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THE WORLD BANK

Washington, D.C.

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PUBLIC DISCLOSURE AUTHORIZED

Meeting with Mr. Lodi Gyari, Special Envoy of
H.H. the Dalai Lama

Saturday, June 8, 1996
10:00-11:00 am
Kalorama Residence

DECLASSIFIED
WBG Archives

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President Wolfensohn - Briefings Books for Presidents Meetings - Meeting Materials
Mr Lodi Gyari - Special Envoy of HH the Dalai Lama - June 8, 1996



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A. CLASSIFICATION

- ☒ Meeting Material
- ☐ Trips
- ☐ Speeches

- ☐ Annual Meetings
- ☐ Corporate Management
- ☐ Communications with Staff

- ☐ Phone Logs
- ☐ Calendar
- ☐ Press Clippings/Photos

- ☐ JDW Transcripts
- ☐ Social Events
- ☐ Other

B. SUBJECT: Meeting with Mr. Lodhi Gyari, Special Envoy of HH the Dalai Lama
VENUE & DATE: Kalorama Residence, June 8, 1996

DATE: 11/03/96

C. VPU

Corporate

- ☐ CTR
- ☐ EXT
- ☐ LEG
- ☐ MPS
- ☐ OED
- ☐ SEC/Board
- ☐ TRE

Regional

- ☐ AFR
- ☐ EAP
- ☐ ECA
- ☐ LAC
- ☐ MNA
- ☐ SAS

Central

- ☐ CFS
- ☐ DEC
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- ☐ FPD
- ☐ FPR
- ☐ HRO

Affiliates

- ☐ GEF
- ☐ ICSID
- ☐ IFC
- ☐ Inspection Panel
- ☐ Kennedy Center
- ☐ MIGA

D. EXTERNAL PARTNER

- ☐ IMF
- ☐ UN
- ☐ MDB/Other IO
- ☐ NGO
- ☐ Private Sector

- ☐ Part I
- ☐ Part II
- ☒ Other

E. COMMENTS:

File Location

- ☒ EXC
- ☐ IISC
- ☒ Archives

Cleared By

Atsuko Horiguchi

Date:

11/03/96

 [View Update History](#)

BRIEFING NOTE ON TIBET

The Dalai Lama

- Internationally revered for his spiritual and moral leadership, and honored with the Nobel Prize for Peace, the Dalai Lama has been a committed advocate of nonviolent change and resolution of disputes. The Government condemns the Dalai Lama's political activities and his leadership of a "government in exile", but recognizes him as a major religious figure. "Official" religious authorities have suppressed the open veneration of the Dalai Lama by Tibetans. The Chinese government tightly controls Tibetan Buddhism and does not tolerate religious expressions that advocate Tibetan independence. A case in point is China's refusal to accept the Dalai Lama's choice for the 11th Panchen Lama: the Chinese government promoted its own Panchen Lama elect who was subsequently enthroned on December 8, 1995. The Dalai Lama's choice has been sequestered ever since. The government's attitude has been recently summarized by President Jiang Zemin in his speech in Xigaze, Tibet on May 28th: *"Chinese will by no means tolerate any separatist activities by the Dalai group in exile under the cover of religion and with the backing of foreign hostile forces, which are intended to oppose the Party leadership, endanger national sovereignty, and negate the supreme authority of the central authorities over Tibet."*

Political Issues

- Two sensitive political issues that are of great concern in China are: the status of Taiwan, and the status of Tibet. The tension in US-China relations resulting from the visit of Mr. Lee, the President of Taiwan to the US and the intimidations prior to the election in Taiwan in March is an indication of the importance China attaches to the Taiwan question.
- The situation with regard to Tibet is similar. Chinese officials could regard meetings of World Bank officials and representatives of the Dalai Lama as giving comfort to those who take the view that Tibet should be independent from China. Public knowledge of such a meeting could complicate the Bank's relations with China.
- The Dalai Lama has made significant progress in his quest for recognition. Recently he met with President Clinton, President Chirac, and senior European government ministers such as the German Foreign Minister. He has indicated his willingness to negotiate cultural autonomy within the PRC and to refrain from the quest for political independence. He has been criticized by his own followers for this stance which is perceived as an appeasement strategy.

JDW

6/7/96

- You met Mr Gyari through Harrison Ford last August in Wyoming.
- You agreed to this 2nd mtg through Mr Ford.
- Given the sensitivity of the mtg, we've scheduled it at your home.
- Mr Gyari will be accompanied by his personal assistant Monica Garry. I will be there, too.

atruko

Bank Operations in Tibet

- To date, the Bank has had no lending operation in Tibet. The office of the People's Government of Tibet Autonomous Region in Beijing had requested Bank support for an agricultural development project in 1990, but the RVP* considered that this intervention would be inappropriate (in the wake of the Tiananmen situation in 1989), and no action was taken. The Bank would be pleased to consider a poverty alleviation project for Tibet and to include Tibet in its poverty-oriented social sector projects. No projects benefiting Tibet were among those identified as candidates for support in FY97-99 during the annual Bank-China lending program meetings in May this year.

*Gautam
Kajic @ the
time.



General Background

- The Tibetan Autonomous Region was formally established in 1965.
- Chinese policies toward Tibet have been harsh at times, particularly in the pre-reform period. a large number of Tibet's temples were destroyed, and there was little attempt to preserve local culture and religion. In 1980, with the onset of reforms, Deng Xiaoping announced much more lenient policies. The local language was once again taught in the schools, temples were rebuilt, and controls on the practice of Tibetan Buddhism were relaxed.
- The Chinese government takes pride in its efforts to modernize Tibet, develop its economy, and free its people of feudal institutions and practices. The Chinese government transfers large sums of money to Tibet to aid in its development. Many Tibetans, on the other hand, view the Chinese as an occupying force, determined to destroy Tibetan religion and culture.
- Human rights organizations have been very vocal in their criticisms of Chinese policy in Tibet, including the incarceration of Tibetans for the expression of political and religious beliefs. They believe human rights abuses to be widespread. The policy of encouraging Han migration to Tibet has been criticized for diluting the Tibetan population and its culture.
- Chinese government policies have helped raise the living standards of Tibetans, but also have disrupted traditional living patterns.
- The Chinese government often faces dilemmas in designing policies designed to be responsive to Tibetan sensitivities, yet at the same time be in the economic interest of Tibetans. For example, the government has a two-track school system, one track taught in Chinese and one in Tibetan; students in the Tibetan track are at a disadvantage in applying for jobs and attending universities.
- Although the Chinese Communist Party's policy to boost minority representation in the government and the party has increased the numbers of minorities (including Tibetans)

in leadership positions, ethnic minorities are effectively shut out of most real political and decision-making bodies.

- In 1994, a large work council was held on Tibet. The conference pledged to increase economic activity in Tibet by 10 percent per year. Tibet will also continue to receive large government grants and special privileges relating to the implementation of reforms. Implementation of the policy will most likely lead to increased Han migration toward Tibet.

Tibet: Basic Economic Data Comparisons

Tibetan Population, Output, and Labor Force Comparisons

	Population (mil.)	GNP/Capita (WDR US\$)	Labor Force Structure (%)		
			Agriculture	Industry	Services
China Total	1,185.2	490	56.4	22.4	21.2
Qinghai Province ¹	4.7	417	60.2	18.6	18.8
Tibet	2.3	302	77.3	4.0	14.8

Tibetan Household Income Comparisons

	Household Income (US\$)		Sources of Rural Household Income (US\$)			
	Urban	Rural	Wage Labor	Household Business	Transfers	Rent
China Total	439	171	36.0	125.7	7.7	1.3
Qinghai Province ¹	348	125	14.3	105.0	4.0	1.3
Tibet	464	165	6.8	146.3	7.7	4.0

Sources: Tibetan, Qinghai, and national statistical yearbooks, with staff calculations.

Map of China, with Tibet and Qinghai¹ Highlighted



Note: This map is a rough free-hand drawing useful only for notional regional identification. Its boundaries, denominations, and any other information shown do not imply, on the part of The World Bank Group, any judgment on the legal status of any territory, or any endorsement or acceptance of such boundaries.

¹ The data include a comparison with Qinghai Province, because Qinghai is Tibet's closest neighboring province, with a similar animal-husbandry-based rural economy, and with a 13.4 percent national minority population, most of which is Tibetan.

TIBET FACT SHEET

Population: 2.32 m (0.2% of national total)

- Mostly ethnic Tibetans but Han population increasing

GNP Per Capita \$302 (1993), compared to a national figure of \$490

- 77% of the labor force works in agriculture, compared to 56% nationwide. Only 4% work in industry and 15% in services.
- Tibet recorded no foreign direct investment in 1992. Exports and imports were very low; both represent only 0.1 % of national totals.
- Even official statistics indicate very low levels of education and health in Tibet. The literacy rate is less than 30%, compared to around 80% for the nation. Only 54% of children of elementary school age are enrolled in school, as compared to almost 98% nationwide. The official infant mortality rate is 98 per 1000 live births, more than twice the national average.
- Agriculture is the mainstay of Tibet's economy; highland barley is the principal grain crop. The main livestock are sheep and yaks. Before the 1960s, there was no real industry apart from handicrafts. Now, 600 small and medium-sized enterprises produce some of the industrial products required in the region.

Meeting Minutes
August 24, 1995

JDW Meeting Aide Memoire

When: 10:00-13:00 (including lunch), Thursday, 24 August 1995

Where: JDW Residence, Jackson Hole

With: Mr. Lodi Gyaltzen Gyari, Special Envoy of His Holiness The Dalai Lama
Mr. Harrison Ford

Bank staff: *Atsuko Horiguchi*

Main points raised:

Mr. Gyari

- o Understanding China = matter of global survival. Believe China can change fundamentally. Problem of Tibet lies not in Lhasa, but in Beijing.
- o Need to negotiate quietly and strategically (mistake of too open a negotiation in past). JDW -- by understanding the Chinese mind -- can help as a friend of Tibet.
- o Fortunate to have US Congressional support (\$15 mm/year earmarked for New York-based Tibet Fund), but have been resisting help from the Bank.
- o Areas where JDW can help most -- "if done sincerely" -- are (i) education; (ii) health; and (iii) environment.
- o **Education:** Unlike in the western separation of state and church, in Tibet, monasteries = schools -> need to empower monasteries. Currently, 58 schools in Tibet are supported by India.
- o **Environment:** Tibetans themselves are not yet conscious of environmental problems, but there is terrible deforestation. A monk once told a foreign friend of Tibet: "The best way to make an offering to the Dalai Lama is to plant a tree."
- o ADB -- no activities to date with the Dalai Lama; UN -- Boutros-Ghali has not done enough.
- o China implementing 62 projects in Tibet to demonstrate "superficial progress" for the 30th anniversary of establishment of the Tibetan Autonomous Region.
- o In the US, three Tibet-related organizations:
 - (i) **Office of Tibet:** *foreign agent* -- the official Dalai Lama agent --based in New York; cannot accept tax-deductible donations;
 - (ii) **Tibet Fund:** *American NGO* (charitable, tax-deductible contributions OK) that receives Congressionally earmarked funds, same building as (i);
 - (iii) **International Campaign for Tibet:** lobby to US Congress and Administration.

-> Have begun sending small amounts of money to earmarked projects in Tibet, e.g. two traditional medical schools, day school in Lhasa. Need to be careful so as not to be seen as camouflage to push own agenda.

Suggest JDW meet with Hemanta Raj Mishra (x82720)*, a Nepalese Bank staff who created the Himalayan park.

*AH called
8/28. He'll
call me 9/26~
Told me Nepalese
elections
are off for
1 yr.

Pl tell him I would like to
speak to him after China trip --
Tell him I am anxious to have his personal
views on Nepal & on Tibet on a
several basis -- w

*many want
you would keep
this in your files
, we said it
around the
Bank*

8/27

Mr. Ford

- o Wish to find a way to interest Chinese government in preserving the unique, very old and very well-developed *culture* of Tibet -- which is what Tibet has to offer the rest of the world. *Cultural diversity* is as important as biodiversity. How could this be done without imposing Chinese education?

JDW

- o Personally wish to lend support to Tibet, *quietly* (so as not to risk relations with China), *not immediately* (not until lending discussions between the Bank and the Government of China take place in spring 1996) and *strategically* (front it as a *China's minority initiative* rather than a Tibetan issue).
- o Bank has enormous leverage vis-à-vis China; the Bank is seen as a friend of China and JDW will be received as head of state.
- o Will be able to speak more authoritatively after gauging China's political agenda during upcoming trip to China next month.
- o Intend to move the Bank from manager of monolithically-imposed projects to supporters of indigenously-owned ones, e.g. CGAP initiative.
- o A politically inoffensive venture capital fund -- a *Chinese* fund for the minority region of Tibet -- can be conceived, named e.g. "China-Tibet Fund" or "Special Fund for Tibet"
 - . design to e.g. promote agriculture, tourism and indigenous artistry (e.g. carpets)
 - . IFC could support
 - . better to bring in several countries, e.g. Australian, UK companies
 - . recommend approaching Warren Heliman of Heliman-Friedman Co., a Californian venture capital firm
 - . friends can pitch in \$1-2 mm each; Mr. Ford can contribute \$5-10 mm (!)
 - . Hank Greenberg of AIG ought to be involved -- *extremely* close to Zhu Rongji
- o In order to make investment work, however, need: education, telecommunications, capacity and distribution. --> The development solution must be a *systemic* one.
- o Have launched a Cultural Environmental Initiative with Enrique Iglesias of IDB.

Other:

- o Mr. Gyari presented JDW with a letter from the Dalai Lama and several books on Tibet including one by His Holiness and another entitled *The Lotus and the Jew*.

What was agreed:

JDW

- o If Mr. Gyari wishes to forward a list of Tibet-related NGOs, can try to have them invited to JDW's meeting with NGOs during upcoming China trip (Sept '95).
- o Will seriously consider the possibility of presenting a priority program for Tibet in areas of education, health and environment during the next lending discussions with the Chinese authorities.
- o Will lend private support by e.g. introducing to people such as Hank Greenberg.

JUNE 8-scheduling

FAX MESSAGE

TO: Ms. Atsuko Horiguchi, Assistant to the President
The World Bank

FROM: Monica Garry, Office of Lodi G. Gyari, Special Envoy of
H.H. the Dalai Lama

DATE: April 24, 1996

RE: Meeting Request with Mr. Wolfensohn

PAGES: 1

Dear Ms. Horiguchi:

As you know, Mr. Lodi G. Gyari has made a request for a brief, informal meeting with Mr. Wolfensohn to seek his advice on a few matters pertaining to their meeting last summer in Jackson Hole. Thank you for your help in trying to arrange a second meeting with Mr. Wolfensohn for Mr. Gyari.

Initially, a meeting was scheduled for Tuesday, April 16 but I was informed that it would have to be rescheduled. Mr. Gyari will be in Washington, D.C. from Saturday, April 27 through Sunday, May 5. The only date he is not available is Tuesday, April 30. Mr. Gyari understands that the demands on Mr. Wolfensohn's time are immense, however, he hopes that a meeting could be rescheduled soon.

Again, Mr. Gyari would like an informal, off the record meeting with Mr. Wolfensohn. Due to the sensitive nature of the topics Lodi has discussed with Mr. Wolfensohn he would like to have a meeting just with the President and his personal staff. Please let me know if it is more preferable to hold such a meeting outside of the President's office.

Thank you very much for your attention to this request. I will phone your office to follow up on this request. I can be contacted at: 202/785-1515. My fax is: 202/785-4343.

ALLISON

EAP (RUB) + Gantam
both suggested off
Bank premises --
could you see

about a tea at his (JDW's)
house on Sat June 8 (or the earliest Sat)
it would just be:

{ Mr Gyari + Monica Caring
JDW + me

Thanks - 4/26 @

Sat 6/8



Told Monica 4/26

this was a
possibility -
Mr Gyari is
available +
would like
an hour.

TOTAL P.01



Special Envoy of
His Holiness The Dalai Lama

April 9, 1996

Mr. James D. Wolfensohn
President
The World Bank
1818 H Street, NW
Washington, D.C. 20433

Dear Jim:

Harrison called me to say that you have been kind enough to agree to a brief meeting with me. I do not want to take up your time, however, there are a few important matters I would like to discuss with you at your earliest possible convenience.

As Harrison may have indicated, I am devoting considerable time and energy to the plans we discussed with you last August. I certainly feel that the time has come to move ahead with them.

I will be going to Geneva on April 17 for ten days. I hope that it might be possible to meet with you before then.

Thank you for your consideration. I look forward to meeting with you again.

Best regards,

Lodi G. Gyari
Special Envoy of H.H. the Dalai Lama



EXC 04372

Special Envoy of
His Holiness The Dalai Lama

November 6, 1995

Mr. James D. Wolfensohn
President
The World Bank
1818 H Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20433

Dear Mr. Wolfensohn,

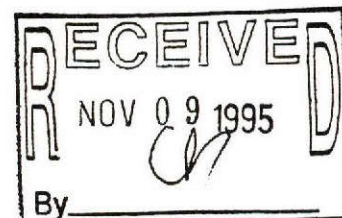
Thank you for sharing a copy of your letter to His Holiness the Dalai Lama with me. Again, I regret that you were unable to meet with His Holiness during his recent visit to the United States. I have fully briefed His Holiness about our meeting.

I will be traveling to India to consult with His Holiness in the coming weeks. Upon my return I would like to meet with you again. My assistant, Lesley Friedell, will be in contact with your office.

Thank you for your interest and concern.

Best regards,

Lodi G. Gyari
Special Envoy of
His Holiness the Dalai Lama



EXC 2691

The World Bank
Washington, D.C. 20433
U.S.A.

JAMES D. WOLFENSOHN
President

September 6, 1995

Office of His Holiness the Dalai Lama
Thekchen Choeling
P.O. McLeod Ganj HP
Dharamasala 176219
India

Your Holiness:

I cannot tell you how moved I was by your letter of August 17 and how grateful I am to you for your prayers and your good wishes for my success as President of the World Bank.

I enjoyed greatly my discussion with your special envoy, Lodi Gyari, and we discussed many matters about which he will no doubt report to you directly. I want you to know that I look forward with great expectation to our meeting and I regret greatly that our schedules did not make it possible to meet on your current visit to the United States.

I shall be in China during September and now have a better understanding of the issues which face your people. I am committed to be of assistance to you and to them as I hold your culture and religion in the highest possible esteem and would think of nothing more fulfilling than to play a small role in improving the current situation.

I shall report back to Lodi Gyari after my visit.

With my very best wishes to you and my admiration for your leadership, your strength and your compassion.

Sincerely yours,



James D. Wolfensohn

August 17, 1995

Mr. James D. Wolfensohn
President, World Bank
5350 N. Prince Place
Jackson, Wyoming 83001

Dear Mr. Wolfensohn:

I have come to know that our mutual good friends have been trying to arrange a meeting between you and myself on my forthcoming visit to the United States. I regret that because of our conflicting schedules we will not be able to meet. It would be a pleasure for me to have the opportunity to meet you on a next occasion.

In my modest way I have endeavored to draw attention to the urgent need to close the gap between the North and South. While there have been criticisms of the World Bank, I sincerely believe that when led by someone with wisdom and compassion, the World Bank is in a unique position to make a difference, particularly with the developing world. It is also able to help people around the globe gain a greater sense of responsibility for one another. This is invaluable to the promotion of global peace and harmony.

I am happy that my Special Envoy, Lodi Gyari, will be meeting with you in the coming weeks. He will be able to share with you my concerns about the current conditions under which Tibetans are living today.

With my prayers and best wishes for success in your great and noble tasks as the President of the World Bank.

Yours sincerely,

The Dalai Lama



THE DALAI LAMA

August 17, 1995

Mr. James D. Wolfensohn
President, World Bank
3500 M Prince Place
Jackson, Wyoming 83001
U. S. A.

Dear Mr. Wolfensohn:

I have come to know that our mutual good friends have been trying to arrange a meeting between you and myself on my forthcoming visit to the United States. I regret that because of our conflicting schedules we will not be able to meet. It would be a pleasure for me to have the opportunity to meet you on a next occasion.

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With my prayers and best wishes for success in your great and noble tasks as the President of the World Bank.

Yours sincerely,