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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 7, 1989

Dear Mr. Nichols:

The President asked me to have my staff take a look at your paper regarding Tibet, which was sent to the President by George Pfau. I want to give you our reactions.

It is clear that you are on top of your subject and are very well-informed on the Dalai Lama's proposals for a more autonomous Tibet. This Administration emphatically believes that the best course to resolving the tensions over Tibet is through a dialogue between the Beijing government and the Dalai Lama. We have been disappointed with China's quibbling over the Dalai Lama's Salzburg proposals and the continued imposition of martial law in Tibet.

We continue to draw a line, however, between urging dialogue and restoration of human rights in Tibet and intruding the U.S. Government directly into internal Chinese affairs. At no time has the United States recognized or advocated the establishment of an independent or even semi-autonomous Tibet, nor has any other government done so. China considers Tibet to be part of its sovereign territory and I expect that Beijing would react sharply and negatively to ideas that suggest anything less than full sovereignty.

We have pursued quiet diplomacy with respect to Tibet, urging the Chinese to reopen the region to foreign visitors and media, to talk with the Dalai Lama, and to refrain from the use of force. The recent tragedy around Tiananmen Square has complicated our efforts, but we will continue to do all that we can to persuade Beijing to listen to reason.

Sincerely,

  
Brent Scowcroft

Mr. Alan Nichols  
100 Green Street  
San Francisco, California 94111

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

GEORGE HAROLD PFAU, JR.  
100 CALIFORNIA STREET, SUITE 320  
SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA 94111

July 11, 1989

President George Bush  
White House  
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear George;

Enclosed is an interesting proposal from my friend, Alan Nichols, relating to one of his areas of expertise, Tibet and Central Asia.

I have known Alan for years and have already recommended him for a role in your administration. He has long served the Republican Party as former Chairman of the Republican County Central Committee here in San Francisco and as President of the Young Republicans of the United States years ago. He has served as Chairman of innumerable Republican campaigns including Nixon's campaign for Governor in Northern California, Cap Weinberger's effort for Attorney General, President Ford in his re-run, and other successful State, local and Gubernatorial candidates. He is still a member of the Republican County Central Committee. Although he is an outstanding attorney and heads a law firm that specializes in international transactions, his real special area of interest is Asian Countries. That dates back to his college days when his father was the education adviser to General MacArthur in Japan, and Alan was President of Stanford's Institute of International Relations and founder of the Model United Nations program there.

He has written books and lectured on Asian cultures and pursuant to his studies, has travelled extensively since the 1950's in India, Korea, Japan, China, Tibet Central Asia and the bordering areas of Tibet (e.g., Nepal, Sikhim Ladak).

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In fact, he was in many of these areas even before you and I went to China! He has visited with the Dalai Lama and has had the opportunity to spend time in Tibetan refugee camps as well as Chinese Liberation Army camps in Tibet and Central Asia.

I hope you will consider this idea and give Alan a chance to air his ideas with your experts. It makes some sense to me but then what do I know about it. For sure, Alan knows a lot.

Sincerely,



George H. Pfau, Jr.

cc: Alan Nichols

P.S. Alan's address is 100 Green Street, San Francisco, CA. 94111

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON  
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## TIBET

### A PRESIDENTIAL DIPLOMATIC OPPORTUNITY

Central Asia, for centuries a strategic geopolitical center of world power, is in a state of anxious flux. Tibet has always been, and remains, the southern keystone.

Tibet now is in revolt. The winds of change blow over Central Asia from the border powers - Russia, China, Pakistan, India, and even Afghanistan. There is a role for American diplomacy, an opportunity for President Bush. China and the Soviet Union seek their own reproachment along their northern borders of Central Asia. The long-lived conflict between China and India may not prove irreconcilable along the southern borders of Central Asia.

After the appropriate groundwork is laid, the President without risking vital American interests, could be instrumental in sealing a major component of peace in Central Asia - namely in Tibet.

Tibet (through the Dalai Lama), China and India could accommodate their mutual and conflicting interests. With American participation, support and persuasion, an agreement could be reached. China's geopolitical strategic interests, Tibet's prospects outlined in the Dalai Lama's Salzburg

Principles, and India's perceived security risks, could all be accommodated with a partially independent Tibet. In light of China's current difficulties at home, China might welcome a face-saving solution to Tibet that would guarantee her own interests and protection and relieve the potential political, economic and military strain of the occupation and control of Tibet. Furthermore, it presents an opportunity for China to regain a measure of world respect.

A more autonomous Tibet would satisfy Tibetans, both in exile and at home. A less constrained Tibet would reduce the strain on China's resources and lessen India's military border investment. Tibet, as it has for hundreds of years, could again be a buffer zone for the benefit of all the great powers in the region, and at the same time maintain its ancient and unique religion and culture.

In light of the Dalai Lama's statements and a possible (if unlikely at this time) return of China to its basic democratization policy, it is even possible that a Tibetan settlement could result in a democratic form of government, which in the long run would be more stable and consistent with United States' principles. China's presence in Tibet is considered a direct threat by India, so that anything that reduces that threat not only relieves China of the burden, but India of the fear.

What are the alternatives? A United Nations peace-keeping mission might be involved as a trigger for world power on Tibet's sensitive borders. China, in such an instance, could still maintain a military presence within Tibet, or even a Chinese quasi-protectorate as to foreign affairs. Alternatively, Tibet could become a United Nations supervised, demilitarized zone. It is possible under these and any other mutually agreeable solutions that the Dalai Lama would return to Tibet which would assure stability and Tibetan acceptance.

There is a worldwide sympathy for Tibet and a recognition that Tibet as a part of Central Asia is critical to the long-run peace of that area. In modern times the United States has consistently deplored the violation of human rights in Tibet while recognizing China's historical, economic and political predominance there. Several European legislatures and the United States Congress have passed resolutions in support of Tibet's people, in opposition to human rights violations and, directly or indirectly, advocating a freer Tibet's.

Since President Bush has regained the initiative in Europe, the stage is now set for a dramatic advance of peace in Asia, especially at its center core. The President has an opportunity for a major diplomatic contribution to stability and peace in Tibet and Asia and for establishing an American presence in an area where it has never been before.

Obviously such an idea needs to be explored without committing the United States or in any way embarrassing the President and the Administration if it is unsuccessful. I propose to follow up on this idea as a Special Assistant to the President without official status and with no formal relationship with governmental agencies (whether the Departments of State and Defense or the Security Counsel, the C.I.A., or otherwise).

The initial steps would be: (1) Informally discuss the idea with appropriate scholars and knowledgeable people in the United States, Europe, United Nations, India, Tibet, China, and the staff of the Dalai Lama as to reactions and suggestions; (2) Prepare a confidential background memoranda with alternative goals and proposed processes for the President's review; (3) Upon the advise of the President, recommend the appointment of the Special Presidential Envoy to formally initiate discussions on his behalf, provided the project is feasible and assured of success.