

According to the March 21 memorandum, published by *Folha de São Paulo* on April 10, "in the view of the Western countries, the choice of a Soviet launcher with technology transfer, would be interpreted as a demonstration of Brazil's wish to develop a ballistic missile capability outside the framework of international coordination. The Soviet option would leave the Western countries extremely sensitized, and could cause political problems and obstacles to the absorption of point technologies, including in other areas." The memorandum also warns that "the launching of the Kosmos [satellite] at Alcantara would bring Soviet military presence onto national territory, on the eve of President Collor's visit to the United States of America."

Indian enclaves in the Amazon

In addition to the objective of dismantling point technology linked to the programs of the Armed Forces, the Anglo-American establishment has designed a strategy for carving "Indian enclaves" out of the rich Amazon region. The Anglo-French proposals for creating a Kurdish enclave in northern Iraq establishes the precedent in international law so that, in the near future, other such regions of "limited sovereignty" can be imposed under various pretexts, ranging from "humanitarian" and "population reduction" to "war on drugs" or "preservation of the environment." The analogy of the Kurdish problem to Brazil was already drawn by Soviet Ambassador to the U.N. Yuli Vorontsov, in his comment on the Anglo-French proposal. The Anglo-American strategy also includes the creation of military enclaves in such Ibero-American countries as Peru and Bolivia, under the pretext of fighting drugs.

In response to this multifaceted "conspiracy against the Armed Forces," a movement in favor of a "third way" has arisen which simultaneously rejects both "Marxist collectivism as well as liberal capitalism." Instead, it urges the "Brazilian model of industrial capitalism," as expressed in the pages of the newspaper *Ombro a Ombro*, the unofficial mouthpiece of Brazil's military.

In its April editorial, *Ombro a Ombro* declares that since its founding it has always proposed that the country "adopt a 'third way,' to reconcile scientific, technological and industrial development with social justice. This is proclaimed by the Social Doctrine of the Catholic Church, begun exactly 100 years ago with Pope Leo XIII's encyclical *Rerum novarum*, which prophetically warns humanity of the dangers of Marxism at the same time that it condemns the 'devouring usury' of liberal capitalism, that continues to this day. . . ."

The editorial concludes, "When we speak of a 'third way,' we are speaking of a long road to travel in the direction of a 'Brazilian model of industrial capitalism.' The country cannot remain at the mercy of pressures stemming from selfish national and international interests. Hunger, lack of housing, water, sewage, plumbing, or energy cannot be resolved by demagoguery, but with specific policies."

Bush diplomacy means more Tibetan deaths

by Mary Burdman

President George Bush's latest piece of new world order diplomacy, his sudden and unexpected meeting with the Dalai Lama of Tibet on April 16, is as badly calculated as its precursors.

President Bush has not had a word to say to date on the brutal 40 years of occupation by the People's Republic of China, and himself has denounced the Dalai Lama's "callous attitude" for refusing to cooperate with the People's Republic of China. To underline the insult to Beijing, George Bush met with the Dalai Lama the day after he announced he was sending U.S. troops into northern Iraq to oversee camps for the Kurdish refugees, an action taken outside any U.N. authority. China balked at supporting the proposal for "enclaves" for the Kurds, because of the obvious threat implied to national sovereignty and China's own perceived security.

The worst immediate repercussions of the Bush-Dalai Lama meeting will be suffered by the Tibetans themselves. The situation in Tibet is tenser than ever. The Chinese have announced their intention of "celebrating" the 40th anniversary of their formal annexation of Tibet on May 23, which will provoke Tibetan outrage despite the repression. As early as April 24, the official Beijing news agency Xinhua reported there had been "riots" in the Tibetan capital of Lhasa and 140 arrests in recent weeks. The meeting with the Dalai Lama can only provoke a heavier crackdown, especially given the Central Intelligence Agency's operations in Tibet in the 1960s.

Chinese insecurity

China's distrust of Bush's new world order stems from the security problems it faces from the restive populations in the strategic regions of Tibet and Xinjiang, formerly East Turkestan, both now firmly ruled from Beijing. Any unilateral superpower interference that comes too close to home, would be considered most dangerous by the Chinese.

"I am afraid that a new world order led by one country or a group of countries cannot provide reliable guarantees for the peaceful development of the world," Prime Minister Li

Peng stated at an April 9 press conference. "The Chinese government maintains that one of the most important principles for the establishment of the new economic and political world order is non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries. All countries, big or small, strong or weak, rich or poor, are equal members of the international community. Their rights should be respected."

When the question of Kurdish "safe havens" was raised at the United Nations on April 5, China's ambassador Li Daoyu called the issue one of "great complexity. . . . The internal affairs of a country are involved, and . . . according to the U.N. Charter the Security Council should not consider and take action on questions involving internal affairs of any state."

Just two weeks before the meeting, the Chinese took out an advertisement in U.S. newspapers saying that any meeting with the Dalai Lama would be considered an offense. Official White House spokesman Marlin Fitzwater called the Dalai Lama a "religious leader of his country"—the first time the U.S. government has acknowledged Tibet as a country in 40 years. Tibet could become "a second Kuwait," a BBC commentator noted in reporting on Fitzwater's formulation.

Tibet a captive nation

The reality is that the destruction of Tibet over 40 years has been one of the worst crimes against humanity of the 20th century. In the 40 years of Chinese rule, some 1.25 million Tibetans out of a population of 6 million have been either murdered or have died from hunger. Mass immigration of Chinese has made the Tibetans a minority in their own country, and unemployment among Tibetans in the Lhasa Valley is 70%, as jobs—as well as every other economic advantage—go to the Chinese who have relocated into the area.

According to reports by visitors to Lhasa, the entire ancient center of the city is being demolished by the Chinese, ostensibly as part of a "rebuilding" project. The area around the Johang temple, the most sacred religious shrine in Tibet, is being torn up, disrupting pilgrims and destroying what has also been the staging ground of most of the nationalist demonstrations in Lhasa.

Tibet, the "roof of the world" and at the heart of Central Asia, has great strategic importance: It overlooks the Indian subcontinent and the western edges of Southeast Asia. Beijing has at least 300,000 troops stationed there, with one-third its nuclear arsenal.

In the recent months, the Chinese have been publishing article after article in the official press attempting to "prove" their right to rule Tibet and denouncing the Dalai Lama for attempting to "split China." Beijing's Hong Kong outlet *Wen Wei Bao* wrote March 30 that the Dalai Lama was "begging for foreign intervention in China's internal affairs as well as support for him to set up an independent country in the wake of Western support for Lithuanian independence."

Beijing version of history

The more interesting of these articles details Beijing's view of the recent history of Tibet, with strong condemnation of both British imperialist "encirclement" of Tibet and later interference by the U.S. CIA. A lengthy Xinhua release on April 2 accused Britain of continuing to interfere in Tibet after World War II. Then, "when the civil war which was launched by the Kuomintang with the support of the U.S.A. suffered a debacle," Xinhua continued, "the U.S.A. began to poke its nose into Tibet." But the poking did not go very far. When, as it became apparent that the Chinese were going to invade in late 1949, the Tibetans sent "goodwill missions" to the U.S. and Britain, China announced that any nation which received such a mission "will be considered as a country which is hostile toward" the People's Republic of China. British and U.S. resolve crumbled; both governments cabled the Tibetan government to recall the delegations. The Dalai Lama confirmed this pathetic account in his autobiography.

Lilley's strange diplomacy

U.S. ambassador to China James Lilley, a crony of George Bush, was summoned to the Chinese Foreign Ministry April 18 to be told that China regards George Bush's meeting with the Dalai Lama a "gross interference" in Chinese affairs. The incident would harm bilateral relations, the Chinese Deputy Foreign Secretary said, because it meant the United States was giving "encouragement and support of the Dalai Lama, who is trying to split China."

Lilley himself was in Tibet on March 30, making a visit the United States wanted to keep under wraps, but which the Chinese advertised on both Tibetan television and in a Xinhua report. Lilley had a "broad range of discussions" with Gyaincain Norbu, chairman of the Tibet Autonomous Region, Tibet television reported, including on religion, human rights, and the Dalai Lama. On April 5, Xinhua reported that during his recent visit to Tibet, "Lilley said some U.S. people are very concerned over the Tibet issue, but do not understand it. The aim of his Tibet trip was to increase understanding of the reality of Tibet."

But, Washington sources report, the State Department, nonplussed by the Xinhua report, denounced it as "about as accurate as the Iraqi transcript of April Glaspie's statement"—which, according to many international accounts, was actually far more accurate than Glaspie's own account of matters.

The U.S. was "quite annoyed" at the "upbeat" Xinhua report, sources said, and "debunked" them. What Lilley did not want to acknowledge, the sources said, is that although economic conditions and religious freedom had apparently improved from his last visit 14 years ago, there were complaints about Chinese rule and nationalism was thriving. Despite the lifting of martial law, there was a heavy military deployment in Lhasa at night and in the early morning.