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Compiled by Martin Moss for Campaign Free Tibet.

With an introduction by Paul Ingram, author of Tibet: The Facts

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STATEMENT

Campaign Free Tibet is an independent organization formed in 1988 to provide political support for Tibetans and publicize the gross violations of human rights perpetrated as a result of the Chinese occupation of Tibet. CFT is formulated upon the principles of non-violence, party political and religious neutrality.

This report concerns the implementation of coercive birth control policies upon the subject people of Tibet. It seeks to consider the issues arising from the practice of forced abortions and sterilisations and the potential impact of birth control policies being imposed upon them by the occupying power of China. The key issues of concern to CFT are the issues of coercion in Chinese birth control policy and the attendant violations of human rights, the imposition of such policies upon the Tibetan people against their wishes by a power in the act of military occupation, and the position of these policies within the framework of a planned policy of cultural genocide being pursued against the people of Tibet. The report does not consider any rights or wrongs of abortion itself and CFT takes no position upon abortion, sterilisation or birth control policies per se, these being outside the scope of the aims of the organisation.

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A Tibetan who shall remain anonymous for her courage in speaking out and without whom, and people like her, no one would know.

DEDICATION.

This report is dedicated to all men and women in Tibet who suffer at the hands of Chinese repression. It is dedicated to those courageous and selfless Tibetans who risk, and at times pay their lives to speak out and oppose tyranny and to demand their rights and freedom. It is dedicated in the hope that those who have been selectively blind and deaf shall be shamed into belated action upon the issue of Tibet and all other occupied nations of the Chinese Empire. "To fight for the independence of one's country is the duty and right of every individual. I am convinced that truth will prevail" Champa Tenzin, Tibetan monk. Died mysteriously, Tibet, February 1992.

ABBREVIATIONS

ICJ. International Commission of Jurists.

I.U.D. Intra-Uterine Device.

L.T.I.N. LAWASIA - Tibet Information Network.

M.T.P. Menstrual Termination of Pregnancy

O.I.I.R. Office of Information and International Relations of the Tibetan Government in Exile.

T.A.R. The so-called Tibet Autonomous Region.

GLOSSARY.

Above-quota births/extra births/unauthorized births etc. Births not approved by local birth control office and thus not included in the local population plan.

Birth Control Surgeries. IUD insertion, vasectomy. tubal legations and abortion.

Birth permit Official certificate authorising a pregnancy.

Broad Masses. Euphemism used by the Chinese government when referring to generalisations about what the people want, think or say whilst inferring some disagreement Apparently sometimes used when those who disagree are in the majority.

Cadres. Officials of government or Party etc.

Commandism. The use of administrative commands rather than propaganda. reason or other methods of persuasion to induce people to comply with government directives (Aird [28] p 183).

Masses. Ordinary citizens. ic. those with no government rank or party membership.

Party Central Committee. Ruling group within the Chinese Communist Party.

Propaganda. Usually refers to programmes of public education and indoctrination promoting compliance with polices of the party leaders but may also refer to measures to force people to compliance with policies to which they object

Ration Card. Card allowing Tibetans to purchase essential monthly staple supplies from government stores.

Remedial measures. Euphemism for abortion.

Technical measures. Euphemism for "birth control surgeries".

Tibet Autonomous Region. Chinese provincial administrative unit created in 1965 from the remains of annexed Tibetan territory already incorporated into other Chinese provinces.

Work Style. Method of execution of official policies.

Xinhua. Official Chinese State News Agency.

Yuan. Chinese monetary unit. Valued at 2.5 Yuan per U:S Dollar.

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Geo-political re-organisation of Tibet under Chinese Communist rule

1. Tibet Autonomous Region. Invaded by People's Liberation Army troops in 1949 - 50. Proclaimed an autonomous region of China in 1965. The Chinese, when referring to Tibet, invariably mean the TAR, about one third the size of the old Tibet.
2. Qinghai Province. Most of Amdo region of Tibet First claimed by Chinese Emperor K'ang Hsi in 1720. Claim pursued by Kuomintang under Chiang Kai Shek. Communists incorporated Amdo into China after 1950. The Tibetans refuse to recognise these ancient imperial claims.
3. Kaniho Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture. Part of Amdo region of Tibet: reorganised as an autonomous Tibetan prefecture under the Chinese province or Kansu in 1958-64.
4. Ngapa Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture. Part of Amdo region of Tibet: reorganised as a Tibetan autonomous prefecture under Szechuan province prior to 1950.
5. Kanze Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture. Part of Kham region of Tibet; Occupied by PLA troops before the Communists came to power in 1949. Re-organised as part of Sikang province 1950-54. Sikang was dismantled by 1957 and Kanze was reorganised as an autonomous prefecture under Szechuan province.

6. Dechen Tibet Autonomous Prefecture. Part of Kham region of Tibet; Occupied by PLA troops prior to 1949 and reorganised under Yunnan province. There was widespread rioting in these parts even before the PLA troops crossed the Dri-chu (Yangtze) in October 1950.

Adapted from Tibet: The Facts by Paul Ingram. Tibetan Young Buddhist Association, 1990.

CHINA AND ITS OCCUPIED TERRITORIES

The occupied territories are Tibet, East Turkistan, 'Inner' Mongolia and Manchuria. Manchuria is shown here at its extent in 1949 when the new Communist government of China was swift to annex it. Only 37 years previously, in 1912, the First President of China, Yuan Shi-Kai referred to Manchuria as a territory separate from China. Similarly Tibet was to suffer invasion in 1949-56 when the Communist Chinese raised ancient imperial claims to Tibet as justification for their expansionist policies. China also occupies Aksai Chin, in Indian territory and claims 'Outer' Mongolia and large portions of India.

China (sensu-stricto) is exposed as being roughly half the size claimed by the Chinese government and further reductions may be possible if territory of other 'minorities' were taken into account. There is evidence to suggest that 90% of 'minorities' have either disappeared or been dispossessed of their homelands and/or submerged by massive influx of Chinese colonists since 1949.

As the former Soviet Union was considered a land empire, so too is China, but has popular conception as such, largely through ignorance. It seems that it too may be destined for breakup along similar lines as the old Soviet Union. Both Tibet and East Turkistan have long histories of resistance to Chinese domination and strong independence movements. Whilst 'Inner' Mongolia has suffered massive Chinese colonisation, many Mongolians advocate the re-union of their country. Manchuria it seems has suffered heaviest from Chinese colonialism and is all but submerged, yet still there are Manchurians who advocate independence.

The disputed Indo-Tibetan border, a sensitive military zone, is the scene of regular friction between India and China and was the subject of war in 1962 when the Chinese invaded. Newly independent Mongolia having lost Russian domination sits precariously in the face of Chinese claims to it. The virtually constant unrest in Tibet and East Turkistan has brought expressions of solidarity between the peoples of these two suffering nations and expressions of support have been voiced from people in newly independent Kazakhstan. The Chinese Empire is the focus of largest and last of the great independence struggles of the 20th century, which are still little known or understood.

Adapted from Tibet: The Facts by Paul Ingram. Tibetan Young Buddhist Association, 1990.

As given by The Population Atlas of China (55) of 31 and 10 births and deaths per thousand of population respectively, then the population figures given above would require an explanation for 600,000 Tibetans that appear to have 'disappeared' between 1987 and 1990. If Chinese birth control policies had reduced the CBR to zero in this time and the CDR had remained constant, there would still be 444,000 Tibetans unaccounted for. Are these figures illustrative of a decreased CBR and increased CDR as a result of Chinese birth control policies (and/or other factors) or do they illustrate the total unreliability of Chinese statistics? It has to be said that the latter explanation is the more likely and for whatever reason, contradictory figures have been made available concerning the size of the Tibetan population within the Chinese empire. This has two main repercussions. Firstly it brings into question the validity of all statements and conclusions that have used such figures to bolster or justify their arguments, and secondly it raises the question that IF EVEN THE CHINESE DON'T KNOW HOW MANY TIBETANS THERE ARE UNDER THEIR DOMINATION, WHO ELSE CAN KNOW? It may even be that the complexity the Chinese often employ to split up the Tibetan people into separate provinces, and even different peoples may be a factor here. None-the-less it is easy to see why Chinese statistics must be treated with extreme caution at all times, likewise any 'academic' or other source that uses them. One must be absolutely clear about what precisely Chinese statistics

refer to and also all the possible causes of inaccuracy/fabrication. Distortions in Chinese statistics have been detected before and false statistical returns from Birth Control cadres have often been condemned in the Chinese internal press and official communications.

One social implication of the policy of not issuing ration/registration cards for children born outside of the permitted quota is reported by Kerr [26]. Those without legal papers are denied access to school and thus remain uneducated. are denied right to own property or travel, some are denied residence permits for specific towns etc. They cannot participate in organised work and without a ration card cannot obtain their monthly entitlements of staple foods from government stores. There are reports of thousands of such children who live in villages. Kerr states that this "economic and social exile may be producing a growing generation of 'illegal' children committed to a lifetime of menial jobs".

THE CHINESE VIEW QUALITY CONTROL AND ECONOMIC INTEREST

Deng Bihai [44] in an article in CHINA POPULATION NEWS of 22.12.89 reports that since "liberation" many "ethnic minorities" have grown in population. Attributing this growth to the "correct minority policy of the party" Deng claims that the natural environment is being destroyed as a result of this growth and that nature could not maintain its equilibrium". Deng describes symptoms of environmental degradation such as soil erosion, overgrazing, water resource misuse, felling of forests and the disappearance of animals and birds. Deng attributes this environmental mismanagement to the 'ethnic minorities' and advocates the need to restrict them by firm family planning policies. Deng totally ignores the growing body of evidence that shows China to be exploiting the occupied territories such as Tibet and East Turkistan for their mineral and timber wealth. Evidence of large scale de-forestation and minerals extraction without regard to environmental consequences appears if anything to be a direct result of Chinese occupation and virtually all the resources are exported from the occupied territories to supply China.

The real reasons behind Beijing's implementation of birth control policies in Tibet and other occupied countries (such as East Turkistan) is obscure as far as official sources go. Efforts to justify the existence of such policies attempt to link "minority" populations to the main Chinese population as being part of the same 'population problem'. YET THE TIBETAN POPULATION ACCOUNTS FOR LESS THAN 1% OF THAT OF CHINA. Others refer to aspects of so-called 'population quality' as a reason for the introduction of birth control, the 'fewer but better births' of official propaganda. But such 'justifications' appear as gross attempts to present non-Chinese as biologically and intellectually inferior and have explicitly racist overtones. Goldstein and Beall (371) considered that increasing Tibetan population could 'pose an enormous economic and social burden for Tibet's underdeveloped economy'. Indeed Goldstein and Beall ask 'Why China is not insisting on restrictive population policy' as a result of what they report to be an agricultural land shortage. They claim to have found no evidence of birth control policies amongst the nomads they visited in a part of U-Tsang in the mid to late 1980's. Yet it has been that these areas are among those which have only within the last 5 years begun to be affected by birth control policies (as they confirm by noting the arrival of birth control propaganda in 1990) and do not take into account the effect of the population transfer programme of the Chinese government whereby an estimated 7 million Chinese have been imported to Tibet doubling the number of people there in little more than ten years.

Indeed Chinese justification for restricting the so-called "minority" populations almost always employs dubious economic arguments such as linking the rise in living standards for "minorities" (itself debatable since many consider Tibetans to be worse off now after over forty years of Chinese occupation

than they were before) with the use of birth control policy (461). - An article following this line of debate was reported in AGENCE FRANCE PRESSE [57] accrediting a vice-chairman of the 'Tibet Autonomous Region' with saying "The increase in population will decrease the average per capita gross national product and hinder raising the people's average standard of living'. A Radio Lhasa broadcast (57) of 18.3.90 credited 'Comrade Tenzin' deputy secretary of the 'TAR

Party Committee' with saying that the 'family planning task is a major issue related to the social and economic progress and raising living standards of the people of the TAR'.

Goldstein and Beall [37] considered that the Chinese government was finding it hard to introduce restrictive population control policies in Tibet for a number of reasons. These being that the impact of such policies would have very little effect on China's population control and secondly because of the "pro-natalist feeling among most Tibetans" which made "family planning a delicate political issue". Indeed the Chinese authorities continue to be acutely sensitive where the birth control issue is raised and appear at pains to deny use of force and persuade the international community that the policy implementation is based upon encouraging people through n into voluntarily adhering to the policy. IF, as they infer; so many people are volunteering for. birth control operations and contraception and are so willing to adhere to the child limits (even if nobody fc= them) and am so eager to participate in the claimed economic advantages of doing so. WHY IS THERE STILL A RELUCTANCE ON THE PART OF THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT TO CLARIFY THE EXACT NATURE OF THE POLICY IN TIBET OR ALLOW INTERNATIONALLY SUPERVISED INVESTIGATIONS INTO THE ISSUE. WHY ARE THEY SO SENSITIVE TO CRITICISM ? This is an important consideration since if the Chinese claims are true, they have the ability to prove them. Their failure to do so can only harm their credibility and lead to speculation as to the truth of their unsubstantiated claims at a time when confidence in die Chinese administration is at an all time low in the international community. At such a time, surely, only those with something to hide would continue to apparently shoot themselves in the fool Goldstein and Beall [37] considered the continued failure of the China government to permit 'impartial observers to conduct their own investigations' served to 'hamper the dissemination of objective information' and fuel the controversy over 'the birth control abuse issue'. Others of a more sceptical frame of mind continue to consider the Chinese governments inaction over facilitating independent international investigations into this issue as tacit admission of guilt in a planned policy of cultural genocide.

THE TIBETAN VIEW. GENOCIDE OF A PEOPLE IN CRISIS.

Goldstein and Beall [37] considered that Tibetans saw themselves "at risk of being swamped by Han hordes" and thus saw "power in numbers". They considered that Tibetans saw "population control in terms of power and ethnic survival" and thought these feelings had " been exacerbated by the substantial influx of Chinese" into Tibet.

Jetsun Pema who was the head of the third fact Trading mission sent to Tibet by the Dalai Lama in 1981 later wrote [58] of a "very disturbing thing" she noticed whilst in Tibet, that she "DID NOT SEE A SINGLE PREGNANT TIBETAN WOMAN THROUGHOUT MY STAY AND TRAVEL IN TIBET. While I have no definite proof, I felt quite certain that this is another of their (Chinese) evil designs to wipe out our people'. As already raw. this fear of actual genocide was reported among Tibetans as early as 1960 by the International Commission of Jurists (ICI) [2] and many Tibetans remain convinced that the unspoken aim of the Chinese birth control policy in Tibet is the reduction of the Tibetan race to a point where it would no longer be a problem for the Beijing Government as decades of resistance has made it today.

Testimony of T1 [7] describes an "overbearing attitude of the communist Chinese rulers toward their national minorities and in the case of Tibet under their colonial rule, the deprivation of the rights of the Tibetans as to their national identity, and their basic human rights and freedoms". Chodhak & Cheophel [1] had "no doubt as w the motives of the Chinese Government to slowly annihilate the Tibetan race' explaining that "Tibetans deplore such practices of birth control as they not only consider them inhuman. inappropriate and totally unjustified. but also because they contravene the tenets of their Buddhist faith" and quote from Tibetan Government in Exile documents reporting "very strong resentment among the Tibetan people against the Chinese authorities on this policy which is not only against their will but also their religion". This List point is very important since it must be remembered that Tibetans have maintained themselves as a Buddhist people despite the attempts of the Chinese Government to eradicate Buddhism. Tibetans are still known as profoundly religious and anything going against the grain of that religion would be viewed very seriously. As Cohen [18] noted. " Buddhists hold a reverence for all life forms. I have seen Tibetans carefully removing insects from the proximity to spider webs.

They do not even kill mosquitos. Tibetan Lamas constantly remind one that 'a human incarnation is precious'. Reports speak of Tibetan outrage but powerlessness to do anything about it.

Cohen [18] reports finding that nearly all of the Tibetan women she spoke to perceived the birth control policy "as part of the entire experience of the Chinese occupation". She reports a "prevalent sense of the lack of individual will and power. The women use phrases like "They keep saying that you can't give birth to more than two children'. 'They made a law to have only two kids" or "But the Chinese made a rule that they have to sterilise after the second child". The key words are CAN'T, LAW, ALLOWED AND RULE. THEY ALL REFLECT THE CONTROL THAT THE CHINESE HAVE OVER THEIR LIVES".

Cohen reports an 18 year old Tibetan who "understood that the sterilisation of her two older sisters had a larger meaning" when she said "I thought if the Chinese sterilised Tibetan women, the Tibetan people will be no more".

A Human Rights update of OIIR [47] explained that "The issue of forced abortion and infanticide in occupied Tibet is serious because it is being implemented by a communist regime with the sole objective of the systematic reduction of the Tibetan population which is already overwhelmed by the influx of civilian Chinese settlers. Tibet has 2.5 million sq km of land with a traditional population of 6 million people. The Chinese policies are an act of genocide on the people and aimed at demographically changing the social atmosphere of Tibet. The other Chinese claims that abortions and sterilisations in Tibet were voluntary are preposterous at best and malicious at worst. Tibetans are devout Buddhists who consider all forms of life sacred and that of human life especially so. This is because of their belief that to be born a human being is to get a chance to attain Buddhahood. To accept abortion is to deprive a human being of that opportunity and to submit to sterilisation is to prevent a person who deserves to be born a human being from being so born".

Resistance to the policy has been reported and Tim Luard in a DAILY TELEGRAPH article of 12.3.88 [59] tells of a demonstration in Amdo which was violently repressed after Tibetan women in Huangnan died after operations that went wrong. One resident reported that young shepherdesses had been pursued through the countryside and taken away in trucks saying "They treat our girls like animals, sometimes they take them just to do experiments on". Asia Watch [60] mention a report of demonstrations against forced abortions and for Tibetan independence in Rekonng, where local officials were said to have abortion quotas to fill and that coercion was instrumental in filling them. Testimony 4 of Chodhak & Choephel [1] reports mass demonstrations in Changkha, Rekonng and Tsecok regions of Amdo in response to sterilisations. Dhukar Tsering [13] reports demonstrations against forced abortions and sterilisations involving students and staff of Tso-ngo Shangchi Tru-ten (health) school. the teacher's training school at Rekonng and monks on Rongpo monastery of about 2 to 300 people in November and December of 1987. Many, if not most of such demonstrations probably go unreported. THE EXISTENCE OF ANY DEMONSTRATIONS AGAINST CHINESE BIRTH CONTROL POLICIES IS A BRIGHT STAIN ON CHINESE GOVERNMENT CLAIMS AND THOSE OF SUPPORTERS THAT THE POLICY IS BASED ON VOLUNTARY INVOLVEMENT.

EUGENICS: THE BLOODY MOTIVATION?

E. Moen [61] gives a comprehensive definition of eugenics as the "management of breeding for the purpose of improving stock. Among human populations eugenics has been practiced through programmes that encourage and sometimes force 'worthy parenthood' and discourage and sometimes forbid 'unworthy parenthood'. Screening for genetic defects or heritable diseases; institutionalisation of those regarded as unfit for parenthood: laws regarding marriage, contraception. abortion. and sterilisation: and monetary incentives among the means of carrying out eugenic policies'. With this in mind it is easy to understand the meaning of the Chinese governments stated intention to "Increase the Quality of the Nation". Moen describes how eugenics involves the "identification of desired and undesired genetically transmitted characteristics and selective breeding so as to maximise or minimise their occurrence". Moen

ascribes political attributes to eugenics which involve the 'attribution of fitness and worthiness' to people in situations that may involve not only ethical and religious implications, but also the "misuse and misrepresentation of genetics to accomplish what are essentially political goals". Moen notes that politically based eugenic programmes have been justified by claiming inferiority of the socially unsuccessful, poor, racial or ethnic minorities and women. Ethnocentrism, class elitism and racism are important components of many eugenic 'theories' and Moen notes that political eugenics programmes were used in the United States and Europe 'well into this century' in order to "justify and perpetuate the prevailing class mixture and to eliminate or severely reduce the influence of certain groups of people, all in the name of racial purity". Whereas the Nazis did much to discredit human eugenics in the West, the Chinese government appears to have embraced it in order to further its own political desires.

Moen [61] notes that "Socially and biologically based eugenics have always been used as a major justification for China's post-revolutionary fertility policies" and claims that eugenics has taken an even more important role since the introduction of the one child policy in 1979. Moen further notes that in 1982 the "newspaper RENMIN RIBAO reported that the government would begin formulating eugenic regulations to prevent the birth of congenitally retarded and dull witted people' and to forbid those with heredity deformity from giving birth. It is the imprecise categories of "congenitally deformed" and "dull-witted" in company with the new economic policies that flag the possibilities of the imposition of politically based eugenic programs".

With this in mind statements such as those of Deng Bihai [44] concerning the "quality", or "minority" populations as "stagnant" and "backward" sound increasingly ominous. Further claims that "minority" people are more often "mentally retarded short of stature, dwarfs or insane" in combination with conclusions that this only went to "show the need to take family planning firmly and effectively in hand" shows clearly that the Tibetan race has been singled out for eugenic attention. As noted carrier, Gansu introduced a policy of forced sterilisation for the "mentally handicapped" in 1988 stating at the time that Tibetans produced more handicapped people than other races. If one adds the dimension of Chinese racism toward the Tibetans, as noted by many writers, it is possible to surmise that it may only be to be Tibetan in order for one to be regarded as an undesirable genetic defect. Statements such as those in XINHUA [42] which claim that there are 100,000 'handicapped' people in Tibet, about 5% of the population (TAR), seem at the very least to condemn a large section of the Tibetan population as undesirable. As with most Chinese euphemisms the actual meaning of "handicapped" could be many things and many Tibetans could find themselves at the knife end of politically motivated decisions concerning their mental state with little or no chance of any appeal or compensation. Such concepts and policies clearly enable the stage to be set for full scale genocidal practices to be enacted.

THE NATURE OF EVIDENCE, LIES ABOUT TRUTH AND TRUTH ABOUT LIES.

There are three sources of information concerning the practice of birth control policies in Tibet. They are,

1. The Chinese Government
2. Tibetan exile/tourist or researcher testimony.
4. Collected accounts by researchers or fact finding delegations etc.

THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT. Not the most trustworthy of governments at the best of times when it comes to accurate presentation of information, being totalitarian means that information it releases is likely to contain at very least, substantial amounts of propaganda. Their claims about the events of Tiananmen Square leave one in no doubt of their ability to mis-represent, mis-lead and omit facts from their official versions. Much of their released information on such things as policy is known to represent only a proportion or that which exists, the rest remaining secret. Furthermore some authors have detected 'significant distortions' even in statistical data. Consequently it would be most unwise to accept anything the Chinese Government claimed without access to and independently collected corroborative evidence. Despite this, Aird [28] p12 states that "Chinese sources are often quite candid about Family planning policies and measures for implementation' but co 'Chinese publications in English and other foreign languages" to be "generally less reliable than domestic sources". Aird describes Xinhua dispatches as "authoritative, but they often omit mention of family planning tactics strongly

advocated in the domestic media that do not accord with official claims that the program is voluntary'.

TESTIMONY FROM TIBETAN EXILES, TOURISTS AND RESEARCHERS. Testimony is always suspect. Witnesses can exaggerate, embellish or even lie. THEY CAN ALSO TELL THE TRUTH, UNDERSTATE, FORGET IMPORTANT DETAIL. Of foreign researchers. Aird [28] p13 warns "Foreigners who wish to retain their Chinese contacts and ingratiate themselves with the Chinese authorities may also manipulate the information available to them through private contacts in China. Some foreign visitors have been known to withhold information from Chinese sources which they thought would reflect adversely on China or support a view of Chinese programmes and policies less sympathetic than their own. The least trustworthy of the Foreign sources are reports by visitors who go to China. sometimes as pests of the State Family Planning Commission, with the evident intent to find good things to say about the family planning programme. 'Their embellishments sometimes exceed those of the Chinese propaganda journals'. Aird [28] p10 identified a conflict of interest among demographers who 'avoid mention of coercive family planning practices in China for fear of offending the Chinese authorities and risking their access to Chinese population data, their contacts with Chinese demographers and their participation in joint research projects with Chinese colleagues and institutions' and continues that "Even more offensive from an ethical standpoint is the behaviour of foreign population specialists who know that the Chinese programme is coercive but describe it in their publications as voluntary". On p108 he notes that "Many demographers and virtually all family planners react to the issue of coercion in the Chinese family planning programme not as social scientists or humanitarians but as interest groups who think their ox is being gored. Some fall silent when the subject comes up. Some make excuses for the Chinese authorities. Some pretend that the evidence is ambiguous. Some repeat disingenuous claims and arguments used by the Chinese authorities to deny the compulsory of their family planning programme. Some use the format of scholarship and social science to reinforce the deception, compromising the integrity of their discipline and its public credibility. On the whole, the treatment of the coercion issue by family planners and demographers has been neither courageous nor forthright. In the long run this cannot serve anybody's interests well".

COLLECTED ACCOUNTS. Compilations of eyewitness statement are not in themselves evidence but are presentations of evidence collected from primary and secondary sources. Whilst all the pitfalls of authenticity remain for such accounts one must go add the effect of the report author who may have misunderstood, wrongly translated, badly researched, embellished or even made up reports and in addition added his/her own political/moral bias. Alternatively they could have done a very thorough and well bed piece of work and kept their own bias out or to a minimum.

To form an opinion of what is happening in Tibet one cannot empirically trust anyone. It is highly unlikely that one will be able to go and find out for oneself thus one is left at the mercy of available information. One must thus judge what and who to believe: The official releases and statements of one of the worlds most totalitarian centralised and repressive governments, or information given by and gathered from ordinary men and women, many of whom may have gone through severe and dangerous experiences (both physical and emotional) without benefit of much education, or a well oiled and highly financed propaganda machine to expound their views.

Goldstein & Beall [37] found 'no evidence' to support the reports of birth control being enforced upon nomadic and agricultural populations. They claim that "There were no roving sterilisation teams, and no forced abortions and infanticide in either Phala or Nyare" both small areas of U-Tsang. WHAT THEY ACTUALLY MEAN IS THAT THEY DIDN'T SEE ANY. This may have been because policies had not been implemented in this part of Tibet and they thus attempt to qualify their statement by noting that they didn't even visit any other regions of Tibet. thus admitting the very restricted geographical validity of their information. Alternatively they may have failed to inspire enough trust among Tibetan women for them to volunteer information about their experience (if any) of birth control policy. Statement T2 of Tibetan Doctor D.T [8] asserts that 'it is impossible to find out about these practices' from the general population because of the practice of Tibetan Buddhism which views such operations as murder'. Thus no one will apparently speak out "for fear of being looked down upon in society'. The women thus

reacting to their experience more as guilty participants than victims not unlike that reported by some victims of rape or assault.

There is enormous disagreement various accounts of the practice of birth control policy in Tibet. Goldstein and Beall, commenting upon the discrepancies between their 'independently collected data' and that of Kerr, Avedon and Asia Watch, describe the 'charges of coercive birth control' as spurious and suggest Teheran testimonies were 'exaggerations or fabrications told to foreigners to garner sympathy and support'. They claim to have heard such 'exaggerations and distortions' in Lhasa tea shops having got Tibetans to admit "things had recently improved" or that they had happened in the 'Cultural Revolution' (Conversations of the mid-1980's may well have commented upon recent easing of birth control regulations, especially in Lhasa where as Aird [28] notes the general mood was a belief in the end of the "storm in planned parenthood". The tightening of birth control enforcement was about ' to begin). Tibetans they claim "harbor deep seated anger and hostility toward the Chinese, which colors their perception of the current situation and sometimes leads to distortions exaggerations and fabrications'. Alternatively Goldstein and Beall (37) claim that "Tibetans reporting incidents may well believe something happened to them even though it did not. This they again attribute to a dislike of the Chinese leading to belief in "an anti-Tibetan plot". Furthermore, they claim that reports of forced sterilisation and abortion may be true but merely the result of "overly zealous officials" (a classic Chinese government excuse) or simply the result of "methodological flaws of Kerr's and Avedon's dam collection" as a result of basing claims on 'accounts of selected Tibetan refugees'. Goldstein and Beall thus considered that 'allegations of pervasive human rights violations in Tibet in the area of birth control reflects not the objective presence of a policy of systematic and coercive birth control in Tibet but rather the highly emotional atmosphere surrounding the struggle of Tibetan refugees and their supporters against the Chinese'. Goldstein and Beall [37] do not appear to have considered the fact that THEIR FINDINGS amounted to eyewitness testimony and were thus OPEN TO THE SAME CRITICISMS THEY THEMSELVES LIST. When not trying to belittle the testimony of Tibetans. Goldstein and Beall [37] seem intent upon reprimanding Avedon and Kerr for not presenting their findings in the proper 'scientific' manner. Yet bad procedure (should it exist) has no relationship to the authenticity of the original data. even if, as Goldstein and Beall suggest. Avedon and Kerr were "pre-disposed" to believe highly negative accounts' the truth of the original testimony is independent of the listeners preferences. To dismiss the eyewitness testimony of the people Avedon and Kerr consulted on the basis of procedural disagreement with the author of the final account is unfair since it tacitly accuses the witnesses of lying without fair chance of a proper hearing and as result of circumstances over which they had no control.

Furthermore, presenting findings based upon small samples from geographically restricted areas, under Chinese sanction and backed up with Chinese statistics that may themselves be inaccurate strains severely any claim to objectivity and impartiality. Certainly unreliable data to contemptuously dismiss the evidence of Tibetan exiles, Tibetans in Tibet and foreign observers. To do so on the basis of alleged gossip in tea shops hardly merits the status of scientific process. In all their attempt to explain away the persistent reports of forced abortion and sterilisation are to say the least, unconvincing. After all they ask the reader to accept that their findings which relate to only 45 women in a nomadic area of Tibet. and 34 in a village near Lhasa am evidence to support statements refuting the existence of coercive birth control policies across all of the so-called TAR in relation to millions of Tibetans. Carefully collected "fertility histories" from such small samples may say something of their previous experience, but they say nothing of the future or the present. It is significant that Goldstein and Beall confirm the escalation of birth control policies in Tibet by noting the arrival of birth control propaganda by 1990, if the experience of many other Tibetans is anything to go by this is not an encouraging sign.

Cohen [18] interviewed one woman who broke down and cried when admitting she had been sterilised and reported fearing rejection by Tibetan men as a result. Cohen considered she was suffering from guilt brought on by having religious beliefs that considered sterilisation (and abortion) as sinful and viewed such women as experiencing "a double isolation, first from themselves and second from their society". In the light of this one is entitled to ask or even doubt if it is likely that two foreign westerners (in a part of Tibet where one can only be with the sanction of the Chinese authorities) could have entered the confidence of Tibetan nomads. In

the environment of Lhasa, where they did much of their work one would think it even more unlikely among Tibetans who knew only too well the consequence of speaking out of turn about the treatment of Tibetans at the hands of the Chinese. The Chinese authorities have taken every opportunity to demonstrate the consequences of passing information that contradicts the official line to foreigners. the case of Yulo Dawa Tsering being one of the best known examples. Yulo, whose case has been adopted by Amnesty International, was sentenced to 10 years in prison apparently as a result of a conversation with a foreign tourist in 1987 in which he expressed support for the Dalai Lama. His case was well publicised in Tibet with apparent intent of intimidating any Tibetans with similar ideas. One is thus entitled to ask if it is likely that Tibetans would be over keen on risking similar treatment by voicing opposition to Chinese policies to a foreigner about whom they knew nothing.

Cohen [18] remarks that " The women of occupied Tibet have been given constant indoctrination by the People's Republic of China in many facets of their lives. Forced to study Chinese and made to reel outsiders in their own country, they still maintain a remarkable lucidity about their experience. Most of the women have had members of their families either killed, imprisoned or tortured. Yet when given the opportunity to speak of their lives, they show no feelings of violent anger towards the Chinese. They were adamant, however, in telling me that the Chinese do not tell the truth'. She reports one woman saying 'My small children are frightened of the Chinese. The Chinese beat the Tibet people during the day and force them to do things they don't want to do. But at night, on the television, in Tibet, they are telling lies. They show only lies'. Cohen states that " The reality of population control policy of the PRC is not to be found in official statements and reports. The ethical implications of the 'success' of this policy can be evaluated only when the experiences of the Tibetan women have been given serious and careful attention. IT MUST BE RECOGNISED THAT IT IS THE LIFE HISTORIES OF TIBETAN WOMEN THAT THE 'REAL TRUTH' WILL BE FOUND".Statement T2 [8] ends "MY ACCOUNT CAN EASILY BE INVESTIGATED BY THE HOSPITALS IN THE FREE WORLD. I SWEAR MY LIFE FOR THE INFORMATION THAT I HAVE GIVEN. I AM VICTIM OF THIS BIRTH CONTROL POLICY OF THE CHINESE AUTHORITIES. AS A TIBETAN I HAVE TESTIFIED FOR AND AS ONE CASE OF TENS OF THOUSANDS OF TIBETAN WOMEN WHO HAVE SUFFERED LIKE ME AND SO THAT UNBORN BABIES IN TIBET WILL BE PROTECTED".

CONCLUSION.

The existence of birth control policy in Tibet is no longer a matter for dispute. Policies are being implemented and have been at least since the early 1960's. The Chinese dispute that Tibetans were subject to it during most of this time but admit that it had been implemented against Tibetans during the 'Cultural Revolution'. The Chinese claim it was stopped after the demise of the 'Cultural Revolution' and that Tibetans were again not subject to birth control policy. Tibetans claim that policies were implemented again around 1977 and they appear to have spread, perhaps sporadically over successively larger areas of Tibet throughout the 1980's.

The Chinese government claim that Tibetans are only 'encouraged' into voluntary adherence to the birth control policy is sharply disputed by many sources including substantial amounts of eyewitness testimony. The use of the euphemisms 'propaganda', 'encourage' and 'volunteer' in birth control policy statements issued by the Chinese government when referring to Tibet appear as so more than attempts at deception to cover the stark reality of coercion that is the basic hallmark of Chinese birth control policy as a whole. Chinese government has been exposed as stopping at nothing to stamp its demographic dictates upon not only the Tibetans, but all people within China and its empire. The degree of coercion is staggering. The Chinese government will bribe, bully, threaten, deceive and even physically force people to submit to the state demand and obsession for abortion and sterilisation.

Yet a common device used by the Chinese government and its supporters is to try and divorce the Tibetans in annexed territory outside of the so-called 'Tibetan Autonomous Region' (TAR) from those within. When such people talk of Tibet they invariably mean the 'TAR'. They then proceed to claim that 'Tibetans' of one 'class' or another experience more 'lenient' or no policy of birth control. Some authors attempt to confuse the reader by trying to refute the existence of birth

control policies within the context of this pseudo-Tibet of Chinese invention (the 'TAR'). This then leaves them able to discuss the situation in parts of Tibet that appear to have only recently witnessed the implementation of birth control policies as if it referred to the whole of the Tibetan people. This is clearly not the case, the picture of policy implementation is a very confused one and simplifications based on small samples in remote areas or otherwise are not tenable or compatible with the vast majority of other available evidence.

In circumstances where submission to intimidation and threats is hailed as volunteering, it is easy to see the urgent need for international action over the human rights aspects of Chinese birth control policy. It is clear that the rights of Tibetan women have been abolished by central mandate and that they are given no choice but to accept a position that renders them servile to the officials of the state administrative machine. Small wonder that Cohen [18] was able to report one Tibetan as saying "WE HAVE NO RIGHTS, NOT EVEN OUR BODIES". It is also clear that the unborn child from the moment of conception to birth has absolutely no rights whatever. The right to life having been annexed by the state as the privilege to issue permission for birth through the bestowal of an official certificate.

Furthermore, there is continued and increasing evidence to suggest that newborn children are also denied right to exist and if reports of an increasing number of testimonies are correct (Chinese, Tibetan and foreign) the practice of infanticide of newborns may be either a secret part of birth control policy or a practice tolerated with the compliance of central officialdom. Such practices as reported, appear in essence to operate as unofficial licence to perpetrate extra-judicial execution of children whose only crime is to have been born without state permission.

An analysis of the reproductive outlook of the Tibetan population under the child quota systems increasingly being implemented across all of Tibet reveals the distinct possibility of a bleak future for the Tibetan people. A stable Tibetan population under the conditions of two child quotas and the ascendant abortion/sterilisation rates and administrative restrictions on birth permissions is practically impossible. If Tibetan reports of abortions and sterilisations are correct, the impact upon the next couple of generations of Tibetans could be disastrous. Even Chinese figures appear to show a decline in Tibetan population posing a serious problem for the viability of a self-sustaining Tibetan population anything like that which exists today. This, in addition to the combined factors of Chinese population transfer programmes and the rampant sustained attack by the Chinese upon Tibetan culture, religion, language and identity leave one in no doubt as to the potential for cultural genocide. The Tibetan people face the gravest crisis of survival in their entire recorded history.

The Tibetan population has been estimated at having been about 6 million prior to Chinese invasion in 1949/50. It has been estimated that at least 1.25 million Tibetans perished in the 'Great Genocide' or 'The Terror' in the years following the Tibetan National Uprising in 1959 and throughout the Twenty Years War (1954 - 74). A serious population low must have occurred sometime in the mid to late 1960's, and have taken some years for any real recovery to have occurred. China must thus have implemented birth control policies upon an already reduced Tibetan population. Chinese statistics estimated there were 5.2 million Tibetans in 1987 but other Chinese statistics for their 1990 census claim them to be 4.59 million. Whichever is nearer the true figure the Tibetan population may now be no larger than during the height of the 'The Terror' of the early to mid 1960's, neutralising any effect of the claimed high birth rates of the early and mid 1980's and making a mockery of any justification or the imposition of birth control policies on the grounds of high population growth rates. Claims about the validity of birth control policies due to supposed lack of arable land are preposterous in the light of Chinese population transfer programmes that are importing millions of Chinese colonists into Tibet. With the Chinese governments stated intention to move perhaps as many as 200 million Chinese into the western occupied territories, one is entitled to believe that they find any such [and shortage] worries to be minimal. Furthermore, if the economy of Tibet is to be developed in any way along the lines claimed by the Chinese, then one would expect a drop in land requirement as the population became more urban and industrial based in economy. It is only if Tibetans are to be excluded from the economic development of their country that the claims of arable land shortage become even a possibility as the Tibetans would be brought into direct competition with millions of Chinese settlers poured into Tibet as a part of the Chinese

governments population transfer programme.

Chinese government attempts to justify the imposition of birth control policies upon the Tibetans are dubious at best and racist at worst. Indeed the Tibetan Government in Exile [48] points out that Tibetans "are in real need of more Human resources from their own society". Small wonder that the Tibetans (who have the most experience of the realities or Chinese occupation) remain convinced that the real aim of the policy is the eventual stagnation or destruction of the Tibetan race.

Chinese birth control policy certainly appears as one of the main supports of a structure or systematic denial of the human and political rights of the Tibetan people. It is part of a system of oppression imposed upon the subject people of an independent nation under illegal Chinese occupation. It is a policy imposed by a colonial power in the act of military occupation upon an annexed nation of its empire. It can and is only imposed by right of conquest justified by the absurd imperial claims of ancient Chinese dynasties. As an act of genocide it would rank as one of the most systematic in history. Whether such policies are genocidal by intent or accident on the practical level is irrelevant since it makes no practical difference to the Tibetan people. On the political level, given the known history of China's oppression of the Tibetan people, it is hard to accept that the Chinese government could possibly be ignorant of the consequences of their actions.

The case for opposing China's birth control policy upon its coercive aspects is very strong. The case for opposing its imposition upon the Tibetans and other subject peoples of China's occupied territories is overwhelming. Those outside China who continue to overtly or tacitly support China's birth control policy not only do so against the wishes of the people of China's occupied territories, but also against the will of the Chinese people themselves. They also support the rights of colonial and totalitarian regimes in subverting every principle of democratic, judicial and human right. Such action is unjustifiable and unforgivable. Such people and organisations are to be sought out, exposed and roundly condemned. This action of the U.N on this issue of support for China's birth control policy appears especially disgraceful. It is outrageous that even the ex-Secretary General of the U.N. (Perez de Cuellar) could be implicated in support for such a coercive policy. Mr de Cuellar is however not alone in mistaking the fruits of massive scale coercion, murder and physical assault for population control success. Many it seems have allowed themselves to see only what they wish to. As the old saying goes 'what you see depends on your point of view' but many should know better than to praise policies and programmes without fully considering all the available evidence and properly conducting an impact assessment. Among them are noted scientists and academics throughout the western world. When the renowned English biologist, David Bellamy [62] praised the Chinese population control programme in 1985 as "a fantastic success story", he was not wrong. It is indeed the most successful programme of coercion utilised by a government to intimidate not only its own people but those of occupied nations into absolute compliance with the wishes of the ruling elite of any nation extant in the world today.

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