should skillfully form a united international front of Tibetologists and organize conferences at appropriate times. At such conferences, we should build rapport with specialists and intellectuals, governmental representatives, officials of the United Nations and other international organizations, and with other reliable westerners, and discuss common issues. Gradually, we should create a favourable international forum.

If we do this, we will be able to receive timely information. We will also be able to raise our voice in time. Our experience shows that statements made by our specialists and intellectuals during their foreign visits bring good results. If we could encourage a considerable number of foreign specialists and intellectuals to speak on our behalf, we can achieve even better results. As a matter of fact, some of the western public opinions against our nation were made by the specialists of anti-China forces on Tibet. The best way to deal with these people is to let our Tibetologists, intellectuals and senior professors speak. Foreigners may readily listen to specialists and intellectuals, because of their non-governmental nature and reputation in academic affairs.

This task should be carried out for a long time. The seventh department of the Central Government's External Propaganda Department will draw a plan and gradually make efforts towards this end. The concerned Tibetology institutes should make efforts to form cultural exchange groups in order to reach outside. We should nurture several groups of hard-working people, who, as well as understanding our government policies and strategies, have good knowledge of Tibetology and foreign languages, and have expertise in external propaganda work. This is the need of our external propaganda.

Finally, Tibetology institutes and specialists should be able to give useful advice for our external propaganda on Tibet and for our struggle to win the international public opinion. The struggle for the international public opinion on Tibet is long and complicated. It should be carried out frequently. If we want to triumph in every battlefield of this struggle, we must know both others and ourselves; we must have a long-term strategy and mastery in the art of confrontation and struggle. We have a very large number of Tibetologists. Some of them are fairly conversant with international affairs, others very much so with internal affairs, and still others are well-experienced in the struggle of external propaganda for public opinion on Tibet. If they pool their

expertise to a large extent and regularly make their expertise available to relevant departments, our external propaganda for public opinion on Tibet will be very successful. The Central Government's External Propaganda Department must diligently implement the recommendations of the ninth annual conference on external propaganda on Tibet. It should inform the Central Government leaders of the outcome of research activities, trends of the international public opinion on Tibet, progress of our Tibetology work, current developments, and recommendations on external propaganda strategy; it should notify the concerned departments as well. In this way, we should translate the recommendations into concrete action.

In short, we should make every effort to convert the Tibetology institutes and specialists into an effective army of our external propaganda for public opinion on Tibet. All of you should speak frankly during this two-day conference. I hope we will be able to make joint efforts for external propaganda. I made these suggestions and recommendations to serve as a basis for your discussion. If you find any inadequacies, you should make open criticisms.

Thank you.