



Courting The Dragon

Chinese Government Influence In Australia And Our Response To The Tibetan Situation

April 2009

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Introduction

A recent spate of controversies, including Chinese mineral giant Chinalco's Rio Tinto bid and revelations of hushed meetings between the Chinese propaganda chief and Australian media bosses, have once again brought the issue of our deepening relationship with China to the fore.

Nonetheless, political opportunism has hampered almost all efforts at a sensible debate. Latching onto the Joel Fitzgibbon scandal, the opposition has taken every opportunity to stir up fear and suspicion while the Government has retorted with charges of economic nationalism and stirring up "yellow peril" sentiments.

It is this report's contention that beneath this escalating war of words are a number of legitimate concerns and questions. Ranging across China's actual or attempted influence over Australian media, education and politics, these issues must be subject to a rigorous and balanced public debate.

To what extent is the Chinese Communist Party attempting to shape the Australian agenda? To what extent has the Australian Government capitulated? Have we compromised our nation's ethics in the process?

The first part of this report catalogues recent known trends or incidents of improper Chinese influence in Australia and breaches of international diplomatic norms by Chinese Government officials. The second part tracks how the Prime Minister and Australian Government's response to the worsening situation in Tibet has waned with the deepening global financial crisis, China's growing assertiveness on the international stage and Australia's growing economic interdependence with China.

Part 1

Incidents of Actual or Attempted Influence by the Chinese Government on Australian Media, Education, NGOs and Government Policy

a) Federal and State Parliaments

i) Pressure from Chinese Ambassador and Consuls General

It is common for Australian politicians to receive letters from the Chinese Embassy and Consulates General outlining the Chinese Government's position on Tibet and other sensitive issues and discouraging them from attending or participating in events organized by the Tibetan community, Falun Gong or other organizations deemed subversive by the Chinese Government. The Chinese Embassy in Canberra has also been known to send propaganda materials such as DVDs, magazines, calendars and books on "China's Tibet" to federal politicians.

Example 1

On 27 February 2009, Zhang Junsai, Chinese Ambassador to Australia, wrote to Michael Danby MP, government backbencher and convenor of the Australian All-Party Parliamentary Group for Tibet, requesting he not attend a commemorative event marking the 50th anniversary of the 1959 Tibetan Uprising and the Dalai Lama's exile¹ (see copy attached):

"I notice with regret, however, that you will attend the so-called "Commemorating 1959 Tibetan Uprising" assembly in front of the Parliament House on 10 March, organized by "Tibetan independence" groups. As I mentioned to you, the rebellion in Tibet on 10 March 1959 and the riot in Lhasa on 14 March last year are violent activities perpetrated by the Dalai group aimed at separating China and undermining ethnic unity and social stability in China. The rally on 10 March will be another act of "Tibetan independence" groups to pursue "Tibetan independence", tarnish the image of the Chinese Government and impair China-Australia relations.

"Obviously, your attendance will be inconsistent with what you have said and will inevitably be utilized by "Tibetan independence" groups. I hope you will give careful consideration to this and refrain from attending the "Tibetan independence" activity on 10 March."

Mr. Danby was due to speak at the event. Speaking to the press after receiving the letter, Mr. Danby asserted that China has to understand the democratic norms of Australia.

"No self-respecting MP would listen to a letter like this and not turn up to some political event because an ambassador of another country told him."

Foreign Minister Stephen Smith backed Mr. Danby's decision:

"What a diplomat is not entitled to do is to somehow seek to direct an elected official or an elected member of parliament about how he or she might conduct himself or herself," said Mr. Smith. "They are entitled to put a view but they are not entitled to direct."²

¹ "China tells MP to avoid Tibet rally" Cynthia Banham, *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 10 March 2009. <http://www.smh.com.au/national/china-tells-mp-to-avoid-tibet-rally-20090309-8tce.html>

² "Pro-Tibet Protesters Clash With Police" Sandra O'Malley and Bonny Symons-Brown, *The Age*, 10 March 2009.

Example 2

In another recent example, on 2 June 2008, the Consulate-General of the PRC in Sydney wrote to Ian Cohen, member of the New South Wales Legislative Council, immediately prior to the Dalai Lama's arrival in Australia (see copy attached):

"As you are probably aware, Dalai Lama is coming once again to Australia, once again for his political cause, and once again in the disguise of religion.

"Your Honorable, as they might try to seek support of any form from political dignitaries like you, you are kindly advised not to meet Dalai or attend any of his activities."

All such letters claim the Dalai Lama and Tibet support groups, pejoratively labelled the "Dalai Clique", are seeking independence for Tibet, a claim rigorously and consistently denied by the Dalai Lama.

Example 3

On 17 October 2003 Junting Tian, the Chinese Consul General in Melbourne, was accused of "intimidatory behaviour" after several state and federal MPs endorsed a paid advertisement in *The Australian* organized by the Australia Tibet Council during Hu Jintao's 2003 visit to Australia³. In a strongly worded letter to Elaine Carbines MLC, then Parliamentary Secretary for the Environment in the Bracks Government and Chair of the Victorian Parliamentary Friends of Tibet, Junting Tian admonished Ms. Carbines for "mobilising" state MPs to support the advertisement and called on MPs to respect Australia's position that Tibet is part of China. The advertisement did not call for Tibetan independence but rather requested constructive dialogue between Hu Jintao and the Dalai Lama.

In his letter, Junting Tian said he was "writing to remind you that (the) Tibet issue is an internal matter of the People's Republic of China which is very sensitive" (see copy attached). Ms. Carbines called the letter "an over-the-top reaction to our attempt to raise the matter". The Consul General also sent a package of Chinese books and propaganda materials on Tibet to Ms. Carbines' office.

Senator Bob Brown, leader of the Australian Greens commented that "it's unwanted behaviour in Australia that an embassy should be sending out material to members of parliament with the aim of changing their plans or behaviour".

The Consul General sought a confidential meeting at the Victorian Parliament with the Presiding Officers. Junting Tian asked the Presiding Officers "to request Elaine Carbines refrain from activities opposed by the Chinese Government". In an extraordinary breach of international diplomatic norms, the Consul General further asked the Presiding Officers to "suppress the activities of the Victorian Parliamentary Friends of Tibet".

<http://news.theage.com.au/breaking-news-national/protibet-protesters-clash-with-police-20090310-8ttp.html>

³ "Chinese Accused of Intimidating MPs" Steve Lewis, *The Australian*, 17 October 2003.

Example 4

On 1 April 2008, The Epoch Times, a newspaper founded by Falun Gong practitioners, reported that China's Melbourne Consular General Liang Shugen had sent letters to Victorian State MPs warning them not to attend performances of the *Chinese Spectacular* at the Melbourne Arts Centre, a theatrical performance organized by exiled followers of Falun Gong⁴. The same article claims that Sydney's Chinese Consulate tried to prevent the New South Wales State Parliament holding a forum on human rights in China during 2007's APEC summit in Sydney. Officials from the Chinese Consulate in Sydney reportedly visited Peter Primrose, President of the New South Wales Legislative Council, in an attempt to have the forum cancelled.

Further Examples

Federal and State MPs are also known to have received letters discouraging them from attending a public seminar with the Dalai Lama co-hosted by the Australia Tibet Council and Monash University's Castan Centre for Human Rights Law in 2007.

ii) Delegations from China

In the wake of Tibet-wide protests in 2008, the Chinese Government dispatched delegations of "Tibetologists" to many Western countries including the US, UK, Switzerland, Italy, Czech Republic, Finland and Australia. The delegation included representative of the government-operated China Tibetology Research Centre, Tibet University in Lhasa and Central University of Nationalities of China. In Australia the delegation visited Canberra, Melbourne and Sydney, addressing federal and state parliamentarians, civil servants, media and members of the Chinese community. The delegation reassured audiences that the Chinese Government had "taken special measures to protect Tibetan culture" and "promised to maintain its policy towards the minorities as well as its support to the economic development in Tibet"⁵. Such assertions are a direct contradiction of the assessments of independent research organizations, including leading human rights monitors Human Rights Watch and Amnesty International⁶.

In Sydney the seminar was held in the New South Wales Parliament House⁷. No members of Sydney's Tibetan community were invited to attend.

On 9 April 2001 a leaked PRC statement on "Tibet-Related External Propaganda"⁸ divulged the purpose and background to such visits:

⁴ "Chinese Consulate Interference in Australia Out of Line" Shar Adams, *The Epoch Times*, 1 April 2008. <http://en.epochtimes.com/news/8-4-1/68346.html>

⁵ "Chinese Tibetologists Hold Talks with Australian Officials" *Xinhua*, 28 July 2008. http://eng.tibet.cn/news/today/200807/t20080728_415127.htm

⁶ A detailed and comprehensive analysis of independent information from Tibet over the last year can be downloaded from the Australia Tibet Council website: <http://www.atc.org.au/hrrfeb09>

⁷ "Tibetologist: China Will Not Change Policies on Tibet" *People's Daily Online*, 25 July 2008. <http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/90001/90776/90883/6458749.html>

⁸ "Leaked PRC Statement on 'Tibet-Related External Propaganda'" *International Campaign for Tibet*, 9 April 2001. <http://www.savetibet.org/media-center/ict-news-reports/leaked-prc-statement-tibet-related-external-propaganda>

“External publicity on Tibet is an important element of our country’s external propaganda. It is also a very important element of our struggle against the Dalai clique and hostile western forces. ...We need to carry out diligently external propaganda on Tibet.

“We should maximize the use of our 50 Tibetology Centres and 1,000 Tibetologists to carry out external propaganda work on Tibet. Under appropriate banners of non-government organizations, they should form a national force of Tibetologists. ... Our Tibet specialists should make well-planned visits to foreign countries. ...By means of cultural exchange, **we should enhance our influence over western community and its opinion.**

“Tibetology work must produce maximum results in external propaganda on Tibet.

“We need to have long-term strategy and mental preparation. In addition, we need to plan and organize ourselves to fight each battle carefully.

“In this overall struggle for public opinion of the Tibet issue, Tibetology institutes should become an effective army.

“To sum up, the main responsibilities and potential of Tibetology research in our external propaganda on Tibet are to produce ideas, results, intellectuals, and confrontation strategies.

“Propaganda’s aim is to convince people, with their hearts and influence them.”

iii) Hu Jintao’s 2003 Visit

On 24 October 2003 Chinese Foreign Minister Li Zhaoxing informed Neil Andrew, Speaker of the House of Representatives, that Chinese President Hu Jintao would not proceed with an address to a joint sitting of Parliament that morning unless assurances could be given that it would not be interrupted by any form of protest⁹. The Chinese delegation had carefully scrutinized the list of guests invited by each MP and senator and noted the inclusion of Chin Jin, chairman of the Federation for a Democratic China.

Neil Andrew and Senate President Paul Calvert informed Li Zhaoxing that Chin Jin and two Canberra-based Tibetans, all guests of the Australian Greens, would be barred from entering the public gallery. In an extraordinary and unprecedented incident, the Chinese Government, so successful at suppressing freedom of speech at home, convinced the Australian parliament to do the same.

b) Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade

On 9 February 2009, at the request of the Chinese delegation, the Australia Tibet Council (ATC) was excluded from a reception for NGOs during the Twelfth Australia-China Human Rights Dialogue. ATC had attended these receptions during the previous two Australian rounds of the annual dialogue – 2004 and 2006. The Foreign Minister called the move “an unfortunate backwards step” by the Chinese delegation¹⁰.

Though the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, including the Minister himself, claimed to have had lobbied hard for ATC’s inclusion, the case represents an example of China successfully pressuring DFAT on Tibet.

⁹ "How Hu Silenced the House" Steve Lewis, The Australian, 25 October 2003.

¹⁰ Joint Press Conference with Foreign Minister for Portugal, Luis Amado, 10 February 2009.

Mr. Tenzin Atisha, Representative of His Holiness the Dalai Lama for Australia and New Zealand, commented that this was the first occasion during his seven-year term in Canberra during which he had not been consulted by DFAT officials ahead of the dialogue.

In a separate incident, Ngodup Gyaltsen, assistant to Mr. Atisha at Canberra's Tibet Information Office, was one of 29 participants from 16 countries in the University of New South Wales' 2008 Diplomacy Training Program. One session of the training was held at DFAT and involved a practical lobbying exercise with DFAT desk officers. Ngodup was not attending the course as a representative of the Tibet Information Office. Nonetheless, he was told that he could not participate in this session. The decision prompted the remaining participants to consider boycotting this part of the training en masse. In the end the training went ahead without Ngodup. Did the Chinese Embassy apply pressure or did DFAT act to pre-empt their complaint.

c) Australian Media

On 25 March The Australian's Cameron Stewart reported a hushed meeting between Li Changchun¹¹ and ABC Managing Director Mark Scott¹². According to Stewart, Li Changchun lobbied Mark Scott for the "Chinese Government's views to be fully represented in ABC reports".

Xinhua, China's state-run media agency, reported that Mr. Li "briefed" Mr. Scott on the Chinese Government's stance on Tibet and told Mr. Scott "we hope (the ABC), as an influential news organization, can tell the Australian audience about a real China (in a comprehensive, well balanced, fair and objective manner".

Li Changchun's request for media balance in Australia comes amidst continued heavy government censorship of media in China and highly restricted access to Tibet and other sensitive areas.

Li Changchun also met with ABC Chairman Maurice Newman and Seven Network Chairman Kerry Stokes. Members of Li Changchun's delegation met with Nick Cater, editor of The Weekend Australian.

d) Australian Universities

i) The Confucius Institute

Since 2004 the Chinese Government has presided over the establishment of over 100 "Confucius Institutes", ostensibly for the promotion of Chinese language and culture overseas. There are four such institutes in Australia, operating within the Universities of Sydney, Melbourne, Adelaide and Western Australia.

While proponents claim the Confucius Institute has antecedents in such cultural programs as the Goethe Institute and the century-old Alliance Française, critics note that unlike

¹¹ Li Changchun is the fifth ranked member of the Politburo, the top power organ in China, and is considered to be the Communist Party's "Propaganda Chief".

¹² "China Requests Tibet Balance" Cameron Stewart, *The Australian*, 25 March 2009.
<http://www.theaustralian.news.com.au/business/story/0,25238447-7582,00.html>

these other programs, the Confucius Institute operates within universities and exercises a degree of influence over the courses taught at those universities.

In recent years, the Confucius Institute has evolved from simple community outreach, such as offering courses in Chinese language, towards a broader teaching and research focus. The institute at Sydney University, Australia's newest, has a remit that includes a number of areas of scholarly research in addition to undergraduate teaching.

Jocelyn Chey, a former diplomat and visiting professor at Sydney University, is among those who believe that the Confucius Institute is a threat to the autonomy and academic freedom of our universities¹³.

Strategically located in many of the world's leading universities, the Confucius Institute enables Chinese authorities to have an increasing element of control over teaching and research in many countries.

ii) A Billion Dollar Industry

Education is the third largest export sector in Australia, below coal and iron ore but ahead of tourism, beef, wheat and manufacturing. According to the Australian Bureau of Statistics, in 2008 education represented a \$13.8bn export industry for Australia. In 2005 over 344,000 international students came to study in Australia, with 47.5 per cent (163,930) enrolled in higher education programs across Australia's 37 universities.

China represents by far the largest source country for Australian education providers, with Chinese students accounting for 24% of total enrolment figures. Australia's universities are now heavily reliant upon income from fee-paying Chinese students. Operating in an increasingly competitive market, Australian education providers and research institutions are naturally reluctant to compromise their lucrative ties to Chinese Universities or incur the wrath of government and people wholly intolerant of criticism.

While it is impossible to show conclusively that such concerns have compromised academic freedom within our universities, there are ample anecdotes that would lend credence to such a claim. Speaking on condition of anonymity, one Australian researcher on Tibet spoke of a widespread fear of backlash from Chinese academics and students, as well as the university's management, should one openly present criticism of Chinese Government policies in Tibet. Australian universities, in particular the Australian National University (ANU) are home to numerous acclaimed China scholars. Nonetheless, with a few notable exceptions, few are willing to engage in critical discussion over Tibet. According to said researcher, fear of backlash has produced a culture of self-censorship. Detained during a research visit to Tibet, a prominent Australian scholar was informed that all his academic activities concerning Tibet were recorded by Chinese authorities and shown a dossier to this effect. Another researcher on Tibet, again speaking on condition of anonymity, noted the increasing reluctance of Australia's leading universities to host visiting Tibetan scholars or lend their name to any forums that examine critically the Chinese Government's current policies in Tibet.

¹³ "Chinese 'Soft Power' - Cultural Diplomacy and the Confucius Institutes" Jocelyn Chey, *The Sydney Papers*, Volume 20, Issue 1 (Summer 2008).

e) Australia's Chinese Community

The first indicators of increasing Chinese Government influence in Australia are to be found within the ex-patriot community. Closely allied to the Communist Party, Chinese community organizations in Australia provide the Chinese Government with the ability to wield significant influence upon the views and activities of Australia's Chinese community. In late March 2008 a group within Australia's Chinese community, purporting to be made up of nearly a hundred Chinese organizations, issued a public statement denouncing the Dalai Lama and the movement for human rights and democratic freedoms in Tibet, threatening to undermine it. The statement went against the position of the Australian Prime Minister and Government. With few exceptions, Chinese language newspapers in Australia continue to propagate the official Chinese Government line on Tibet.

On 24 April 2009 an estimated 15,000 members of Australia's Chinese community, including around 10,000 of Australia's 60,000 Chinese students, travelled to Canberra for the Australian leg of the Beijing 2008 Olympic Torch Relay.

Jon Stanhope, Chief Minister of the Australian Capital Territory, confirmed that the Chinese Embassy in Canberra was closely involved in helping transport Chinese students¹⁴, ensuring Chinese nationalists vastly outnumbered Tibetan activists. It is understood that Embassy staff were in regular contact with travel companies and student leaders ahead of the relay. Chinese demonstrators appeared highly organized, with leaders wearing colour-coded uniforms and using walkie-talkies. Stanhope conceded that the Embassy was also involved in providing flags and briefing Chinese representative groups. The Chinese Students and Scholars Association admitted running a national web-based campaign to recruit students from across the country to travel to Canberra. Across several Australian university campuses Chinese student associations advertised their intent for "patriotic" activities. Strident nationalist language was used in the advertisements.



On 24 April 2008 an estimated 15,000 Chinese nationalists descended on Canberra for the Australian leg of the Beijing 2008 Olympic Torch Relay.
Photo: Jamie Williams

¹⁴ "Chinese Embassy Helped Get 'Rent-a-Crowd' to Relay" Ben English, *The Daily Telegraph*, 25 April 2008. <http://www.news.com.au/story/0,23599,23594307-2,00.html>

A Tibetan man from Sydney recalled his experience of the day as follows:

About 10-15 young Chinese people completely surrounded me and started yelling and swearing at me and demanding that I give them my flag. I felt very scared and thought that they may throw me off the bridge.

The students chased me and then another gang of approximately 30 more ran from the other direction and completely surrounded me and started kicking me, punching me and swearing at me. Some were pulling my hair, some were hitting me with water bottles. Some were spitting at me and then a few of them stole my Tibetan flag.

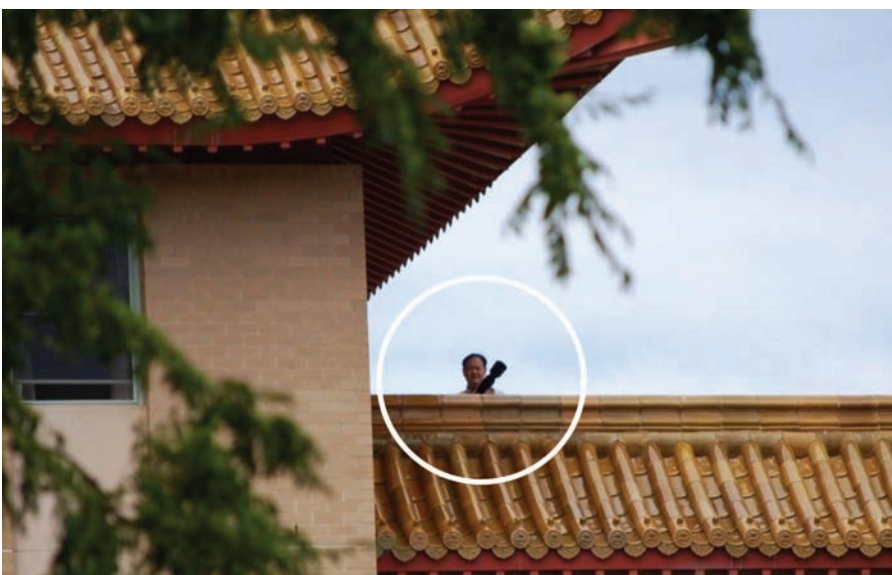
While some were punching me about three of them were taking photos of my face and yelling at me with their fingers directly in my face, "Where do you live?" One man looked very different from all of the rest as he was wearing a suit and tie and glasses. He approached me and started pushing his chest into mine very forcefully, He had both his fists clenched and continued to bully me by shoving his whole body forcefully into mine, and he was trying to get me to hit him back. He was really provoking me. I felt really intimidated, when he said to me with his finger right in my face in a very aggressive manner, "If you don't shut your mouth, we will kill you, we have you photo and we will kill you." I didn't retaliate and I kept telling them that I didn't come here to fight; I came here for Human Rights for the Tibetans and the Chinese people.

Since my escape from Tibet in 1993, this is the first time that I have feared for my life. I have lived in Australia with my wife and children for nearly 3 years and I have always thought that I am lucky to live in a free country under a democratic law, where I could walk down the street with a Tibetan flag if I wanted to, but on this day I really felt like I was back in China when Australia became China for a day.

By contrast, following the PR disaster that befell the Chinese Embassy after 24 April's nationalist frenzy, Chinese demonstrators were notably absent during the Dalai Lama's five-day teaching at Sydney's Olympic Park in June. The comparison added considerable weight to the claim that the 24 April's demonstration was far from spontaneous.

f) **Cyber Attacks on Australian Citizens**

After the defection of Chinese diplomat Chen Yonglin in 2005, the Australian public learnt for the first time of a massive Chinese Government operation to collect information on Chinese dissents, exiled Tibetans, Tibet support groups, Falun Gong practitioners and other groups through its diplomatic missions.



A Chinese Embassy staff member in Canberra takes photographs from the rooftop of Tibetans gathered outside the Embassy on 10 March 2009, 50th anniversary of the 1959 Tibetan uprising.

Photo: Kunchok Gyaltzen

On 29 March 2009 the University of Toronto's Munk Centre for International Studies published "Tracking GhostNet: Investigating a Cyber Espionage Network"¹⁵. The results of a 10-month investigation into an alleged spying operation against Tibetan institutions, the report revealed a network of over 1,295 networks in 103 countries. 30% of these are "high-value" targets, including ministries of foreign affairs, embassies, international organizations, news media, and NGOs. While the researchers were unable to prove outright that the Chinese Government was behind the operation, the nature of the targets and sophistication and timing of the attacks point strongly towards Chinese Government involvement. Furthermore, researchers have found actions taken by Chinese Government officials that corresponded with the information obtained via the "GhostNet".

The report validates long held concerns of Australia Tibet Council and other Tibet support groups, for whom cyber attacks are an almost daily occurrence. Australia Tibet Council has noticed a marked increase in both the frequency and sophistication of cyber spying over the past year. Prior to 2008, primitive virus-laden emails, peppered with clumsy language and familiar Communist Party turns of phrase, were easy to spot and could usually be safeguarded against with up-to-date anti-virus software. More recent attacks have been much harder to detect. The intention of the majority of today's viruses is not to disable computers but rather to slip in undetected and extract information from the host. There are numerous incidents of cyber spies assuming the identity of a trusted colleague within the Tibet movement. A typical attack will consist of an email purportedly from a Tibetan organization such as the Tibetan Government-in-Exile and addressed to a number of recipients within the Tibet movement. The email will contain a "Trojan horse" virus concealed in a rigged .pdf or Microsoft office document, designed to covertly extract information from the recipient's computer. Some such viruses go undetected by anti-virus software. There are instances of emails from one Tibet worker being intercepted and rigged with malware before being forwarded to others within the Tibet movement. Those within the Tibet movement have learned to avoid using email attachments as much as possible to reduce the risk of virus infection.

¹⁵ The full report can be downloaded here: www.f-secure.com/weblog/archives/ghostnet.pdf

Part 2

Australia's Response to the Tibet Crisis

a) Rudd as “Zhengyou”

In a speech to Beijing University students one year ago Kevin Rudd made international headlines by stating publicly and on Chinese soil that there are significant human rights problems in Tibet. Invoking the Chinese notion of a “Zhengyou” or, in his own words “a partner who sees beyond immediate benefit to the broader and firm basis for continuing, profound and sincere friendship”, the Prime Minister pledged to “engage in principled dialogue about matters of contention”¹⁶.

Kevin Rudd was the first Western leader to visit China following the violent crackdown on protests inside Tibet. Though drawing immediate rebuke from Chinese officials, Tibet supporters saw Mr. Rudd's forthright stance on Tibet, to which he held both publicly in Beijing and in private meetings with Chinese President Hu Jintao and Premier Wen Jiabao, as pivotal to the international diplomatic efforts that led in May to the resumption of contact between Chinese officials and representatives of the Dalai Lama.

Mr. Rudd's actions in Beijing were consistent with his pre-election pledge to “raise human rights concerns with the Chinese Government and urge China to ratify the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights as soon as possible”¹⁷.

“We believe in rigorously raising such issues with China, both through the Australia-China Human Rights Dialogue and directly for particular human rights cases.”¹⁸

As conditions in Tibet deteriorated, Foreign Minister Stephen Smith also held firm to Labor's position, stating on 17 March “we remain concerned about serious inadequacies in the protection of Tibetans' civil and political rights”¹⁹. Three days earlier Mr. Smith had told the Australian Financial Review that “just because we have an emerging or growing economic relationship with China doesn't mean we don't make these points.”

Shortly before his arrival in Beijing, in a joint press conference on 28 March in Washington with George Bush, then US President, Kevin Rudd stated “it's absolutely clear that there are human rights abuses in Tibet. That's clear-cut. We need to be up front and absolutely straight about what's going on, shouldn't shilly-shally about it.”²⁰

Two days later the Foreign Minister further assured Australians of continued representations to the Chinese Government over Tibet:

¹⁶ Kevin Rudd, 09-04-2008

Source: Speech by Kevin Rudd at Beijing University

Full transcript: <http://www.theaustralian.news.com.au/story/0,25197,23511584-5013947,00.html>

¹⁷ Kevin Rudd, 09-11-2007

Source: Personal correspondence

¹⁸ Kevin Rudd, 09-11-2007

Source: Personal correspondence

¹⁹ Stephen Smith, 17-03-2008

Source: *The Age*, “Human Rights on Rudd's Agenda”

Full story: <http://www.theage.com.au/news/world/tibet-on-rudd-agenda/2008/03/17/1205602285069.html>

²⁰ Kevin Rudd, 28-03-2008

Source: Joint Press Conference with President of the United States, Washington

Full transcript: http://www.pm.gov.au/media/Interview/2008/interview_0152.cfm

“[A]s the Prime Minister himself has made it clear, either in the past as Shadow Foreign Minister and in the future, he proposes on a regular basis to raise questions of human rights, as we should, as the Australian Government should and particularly as a Labor Government should.

“And what we hope the Chinese will understand is that if we do differ on issues that we believe are important, if we do differ on these issues then the relationship that we have with China, the maturity of the relationship is such that it can bear that burden. But these are important issues which we've raised in the past, and we will exercise our own judgement in the future about whether we raise them privately or publicly, or both.”

b) Collapse of the Tibet-China Dialogue and Intensifying Crackdown in Tibet

The Australian Government's relative silence on Tibet since April 2008 would leave one to suspect that the crisis had been largely resolved. On the contrary, the last year has seen a severe deterioration in the human rights situation facing the Tibetan people, the closure of Tibet to foreign media, tourists and diplomats, the collapse of the Tibet–China dialogue and extreme measures by the Chinese Government to silence dissent and convey a false image of stability.

Since April 2008, excepting occasional statements from the Foreign Minister and a brief statement by the Prime Minister prior to his attending the opening ceremony of the Beijing Olympics, the Australian Government's publicly disclosed action on Tibet has been limited to the confidential Australia-China Human Rights Dialogue and representations during the UN Human Rights Council's Universal Periodic Review of China on 10 February 2009. The Australia-China Human Rights Dialogue has been heavily criticised for its lack of transparency and accountability and a complete absence of concrete objectives and measurable outcomes. Human rights advocates complained of filibustering by Chinese delegates during a brief session for NGOs during the dialogue. The Chinese delegation refused to allow any Tibetan representation during the dialogue.

While the Government welcomed the resumption last year of direct talks between Chinese officials and representatives of the Dalai Lama, it remained silent following the collapse of these talks. It has yet to comment on the Chinese Government's outright rejection of a detailed proposal for meeting the needs of the Tibetan people through proper implementation of existing provisions in the PRC constitution²¹.

c) Australia in Comparison to Other Western Powers

While support for Tibet from world leaders and national governments has suffered numerous setbacks in recent months, the Australian Parliament has been notable in its reluctance to criticise China's actions in Tibet.

²¹ “No progress in eighth round of dialogue as Chinese reject autonomy proposal” *International Campaign for Tibet*, 10 November 2008.

<http://www.savetibet.org/media-center/ict-press-releases/no-progress-eighth-round-dialogue-chinese-reject-utonomy-proposal>

“Memorandum on Genuine Autonomy for the Tibetan People”
<http://www.tibetoffice.ch/web/mwa/memorandum/index.htm>

On 12 March the Australian Senate voted down a non-binding motion acknowledging the “Tibetans half-century of peaceful resistance to policies undermining their religion, identity and culture”, noting the “Chinese Government’s outright rejection of the Tibetans’ Memorandum on Genuine Autonomy” and noting that “unilateral efforts by concerned governments, including Australia, have failed to secure meaningfully negotiations on Tibet’s future”.

By contrast, two days earlier the US House of Representatives passed 422-1 a considerably stronger motion “calling for a sustained multilateral effort to bring about a durable and peaceful solution to the Tibet issue”.

Similarly, a resolution adopted by the European Parliament on 12 March urged the Chinese Government to resume talks with the Dalai Lama's representatives. The resolution further urged the Chinese Government “to consider the Memorandum for Genuine Autonomy for the Tibetan People of November 2008 as a basis for substantive discussion leading towards positive, meaningful change in Tibet, consistent with the principles outlined in the Constitution and laws of the People’s Republic of China”. The resolution called on the EU Council Presidency to adopt a declaration along the same lines.

The Dalai Lama’s visit to Australia in June 2008 came at a politically more significant time for the Tibetan people than any of his previous five visits to Australia. Nonetheless, Rudd eschewed all opportunities to meet with the Dalai Lama. With both Kevin Rudd and Julia Gillard overseas, Immigration Minister and Acting Prime Minister Chris Evans was the most senior Australian official to meet with the Dalai Lama. Away from the media, Foreign Minister Stephen Smith held a brief last minute meeting with the Dalai Lama in Perth.

By contrast, George Bush, then US President, welcomed the Dalai Lama into the US Capital building on 17 October 2007 for the presentation of the Congressional Gold Medal, the highest US civilian honour. On 12 April 2008 the Dalai Lama gave a speech to a formal sittings of the European Parliament. Over the last year he has been welcomed by the leaders of most of the world’s major democracies.

The Dalai Lama will be returning to Australia in December 2009, coinciding with the 20th anniversary of his Nobel Peace Prize.

Conclusion

There is little doubt that the deepening financial crisis, our economic interdependence with China and the growing assertiveness of Chinese officials is influencing Australia's response to many contentious issues, including Tibet. This report recommends a full and independent inquiry into attempts by Chinese officials to influence policy and decision-making in Australia.

The Rudd Government brought expectations of a more mature, confident and equitable relationship with China – one that will further develop our economic partnership while ensuring progress in human rights and other vitally important areas. The realization of this goal requires in the first instance a balanced and intelligent debate over the many legitimate concerns brought to the fore by recent controversies in Australia-China relations.

中华人民共和国驻澳大利亚大使馆 Embassy of the People's Republic of China in Australia

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27 February 2009
Michael Danby MP
PO Box 2086
St Kilda West VIC 3281

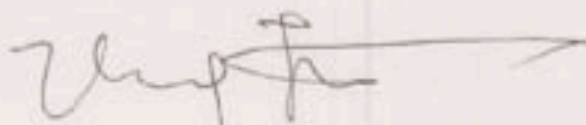
Dear Mr Danby,

I recall with pleasure our meeting last year, when I briefed you on the situation in Tibet and the position of the Chinese Government. I appreciate your comment that Tibet is part of China and you do not support "Tibetan independence". This is the common understanding that we reached during that meeting. As for your request to visit Tibet, the Embassy is liaising with relevant departments in China to make it happen.

I notice with regret, however, that you will attend the so-called "Commemorating 1959 Tibetan Uprising" assembly in front of the Parliament House on 10 March, organized by "Tibetan independence" groups. As I mentioned to you, the rebellion in Tibet on 10 March 1959 and the riot in Lhasa on 14 March last year are violent activities perpetrated by the Dalai group aimed at separating China and undermining ethnic unity and social stability in China. The rally on 10 March will be another act of "Tibetan independence" groups to pursue "Tibetan independence", tarnish the image of the Chinese Government and impair China-Australia relations.

Obviously, your attendance will be inconsistent with what you have said and will inevitably be utilized by "Tibetan independence" groups. I hope you will give careful consideration to this and refrain from attending the "Tibetan independence" activity on 10 March.

Yours sincerely



ZHANG Junsu
Ambassador

中华人民共和国驻悉尼总领事馆

CONSULATE GENERAL OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA IN SYDNEY

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June 2, 2008

Re: Dalai Lama's Visit in Australia

Your Honorable,

As you are probably aware, Dalai Lama is coming once again to Australia, once again for his political cause, and once again in the disguise of religion.

Over the recent years, Dalai Lama never missed a chance selling his "Middle way" approach to seek so-called "high-degree autonomy" of Tibet instead of the "Tibet independence" that he had been pushed for. But this so-called "Middle way" is just a scheme borrowed from the British colonialists early last century in their notorious plan to carve up China.

Firstly, Dalai refuses to recognize Tibet as part of the Chinese territory since ancient times, claiming that Tibet is a country occupied by China and putting us in a status of an "invader". Secondly, he refuses to recognize the existing social system in Tibet, attempting to overthrow it and replace it with another one. Thirdly, he insists on establishing the so-called "Greater Tibet Area", which covers almost a quarter of the Chinese Territory, but has never existed in history. Fourthly, he requests the Central Government to withdraw troops from the so-called "Greater Tibet Area". Fifthly, he wants to move all the non-Tibetans out of the so-called "Greater Tibet Area".

His politically purposeful visit is also self-evident as his website (www.dalailamainaustralia.org) states to "bring the Tibet issue to public prominence", as the back-stage organizers—the "Tibet Information Office" and the "Australia Tibet Council" etc.—are self-styled pursuers of "Tibet independence", as the money raised

by his visit will most possibly refuel their pursuance for "Tibet independence".

Your Honorable, China's stand on the Dalai question is clear and constant: the door of dialogue remains open to Dalai, so long as he truly stops seeking "Tibet independence", recognizes Tibet and Taiwan as inalienable parts of the Chinese territory. This stand have been made crystal clear during the several rounds of dialogue since 1979 between China's Central Government and Dalai's private representatives as well as the recent reengagement of the two sides on 4 May 2008, and will be reiterated in the next round of talks.

Your Honorable, as they might try to seek support of any form from political dignitaries like you, you are kindly advised not to meet Dalai or attend any of his activities. Because that will inevitably be mistaken as your support and encourage for pursuing "Tibet independence", which in turn will hinder the issue from being solved and is not within the interests of all Tibetans.

Consulate-General of the People's Republic of China in Sydney

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October 10, 2003

Hon Elaine Carthaus MLC
Parliamentary Secretary
Environment

Your Honourable,

It is said that you have been mobilizing members of the State Parliament to put an advertisement in "The Australian" newspaper organized by Australia Tibet Council during the visit of President Hu Jintao. I am now writing to remind you that Tibet issue is an internal matter of the People's Republic of China which is very sensitive.

Tibet has been a part of China since Yuan Dynasty (Mid-12th to Mid-13th Century). And it is recognized by the whole international community including Australian Government that Tibet is a part of China. The Australian Federal Government also observes the commitment of non-recognition of Dalai Lama's government-in-exile and opposition against "Tibetan independence". Dalai Lama is not an ordinary religious leader but the head of so-called "Exiled Tibetan Government". He has always been advocating for the independence of Tibet. Any attempt to split China will be against the fundamental will and interests of the people of various ethnic groups throughout China including the ethnic Tibetans.

I do hope that all politicians in Australia should abide by the commitments of the Australian Government. If you are interested in what is happening in China with Tibet issue in particular, you may talk with your colleagues of the state Parliament China Friendship Group or you may in the future join

your fellow colleagues to visit China including a trip to Tibetan Autonomous Region.

I would like to send you some books on Tibet for your reference.

Hope to hearing from you soon.

Yours sincerely,

Junting Tian
Consul-General