

# TIBETAN BULLETIN

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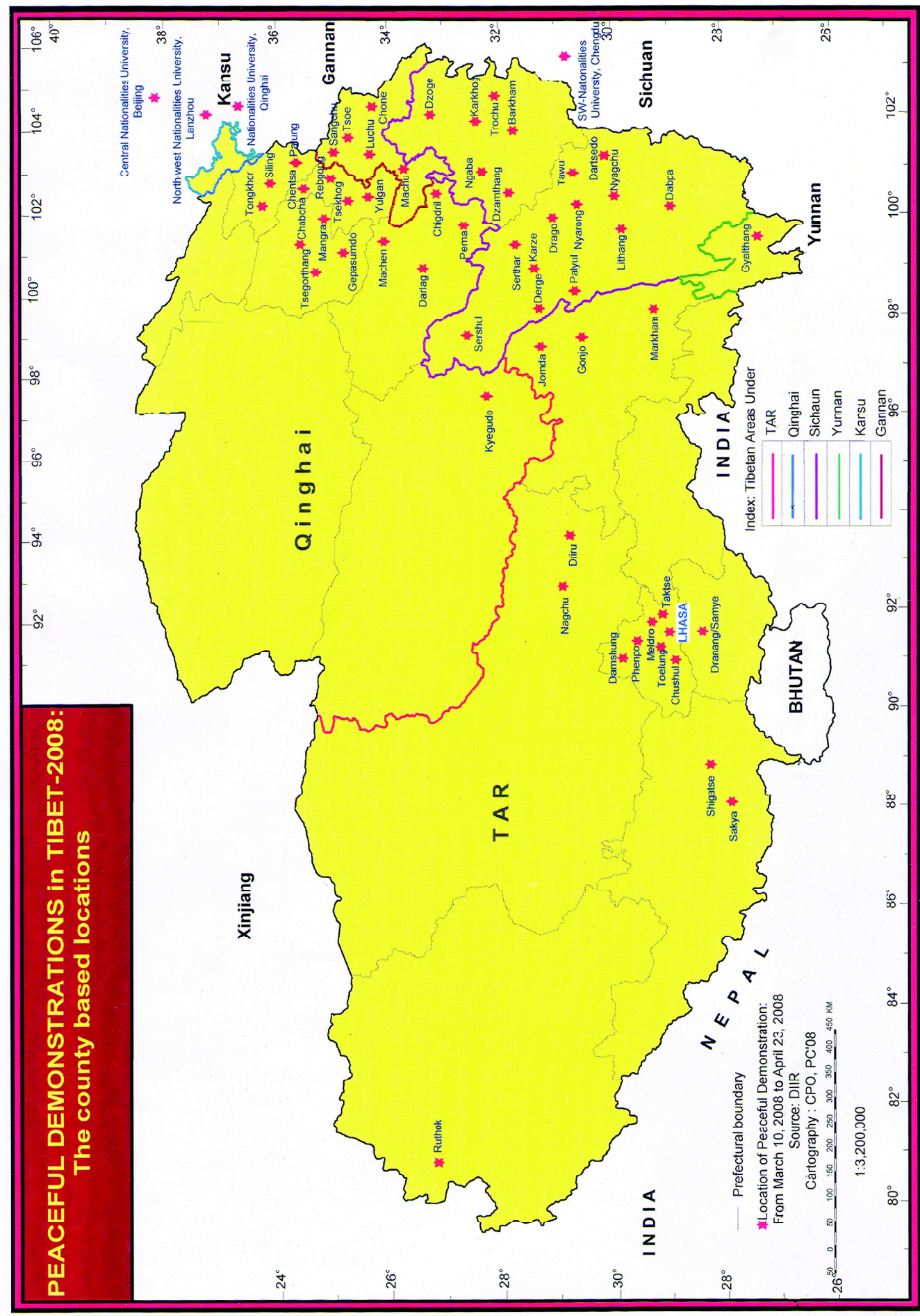
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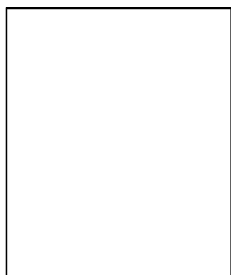


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**BREXIT**  
**BULLETIN**  
The British Government has announced that it will not be participating in the negotiations for a trade agreement between the United Kingdom and the European Union. This decision was made after a long period of consultation with the public and the business community. The government believes that it is in the best interests of the United Kingdom to remain outside of the EU trade agreement. This decision will have significant implications for the UK economy and its relationship with the EU. The government will continue to work closely with the EU to ensure a smooth transition to a new trading arrangement. The decision was announced by the Prime Minister in a speech to the House of Commons. He stated that the government's decision was based on a thorough analysis of the options available. He emphasized that the government's priority is to secure the best possible deal for the United Kingdom. The decision was met with mixed reactions from the public and the business community. Some welcomed the decision, while others expressed concern. The government will continue to listen to the views of the public and the business community as it works to secure a new trading arrangement. The decision is a significant step in the process of Brexit. It will have a major impact on the UK economy and its relationship with the EU. The government will continue to work hard to ensure a successful outcome for the United Kingdom.



1. THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT HAS ANNOUNCED THAT IT WILL NOT BE PARTICIPATING IN THE NEGOTIATIONS FOR A TRADE AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE UNITED KINGDOM AND THE EUROPEAN UNION.  
2. THIS DECISION WAS MADE AFTER A LONG PERIOD OF CONSULTATION WITH THE PUBLIC AND THE BUSINESS COMMUNITY.  
3. THE GOVERNMENT BELIEVES THAT IT IS IN THE BEST INTERESTS OF THE UNITED KINGDOM TO REMAIN OUTSIDE OF THE EU TRADE AGREEMENT.  
4. THIS DECISION WILL HAVE SIGNIFICANT IMPLICATIONS FOR THE UK ECONOMY AND ITS RELATIONSHIP WITH THE EU.  
5. THE GOVERNMENT WILL CONTINUE TO WORK CLOSELY WITH THE EU TO ENSURE A SMOOTH TRANSITION TO A NEW TRADING ARRANGEMENT.  
6. THE DECISION WAS ANNOUNCED BY THE PRIME MINISTER IN A SPEECH TO THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.  
7. HE STATED THAT THE GOVERNMENT'S DECISION WAS BASED ON A THOROUGH ANALYSIS OF THE OPTIONS AVAILABLE.  
8. HE EMPHASIZED THAT THE GOVERNMENT'S PRIORITY IS TO SECURE THE BEST POSSIBLE DEAL FOR THE UNITED KINGDOM.  
9. THE DECISION WAS MET WITH MIXED REACTIONS FROM THE PUBLIC AND THE BUSINESS COMMUNITY.  
10. SOME WELCOMED THE DECISION, WHILE OTHERS EXPRESSED CONCERN.  
11. THE GOVERNMENT WILL CONTINUE TO LISTEN TO THE VIEWS OF THE PUBLIC AND THE BUSINESS COMMUNITY AS IT WORKS TO SECURE A NEW TRADING ARRANGEMENT.  
12. THE DECISION IS A SIGNIFICANT STEP IN THE PROCESS OF BREXIT.  
13. IT WILL HAVE A MAJOR IMPACT ON THE UK ECONOMY AND ITS RELATIONSHIP WITH THE EU.  
14. THE GOVERNMENT WILL CONTINUE TO WORK HARD TO ENSURE A SUCCESSFUL OUTCOME FOR THE UNITED KINGDOM.



# CHRONOLOGICAL DETAILS OF RECENT EVENTS IN TIBET SINCE MARCH 10, 2008

(last updated: April 10, 2008)

*-compiled and edited by Tenzin Sonam Gonsar and Kunsang Dorjee*

**March 10, 2008**

## **Forty-Ninth Tibetan National Uprising anniversary- Lhasa protest**

On the 49th Tibetan National Uprising anniversary, about 7 monks staged a peaceful demonstration in the Barkhor area of Lhasa, the capital city of Tibet, carrying three Tibetan national flags. As soon as the monks began to shout slogans, the public joined in to support them. But before it gained momentum, the Chinese police appeared at the scene arresting first the monks who started the protest and beating them fiercely.

Following this, the police ordered all the shops and street vendors in the Barkhor area to close down and dispersed the crowd, thus greatly affecting the lives of the commuters who were conducting their day-to-day activities. On the whole, the demonstration was put down by the Chinese government within a short period of time.

## **Yushul/Kyegudo (Ch: Yushul/Jiegu) County, Yushul “Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture”, Qinghai Province**

On 9 March, over two hundreds of banned portraits of His Holiness the Dalai Lama were confiscated from a number of homes in Yushul County during an evening raid conducted by local Public Security Bureau (PSB) officials. Two families were reportedly fined 500 Yuan each for possessing the banned portraits. The next day, pamphlets calling for Tibet’s independence were known to have been pasted on the walls around the area.

## **Mangra (Ch: Guinan) County, Tsolho (Ch: Hainan) “Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture”, Qinghai Province**

In yet another incident, a protest has also been reported from the

traditional Tibetan area of Amdo in Mangra County, Tsolho “Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture” (“TAP”), Qinghai Province, on 10<sup>th</sup> March. About 137 monks from Lutsang Monastery in Mangra County, Tsolho “TAP”, and around 200 laypeople from the area were barred by the Mangra County People’s Armed Police (PAP) forces when they converged outside the County Assembly Hall where a government sponsored show was going on. Sensing a protest by the Tibetans, the show was forced to discontinue. Later monks and laypeople started shouting slogans “Long live the Dalai Lama” and “The Dalai Lama should return to Tibet”. At the moment there is no report of Tibetans having been arrested from the area, although, the concerned authorities are known to be investigating those involved in the protest.

## **Barkhor (Lhasa) and Sera Monastery (Lhasa)**

On 10<sup>th</sup> March, a group of around fifteen monks, later joined by two laypeople led a peaceful pro-Tibet march from Tsuk-lag-khang Temple, proclaiming pro-independence slogans, distributing pamphlets and raising the banned Tibetan flags at Barkhor Street in Lhasa. They were arrested immediately by the stationed Public Security Bureau (PSB) officials following a brief protest march on Barkhor Street - one of the busiest market areas around the city. The arrested Tibetans were reportedly beaten severely and manhandled by the PSB officials. Moreover, the shops and vendors around Barkhor Street were ordered to close and pack up. The detained monks were confirmed to be visiting-student monks of Sera Monastery, mainly from the Kham and Amdo regions of Tibet. Additional contingents of armed forces were

deployed to the area to issue an explicit warning to people against undertaking further protests as well as to control and monitor the activities of the people.

On 11<sup>th</sup> March, about 2000 strong Chinese troop fired tear gas in order to disperse hundreds of monks from Sera Monastery who were calling for the release of their fellow monks and shouting pro-Tibet slogans. The situation in Sera Monastery and Drepung Monastery are known to be very tense at the moment with People’s Armed Police forces sealing off the monasteries thereby completely curbing the people’s movement in and out of the area, including protesting laypeople from visiting these monasteries. The 15 peaceful protestors are confirmed to have been arrested and their whereabouts are unknown.

## **Drepung Monastery (Lhasa)**

According to sources within Tibet, on the evening of 10<sup>th</sup> March, about three hundred monks from Drepung Monastery, located on the outskirts of the capital, attempted to start a planned peaceful protest march towards Barkhor Street, Lhasa. However, they were obstructed from proceeding with their peaceful march by a large number of Chinese armed police before reaching Lhasa. A few monks from the group suspected to be the ringleaders were believed to be arrested by Public Security Bureau (PSB) officials.

The situation in Drepung Monastery, where around 300 monks staged a peaceful demonstration on March 10, is known to be very tense with authorities deploying additional People’s Armed Police (PAP) forces into the area. There has been a similar deployment of armed forces including plain clothed police and agents reportedly present in and around

Barkhor Street in Lhasa to deal with any protests.

**Palung/Bayan (Ch: Hualong) County, Tsoshar Prefecture, Qinghai Province**

In one incident, around 20 local Chinese officials convened a meeting of monks at Ditsa Monastery. However, around 70 monks walked out of the meeting carrying the portrait of the Dalai Lama and shouted pro-independence slogans. Later the monks proceeded towards a small hill behind the monastery to offer Sangsol Prayer (incense burning ceremony), and were later joined by onlookers. Open calls for solidarity with “the peace marcher from Dharamsala to Lhasa,” initiated by leading exiled Tibetan NGOs, were even reportedly raised by the monks. A total of around four hundred people gathered for the prayer that day. No cases of arrest or detention of Tibetans are known from the area so far and there is no report of the Chinese sending additional police force to the area.

**Raid in former political prisoners’ homes**

According to sources, since March 10, sudden raids continue to be conducted in the homes of former political prisoners by the authorities looking particularly for any incriminating CDs such as the US Congressional Gold Medal to His Holiness the Dalai Lama ceremony which have covertly been in circulation recently, or electronic goods particularly computers, phones and Internet connections.

**Sangchu (Ch: Xiahe) County, Kanlho “Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture”, Gansu Province**

Incidents of police removing pamphlets calling for Tibet’s independence were reported from Labrang Tashikyil Monastery in Sangchu County, Kanlho “TAP” incorporated into Chinese province of Gansu.

**Karze (Ch: Ganzi) County, Karze “Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture”, Sichuan Province**

There are also reports of people having pasted pamphlets calling for Tibet’s independence in Karze County, Karze “TAP”, incorporated into Chinese province of Sichuan on March 10. So far there is no information on case of arrest or detention from the area.

**March 11, 2008**

**Recall of government employees and restriction in Tibet University, Lhasa**

On 11<sup>th</sup> March, the authorities of Lhasa City have recalled all the employees of various government departments who were on leave to return to work immediately and issued a restraint order banning taking leave. Restrictions were also imposed on the movement of students, including Tibet University students in Lhasa, with authorities increasing the vigilance personnel.

**Dabpa (Ch: Daocheng) County, Karze (Ch: Ganzi) “Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture”, Sichuan province**

In Dabpa County, Tibetans held protests against the Chinese. Three Tibetans were shot and killed by the Armed Chinese Police and at least ten people have been injured. Instructions were given to shoot at the protestors since they were believed by higher Chinese authorities to be engaging in “splittist activities.”

**12th March, 2008**

**Gaden Monastery, Near Lhasa**

Similarly, Gaden Monastery (about 50 KMs east of Lhasa City) remains sealed off and surrounded by People’s Armed Police since yesterday afternoon, following the protest by monks.

**Chutsang Nunnery, Near Lhasa**

On the morning of 12<sup>th</sup> March, coinciding with the Tibetan Women’s Uprising Day, around a hundred Tibetan nuns from Chutsang Nunnery in the west side of Lhasa marched towards Barkhor Street in Lhasa for a peaceful demonstration. However, they were blocked by Chinese People’s Armed Police from moving forward and sent back to their nunnery.

There are no reports of arrest or detention after the march.

**13<sup>th</sup> March, 2008**

However, in the morning of March 13, the same group of nuns from Chutsang Nunnery carried out their protest march towards Lhasa and have not yet returned to their monastery. On contacting the monastery, only a few senior nuns remain there.

**Local NGO’s in Lhasa warned by authorities**

The local Foreign Bureau Office in Lhasa issued a warning to NGO’s (especially those with links to the outside world) that any information given to foreigners regarding the protests in Tibet could result in strict legal action against the individual or even the shutting down of the NGO. The Foreign Bureau Office has also said that they have blocked the entry of foreigners into Tibet. The NGO’s have been specifically instructed by the Foreign Bureau office that the only contact they can have with foreigners is to assure them that the protests in Tibet will be stabilized very shortly. NGO’s were also warned that if they were found sending information through e-mails/using the internet for gathering information on the current Tibet situation, then strict action would be taken against them. Also, just a few days ago, complete background information of foreigners involved with local NGO’s was collected by the local Foreign Bureau office.

**March 14, 2008**

**Ramoche Temple, Lhasa**

Information coming out of Lhasa has confirmed that most of Lhasa has been surrounded by People’s Armed Police (PAP) following a peaceful protest led by monks of the Ramoche temple in Lhasa this morning.

Around 11:00 pm the Chinese authorities in Lhasa started making announcements regarding closure of schools, shops and businesses.

**March 15, 2008**

There have been 30 confirmed deaths until today and over 100 unconfirmed deaths in Lhasa alone.

In Nyang-dren (North of Lhasa near the Sera Monastery) over 200 people took part in protests according to sources.

In Karma Kunsang (East of Lhasa) there people demonstrated in the streets. Tear gas was used against the peaceful demonstrators.

In Labrang Tashikyil Monastery (Sangchu (Ch: Xiahe) County, Kanlho "Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture", Gansu Province) there were some major protests, mostly laypeople. At least four people were taken into custody by the People's Armed forces.

One reliable source confirms that a military truck full of dead bodies was seen being carried away towards Toelung county (under Lhasa municipality).

In Lithang (Ch: Litang), Karze "Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture," Sichuan province, during two minor protests, at least two of the protestors were arrested and taken into custody as confirmed by a source.

In Labrang, Amdo Ngaba (Ch: Aba) Ngapa "TAP", Sichuan Province, from 5000-6000 people took part in a major protest. Among many other things, they demanded for the return of His Holiness the Dalai Lama.

In Phenpo Lhundrup County (under Lhasa municipality) there was a protest by monks and laypeople.

Gaden Monastery (about 50 kms east of Lhasa) remained under extremely strict Chinese military presence. The number of military personnel is so high that they were running out of tent space for their personnel.

There was shooting inside the compounds of Tashi Lhunpo monastery,

Shigatse (Ch: Rigaze) County, Shigatse Prefecture, "TAR," and at least 40 laypeople protesting behind the Tashi Lhunpo monasteries were arrested as confirmed by one source.

Over 500 people have been arrested in Lhasa alone; however the numbers are expected to be astoundingly larger since all those arrested are being taken to prisons all over Tibet.

All media personnel (including foreign media) inside Tibet were questioned, and there were reports that their recorded materials (video footage, pictures etc.) were destroyed or confiscated.

**Chinese authorities have demanded protestors to surrender**

The *Tibetan Higher People's Court* of China have issued a notice on Saturday demanding the Tibetan protestors to turn themselves in by Monday night, and promised leniency for those who surrendered.

The notice also stated that those who surrender and provide information on other protestors will be exempted from punishment.

The notice also stated that those who cover up or shelter the protestors will be punished.

**March 16, 2008**

Reliable sources have confirmed that at least 80 people were killed on 14<sup>th</sup> March, 2008, in Lhasa alone. One very reliable source has confirmed that many of the dead bodies have been stashed in front of a Public Security Department office in Lhasa.

At 9:30am this morning at Kirti monastery (Amdo Ngapa province) which has remain completely sealed off by Chinese military, over a thousand monks fled the tight security and were joined by another thousand laypeople-protestors outside the Monastery

compound. Tear gas was used on the demonstrators, and gun shots were heard according to a reliable source. Unofficial reports have confirmed that at least one Tibetan was shot and killed and a few others who were also shot remain in critical condition.

Higher Chinese authorities instructed Tibetan officials inside Tibet to not take part in any of the protests. Their movement has been restricted and they were required to sign in and out if they wish to leave outside their homes according to a reliable source.

The monks of Ragya Monastery, Machen (Ch: Maqin) County, Golog "Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture," Qinghai Province, held a protest.

Few schools in Kanlho "Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture," Qinghai province, held protests.

Protests were also held at Achok Monastery, Sangchu (Ch: Xiahe) County, Kanlho "Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture," Qinghai Province.

In Machu (Ch: Maqu) County, Kanlho "Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture," Qinghai Province, protests were held by students, former Tibetan officials and laypeople. The student protestors were arrested at the scene.

In Luchu (Ch: Luqu) County, Kanlho "TAP" and Chabcha County, Tsoelho "TAP", protests were also held.

In Rongpo Gonchen monastery in Rebgong (Ch: Tongren) County, (Malho "TAP", Qinghai Province), monks held a major protest in the field in front of their monastery. Public Security Bureau (PSB) officials arrived to suppress the protestors. There was an attempt by the monastery head to placate the situation through dialogue with the Chinese officials who arrived at the scene. After the discussions, the PSB personnel may have left the scene. However, this cannot be confirmed.

In Meldro Gungkar (Ch: Mozhugongka)

County under Lhasa municipality, protests were held by the monks of Pangsa monastery. Some of the monks were arrested; however, they were released later due to pressure from the laypeople. Some of the monks who protested were able to run for safety towards a hill close by.

In China, around 500 Tibetan students of Northwest-Nationalities University, Lanzhou City, Gansu Province started a hunger strike around 4pm (local time) at the campus ground.

Monks and laypeople held a major protest in Lithang (Ch: Litang) County, Karze “Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture,” Sichuan Province, today. All schools, shops and offices of the area were forced to shut down for the next three days. On the morning of 17<sup>th</sup> March, police and army in huge numbers and heavily armed were seen patrolling all over.

A protest was held by laypeople near the Tashi Lhunpo Monastery, Shigatse (Ch: Rigaze) County, Shigatse Prefecture, “TAR”. No further details available.

The Tibetans of Gepa Sumdo (Ch: Tongde) County (Tsolho “Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture,” Qinghai province) held a protest in which they carried the portrait of His Holiness the Dalai Lama and the Tibetan National flag. The army arrived at the scene to suppress the protest.

### March 17, 2008

Today, thousands of protestors led by monks of Pangsa and other monasteries of Meldro Gungkar (Ch: Mozhugongka) County (around 70 KMs from Lhasa) held a massive protest. Seven People’s Armed Police (PAP) trucks full of police personnel who arrived at the scene were not able to suppress the protest, and more PAPs continued to arrive at the

scene. All schools, shops and offices in the area were shut down.

Tsang Monastery, Yulgan (Ch: Henan) County, Malho “Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture,” Qinghai Province, a protest by over 500 monks was held around 10AM this morning. Monks put up the Tibetan flag on the monastery rooftop and also carried the portrait of His Holiness the Dalai Lama while protesting peacefully. The People’s Armed Police (PAP) arrived to suppress the protestors however the protest continued for some time.

Machu (Ch: Maqu) County, Kanlho “Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture,” Gansu Province, a protest was held by a sizable group of students. All of the students present during the protest were arrested.

The protests at Gaden Choekor monastery, Phenpo Lhundrup (Ch: Lingzhi) County (3 hours northeast to Lhasa) continued from yesterday.

In Serthar (Ch: Seda) County, Karze “Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture,” Sichuan Province, protests continued.

At Harthang monastery in Driru (Ch: Biru) County, Nagchu Prefecture, “Tibet Autonomous Region”, Pelo Trulku (reincarnated lama) was suppose to give a spiritual teaching towards the end of February 2008. However, local Chinese “work teams” did not allow the teachings to take place, as a result, there was a scuffle between the local Tibetans and the Chinese “work teams”. On 3<sup>rd</sup> March, 2008, additional Chinese “work teams” were brought in, and all Tibetans between the ages of 18-30 were forced to undergo “patriotic re-education” classes. On March 14 the road connecting Nagchu to Lhasa was completely blocked off. Non-residents of Nagchu were forced to leave. From each household in Nagchu, the names of each male individual were collected.

Around 3PM local time, seven monks from Dhingkha monastery, Toelung

County (Lhasa Municipality) who were dressed in plain clothes started a protest on their way to Dechen town, Toelung County. Police personnel from Dechen town were not able to stop the determined monks from protesting, and additional police personnel were called in from the County. The local people joined the protests after the County police tried to stop the protestors. After the protest grew in size and intensity, People’s Armed Police was called in later from Lhasa. Around thirty of the protestors arrested were and treated very aggressively.

Tibetan students at Beijing National University (Beijing) held a protest. No further details available.

Tibetan students who held a protest in Tsoe municipality (Ch: Hezuo), Kanlho “Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture,” Gansu Province, were severely beaten by police and armed forces.

Tibetan Students from Kakhog/ Marthang (Ch: Hongyuan) County, Ngaba “Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture,” Sichuan Province, held a protest at their school campus. Chinese authorities were not able to hold back the student protestors who then marched to the County government headquarters.

30 of the student protestors were severely beaten and later arrested. The same evening students again held a protest.

At 12PM local time, nuns from Ngatoe nunnery, Ngaba (Ch: Aba) County, Ngaba “TAP,” Sichuan province, and laypeople carried the dead-bodies of those killed in the March 16 protest to the County government headquarters where they held a protest.

Around 3PM local time, sixteen monks from Dhingkha monastery, Toelung County (Ch: Duilongdequing), Lhasa Municipality, who were dressed in plain clothes protested while on route to Dechen town, Toelung County. Police

personnel from Dechen town were not able to stop the determined monks from protesting, and additional police personnel were called in from the County. The local people joined the protests after the County police tried to block the protestors. People's Armed Police (PAP) was called in later from Lhasa after the protest grew in size and intensity. Around 30 of the protestors were arrested and treated very aggressively.

Fearing a ripple effect from the recent Lhasa protests, around 2000 People's Armed Police (PAP) personnel were brought into Gyalthang (Ch: Zhongdian) County, Dechen (Ch: Deqin) "Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture," Yunnan Province, from Kunmin city, Dechen "TAP," Yunnan Province. The PAP was on 24-hour surveillance and patrol.

Monks from Khangmar monastery, Damshung (Ch: Dangxiong) County, Lhasa Municipality, participated in a protest lead by the monks from Dhingkha monastery in Toelung County (Lhasa).

Over 100 Tibetan students from Central Nationalities University (Beijing) held a candle light vigil to honour the Tibetans who have been killed in the recent protests.

In the recent protests in Tibet, Tibetan students from various universities have demonstrated just as they did 20 years ago in the 1988 Lhasa demonstrations.

### **70 arrested in Toelung Dechen County**

At Dhingkha monastery, Dechen Town, Toelung Dechen (Ch: Duilongdequing) County, Lhasa Municipality, there was a protest held by monks and laypeople. Around 70 people were arrested during the protest.

Among the 70 arrested, a few were released earlier after giving them a fine of 120 Yuan while another group was released at the beginning of April after giving them a fine of 1220 Yuan. They were told that from the 1220 Yuan fine,

1000 Yuan would go towards the County, 200 Yuan would go towards the village, and 20 Yuan was for the transportation cost of the prisoner.

From the 70 arrested, currently, there are 12 monks and 5 laypeople who have been told that their sentencing would be announced shortly.

Due to the massive number of arrests at Phenpo Lhundrup (Ch: Lingzhi) County (3 hours northeast to Lhasa), in March, many of the arrestees were taken to Toelung County prison, due to lack of space.

### **March 18, 2008**

In Lhasa, suppression continued with tanks and military vehicles patrolling every corner of the city. Former political prisoners and suspected Tibetans (those politically active) living in the Lhasa area were being arbitrarily arrested during the ongoing house- by- house raid by Chinese security forces which started on the evening of 15<sup>th</sup> March, 2008.

In desperation for complete crackdown, Chinese authorities are also arresting the family members of former long-time political prisoners (if they themselves are not physically present).

During the protest in Machu (Ch: Maqu) County, Kanlho "Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture," Gansu Province, that continued from yesterday, People's Armed Police (PAP) shot dead nineteen peaceful protesters this morning as confirmed by a source.

Students and laypeople continued with their protest. A massive protest happened in front of Karze (Ch: Ganzi) County, Karze "Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture," Sichuan Province, Government Headquarters.

Nearby monasteries were completely blocked off by Chinese military since a few days ago to prevent the monks from taking part in the protests.

Among the many things that the protestors demanded in Labrang, Sangchu (Ch: Xiahe) County, Kanlho "Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture," Gansu Province, they demanded for the release of Jigme Gyatso (political prisoner in Chushul prison serving a seventeen year term).

Protests continued in Serthar (Ch: Seda) County, Karze (Ch: Ganzi) "Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture," Sichuan Province. However, today there was a strong military crackdown on the protestors.

Monks held a protest at Chigdril (Ch: Jiuzhi) County, Golog "Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture," Chinghai Province.

Four people were killed and fifteen were injured in yesterday's protest in Karze (Ch: Ganzi) County, Karze "Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture," Sichuan Province. The protest was attended by around 400 people.

A protest held by monks and laypeople in Bora Township, Kanlho "Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture," Gansu Province. During the protest, footage of young Tibetan nomads riding horses while protesting has been received.

In Tsayou Township, Sangchu (Ch: Xiahe) County, Kanlho "TAP", there was a protest held by the laypeople.

Protests were held in various places in Serthar (Ch: Seda) County, Karze "Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture," Sichuan Province, during which Tibetan flags were raised.

Around 400 students from Yulshul Middle School in Yulshul (Ch: Yushu/ Jiegu)/ Kyegudo County, Yulshul "Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture," Qinghai Province, stripped the Chinese flag down and held a protest. The Chinese military surrounded the school premises. The school staff and students were strictly warned that today's incident could not be told to anyone



outside of the school. Furthermore, they were told that the movement of both school staff and students will be restricted until the summer Olympics is over.

Military and “work teams” arrived in Sakya Monastery in Sakya (Ch: Sajia) County, Shigatse (Ch: Rigaze) Prefecture, to advise them not to take part in future protests. There was a brief tension between the authorities and the monks. On the 19th, while protesting, the monks forced the Chinese authorities to leave the monastic premises.

In Gonjo (Ch: Gongjue) County in Chamdo (Ch: Changdu) Prefecture, “Tibet Autonomous Region,” a group of Tibetans from Sa-Ngen village took part in several different protests. Specific dates cannot be confirmed. No further details available.

### **March 19, 2008**

In Lhasa, the main entrance to all residential complexes has been blocked off by the Chinese military. Households are raided every night and non-family members (even those with proper identification) are being arbitrarily arrested on the grounds that non-family members must have presumably taken part in recent protests.

With such large numbers of Tibetans being arrested, and with some arrestees having to be flown outside of Lhasa, it can be inferred that prisons in Lhasa are overpopulated from all the recent arrests.

After the recent Lhasa protests grew in size and intensity, a massive number of People’s Armed Police (PAP) patrolled the streets. However, more recently, the People’s Liberation Army (PLA) was brought in as additional reinforcement to suppress the protests.

Around the border area of Tibet, there has been a huge build up of Chinese military to prevent people from secretly entering Tibet.

Tibetans from Ponkhor village, Ma-ngoe Township, Luchu (Ch: Luqu) County, Kanlho “Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture,” Gansu Province, took part in a protest today. Also, at a local school in Ponkhor village, protestors raised the Tibetan flag.

On 17<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> March, students from a local higher secondary school in Barkham (Ch: Ma’erkang) County, Ngapa (Ch: Aba) “Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture,” Sichuan Province, raised the Tibetan National flag at their school.

During a major demonstration which started around 8:30PM local time, the monks from Jam-Mey Monastery in Dzoge (Ch: Ruo’ergai) County, Ngapa “Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture,” Sichuan province led more than 300 Tibetans (lay and monks). The protestors brought down the Chinese flag at the local administration headquarters and also at the local army camp. The protestors shouted slogans such as “Long live H.H. the Dalai Lama,” and “Tibet is an independent country.”

On March 22, 2008, around 1PM local time, military dressed in monk robes severely beat eight laypeople and arrested them too.

From March 19 until March 22, around 48 known arrests have been made.

### **March 20, 2008**

In three townships of Serthar County such as Phuwu in Karze (Ch: Ganzi) “Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture,” Sichuan province, numerous protests were held even amidst the very tight military presence. No further details available.

The People’s Armed Police opened fire at the monk protestors of Sera Monastery in Phuwu Township, Serthar County, Karze “Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture,” Sichuan Province. During the protest, around three monks were killed and ten injured. Those injured were not admitted into Chinese hospitals.

Monks and laypeople of Chakri, Do-gho, Prongma, and Panchen townships in Pema (Ch: Banma) County, Golog “Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture,” Qinghai Province, held a protest today. No further details.

Tibetans from Tso-Nga township in Markham (Ch: Mangkang) County Chamdo (Ch: Changdu) Prefecture, “Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture,” held a protest. No further details.

Around 20 Tibetans were arrested during the protest held in Rushoe Township (Markham County).

A massive protest was held by laypeople and monks of Tsekhog (Ch: Zeku) County, Malho “Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture,” Qinghai Province. No further details.

Chinese authorities attempted to ban the annual Monlam Cham at Tso Dun Kirti Monastery, Gyalrong Tso Dun, Barkham (Ch: Ma’erkang) County, Ngapa (Ch: Aba) “Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture,” today. When 40 Monks from the monastery went to the local administration headquarters to make a complain about the ban, there was a confrontation between the monks and the local authorities.

16 people were arrested during protests held in various villages (including Ngulru Dopa and Dogo Ruwa) in Markham County. The arrestees were taken to the Markham County prison.

Monks and laypeople of Dotoe Township, Dzamthang (Ch: Rangtang) County, Ngapa (Ch: Aba) “Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture,” Sichuan Province, held a protest. However, the protest was suppressed rapidly by the Chinese military.

The people of Dotoe Township were summoned for a meeting called by the deputy head of Dzamthang County and Dotoe Township officials.

After the arrival and the subsequent tight restrictions by Chinese military forces in Pema (Ch: Banma) County, Golog "TAP," Qinghai Province, a protest was held during which the people demanded concrete results in the Sino-Tibetan dialogue.

The same evening in Panchen, Pangrue and Markhog villages, Tibetans held peaceful demonstrations.

### **March 21, 2008**

According to a very reliable source (from within the People's Security Bureau), since 19<sup>th</sup> March, Chinese military personnel deployed in Lhasa have dressed up as monks for two main purposes. Firstly, military dressed up as monks are freely roaming the streets of Lhasa to give of the false image that stability has been restored in Lhasa (even though a Martial Law situation is still prevalent in Lhasa). Secondly, the military dressed as monks are also being used for surveillance purposes to crackdown on the protestors. For example, the military dressed as monks have been interacting with the local Tibetans to collect information, which they have been passing on to their authorities.

We can confirm that personnel from at least four of the military units (listed below) were involved in this duping tactic of falsely dressing up as monks:

- 1) Border Security (PLA)
- 2) Coordination Unit (PLA)
- 3) Military intelligence (PLA)
- 4) People's Liberation Army- 52 Division (formerly deployed in Gey-chik township, Nyingtri Prefecture)

While China has not acknowledged the Martial Law situation in Lhasa and many other parts of Tibet, the ground situation still indicates that Martial Law is very much prevalent in Tibet. The 55 division of People's Liberation Army (PLA) based in Toelung County, west of Lhasa, has been deployed in Lhasa for further suppression of the peaceful demonstrations. In addition, highly

skilled-military from 149<sup>th</sup> Battalion of 13<sup>th</sup> Regiment (from Chengdu) and 52 Division (from Lhasa) were also deployed. In Lhasa, a daily curfew was set starting from 7PM. Also, Tibetans found without a ration card (for identification purposes) are being forced out of Lhasa.

On March 20 and 21, many young Tibetans in the Lhasa area were arbitrarily arrested.

In Dingri County (Shigatse Prefecture), no protests took place so far, however a large number of military personnel was deployed.

The Tibetans students of Qinghai Nationalities University held a protest both yesterday and today to show their solidarity for those Tibetans killed in the recent demonstrations.

Around 50 nuns and monks plus additional laypeople held a protest today in Karze (Ch: Ganzi) County, Karze "Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture," Sichuan Province.

### **March 22, 2008**

Around 200 protestors (including many horsemen) held protests in Toema and Meyma villages in Darlag (Ch: Dari) County, Golog "Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture," Qinghai Province.

Around 10AM this morning, Tibetans from four villages (Drulche, Kholtsa-thang, Lugyal, and Nyamo) from Nangra Township initiated a protest that was also joined by the people of Kyareng Township (including villages Kyareng, Yulwo-che, and Lokhok). The above villages are in Chentsa (Ch: Jianza) County, Malho "Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture," Qinghai province.

While protesting, the Tibetan flag was swayed and the portrait of H.H. the Dalai Lama and His Serenity Panchen Rinpoche was carried along.

When the protestors reached the Chentsa County headquarters, they were joined by more protestors from the villages: Lechen, Markhu-thang, and Bartsa. Some Trulkus (reincarnated lamas) and respected lamas were pressured by County authorities to get the protest to end. The protest lasted till around 3PM that afternoon.

50 military trucks from Hunan Province (China) arrived today on March 22 in the Chentsa County area. Even with the widespread and intimidating military presence, Tibetans from villages including Miri-Gongma, Miri-Sholma, Lowa, and Tsulshing held a demonstration today. During this demonstration, four people were arrested in Lokhog village by armed forces, and the demonstration was stopped there.

Around 500 monks and laypeople from Palyul village, Chigdril (Ch: Jiuzhi) County, Golog, "Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture," Qinghai Province, are holding a sit-down on a hill-top to demand that Karwang Nyima Rinpoche (Dharthang Monastery head) not be harassed by the Chinese military. The people have also demanded that the United Nations, U.S. and other countries should intervene to resolve the current issue.

Monks from Tashi Choeling monastery in Chone (Ch: Zhuoni) County, Kanlho "Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture," Gansu Province, held a peaceful demonstration against the Chinese rule. The military warned the monks that they must surrender by March 24. Many of the monks have been arrested.

At around 9PM, monks from A-tsook monastery, Tsegor Thang (Ch: Xinghai) County, Tsolho "Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture," Qinghai Province, held a peaceful demonstration during which they shouted free-Tibet slogans and also raised the Tibetan flag on the monastery rooftop and on the hill -top behind the monastery.

In a school near A-tsok monastery, the monks from A-tsok monastery brought down the Chinese flag and raised the Tibetan flag in its place.

Chinese military arrived at the scene and surrounded the Monastery premises. They also pressured the retired staff and lamas of the monastery to bring the protest to an end. The monks were also strictly warned by the military not to share the details of today's incident with outsiders. In addition, the monks were also given some "patriotic re-education" classes.

### March 23, 2008

A few Tibetans were arrested by Chinese military in Gonjo (Ch: Gongjue) County, Chamdo (Ch: Changdu) Prefecture, "Tibet Autonomous Region." No further details available.

### March 24, 2008

*While the most recent death toll from the demonstrations in Tibet is around 140, the Central Tibetan Administration releases the names and details of 40 identified people from the death toll list. Many of the dead bodies from the recent demonstrations are being turned into the People's Procuratorates instead of being returned to their respective families. This has also made it more difficult to gather details on the death toll.*

In Karze (Ch: Ganzi) County, Karze "Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture," Sichuan Province, each household was thoroughly searched by Chinese military and police.

Also, during a search in Sershul (Ch: Shiqu) County, Karze "Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture," Sichuan Province, 70 portraits of H.H. the Dalai Lama and three CDs (speeches by H.H. the Dalai Lama) were found at the Chuga-tsang family house and taken away by the military. The search by military at Chuga-tsang family home took place after their family member Ngoenga was arrested few days earlier.

MARCH-APRIL 2008

All shops owned by Tibetans in Shigatse (Ch: Rigaze) County, Shigatse Prefecture, "Tibet Autonomous Region", remained closed.

Monks from Shingsa monastery, Yulgan (Ch: Henan) County, Malho "Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture," Qinghai Province, held a protest against the Chinese government. No further details available.

On March 24 and 25, thirteen people from Toelung Dechen (Ch: Duilongdeqing) County, under Lhasa municipality, were arrested.

### March 25, 2008

#### **Ramoche monk dies due to tight restrictions in monastery**

Since the start of the Demonstrations in Tibet on March 10, there has been an increasingly strong military and police presence in and around the premises of all the monasteries (especially ones that have participated in the recent demonstrations in Tibet).

Military and People's Armed Police (PAP) blocked off water, electricity, food and health facilities in monasteries (including Sera, Drepung and Gaden) that have had active involvement in the recent demonstrations in Tibet.

Since March 14, in Ramoche Monastery (Lhasa) Chinese military presence was a regular scene. They completely surrounded the monastery premises and blocked off all exit and entry points. As a result of these tight restrictions, getting regular food and water supplies was a huge problem for the monastery, and on March 23, Thokmey (a monk from Ramoche) died from starvation as confirmed from a reliable source. From time to time, the military have been fired tear gas inside the Monastery premises.

Pressing issues (such as shortage of food and water, restrictions on movement, lack of medical facilities and tear-gas use by the military) are being faced by many monasteries in Tibet. While we can confirm that such problems

are widespread and prevalent, it is proving extremely difficult to get details on specific incidences (such as the one at Ramoche monastery) due to all the restrictions that have been placed by the Chinese authorities.

In Bathang and Derong Counties in Karze "Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture," Sichuan province, the Chinese Government has given around 20,000 Yuan to each of the monasteries and also has provided 300 kgs of rice to individual households. It's interesting to note the irony since on one end as China continues to kill peaceful Tibetan demonstrators (death toll rising almost by the day), on the other end, it is trying to win over the Tibetans.

On March 24, in Chokri village, Drakgo (Ch: Luhuo) County, Karze (Ch: Ganzi) "Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture" Sichuan province, around 200 nuns from Ngang-khong nunnery held a protest march to the Government headquarters at Tehor Township (around 4-5 kms walk), arriving around 4pm in the afternoon. At the headquarters the nuns shouted "Tibet is an independent country" and "Long live H.H the Dalai Lama" etc.. The nuns were also joined by Tibetans from Tehor Township, Drakgo (Ch: Luhuo) County, over 200 monks from nearby Chokri Monastery and around 150 nuns from Khasum Nunnery (Khasum Township in Drakgo (Ch: Luhuo) County). This massive protest lasted till around 5pm.

During the protest a monk (age 21) from Chokri Monastery was shot and killed on the spot by the military. When the military tried to take the dead body away, protestors were able to collectively keep the body in their possession and later hid the body in a safe spot. Another protestor, Tsewang Dhondup was also shot (on his kidney) and remains in extremely critical condition with little hope for survival.

On March 25, military helicopters flew around the area for surveillance. Also, an evening curfew was imposed.

As reported earlier, due to the tight restrictions, getting regular food and water supplies has been a huge problem at Ramoche monastery (among many others), and on March 24, Lobsang Thokmey (a monk from Ramoche Monastery) died as a result. Chinese authorities returned the body of Lobsang Thokmey to his family on March 25. However, they have not provided any explanation for the cause of death.

At around 10:30 AM, hundreds of Tibetans from Holkha Township (Tsegor Thang (Ch: Xinghai) County, Tsolho “Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture”, Qinghai Province, held a massive protest in front of the County government headquarters. The protest lasted till around 1PM in the afternoon.

During the protest, a banner (in Tibetan) read “Peace, Democracy, Freedom and Solidarity with Martyrs.” Another banner (in Chinese) read, “Stop repression in Tibet.”

A huge military deployment was made, and a full military base is being built in Lithang (Ch: Litang) County, Karze (Ch: Ganzi) “Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture,” Sichuan Province. Over 100 tents are being used to house the military personnel.

A government office in Lithang County was set on fire. However, the local Tibetan people have strongly denied any involvement in the incident and instead believe that Chinese authorities are behind this act in their attempt to taint the image of Tibetans.

**March 26, 2008**

Tight restrictions continued in Lhasa. The Tsug-lag-khang temple and Barkhor (area surrounding the Tsug-lag-khang) continue to remain sealed by the military. Shops (except a few Chinese owned) remain closed in the Lhasa area. Parents escorting their children to school were forced to return to their homes.

Monks from Chokri monastery (Drakgo (Ch: Luhuo) County, Karze “Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture,” Sichuan province) are being forced by Chinese authorities to leave the monastery. Nuns from Nang-gong nunnery continue to be arrested. However, many of the nuns have managed to escape from being arrested.

Houses and Monasteries in Drakgo County are being searched belligerently by the Chinese military.

The whereabouts of many monks and laypeople remain unknown.

On March 24, monks, nuns and laypeople from Tehor Township (Drakgo County) and surrounding areas held a massive protest during which Kunga (monk from Chokri monastery, aged 21) was shot and killed by the Chinese military. The military tried to take his body away; however, the protestors collectively were able to hold onto his body and hid it in a safe spot. On March 25, the Chinese military and police forcefully took the body of Kunga from the monastery and had it cremated nearby.

When the monks from Chokri monastery held prayers for the above deceased monk, they also took the opportunity to hold a protest since a sizable group had already gathered at the scene. The protest grew in size and intensity, especially after they were joined by many laypeople. The protestors on their way to the County government headquarters were stopped by a huge number of Chinese military.

In their attempt to end the protest, the military had fired shots into the air. However, the protestors held their resolve and continued to protest. When the situation grew tensed with guns being pointed at the protestors, then, the monks and laypeople formed a human-barricade with each of the protestors lying flat on the road. The protest ended that afternoon after monks and laypeople decided to leave the scene on their own terms. Details for number of arrests, killed

or injured during the protest are currently not available.

From March 25 evening onwards, Chokri monastery was surrounded by Chinese military, and numerous people have been arrested.

Monks of Serlek Monastery in Gepa Sumdo (Ch: Tongde) County, Tsolho “Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture,” Qinghai Province, held a massive but peaceful demonstration against the Chinese Government.

After the successive protests on March 24 and 25 in Drakgo (Ch: Luhuo) County, Karze (Ch: Ganzi) “Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture,” Sichuan Province, over 100 motorcycles (owned by Tibetans) have been confiscated by Chinese authorities. Such a move can only be understood in terms of the authorities wanting to restrict the movement of Tibetan people, to prevent them from escaping arrest.

Military units that were brought in specifically to suppress the demonstrations in Lhasa were withdrawn on 3PM, March 26. However, the Public Security Bureau (PSB) and other law enforcement agencies (that are permanently stationed in Lhasa) continue to remain.

Namgyal Tsering (former abbot of Chokri monastery) and Sonam Gyurmey (principal of the school run by Chokri monastery with a Geshe Lharampa degree (doctorate in Buddhist philosophy from Sera Je Monastery), both from Chokri monastery, Drakgo (Ch: Luhuo) County, Karze “Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture,” Sichuan Province, were taken away by Chinese Police under the pretence of a meeting they needed to attend. However, the two monks were arrested.

Gaden Raptan Nampar Gyalwai Ling monastery, Drakgo County, has been surrounded by the military, and very tight restrictions have been imposed on the monastery.

The people that led the protest on March 25 are being sought by the military. People travelling on the streets near Gaden Raptan Nampar Gyalwai Ling monastery are being searched thoroughly.

A group of Tibetans held a protest at Dartsedo (Ch: Kangding) County, Karze (Ch: Ganzi) "Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture," Sichuan Province. No further details available.

### **March 25 and 26, 2008**

At Mi-nyak Town, Nyagchu (Ch: Yajiang) County, Karze (Ch: Ganzi) "TAP", Sichuan Province, Tibetans expressed their frustrations by writing slogans such as "Tibet is an independent country" on Chinese currency, and threw them all over.

### **March 27, 2008**

#### **Staged events during foreign media visit backfires on China's attempt to portray a stabilized image of Lhasa.**

China has been facing harsh criticism and condemnation from the world community for its aggressive handling of the recent demonstrations in Tibet.

China has also been criticized for the lack of independent press freedom in Tibet, and as a result, a select group of foreign reporters (chosen by the Chinese Government) were taken for a government-managed tour.

In a carefully planned and controlled move, during the group's visit to Tsug-lag-khang (Jokhang) temple, three senior monks of the temple (pre-selected by the Chinese Government) were to interact with the foreign reporters. The other monks were specifically instructed to engage in monastic activities such as philosophical debating at the monastery courtyard while the media group was visiting.

Contrary to the "life is back to normal" image that the Chinese hoped to portray, numerous monks disrupted the

government-managed tour by the foreign reporters. During the 15-minute outburst, the monks screamed that there was no religious freedom in Tibet and H.H. the Dalai Lama was not to blame for inciting the demonstrations in Tibet.

Tibetans from Holkha Town (Tsegor County) gathered in front of the Township headquarters. They requested for the release of Ribum Gyal and young girl who were arrested during the demonstration on March 26 in Tsegor Thang (Ch: Xinghai) County, Tselho "Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture," Qinghai province. No details can be provided now as to whether any of the two arrestees were actually released.

#### **China calls on ex-Communist Party members to help portray a calm and stable image of Lhasa.**

An order was issued on March 26 by the concerned departments asking retired communist party members and officials to visit the Potala palace and Tsug-lag-khang (Jokhang) temple and other holy sites in the Lhasa area.

It is obvious that such a move was made by Chinese authorities in order to portray a peaceful and stable image of Lhasa, especially given the mounting international pressure and condemnation for their handling of the recent demonstrations.

In Zhejiang market (one of the busiest markets in Nagchu Prefecture (Ch: Naqu Chen), "Tibet Autonomous Region," over 30 people held a protest in which they demanded for freedom in Tibet. Public Security Bureau (PSB) arrived soon after the start of the protest, and each of the 30 protestors was arrested. Even after the protest was completely suppressed, the People's Armed Police (PAP) arrived at the scene and wrongfully arrested a group of students from the same market area. The students were released the next day.

Nagchu Prefecture remained under tight restrictions. Even before March 10, a

sizable military deployment was made in Nagchu Prefecture.

#### **Two monks commit suicide**

Lobsang Jinpa (monk from Kirti monastery, hometown in Ngasib Kanyak village, Ngaba County), who committed suicide on March 27 wrote on his signed suicide note, "I do not want to live under Chinese oppression even for a minute, leave aside living for a day."

Legtsok (75 years of age, from Ngaba Gomang monastery), was the other monk to commit suicide. A few days ago when he was on his way to perform some prayer rituals for a Tibetan family, he was encountered by a contingent of large Chinese forces who beat him severely. He was then detained for a few days and later sent back to his monastery. Before he committed suicide, he told his two students that he could not bear living under Chinese oppression.

### **March 28, 2008**

Monk quarters in Kirti Monastery, Ngaba (Ch: Aba) County, Ngapa "Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture," Sichuan Province, were thoroughly searched by Public Security Bureau (PSB) and People's Armed Police (PAP). Monks have been forced to stay within their living-quarters. Any items indicating reverence to H.H. the Dalai Lama (such as his portraits etc.) were taken away. Documents in their possession were also thoroughly examined. Over 100 monks from Kirti Monastery were arrested today.

Three monks from Chokri monastery, whom Chinese authorities have blamed for leading the demonstration in Drakgo (Ch: Luhuo) County, Karze "Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture," Sichuan Province, on March 24, were issued warnings by the Chinese authorities that, upon arresting them, they would face harsh legal consequences for the involvement in the demonstration. Currently, the whereabouts of the three monks are not known.

Six Chinese military trucks packed with military personnel arrived in Chokri Shuk-yul village, Drakgo (Ch: Luhuo) County, Karze “TAP,” Sichuan Province, and have been making arrests at a very alarming rate.

Many posters were pasted in various villages of Nyarong (Ch: Xinlong) County, Karze “TAP” Sichuan Province. Some of the posters read, “Tibet needs freedom and independence,” and “Long Live His Holiness the Dalai Lama.” Similar messages were also written on stone tablets. Gatherings have been strictly banned in the Nyarong County.

After two County governmental buildings were set on fire on March 27, a group of Tibetans (living close to where the incident occurred in Nyarong (Ch: Xinlong) County, Karze “TAP,” Sichuan Province) were taken into custody and beaten while also being interrogated.

**“Patriotic re-education” campaign proving a failure**

More than 40 heads of monasteries from Sershul (Ch: Shiqu) County, Karze (Ch: Ganzi) “TAP,” Sichuan Province, were summoned by the State Administration of Religious Affairs so that they could be given “patriotic re-education” classes. The 40 heads of monasteries did not comply with the Chinese demands to participate in the classes.

**Monk uses posters to express conditions in Tibet**

Tsewang Dorjee, monk from Nera monastery, Pasho (Ch: Basu) County, Chamdo Prefecture, “Tibet Autonomous Region, pasted many posters at multiple locations including the Pasho County governmental headquarters and also on some big rocks (near Nera monastery). On the posters, among many other things, he demanded religious freedom in Tibet, independence for Tibet and the return of His Holiness the Dalai Lama to Tibet. Tsewang Dorjee was arrested after he returned to the monastery.

**March 29, 2008**

**Lhasa – Massive protests erupt again after many days of suppression.**

Around 2 PM (local time), Tibetans again gathered for a protest in front of Ramoche Monastery, Lhasa. Also, nearby, in front of Tsug-lag-khang (Jokhang) temple and Beijing East road, protests were started, and thousands joined into the protests within no time. These protests were happening after many days of intense suppression, during which Chinese armoured vehicles and tanks being brought in to forcefully stop the protests.

**Massive “Patriotic- re-education” campaign started**

Chinese authorities have stepped up the “patriotic re-education” classes in regions beyond the “Tibet Autonomous Region” (“TAR”). Particularly in monasteries all over Tibet, “Patriotic re-education,” has been strictly implemented.

Over 100 senior officials have been sent to various prefectures and counties to lead the “patriotic re-education” campaign.

Due to lack of officials needed for the massive “patriotic re-education” campaign, retired members of Public Security Bureau (PSB), People’s Liberation Army (PLA), and People’s Armed Police (PAP) have been called upon to assist.

The former PSB, PLA and PAP members were told to dress in monk-robos and assist the “work teams” for “patriotic re-education” classes in monasteries. They were told that their pension and other benefits would be increased for the services rendered.

However, the former PSB, PLA and PAP members declined the offer, and were especially reluctant to deceitfully dress up as monks, as confirmed by a reliable source.

A group of monks were arrested while the PAP was conducting a thorough search at Adhue Monastery, Ngaba (Ch:

Aba) County, Ngaba “TAP,” Sichuan Province.

**Monks reject “Patriotic re-education” classes**

Chinese governmental “Work teams” arrived at Shiwa monastery (branch of Shiwa Lathim monastery), Ralang Township, Nyarong (Ch: Xinlong) County, Karze “Tibet Autonomous Prefecture,” Sichuan Province, to conduct “patriotic re-education” classes. During one particular class, monks shouted slogans such as “Tibet is an independent country” and “His Holiness the Dalai Lama should be welcomed to Tibet.”

As a result, around 200 military personnel arrived at the monastery to suppress the determined monks.

Information on arrests made was not available. There are around 160 monks at Shiwa monastery.

**Messages being passed through posters**

On street areas and walls near the Zigar monastery, Jomda (Ch: Jiangda) County, Chamdo Prefecture, “Tibet Autonomous Region,” many posters were pasted. Among many other things, some of the posters read “Tibet is an independent country” and “China out of Tibet”.

When news of the posters got to Chinese authorities, the military arrived at Zigar monastery to impose restrictions.

**Monks arrested for protesting against “Patriotic re-education” classes**

5 monks from Nyimaling monastery, Gyalchen Township, Sog (Ch: Sou) County, Nagchu Prefecture (Ch: Naqu Shen), “Tibet Autonomous Region,” who protested against Chinese “work-teams” giving “patriotic re-education” classes were arrested by the local police.

**March 30, 2008**

**China still trying to dupe the world through imperceptible tactics**

The People’s Armed Police (PAP) was at Kirti monastery (in Ngaba (Ch: Aba)

County, Ngaba “Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture,” Sichuan Province) on March 29 and 30.

The PAP staged events taking pictures of the monks holding portraits of His Holiness the Dalai Lama and the Tibetan flag while behind cameras the monks were severely beaten.

The PAP also took pictures of monks using computers who were forced to do so.

China has been condemned by the world community for their blatant abuse of human rights, and the above incidents at Kirti monastery prove that Chinese authorities are attempting to forcefully portray a positive image to the world community.

Many Tibetan hunters have been vowing to stop poaching and have been turning in their arms to various monasteries. Such an act has been a traditional practice in Tibet since the monasteries (seen as a sacred place) are the ideal place to make such vows and poachers have faith in the monasteries to never allow their use again or to engage in their sales. Chinese authorities have been using the current situation to send out a false message that monasteries are stockpiling arms for use in future demonstrations.

On March 28, large numbers of PAP arrived at Kirti monastery, and a huge number of monks were arrested.

#### **Protest by monks**

On March 30, monks of Wara monastery, Jomda (Ch: Jiangda) County, Chamdo (Ch: Changdu) Prefecture, “TAR,” led a demonstration.

The County officials asked a senior lama from Wara monastery to stop the protest, and as a result, the demonstration ended temporarily. No further details were available. In Jomda County and Derge County (Karze “TAP”) a huge military deployment has been made and suppression continues.

#### **Monks arrested at Achok Tse-nyi monastery**

In Achok Tse-nyi monastery, Ngaba (Ch: Aba) County, Ngaba “Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture,” Sichuan

Province, a group of monks were arrested while the PAP was conducting a thorough search of the monastery.

#### **16 arrested from Gomang monastery**

In Gomang monastery, Ngaba (Ch: Aba) County, Ngaba “Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture,” Sichuan Province, the PAP conducted a thorough search of the monastery.

Also, 16 monks from the monastery were arrested recently.

#### **17 arrested at Tak-tsang Lhamo Kirti monastery; searches continue.**

On March 29, 17 monks from Tak-tsang Lhamo Kirti monastery, Dzoge (Ch: Ruo’ergai) County, Ngaba (Ch: Aba) “Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture,” Sichuan Province, were arrested by the PAP.

On March 30, each of the monks’ quarters was thoroughly searched by the PAP.

#### **Students hold protest**

Students from a Teachers Training School in Chabcha (Ch: Gonghe) Town, (location for Tsolho “TAP,” headquarters, Qinghai Province, held a peaceful demonstration around 11:00 PM. No further details available.

#### **Tight restrictions at Shiwa Lhathim monastery**

Monks from Shiwa Lhathim monastery in Raloong Township, Nyarong (Ch: Xinlong) County, Karze “Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture,” Sichuan Province, were on a protest march towards the County Governmental Headquarters. On their way, they were stopped by Chinese security forces and sent back to their monastery.

Shiwa Lhathim monastery remains surrounded by Chinese security forces. The local Tibetan people have sent a letter to the concerned office warning them that if the suppression is continued at Shiwa Lhathim monastery, then, the people would hold a massive demonstration.

**March 31, 2008**

#### **Eight arrested At Voen-po monastery**

Eight monks and lay people were arrested when concerned officials of the Chinese government arrived at Voen-po monastery, Sereshul (Ch: Shiqu) County, Karze “TAP,” Sichuan Province, to conduct “patriotic re-education classes.” The monks were told that they were being arrested for the alleged involvement, leading and masterminding the demonstrations in Lhasa earlier in March. They were also told that the authorities have documents linking them to the demonstrations.

Even during China’s complete annexation of Tibet 1959, Voen-po monastery and its surrounding areas was one of the key locations where Tibetans resisted the Chinese forces.

**April 2, 2008**

*In addition to the already released 40 names and details of Tibetans killed during the recent demonstrations, the Central Tibetan Administration releases four more names (with details) from current death toll list which stands at over 140.*

#### **China destroying evidence by cremating bodies of Tibetans killed during demonstrations**

Since March 10, Tibetans have held demonstrations in all the three traditional provinces of Tibet with over a 140 people dying as a direct result of the suppression.

Many of the bodies of those who were shot and killed by the Chinese military and police during the demonstrations have been cremated by the Chinese and only their ashes were returned to their families.

Such an atrocious move has been made by the Chinese to get rid of any evidence of their wrongdoing.

Lhakpa Tsering was killed in Lu-ghuge Street with a shot to his forehead during the demonstration in Lhasa on March 14, 2008. He was a resident of Lhasa,

around 30 years of age and used to work as a tourist vehicle driver. He was born in Lhoka Prefecture.

The Public Security Bureau (PSB) forcefully took the body of Lhakpa Tsering from his family telling them that some investigations needed to be done at the People's Procuratorates. His body was later cremated in Toelung (west of Lhasa) and only his ashes were returned to his family in a plastic bag with his name written across it.

On March 24, Kunga (a monk from Chokri monastery) in Drakgo (Ch: Luhuo) County, Karze "Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture," Sichuan province, was shot and killed during a demonstration at Chokri Monastery. On March 25, his body was forcefully taken from Chokri monastery and cremated nearby.

It can be inferred that such incidents, whereby the Chinese are trying to get rid of evidence by cremating the bodies of those killed during the demonstrations, have occurred many times since the start of the demonstrations in Tibet where the death toll now stands over 140.

#### **Protest held**

Monks from Nyatso monastery in Tawu (Ch: Daofu) County, Karze "Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture," Sichuan Province, and laypeople (from Tawu County) held a protest. No further details available.

#### **China pressuring monks to denounce His Holiness the Dalai Lama**

Chinese "work-teams" arrived at Ba-Chodae monastery, Bathang (Ch: Batang) County, Karze (Ch: Ganzi) "Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture," Sichuan province. There, they attempted to collect signatures from the monks which would support Chinese allegations that His Holiness the Dalai Lama was responsible for inciting the recent demonstrations in Tibet.

Each of the 200 monks at the monastery refused to give into Chinese pressure by not providing their signatures. There were heated arguments between the monks and the "work-teams" leading to

the arrest of five monks including the abbot of the monastery, Jigme Dorjee, and the Disciplinary in charge, Yeshi.

#### **Nuns hold prayer-march**

Around 10AM, nuns from the Ratroe nunnery in Tawu (Ch: Daofu) County, Karze (Ch: Ganzi) "Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture," Sichuan province, walked towards the crematorium (near the Tawu County headquarters) holding a prayer-march for those killed during the recent demonstrations in Tibet. On their way, the nuns were stopped by the police resulting in a heated argument. However, the police were not able to stop the determined nuns. Near the Tawu County headquarters' middle school, the nuns were stopped again when County officials backed by three trucks full of policemen arrived to stop the nuns from continuing their peaceful march. Students of the middle school and local people shouted slogans to support the nuns.

The nuns successfully completed their prayer march.

Nya-tso monastery monks, who had initially planned to go on the prayer-march with the nuns, were pressured by Chinese police to not take part and instead were restricted to stay in their monastery.

#### **Over 30 monks from Sargoen Tashi Choepel Ling monastery arrested**

Over 30 monks from Sargoen Tashi Choepel Ling monastery, Well-bhen Town, Machu (Ch: Maqu) County, Kanlho "Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture," Gansu Province, were arrested between the dates March 31-April 2. Twelve of monks were released after a fine of 1500 Yuan was imposed on them.

20 monks from Thupten Yongdueling monastery from the same town were also arrested.

#### **April 2 and 3, 2008**

#### **"Patriotic re-education" campaign**

#### **continues; those not complying being arrested**

On April 2, 2008, Chinese "work-teams" arrived at various monasteries including Tong-khor monastery, in Tong-khor Township, Karze County, Karze (Ch: Ganzi) "Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture," Sichuan Province, in their attempt to conduct "patriotic re-education" classes.

Chinese "work-teams" also attempted a signature campaign to get people to denounce His Holiness the Dalai Lama and refer to him as a "splittist." The monk in charge of the monastery, Lobsang Jamyang, openly rejected the campaign.

Yeshi Nyima, also a monk from Tong-khor monastery, stood up during a "patriotic re-education" session and shouted that he would not provide his signature, even at the cost of his life. The other monks of the monastery also made the similar statements.

On April 3, 2008, People's Armed Police (PAP) and Public Security Bureau (PSB) arrived at Tong-khor monastery in response to yesterday's incident at the monastery.

The PAP and PSB conducted thorough searches of all the monk quarters and confiscated portraits of His Holiness the Dalai Lama and the spiritual head of the monastery. They also took away mobile hand-sets and money belonging to the monks.

Geshe Tsultrim Gyatso, a 70-year old monk who demanded that His Holiness the Dalai Lama's portrait not be taken down, was arrested and taken into custody.

Laypeople (living nearby Tong-khor monastery) held a protest in support of the monks at Tong-khor monastery. Tsultrim Phuntsok, a 26 year old man, was arrested during the protest.

Around 8-9PM, loud gun shots were heard in the Tong-khor village area. Later



it was confirmed that Nyima and Kabook (both monks from Tong-khor monastery) were severely injured from gunshots. Currently, we have no additional details on number of people injured or killed.

There are around 300 monks at Tong-khor monastery. However, since the incident at Tong-khor monastery only a few senior monks remain at the monastery. Currently, we have no information on the whereabouts of the other monks.

#### April 3, 2008

##### **At least 8 killed and 3 critically injured by police during peaceful demonstration**

During a peaceful demonstration by the monks of Tongkor monastery, Tongkor Township, Karze (Ch: Ganzi) County, Karze “Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture,” Sichuan Province, the Armed Police fired on a crowd of several hundred killing at least 8 Tibetans.

*In addition to the already released 40 plus four (names and details) of Tibetans killed during the recent demonstrations, the Central Tibetan Administration releases eight more names (with details) from current death toll list which stands well over 140.*

Three monks, Kyalpo, Nyima and Thupten Gelek were critically injured when they were shot by the Armed Police during the same demonstration.

Any further details on other people that may also have been killed or injured during the protest cannot be confirmed.

##### **Tibetan monk beaten to death in front of public by Chinese security forces**

A monk from Ngaba-Namtso monastery was reportedly beaten to death in front of the public in Ngaba (Ch: Aba) County, Ngaba “Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture,” Sichuan Province. Additional details are yet to be ascertained.

#### April 4, 2008

##### **Tight restrictions on foreign students at Tibet University (Lhasa)**

Following the aftermath of the March 14 demonstration in Lhasa till the end of March, foreign students of Tibet University (studying Tibetan language) were restricted from leaving their university campus.

For over a week, their mobile phones, internet and other devices were disconnected.

Since a few days ago, a new rule has been imposed where if the foreign students of the University need to leave the campus for purchasing personal items, then special permission needs to be obtained. A maximum of 1-2 hour permission is given for them to leave the campus.

#### April 5, 2008

##### **Massive Protest by monks and lay people**

Around a thousand people (monks and laypeople) gathered at Nya-tso monastery, Tawu (Ch: Daofu) County, Karze “TAP,” Sichuan Province, for the annual Tor-kyak ritual (held to ward off evil forces). While they were on their prayer-march towards the Tawu County Governmental Headquarters, the laypeople were specifically blocked by the armed forces from moving ahead while the monks were let go. The laypeople started to protest against the suppression and shouted slogans such as, “human rights in Tibet” and “long live His Holiness the Dalai Lama.”

During the protest, the armed forces opened fire at the crowd injuring many. Some of the other injured were in critical condition. They could not be treated at the local County Hospital and had to be taken to a bigger hospital in China.

##### **Situation at Tong-khor monastery reminiscent of times during the Cultural Revolution.**

The armed forces carried out an aggressive search at Tong-khor monastery, Karze (Ch: Ganzi) County, Karze “Tibetan Autonomous

Prefecture,” Sichuan Province, on April 5. Windows at the residence of the spiritual head of the monastery was shattered and statues in the prayer hall were dismantled. Since Tong-khor monastery houses many ancient artifacts and religious objects, it is a matter of great concern that during another possible search more damage may result.

The current situation at Tong-khor monastery is reminiscent of the times during the Cultural Revolution.

##### **Tibetans express frustrations**

The Chinese flag was brought down at a school nearby Rabgang monastery in Mi-nyak Nagtren village, Tawu (Ch: Daofu) County, Karze “TAP,” Sichuan Province.

In Ge-kay Thang Street in Mi-nyak Nagtren village, various slogans such as “Tibet is an independent country” were written on stone tablets and advertisement boards using red paint.

Local police and concerned officials arrived on April 6 to get rid of the graffiti which resulted in a minor clash with some Tibetans.

Moreover, local authorities arrived in Mi-nyak Nagtren village to give “patriotic re-education” classes. However, this has been met with much resentment from the Tibetans.

##### **Two monks arrested at Sok-tsang monastery**

A huge number of Armed Police arrived at Sok-tsang monastery, Ngaba (Ch: Aba) County, Ngaba “Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture,” and conducted a thorough search of the monk-quarters. Two monks were arrested. They are:

- 1) Tsultrim Gyatso (from Chukra village)
- 2) Lobsang Thupten (from Dopel village)

#### April 6, 2008

*Till date, the Central Tibetan Administration has released 55 names*

*and details for those killed during the recent demonstrations in Tibet. The current death toll stands well over 140.*

**April 7, 2008**

**Tight restrictions at Ratroe nunnery**

Due to the protests by the nuns from Ratroe nunnery, Tawu (Ch: Daofu) County, Karze “Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture,” Sichuan Province, on April 2, armed forces continue to impose tight restrictions at the nunnery and, in addition, have announced that “patriotic re-education” classes would be started soon.

**Most monks from Ramoche monastery arrested.**

All of the monks at Ramoche monastery, Lhasa, (except around 30 of them) were arrested today on April 7. Ramoche monastery usually houses over a 100 monks.

Since the massive protest by the monks of Ramoche monastery on March 14, one or two of the monks were arrested on March 15. The other monks were put under tight restrictions in a house arrest like situation.

Based on the arrests made at Ramoche monastery, it is very likely that similar arrests may also be made at Sera, Drepung and Gaden (the three major monastic universities of Tibet), and arrests are also likely at other monasteries that remain under tight restrictions.

**Many arrested**

On the evening of April 7, thirty monks from Ngul-ra monastery, Machu (Ch: Maqu) County, Kanlho “Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture,” Gansu Province, were arrested.

An additional ten people from Thumey Runak monastery, Ngul-ra Township, were also arrested.

In Ngul-ra village alone, over 110 monks and laypeople have been arrested so far.

**April 9, 2008**

**Foreign journalists witness the real situation in Tibet**

Around 12:30pm, fifteen monks from Labrang Tashi-Khil monastery, Sangchu (Ch: Xiahe) County, Kanlho “Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture,” Gansu Province, staged a protest in front of the government-controlled media tour.

The monks approached the journalists carrying the banned Tibetan flag and banners reading “we have no freedom of speech,” and also voiced their support for His Holiness the Dalai Lama. The monks shouted in Chinese, “We want human rights, independence and we want to see the return of His Holiness the Dalai Lama.” “Many monks have been arrested” etc.

Currently, it cannot be confirmed if any of the monks from Ladrang Tashi-Khil monastery were arrested during this incident.

**April 10, 2008**

In addition to the already released 55 total names and details of Tibetans killed during the recent demonstrations, the Central Tibetan Administration releases 2 more names (with details) from current death toll list which stands well over 140.

**No Specific Dates**

In various counties (including Rebgong (Ch: Tongren) County and Tsekhog (Ch: Zeku) County, Malho “Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture,” Qinghai Province), monasteries are facing a crisis as water and food supplies have been blocked by the Chinese authorities. The monasteries have appealed to the international community to assist with the current crisis.

A similar crisis is also being faced in various areas of Ngapa “Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture”, and they too have appealed to the international community for immediate help.

In Drachen (Ch: Baqing), Sog Dzong (Ch: Sou) and Driru (Ch: Biru) counties, Nagchu Prefecture, “Tibet Autonomous Region”, a huge deployment of Chinese military has been made in the above three counties and will be stationed there until the end of the summer Olympics.

**Chinese “Work Teams” pressure monks for their signatures**

Chinese “Work Teams” arrived at Thangkor monastery to pressure the monks to sign an acknowledgement letter stating that they had “wrongfully” taken part in the recent pro-independence demonstrations. None of the monks provided their signature.

**Prisons being overflowed with those arrested for demonstrations.**

In and around Lhasa, prisons are being completely overflowing from those arrested in connection to the recent demonstrations.

Protestors arrested in Counties near Lhasa are being held in their local County prisons (since the bigger prisons in Lhasa remain over full.

As reported earlier, on March 14 and 15, protests were held in Taktse (Ch: Dazi) County, under Lhasa municipality, during which some young people were arrested. Now the parents of those arrested earlier are also being arrested.

In Phenpo, Lhundrup (Ch: Lingzhi) County, Lhasa municipality, monks and laypeople continue to be arrested.

**“Patriotic re-education” classes being forced on Tibetans**

Chinese governmental “Work Teams” arrived in Tarma monastery, Driru (Ch: Biru) County, Nagchu Prefecture (Ch: Naqu Shen), “Tibet Autonomous Region,” to conduct “patriotic re-education” classes. During the class, the head of the monastery, Ngawang Gyaltan, called on the Tibetans to unite and for the return of His Holiness the Dalai Lama. He also rejected the “patriotic re-education” classes being forced by the Chinese authorities. Ngawang Gyaltan, received much support from the other monks of the monastery (and other laypeople too).

The “patriotic re-education” classes proved to be a failure and Tarma monastery remains under tight restrictions.

In Bhekar monastery, Driru (Ch: Biru) County, Nagchu Prefecture (Ch: Naqu Shen), “Tibet Autonomous Region,” the monks demanded that unless the five monks who were arrested in December 2007 were released, they would not accept the “patriotic re-education” classes. So far, the “patriotic re-education” attempt by the Chinese has proved a failure. There are around 300 monks at Bhekar monastery.

In Shapten monastery, Driru (Ch: Biru) County, Nagchu Prefecture (Ch: Naqu Shen), “Tibet Autonomous Region,” Chinese governmental “Work Teams” arrived to conduct “patriotic re-education” classes. Soon after, a huge number of military arrived. The classes lasted until 2 AM on March 28.

In Nagchu Prefecture, non-residents are being forced to leave.

#### **“Patriotic re-education” campaign continues**

Chinese “work-teams” are forcefully conducting “Patriotic re-education” classes in all monasteries and nunneries in Sog (Ch: Sou) County, Nagchu Prefecture (Ch: Naqu Shen), “Tibet Autonomous Region” Monks and nuns have been restricted from leaving their living quarters. Specifically in Sok Tsenden monastery and Ripung nunnery (both located in Sog County), very tight restrictions have been placed.

Around 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> March, business people, parents of students, and those seeking jobs in Lhasa and Nagchu County, were forcefully returned to their hometowns. For instance, in Yakla Town, Sog County, around 200 people were returned as a result.

The concerned offices in Sog County gave orders to the people that they cannot leave the county and participation in “patriotic re-education”

classes would be mandatory. If the people leave outside their counties, then the benefits (such as household, land and agricultural) they receive from the government would be stopped.

#### **Huge military deployments continue**

Starting from mid-March, over 10,000 Chinese military have been deployed in Gyalthang (Ch: Zhongdian), Dechen “Tibet Autonomous Prefecture,” Yunnan Province, and tight restrictions continue to be imposed.

In Rongpa-Nyishar Township, Gyalthang County, around a thousand military personnel have been deployed. Local Tibetans distributed and pasted posters asking all Tibetans to unite and resist policies of the Chinese government and also demanded the immediate return of His Holiness the Dalai Lama.

#### **Searches continue in monasteries**

At Voan-po monastery, Sersbul (Ch: Shiqu) County, Karze “Tibet Autonomous Prefecture,” Sichuan Province, few arrests of monks and laypeople were made (towards end of March). A huge contingent of armed forces arrived and conducted thorough searches of all the monk quarters. Some monks were beaten for having the Tibetan flag and other items (deemed “unpatriotic” by the Chinese Government) in their possession. Numerous statues and computers owned by the monastery were confiscated.

#### **Protest by young Tibetan boys**

A few days ago, in Ruthok (Ch: Ritu) County, Ngari Prefecture, “Tibet Autonomous Region,” four to five young Tibetan boys held a protest.

Armed Police arrested these boys who were later detained in Sen-gay Town, the site for the main governmental offices of Ngari Prefecture.

These boys were released at a later date. Further details are not available at the moment.

#### **Details on “patriotic re-education” classes**

Many monks from Ngaba (Ch: Aba) County, Ngaba “Tibet Autonomous Prefecture,” were arrested after the demonstrations in March. Since the beginning of April, Tibetans in Rongkhar-shar town, Ngaba County, have been forced to attend “patriotic re-education” classes. During the classes, among other activities, each Tibetan is forced to loudly repeat the following statements while being recorded on video:

- 1) I denounce the “Dalai’s clique”.
- 2) I will not keep any portraits of the Dalai Lama.
- 3) I have no desire to become a part of the “Dalai’s clique”.
- 4) I will not engage in any “splittist” activities.
- 5) The attempt to separate Nationalities of China will not succeed.
- 6) I owe loyalty to the Chinese Communist Party.
- 7) I will always follow the Chinese Communist Party.
- 8) I acknowledge the gratitude of the Chinese Communist Party.

Such classes continue to take place in other villages in Ngaba County and beyond. In some remote villages, the “patriotic-re-education” classes are being conducted in an extremely intimidating manner.

## Hard Talk with the Kalon Tripa

*In an exclusive interview, the Kalon Tripa talks to the Editor about the recent demonstrations in Tibet, his stance on protests against the Olympic torch—and his reactions to the brutal killings in Tibet.*

1) *When did you first hear about the demonstrations inside Tibet and what was your immediate reaction?*

We heard about the March 10 demonstrations in Lhasa and in other parts of Kham and Amdo on that very day itself. Since then, we have been receiving disturbing news of torture and arrest in Tibet almost on a daily basis. With regard to the wide unrest in Lhasa on March 14, we learnt about it that same day.

My first reaction was a mixed feeling. On one hand, I was deeply shocked and saddened to hear about the loss of so many lives, unbearable torture and misery to the Tibetans, lack of medical facilities to those injured, no refuge from impending arrests, yet we were helpless and absolutely incapable of doing anything for them. At the same time, I felt immense satisfaction and proud that the Tibetans living inside Tibet haven't gone into collective depression and reconciled to their fate in spite of over 50 years of immeasurable repression, domination and humiliation. They still have the spirit and courage to express their resentment and dissatisfaction with full knowledge of impending death and torture by Chinese authorities. The majority of the people who have participated in the protest were the young boys and girls, the fourth generation of the Tibetan people since the occupation of Tibet by PRC. I am particularly proud of them because they are born and brought up under the Red flag, indoctrinated and brainwashed by the Communist cadres, with no access to traditional education or spiritual teachings, not having met in person His Holiness the Dalai Lama, and yet they are prepared

to sacrifice their precious life for the nation and in reverence to His Holiness the Dalai Lama. This is undeniable proof of two facts, firstly, that the entire Tibetan people are absolutely unhappy under the PRC's rule, and secondly, that the spirit of Tibetan people can never be deterred by any degree of domination or force.

2) *What are some of the key issues that Tibetans inside Tibet are risking their lives through participation in the recent protests?*

The basic issue of recent unrest was the PRC's ultra leftist policy for Tibet and Tibetans adopted during in 1957/58. Such policies were renounced and reversed in Mainland China soon after the Mao's era but unfortunately these policies are being unchanged in Tibet and for Tibetans. The immediate issues are many:

- a. Repressive measures and void of basic Human rights: Beating and torture of common Tibetans on peaceful expression of their aspiration, and forcing so-called "patriotic education", constant use of force and intimidation to suppress Tibetans.
- b. Void of religious freedom: Heavy restriction and interference in monastic affairs, banning of spiritual leader His Holiness the Dalai Lama's portrait, denial of serious Buddhist studies, blasphemous move by atheist regime to recognize all re-incarnated Lamas only through their approval. This move has particularly incensed the Tibetans in Tibet and deeply hurt their sentiments.

- c. People Republic of China's vehement attack and vilification of His Holiness the Dalai Lama and forcing the Tibetans to denounce His Holiness has deeply offended the Tibetans and caused unbearable pain to them.
- d. Lack of access to good schools and education, lack of a decent health care system and hospital access to the larger Tibetan populace underlines the PRC's intention and indifferent attitude towards Tibetans.
- e. The flooding of Han Chinese and other non-Tibetan nationalities in Tibet has resulted in demographic upset such that Tibetans are a minority in their own land. This unchecked policy of PRC has resulted in erosion of Tibetan culture, language, traditional values and decline in the living standard of common Tibetans. Tibetans have resented the intention behind this policy of assimilation that aims to root-out the Tibetan identity.
- f. Economic marginalisation of Tibetans has left them frustrated and job-less while all the benefits of economic boom goes to non-Tibetan nationalities. Tibetan grasslands are being taken away and Tibetan nomads & farmers are forced to live in cities without any skills for surviving in totally new surrounding which they are not accustomed to.

To sum up, the lack of genuine autonomy in Tibet and PRC's racial discriminative and cultural genocidal policies adopted towards Tibetans has generated a wide dissatisfaction among common Tibetans for a long period of time and Tibetans no longer are able to contain their resentment.

3) *The Kashag (Cabinet, Central Tibetan Administration) has issued appeals to the Chinese government asking them to exercise restraint in their handling of the demonstrations in Tibet. On the contrary, the Chinese government has been engaging in more repression and making countless arbitrary arrests of innocent Tibetans. It appears that China is not listening to your appeals. What is your next step?*

Yes! Not only our appeals but also the repeated appeals of entire world went in vain. Our next step will not be much different. We will continue to appeal and find ways to resolve the Tibet problem through engagement and dialogue.

4) *How are the recent demonstrations different from the ones that took place in 1987, 1988 and 1989?*

Compare to the demonstrations that took place in 1987-89, the recent demonstrations differ in size and in momentum. The past demonstrations were restricted to a relatively small part of Tibet whereas the demonstrations since 10 March, 2008, have taken place in each of the three traditional provinces of Tibet and also in some cities in Mainland China. The widespread demonstrations still continue in Tibet even after heavy clampdown of Chinese military troops and armed police. Last month's demonstration has also got unprecedented media coverage and has received outpouring of international support for Tibet. However, the reason behind the 1987-89 uprising and this year protests remain same. The assessment of recent demonstrations is summed up in Kashag's public address on 22<sup>nd</sup> March, 2008.

5) *Is there any kind of generation gap in the exile community wherein older*

*exiles are more dovish and the younger exiles want to directly confront China?*

I don't think there is any difference in our views concerning the struggle for our cause because of a generational gap. It is common to have difference on other matters but on the issue of Tibetan struggle, I think most of the Tibetans, old and young alike, are united under the leadership of His Holiness the Dalai Lama and to pursue our struggle through a non-violent way. The "differences" are media projected. They try to show some differences between groups or generations amongst the Tibetans by picking up some innocent and inexperienced people and putting the desired words in their mouth. But this is far from ground realities.

6) *A nation that applies to host the Olympic Games also must demonstrate that it is worthy of the honour. Do you believe that China is worthy of this honour?*

China as a nation is the largest populous state in the world and one that has very rich civilization and ancient cultural heritage making it deserving to host the games. And because the Olympic games will be a rare occasion for the people of China to open up to the world, something that they couldn't do so far, and thereby an opportunity for better change, I would therefore say China is absolutely worthy of hosting the Olympics. Unfortunately the handful rulers of Chinese Communist Party and their arrogant and unwise policies have completely destroyed the image of China. This is unfortunate for the people of China and for Tibetan people. But I believe the people of China will awake sooner than later.

7) *There are many Tibetan activists protesting against the Olympic torch going through Tibet which they see*

*as China's tool to legitimize their rule over Tibet. What is your stance on the torch going through the Tibetan plateau, especially when the entire nation is in mourning over the staggering number of deaths?*

The Olympic torch going through the Tibetan plateau at normal times should be fine but under the present circumstances when so many deaths, injuries and continued oppression are being carried out with immense suffering to common Tibetan, it is like putting salt to the wounds and it will be politicizing the Olympic games. This act will further aggravate the already deteriorating state in Tibet. Furthermore, the statement of so-called TAR Governor Qiangba Puncog on 9<sup>th</sup> April, 2008, stated that whosoever opposed the Olympic Torch in Tibet will be handed the severest of punishment. It meant that they will be killed. Apart from Chinese army and armed police heavily deployed in Tibet, the Nepalese army and police recently deployed around the base camp of Mt. Everest were equipped with Shoot at Sight orders. Therefore, it is certain that much more bloodshed will occur during the Torch relay in Tibet. Thus, I can understand and appreciate the intention of those people who are opposing it.

8) *Western leaders such as the Polish President and the German Chancellor have recently stated that they will not attend the opening ceremony for the Olympics over China's handling of the recent protests inside Tibet. If China invited you to the opening ceremony of the Olympics, will you attend?*

I appreciate those leaders who have wisdom and courage to make decisions in accordance with their conscience. As far as my attendance is concerned, this question is being asked in fantasy so I have no answer.

9) *Tibetans inside Tibet have managed to keep the Tibetan issue alive under one of the most repressive regimes in the world and many were placing their hopes in the Return Marchers. Why did the CTA not support the peaceful Return March to Tibet by Tibetans living in exile?*

Yes! The most brave and wise Tibetan people managed to keep the Tibet issue alive under the most difficult circumstances, which was appropriately recognized by the whole world. I have no reason to believe that many were placing their hopes on Return

Marchers. I also do not believe that the uprising inside Tibet was caused by anything from outside. We cannot devalue the brave action taken by the selfless people living inside Tibet. Central Tibetan Administration does not support any action or programme which are violating the law of the land or that are violent in nature. And above all, any actions that are not in consonance with the wishes of His Holiness the Dalai Lama can never be supported in any way.

10) *Some images of the recent casualties from the recent*

*demonstrations in Tibet have been graphic and disturbing. Have you seen them? Your reaction?*

I have seen those graphic pictures of casualties and deaths. I am much appalled and saddened by the violence perpetrated on these unarmed and peaceful Tibetan protestors, some very young ones. The loss of precious lives is most unfortunate. This event has deepened my faith in non-violence and strengthened my resolution to carry on non-violent struggle against the most violent oppressor.

“I learned that China has stated you caused violence. Clearly China does not know you, but they should.”

From the statement issued by Nobel peace laureate, Archbishop Emeritus **Desmond Titu**



(Credit: LondonTimes)



Credit: <http://cagle.com/news/tibetturmoil>

“There is ample fact — and we also have plenty of evidence — proving that this incident was organized, premeditated, masterminded and incited by the Dalai clique, “ Chinese Premier **Wen Jiabao** talking to a group of reporters at a news conference held at the end of China’s national legislative meeting. He did not give any details.

“The Chinese government wants me to say that for many centuries Tibet has been part of China. Even if I make that statement, many people would just laugh.

And my statement will not change past history. History is history.” His Holiness the **Dalai Lama** during a recent interview with NEWSWEEK.

“This has all the more revealed that the consistent claims made by the Dalai clique that they pursue not independence but peaceful dialogue are nothing but lies, “ Chinese Premier **Wen Jiabao** told reporters at a news conference held at the end of China’s national legislative meeting.

“...[independence] out of the question”. His Holiness the **Dalai Lama** reassuring his stance in a recent statement.

“I believe the Chinese mistrust of the Dalai Lama is misplaced. If His Holiness the Dalai Lama were to return to Tibet, his wish is, as he says, to be a simple monk and to be involved only in religious and cultural matters, not to establish an independent Tibet.” Statement of Senator **Dianne Feinstein** regarding the latest News out of Tibet.

“The Germany Government is concerned about reports of unrest in Lhasa. We call on Chinese authorities to act with restraint and to deal with protestors peacefully. We urge the Chinese Government to allow peaceful expression of dissent.” Germany Chancellor **Angela Merkel’s** on the Lhasa protests.

“I am deeply disturbed by reports of a crackdown and arrests ordered by Chinese authorities in the wake of peaceful protests by Tibetan Buddhist monks.” Statement of Senator **Barack Obama**

“All options are open but I appeal to the sense of responsibility of Chinese authorities,” French President **Nicholas Sarkozy** when asked about a possible boycott of the Olympics.

“We are engaged in a fierce battle of blood and fire with the Dalai clique. Tibet’s Communist leader **Zhang Qingli**.

“While the world is watching, while the Tibetan people are rising for their freedom, we hope you will walk the path set by His Holiness, the Dalai Lama, and reject the use of violence.” From the open letter sent by the **six women Nobel laureates** to Chinese President Hu Jintao.

“The Chinese should use this crisis as an opportunity to re-evaluate their ill-advised Tibet policies and enter into a productive dialogue with the Dalai Lama.” Statement of Congressman **Berman**.

“Canada shares the concerns about what is happening in Tibet. As His Holiness the Dalai Lama told me when I met him and as he has been saying recently, his message is one of non-violence and reconciliation and I join him in that call. Canada calls upon China to fully respect human rights and peaceful protest. Canada also calls on China to show restraint in dealing with

harmonious development of humankind, with a view to promoting a peaceful society concerned with the preservation of human dignity?” Member of Canadian Parliament and Green Party leader, **Elizabeth May**.

“... China is trying to use the 2008 Olympic Games to promote an illusion of its “peaceful rise.” In fact, China continues to increase the number of its missiles targeting democratic Taiwan and ignore the concerns of the entire international community as it suppresses the people of Tibet who merely pursue the fundamental human rights of freedom and democracy.” From the Press release of **Ministry of Foreign Affairs**, Taiwan

“Poland is an average country, it is not fighting to be the first, but my decision is very clear: the presence of politicians during the inauguration of the olympics seems inappropriate.” Polish Prime Minister **Donald Tusk** after his announcement that he will not participate in the opening ceremony of the Olympic Games in Beijing.

“The Dalai Lama has been telling lies to the world for decades.” Chinese Ambassador to Canada **Lu Shumin** speaking to a group of journalists.

“If I were the ambassador, I would be very careful about using language like that. It is neither historically accurate, nor is it a way to deal with the current situation,” **Timothy Brook**, the principal of St. John’s College, a graduate school at the University of British Columbia in an interview response to Lu Shumin’s statement.

“If you want to listen to the government’s voice, I can recommend a lot of people, but if you want to listen to the truth, it is really too sensitive for many academics to speak right now.” At the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, one expert who would speak only on condition of **anonymity**.



Credit: Lisa Benson, [Slate Magazine](http://www.slate.com)

“We urge China to respect the fundamental and universally recognized right of all of its citizens to peacefully express their political and religious views, and we call on China to release monks and others who have been detained solely for the peaceful expression of their views.” Statement of **Condoleezza Rice**, US Secretary of State.

this situation.” Canadian Prime Minister **Stephen Harper**.

“These most recent developments in Tibet are disturbing and, from my point of view, I would call upon the Chinese authorities to exercise restraint.” Australian Prime-minister **Kevin Rudd**.

“Whatever happened to the Olympic ideal of using sport to symbolize the

## NUMBERS: The Dragon versus the Snow lion

	China	Tibet (exile)	Tibet (occupied)
<i>Government type</i>	Communist state	Democratic (CTA <sup>1</sup> )	Communist rule
<i>Population</i>	1.3 billion (July 2007 est.)	111,020	6 million Tibetans (acc. to CTA) 5.2 million Tibetans (acc. to PRC) 5.3 million Non-Tibetans (acc. to PRC)
<i>GDP (current \$)</i>	\$ 2.7 trillion (2006)	n/a	\$91.5 million (TAR)
<i>GDP (per capita)</i>	\$ 5300	n/a	\$ 1205 (Sichuan) \$ 1212 (TAR) \$ 959 (Gansu) \$ 1042 (Yunnan) \$ 1336 (Qinghai)
<i>Budget: revenues</i>	\$640.6 billion	\$21.7 million (CTA)	\$ 2.7 billion (TAR)
<i>expenditures</i>	\$634.6 billion (2007 est.)	\$19.9 million (2008-09 est.)	\$ 2.5 billion (TAR)
<i>Foreign exchange reserves</i>	\$1000 billion (growing at about \$200 billion a year)	n/a	n/a
<i>Total area</i>	9.6 Million sq km	n/a	2.5 million sq. km
<i>Manpower available for service<sup>2</sup></i>	Male age 18-49: 342,956,265 Females age 18-49: 324,701,244 (2005 est.)	n/a	Information not available <i>military</i> However, numbers estimated to be astoundingly high.
<i>Military expenditures – percent of GDP</i>	4.3% (2006)	n/a	Information not available
<i>Number of Prisons</i>	Information not available	n/a	4 prisons in “TAR” (acc. to PRC) 74 detention centres in “TAR” (acc. to PRC) 3 additional detention centres in Lhasa, “TAR” (acc. to PRC)
<i>Airports (full fledged)</i>	467 (2007)	n/a	7
<i>Population below poverty line</i>	8%	0.6%	25% est.
<i>Life expectancy at birth, total (years)</i>	71.8 (2005)	72	59 est.
<i>Literacy:</i>	90.9%	69%	56%
<i>Number of Tibetans that died under Chinese occupation between 1948-1984.</i>	n/a		1.2 Million
<i>Death toll from recent Demonstrations in Tibet since March 10, 2008 (as of April 20, 2008)</i>	22 (acc. to Chinese Govt.)	n/a	140 (acc. to CTA)

Sources: The World Bank official website; CIA website (world fact book section); 1998 Tibetan Demographic survey, Planning Commission, CTA; Dept. of Finance, CTA; Tibetan Centre for Human Rights and Democracy; Dharamshala, India; People's Republic of China, year 2000 Population Census; Sichuan Statistical Yearbook 2006, China Statistical Press; Tibet Statistical Yearbook 2006, China Statistical Press; Gansu Yearbook, China Statistical Press; Yunnan Statistical Yearbook 2006, China Statistical Press; Qinghai Statistical Yearbook 2006, China Statistical Press.

**NOTE:** All monetary figures are stated in U.S. dollars. Exchange rate used for currency conversion: 1 Yuan = \$ 0.133 (U.S)

**Footnotes:** <sup>1</sup> The Central Tibetan Administration (CTA) is located in Dharamshala, India. <sup>2</sup> This entry gives the number of males and females falling in the military age range for the country and assumes that every individual is fit to serve; 18-22 years of age for selective compulsory military service, with 24-month service obligation.



## The Statement of His Holiness the Dalai Lama on the Forty-Ninth Anniversary of the Tibetan National Uprising Day

On the occasion of the 49th anniversary of the Tibetan people's peaceful uprising in Lhasa on 10 March 1959, I offer my prayers and pay tribute to those brave men and women of Tibet who have endured untold hardships and sacrificed their lives for the cause of the Tibetan people and express my solidarity with those Tibetans presently undergoing repression and ill-treatment. I also extend my greetings to Tibetans in and outside Tibet, supporters of the Tibetan cause and all who cherish justice.

For nearly six decades, Tibetans in the whole of Tibet known as Cholkha-Sum (U-Tsang, Kham and Amdo) have had to live in a state of constant fear, intimidation and suspicion under Chinese repression. Nevertheless, in addition to maintaining their religious faith, a sense of nationalism and their unique culture, the Tibetan people have been able to keep alive their basic aspiration for freedom. I have great admiration for the special characteristics of the Tibetan people and their indomitable courage. I am extremely pleased and proud of them.

Many governments, non-governmental organizations and individuals across the world, because of their interest in peace and justice, have consistently supported the cause of Tibet. Particularly during the past year, governments and peoples of many countries made important gestures that clearly expressed their support to us. I would like to express my gratitude to every one of them.

The problem of Tibet is very complicated. It is intrinsically linked with many issues: politics, the nature of society, law, human rights, religion, culture, the identity of a people, the economy and the state of the natural environment. Consequently, a comprehensive approach must be adopted to resolve this problem that takes into account the benefits to all parties involved, rather than one party alone. Therefore, we have been firm in our

commitment to a mutually beneficial policy, the Middle-Way approach, and have made sincere and persistent efforts towards achieving this for many years. Since 2002, my envoys have conducted six rounds of talks with concerned officials of the People's Republic of China to discuss relevant issues. These extensive discussions have helped to clear away some of their doubts and enabled us to explain our aspirations to them. However, on the fundamental issue, there has been no concrete result at all. And during the past few years, Tibet has witnessed increased repression and brutality. In spite of these unfortunate developments, my stand and determination to pursue the Middle-Way policy and to continue our dialogue with the Chinese government remain unchanged.

A major concern of the People's Republic of China is its lack of legitimacy in Tibet. The principal way to lend weight to their position is for the Chinese government to pursue a policy that satisfies the Tibetan people and gains their confidence. If we are able to achieve reconciliation by treading a path of mutual consent, then, as I have already stated many times, I will make every effort to win the support of the Tibetan people.

In Tibet today, due to the Chinese government's numerous actions, driven as they are by a lack of foresight, the natural environment has been severely damaged. And, as a result of their policy of population transfer the non-Tibetan population has increased many times, reducing native Tibetans to an insignificant minority in their own country. Moreover, the language, customs and traditions of Tibet, which reflect the true nature and identity of the Tibetan people are gradually fading away. As a consequence, Tibetans are increasingly being assimilated into the larger Chinese population. In Tibet, repression continues to increase with numerous, unimaginable and gross

violations of human rights, denial of religious freedom and the politicization of religious issues. All these take place as a result of the Chinese government's lack of respect for the Tibetan people. These are major obstacles the Chinese government deliberately puts in the way of its policy of unifying nationalities which discriminate between the Tibetan and Chinese peoples. Therefore, I urge the Chinese government to bring an immediate halt to such policies.

Although the areas inhabited by Tibetan people are referred to by such different names as autonomous region, autonomous prefectures and autonomous counties, they are autonomous in name only; they actually have no real autonomy. Instead, they are governed by people who are oblivious of the regional situation, and driven by what Mao Zedong called "Han chauvinism". As a result, this so-called autonomy has not brought the concerned nationalities any tangible benefit. Disingenuous policies that are not in tune with reality are causing enormous harm not only to the respective nationalities, but also to the unity and stability of the Chinese nation. It is important for the Chinese government, as advised by Deng Xiaoping, to "seek truth from facts" in the real sense of the term.

The Chinese government severely criticizes me when I raise questions about the welfare of the Tibetan people before the international community. Until we reach a mutually beneficial solution, I have a historical and moral responsibility to continue to speak out freely on their behalf. However, it is common knowledge that I have been in semi-retirement since the political leadership of the Tibetan Diaspora has been directly elected by the general Tibetan populace.

China is emerging as a powerful country due to her great economic progress. This

is to be welcomed, but it has also provided China an opportunity to play an important role on the global stage. The world is eagerly waiting to see how the present Chinese leadership will put into effect its avowed concepts of “harmonious society” and “peaceful rise”. For the realization of these concepts, economic progress alone will not suffice. There must be improvements in observance of the rule of law, transparency, and right to information, as well as freedom of speech. Since China is a country of many nationalities, they must all be given equality and freedom to protect their respective unique identities if the country is to remain stable.

On 6 March 2008, President Hu Jintao stated: “The stability in Tibet concerns the stability of the country, and the safety in Tibet concerns the safety of the country.” He added that the Chinese leadership must ensure the well-being of Tibetans, improve the work related to religions and ethnic groups, and maintain social harmony and stability. President Hu’s statement conforms to reality and we look forward to its implementation.

This year, the Chinese people are proudly and eagerly awaiting the opening of the Olympic Games. I have, from the very beginning, supported the idea that China should be granted the opportunity to host the Olympic Games. Since such international sporting events, and especially the Olympics, uphold the principles of freedom of speech, freedom of expression, equality and friendship, China should prove herself a good host by providing these freedoms. Therefore, besides sending their athletes, the international community should remind the Chinese government of these issues. I have come to know that many parliaments, individuals and non-governmental organisations around the globe are undertaking a number of activities in view of the opportunity that exists for China to make a positive change. I admire their sincerity. I would like to state emphatically that it will be very important to observe the period following the conclusion of the Games. The Olympic Games no doubt will greatly impact the minds of the Chinese people. The world should, therefore, explore ways of investing their collective energies in

producing a continuous positive change inside China even after the Olympics have come to an end.

I would like to take this opportunity to express my pride in and appreciation for the sincerity, courage and determination of the Tibetan people inside Tibet. I urge them to continue to work peacefully and within the law to ensure that all the minority nationalities of the People’s Republic of China, including the Tibetan people, enjoy their legitimate rights and benefits.

I would also like to take this opportunity to thank the Government and people of India, in particular, for their continuing and unparalleled support for Tibetan refugees and the cause of Tibet, as well as express my gratitude to all those governments and peoples for their continued concern for the Tibetan cause.

With my prayers for the well-being of all sentient beings.

The Dalai Lama, 10 March 2008

N.B. Translated from the Tibetan

## The Statement of the Kashag on the Forty-Ninth Anniversary of the Tibetan National Uprising Day

Today, 10 March 2008, is the 49th anniversary of the Tibetan people’s peaceful uprising for their freedom. On this occasion, the Kashag pays its tribute to those heroic men and women of Tibet who have sacrificed their lives for the cause of the Tibetan people, as well as express our solidarity with those Tibetans who are presently suffering under Chinese repression. The Kashag also extends its greetings to all the Tibetans in and outside Tibet

In the previous 10 March statement of the 13th Kashag, we have dwelled, among other things, on the status of the Tibetan people, the structure of the exile Tibetan administration, plans to sustain the Tibetan struggle should it drag on for a long time, the role of Tibetans in and outside Tibet and on the status of the Sino-Tibetan dialogue. While reiterating

all these points, the Kashag would like to express its appreciation for those Tibetans who have, in the recent period, undertaken numerous activities in Tibet, activities that are both peaceful and law-abiding, with sincerity and courage for the benefit and the protection of the Tibetan religion and culture. All Tibetans, be it monks, lay people, young or elderly and particularly the majority of the communist party cadres and civil servants in Tibet, who are always in a state of great fear, intimidation and suspicion have been able to keep alive, with great courage, the Tibetan spirit and their ultimate hope for the resolution of the Tibetan issue. While acknowledging and appreciating this remarkable quality, the Kashag as well as the entire exile Tibetan community firmly believe that this Tibetan spirit will continue to remain so in the future as well.

Similarly last year, many governments and countries across the world who have great faith in His Holiness the Dalai Lama and who are concerned about the issue of Tibet have carried out a number of activities which reflected their support to us Tibetans. The Kashag, on behalf of all the Tibetans in and outside Tibet, would like to express heartfelt thanks to all of them.

The mutually beneficial Middle-Way Approach, which is envisioned by His Holiness the Dalai Lama, has been framed into a policy with the support of the great majority Tibetans in and outside Tibet. This was further unanimously supported by the Tibetan Parliament-in-Exile. On the basis of this policy, dialogue with the Chinese government is on going. Subsequently six rounds of talks have been conducted

since 2002. These talks have been helpful to us in clarifying our respective positions. These talks have also benefited the international community and Tibetans in Tibet. However, no concrete results have been achieved on the fundamental issue of Tibet. Moreover there is, today, a heightened repression in Tibet and stepped up vilification campaign against His Holiness the Dalai Lama. We are extremely disappointed by these unfortunate developments.

In the course of these exchanges, we have categorically stated to the Chinese government that we do not have any hidden agenda, or issues other than the basic demand that they should implement the conditions for National Regional Autonomy as set forth in the constitution of the People's Republic of China by granting a meaningful self-rule for all Tibetans under a single administration. We have also made it very clear that this demand is in line with the legitimate rights of all the minority nationalities. Based on the present reality, this demand is only a means to accomplish the aspiration of both Tibet and China; it is not something that is based on the past history of Tibet.

History is a set of records of past happenings that cannot be amended. However, no independent countries or autonomous regions have remained in the same status as in the past. There is also no reason to remain so. For example, the current scope of the sovereign power and territorial boundary of the People's Republic of China is something that never happened in its history spanning some centuries prior to 1949. Insisting on history to decide the prospects of the future is simply indulging in a blame game, or finding excuses. It is not at all in tune with the reality. Since we are not stubbornly clinging to the idea that the future of the Tibetan people should be based only on our version of history, the gap in the Tibetan and Chinese viewpoints on this issue is not unbridgeable.

Since the status of National Regional Autonomy is a condition by which the

individual minority nationalities are benefited, it should be uniformly granted to all Tibetans. There is no reason for scattering them. There is also no need to follow a historical basis on this matter. In a nutshell, if the future of the Tibetan people were to be decided on the basis of its past history, then there is no way that the Middle-Way policy can be adhered to.

The problem of Tibet is neither related to the personal issue of His Holiness the Dalai Lama nor concerned with the benefit of the Tibetans in exile alone. This is universally known. Currently the situation of the Tibetan people inside Tibet is not at all satisfactory. Anybody can see this. Therefore, for the happiness of all Tibetans and for the preservation of their national identity, language, customs, culture and the traditional sciences, His Holiness the Dalai Lama and the organisational set-up of the Tibetan Diaspora, both based in a free country, have the responsibility to act as the spokespersons of the Tibetans in and outside Tibet. To do so is, in fact, their historical responsibility. Due to the reasons cited above, although there may not exist an issue of Tibet's sovereignty, both the Tibetan and Chinese sides have to accept the truth about the existence of the main issue concerning the welfare of the Tibetan people.

Since the restoration of direct contact with the Chinese government in 2002, no positive change has taken place in Tibet. Moreover the Chinese authorities have taken, and are continuing to take, many actions that can be described as inhuman behavior. Beside the fact that there has been a heightened repression and brutality in Tibet since 2006, baseless accusations are being hurled against His Holiness the Dalai Lama. The innocent Tibetans in general, and particularly the monks and nuns are exposed to unlimited restrictions and harassment under the pretext of "patriotic re-education." In spite of being an atheist state, the Chinese government interferes in the religious affairs by issuing a decree on the recognition of *Trulkus*. It also uses a section of the

Dholgyal propitiators as a tool to separate the Tibetan people. And those who express their honest views in a non-violent and peaceful manner are beaten and incarcerated. These actions are the true behaviour of separatists that uproots the co-operation between the Tibetan and Chinese peoples. Harmony and unity should be created through mutual trust by unifying the minds. There is no historical precedence that a unity enforced through repression has sustained. Neither will it be sustained in the future. The recent developments in Tibet have greatly harmed the environment of the Sino-Tibetan dialogue. The Chinese government's assertion that it attaches importance to the current process of dialogue also appears to be nothing more than empty talk. Consequently, it has made it more difficult for the exile Tibetan administration to guide the Tibetans in and outside Tibet to abide by the Middle-Way policy.

So far the Chinese government has not given a definite response to the demands put across by the envoys of His Holiness the Dalai Lama during the sixth round of talks. Therefore, it is doubtful whether the Chinese side is really willing to resolve the current problems of Tibet. However, the Kashag will not change the current policy of the Middle-Way Approach, irrespective of whether the dialogue with the present leadership of the People's Republic of China will lead to any solution on the issue of Tibet or not. We are firmly committed to the continuance of the ongoing dialogue process with the Chinese government.

Employing numerous channels, the different agencies of the Chinese government have been sending various signals and gestures to us. However, unless we receive a clear and unambiguous message through a recognised official channel, there is no way that we can respond to these signals and gestures.

Following the objections raised by many highly-realised and recognised spiritual masters of the earlier period, including

the Great Fifth Dalai Lama, Trichen Ngawang Chokden, Changkya Rolpai Dorjee, the Thirteenth Dalai Lama, etc., His Holiness has very kindly advised us against the propitiation of the Dholgyal on numerous occasions. However few monastic institutions of the Gelug tradition have still not clarified their positions on this issue, as a result of which the propitiators and non-propitiators of Dholgyal live together under the same roof. A broad section of the enlightened monks has, therefore, expressed their views through a number of campaign activities that this matter must be resolved once and for all. As such, during his recent visit to Mundgod, South India, His Holiness the Dalai Lama has suggested to the Gelug monastic institutions that for the future convenience of all concerned a referendum among the monks be conducted. The responsible authorities of the monastic institutions have unanimously supported this idea and a

referendum was conducted by relying on the Buddhist Vinaya system of voting by administering *Tsul-shings* (Sangha voting sticks). Subsequently, most of the Gelug monastic institutions, including the three Great Monastic Seats, have disassociated themselves completely from the Dholgyal propitiators. While expressing our appreciation for this, the Kashag would like to urge the monastic world that they should not be negligent on this matter in the future as well. There is, still, a tiny number of monks who are not able to stop the propitiation of Dholgyal. Since they cannot live within the compounds of the Great Monastic Seats, they should move out to make a separate living elsewhere. Towards this end, the Central Tibetan Administration will provide them necessary assistance as we provide to all other Tibetans.

The Kashag would like to express its heartfelt thank you to the government and people of India for providing

unmatched assistance and shelter to all the Tibetan exiles over the last almost fifty years. The Kashag would like to urge that, as a way of expressing our gratitude, the Tibetan exiles should contribute to, and assist in, the religious and cultural spheres of the host country as much as they can. Similarly, the Kashag would like to take this opportunity to express its gratitude to the justice and peace-loving governments and peoples across the world for supporting the issue of Tibet.

Finally, the Kashag prays for the long life of His Holiness the Dalai Lama and the immediate resolution of the issue of Tibet. The Kashag also prays that the day may dawn soon, when the Tibetans in and outside Tibet will join in a celebration of their re-unification.

The Kashag, 10 March 2008

*N.B. Translated from the Tibetan original*

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## An appeal from His Holiness the Dalai Lama- April 2, 2008

I would like to express my appreciation and gratitude to the world leaders, Parliamentarians, NGOs and members of the public who have expressed their concern over the recent deeply saddening and tragic events in Tibet. I am also grateful for their efforts to persuade the Chinese authorities to exercise restraint in dealing with the peaceful protesters, while at the same time calling for meaningful dialogue to resolve the issue.

I believe the recent demonstrations and protests are a manifestation of the deep-rooted resentment not only of the Tibetan people in the so-called Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR), but also in the outlying traditional Tibetan areas

now incorporated into Qinghai, Gansu, Sichuan and Yunnan provinces, where there exist substantial communities of ethnic Tibetans.

According to reliable sources, the Chinese authorities have deployed large contingents of troops in these traditional Tibetan regions and have not only started to crack down heavily on the Tibetans allegedly involved in the unrest, but also sealed off the areas where protests have taken place.

I therefore appeal for your continued support in calling for an immediate end to the current crackdown, the release of all those who have been arrested and detained, and the provision of proper

medical treatment to the injured. We are particularly concerned about the lack of adequate medical facilities, as there are reports of many injured Tibetans being afraid to go to Chinese-run hospitals and clinics.

I would also request you to encourage the sending of an independent international body, to investigate the unrest and its underlying causes, as well as allowing the media and international medical teams to visit the affected areas. Their presence will not only instill a sense of reassurance in the Tibetan people, but will also exercise a restraining influence on the Chinese authorities.

THE DALAI LAMA, April 2, 2008

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## An Appeal to the Chinese People from His Holiness the 14th Dalai Lama

Today, I extend heartfelt greetings to my Chinese brothers and sisters round the world, particularly to those in the People's Republic of China. In the light of the recent developments in Tibet, I

would like to share with you my thoughts concerning relations between the Tibetan and Chinese peoples, and to make a personal appeal to you all.

I am deeply saddened by the loss of life in the recent tragic events in Tibet. I am aware that some Chinese have also died. I feel for the victims and their families and pray for them. The recent unrest has

clearly demonstrated the gravity of the situation in Tibet and the urgent need to seek a peaceful and mutually beneficial solution through dialogue. Even at this juncture I have expressed my willingness to the Chinese authorities to work together to bring about peace and stability.

Chinese brothers and sisters, I assure you I have no desire to seek Tibet's separation. Nor do I have any wish to drive a wedge between the Tibetan and Chinese peoples. On the contrary my commitment has always been to find a genuine solution to the problem of Tibet that ensures the long-term interests of both Chinese and Tibetans. My primary concern, as I have repeated time and again, is to ensure the survival of the Tibetan people's distinctive culture, language and identity. As a simple monk who strives to live his daily life according to Buddhist precepts, I assure you of the sincerity of my motivation.

I have appealed to the leadership of the PRC to clearly understand my position and work to resolve these problems by "seeking truth from facts." I urge the Chinese leadership to exercise wisdom and to initiate a meaningful dialogue with the Tibetan people. I also appeal to them to make sincere efforts to contribute to the stability and harmony of the PRC and avoid creating rifts between the nationalities. The state media's portrayal of the recent events in Tibet, using deceit and distorted images, could sow the seeds of racial tension with unpredictable long-term consequences. This is of grave concern to me. Similarly, despite my repeated support for the Beijing Olympics, the Chinese authorities, with the intention of creating rift between the Chinese people and myself, assert that I am trying to sabotage the games. I am encouraged, however, that several Chinese intellectuals and scholars have also expressed their strong concern about the Chinese leadership's actions and the potential for adverse long-term consequences, particularly on relations among different nationalities.

Since ancient times, Tibetan and Chinese peoples have lived as neighbors. In the two thousand year-old recorded history of our peoples, we have at times developed friendly relations, even entering into matrimonial alliances, while at other times we fought each other. However, since Buddhism flourished in China first before it arrived in Tibet from India, we Tibetans have historically accorded the Chinese people the respect and affection due to elder Dharma brothers and sisters. This is something well known to members of the Chinese community living outside China, some of whom have attended my Buddhist lectures, as well as pilgrims from mainland China, whom I have had the privilege to meet. I take heart from these meetings and feel they may contribute to a better understanding between our two peoples.

The twentieth century witnessed enormous changes in many parts of the world and Tibet, too, was caught up in this turbulence. Soon after the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949, the People's Liberation Army entered Tibet finally resulting in the 17-Point Agreement concluded between China and Tibet in May 1951. When I was in Beijing in 1954-55, attending the National People's Congress, I had the opportunity to meet and develop a personal friendship with many senior leaders, including Chairman Mao himself. In fact, Chairman Mao gave me advice on numerous issues, as well as personal assurances with regard to the future of Tibet. Encouraged by these assurances, and inspired by the dedication of many of China's revolutionary leaders of the time, I returned to Tibet full of confidence and optimism. Some Tibetan members of the Communist Party also had such a hope. After my return to Lhasa, I made every possible effort to seek genuine autonomy for Tibet within the family of the People's Republic of China (PRC). I believed that this would best serve the long-term interests of both the Tibetan and Chinese peoples.

Unfortunately, tensions, which began to escalate in Tibet from around 1956,

eventually led to the peaceful uprising of March 10, 1959, in Lhasa and my eventual escape into exile. Although many positive developments have taken place in Tibet under the PRC's rule, these developments, as the previous Panchen Lama pointed out in January 1989, were overshadowed by immense suffering and extensive destruction. Tibetans were compelled to live in a state of constant fear, while the Chinese government remained suspicious of them. However, instead of cultivating enmity towards the Chinese leaders responsible for the ruthless suppression of the Tibetan people, I prayed for them to become friends, which I expressed in the following lines in a prayer I composed in 1960, a year after I arrived in India: "May they attain the wisdom eye discerning right and wrong, And may they abide in the glory of friendship and love." Many Tibetans, school children among them, recite these lines in their daily prayers.

In 1974, following serious discussions with my Kashag (cabinet), as well as the Speaker and the Deputy Speaker of the then Assembly of the Tibetan People's Deputies, we decided to find a Middle Way that would seek not to separate Tibet from China, but would facilitate the peaceful development of Tibet. Although we had no contact at the time with the PRC - which was in the midst of the Cultural Revolution - we had already recognized that sooner or later, we would have to resolve the question of Tibet through negotiations. We also acknowledged that, at least with regard to modernization and economic development, it would greatly benefit Tibet if it remained within the PRC. Although Tibet has a rich and ancient cultural heritage, it is materially undeveloped.

Situated on the roof of the world, Tibet is the source of many of Asia's major rivers, therefore, protection of the environment on the Tibetan plateau is of supreme importance. Since our utmost concern is to safeguard Tibetan Buddhist culture - rooted as it is in the values of universal compassion - as well as the Tibetan

language and the unique Tibetan identity, we have worked whole-heartedly towards achieving meaningful self-rule for all Tibetans. The PRC's constitution provides the right for nationalities such as the Tibetans to do this.

In 1979, the then Chinese paramount leader, Deng Xiaoping assured my personal emissary that "except for the independence of Tibet, all other questions can be negotiated." Since we had already formulated our approach to seeking a solution to the Tibetan issue within the constitution of the PRC, we found ourselves well placed to respond to this new opportunity. My representatives met many times with officials of the PRC. Since renewing our contacts in 2002, we have had six rounds of talks. However, on the fundamental issue, there has been no concrete result at all. Nevertheless, as I have declared many times, I remain firmly committed to the Middle Way approach and reiterate here my willingness to continue to pursue the process of dialogue.

This year the Chinese people are proudly and eagerly awaiting the opening of the Olympic Games. I have, from the start, supported Beijing's being awarded the opportunity to host the Games. My position remains unchanged. China has the world's largest population, a long history and an extremely rich civilization. Today, due to her impressive economic

progress, she is emerging as a great power. This is certainly to be welcomed. But China also needs to earn the respect and esteem of the global community through the establishment of an open and harmonious society based on the principles of transparency, freedom, and the rule of law. For example, to this day victims of the Tiananmen Square tragedy that adversely affected the lives of so many Chinese citizens have received neither just redress nor any official response. Similarly, when thousands of ordinary Chinese in rural areas suffer injustice at the hands of exploitative and corrupt local officials, their legitimate complaints are either ignored or met with aggression. I express these concerns both as a fellow human being and as someone who is prepared to consider himself a member of the large family that is the People's Republic of China. In this respect, I appreciate and support President Hu Jintao's policy of creating a "harmonious society", but this can only arise on the basis of mutual trust and an atmosphere of freedom, including freedom of speech and the rule of law. I strongly believe that if these values are embraced, many important problems relating to minority nationalities can be resolved, such as the issue of Tibet, as well as Eastern Turkistan, and Inner Mongolia, where the native people now constitute only 20% of a total population of 24 million.

I had hoped President Hu Jintao's recent statement that the stability and safety of Tibet concerns the stability and safety of the country might herald the dawning of a new era for the resolution of the problem of Tibet. It is unfortunate that despite my sincere efforts not to separate Tibet from China, the leaders of the PRC continue to accuse me of being a "separatist". Similarly, when Tibetans in Lhasa and many other areas spontaneously protested to express their deep-rooted resentment, the Chinese authorities immediately accused me of having orchestrated their demonstrations. I have called for a thorough investigation by a respected body to look into this allegation.

Chinese brothers and sisters - wherever you may be - with deep concern I appeal to you to help dispel the misunderstandings between our two communities. Moreover, I appeal to you to help us find a peaceful, lasting solution to the problem of Tibet through dialogue in the spirit of understanding and accommodation.

With my prayers,

Dalai Lama

March 28, 2008

*Note: translated from the Tibetan original*

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## Statement of His Holiness the Dalai Lama to all Tibetans- April 6, 2008

While extending my warm greetings to all the Tibetans in Tibet, I would like to share some of my thoughts.

1. Since March 10 this year, we have witnessed protests and demonstrations in almost all parts of Tibet, even in a few cities in Mainland China by students, which are the outburst of long pent-up physical and mental anguish of the Tibetans and the feeling of deep resentment against the suppression of the rights of Tibetan people, lack of religious freedom and for trying to distort the truth at every occasion, such as saying that Tibetans look towards

the Chinese Communist Party as the "Living Buddha", is an ultra leftist statement and smacks of Han chauvinism. I am very much saddened and concerned by the use of arms to suppress the peaceful demonstrations of Tibetan people's aspirations that have resulted in unrest in Tibet, causing many deaths, and much more casualties, detention, and injury. Such suppression and suffering are very unfortunate and tragic which will reduce any compassionate person to tears. I, however, feel helpless in the face of these tragic incidents.

2. I pray for all the Tibetans as well as Chinese who have lost their lives during the current crisis.

3. The recent protests all over Tibet have not only contradicted but also shattered the People Republic of China's propaganda that except for a few "reactionaries", the majority of Tibetans enjoy a prosperous and contented life. These protests have made it very clear that Tibetans in the three provinces of Tibet, U-tsang, Kham and Amdo, harbor the same aspirations and hopes. These protests have also conveyed to the world that the Tibet issue can no longer

be neglected. These protests highlight the need to find a way to resolve the issue through “finding truth from facts”. The courage and determination of those Tibetans who have, for the greater interests of Tibetan people, demonstrated their deep anguish and hopes by risking everything is very commendable as the world community has acknowledged and supported the spirit of these Tibetans.

4. I deeply appreciate the acts of many Tibetan government employees and Communist Party cadres who have, without losing their Tibetan identity, shown grit and sense of what is right during the present crisis. In future, I would appeal to the Tibetan Party cadres and government employees not to look always for their personal benefit, but to work for safeguarding the larger interests of Tibet by reporting the real sentiments of the Tibetan people to their superiors in the Party and try to give unbiased guidance to the Tibetan people.

5. Presidents, Prime Ministers, Foreign Ministers, Nobel Laureates, Parliamentarians, and concerned citizens from every part of the world have been sending clear and strong messages to the Chinese leadership to stop the present ongoing harsh crackdown against the Tibetan people. They have all been encouraging the Chinese government to follow a path where a mutually beneficial solution could be reached. We should create an opportunity for their efforts to bring out positive results. I know you are being provoked at every level but it is important to stick to our non-violent practice.

6. The Chinese authorities have been making false allegations against myself and the Central Tibetan Administration for instigating and orchestrating the recent events in Tibet. These allegations are totally untrue. I have made repeated appeals for an independent and respected international body to conduct a thorough investigation into the matter. I am sure this independent body will uncover the

truth. If the People’s Republic of China has any basis and proof of evidence to back their allegations, they need to disclose these to the world. Just making allegations is not enough.

7. For the future of Tibet, I have decided to find a solution within the framework of the People’s Republic of China. Since 1974, I have sincerely remained steadfast to the mutually beneficial Middle-Way Approach. The whole world knows this. The Middle-Way Approach means that all Tibetans must be governed by similar administration that enjoys meaningful National Regional Autonomy and all the provisions in it, self-rule and full decision-making, except for matters concerning foreign relations and national defense. However, I have said it from the beginning that the Tibetans in Tibet have the right to make the final decision for the future of Tibet.

8. The hosting of the Olympic games this year is a matter of great pride to the 1.2 billion Chinese people. I have from the very beginning supported the holding of these Games in Beijing. My position on this remains unchanged. I feel the Tibetans should not cause any hindrance to the Games. It is the legitimate right of every Tibetan to struggle for their freedoms and rights. On the other hand, it will be futile and not helpful to anyone if we do something that will create hatred in the minds of the Chinese people. On the contrary, we need to foster trust and respect in our hearts in order to create a harmonious society, as this cannot be built on the basis of force and intimidation.

9. Our struggle is with a few in the leadership of the People’s Republic of China and not with the Chinese people. Therefore we should never cause misunderstanding or do something that will hurt the Chinese people. Even during this difficult situation, many Chinese intellectuals, writers and lawyers in Mainland China and other parts of the world have sympathized and shown us their solidarity by issuing statements, writing articles and offering pledges of support that is overwhelming.

I have recently issued an appeal to the Chinese people all over the world on 28th March, which I hope you will hear and read.

10. If the present situation in Tibet continues, I am very much concerned that the Chinese government will unleash more force and increase the suppression of Tibetan people. Because of my moral obligation and responsibility to the Tibetan people, I have repeatedly asked the concerned leadership of the PRC to immediately stop their suppression in all parts of Tibet and withdraw its armed police and troops. If this brings result, I would also advise the Tibetans to stop all the current protests.

11. I want to urge my fellow Tibetans who live in freedom outside Tibet to be extra vigilant as they voice their feelings on the developments in Tibet. We should not engage in any action that could be even remotely interpreted as violent. Even under the most provocative of situations we must not allow our most precious and deeply held values to be compromised. I firmly believe that we will achieve success through our non-violent path. We must be wise to understand where the unprecedented affection and support for our cause stems from.

12. As Tibet is currently virtually closed and no international media is allowed there, I doubt my message will reach the Tibetans in Tibet. But I hope through media and by word of mouth, it will be passed on to the majority of you.

13. Finally, I want to reiterate and appeal once again to Tibetans to practice non-violence and not waver from this path, however serious the situation might be.

The Dalai Lama

Dharamsala

April 6, 2008

*N.B. Translated from the Tibetan original*

## Public Statement of the Kashag - 22 March 2008

The Kashag would like to issue this statement to the Tibetans — both lay and ecclesiastical — living here in Dharamsala, and through all of you, to the larger Tibetan population in and outside Tibet.

### Recognition of the situation inside Tibet

1) The recent peaceful uprising in Tibet is not only powerful, but also great and of historical significance. It symbolises the Tibetan people's indomitable courage and inner strength.

2) The uprising is not just confined to Lhasa and its neighbouring areas. It has spread to all regions where Tibetans reside, including the three traditional provinces of Tibet: U-tsang, Amdo and Kham. What does this indicate? Firstly, it clearly shows that all Tibetans have the same aspirations and are united under the great leadership of His Holiness the Dalai Lama. Secondly, it has brought before the world the reality inside Tibet by exposing the Chinese propaganda that "apart from the few upper strata followers of the reactionary Dalai, all Tibetans in Tibet are loyal to the ideology and polity of the People's Republic of China (PRC)" and that "Tibet has entered into a period of great stability, with its people being fully satisfied with the economic and social progress it has achieved".

3) It further shows that His Holiness' viewpoint that all Tibetans, including those living in the three traditional provinces of Tibet, should be brought under a single autonomous governance is in tune with the reality.

4) The leaders of the People's Republic of China have said that they will wage a "life and death" struggle against, or resolutely crush, the on-going demonstrations in Tibet. This statement has brought to the fore the internal matter that the Chinese leaders view the Tibetans as enemies, rather than being a part of the big family of the Chinese nation.

5) The recent heroic uprising, which has spread to virtually all parts of Tibet, is larger in scale than all the uprisings that have taken place during the past 49 years. Whether we look at it from the perspective of an international issue or a domestic issue, these demonstrations have brought our struggle to a point where a decision has to be made concerning the survival of the Tibetan people. Moreover the principal force behind these activities are the fourth generation Tibetans — those Tibetans who are born after the Chinese assumed rule over our country. These are a clear indication that our movement will continue for generations.

6) The recent incidents have made it amply clear how much determination and sincerity the Tibetan people have and the great sacrifices they made. While expressing our immense pride in and appreciation for this, the Kashag would like to state that it does not have the faintest doubt that their sacrifices will be etched on the annals of the Tibetan people in golden ink.

### What the Central Tibetan Administration has done thus far

7) Needless to mention that the Tibetan exiles should recognise the great courage displayed by our brethren in Tibet and initiate solidarity actions, which will go a long way in promoting the short- and long-term benefits of the cause of the Tibetan people. Therefore a high-level committee has been set up under the leadership of the Tibetan Parliament-in-Exile (TPiE), which has — instead of letting the Tibetans to carry out individual activities — tried to combine all the initiatives of the Tibetan Diasporic community to give it a collective force. This is, in the history of the Tibetan Diaspora, a new approach to deal with a crisis situation. We are hopeful that the Tibetan NGOs, autonomous bodies and welfare organisations, as well as the local people will all follow the direction of this committee.

8) Since the repression began in Tibet, His Holiness the Dalai Lama has continued to make his best efforts, despite his slight indisposition, to reach out to as many people as possible. As well as writing to many like-minded (political) world leaders, fellow Nobel laureates and other eminent persons, His Holiness has given frequent interviews to the media and appealed to the governments and peoples across the globe. In addition to this, His Holiness has advised us to recite the prayers of *Dolma* and *Sher-nying*, as well as the *Tadrin* mantra to avert the present crisis situation and to work towards the enhancement of the Tibetan people's collective merit. Moreover, His Holiness has graciously presided over the prayer congregation held at the main temple of the Thekchen Choeling monastery for the Tibetans in Tibet.

As for the Tibetan administration, we have been performing our duties properly by providing timely information to the governmental and non-governmental organisations as well as the Tibet support groups and requesting them for their support through the offices of Tibet abroad. Apart from expressing our heart-felt thanks to high-ranking leaders of many eastern and western countries, including the US and the EU countries; the United Nations Secretary General; political parties; social service organisations; Tibet support groups and the spiritual heads of various religious denominations for issuing their statements of support, the Kashag has also been emphatically urging them to continue to give their effective support to us until the eventual resolution of the issue of Tibet.

### Appeal for future action

9) Currently, our urgent appeal to the international community comprises of the following main items:

a) Stop immediately the repression taking place all over Tibet, as well as



- the killings and beatings accompanying it;
- b) Release immediately all those arrested and imprisoned during such instances of protest demonstrations;
  - c) All those injured should be provided medical care. Lift the imposition of restrictions on all travellers who are held up in different places and adequate food supplies should be provided to them;
  - d) An independent international fact-finding delegation and impartial reporters should be allowed to go all over Tibet without any restriction.

To channel our collective energies to put forward these demands is the need of the hour.

10) The People's Republic of China (PRC) has planted a large number of spies within the Tibetan communities in and outside Tibet, who have been undertaking massive campaigns to drive a wedge between the Tibetan people, between the Tibetans and Chinese and between the Tibetans and the people of the respective host countries they live in. Thus the other side is hoping to destroy the unity, or oneness, of the Tibetan people and the effectiveness of their movement. Being mindful of these mischievous lots, all Tibetans should exercise utmost caution.

The bases of the Tibetan exiles' movement are the respective host countries we live in. India, in particular, is the residence of His Holiness the Dalai Lama and the seat of the Central Tibetan Administration (CTA). Therefore whenever we initiate any

activity big or small, we must be careful in seeing to it that our actions do not go against the laws of the respective host countries, or cause undue embarrassment and discomfort to the people living in these countries. Besides we must realise that it is our strength, rather than weakness, to keep the means we employ within the rubric of the principle of non-violence. Since the Chinese side has misrepresented the recent incidents as a clash between the Tibetan and Chinese peoples and between different religions, we should not be tardy in providing timely and proper responses to these misinformation.

11) Apart from undertaking political activities, all Tibetans should also make efforts from the religious side to enhance their collective merit by engaging themselves in good-karmic deeds. We should, in particular, follow the advice of His Holiness the Dalai Lama by reciting the prayers of *Dolma, Shernying, Yig-drug and Gurui Thug-dam Ne-kul* and dedicate the merits gained for the immediate ending of the repression in Tibet; for the rebirth of all those who have lost their lives in the "taming ground" of Avalokitesvara, the Snowland of Tibet and be able to serve the Tibetan people; for the speedy recovery of all those injured people; and for the eventual resolution of the Tibet issue so that the Tibetans in and outside Tibet can join together in a celebration of their reunion.

12) It is difficult to predict where the present crisis situation inside Tibet will lead to in the future. It is possible that we may have to initiate campaigns for a

long time inside and outside Tibet. It is also possible that we may have to come out with a considerable number of relief activities. Therefore, as stated in the Kashag's appeal on the last birthday celebration of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, all Tibetan exiles — be it rich or poor — should observe austerity as much as possible by shunning extravagance of any kind, including unbridled consumerism, and set aside a portion of their income for community activities.

13) Finally, an extremely important matter is that there is no greater prospects for the Tibetan people than what His Holiness has, relying on his profound wisdom, advised to us. In a crisis situation like this, we should be able to whole-heartedly follow the guidance provided by him. On the contrary, if we pretend to have a better approach than what His Holiness has already shown to us and thus undermine the unity of the small number of Tibetan exiles, then this will only make our enemies happy and disappoint our friends.

The Kashag is greatly disappointed by some of the recently initiated campaigns. Even though we hope that there is nothing wrong in the sincerity of those who initiated these campaigns, but the way they were conducted seems to indicate the organiser's deliberate attempts to bring bad name and difficulties to His Holiness the Dalai Lama. This, we consider, is not at all helpful to the cause of Tibet.

Issued by the Kashag  
*N.B. Translated from the Tibetan*

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## Press statement by Kalon Tripa, Prof. Samdhong Rinpoche, on the Situation in Tibet

### **Deteriorating situation in Tibet and fear of worse to come in days ahead**

Since 10th March 2008, there have been widespread protests in all areas of U-Tsang, Kham and Amdo, including in various cities of China where Tibetans live. These protests are the outburst of dissatisfaction

and deep-rooted resentment perpetuated in the hearts of the Tibetan people for the last five decades by excessive repression and mishandling of peaceful protests by small number of monks and lay people

in several places in and outside "TAR" on 10th March 2008.

10th March is a historic day for the Tibetan people. Every year there is some kind of peaceful demonstration,

which does not continue beyond that day. But this year protests continued in the succeeding days due to unnecessary repressive measures and use of force.

If the objective of using force by the Chinese authorities is to maintain peace and order in Tibet, they could have achieved it within a day. But normalcy did not return even after more than five weeks and more protests and repressive measures are happening day after day. This arouses the suspicion about the intentions of the Chinese authorities. Among the many suspicious incidents, the following are conspicuous:

- a. On 14th March, unusual unrest was allowed in Lhasa for several hours without the authorities taking any preventive measures.
- b. Most of protesters involved in violent acts on that day were unfamiliar to the local people. In particular, there are cases where people have seen Chinese policemen in Tibetan dress and in monks' robes taking the leading role during the protests.
- c. The Chinese authorities claim that they have found guns and bullets at some Tibetan monasteries. This claim is based on recovering some unserviceable country-made guns and swords, which were offered to the chambers of the protective deities (Gonkhang) of monasteries. And in some other cases, the military personnel themselves brought arms and ammunitions to monasteries. Later they claimed to have found these in the monasteries and blame the Tibetans for harbouring arms and ammunition in the monastic compounds.
- d. Chinese authorities also claim that Tibetan independence forces are planning to launch suicide attacks.

- e. They accuse some monks of exploding a bomb that damaged a building in Chamdo in east Tibet. The authorities are yet to produce any convincing evidence.
- f. Patriotic re-education campaign is re-launched and monasteries and households are ordered to fly the Chinese national flag on their buildings.
- g. Anti-Dalai Lama campaigns are being rigorously carried out everywhere. This hurts the sentiments of the Tibetan people most.
- h. The People's Republic of China (PRC) is carrying out a systematic and vigorous effort to create a rift between the Tibetans and the Chinese people. This is being done by a huge propaganda to fan nationalism and hatred of the "Dalai clique" amongst the Chinese people.

These acts do not help in restoring mental peace and social order in Tibet. On the contrary, these acts are considered highly provocative by the Tibetans because they hurt them the most. All these acts appear to be aimed to undermine the Tibetan people's tolerance and provoke them into violent retaliation. They also indicate that various agencies of the PRC have plans to carry out more bombing and other destructive activities and put the blame on the innocent Tibetans for such actions.

We are deeply concerned by the ongoing repressive action such as brutal beatings, torture, killings, deprivation of essential foods and drinking water, which lead to the starvation of concerned Tibetans. We are also very much concerned that such repressive action may continue for many more months to come.

Tibet is virtually sealed off and in a short period, the Chinese authorities

will destroy all evidence by executing the innocent Tibetans. The international community must intervene immediately and persuade the PRC authorities to end these atrocious acts.

The vexed situation in Tibet has lingered because of the ultra leftist policies adopted by PRC authorities during the year 1957/58, which led to the popular uprising on 10th March 1959. Since then the Tibetans have suffered immensely. Over a million Tibetans perished and the situation remains troubled. These policies were recognised as wrong and reversed in Mainland China. But no change in policy has taken place for the Tibetan nationality. Even now, unless the basic policy of PRC towards the Tibetan nationality is changed, no amount of force can keep the Tibetan people under control.

The PRC leadership on one hand demand that His Holiness the Dalai Lama use his influence to restore normalcy in Tibet. On the other hand they have not created any space or channel to allow His Holiness the Dalai Lama to use his influence in Tibet. On the contrary, the Chinese leadership have stepped up their anti - Dalai Lama campaign throughout Tibet.

The PRC leadership refused to find out the root cause of unrest in Tibet and make efforts to remove the cause. On the contrary they are aggravating the problem by various means. This is a clear indication that they do not want to have peace and stability in Tibet.

We, therefore, urgently appeal to the international community to take effective and immediate actions to prevent the PRC from indulging in such brutal acts against the Tibetan people and to stop their policy of systematic cultural genocide in Tibet.

Prof. Samdhong Rinpoche  
KALON TRIPA Dated: 18th April 2008

## Twelve Suggestions for Dealing with the Tibetan Situation by Some Chinese Intellectuals on March 22, 2008

1. At present the one-sided propaganda of the official Chinese media is having the effect of stirring up inter-ethnic animosity and aggravating an already tense situation. This is extremely detrimental to the long-term goal of safeguarding national unity. We call for such propaganda to be stopped.
2. We support the Dalai Lama's appeal for peace, and hope that the ethnic conflict can be dealt with according to the principles of goodwill, peace, and non-violence. We condemn any violent act against innocent people, strongly urge the Chinese government to stop the violent suppression, and appeal to the Tibetan people likewise not to engage in violent activities.
3. The Chinese government claims that "there is sufficient evidence to prove this incident was organized, premeditated, and meticulously orchestrated by the Dalai clique." We hope that the government will show proof of this. In order to change the international community's negative view and distrustful attitude, we also suggest that the government invite the United Nation's Commission on Human Rights to carry out an independent investigation of the evidence, the course of the incident, the number of casualties, etc.
4. In our opinion, such Cultural-Revolution-like language as "the Dalai Lama is a jackal in Buddhist monk's robes and an evil spirit with a human face and the heart of a beast" used by the Chinese Communist Party leadership in the Tibet Autonomous Region is of no help in easing the situation, nor is it beneficial to the Chinese government's image. As the Chinese government is committed to integrating into the international community, we maintain that it should display a style of governing that conforms to the standards of modern civilization.
5. We note that on the very day when the violence erupted in Lhasa (March 14), the leaders of the Tibet Autonomous Region declared that "there is sufficient evidence to prove this incident was organized, premeditated, and meticulously orchestrated by the Dalai clique." This shows that the authorities in Tibet knew in advance that the riot would occur, yet did nothing effective to prevent the incident from happening or escalating. If there was a dereliction of duty, a serious investigation must be carried out to determine this and deal with it accordingly.
6. If in the end it cannot be proved that this was an organized, premeditated, and meticulously orchestrated event but was instead a "popular revolt" triggered by events, then the authorities should pursue those responsible for inciting the popular revolt and concocting false information to deceive the Central Government and the people; they should also seriously reflect on what can be learned from this event so as to avoid taking the same course in the future.
7. We strongly demand that the authorities not subject every Tibetan to political investigation or revenge. The trials of those who have been arrested must be carried out according to judicial procedures that are open, just, and transparent so as to ensure that all parties are satisfied.
8. We urge the Chinese government to allow credible national and international media to go into Tibetan areas to conduct independent interviews and news reports. In our view, the current news blockade cannot gain credit with the Chinese people or the international community, and is harmful to the credibility of the Chinese government. If the government grasps the true situation, it need not fear challenges. Only by adopting an open attitude can we turn around the international community's distrust of our government.
9. We appeal to the Chinese people and overseas Chinese to be calm and tolerant, and to reflect deeply on what is happening. Adopting a posture of aggressive nationalism will only invite antipathy from the international community and harm China's international image.
10. The disturbances in Tibet in the 1980s were limited to Lhasa, whereas this time they have spread to many Tibetan areas. This deterioration indicates that there are serious mistakes in the work that has been done with regard to Tibet. The relevant government departments must conscientiously reflect upon this matter, examine their failures, and fundamentally change the failed nationality policies.
11. In order to prevent similar incidents from happening in future, the government must abide by the freedom of religious belief and the freedom of speech explicitly enshrined in the Chinese Constitution, thereby allowing the Tibetan people fully to express their grievances and hopes, and permitting citizens of all nationalities freely to criticize and make suggestions regarding the government's nationality policies.
12. We hold that we must eliminate animosity and bring about national reconciliation, not continue to increase divisions between nationalities. A country that wishes to avoid the partition of its territory must first avoid divisions among its nationalities. Therefore, we appeal to the leaders of our country to hold direct dialogue with the Dalai Lama. We hope that the Chinese and Tibetan people will do away with the misunderstandings between them, develop their interactions with each other, and achieve unity. Government

departments as much as popular organizations and religious figures should make great efforts toward this goal.

Signatures:

Wang Lixiong (Beijing, Writer)  
 Liu Xiaobo (Beijing, Freelance Writer)  
 Zhang Zuhua (Beijing, scholar of constitutionalism)  
 Sha Yexin (Shanghai, writer, Chinese Muslim)  
 Yu Haocheng (Beijing, jurist)

Ding Zilin (Beijing, professor)  
 Jiang peikun (Beijing, professor)  
 Yu Jie (Beijing, writer)  
 Sun Wenguang (Shangdong, professor)  
 Ran Yunfei (Sichuan, editor, Tujia nationality)  
 Pu Zhiqiang (Beijing, lawyer)  
 Teng Biao (Beijing, Layer and scholar)  
 Liao Yiwu (Sichuan, writer)  
 Wang Qisheng (Beijing, scholar)  
 Zhang Xianling (Beijing, engineer)  
 Xu Jue (Beijing, research fellow)  
 Li Jun (Gansu, photographer)

Gao Yu (Beijing, journalist)  
 Wang Debang (Beijing, freelance writer)  
 Zhao Dagong (Shenzhen, freelance writer)  
 Jiang Danwen (Shanghai, writer)  
 Liu Yi (Gansu, painter)  
 Xu Hui (Beijing, writer)  
 Wang Tiancheng (Beijing, scholar)  
 Wen kejian (Hangzhou, freelance)  
 Li Hai (Beijing, freelance writer)  
 Tian Yongde (Inner Mongolia, folk human rights activists)  
 Zan Aizong (Hangzhou, journalist)  
 Liu Yiming (Hubei, freelance writer)

## Tibet's peace is the peace of the graveyard

<http://www.taipeitimes.com>, Mar 22, 2008

by Vaclav Havel, Andri Glucksmann, Yohei Sasakawa, El Hassan Bin

The recent events in Tibet and adjoining provinces are causes for deep concern. Indeed, the dispersal of a peaceful protest march organized by Tibetan monks, which led to a wave of unrest that was brutally suppressed by the Chinese military and police, has caused indignation all over the democratic world.

The reaction of the Chinese authorities to the Tibetan protests evokes echoes of the totalitarian practices that many of us remember from the days before communism in Central and Eastern Europe collapsed in 1989: Harsh censorship of the domestic media, blackouts of reporting by foreign media from China, refusal of visas to foreign journalists, and blaming the unrest on the "Dalai Lama's conspiratorial clique" and other unspecified dark forces supposedly manipulated from abroad.

Indeed, the language used by some Chinese government representatives and the official Chinese media is a reminder of the worst of times during the Stalinist and Maoist eras.

But the most dangerous development of this unfortunate situation is the current attempt to seal off Tibet from the rest of the world.

Even as we write, it is clear that China's rulers are trying to reassure the world that peace, quiet, and "harmony" have again prevailed in Tibet. We all know this kind of peace from what has happened in the past in Myanmar, Cuba, Belarus and a few other countries — it is called the peace of the graveyard.

Merely urging the Chinese government to exercise the "utmost restraint" in dealing with the Tibetan people, as governments around the world are doing, is far too weak a response.

The international community, beginning with the UN and followed by the EU, ASEAN and other international organizations, as well as individual countries, should use every means possible to step up pressure on the Chinese government to do the following:

\* Allow foreign media, as well as international fact-finding missions, into

Tibet and adjoining provinces in order to enable objective investigations of what has been happening.

\* Release all those who only peacefully exercised their internationally guaranteed human rights, and guarantee that no one is subjected to torture and unfair trials.

\* Enter into a meaningful dialogue with the representatives of the Tibetan people.

Unless these conditions are fulfilled, the International Olympic Committee should seriously reconsider whether holding this summer's Olympic Games in a country that includes a peaceful graveyard remains a good idea.

*Vaclav Havel is a former president of the Czech Republic, Andri Glucksmann is a French philosopher, Yohei Sasakawa is a Japanese philanthropist, El Hassan Bin Talal is president of the Arab Thought Forum and president emeritus of the World Conference of Religions for Peace, F.W. de Klerk is a former president of South Africa, and Karel Schwarzenberg is foreign minister of the Czech Republic.*

## China Needs the Dalai Lama

Washington Post, March 26, 2008

by Robert Thurman

We are at a moment of great significance for humanity, at the beginning of this new century, which could be either a horrendous time of natural and man-made mega-disasters or the greatest century

yet of environmental restoration and peaceful global community. Of all world leaders at this time, the Dalai Lama most convincingly provides spiritual, intellectual, and ethical leadership,

exemplifying and elucidating the most reasonable path to peace and happiness. This is the secret of his worldwide popularity. His person and teaching really do matter, to the Tibetans, to the

Chinese, and to all of us and our future generations.

If there ever was a social and political movement based on faith, on spirituality, it is the 50-year campaign of the Dalai Lama for the freedom of his people, and the present spontaneous uprising of the Tibetan people who want to be free to restore their spiritual life, in the closer presence of their spiritual and political leader. These acts of truth—the Dalai Lama’s long insistence on non-violence and dialogue in responding to the genocidal acts of one of the world’s largest military powers, and the Tibetan people’s resistance in the face of overwhelming odds—may yet produce miraculous results, as one of the world’s greatest “lost causes” becomes a possible success.

The promise of the present moment has been precipitated first by the innovative leaders of China, gingerly stepping out into the glare of world publicity and opinion by hosting the Olympic Games and second, just now, by the brave people of Tibet stepping out on their own past the plans of their leader and, against great odds, standing up for the truth of their existence as Tibetans. Risking their very lives, they protest the total destruction

of their culture, environment, and way of life. They have done this in the spirit of non-violent resistance, although decades of bitterness and the extremity of their present situation did cause some of them to lose sight of this foundational principle of their struggle and commit some acts of violence. They stood up to the firing of armed Chinese troops, they raised their flag of freedom, and they remain standing in spite of the massive loss of life and liberty they knew would come.

The Dalai Lama didn’t ask them to sacrifice themselves in this way. He tells them he will resign if they commit more violent acts, even exceptionally, and he agonizes over the vengeance the hard-line authorities can be expected to exact. At the same time, he and the rest of the world stands in awe of the extraordinary depth of faith being exhibited by his brave people, an echo of similar courageous acts witnessed in the last century during the Civil Rights struggles in the U.S. and South Africa.

The opportunity the Chinese leaders now have is nothing less than earth-shaking. For sixty years they have sought to dominate and control, in the futile effort to transform Tibet and its Tibetans into China and Chinese, a

project the Dalai Lama has called cultural genocide. They have clearly failed. The “Dalai Lama clique” they blame and vow to destroy turns out to be all Tibetans. They now have the chance to look carefully at the facts, seek the truth, and accept that failure by trying something new. They have unnecessarily been trying to make an enemy of their best friend in all the world, the Dalai Lama, not only believed by Buddhists to be the incarnation of the god of compassion but beloved by people of all religions and humanisms as an inspiring thinker, teacher, and spiritual example – the Nobel Laureate, the living Gandhi, and the apostle of non-violence, intelligent dialogue, and unbending hope. He has all along continued to offer them the open hand of friendship, aiming to find a solution that will be satisfying for China as well as for Tibet. It’s time, now, for President Hu Jintao to reach out and welcome his help.

*Robert Thurman is professor of Indo-Tibetan Buddhist Studies in the Department of Religion at Columbia University and President of Tibet House US. His upcoming book, “Why the Dalai Lama Matters: His Act of Truth as the Solution for China, Tibet and the World” (Atria Books/Beyond Words) will be out in June.*

## Fire in the Land of Snows

- by Tenzin Sonam Gonsar

For many of us, the recent unfolding of events in Tibet should not come as a surprise. In fact, in many ways it is reminiscent of the 1989 Lhasa uprising: only this time the world is paying a little more attention as the biggest wave of demonstrations in Tibet for nearly 50 years is taking place. Tibetans (both inside and outside Tibet) see this as a golden opportunity to hold onto an ethnically, religiously and culturally unique homeland before it is lost forever. This is what makes the uprising of 2008 different from the one in 1989.

In 1951, when Mao Zedong sent troops to “liberate” the “barbaric” Tibetans, he also admitted that his country had a problem with “chauvinism” in its

handling of ethnic minorities. This time, their “chauvinism” has cost them dearly as China faces its worst public-relations quagmire and is struggling to escape.

Just recently, Li Zhanjun, a spokesperson for Beijing’s Olympic organisers, had been boasting about how many foreign leaders and members of royalty would attend the opening ceremony for the olympics: over 100, he said, compared with 60-odd at the 2004 games in Athens. A few hours later, France’s president, Nicolas Sarkozy, said he could not rule out boycotting the opening ceremony of the games on August 8, because of China’s handling of the demonstrations. Just a few days later, Polish Prime Minister Donald Tusk

became the first head-of-state to officially declare that he will not participate in the opening ceremony of the Olympic Games in Beijing: “...my decision is very clear: the presence of politicians during the inauguration of the olympics seems inappropriate. “Since then, over six head of states have already said that they will not be attending the opening ceremony for the Olympics. Now Chinese officials are suddenly less optimistic that this summer’s Olympic games in Beijing will be the diplomatic triumph they had craved.

But certainly there remain more important questions to be asked than whether China should be given the chance to host the Olympics. One question that many have been asking

lately is: why are Tibetans so discontent under Chinese rule? Why are monks and lay people risking their lives against the red-dragon once again as they did so in the 1987, 1988 and the 1989 uprising? Among other issues, the recent protests reflect over 50-years of Tibetan resentment toward Chinese policies and laws that have failed to respect the basic rights of the people of Tibet.

China's leaders have been proved wrong in their belief that years of channelling economic growth and investment in infrastructure and 'modernization' in Tibet would weaken the power of religion and traditional culture, and help them put behind years of anti-Colonial anger dating from China's annexation of Tibet in 1959. The recent protests serve to remind us once again that the dazzling new infrastructure and marketplaces, certainly has not bought over the hearts and minds of Tibetans. One would be too naive to believe that China's investments in Tibet are benefiting Tibetans. An independent analysis by Andrew Fischer, a development economist from the London School of Economics, reveals that "the majority of Tibetans are increasingly marginalized from the rapid growth. This is due to extreme and inefficient dependence on government sources of finance mostly from Beijing, together with the fact that such finance continues to be targeted at urban areas where Tibetans have the hardest time competing with Chinese migrants. Instead, the opportunities created largely advantage workers and entrepreneurs with Chinese-fluency, Chinese work cultures, and connections to government or business networks in China." This combination, he points out "exacerbates inequality and the exclusionary dynamics of growth" leading to what he terms "ethnically exclusionary growth." If China truly wants stability, then the underlying causes of the public protests must be addressed, and policies that address the interests of both the the Chinese government *and* the Tibetan people should be considered.

The recent protests also reflect Tibetans' belief that the six rounds of the Sino-Tibetan dialogue conducted to date—without the direct participation of His Holiness the Dalai Lama—has been too slow and unyielding of results. Beijing's belief that the Tibetan struggle will fade away with the passing away of the 72-year old Nobel laureate is nothing but foolish. For Tibetans, His Holiness the Dalai Lama remains more important than ever. In almost every single protest since March 10, Tibetans inside Tibet have been calling for the return of His Holiness the Dalai Lama. It is also imperative that the China sets forth a timeline and framework for evaluation in the Sino-Tibetan dialogue. A practical solution for the Tibet question through official negotiations that include measurable results favours both the Tibetan people and the Chinese government. The Middle-Way Approach was proposed by His Holiness the Dalai Lama to peacefully resolve the issue of Tibet. It is a non-partisan and moderate position that safeguards the vital interests of all concerned parties—for Tibetans: the protection and preservation of their culture, religion and national identity; for the Chinese: the security and territorial integrity of the motherland; and for neighbours and other third parties: peaceful borders and international relations.

At the core of Middle-Way Approach is the proposal to seek "genuine autonomy" for all Tibetans living in the three traditional provinces of Tibet. The legitimacy of such a demand is clearly evident given the widespread nature of the recent protests which have taken place in each of the three traditional provinces of Tibet.

China needs to come to the realization that His Holiness the Dalai Lama is China's only hope of winning Tibetan acceptance. Their claim that His Holiness the Dalai Lama, is becoming irrelevant, yet insisting that the protests

in Tibet was "organized, premeditated, masterminded and incited by the Dalai clique" clearly reveals China's attitudes to Tibet which are nothing short of contradiction. His Holiness the Dalai Lama's relevance to the Tibetan people and their struggle is something that China should learn to appreciate. The world witnessed Tibetan people's reverence for His Holiness when he made an appeal to all Tibetans to stop wearing traditional clothing decorated with wildlife skins. Tibetans (both inside and outside) Tibet responded by holding the largest bonfires of animal skins. The burnings became such a widespread movement in Tibet that Chinese authorities made many attempts to ban the burnings. In light of everything that China has done wrong with regard to Tibet and Tibetans, there is still hope.

For Tibetans, the way forward is simple: under the guidance and leadership of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, our movement will continue to build momentum albeit in a peaceful and non-violent manner. For the Chinese leadership, the way forward involves reviewing their old policies on Tibet and coming through with new breakthrough policies. Some innovative and fresh thinking needs to occur among the Chinese leadership and measurable progress needs to be made in the Sino-Tibetan dialogue. China must conscientiously reflect upon the Tibet issue, examine their failures, and fundamentally change the failed nationality policies. The latest demonstrations in Tibet are only an episode from more than half a century of sporadic resistance to Chinese rule. If China continues to brush aside the Tibet issue, the "fire in the land of snows" will continue to burn and spread beyond their control.

*Tenzin Sonam Gonsar has been working as an intern at the Dept. of Information and International Relations, CTA and also at the Planning Commission, CTA. He is a graduate student in Organizational Psychology at Columbia University, New York.*

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**TIBETAN SOLIDARITY COMMITTEE**  
(Central Tibetan Administration)

**Objectives of the Committee:**

1. To endeavor safeguarding of Tibetans in Tibet from the urgent situation of wide-spread repression by appealing to the International Community and the People's Republic of China.
2. To plan and lead all the Tibetan movements in exile in a peaceful and coordinated manner in order to show solidarity with our brethren in Tibet in unity and also create awareness worldwide.

**Committee Members:** Speaker Karma Chopel (Chairman), Deputy Speaker Dolma Gyari, DIIR Minister Kesang Y Takla, Security Minister Ngodup Dongchung, Former Speaker Pema Jungney, members of the Parliament-in-exile Penpa Tsering and Tsultrim Tenzin.

*In view of the present crisis in Tibet, we urgently appeal to the UN and the International community to:*

1. Immediately dispatch independent fact finding delegations to Tibet
2. Immediately allow free press to cover the whole of Tibet
3. Immediately end the brutal killings in the whole of Tibet
4. Immediately release all arrested and imprisoned Tibetans in Tibet
5. Extend immediate medical assistance to the injured Tibetans in Tibet
6. Allow free movement of people and provide access to daily needs in Tibet

- Tibetan Solidarity Committee

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