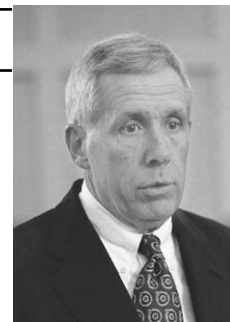


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## Interview: Rep. Frank Wolf

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# Wolfman howls at potential for U.S.-China partnership

*The following interview with Rep. Frank Wolf (R-Va.), who is one of the leading opponents in Congress of a strategic partnership with China, was conducted by Scott Thompson.*

**Q:** The first question I have for you, is that it seems President Clinton wants a strategic partnership with China, that that would be one outcome of this summit. What do you think would be the best that could be expected, from your perspective?

**Wolf:** Well, I don't know if I can answer that, because I don't know what Clinton plans on doing. I don't know whether he plans on raising these issues of human rights. I don't know if he plans on raising the issue of weapons proliferation. So, I don't have high expectations, to be honest. You know what he is doing: He's having him at the White House for a dinner. I mean, it's okay to talk in the office, but to have him at a state dinner, to take him to Independence Hall, kind of runs counter to what this country stands for. So, I don't know that I have any expectations. My sense is that the Clinton administration is going to try to put a bow on whatever comes out, to make it look like it's a wonderful thing. I just don't fundamentally trust the Chinese, but I think it's good that we're talking.

**Q:** Do you think it's a strategic danger to have that kind of partnership?

**Wolf:** Well, I think it would be a danger if you were to give the American people the impression that things are getting better, if they're not going to get better. Secondly, I think it's a danger if we're lulled into the position where we won't speak out on behalf of the human rights abuses, the Catholic Church, the Protestant Church, the Buddhist faith, the slave labor camps, the sale of weapons to Iran and other countries. We're not just looking to make friends with the Chinese; we're looking to have them change their human rights policy. We're looking for them not to sell weapons to Iran. So, you know, it's so hard to say, until it's over.

**Q:** As I understand it, there were discussions between National Security Adviser Sandy Berger and the Chinese, that it

is likely that President Clinton will certify China for the transfer of peaceful nuclear reactors and so forth. I gather you would oppose that?

**Wolf:** I think I would oppose it. If you can't tell me that they're stopping the execution of people, and taking their kidneys for sale for \$30-35,000 to people in the West, then I don't know that we can trust them here. If you can get the Chinese government to sell arms, as they have to street gangs in Los Angeles, can we trust them here? Is there verification? Will there be on-site inspection? Will we just take them at their word? So, I think it just depends on how they are going to monitor this.

**Q:** There are a number of business deals that are in the works. You know the Clinton approach, which was sort of epitomized by Ron Brown's government-to-government method: There's nuclear reactors, Boeing jets, so forth and so on. Would you say these all need to be measured in some way in terms of—

**Wolf:** Well, you know, the nuclear reactor has a potential national security aspect. These guys are selling weapons to terrorist countries, that can be used against the United States government. So, I think anything that's sold has to be viewed through that picture. I mean, if somebody wants to sell wheat, and they want to buy wheat, and Boeing wants to sell an airplane, then I'm not objecting to that. But, the point is that the Clinton administration, if they sell nuclear, have to make sure that it's verifiable. . . .

**Q:** I understand that China has agreed to monitoring by the International Atomic Energy Agency. I was told by someone at Christian Solidarity International-U.S., that you were running into obstacles with your Freedom from Religious Persecution Act.

**Wolf:** Yes, yes, we were. The administration has come out against it.

**Q:** I can understand that the administration would oppose it; but, according to this person, you were also running into significant Congressional opposition. I was wondering what

that was.

**Wolf:** Business deals.

**Q:** So this affected some of your Republican colleagues?

**Wolf:** Yes, it did. And, Democratic colleagues. We'll ultimately prevail on it, but it's going to be a harder push, because these people came out against it. Secretary Albright gave a speech last week at Catholic University in opposition to the bill, but she had the whole bill wrong. She had the office location wrong, and so, the people who wrote her speech, or briefed her, didn't actually give her the facts. We now have the support of the Catholic Conference, and a number of other prominent religious groups have all come out for it. So, I think we'll ultimately pass it. It's going around cleaning up the misinformation that's said about the bill.

**Q:** Right. I wanted to ask you about this semi-undercover visit you made to Tibet. Richard Gere's International Campaign for Tibet told me they helped you. Did you have any additional assistance on your trip?

**Wolf:** Richard Gere didn't help me.

**Q:** Not Richard Gere himself. The International Campaign for Tibet said that they gave you some information.

**Wolf:** Yeah, they provided some information.

**Q:** I take it from the *Washington Post*, if it was accurate (you may have seen the Style section about a week ago); it said that you were skeptical about whether or not Hollywood would stay the course.

**Wolf:** Well, I think what I was trying to say, is that this can't be just a shooting star. It has to be a long-term consistent effort, similar to what we made when the Soviet Union was persecuting those of the Jewish faith, and wouldn't allow them to emigrate. That was not just a one-year battle. It went on for 15 to 20 years, through the '70s and the '80s, and my sense is that to be successful in the effort with regard to China, regarding Tibet, it's going to take the same consistent effort. And, my concern was that a movie comes and a movie goes. My sense is that you saw some movies two years ago that you really enjoyed, and came out of the movie theater and found them interesting, yet you can't even tell me today what those movies were, because you kind of forget. And my concern is that this is not just a temporary flash, and then people move on to the next subject, but that people are in it for the long haul.

**Q:** When you returned from Tibet, you gave a press conference—I have the transcript from Federal News Service—you called for President Clinton to pressure Jiang Zemin to negotiate with the Dalai Lama for the eventual independence of Tibet once again. I understand the Dalai Lama just gave an interview on BBC radio, where he said he was not interested

in independence, but wanted more religious and cultural freedom. Have you changed your position on Tibetan independence?

**Wolf:** I don't think my position is really the important one. I mean, I'm not from Tibet, and I don't think I have the right to speak out for the Tibetan people, so, what I think about that is really irrelevant. I think what the Dalai Lama and what the people of Tibet think is the important one. My sense is that there is cultural genocide taking place in the country.

**Q:** Have you ever met the Dalai Lama?

**Wolf:** Yes, they had a reception for him at the Cannon House Office Building, or in the Rotunda. I don't know that I've met him one-to-one. But, to get back to answer your question. The Chinese are destroying the country in front of the Potala Palace, they have built a miniature Tiananmen Square, and they have a Chinese MiG in the middle of it. There are more Chinese in Lhasa, than there are Tibetans. And, so, I think Tibet ought to be free. I think these people ought to have the right to worship. I think they ought to have the right to travel. I think they ought to have the right to have their own culture, their own language. So, whether they call it autonomous, free—what I think isn't important, it's what the people of Tibet think. My sense is that they certainly don't like the current situation.

**Q:** I talked to Stuart Windsor at Christian Solidarity International-U.K. . . . He said that right now, Lady Caroline Cox is praying as to whether or not to introduce a bill in Parliament similar to your Freedom from Religious Persecution Act. Were you aware of that?

**Wolf:** No.

**Q:** She has also apparently won agreement by the EU, through the European Parliament, that in terms of any major trade agreement, there needs to be a human rights rapporteur or observer, and the trade agreement would not go through unless you had a favorable sign-off by that rapporteur. What do you think about that?

**Wolf:** That would be positive. I think that would be excellent. I'd like to see England and Europe do it.

**Q:** I have also interviewed Caroline Cox in the past on Sudan,<sup>1</sup> and she mentioned you very highly. I guess you must have had some—

**Wolf:** Yes, I know her. I've been on some panels with her, and I travelled to Sudan with her. But, she's been to Sudan many times.

**Q:** She told me she's been in foxholes—

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1. See interview with Lady Caroline Cox, "Tighten the Noose Around Sudan's Neck," *EIR*, June 20, 1997, p. 51.

**Wolf:** She really has. In fact, where she goes is very dangerous.

**Q:** Well, Stuart Windsor was with Cheltenham GCHQ.<sup>2</sup> Were you aware that?

**Wolf:** No.

**Q:** He was with Cheltenham GCHQ from 1959-79, and he said that one way he is able to arrange for these trips by Lady Caroline Cox into what are effectively the combat zones of Sudan and so forth, is through the assistance of his British intelligence contacts.

**Wolf:** Oh, I see. Well, that would make sense.

**Q:** Now, just from the standpoint of objectivity, if I could get into some rebuttal questions?

**Wolf:** Sure.

**Q:** This is something that the Chinese Embassy put out on the Internet. It's called, "Facts in Tibet Show Wolf Made Unjustified Attacks." It's from a series of Chinese officials. The first one is Cao Ziquiang, vice-president of the Advanced Buddhism College of the Tibetan Language Family of China. He said that what you had in Tibet under the Dalai Lama was a lack of religious freedom, because you had to be a Tibetan Buddhist, and that it was a theocracy, and that people were serfs or slaves, who could be sold, during the period of time when the Dalai Lamas ran Tibet. What do you make of that?

**Wolf:** I think that all of the people who spoke out were nothing but apologists for the Chinese government. They were angry at the fact I got there. I had asked for a visa to go to Beijing several years ago; they wouldn't even give me a visa. And, I think they were just mad, quite frankly. They also said the trip was pre-arranged. All the interviews we did—none of them were pre-arranged. They were all spontaneous.

We had with us an individual who had been raised in a Tibetan monastery, who was a Buddhist monk, who spoke the language and everything else. He's actually a Westerner. And, of all the people that we spoke to, none knew that I was a member of Congress. All of the comments were spontaneous. There were no preconceived visits, like we didn't agree to meet you on a corner at some time. We just went up to people. And, so, what we said in the report was thoroughly accurate.

But, I saw the Chinese. They did the same thing. We went

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2. Cheltenham GCHQ is the British-based, electronic eavesdropping agency equivalent to the U.S. National Security Agency. As such, it is one of the most secretive branches of Her Majesty's Secret Service. Lady Caroline Cox's chief assistant, Stuart Windsor, who worked at Cheltenham GCHQ, says that he may be a distant cousin of the ruling House of Windsor. While he was at Cheltenham GCHQ, he frequently briefed National Security Agency members on Soviet military developments and other matters.

to Beijing Prison #1 in 1991, and we saw socks, which I have in the closet there, being made by demonstrators from Tiananmen. They denied it. They quickly dismantled all of the equipment, and took it out. If you recall, the general who came over here several months ago said that Tiananmen Square never took place, and that nobody was ever killed in Tiananmen Square. It's sort of what Communists do. It's sort of the Big Lie. You know, you just say something over and over and over again.

**Q:** But the U.S. has the highest per capita number of prisoners in the world, and many of those prisoners are forced to do prison labor, especially in privatized jails.

**Wolf:** They're all people who were arrested and put in prison for activities that they were convicted through a judicial system that's fair, and you have the prosecutor and the defense. In China, that's not the case. In fact, if you looked at "Prime Time Live" a week and a half ago, they've got now a system, that if you do a test and get your blood test and your tissue test, and you need a kidney, they'll go into their system and find somebody who has a match and take him out and execute him, so you can get—

**Q:** I heard about the program, but I did not see it.

**Wolf:** We have a video. You can see it. Also, there are more slave labor camps or Gulags now, if you want to call them that, than there were when Solzhenitsyn wrote his book *Gulag Archipelago*.

**Q:** Pasang Norbu, professor of Tibet University and also the deputy secretary general of the Standing Committee of the People's Congress of the Tibet Autonomous Region, said that life in prison is not up to Western standards, but then goes through the per-capita consumption of food. He claims they are allowed to have a Tibetan lifestyle, and religious habits are respected in prison. Prison law stipulates that inmates can hold their religious beliefs during imprisonment, and they feed them religious food along with butter tea, and so forth and so on. Is that all contrary to what you understand?

**Wolf:** Well, let me get something from Nancy Pelosi on my desk. It was just a report that Nancy Pelosi sent around, "Torture in Tibet: New Medical Study Reveals Epidemic Scale." This is from Ben Gilman. Medical groups document recent torture by Chinese officials in Tibet. They talk in terms of prisons, detention, torture, cattle prods. . . .

**Q:** China has the most rapid economic growth of any country in the world. Do you believe that, with progress in terms of the Three Gorges Dam, various kinds of other infrastructure, industry, development, and openings to the West for trade—

Do you believe that there is something inherent in that progress that will bring about more human rights?

**Wolf:** No, I don't know. It could, but maybe it won't. Most

of the torture took place since 1995. If you go to Beijing and Shanghai, there are cranes all over the place, and they're building and people are carrying cellular phones. But, the prisons and the torture are increasing, the slave labor camps are increasing. The sale of organs is increasing. The sales of weapons to terrorist-type countries are increasing. It could have an impact, and then, again, it may not be. I mean you can argue that. I don't think aggressive trade with Nazi Germany would have changed Nazi Germany. But, I don't know the answer to this. It may have a positive impact. My sense is, the Chinese leadership will allow things to change, and they'll draw the line, once it seems their power is threatened. I think Hongkong, they'll squeeze just slowly. And, once there are demonstrations in Hongkong, and people begin to speak out, I think they'll squeeze more. Martin Lee, who happens to be head of the Legislature, I think would validate, as they begin to lose power. If they think they're losing power, they'll begin to squeeze. So, I don't think we really know the answer. It may help, and then again, it may — A market economy generally goes with more freedom. . . .

**Q:** One final question. I live in Leesburg, and about every Saturday, I run into the Lyndon LaRouche group. . . .

**Wolf:** They were out. We had a big rally in Ashburn, and they were there passing out literature.

**Q:** Yes, they have some idea of building a land-bridge from China to the Atlantic. What is that about?

**Wolf:** I don't know. I've seen some of the things they've passed out at some of the meetings. They come to my town meetings. They talk about the land-bridge, and then they equate it to the Silk Road, inferring something about Marco Polo. But, I don't know what they actually have in mind. They've been critical of me.

**Q:** You mentioned the influence of business interests on Congress. Is that the U.S.-China Business Council?

**Wolf:** Yes. You should have watched the debate. It was Firing Line on Friday night, and then Saturday or Sunday afternoon. They had Kissinger and then they had Trent Lott and Bill Buckley, and then, on the other side, they had Gary Bauer, Ariana Huffington, Senator Hutchison, and former Gov. Jerry Brown. It was fascinating.

**Q:** Have you read *The Coming Conflict with China*?

**Wolf:** No, I want to. No.

**Q:** What about Samuel Huntington?

**Wolf:** No, I don't know.

**Q:** Well, he's in the Harvard orbit. He wrote *The Clash of Civilizations*, and said basically there would be a clash between Christian civilization —

**Wolf:** What's his name?

**Q:** Samuel Huntington.

**Wolf:** Is it a new book out?

**Q:** No, it's been out for awhile. He wrote for the Trilateral Commission, their democracy book. He wrote *The Clash of Civilizations* after the Wall came down, and he argued that the new enemy image for the West would be Islam, China, and so forth.

**Wolf:** I'm going to take a look at it. I've seen the guys who wrote the other book interviewed. In fact, I saw Munro being interviewed, on President Clinton's comments about the visit of President Jiang Zemin.

**Q:** They actually quoted me on Kissinger, because, as you know, Kissinger has extensive business ties.

**Wolf:** Yes, that came out in the debate. And, he said to Ariana Huffington, "Do you think I take my position, because of who I represent?" And, she said, "Yes." My own sense is that Kissinger is more interested in how history treats him, than his position or money. While I don't like Kissinger's position, I don't think he takes his position because he's working for the Chinese.

**Q:** Well, I don't think it's strictly a money question. But, I know I was writing stories when Kissinger was on the President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board, on his conflict of interest. This got picked up by Senator Helms and others. Kissinger resigned from the Board, claiming that there was no such conflict, but that he did not want to give the appearance of one.

**Wolf:** His ego is so large, that I think he resents people raising that question, and maybe that's why he resigned, so he wouldn't get drawn into it. My sense is that he's on the wrong side of this issue, but I don't think it's because he's not patriotic or he doesn't care or it's money, I think he's more concerned about how history will treat him. And, since he was the one who supposedly opened up China, I think he wants to preserve that initiative. We heard, and it came out in the debate, that Disney has hired him to — there's a new movie coming out —

**Q:** Right. His son works for Disney and worked on a cartoon biography of the Dalai Lama. Kissinger went over to the Chinese, and said, would you please not retaliate against Disney's interests in China?

**Wolf:** Have they let him?

**Q:** So far, Kissinger seems to have been successful.

**Wolf:** And, Gere's movie comes out this Friday. I did read that that movie and "Seven Years in Tibet" and the Disney film will not be permitted in Hongkong. Okay. Well, nice to see you.