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Box 74, Folder 2, Tibetan United States resettlement program,
1989.

THE WALKER ECUMENICAL EXCHANGE

144 HANCOCK STREET • AUBURNDALE, MASSACHUSETTS 02166 •
USA

(617) 969-3919

Dec 5, 1989

Dear Marc,

It was good talking with you today about Jewish Tibetan dialogue.

Enclosed are promised materials on Tibet U.S. Resettlement Project.

I look forward to the pleasure of meeting you in New York.

Yours truly,

David

101ST CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

H. R. 3705

I

To provide for 1,000 additional immigrant visa numbers for Tibetans.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

NOVEMBER 17, 1989

Mr. FRANK introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on
the Judiciary

A BILL

To provide for 1,000 additional immigrant visa numbers for
Tibetans.

1 *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-*
2 *tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*

3 **SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.**

4 This Act may be cited as the "Tibetan Immigration Act
5 of 1990".

6 **SEC. 2. PROVIDING 1,000 ADDITIONAL IMMIGRANT VISA NUM-**
7 **BERS FOR TIBETANS.**

8 (a) **AUTHORIZATION OF ADDITIONAL IMMIGRANT**
9 **VISA NUMBERS.**—(1) In addition to immigrant visa numbers
10 otherwise made available under law, there shall be made
11 available to qualified immigrants who are natives of Tibet

1 and who are in India or Nepal 1,000 additional immigrant
2 visa numbers. Such numbers shall not be available after the
3 end of the 3-year period beginning on the date of the enact-
4 ment of this Act.

5 (2) The numerical limitations of sections 201 and 202,
6 and the provisions of section 203, of the Immigration and
7 Nationality Act shall not apply to immigrant visa numbers
8 made available under paragraph (1).

9 (3) For purposes of paragraph (1), an alien shall be con-
10 sidered to be a native of Tibet if the alien was born in Tibet
11 or is the son, daughter, grandson, or granddaughter of an
12 individual born in Tibet.

13 (b) DISTRIBUTION OF VISA NUMBERS.—The Secretary
14 of State shall provide for making immigrant visa numbers
15 made available under subsection (a) available, in an equitable
16 manner and in consultation with the Tibetan Council for
17 Home Affairs in India, among immigrants described in sub-
18 section (a)(1).

19 (c) WAIVER OF LABOR CERTIFICATION.—Section
20 212(a)(14) of the Immigration and Nationality Act shall not
21 apply in the determination of an immigrant's eligibility to re-
22 ceive any immigrant visa made available under this section or
23 in the admission of such an immigrant issued such a visa
24 under this section.

○

**THE TIBET U.S. RESETTLEMENT PROJECT
A CLUSTER MODEL
FOR THE TRANSPLANTATION OF TIBETAN COMMUNITIES**

**AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES**

Start-up Phase Proposal

December 4, 1989



Submitted by:

**Edward J. Bednar, Project Coordinator
in association with
Rinchen Dharlo, Representative of H.H. the Dalai Lama**

**Walker Center for Ecumenical Exchange
144 Hancock Street
Auburndale, MA 02166**

Phone: (617) 969-3919 or 332-1411

I. Proposal Summary:

The objective of this proposal is the implementation of a special one-time quota for the U.S. immigration and resettlement of 1000 Tibetans. Over a four year period, we are proposing to establish a network of 3-5 Tibetan American cluster communities. The cluster sites would vary in size from 100-300 people, with a radius of approximately 25 miles. The purpose of the cluster network would be to build-up sufficient geographic concentrations for Tibetan American mutual assistance, cultural identity, and accessibility to resettlement services.

The project's start-up phase, from September 1989 to September 1990, has begun with drafting legislation and mobilizing support for the Tibetan Immigration Act of 1990. During the rest of the start-up year, we will be concerned with:

- 1) proposal writing, developing financial resources the project, and consolidating an organized constituency;
- 2) building an administrative structure for the autonomous management of the project;
- 3) negotiating collaborative arrangements between state and federal agencies, Tibetan American mutual assistance groups, corporate and local community groups, and U.S. resettlement organizations;
- 4) designing a resettlement plan for the selection, preparation, and organization of the cluster sites;
- 5) welcoming the first Tibetan arrivals by March of 1991.

The amount requested for the start-up year is \$116,427.

II. Statement of Purpose:

Tibetan culture, with its fierce commitment to spiritual values and nonviolence, is in grave danger of being destroyed. The U.N. Jurists as early as 1959 found in Chinese attempts to eradicate Tibetan Buddhism conclusive evidence of "genocide." Now 30 years later, a U.S. Senate Resolution on Human Rights in Tibet, submitted on March 15, 1989 by Senators Pell, Helms, Murkowski, Kennedy, Kerry, Simon and Moynihan, states: "For the past four decades, repressive actions by the Chinese have resulted in the deaths of as many as one million Tibetans, the destruction of a large part of Tibet's unique cultural heritage, the flight of the Dalai Lama and tens of thousands of Tibetans from their homeland." Because of the rapidly advancing Sinicization of the Tibetan homeland, it is a matter of urgent humanitarian concern that special provisions be made outside of Tibet for the survival of the Tibetan way of life as a viable cultural entity.

The June 1989 massacre of pro-demoncracy demonstrators in Tiananmen Square is opening the eyes of the world to the oppressive tendencies of Chinese Communist rule, while at the same time dramatically highlighting a long history of atrocities and human rights abuse in Tibet. The October

award of the 1989 Nobel Peace Prize to His Holiness the Dalai Lama now strongly reflects this growing sympathy for the Tibetan cause around the world. For American people looking for a way to help, the Tibet U.S. Resettlement Project offers a timely, constructive plan of action. Therefore, in association with the Dalai Lama's Council for Home Affairs in Dharamsala, India, we are proposing congressional legislation for a special one time immigration quota for 1000 Tibetans, with immediate resettlement at selected cluster sites in the United States.

In view of the great U.S. traditions of religious freedom, democracy, and human rights, we believe that our project for the preservation and self determination of Tibetan culture is in keeping with the highest U.S. ideals, and therefore worthy of special congressional action.

III. Developing a Tibetan Cluster Resettlement:

In the planning of our Tibetan project, we are drawing upon the work of immigration colleagues who have developed various cluster community patterns in different parts of our country. One of the most notable, and most applicable to the Tibetan project, is the U.S. cluster resettlement of Cambodian refugees. The Khmer resettlement cluster was created during the late 1970s to meet the needs of large numbers of Cambodians who were coming to the Northeast. The cluster approach seemed like an appropriate model for the primarily Buddhist and community oriented Khmer population. The objective was not only resettling individuals, but also transplanting a cooperative cluster of small Khmer communities. In this way, the people of these communities supported one another, drawing upon the strength of their religious and cultural ties as a resource for building a new life here in America.

One of the major Khmer settlements is nearby, in central Massachusetts. We have much to learn from the contacts, resettlement strategies, and case study documentation of this and other similar projects. But at the same time, we want to build our particular project around the unique strengths and character of the distinctively Tibetan experience. With this purpose in mind, we are currently drafting the terms of our proposed Tibetan cluster resettlement. The main points are as follows:

- 1) That a special one-time quota would be enacted by the U.S. Congress, with provisions for the immediate U.S. entry and resettlement of 1000 Tibetans.
- 2) That the status of the Tibetans, whether it be "special immigrant," or "refugee," should include Congressional resettlement funds and the opportunity for permanent residency.
- 3) That the 1000 Tibetans would be selected with the help of the Tibetan Home Council, which is the resettlement agency of the Tibetan Administration in Exile, located in Dharamsala, India
- 4) That each Tibetan would be chosen according to specifications related to the likelihood of successful resettlement in the United States. The criteria could include such factors as age, education, professional skill, business expertise, English fluency, special knowledge of Tibetan culture, religious or lay leadership ability, or the opportunity for unification with U.S. friends and family.
- 5) That co-sponsorship agreements would be negotiated on a case-by-case basis by the offices of the Tibet U.S. Resettlement Project. The purpose of co-sponsorship would be to insure commitments of personal support for the resettlement of every Tibetan family or individual covered by the provisions of the quota. An affidavit of support would be signed by each co-

sponsor to formalize the agreement.

- 6) That implementation of resettlement services would be done by the Tibet U.S. Resettlement offices, working in association with the co-sponsor. The program of resettlement services would include provisions for food, clothing & shelter, English as a second language, job development, education, community orientation, travel, health care, and legal support. These services would be provided for a limited duration only and would be intended to make the Tibetan newcomer self sufficient as soon as possible.
- 7) That the 480 Tibetans who are currently U.S. residents could serve as a primary sponsorship resource in resettling the 1000 Tibetan newcomers. Arrangements for family reunification and co-sponsorship by Tibetan U.S. residents could thus be built into the resettlement plan. These arrangements could be supplemented by co-sponsorship agreements with sympathetic groups, such as American Buddhists, churches, as well as other religious or private voluntary organizations.
- 8) That resettlement housing, whenever possible, would be developed in accordance with the demographics of co-sponsor residency, seeking accommodations in proximity to the homes of established Tibetan families and other American co-sponsors. In addition, neighborhood cluster units could be a component of the overall resettlement plan, serving as a focal point for resettlement activities.
- 9) That early employment of the Tibetan newcomer would be a major objective of the Project, to be realized primarily through the efforts of the Project's job developer, in association with the co-sponsor and their contacts with local businesses.
- 10) That joint Tibetan business ventures--such as Tibetan restaurants, handicrafts, medicine, or religious art--could gradually be developed as a means of income for supporting Tibetan communities. A Tibetan Cultural Center in the Boston metropolitan region could serve as a focal point for these activities.
- 11) That, eventually, having established a larger base of Tibetan people in the United States, the Tibet Resettlement Project could support the foundation in the U.S. of a Tibetan Buddhist monastery to serve as a spiritual center for Tibetan religion and culture.
- 12) That, as an incentive for legislative inactment, we would offer to congress a plan for a substantial degree of private financing of Tibetan resettlement services. Funds for resettlement services could be raised through a combination of sources: the Tibet Foundation and other Tibetan sources; special state and federal grants; American Buddhist and Christian organizations; foundations and private individuals; and donations from businesses and corporations. It is our understanding that the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service is currently looking with favor upon special quota petitions that show evidence of privately raised resettlement funds. We are only requesting that the Federal government provide \$525 per person for the resettlement services of the Tibet quota group. The balance of resettlement expenses -- temporary housing, health care, job development, etc. -- would be provided for by the collaborative efforts of the Tibet U.S. Resettlement Project (see also Quota Proposal, p.3).

IV. The Offices of the Tibet U.S. Resettlement Project:

We are therefore proposing that Project offices serve as the organizational base for coordinating resettlement efforts. It's functions would be:

- 1.) To negotiate co-sponsorship agreements and to coordinate their implementation.
- 2.) To manage a program of resettlement services, according to the previously suggested outline.
- 3.) To research, document, and advocate for the Project, raising funds and maintaining a staff for Project administration.
- 4.) To generate the support of public opinion for the Project in general and for the one time Tibetan immigration quota in particular.
- 5.) To mobilize a coalition in behalf of the Project. The coalition would include sympathetic organizations--Tibetan and other American Buddhist groups, churches, college students and faculty associations, resettlement agencies, business leaders, government service providers, and a network of committed individuals. These constituencies would be systematically developed by the informal contacts, publications, and special events of the Project.
- 6.) To function as an ongoing center of U.S Tibetan community development, helping to realize the long term potentials of the resettlement cluster population.

V. Organizational Associations:

The Council of Home Affairs is the resettlement agency of His Holiness, Dalai Lama's Central Tibetan Administration (CTA) in India. Home Affairs will manage the Tibet U.S. Resettlement Project in Asia. Rinchen Dharlo, who is a Representative of the Dalai Lama in the United States, has been chosen by the CTA to work with Edward Bednar on the Project. Mr. Dharlo will coordinate the overall direction of the U.S. resettlement with the Council of Home Affairs and in conjunction with other Tibetan organizations around the world.

The Tibet U.S. Resettlement Project also has strong collaborative relations with the Washington D.C. based International Campaign for Tibet. The I.C.T. serves as a connecting link between our resettlement efforts and Tibet supporters in Washington. Tenzin Tethong is President of the International Campaign for Tibet and a Special Representative of His Holiness the Dalai Lama. Mr. Bednar has known Mr. Tethong since 1979, when they collaborated on human rights issues at nongovernmental meetings of the United Nations.

Locating the Project offices in the Boston metropolitan region would enable us to build on longstanding organizational associations supportive of Tibet. These groups include the New England Regional Office of the U.S. Tibet Committee, Oxfam U.S.A., Cambright Insight Meditation Center, Foundation for the Preservation of Mahayana Tradition, the Friends of Seva, Harvard Buddhist Association, Wisdom Publications, Tibet Project for Cultural Survival. We would also be able to work with sympathetic colleagues in Boston based resettlement agencies--such as Joyce Simon, Coordinator of Lutheran Refugee and Immigrant Services; and Mary Diaz, District Director of Boston Refugee and Immigration Services at Catholic Charities. We are especially interested in further developing our contacts with Catholic resettlement agencies, because of their previous international experience with Tibetan communities in exile.

We are also suggesting that the Walker Center for Ecumenical Exchange, in the Boston suburb of Auburndale, be considered as a possible collaborator in the Tibet U.S. Resettlement network. Walker has a 125 year track record in the field of international religious work, with a long history of service in China. Edward Bednar is currently a Project Coordinator of the organization, with the responsibility to propose new programs to the Trustees. The Walker campus of seven buildings has considerable office space, computer facilities, meeting rooms, as well as residential housing. Walker offices currently provide the organizational base of the Tibet U.S. Resettlement Project. Housing at Walker might be later used for the temporary accommodation of Tibetan newcomers.

The Chinese scholars for democracy and human rights in China (associates of the "Walker China Information Project") also have their base of operations at the Walker Center. Their work--getting news in and out of China--has received prominent mention in The New York Times, The Washington Post, The Boston Globe, and The Economist of London. In the aftermath of the June 4th, 1989 massacre at Tiananmen Square, the Information Project's worldwide network of Chinese scholars has been serving in "the struggle of communication" as an important alternative source of information about the movement for democracy all over China.

At the recent July 1989 Chicago conference, Chinese scholars, facing the danger of human rights violations should they return to China, have begun a major effort to secure their immigration status here in the United States. We believe that the Tibet quota, linked to similar human rights problems in China, could move toward congressional enactment on the momentum of the Chinese initiative. Therefore, we are mobilizing a strong Congressional campaign for the Tibet quota in the Spring session of 1990.

VI. The Applicant Group:

Edward J. Bednar, since May of 1988, has been working at the Walker Center for Ecumenical Exchange in Auburndale, Massachusetts. He is the Coordinator of the Tibet U.S. Resettlement Project.

Mr. Bednar became involved with Tibetan issues in 1979, when he was President of the Temple of Understanding, a nongovernmental organization of the United Nations. While President, he sponsored "Reverence for Life" convocations on nonviolence, human rights and the self determination of indigenous peoples. The Buddhist nonviolent struggle against Chinese Communist oppression in Tibet was a major topic of the conferences. Mr. Bednar also helped to convene meetings of several thousand religious leaders in behalf of U.N. Special Sessions on Disarmament in 1980, 1982, and 1984. Working with Tenzin Tethong, then Director of the New York Office of Tibet, Mr. Bednar called together an ecumenical assembly at the U.N. Church Center in protest of the 1984 deaths of peaceful Tibetan demonstrators in Lhasa. In 1985 he collaborated with Robert Muller, Under Secretary General of the United Nations, in writing a statement on the role of religious nonviolence in advancing the cause of world peace.

Mr. Bednar has recently worked as a Refugee Coordinator for the Presiding Bishop's Fund for World Relief (1986-1987). In this capacity, he organized church sponsored resettlement efforts in the Episcopal Diocese of New York. Then, for 14 months, he did family reunification casework at the immigration law offices of Donald Kresge in New York (1987-1988). Also during this period he collaborated with Arthur Helton of the Lawyers' Committee and Habib Mayar of the Afghan Community in the U.S. resettlement of a group of 38 Afghan Mujahadeen parolees.

Mr. Bednar has been organizing special events on Buddhist Christian dialogue since 1970. In 1973,

he co-founded the New Haven Zen Center in Berkeley College at Yale. From 1976 to 1980, he coordinated East-West monastic conferences for Aid Inter-Monastique, of the international Benedictine Federation. In 1982, Mr. Bednar did fieldwork research on location at the ecumenical Gandhian Sarvodaya movement in Tamilnadu, India. At the United Nations Church Center, he then organized a series of follow-up meetings, featuring Thich Nhat Hanh from Vietnam, Maha Ghossanda from Cambodia, Danilo Dolci of Sicily, and Homer Jack of the World Conference on Religion & Peace (1982-1985). While at the Merton Center of Columbia University in 1985, Mr. Bednar helped create a national program of service oriented meditation groups called "Contemplative Outreach." Recently, as a consultant to Mars Hill College in North Carolina (1985-1988), he conducted a series of faculty workshops on "Gandhi's Constructive Program for Grassroots Community Development."

Mr. Bednar has a Master's Degree from the University of Wisconsin, where he taught English literature from 1966-1970. His publications include: "The Spiritual Discipline of Nonviolence," (World Religions, 1989); "Notes from Calcutta" (World Faiths, Summer of 1983); "Reverence for Life: A Healing Presence in World Affairs" (World Faiths, Fall of 1983); "Teilhard and Metamorphosis: The Urban Ecology of Paolo Soleri (ARC, 1980); "A Networking Strategy for Inter-Monastic Collaboration," (CTS, 1979). Some conference transcriptions later published include: "A Dialogue on Lay Monasticism: Ram Das and Brother David (Journal of Transpersonal Psychology,(1979); and Blessed Simplicity--The Monk as Universal Archetype (Seabury Press 1982).

Rinchen Dharlo is the United States Representative of His Holiness the Dalai Lama. Mr. Dharlo has been officially designated by the Kashag, which is the Dalai Lama's council of ministers, to act in their behalf as co-sponsor of the Tibet U.S. Resettlement Project. He is Director of the Office of Tibet and President of the Tibet Fund in New York. Before coming to the United States, Mr. Dharlo was for nine years the Dalai Lama's Representative in Nepal, concerned with the social and economic well being of 14,000 refugees in the Tibetan settlements of Nepal.

The Ad Hoc Advisory Committee has come together to assist in the planning of the Tibet U.S. Resettlement Project, and to serve as a support group for its implementation. In addition to Mr. Darlo mentioned above, its members include Tenzin Tethong, Special Representative of His Holiness the Dalai Lama; Theodore D. Mann, Mayor of the City of Newton; Rodney Barker, Newton Alderman and immigration attorney in the firm of Barker and Epstein; Warren Smith, Director of the Tibet Project, Cultural Survival; Joyce M. Simon, Administrative Coordinator of Lutheran Refugee and Immigrant Services in New England; Don Scott, Montagnard resettlement expert; Mary Diaz, Director of Immigration and Refugee Services at Boston Catholic Charities; Claude P. d'Estree, Buddhist Chaplain at Harvard; Gordon Schultz, Executive Director of the Walker Center for Ecumenical Exchange; Wilford Welch, former U.S. State Department now partner of Intermatrix; Rabbi Richard Yellin, Domestic Affairs Chairman, Synagogue Council of America; Timothy J. McNeill, Chairman of Wisdom Publications; and Yeshey and Kuncho Palsang, husband and wife of a Tibetan family living in the Boston area.

VII. TIBET U.S. RESETTLEMENT 12 MONTH START-UP BUDGET:

EXPENSES

Personnel

Project Coordinator 12 mos @ \$35,000 per annum	35,000
Administrative Ass. 12 mos @ \$25,000 per annum	25,000
Legal Services	10,000
Financial Accounting:	
Monthly Bookkeeping 8hrs/mo @\$25/hr for 12 mos	2,400
Annual Report Preparation 12hrs @ \$125/hr	1,500
Fringe Benefits @25% of Project Coordinator @ Ass.	16,250
Political Consultant	5,000
Personnel Sub-Total	95,150

Other Direct Expenses

Office Rental @ \$900/mo for 12 mos	10,800
Telephone and Fax @ \$425/mo for 12 mos	5,100
Printing, Xerox @350/mo for 12 mos	4,200
Postage @370/mo for 12mos	4,440
Office Equipment	7,430
Office Supplies	2,829
Staff Travel:	
6 RT Boston to Wash. D.C., Hotel, Airfare	2,748
1 RT Boston to Dharamsala, India	2,000

Sub-Total Direct Expenses 39,697

TOTAL EXPENSES 134,697

INCOME

Legal Consultation <u>pro-bono</u> 5.4 hrs @150/hr	9,720
Office Rental @ \$900/mo for 3mos	2,700
Project Coordinator's Salary	5,850

TOTAL INCOME \$18,570

TOTAL REQUESTED \$116,427

DRAFT

REQUEST FOR A SPECIAL 1-TIME IMMIGRATION QUOTA FOR 1,000 TIBETANS IN INDIA AND NEPAL

The Tibetans to be considered in this request for immigration to the United States are currently residing in India and Nepal. Many are the progeny of the Tibetan diaspora of the late 1950's and early 1960's when tens of thousands fled the People's Liberation Army and the oppressive policies of Communist rule. Since that time, as guests of the Indian and Nepalese governments, 100,000 Tibetans have struggled to preserve the culture and nationhood that thirty years later is still threatened with extinction in Tibet.

Other candidates for immigration many include recent Tibetan refugees (more than 5,000 since 1980; 672 in 1988 alone) and those taken from the substantial unsettled Tibetan population in the Himachel Pradesh area of northern India close to the Tibetan border. (More than 14,000 Tibetans have never received relocation assistance and are living in deep poverty in unhealthy ramshackle conditions.)

Humanitarian Concerns

The opportunity to emigrate to America holds for the Tibetans, like any people, the promise of a better life. But moreover, for the Tibetans, most of whom have been caught in a kind of stateless limbo without legal refugee status or citizenship, emigration offers a chance for participation in the political process and all that this implies for future generations of Tibetan-Americans.

Since the 1959 flight of the Dalai Lama from Tibet and an ensuing international acquiescence to the Chinese invasion, Tibetans have been denied political voice. Tibetan emigres have been reduced to political supplicants. More tragically, and apart from the atrocities of the Cultural Revolution, Tibetans in Tibet continue to be subjected to the policies of Chinese colonization. These include:

- foremost, the March 1989 imposition of martial law and the presence of over 250,000 Chinese troops stationed on the Tibetan plateau;
- three decades of political "re-education" and the relocation of Tibetan children to China for Marxist indoctrination;
- the suppression of the unique and historic Tibetan culture;
- a limitation on religious practice,¹ and;
- racial discrimination in matters of housing, education, employment, and health care coupled with the massive influx of Chinese making the Tibetan people a disenfranchised minority.

¹ Reconstruction of a small percentage of Tibetan Buddhist monasteries is linked to tourism, and intended to increase foreign exchange. There is prohibition on religious teaching in most of Tibet. The number and choice of monks is regulated by the Chinese government. (Asia Watch, February 1988, pp. 17-18)

The denial of basic human freedoms in Tibet is ongoing and has been well documented by international human rights groups such as Asia Watch and Amnesty International. In addition, the State Department's Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 1988, submitted to the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations and the House Foreign Affairs Committee, cites human rights abuses by the Chinese in Tibet in these areas:

- political killing;
- torture and other cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatment or punishment;
- arbitrary arrest, detention without due process or notification of families, compulsory labor, denial of fair public trial; and
- disregard for civil liberties and political rights, including freedom of speech and press, and peaceful assembly and association.

The Chinese consider their human rights record in Tibet as an internal matter and concede no justification for foreign concern about it. Repeated requests by foreign governments and nongovernmental organizations for investigation of alleged violations of human rights have been left unanswered.

A final humanitarian concern that literally crosses consideration of Tibetan emigres and Tibetans in Tibet is the danger inherent in escape. The traversing of the rugged terrain in Tibet and safe passage to India or Nepal has become big business for thugs and bandits -- many Tibetans are robbed and beaten by would-be guides and many more are handed over to Chinese authorities for a bounty.

Considerations for Relocation from India and Nepal

The host governments of India and Nepal have been generous with their treatment of the Tibetan emigres. Initially, both countries offered relocation services to the Tibetans, and India allocated large land areas for settlement. Tibetans still receive some aid under the Indian government's refugee program but the outpourings of assistance from other governments and many nongovernmental organizations have long been abandoned.

A critical situation is in place where settlements established some 30 years ago are attempting to provide for more than twice as many people as were planned. Natural resources are terribly overburdened and at risk of being irreversibly depleted.

Educational resources -- libraries, instructional materials, teachers -- are unable to match growing demands, and opportunities for higher education are rare and insufficient to meet the talents of the younger Tibetans.

Health care -- medicine and pharmaceuticals -- is in a state of chronic undersupply. The cost of physician services lies beyond the reach of most Tibetan communities. The incidence of tuberculosis is high and spreads quickly in the overcrowded and unsanitary conditions in which many Tibetans live.

The majority of those now leaving Tibet are young men who communities have pooled money to provide for their flight. They are seen as most able to withstand the arduous journey to freedom. Many of them will enter monasteries in India which are critically

overcrowded and without means to expand.²

In Nepal, new arrivals from Tibet are kept in safe-houses away from public scrutiny. In a widely publicized case last year, the collusion of the Nepalese government with the Chinese in forced repatriation resulted in imprisonment and torture for several Tibetans. Political limitations aimed at Tibetans (and other minorities) restrict the acquisition of property, and mobility. These conditions combine to make settlement in Nepal precarious.

Budgetary Considerations

The government cost figure for refugee resettlement per capita is approximately \$7000. This statistical average includes travel, welfare, medical assistance, education, and volag resettlement services. Our cost estimate is much lower, approximating \$525 per person, which is the U.S. government figure for volag resettlement services only. The total cost projection, of the one-time quota for 1000 Tibetans is \$525,000. It is broken down into three one year allocations, for the fiscal years of 1990, 1991, and 1992. The cost per year would be \$175,000.³

These cost projections are based on several factors. One factor is the cost of welfare: of the 480 Tibetans currently living in the U.S., none are dependent on public assistance. Resettled Tibetans throughout the world are known for their hard work and highly successful entrepreneurial spirit. We think it is therefore reasonable to expect that the Tibetan reliance on welfare would be far below the statistical average.

Another important factor is the criteria of selection for filling the Tibetan quota. The 1000 Tibetans would be chosen according to specifications related to the likelihood of their successful resettlement in the United States. The criteria could include such factors as age, health, education, professional or vocational skills, community service, and English fluency. The application of such criteria would help to significantly reduce the costs of education, social services and medical assistance.

In order to make appropriate choices for the Tibetan U.S. quota, it would be most helpful to have a central authority for selecting Tibetan emigres and coordinating their departures from India. The obvious choice is Tibetan Council of Home Affairs⁴. Home Affairs is the resettlement agency of the Central Tibetan Administration in Dharamasala, India. It has a 30 year track record, effectively coordinating the international resettlements of over 100,000 refugees. In selecting individuals, Home Affairs can work with the Assembly of Tibetan Deputies, duly recognized Tibetan settlement leaders,

² Before Chinese occupation, one third of the Tibetan male population were Buddhist monks. More than 6,000 monasteries were destroyed in the years following.

³ Over a 3 year period, the \$525,000 for resettlement services is a bare bones figure, depending on supplementary income from private sources. Our Project proposes to raise \$114,700 for a privately financed health plan for the 1000 Tibetans; and \$250,000 for special economic, educational and social service programs.

⁴ If an intermediate U.S. agency is required for U.S.-India coordination, then U.S. based organizations such as the Tibet Fund -- already doing educational programs with the U.S. Information Agency -- or Tibet House, Catholic Charities, or Church World Service, could be asked to work on location with the Tibetan authorities in India.

handicraft centers, religious, educational, and cultural institutions. Such carefully chosen people would have the best chance of building a reliable economic base for the Tibetan community in America.

Finally, we do not expect that the travel of 1000 Tibetans to the United States to be a cost to the U.S. government. The International Catholic Migration Commission can put-up the funds for the air tickets. Once the Tibetan newcomers are settled in the U.S., they have 3 years at low interest to payback I.C.M.C.

The one cost factor that we are asking the government to make provision for is the cost of volag resettlement services, of \$650 per capita. Resettlement efforts would be organized around a central office called The Tibet U.S. Resettlement Project. This office will act as the base of a Tibetan mutual assistance association, working in conjunction with a major U.S. resettlement agency. Adequate financing for these services would be a key factor in the effective management and implementation of the quota.

Catholic Charities and Lutheran Refugee and Immigration Services have been advisors in the planning of the Tibet U.S. Resettlement Project since its inception in March of 1989. Catholic Charities, through affiliation with the U.S. Catholic Conference, constitutes the largest resettlement organization in the United States. Lutheran Refugee and Immigration Services has a great deal of experience in cluster resettlements, which we think is quite appropriate for the Tibetan community. These two agencies alone can contribute a significant infrastructure for meeting the requirements of our task.

A plan for resettling the 1000 Tibetans under the provisions of the quota has been presented in detail (see Proposal). To establish a secure economic base as soon as possible, the office of the Tibet U.S. Resettlement Project would assist Tibetan newcomers by performing the following functions:

- 1) It will negotiate co-sponsorship agreements, with affidavits of support, on a case-by-case basis, to insure in advance support for every Tibetan under the provisions of quota.
- 2) It will coordinate resettlement services, working with co-sponsors and other sympathetic groups to assist the Tibetan newcomer, making provision for job development, food, clothing & shelter, and community orientation. This will be done for a limited duration only (3 months on the average), and is intended to make the new U.S. resident self sufficient as soon as possible.
- 3) To provide these services, the Project will mobilize the support of a consortium of sympathetic groups. Prominent among these are the two U.S. based agencies of the Tibet Administration in Dharamsala: the Office of the Special Representative of H.H. the Dalai Lama in Washington, D.C. and the Office of Tibet in New York City.

A primary source of co-sponsorship support would most likely be provided by the 480 Tibetans who are already U.S. citizens. Moreover, Tibetan Buddhist groups in the Boston area--such as the Maha Shiddha Nyigma Center, Sakya Center, and the Kuru Kulla Buddhist Center for the Preservation of Mahayana Tradition--can help organize a network of supportive community contacts. Other Boston Buddhist groups, like Cultural Survival-Tibet Project, Wisdom Publications, the Boston U.S. Tibet Committee, Cambridge Insight Meditation Society, Friends of Seva, and the Harvard Buddhist Society could join forces with the New York Tibet Fund and Tibetan Association Inc. to comprise an

important component of the Tibet U.S. resettlement coalition.

4) The Project will also work with various religious organizations, such as churches, synagogues, and other religious communities for obtaining Tibet quota sponsorships. Organizations with previous Tibetan experience--such as American Jewish World Service, Catholic World Relief, and Church World Service--would be invited to bring their special knowledge and good will to the venture.

5) The Commonwealth of Massachusetts can also play a special role. We hope to resettle as much as a third of the 1000 Tibet quota in the State of Massachusetts. Charles Costa, Assistant Commissioner of the Massachusetts Department of Food and Agriculture, has offered us assistance in leasing several hundred acres of state land for a Tibetan agricultural/industrial cooperative. Anthony Harnett, the owner of "Bread and Circus," a Massachusetts chain of health food supermarkets, is an advisor to the Project. He thinks we can find a niche in the local Massachusetts economy with a blend of small business development and the farming of organic vegetables. Local business people in support of the Tibet U.S. Resettlement Project include Judith Gillon, of the New England Small Farm Institute; Bob Swan, of the Southern Berkshire Community Land Trust; and Chuck Matthei, of the Institute for Community Economics. Given approval of the Tibet quota, other state agencies, such as the Massachusetts Industrial Finance Authority, could also contribute technical assistance and expertise.

The Tibet U.S. Resettlement Project is presently located at the Walker Center for Ecumenical Exchange, in Newton, Massachusetts. Responding to the June 4th massacre in Tiananmen Square, the Walker Center has provided Chinese students in America with an organizational base for supporting democracy and human rights in China. Our Tibet quota is another way of helping the same cause, by giving refuge, or safe haven, to Tibetan Buddhist people who have long suffered human rights abuses under 40 years of Chinese Communist military occupation.

The Project Advisory Group in part includes the following: Theodore D. Mann, Mayor of the City of Newton; Rodney Barker, Newton Town Alderman and Immigration Lawyer; Mary Diaz, Director for Immigration and Refugee Services at Boston Catholic Charities; Joyce Simon, Coordinator of Lutheran and Immigrant Services for the Northeast; Don Scott, Montagnard resettlement specialist; Gordon Schultz, Executive Director of the Walker Center; Warren Smith, Director of Cultural Survival--Tibet Project; Tenzin Tethong, Special Representative of H.H. the Dalai Lama. The Project Coordinator is Edward J. Bednar (see Proposal).3

DRAFT

**THE USE OF THE CLUSTER COMMUNITY MODEL
FOR TIBET U.S. RESETTLEMENT**

PRELIMINARY REPORT

**AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES**

November 2, 1989

Prepared for:

**The Kashag and The Council for Home Affairs
of His Holiness the Dalai Lama
Central Tibetan Secretariat, Gangchen Kyishong
Dharamsala-176215 (H.P.) India**

Submitted by:

**Edward J. Bednar
Tibet U.S. Resettlement Project
Walker Center, 144 Hancock Street
Auburndale, MA 02166
Phone: (617) 969-3919**

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The Tibet U.S. Resettlement Project is proposing to transplant in the United States a resettled community of 1000 Tibetans. Over a four year period, it would develop a network of cluster settlements together with resources, opportunities, and collaborative relationships for mutual assistance for the survival and self determination of the Tibetan way of life.

Because of their position at the crossroads of world cultures, Tibetans have long had experience in the process of cross-cultural exchange and the translation of world views. The two-headed bird is a traditional motif in Tibetan Thangka painting, symbolizing the early great translators who, adept in two languages, laid the foundation for Tibetan Buddhist culture. The U.S. based Tibet Fund chose it as a symbol of inspiration for its task of preserving this unique culture even outside of its native Tibet. Our Tibet U.S. Resettlement Project has precisely the same bi-cultural thrust: to transplant here the seeds of Tibetan community while at the same time cultivating them in accordance with the new circumstances of modern life in the United States of America.

This report will describe the work of two major cluster community resettlements: The Khmer Cluster Resettlement Project (Cambodian), and Amerasian Resettlement Program (Vietnamese). In the past ten years in the United States, the Khmer and Amerasian programs have accumulated a wealth of experience in creating networks of community clusters as a means of resettling over 32,000 Indo-Chinese. We would like to begin our Tibetan project with an idea of what can be learned from their experience, and how it can be applied in a community process of resettlement that reflects the unique character of Tibetan Buddhist culture.

The experience of Tibetans in exile and the settlements which they have established can also provide useful information for planning settlements here in the United States. During 30 years of exile, Tibetan refugees around the world have created a highly developed infrastructure of traditional yet modern institutions under the leadership of His Holiness the Dalai Lama at the Central Tibetan Administration in Dharamsala, India. Around this spiritual and temporal base have been built 46 settlements of over 115,000 Tibetans in India and Nepal, as well as many others throughout the world.

The coordinators of the Tibet U.S. Resettlement Project are likewise proposing to work in close collaboration with these Tibetan central planning agencies. The 1989 Report of The Tibet Economic Development Project, under the auspices of the Tibetan Central Administration, overviews Tibetan settlements in terms of

a comprehensive plan for the economic viability of the Tibetan exilic community as a whole. In our report, we will try to place the Tibet U.S. Resettlement initiative within this context, coordinating our approach with the methods and objectives of the Tibetan Planning Council in Dharamsala.

This report will also describe the current status of efforts in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts to lay the foundation for the Tibet U.S. cluster settlement project. Among sympathetic local groups is The Institute for Community Economics (I.C.E.) in Greenfield Massachusetts. Building on Gandhi's constructive program for cooperative community development, the Institute has been organizing land trusts, revolving loan funds, affordable cooperative housing, and worker owned businesses. Working with Richard Weingarten of the Tibet Fund, I.C.E. staff have recently helped to train Tibetan leaders in the use of community economics for the Tibetan settlements of India and Nepal.

In the last section of this report, we would like to explore how organizations like the I.C.E. can assist us in the development of Tibetan community economic ventures here in the State of Massachusetts and at other cluster sites in the United States.

I. Definition of Clustering

The term "clustering" in the context of immigration has been defined as "resettling members of the same ethnic group in close proximity to one another and in conjunction with uniting friends and family." The concept of newly arrived immigrants resettling in clusters of community is not new -- people coming from the same place to live near each other and help each other to survive in unfamiliar circumstances is an old process. Generations of immigrant cluster communities can be seen as a natural occurrence throughout the history of U.S. immigration.

What is new, in the the case of the Khmer and Amerasian resettlements, is the degree to which federal, state, and voluntary organizations have engaged in coordinated planning in order to support and enhance the natural clustering process.

In planning a cluster project, resettlement agencies begin with a definition of the parameters which constitute an appropriate geographic distribution for a cluster population within a locality. The area of the cluster site on the average is defined by a radius of 25 miles, but this varies from site to site. In general, the idea is to allow for daily contact between people within reasonable limits of travel. The size of the cluster also varies. The Amerasian project said the minimum cluster size was 100 people. The Cambodian project defined a cluster size of 300-1000 people. Some of these larger numbers were further broken down to "mini-clusters" of 50, consisting of several large families.

The main point of a clustered population is to build up a sufficient geographic concentration to foster social interaction and to make accessible a central location for resettlement related services. The aim of reaching a "glue-point" of social cohesiveness is accomplished by a combination of factors.

On each site, there is the office of a voluntary agency or "volag" to coordinate resettlement services. For example, two of the major volags in the United States are Catholic Charities and Lutheran Services. These are national organizations with regional affiliates around the country. Each cluster site is organized around one such office. The job of the local volag is to meet the newcomer at the airport and provide core resettlement services for their first 90 days in the United States. These core services include: pre-arrival coordination with the country of origin, case management upon arrival, counselling, community orientation, health care, education, housing, job development, English as a second language. Referral to co-sponsors and other sources of support in the cluster network can also be an important function of the volag office.

Working on the cluster site in association with the volag is the ethnically oriented mutual assistance association (MAA). These can be organizations specifically formed for the purpose of participating in a particular resettlement project, or they may be previously existing agencies with a history of representing in the U.S. the interest of the resettled nationality. In either case, the leadership of MAAs ideally consists of those individuals from the newcomer's country of origin who are already successfully resettled. Their function is to assist newcomers in efforts to adapt socially and economically to their new environment. They are advocates for the cluster community, serving to foster social cohesion, the maintenance of culture, and a sense of common identity.

The purpose of MAAs, however, is not to develop ghettos or isolated little groups, but exactly the opposite. The purpose is to serve as an impetus for acculturation by means of organized selective involvement with the mainstream of American society. Over the years, older established MAAs have taken on an important practical function: promoting cooperation in economic activities by business plans, capitalization programs and leveraging resources for enterprise development. In this way the MAA can help the cluster site to evolve into a workshop for developing marketable job skills, organizational abilities, and income generating projects. It can thus serve as a mechanism for the productive involvement of newcomers in the mainstream U.S. economic process.

II. A National Network for Cluster Communities

Various combinations of the volag-MAA partnership comprise the organizational base at the cluster site. But these site-related

functions occur within a larger supportive structure on the state and federal level. The national agencies which helped to provide an overall framework for the Khmer and Amerasian cluster programs can also serve as a valuable resource for our U.S. Tibetan cluster initiative.

The prime mover behind the Khmer and Amerasian cluster projects is the Office of Refugee Resettlement (ORR), which is a division of the U.S. Federal Department of Health and Human Services. The initial conceptualization of the cluster approach came as a response by ORR to the Refugee Reform Act of 1980. ORR was to provide enhanced social services as well as a coherent overall resettlement plan in order to cope with an anticipated influx of Indo-Chinese refugees during the 1980s.

The main idea of clustering was to avoid overcrowding in refugee impacted areas, instead resettling newcomers in alternative cluster sites with enhanced social services and community support. The support was important, especially for the Khmer population, which had a high proportion of free cases, or individuals without close relatives in the U.S. The cluster sites were intended to serve as a "magnet" for holding people together, reducing the disruptive effects of secondary migrations.

ORR implemented its overall design with the assistance of the U.S. Department of State and the American Council of Voluntary Agencies (~~now~~ ^{now} called Interaction). Congressional funding to ORR for refugee resettlement services in the early 1980s was approximately \$600 per capita. ORR subcontracted with various voluntary agencies and MAAs to organize local cluster sites under the direction of Interaction. Volags and MAAs in turn coordinated with local city and state agencies in their efforts to provide case management, housing, health care, employment, education, case assistance, and social services. The terms of these arrangements were formalized by a "Cooperative Agreement" ~~contract~~ ^{interaction formerly called} between ORR and Interaction. Interaction would then review proposals from various volags for the implementation of the ~~contract~~ ^{agreement} in their respective cluster site locations. ^{annual}

It is important to note that while the Cambodians entered the U.S. as refugees, the Amerasians did not. The Amerasians were admitted to the U.S. as immigrants, but they were given the same range of benefits as is normally accorded persons with refugee status. The U.S. Government also used the same overall structure of cluster network affiliates in the resettlement of the Amerasian immigrant population. This is important because in both of these cases the cluster resettlement plan had the benefits of a refugee program that was nationally funded and coordinated by ORR. A similar approach, with ORR playing a key role on the national level, could be utilized for implementing the provisions of our proposed "Tibetan Immigration Act of 1989."

III THE FINANCING OF THE TIBET U.S. CLUSTER PLAN

Because of the fiscal constraints which are anticipated by the U.S. government in the early 1990s, the Tibet U.S. cluster plan will probably have to develop modifications of the above mentioned state and federally financed structure. While hoping to retain ORR and Interaction in their respective clearinghouse capacities, it may no longer be politically feasible to support these functions with the same level of Congressional appropriations. However, some support for the Tibetan initiative could be expected, since the 1988-89 Amerasian Cluster Project did receive substantial Congressional funding for the resettlement services of its special immigrant population.

The question of Congressional funding will not be fully resolved until the Tibet Immigration Bill is filed and goes through the whole legislative process. But because of the current mood of fiscal austerity, it is necessary therefore to explore alternative or complementary financial strategies.

"The Private Sector Initiative" (PSI) suggests an alternative fiscal approach, proposed by the Office of the U.S. Coordinator for Refugee Affairs at the State Department. PSI would use essentially the same type of cluster network as set forth above, but with a different means of fiscal support and management. All costs of resettlement would have to be obtained and administered under the auspices of a private sponsorship organization. Although PSI beneficiaries would be potentially eligible for government services, the Office for Refugee Affairs is resolved to work with state and local governments to help minimize the use of such public assistance programs.

To qualify for the PSI program, the sponsoring organization, i.e. the Tibet U.S. Resettlement Project, must submit a proposal which shows in detail who the proposer is, what experience the organization has in helping refugees, who it wants to help and why, and how it intends to perform and pay for the various functions of a sound resettlement program. Our proposals -- called The Tibet U.S. Resettlement Project; Request for a Special 1-Time Immigration Quota; and The Tibetan Immigration Act of 1989 -- answer these questions in detail and are available upon request. These documents should provide the required evidence that it would be unlikely that any level of government would have to step in with public funds to assist Tibetan PSI beneficiaries, for two years after entry to the United States.

The Tibet U.S. Resettlement Project might, for many reasons, prove to be an excellent candidate for the Private Sector Initiative program. Certain criteria of the PSI program seem well suited for the Tibetans. P.S.I. beneficiaries should be:

- A people 1) of special humanitarian concern to the U.S.; 2) in

need of resettlement; 3) with popular appeal and strong identity in the public mind, so as to elicit sponsorship offers;

- With demonstrated ability to mobilize private resources, such as companies and corporations, ethnic associations, civic associations, foundations, educational institutions, religious organizations, and the support of other voluntary organizations.

- Possessing institutional mechanisms for orderly departure from the country of first asylum; having the ability to process adequate forms and case records for admission decisions of Immigration officers, and, after favorable decisions, making arrangements for approved PSI beneficiaries to physically enter the U.S.

- Having the administrative capacity in the U.S. for pre-arrival planning: sponsorship development and orientation, sponsor matchups with relatives and nonrelatives, counselling and case management, and consultation with states and local communities where newcomers are to be placed.

- Able to make provision for health care and medical insurance for two years, if the person is not able to pay during that period; also providing an affidavit of support, insuring financial security for two years, or until the person is self-supporting, whatever comes first.

- With the capability for employment and training: employment assessment, vocational training and recertification, job development, placement, and follow-up; a good "business plan" that people will want to invest in, so that PSI beneficiaries will not go on public assistance.

- Finally, able to provide for the usual range of resettlement services, such as decent housing, food, clothing, and other basic necessities, until the newcomer is self supporting in these areas.

The Tibet U.S. Resettlement Project, in association with local sponsors, recognizes the importance of PSI criteria and is prepared to submit a plan and demonstrate its willingness to mobilize private resources for satisfying all such conditions. However, it should be noted that there may be need for some public funds to be made available to help the project. For instance, we may need funds for staff work and administrative assistance to advance the program further and to support elements of the private sector in setting up and carrying out the program; for start-up, pump-priming money to catalyze private organizations and actors in initiating their efforts; and perhaps matching grants to provide incentives for continuing them; for covering part of the costs of big items like medical care; and for the use of certain mainstream services by newcomers under the PSI program. Given such fiscal needs, we are nevertheless confident that we have the makings of a workable private-public partnership for meeting all the financial

challenges.

IV. SOME DIFFICULTIES WITH THE PRIVATE SECTOR APPROACH

The main problem, from our point of view, is the definition of refugees as the beneficiaries of the PSI program. Current PSI documentation requires individual applicants to prove persecution for registration and classification as a refugee. There has been considerable discussion on this question -- whether the selection of candidates for private sponsorship should be drawn exclusively from the definitions and eligibility criteria of current refugee admissions policy, or whether new standards and categories should be created beyond current parameters. If PSI adopts policies in favor of the current refugee admissions criteria, we anticipate problems in the application process. Given the geopolitical circumstances of Tibetan refugees in India and Nepal, our presentation of PSI refugee petitions would most likely prove to be complex, controversial, and perhaps ultimately nonproductive. Tibetan participation in PSI would thus probably be contingent on policies in favor of the latter alternative, namely, that of PSI creating additional immigration categories for persons needing resettlement who do not meet, or chose not to apply, according to the present INS refugee definition.

The other major problem with PSI is the widely held view among American volags that private sponsorship ventures would discriminate in favor of those U.S. ethnic groups which have the wealth and power to create their own resettlement operations. It is precisely because of this objection that we have suggested PSI as a fall-back position, only if congressional appropriations are not forthcoming. On the other hand, if a small group like the Tibetans, who are not wealthy and who have only 480 people residing in the United States, are able to successfully organize their own PSI cluster program, then perhaps objections about the discriminatory nature of the PSI program might to some degree be mitigated, and new avenues opened-up for ethnic participation in American society.

V. STEPS TOWARDS CREATING TIBETAN U.S. CLUSTER SETTLEMENTS

1) Establishing a Base of Operations:

Like its Indo-Chinese predecessors, the Tibet U.S. Resettlement Project is proposing to draw upon a partnership of MAAs and volags for developing its cluster sites. The difference is that the Tibet project will be combining volag and MAA capabilities within its own corporate structure. This will be accomplished by a Board of Directors with substantial representation of both Tibetan MAA and American volag leadership.

The immigration directors of two American volags, Mary Diaz of Boston Catholic Charities and Joyce Simon of the New England

Lutheran Service Association, have been involved with the planning of the Tibet U.S. Resettlement Project since April of 1989. As volag representatives on our ad hoc advisory group, they bring considerable experience of both in-house case management and small group sponsorship models to the Tibetan cluster planning process. Through regular consultations with Tenzin Tethong and Rinchen Dharlo, Special Representatives of H.H. the Dalai Lama, the advisory group has been laying the foundation for the close collaboration between American volags and Tibetan MAA colleagues.

For the purposes of Tibetan U.S. resettlement, it will probably not be difficult for us to mobilize a network of Tibetan MAAs. There are already a number of strong Tibetan organizations in the United States which for several decades have been representing the interests of the international Tibetan community. Prominent among them are the International Campaign for Tibet in Washington D.C.; the Office of Tibet and the Tibet Fund in New York City. These agencies have well established ties with the Tibetan Central Administration of Dharamsala, as well as good relations with Tibetan sympathizers throughout the United States. They can form the nucleus of the Tibetan MAA network and be well represented on the Board of the Tibet U.S. Resettlement Project.



**THE TIBET U.S. RESETTLEMENT PROJECT
A CLUSTER MODEL
FOR THE TRANSPLANTATION OF TIBETAN COMMUNITIES**

November 30, 1989

Submitted by Edward J. Bednar, Project Coordinator, with
Rinchen Dharlo, Representative of H.H. the Dalai Lama

I. THE OBJECTIVE: Drawing upon refugee camps in India and Nepal, the Tibet U.S. Resettlement Project is proposing to transplant in the United States a resettled group of 1000 Tibetans. Over a four year period, it would develop a network of cluster communities, together with resources, opportunities, and collaborative relationships, for mutual assistance in the survival and self determination of the Tibetan way of life.

II. THE NEED: Tibetan culture, with its fierce commitment to spiritual values and nonviolence, is in grave danger of being destroyed. The U.N. Jurists as early as 1959 found in Chinese attempts to eradicate Tibetan Buddhism conclusive evidence of "genocide." Now 30 years later, a U.S. Senate Resolution on Human Rights in Tibet, submitted on March 15, 1989 by Senators Pell, Helms, Murkowski, Kennedy, Kerry, Simon and Moynihan, states: "For the past four decades, repressive actions by the Chinese have resulted in the deaths of as many as 1.2 million Tibetans, the destruction of a large part of Tibet's unique cultural heritage, the flight of the Dalai Lama and tens of thousands of Tibetans from their homeland." Because of the advanced Sinicization of the Tibetan homeland, it is a matter of urgent humanitarian concern that special provisions be made outside of Tibet for the survival of the Tibetan way of life as a viable cultural entity.

Now the violent suppression of the Chinese democracy movement, followed by the award of the Nobel Peace Prize to the Dalai Lama, have dramatically highlighted the urgency of the Tibetan situation. For American people looking for a way to help, the Tibet U.S. Resettlement Project offers a timely, constructive plan of action.

III. THE PROGRAM: 1000 Tibetans would be resettled in 3-5 cluster sites around the U.S. The cluster site would vary in size from 100-300 people, with a radius of approximately 25 miles. The purpose would be to build-up sufficient geographic concentration for Tibetan American mutual assistance, cultural identity, and accessibility to resettlement services. The cluster network plan, over a 4 year period, would be implemented by project affiliated agencies -- like Lutheran Services or Catholic Charities -- in association with the Dalai Lama's Tibetan Central Administration in Dharamsala, India.

Project documentation includes four papers available on request:

- 1) The Tibet Project proposal includes a timeline and budget.
- 2) Tibetan Quota Request is a briefing paper for Senator Kennedy's immigration subcommittee.
- 3) The Tibetan Immigration Act of 1990 is a bill we recently filed in Congress.
- 4) The Cluster Community Model describes the mechanics of our Tibet U.S. resettlement plan.

For copies write: Edward J. Bednar, Tibet Project Coordinator, Walker Center, 144 Hancock St, Newton, MA 02166. Phone: (617) 969-3919 or (617) 332-1411.



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THE OFFICE OF TIBET

107 EAST 31st STREET, NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10016

November 29, 1989

Dear Colleague

As U.S. Representative of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, I am writing you regarding the Tibet U.S. Resettlement Project. This project is proposing a special one-time immigration quota for the immediate entry of 1,000 Tibetans to the United States. I am recommending the project to you in association with my colleague, Mr. Edward J. Bednar, who is the Project Coordinator.

The reasons for bringing 1,000 Tibetans to the United States are of vital importance to the future of the Tibetan people. The most important is that 1,000 Tibetans in the United States would be an insurance policy for the future safety and security of the Tibetan people who are still living today in Tibet. It is a matter of hard geopolitical reality that six million Tibetans, living next to one billion Chinese, are easy prey to the overwhelming military force and political domination of their giant Chinese neighbor. Given this situation with the Chinese, in order to survive, His Holiness the Dalai Lama has often said that Tibetans in exile must be world citizens; they must have the help, the leverage, the good will and the support of the world community.

One thousand Tibetans in the United States would be 1,000 ambassadors for the Tibetan cause. With rights of free speech and political expression, in a position of high visibility and access to world opinion, Tibetans in America can freely speak out in defense of their fellow countrymen, who are not free to speak for themselves.

Over the past 30 years, only 480 Tibetans have been able to establish residence in the United States. Our proposed migration of 1,000 Tibetans, over a period of three years, would triple the U.S. Tibetan population. Although not a large group in terms of U.S. immigration numbers, such an increase could make a significant difference in terms of Tibetan American cultural identity, mutual support, and the development of Tibetan American communities. In our proposal, we have made plans to organize the U.S. resettlement in cluster networks, in order to maximize the process of building Tibetan community cohesion.

The resettled in the United States can play a major role in providing financial assistance for 115,000 Tibetan refugees in India and Nepal.

THE OFFICE OF TIBET

Despite the best efforts of host governments, growing problems in Tibetan refugee settlements --overpopulation, adverse agricultural conditions, a lack of educational and economic opportunities -- require a substantial increase for outside help. Contributions of Tibetans in Western countries currently make-up over a quarter of the annual budget of the Tibetan Central Administration in Dharamsala. One Thousand Tibetans in the United States can help financially to increase these badly needed international relief efforts.

The Central Tibetan Administration, in the past 30 years of exile, has been the focal point of an international community of resettled Tibetans throughout the world. Tibetans in America, with special opportunities for social, economic, educational, and political advancement, can be a source of valuable leadership for the whole international Tibetan community. And in the process, Tibetan Americans, with their strong commitment to hard work, spiritual values, and a Buddhist nonviolent way of life, can also make a useful contribution to the future growth of religious pluralism in this country.

The Tibet U.S. Resettlement Project has the full approval of Kashag, the head of Central Tibetan Administration, as well as the cooperation of the Council for Home Affairs, the official resettlement agency of the Central Tibetan Administration. Over the past 30 years, Home Affairs has resettled over 90,000 Tibetans in Nepal, India and throughout the world. It is well suited to manage the Dharamsala coordination of the Tibet U.S. resettlement effort.

Mr. Bednar has contacted you for assistance with this initiative. I appreciate any help you can give to advance its implementation. If you have any questions about the Tibet U.S. Resettlement Project, please call or write me at the above address.

Very truly yours,



Rinchen Dharlo
REPRESENTATIVE OF
HIS HOLINESS THE DALAI LAMA