

# TIBETAN BULLETIN

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## FOCUS

CTA'S RESPONSES TO CHINESE GOVERNMENT ALLEGATIONS

p 4



## DOCUMENTATION

KALON TRIPA'S STATEMENT ON 'FUTURE PROSPECTS FOR TIBET'

p15

STATEMENT BY SPECIAL ENVOY OF HIS HOLINESS THE DALAI LAMA

p23

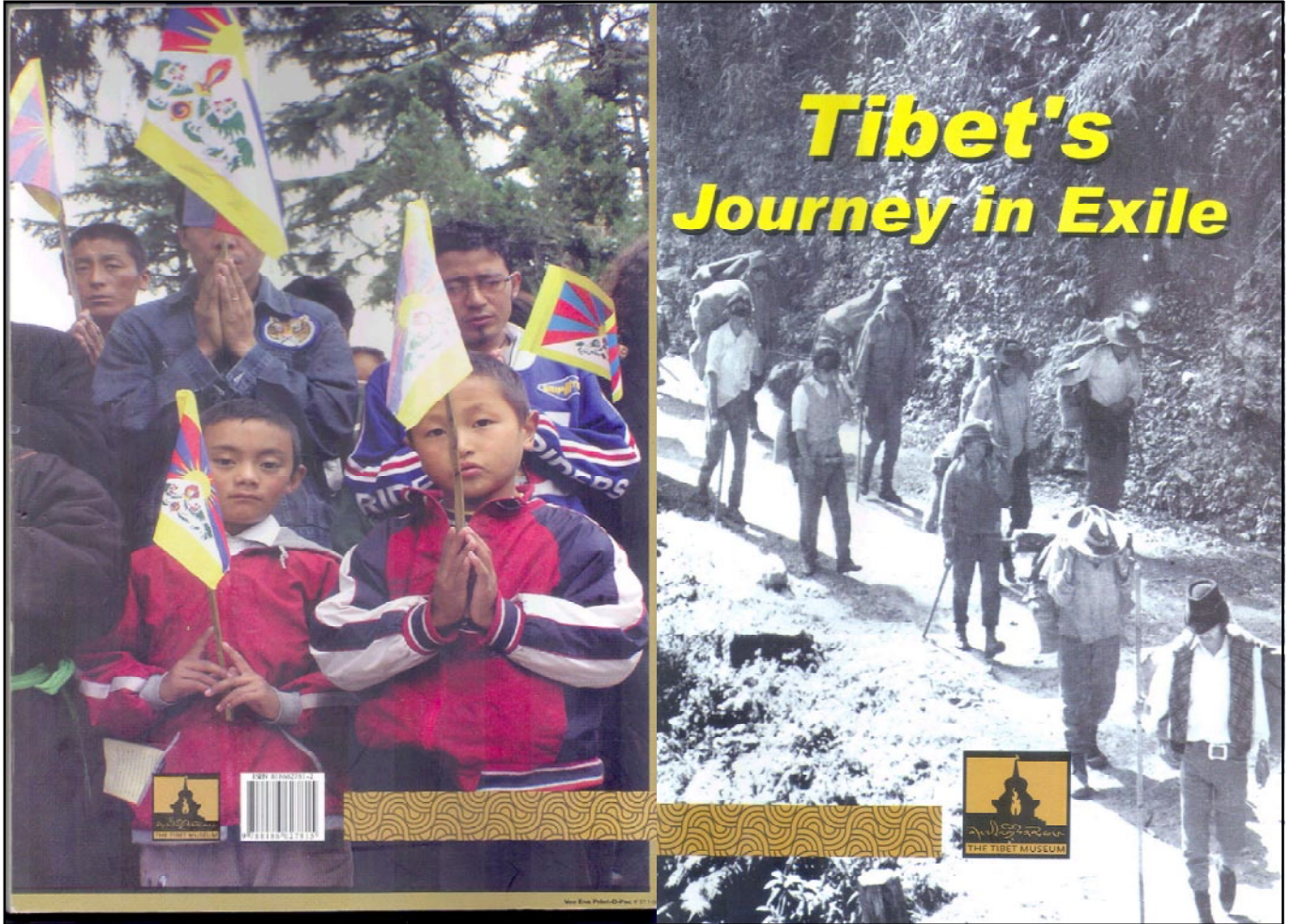


## INTERVIEW

DIIR KALON, KESANG Y. TAKLA

p33

## ‘Tibet’s Journey in Exile’ Unveiled



The Tibet Museum, DIIR 2008  
Vee Enn Print -O-Pac, New Delhi  
Pages 136, Rs. 250

‘Tibet’s Journey in Exile’, a pictorial book, compiled by the Tibet Museum of the Department of Information and International Relations, showcases Tibet’s ancient cultural heritage and how its rich culture survives and is sustained in exile.

Kalon Tripa Samdhong Rinpoche launched the book on the 73rd birthday of His Holiness the Dalai Lama on 6 July 2008.

The book provides account of how Tibetan culture flourished on the roof of the world for thousands of years and became greatly enriched when Buddhism was introduced to Tibet starting from the 7th century.

It vividly chronicles the rehabilitation and reconstruction of cultural, monastic and educational institutions of Tibet in exile, followed by Tibetan people’s efforts in preserving and promoting what the Chinese authorities have destroyed in Tibet.

Establishment of schools, monasteries and cultural institutions have provided renewed opportunities for new generations of Tibetans to study Tibetan medicine and other disciplines of Tibet’s cultural and spiritual heritage .

The rebuilding works followed a gradual progress to the inception of a cohesive democratic and functioning community that is able to look after all the needs of the Tibetan refugees, including providing educational opportunities to coming generations of Tibetans.

It highlights the ongoing efforts of His Holiness the Dalai Lama and the Central Tibetan Administration in finding a mutually beneficial solution of Tibet under the Middle-Way Approach.

The pictorial book on Tibet aims to reconnect young Tibetans to their homeland and serve as a basic introduction to non-Tibetans to the land and people of Tibet.

*To order the book contact:*

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Dharamshala, India  
Tel: 91 (1892) 222510, 222457

# C O N T E N T S

www.tibet.net/en/tibbul

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## FOCUS

- 4 CTA's response to Chinese government allegations Part-I  
7 CTA's response to Chinese government allegations Part-II

---

## NEWS BRIEF

- 13 London Metropolitan University Denies Apology to Chinese Authorities  
14 His Holiness Exchanges Views on Tibet with Chinese Scholars  
14 UN seeks whereabouts of the Panchen Lama and Tibetan detainees

---

## DOCUMENTATION

- 15 Kalon Tripa's Statement on 'Future Prospects for Tibet'  
21 The Kashag's statement on His Holiness' 73<sup>rd</sup> Birthday  
23 Statement by Special Envoy of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, Kasur Lodi Gyaltzen Gyari  
24 His Holiness the Dalai Lama and the Tibet Issue

---

## SPECIAL FEATURE: JULY EVENTS IN TIBET

- 25 Chronological Details of Recent Events in Tibet  
Source: Tibetan Solidarity Committee ([www.stoptibetcrisis.org](http://www.stoptibetcrisis.org))

---

## ENVIRONMENT

- 31 Climate Change in Tibet and Its Consequences  
- Chokyi

---

## INTERVIEW

- 33 Interview with DIIR Kalon, Kesang Y. Takla

---

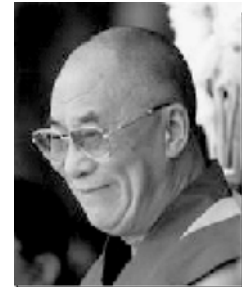
## REGULARS

- 'Tibet's Journey in Exile' Unveiled.....2  
Contacts .....35  
The Phurbu Dolma (Mrs.) Memorial Scholarship .....36



## TIBETAN BULLETIN

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# CTA's Response to Chinese Government Allegations: Part One

15 May 2008

Ever since peaceful protests erupted in Tibet, starting from 10 March, the Chinese government used the full force of its state media to fling a series of allegations against the "Dalai Clique". These allegations range from His Holiness the Dalai Lama masterminding the recent Tibet protest to His Holiness the Dalai Lama making attempts to restore feudalism in Tibet.

This is the first in a series of responses by the Central Tibetan Administration (CTA) to these accusations.

The Chinese translation of this response is available at:

[www.xizang-zhiye.org](http://www.xizang-zhiye.org)

The Tibetan translation is available at: [www.tibet.net/tb/](http://www.tibet.net/tb/)

## Chinese Government's Blaming and Shaming Game: PART ONE

Since 10 March a series of massive demonstrations rocked all over Tibet<sup>1</sup>. Beijing made several allegations. Beijing accused "the Dalai clique of masterminding" these demonstrations. Beijing said these demonstrations were "violent" and organised by "terrorists," and these demonstrations were aimed at "splitting Tibet from the motherland." Premier Wen Jiabao told the international media on 18 March 2008 that his government had "ample facts and plenty of evidence to prove that the recent riot in Lhasa was organised, premeditated, masterminded and incited by the Dalai Lama clique."

Chinese officials claims these demonstrations prove His Holiness the Dalai Lama's advocacy of non-violence is just a lip service. China says Dharamsala has become "the epicenter of lies" and "the government-in-exile has churned out groundless fabrication since the riot in Lhasa."

China claims that the appeals issued

by His Holiness the Dalai Lama to our Chinese brothers and sisters are his attempt to "stir up more unrest in Tibet." The Chinese authorities said on 9 April that "the Dalai Clique's statements also attempted to stir up hostility between ethnic groups in Tibet and internationalize the so-called Tibet issue."

In fact, the war of words is so intense from the Chinese side that they have already published a book called *Lies and Truth*. The lies are all on the Tibetan side and the truth is with Beijing. The book was launched on 4 April in Beijing by Sanlian, a unit of the China Publishing Group. The publishers claim the publication of *Lies and Truth* is the fastest ever in publishing history. The book was commissioned on 27 March and published on 3 April. The publisher of Sanlian, Zhang Weimin told China's CCTV that "We had to frame a response to demonstrate our position. We worked to show the true state of things to those unaware of the truth, and to rebut the axe-grinding, misleading reports of the western media."

The book consists of previously published articles. It regurgitates all the official allegations of Beijing that the "Dalai clique" is behind the current unrest in Tibet. *Lies and Truth* is an attempt to refute "the distortions" of the western media in its reporting of the current problems in Tibet. The book contains a large section explaining the "major achievements in economic, cultural and social development" in Tibet.

Ultimately *Lies and Truth* is aimed at the Chinese people. The sweep of the western media and the breadth of its coverage of China's Tibet headache have shaken the Chinese people's faith in their own government and its

handling of the Tibet issue. This has forced Beijing to make an attempt, however feeble, to explain its actions and policies to its own people.

*The term TIBET here means the whole of Tibet known as Cholka-Sum (U-Tsang, Kham and Amdo). It includes the present-day Chinese administrative areas of the so-called Tibet Autonomous Region, Qinghai Province, two Tibetan Autonomous Prefectures and one Tibetan Autonomous County in Sichuan Province, one Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture and one Tibetan Autonomous County in Gansu Province and one Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture in Yunnan Province.*

## Who Is Behind the Unrest in Tibet?

The Chinese government's ongoing accusation that His Holiness the Dalai Lama organised the recent unrest in Tibet is nothing new. Ever since the People's Republic of China was established in 1949, the Chinese leaders developed a rich and well-known tradition of blaming others for the disastrous consequences of their wrong policies. In a democratic society, wrong policies can always be checked and corrected by the ballot box. In China, because of the Chinese Communist Party's monopoly of political power, this is not possible. In order to maintain a semblance of legitimacy, the leaders of the day always find a scapegoat. Not being able to find a scapegoat is to admit your failed policies. Lord Action once commented on the "undying penalty which history has the power to inflict on the wrong." It comes as no surprise that the Chinese Communist Party believes, as Jasper Becker says, "its control over the past is the key to its future" and on its ability to cover-up mistakes however big, depends on its survival.

Take the case of the greatest famine in China that took place between 1958 and 1961. About 30 million Chinese died of starvation during this period. At the time, not a word of this man-made disaster was heard in the rest of the world. This disaster was brought about by Mao's Three Red Flags, a policy of transforming the whole organisational set-up into a military-like institution that functions with a sense of war-like urgency to attain unrealistic industrial and agricultural growth, so that China could march directly from a primarily agricultural-based to a full-fledged Communist and industrial society. Faced with unprecedented severe criticism from the ranks of his own leadership, Mao blamed the weather. He explained away the deaths of 30 million human beings by finger-pointing. The weather in China was fine but not Mao's policies. Until recently, the world was no wiser.

In 1962, the 10th Panchen Lama submitted a 70,000 character petition to the top Chinese leaders, including Mao. In this document, the Panchen Lama described the real situation prevailing in each and every part of Tibet. The Panchen Lama said that if the situation was not improved it would lead to the eradication of Tibetan Buddhism and culture and to the elimination of the Tibetans as a distinct nationality. Instead of respecting this courageous act and listening to the Panchen Lama's well-intentioned criticism, Mao condemned him as a "reactionary feudal overlord" and his petition as "a poisoned arrow shot at the Party." The Panchen Lama spent 14 years in solitary confinement and under house arrest.

To regain his leadership role, damaged badly by his Great Leap Forward and Hundred Flowers campaign, Mao in 1966 unleashed the horror of the Cultural Revolution on the Chinese people. By 1976, the top and middle ranks of the Chinese leadership were decimated and the country was in chaos. Who was blamed for this mess?

Not Mao, but the Gang of Four, which included his wife. Jiang Qing, Mao's wife, during her trials, said, "I was Chairman Mao's dog. Whoever he told me to bite, I bit." Mao, as usual, went unscathed. On the contrary, Deng Xiaoping, who assumed supreme power after Mao passed away in 1976, said that Mao was 70 percent good and 30 percent bad, despite the fact that he himself was a prime victim of the campaign and his son was crippled because of the violence.

The question is, if the Chinese government is able to hide crimes of such enormity from their own people and the world, how much more capable will they be to cover up their mistakes and the suffering these mistakes cause the people of Tibet?

In 1987, 1988 and 1989, Lhasa was rocked by a series of demonstrations. These demonstrations were brutally crushed and martial law was imposed in Lhasa in 1989. Once again the Chinese authorities pointed their accusing fingers at His Holiness the Dalai Lama. Similarly, China blamed the 1989 Tiananmen Square pro-democracy movement on "a few reactionaries." This event was the most momentous in modern China's troubled history. What began as a peaceful memorial demonstration following the death of the popular reform leader Hu Yaobang turned into a massive pro-democracy movement. This movement in the heart of Beijing was supported by an upsurge of protests in most Chinese cities. Troops of the People's Liberation Army fired upon the crowd and the city came under martial law. During the crisis, a tearful Zhao Ziyang, premier then, met with the student leaders to end their protest. The students did not have any bad intention towards the Chinese Communist Party. *They wanted an end to corruption and democracy, freedom and human rights.* But a divided party leadership decided to meet their demands with violence. This ended the career of Zhao Ziyang. He was ousted

from the post of the prime minister and was kept under tight house arrest. But the real victim of the brutal crackdown was the Chinese people who deserve so much more than their leaders are able to give them in terms of respect, tolerance, human dignity and rights.

China is yet to give convincing accounts of the great famine from 1958 to 1961, nor of the horrors of the Cultural Revolution and its brutal suppression of the student protests in 1989. The Chinese people deserve an explanation for all this brutality.

The same is true of China's implacable application of brute force to end Tibet's current crisis. Neither blaming His Holiness the Dalai Lama nor using force as a means to resolve China's Tibet trouble is the correct way to handle the crisis. The seeds of the present crisis were sown when China reversed its relatively liberal policies implemented in Tibet.

### **The Third Tibet Work Forum and the Seeds of the Present Crisis**

From July 20 to 23, 1994, Beijing staged the Third Forum on work in Tibet, which recommended the total destruction of an entire civilization flourishing on the Tibetan plateau for thousands of years.

The Third Forum on Tibet was convened by the top Chinese leadership and was presided over by the then President Jiang Zemin. The authorities have now enshrined this Work Forum as the most "important strategic policy to rejuvenate Tibet" and have hailed its directives as the new manifesto for party work on the plateau.

The significance of the Third Work Forum lies in the fact that it overturned the more liberal policies laid out for Tibet's "development" by the First and Second Work Forums held in 1980 and 1984. The first two work forums were initiated by the late Hu Yaobang, then Secretary General of the Chinese Communist Party. This liberal leader is

credited with masterminding a series of measures to improve the social, economic and political conditions in Tibet. The brief spell of liberalization markedly improved the living conditions of the majority of Tibetans and contributed to a more relaxed intellectual and social climate.

All these were reversed at the Third Work Forum. The Third Work Forum policy recommendations contained four key elements. China stepped up the scale of repression in Tibet. External propaganda work was escalated. The pace of economic development in Tibet and its corollary of encouraging more Chinese settlers and businessmen to take advantage of the economic boom on “the roof of the world” were also increased.

One main target of the current policy of repression is Tibetan Buddhism. Chinese leaders are increasingly alarmed by the proliferation of monasteries and temples which the period of liberalization spawned throughout Tibet: they are seen as the bastions of Tibetan nationalism. The authorities have set up “Democratic Management Committees” to control monasteries and nunneries and established “Work Inspection Teams” to supervise the “education” of monks and nuns.

What appalls the Tibetan people is China’s all-out war on Tibetan culture. The leadership revived the old aphorisms once served up to the Tibetan people to justify their policies to destroy Tibetan Buddhism during the Cultural Revolution. Bewildered Tibetans were then told that just as there cannot be two suns in the sky, so there could not be both Buddhism and socialism in Tibet. Inevitably Buddhism had to give way to socialism. Today Buddhism is once again being blatantly sublimated to Chinese state power.

A major thrust is underway to break the bond of loyalty between the clergy in Tibet and His Holiness the Dalai

Lama in India. Campaigns like “Strike Hard” and “Patriotic Re-education” unleashed in 1996, are aimed at crippling the rise of Tibetan Buddhism which the authorities suspect is weaning the loyalty of the Tibetan people away from the communist party and towards His Holiness the Dalai Lama.

One salient feature of the “Strike Hard” campaign is how differently it is

interpreted in China and Tibet. China’s “Strike Hard” campaigns started to weed out crime. Tibet’s version was used as a political tool to eliminate those whom the authorities label “splittists”. In Tibet, rather than combating crime, the authorities turn a blind eye to this social disease in the hope that it will erode the traditional morality of Tibetans and undermine Tibetan Buddhism.

In fact, at a secret meeting held in December 1999 in Chengdu, capital of Sichuan province, Chen Kuiyuan, the hardliner Party Secretary of “TAR” recommended to the Central Chinese Government that an all-out effort must be made to eradicate Tibetan Buddhism and culture from the face of the earth so that no memory of them will be left in the minds of coming generations of Tibetans- except as museum pieces.

Chen Kuiyuan stated that the main cause of instability is the existence of the Dalai Lama and his Government-in-Exile in Dharamsala and these must be “uprooted”. He recommended that Tibet, Tibetan people and Tibetan Buddhism - in other words, the very name of Tibet- must be destroyed and the “Tibet Autonomous Region” be merged with provinces like Sichuan.

This total assault on Tibetan culture is heightened by comments made by the current party secretary in Tibet. Zhang Qingli said, “The communist party is like parents to the Tibetan people and are always considerate about what the children need. The

party is the real Buddha for the Tibetans.” On His Holiness the Dalai Lama, Zhang Qingli said, “The Dalai is a devil with a human face but with a heart of a beast... Those who do not love their country are not qualified to be human beings.” On the Tibetan struggle for greater freedoms, Zhang Qingli said, “We are currently in an intensely bloody and fiery struggle with the Dalai clique, a life-and-death struggle with the enemy.”

### **What Tibetans, Chinese and Foreign Scholars Think of the Tibet Situation**

China’s hard-line policy and the abusive rhetoric accompanying it has failed disastrously and was made amply clear by the recent month-long demonstrations in Tibet. The top Chinese leaders have been informed that this hard-line policy is wrong by no less a figure than Baba Phuntsok Wangyal, the founder of the Tibetan Communist Party, who played a key role in cementing Chinese Communist rule in Tibet. In his letter of 29 October 2004 addressed to President Hu Jintao, he wrote, “As far as how to solve the Tibetan issue is concerned, since the fundamental nature of the question is absolutely related with domestic matters, so under the premise regarding the sovereignty of the nation, it is merely a demand for meaningful autonomy and slight changes in the administrative division policy. In addition, as to the essence and preconditions of this matter, every one of us can and should reach a common understanding. With this as a base, and after the Central Government and the Dalai Lama have reached a mutual understanding on the principles regarding national sovereignty, appropriate adjustments to the domestic administrative division policy and implementing the right to self-determination, both sides should officially declare in a political statement that friendly relations between them have been restored. Within such a friendly and harmonious environment, regarding the concrete formations, plans, and schedules for

unifying the Tibetan autonomous regions- including temporarily establishing a transitional consultative department in order to assure the united autonomy of its fundamental content and destination being achieved - both sides should be strategic, far-sighted and generous, adhering to the brotherly relationship.”

Wang Lixiong, a Beijing-based writer, reinforces Phuntsok Wangyal’s argument. On 28 March 2008, his op-ed piece appeared on The Wall Street Journal. In this piece, he says that China’s current anti-splittism struggle is wrong. He says, “Having invested their careers in anti-splittism, these people cannot admit the idea is mistaken without losing face, and they fear losing their own power and position as well.”

Wang Lixiong says, “The most efficient route to peace in Tibet is through the Dalai Lama, whose return to Tibet would immediately alleviate a number of problems. Much of the current ill will, after all, is the direct result of the Chinese government’s verbal attacks on the Dalai Lama, who, for Tibetan monks, has an incomparably lofty status. To demand that monks denounce him is about as practical as asking that they vilify their own parents.”

Wang Lixiong initiated the recent 12-point statement on Tibet by 30 Chinese intellectuals. In fact, since the statement was first issued, many more Chinese human rights and environmental activists, writers and scholars have signed up. The first point says, “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 this to be stopped.”

The second point says, “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.” The statement urges the Chinese government to hold direct talks with His Holiness the Dalai Lama to resolve the issue.

Ruan Ming, a speechwriter for Hu Yaobang, former CCP General Secretary, has a different take on the tense situation in Tibet. Ruan Ming, who lives in Taiwan told The Epoch Times on 26 March that “The Dalai

Lama has always proposed a peaceful solution to Tibet issues and won the world’s recognition. With that in mind, the CCP has framed the Dalai Lama for having carefully planned and stirred up the event.” Ruan Ming added, “This is exactly how the CCP framed Zhao Ziyang for the Tiananmen Massacre in 1989 and accused Zhao of ‘splitting the Party and supporting unrest.’” Ruan Ming added, “The Dalai Lama already said he would resign if the unrest continued.” The Dalai Lama is influential globally and if he really retired, the CCP could greatly push and label the Tibetans as terrorists like the Xinjiang independence movement. This will give the CCP an excuse to ignore Tibetan appeals and further repress them.”

On 27 March 2008, more than 70 Tibetologists sent an open letter to President Hu Jintao. In this letter, the scholars said, “As scholars engaged in Tibetan Studies, we are especially disturbed by what has been happening. The civilization we study is not simply a subject of academic enquiry; it is the heritage of a living people and one of the world’s great cultural legacies...The attribution of the current unrest to the Dalai Lama represents a reluctance on the part of the Chinese government to acknowledge and engage with policy failures that are surely the true cause of popular discontent.”

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## CTA’s Response to Chinese Government Allegations: Part Two

26 May 2008

Ever since peaceful protests erupted in Tibet, starting from 10 March, the Chinese government used the full force of its state media to fling a series of allegations against the “Dalai Clique”. These allegations range from His Holiness the Dalai Lama masterminding the recent Tibet protest to His Holiness the Dalai Lama making attempts to restore feudalism in Tibet.

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**Chinese Nationalism, Ethnic Tension and Olympic Games**

### Beijing’s and Tibetan Approaches to Ethnic Tension

Of deep concern to the Tibetan people is the Chinese authorities’ attempt to turn on the anger of the Chinese people on the Tibetans. China is playing a dangerously irresponsible game by using the Tibet protests to fuel ethnic tension. The struggle of the Tibetan people is against the wrong policies of Beijing. This struggle is not against

China both as a nation and culture or against the Chinese people. The Tibetan people's struggle is against the policies aimed at Tibet's total assimilation within the Chinese majority. The protests that rocked Tibet recently and continue to rock are to convince the authorities to withdraw these policies and implement ones that give greater freedoms for the Tibetan people.

On 28 March, His Holiness the Dalai Lama issued an appeal to the Chinese people. In this appeal, His Holiness said, "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 - wherever you may be - with deep concern, I appeal to you to help dispel the misunderstanding between our two communities. Moreover, I appeal to you to help find a peaceful, lasting solution to the problem of Tibet through dialogue in the spirit of understanding and accommodation."

### **Biased Chinese Media Reporting Creates Ethnic Tension**

However, Beijing is using the full might of its propaganda machinery to convince the Chinese people that these protests are anti-Chinese. In a society where the citizens receive news and information from government-controlled media, this is stoking the fire of Chinese nationalism. Beijing has played with this fire before. In 1999, after the Belgrade Chinese embassy bombing, China whipped up anti-American sentiments. China refused to accept President Clinton's initial phone call to President Jiang Zemin to apologise. The Chinese Communist Party declared immediately after the bombing through the People's Daily

and other media that the bombing had been intentional, not accidental, and supplied buses to transport demonstrators to the U.S. embassy and consulates across China. Anti-Japanese sentiments were whipped up in 2004 and 2005 during the Asian Football Cup matches in China and over the Japanese textbook controversy. The precision with which these protests have flared and just as suddenly died down led many observers to conclude Beijing's hand in organizing them. Both nearly backfired when the protestors shrilly started to criticise the authorities for being weak before the Americans and the Japanese. Fareed Zakaria, editor of Newsweek International, writes "In the past, they have stoked anti-Japanese and anti-American outbursts, only to panic that things were getting out of control and then reverse course."

This biased reporting on the unrest in Tibet and its negative effect on the Chinese public worries Chinese intellectuals. On 22 March, a group of Chinese scholars, writers and human rights activists wrote a twelve-point letter. In the first point they said, "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."

The second point says, "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 violent repression and appeal to the Tibetan people likewise to not to engage in violent activities."

In the case of Tibet, the Chinese authorities are stoking ethnic tension

in five areas. Agent provocateurs have infiltrated the ranks of Tibetan protestors and indulged in violence to create deep rifts between Tibetans and Chinese. The authorities' relentless demonization of His Holiness the Dalai Lama is hurting Tibetan sentiments. China's brutal crackdown on the Tibetans is sowing the seeds of complete distrust in the authorities. The Chinese government's inflammatory use of the media and biased reporting is creating more misunderstanding amongst the Chinese people. The Chinese government's active encouragement of overseas Chinese students' association to counter pro-Tibet protests with protests of their own is contributing to mutual suspicion.

The responsibility of any government is to provide good governance, including ensuring communal harmony. In fact, President Hu Jintao's stated goal is to create a harmonious society in China. Crackdown and shrill denunciation do not contribute to harmony. China's hard-line action to resolve the issue of Tibet has created the biggest rift between Tibetans and Chinese. The crackdown, the enforcement of the "patriotic re-education" and the media focus on the unrest in Tibet are undermining President Hu Jintao's establishment of a harmonious society.

In their fourth point, the group of Chinese scholars say, "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 integration into the international community, we maintain that it should display a style of governing that conforms to the



standards of modern civilization.”

Zhang Boshu of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences wrote a piece on Tibet called “The Way to Resolve the Tibet Issue.” Its English translation is posted on 9 May on [www.chinadigitaltimes.net](http://www.chinadigitaltimes.net). In his article, Zhang Bozhu writes, “Hu Yaobang especially stressed: “Looking down on Tibetan history, language and art is totally wrong... Loving the minority people is not a matter of empty words. Their social customs and habits must be respected. Respect their language, respect their history, and respect their culture. If you don’t do that you are only speaking empty words. Finally, Tibetan cadres should manage Tibet. Within two years, Tibetans should make up two-thirds or more of the cadres in Tibet. We have been here for thirty years. We have completed our historical mission. Today there are 300,000 ethnic Han, including military, in Tibet. How can that ever do? The above can be summarized in six characters cut taxes, open up, and withdraw personnel”. These were the “emergency measures” energetically promoted by Hu Yaobang to resolve the Tibet issue.’

### **Why this hard-line Policy in the Face of Its Clear Rejection by Tibetans**

Despite these appeals from some of the most respected citizens of China, why are the authorities intensifying and reinvigorating the very policies that have provoked this desperate reaction from the Tibetan people?

There are three possible reasons. One is to provoke the Tibetans into violence to justify the Chinese government’s own violent retaliation. The other is that the current propaganda blitz is to divert the attention of the Chinese people from their own pressing problems. The third is to use the protests in Tibet and the huge international sympathy

generated for the Tibetan people to stoke Chinese nationalism to bolster the legitimacy of the Chinese Communist Party.

Ever since the 1959 uprising, the Tibetan people’s struggle has been peaceful. China cannot justify the use of force against a peaceful struggle to its own people or to the international community. The demonization of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, denouncing some exile Tibetan organizations as “terrorists” outfits and equating them with Al-Qaeda and the armed struggle in Chechnya and infiltrating the ranks of the Tibetan people and trying to provoke them into violence are all attempts to justify a violent response.

The Chinese authorities know that their hard-line policies have generated this desperate reaction from the Tibetans. Even then why are they still pushing ever harder with all these elements of the harsh policies? Regardless of the Tibetan people’s clear distaste, the “patriotic re-education” campaign is being pushed harder on the Tibetans. Forcing Tibetans to publicly denounce His Holiness the Dalai Lama, stomping on his photos, forcing monasteries to fly the Chinese national flag and the official vilification campaign against His Holiness the Dalai Lama have forced many lay Tibetans and monks to refuse to participate in the campaign.

Premier Wen Jiabao during his recent visit to Laos urged His Holiness the Dalai Lama to use his influence in Tibet to calm the situation. Why is this moderate approach and clear official admission of His Holiness the Dalai Lama’s influence on his people not reflected in the policy implementation in Tibet? And if the Chinese authorities really wish for His Holiness the Dalai Lama to calm things down in Tibet, why is He not provided the forum and channel to reach out to His people in Tibet?

Baba Phuntsok Wangyal, the founder of the Tibetan Communist Party and a senior figure in the Chinese leadership, has this answer. His answer is contained in a book called *Baba Phuntsok Wangyal: Witness to Tibet’s History* compiled by Tenzin Losel, Jane Perkins, Bhuchung D. Sonam and Tenzin Tsundue, published by Paljor Publications, Pvt. Ltd in 2007. The book contains a biography of Baba Phuntsok Wangyal and the three letters he had sent to President Hu Jintao in 2004, 2005 and 2006. In these letters, Baba Phuntsok Wangyal says that there is a well-entrenched vested interest in the Chinese leaderships, who have built their careers on the struggle against separatism. Their careers will be blown away when the issue of Tibet is resolved through dialogue with His Holiness the Dalai Lama. Baba Phuntsok Wangyal quotes a popular saying in Tibet that “These people live on anti-separatism, are promoted due to anti-separatism and they hit the jackpot by anti-separatism.”

In his 2004 letter to President Hu Jintao, Baba Phuntsok Wangyal writes, “To summarise the above saying: ‘The longer the Dalai Lama keeps on staying abroad, and the bigger his influence, the more long-lasting the period of high ranks and great wealth for those anti-separatist groups; on the contrary, when the Dalai Lama restores relations with the Central Government, these people will be terrified, tense and lose their jobs.’ The statement above is not at all far-fetched. With regard to the question of whether or not relations between the Central Government and the Dalai Lama can be restored, this is not only related to shifts of political partiality, resistance and even open objections within the nation, but also to the relations of such and such people and groups and the advantages and disadvantages to them in terms of economic interest.”

Baba Phuntsok Wangyal's analysis is echoed by Jing Huang, currently a visiting fellow at the University of Singapore's East Asian Institute. He told Simon Elegant of Time that there is "a huge bulwark of entrenched officials (in the United Front Work Department, the Public Security Bureau, Foreign Affairs, the Religious Affairs department, the Communist Party in Tibet, the Minority Affairs department being the main culprits) who have spent decades shouting about 'splittism' and not only can imagine any other approach but would feel it was a threat to their iron rice bowls or livelihoods, which of course it would be. Thus, Huang says, you have essentially the entire Chinese establishment that administers Tibet opposed to a compromise solution that would inevitably not only have to acknowledge that the policies that they have pursued in Tibet for the last 20 years are a failure but would likely cost them their jobs."

Willy Lam, writing for Jamestown Foundation, says "As police in various cities were issuing warnings to protestors outside Carrefour supermarkets last Saturday and Sunday, the Hu Jintao Administration has intensified efforts to suppress and contain the 'splittists' in Tibet and Xinjiang - and using nationalist sentiments to help achieve its goal. As the nation is being swept by a tidal wave of 'patriotism' if not xenophobia, liberal intellectuals who had earlier implored Beijing to consider conciliatory policies toward the two autonomous regions no longer dare raise their voice for fear of being labeled traitors." Willy Lam, whose piece is called Beijing Intensifies' People's War 'against' Splittism 'as Nationalism Rears Its Head', was posted on Jamestown Foundation's website on 29 April. He quotes an editor of a Beijing-based magazine who wishes to remain anonymous as saying, "The CCP has used the handy weapon called nationalism to silence

those who question the authorities' handling of Tibet."

All this leads us to believe that China's Tibet policy has been hijacked by the hardliners in the leadership who want a Final Solution to the Tibetan Question by using all the might available to them to crush the Tibetan people. The hardliners, more than the national interests of China and the Chinese people, are pursuing their hard-line policy to protect their careers and their private interests.

The present crisis in Tibet has become useful to the Chinese authorities to distract the Chinese people from their very pressing problems. The growing social unrest in China is stoked by rampant corruption, growing inequality between the rich and poor and rising prices. At the same time, there is a growing aspiration for freedom and democracy in China. China's Tibet distraction is being used to its full advantage by the authorities to make the Chinese public forget, even momentarily, the daily burden under which grind and its longing for freedom.

After the first tidal wave of anti-foreign and anti-Tibetan people passed away on the Internet, a more sober assessment of the situation in Tibet is re-surfacing among Chinese bloggers and Internet-users. There are many Chinese who are fed up with the government blasting away about Tibet every day. They say Tibet is everywhere, on TV, radio and in newspapers. The public cannot escape and get respite from the government's onslaught on Tibet even for a minute. Many Chinese wonder what the reason behind this is.

China's Tibet distraction has also become useful for the Chinese communist Party to stoke Chinese nationalism and thus bolster the party's legitimacy. The need to do these flows from the paradox that is

China today. Communism has been swept away from China and yet the Chinese Communist Party survives and flourishes. In his piece, Why China's Burning Mad, posted on 24 April 2008, Simon Elegant of Time writes, "Having effectively abandoned the Marxist-Leninists ideology that was once the bedrock, China's Communist Party now draws its mandate to govern from two sources - economic growth and nationalist pride." In his book, China's New Nationalism, Peter Hays Gries writes, "In 1994, Xiao Gongqing, an outspoken neo-conservative intellectual advocated the use of nationalism derived from Confucianism to fill the ideological void opened by the collapse of communism." Jayshree Bajoria of the Council on Foreign Relations, writes, "After the collapse of the Soviet Union, the opening of the Chinese economy by Deng Xiaoping and the pro-democracy protests of 1989, nationalism was once again revived by the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), say experts."

Gries writes, "Lacking the procedural legitimacy accorded to democratically elected governments and facing the collapse of communist ideology, the CCP is increasingly dependent on its nationalist credentials to rule." In an editorial in April 2008, the International Herald Tribune notes that "stripped of Maoism as its guiding light, the CCP has fallen back on nationalism as societal glue."

Jayshree Bajoria of the Council on Foreign Relations quotes Kenneth G. Lieberthal of the University of Michigan as saying, nationalistic protests are a combination of genuine popular outrage and government manipulation to let protest grow, which often helps the Chinese government's bargaining position as that incident is negotiated with the offending party.

In order to shore up public support for its right to rule, the CCP is portraying

the Tibet protests as anti-China. The CCP also portrays the international support and sympathy and the extensive media coverage of the events in Tibet as an international anti-China force. The government's obsessive and distorted coverage of the Olympic torch relay and the accompanying protests have provoked anti-foreign sentiments in China, including the boycott of French products. Writes Wu Zhong, China editor of [www.atimes.com](http://www.atimes.com) on 23 April, "Amid increasingly growing nationalism, the few Chinese - such as CCTV anchor Bai Yansong and China Youth Daily's photo editor He Yanguang - who were brave enough to criticize the boycott as 'irrational' and harmful to Chinese interests, have been bombarded with accusations by angry bloggers." Mr. B. Raman, a former additional secretary in the cabinet secretariat of the government of India, writing in [www.saag.org](http://www.saag.org) on 20 April, says, "It is learnt that the protests inside China as well as abroad are being sponsored and directed by the Ministry of Public Security, which is China's internal intelligence and security agency."

In Tibet, there is a talk of waging a "people's war" against the Tibetan protestors. No individual Chinese have stepped forward to lead this war, but the authorities are coming upon the detained protestors with violence and ferocity unheard since the days of the Cultural Revolution. Protesters are shot dead and those who are arrested are beaten and tortured. Monasteries where protests have taken place are sealed off and deprived of food and drinking water. Bodies of those shot dead are taken away so as to prevent local Tibetans from knowing the cause of death. Tibet has been turned into a war zone.

### **Chinese Support for Dialogue and Inter-ethnic Harmony**

Grace Wang, a student at Duke University in the United States, wrote

an op-ed piece in April in the Los Angeles Times and reprinted in the Indian Express on 21 April. She was the one who tried to mediate between protesting Chinese students and Tibet protesters and was vilified by the Chinese side. She writes, "Trying to mediate between Chinese and pro-Tibetan campus protesters, I was caught in the middle and vilified and threatened by the Chinese. After the protest, the intimidation went online and I began receiving threatening phone calls. Then it got worse - my parents in China were also threatened and forced to go into hiding."

"Back in my dorm room, I logged into the Duke Chinese Students and Scholars Association (DCSSA) Website to see what people were saying. Qian Fangzhou, an officer of DCSSA, was gloating, 'We really showed them our colours!'"

"I posted a letter in response, explaining that I don't support Tibetan independence, as some accused me of, but that I do support Tibetan freedom as well as Chinese freedom. The next morning, a storm was raging online. Photographs of me had been posted on the Internet with the words "Traitor!" printed across my forehead. Then I saw something really alarming where both of my parent's citizen ID numbers had been posted. This information could only have come from the Chinese police."

"I saw detailed directions to my parent's home in China, accompanied by calls for people to go there and teach "this shameless dog" a lesson. It was then that I realized how serious this had become. My phone rang with callers making threats against my life. I talked to my mom and she said she and my dad were going into hiding because they were getting death threats, too."

In their twelve-point letter, the group of Chinese scholars write, "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 criticise and make suggestions regarding the government's nationality policies."

The twelfth and last point in their letter is "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 popular organizations and religious figures should make great efforts towards this goal."

### **Sabotaging or Helping the Beijing Olympic Games**

One major and consistent accusation the Beijing authorities hurl at His Holiness the Dalai Lama is that he is sabotaging the Beijing Summer Olympics. They cite the outbursts of the Tibetan people's anger in the streets of towns and villages throughout Tibet and the protests that have dogged the torch relay as evidence of His Holiness the Dalai Lama's involvement in this.

Far from sabotaging the Beijing Olympics, His Holiness the Dalai Lama even before China was awarded the 2008 Olympics Games supported the right of Beijing to host the Games. His Holiness the Dalai Lama during his visit to Salt Lake City in the United

States in May 2001 stated that he supported China's bid for the Games in 2008 if it promoted human rights in the country. His Holiness said he also wanted to know what the feelings of the Chinese people were on the Games. He also wanted to know what the feelings of the human rights groups were. His Holiness said, "I would like to know their opinion. If they feel this event taking place in China would help to change, then I would support it," according to the CNN report of 11 May 2001.

We believe that His Holiness the Dalai Lama's endorsement of Beijing helped China win the bid when the IOC chose the host city in Moscow on 13 July 2001. CNN report of 15 May 2001 says, "The Beijing bid received a major boost last week when the Dalai Lama, the exiled Tibetan Buddhist leader, said China 'deserves to be the Olympic host.'"

When the 2008 Summer Olympic Games were awarded to China, His Holiness the Dalai Lama publicly welcomed this development and said he had always supported Beijing's bid. His Holiness the Dalai Lama said that the same time that it is the right of individuals and organizations to use the Games to peacefully highlight the gross human rights violations going on in China in the hope that these violations would be eliminated.

In his 10 March 2008 statement, His Holiness explains his position on the Olympic Games in China in detail. His Holiness said, "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."

In the aftermath of the largest protests in Tibet and the brutal crackdown on the protestors, followed by strident calls for the boycott of the Beijing Olympic Games, His Holiness commented that a boycott was too radical and said that there should not be any boycott.

Another accusation hurled by the Chinese authorities is that the Central Tibetan Administration plotted to sabotage the Beijing Olympic Games at the 5th International Tibet Support Group (TSG) Conference held in May 2007 in Brussels.

It is a fact that all the TSG conferences were organised by the Central Tibetan Administration since the first conference in 1990. Particularly from the second conference in Bonn in 1996, the Central Tibetan Administration did it in collaboration with the Friedrich-Naumann Foundation. In all these conferences, both the CTA and the FNF acted as facilitators. The agenda for the conferences were set by the TSGs and the ownership of the

successive action plans and resolutions is with the TSG movement. In fact, at the Prague TSG conference concerns were raised about the appropriateness of the CTA organising the TSG conferences. This concern was put to the vote. The majority of the participants wanted the CTA to continue to organise subsequent TSG conferences.

Apart from facilitating these conferences, the role of the CTA is to explain the CTA's policies and seek the participants' support for the Middle-Way Approach, which seeks to ensure meaningful autonomy for all Tibetans under a single Tibetan administration. This was done by Kalon Tripa, Professor Samdhong Rinpoche, both at the Prague and Brussels conferences. The Special Envoy of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, Mr. Lodi Gyari, updated the participants on the progress of the talks between the Chinese and the Tibetan sides.

The Chinese media also said that Paula Dobriansky, the special co-ordinator for Tibetan affairs in the State Department, attended the 5th International Tibet Support Group Conference. She did not attend the conference. This is a clear case of the Chinese media spreading disinformation.

The proceedings of all these conferences were transparent. The opening and closing ceremonies of these conferences were open to the international media, which included reporters from Xinhua. At the time, the Xinhua reporters did not file any report that says the "splittists were plotting to sabotage the Beijing Olympic Games."

*\*The third and fourth series of responses to the Chinese allegations are available at [www.tibet.net/en/prelease/2008/260708.html](http://www.tibet.net/en/prelease/2008/260708.html) and [www.tibet.net/en/prelease/2008/170608.html](http://www.tibet.net/en/prelease/2008/170608.html) respectively.*

## London Metropolitan University Denies Apology to Chinese Authorities

In a letter circulated to the media, the London Metropolitan University has confirmed that their vice-chancellor did not say sorry to the Chinese authorities for awarding an honorary doctorate to



*His Holiness the Dalai Lama (C) with the framed Honorary Doctorate certificate flanked by Vice-Chancellor Brian Roper and Chair of the Board of Governors Peter Anwyl (Photo by Ian Cumming/Office of Tibet, London)*

His Holiness the Dalai Lama. The controversy came to the surface on Tuesday after the China Daily, a mouthpiece of the Chinese communist government in a report headlined “London school regrets honoring Dalai Lama” said that Mr. Brian Roper, vice-chancellor of the university, had “recently apologized for bestowing an honorary doctorate to the Dalai Lama after the move drew intense criticism from a number of Chinese.”

When the Office of Tibet, London, and many others drew the attention of the Vice-Chancellor and the University to the China Daily report, which totally contradicted the warmth with which His Holiness the Dalai Lama was received by the LMU teaching faculty, students and guests during the 20th May event that received positive and extensive coverage in the British as well as the world media, they were informed that what the vice-chancellor has said was not accurately reported.

What had actually happened is that representatives of the Chinese Embassy here had requested for a meeting with the vice-chancellor and during that recent meeting he had “expressed regret” at any unhappiness that had been caused to the Chinese people by the awarding of the honorary doctorate to His Holiness. The statement issued to the media by the London Metropolitan University states:

“The Vice Chancellor of London Metropolitan University, Brian Roper, recently met with representatives of the Embassy of the People’s Republic of China in the UK.

During that meeting, he expressed regret at any unhappiness that had been caused to Chinese people by the recent award of an honorary doctorate to the Dalai Lama. It was not the university’s intention to cause any such unhappiness.

London Metropolitan University has not and will not be apologising for the award of an honorary doctorate to His Holiness the Dalai Lama. Nor will we be retracting the award.”

Mr. Tsering Tashi, the London-based Representative of His Holiness the Dalai Lama said that from the LMU statement it is clear that the vice-chancellor when approached by the representatives of the Chinese Embassy had expressed “regrets” if the event had caused “unhappiness” to the “Chinese people” and not expressed any regret for having awarded the honorary doctorate to His Holiness.

Because of how the authoritarian Chinese government regularly manipulate facts and tries to bring pressure on anything that displeases it, the world has increasingly come to realise the importance of differentiating the Chinese regime or government from the Chinese people, who themselves do not enjoy genuine human rights and free speech. About the recent honorary doctorate award, a report in the London Metropolitan University website [www.londonmet.ac.uk](http://www.londonmet.ac.uk) states: “London Met conferred the Doctorate on His Holiness in recognition of his outstanding achievements in promoting peace globally as well as for his inspirational spiritual guidance and leadership.”

It may be recalled that in 2004 when the Liverpool John Moores University awarded an Honorary Fellowship to His Holiness the Dalai Lama, the Chinese Embassy at the time had also tried to put a lot of pressure to have the honor withdrawn but without much success.

The university had then issued the following statement to the media:

“The University extended an invitation to His Holiness the Dalai Lama to deliver a Roscoe Lecture several years ago.

The Roscoe Lecture series provides a forum for distinguished international guests to speak on the subject of citizenship.

“As is the tradition at JMU, and in recognition of his Nobel peace prize, His Holiness will be given an Honorary Fellowship - two years ago Joseph Rotblatt was honoured in the same way after delivering a Roscoe Lecture. This is an academic lecture NOT a political rally and the University has no intention of embarrassing the Chinese government.”

“It is one of the stated values of the University to question accepted views and to defend independence of thought - the Vice Chancellor, Professor Michael Brown, has reassured the Chinese Ambassador personally that a lecture of this nature is part of normal University business and contacts between JMU and Chinese representatives remain cordial.”

Yesterday, a concerned Tibetologist from Canada emailed to the Office of Tibet to know the truth behind the China Daily report relating the London Metropolitan University and concluded his email with the sentence, “I doubted if the University had made apology?”. From the LMU statement, it is clear the university had not.

Whilst it may take some time for the current Chinese regime to have the courage to face the truth and shun the suspicion of so-called foreign interference, it is encouraging to note that more and more Chinese people through better awareness and information are joining the worldwide show of respect for His Holiness the Dalai Lama and even supporting the Tibetan people’s aspiration for genuine human rights and freedoms, which, in practical terms, they too aspire.

*Report by Office of Tibet, London*

## His Holiness Exchanges Views on Tibet with Chinese Scholars

His Holiness the Dalai Lama exchanged views with Chinese scholars-based in US on the situation in Tibet and way forward on finding a mutually satisfactory solution for the Tibetan issue within the framework of the constitution of the People's Republic of China.

His Holiness met with seven Chinese scholars working in universities and other academic institutions-based in US in Aspen Institute, Colorado, on 26 July. The meeting is part of an initiative of The Brookings Institute based in Washington, D.C.

Tibetan officials, including Kalon Tripa Samdhong Rinpoche, Special Envoy Lodi Gyari Gyaltzen, Chhime R. Chhoekyapa, secretary to His Holiness the Dalai Lama, Tashi Wangdi, representative of the office of Tibet, New York, Lobsang Nyandak, representative designate, Tsewang Phuntso, liaison officer, and Bhuchung K Tsering, member of task force attended the meeting.

Following the meeting with the Chinese scholars, His Holiness addressed a packed house on "Value-based leadership and Universal Responsibility".

Speaking on his belief on the oneness of humanity despite apparent differences, His Holiness said we are physically and mentally same. His Holiness said: "Many of the problems in today's world are man-made and arise due to too much emphasis on secondary issues like religion, race, etc.," "We do this forgetting the basic humanity in all of us," he added.

His Holiness said he considered himself a Marxist as he admired its socio-economic theory, but he was against the totalitarian thinking. His Holiness further said he identified himself as a liberal and democratic socialist.

His Holiness also talked about today's globalised world and said the new reality is that the concept of "we" and "they" are no longer valid.

In terms of leadership qualities His Holiness said honesty, truthfulness, transparency, openness and vision are essential qualities for today's leaders.

Following his formal remarks, His Holiness answered some questions posed in advance by the public.

Responding to a question on the Chinese government's denunciation campaign, His Holiness said the denouncement of him by the Chinese authorities is not really a problem, adding, that even though the Chinese may try to demonise him, he is still a simple Buddhist monk. However, the Chinese authorities' forcing the Tibetan people to denounce him was a problem, which His Holiness said "a violation of the Tibetan people's human rights and their religious freedom".

His Holiness said he was saddened that the Chinese people did not have the opportunity to know the true picture and thus they may assume that the Dalai Lama is a bad person.

Following the public talk, His Holiness had a view of the sand Mandala and butter sculpture that were part of the symposium on the celebration of Tibetan culture. His Holiness led a brief prayer session in front of the Mandala. In the afternoon, His Holiness attended a private reception in the residence of Mr. Richard Blum, member of the Board of Trustees of The Brookings Institution and thereafter left for the airport to leave United States from Denver.

## UN seeks whereabouts of the Panchen Lama and Tibetan detainees

The United Nations' Committee against Torture (CAT), an independent body of experts has asked China to provide a complete list of all Tibetan detained following the March 2008 demonstration in Tibet.

The Committee also sought information on the whereabouts of Gendun Choekyi Nyima, the six-year-old boy identified by His Holiness the Dalai Lama as the 11th Panchen Lama, disappeared on 17 May 1995. The Chinese government later admitted to holding the boy and his family in "protective custody".

This request also includes information on their current location, convictions, etc. The independent body of experts monitors the implementation of the UN's Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment by its State parties.

The experts questioned China about what the secret regulations were applied in these

cases and why? It further said "In view of allegations that lawyers who offered to defend Tibetan protesters were warned that they would have their professional licenses suspended if they attempted to do so, please clarify what counsel was provided and whether the defendants were permitted to meet with that counsel in private, in advance of their trials."

The experts also questioned why a detainee does not have the right to access to an independent doctor during pretrial detention or after conviction.

They also sought information from China about the 30 Tibetans who were sentenced between three years to life imprisonment. The experts asked China to clarify the basis of the sentences and how many cases involved confessions from the defendants. And whether the Tibetans had opportunities to appeal against the verdicts and if independent review or oversight board were assigned to these cases.

The UN's independent body also sought information on any investigations into those deaths and whether there will be a transparent public inquiry into a number of deaths in connection with the unrest in the Tibetan Autonomous Region and neighboring prefectures and counties. Concerning administrative detention for re-education through labor, the committee sought information on other administrative detention centers as well as on persons detained under the 1997 Law on Administrative Penalties.

During the UN Human Right session in November 2008, China's fourth periodic report is schedule to review by the Committee. Tibetan NGOs will submit a shadow report on China's violation of the convention's articles. China as a signatory of the convention is obliged to submit its report to the Committee every four year on how the rights are being implemented.

## Kalon Tripa's Statement on 'Future Prospects for Tibet'



*Kalon Tripa Prof. Samdhong Rinpoche delivers a keynote address on the 'Future Prospects for Tibet' at the India International Centre in New Delhi on Monday, 16 June 2008/Photo:Phayul Online Website*

**Dharamsala:** Kalon Tripa Prof. Samdhong Rinpoche, head of the Kashag of the Central Tibetan Administration delivered a keynote address on the 'Future Prospects for Tibet' at the India International Centre in New Delhi on 16 June.

The lecture was convened by Dalip Mehta, the former ambassador of India to Bhutan and Trustee of the Foundation for Universal Responsibility of His Holiness the Dalai Lama.

Around thirty people, including officials serving in the Indian government, retired officials and senior correspondents attended the lecture.

The full text of the statement follows:

**Outline of Kalon Tripa Prof. Samdhong Rinpoche's Talk on Middle-Way Approach to Indian Dignitaries at the India International Centre, New Delhi 16 June 2008.**

### Tibet: Its Early History

Tibet, widely known as a "land surrounded by snow mountains," is situated on the roof of the world surrounded from all directions by snow mountains such as the Himalayan

ranges. Whether the Sanskrit word "Bhota" is derived from Tibetan word "Bhod" or vice versa, both has a similarity of pronunciation. In the Buddha's teachings Tibet was referred as "land of snow in the north" (Uttara

Himpradesh). Vedic Rishis also called it "Trivishtab". Whatever the case, Tibet is situated on a high plateau with clean air and is a source of major rivers of Asia. Tibet has a vast land with small population and remained economically self-reliant on the basis of need.

Archeological surveys revealed the evidence of human existence in Tibet since the primitive age. However, Tibetan civilization received added strength in the 6th century and reached its peak in the 8th century. Tibet also emerged as a powerful nation with a strong military in Asia.

Tibetan ethnicity is distinct compared to other people in the region. Tibetan features resemble a mix of Aryan and Mongolian races.

All Tibetans use the same language. Though there are different local dialects, but after the invention of the script and grammar in the 7th century, all Tibetans use one language that is based on four vowels and thirty consonants. It is a rich language with the capacity to convey all Sanskrit terms accurately. Considering the time duration and population, the Tibetan language has richest and highest quality of literary output in the world both in terms of translation and original composition. A large number of ancient Indian texts are now available only in the Tibetan language. Since the Tibetan script and grammar are invented based on Sanskrit it belongs to the Indian language family.

After the advent of Buddhism in the 7th century, Tibetan culture and civilisation flourished widely and quickly. These originate from the

Buddhist culture of India of the time. Although Tibet emerged as strong and powerful nation until the mid-9th century, it gradually disintegrated and remained without a common ruler or central government for nearly three centuries. However, there was no major obstacle in the advancement of religion and culture. By the start of 13th century Tibet was invaded by Genghis Khan and remained under Mongol control for more than 50 years. Gradually China also came under Mongol rule.

In 1260s Mongol emperor Kublai Khan of the Yuan Dynasty of China offered three Cholkas (provinces) to Drogon Choegyal Phagpa, which restored Tibetan sovereignty to the Tibetans. Since then to 1640, though Sakya, Phagdru, Ringpung and Tsangpa fought each other to rule Tibet, there was no foreign invasion. In 1640s Mongol tribal leader Gushri Khan invaded whole of Tibet and offered it to the Great Fifth Dalai Lama to rule in 1642. Thus was founded the Gaden Phodrang Government of Tibet. Since then it has now been 366 years. Later on the Gaden Phodrang Government could not protect its Eastern borders. As a result China gradually started encroaching and finally divided it into "inner Tibet" and "outer Tibet".

Since the commencement of Priest-Patron relationship between China and Tibet starting from Choegyal Phagpa, though there were many ups and downs in the relationship but the outer structure of the Priest-Patron relationship remained unchanged. After the founding of the Gaden Phodrang Government, the Manchu Emperor invited the Fifth Dalai Lama to China. This enhanced the Priest-Patron relationship between the two. At first, it was purely a religious relationship between the Priest, the teacher and the Patron, the student. This relationship was devoid of any

political overtones. However, in the passage of time, this relationship was misinterpreted in many different ways in order to achieve political advantage. During the Sixth and Seventh Dalai Lamas, due to internal rivalry within Tibetan leaders, coupled with Mongol interference etc, Tibetans were compelled to seek help from the Manchu Emperors. In particular, during the Gorkha War by the end of 17th century Tibetans were forced to seek military help from the Manchus, which gradually paved the way for many unpleasant incidents such as involvement of political interference in the Priest-Patron relationship.

### **Recent Developments**

In the 19th century, British government tried several times to reach out to Tibet through China under various pretexts. However none of these endeavors were successful. Finally, in 1904 the British army entered Tibet and signed a ceasefire treaty with the Tibetans. Similarly, later Chinese attacks on Tibet were repulsed by the Tibetans on their own. At the Shimla Convention and the Agreement of 1913/14 and during the subsequent events thereafter, the British government engaged directly with Tibet to sign treaty when it served their purpose and they accepted Chinese suzerainty over Tibet when dealing directly with Tibet did not serve their interests. Due to these self-contradictory positions of British government, the status of Tibet remained unclear on the international level. However, the demarcation of the present Indo-Tibetan border, which is at present followed by the government of India, was made between the British and Tibetans and there was no Chinese participation.

It was the weakness of the Tibetan leadership of not being able to assert Tibetan sovereignty and the failure to be a member of the League of Nations and subsequently the United Nations. Nevertheless, both the Chinese and British had collectively tried to create confusion at international level. In

order to dispel these doubts, the great Thirteenth Dalai Lama reiterated the status of Tibetan independence in 1913.

### **After Chinese Revolution**

Soon after the establishment of Communist rule in China in 1949, Chinese army started invading Tibetan territories. The PRC considered the 'liberation' of Tibet and Taiwan of the utmost urgency. Within a year Chinese invasion reached Chamdo. It was termed as "forceful liberation". Later on, Tibet was brought under Chinese rule when the Tibetan delegation, consisting of Ngapoi, the Governor of Chamdo who was held as prisoner of war together with his aides, and the others who were sent from Tibet to China, were forced to sign the 17-Point Agreement on 23 May 1951 under the pretext of negotiations. It was termed as "peaceful liberation". This is quite similar to the occupation of India by the British as explained by Mahatma Gandhi in Hind Swaraj, Chapter 7.

His Holiness the Dalai Lama and the Tibetan government has sincerely tried to implement the agreement since under the given national and international situation there was no other options available at that point of time. Moreover, His Holiness the Dalai Lama returned Lhasa with confidence trusting the words of senior Chinese leaders of Party, State and the Army, including Mao, when he met them during his visit to China in 1954/55. However, unrest started unfolding in the Eastern Tibetan regions of Kham and Amdo around 1956. In addition, after the completion of road connection between Beijing-Lhasa facilitating faster mobilisation of army and military equipments, local Chinese officials deliberately violated the agreement by making the situation even more critical. His Holiness the Dalai Lama's appeal to the central leadership, including Mao, were left unanswered. Finally there was a threat to the life of His Holiness the Dalai Lama and Tibetans in Lhasa were compelled to carry out peaceful

uprising on 10 March 1959. On the night of 17 March, His Holiness the Dalai Lama disguised as a common man escaped from Norbulingka and eventually sought asylum in India.

On 31 March 1959, after reaching the Indian border, the Government of India received His Holiness the Dalai Lama by offering him asylum. On 17 April 1959 at Tezpur, during his first meeting with the international media, His Holiness the Dalai Lama renounced the 17-Point Agreement based on two reasons. The two reasons were that the agreement was signed under duress and that the Chinese central government themselves had deliberately violated all the clauses of the agreement. Since then His Holiness the Dalai Lama declared to strive for the revival of the Tibetan independence. This policy was followed till 1979.

### **Nature of Tibetan Struggle**

Since 1959, after seeking asylum in India, His Holiness the Dalai Lama has been striving hard to resolve the Tibetan issue by implementing wide-ranging programmes. However, different people see the nature of Tibetan struggle differently.

#### **a) Not a political ideological conflict**

Some people think Tibetan struggle is a struggle between different political ideologies and interprets Tibetan uprisings of the early 1950s and 60s as an uprising against Communism. Some people extend their support to Tibet based on this reason. However, this is not the truth. As long as the Tibetans are happy and contented, ideologies do not matter to them. Moreover, certain aspects of Marxism appeal to His Holiness the Dalai Lama.

#### **b) Not an ethnic conflict**

Some identify our struggle as an ethnic conflict between the Tibetans and Han Chinese. Many even attempt to make it into an ethnic conflict. But the



Tibetans and Chinese have lived together as neighbors since time immemorial by helping each other like brothers. Especially after the commencement of the Priest-Patron relationship in the 13th century, most of the Chinese Buddhists became followers of Tibetan lineage of Buddhism. There were times when the two sides fought wars. But these wars were few and scattered and for short periods. For most of the time the two sides remained amicably and even today there is no hatred between the Tibetans and Chinese.

### **c) Not a power struggle**

Some suspect the Tibetan struggle is one of power struggle. The Chinese side has unleashed a massive propaganda campaign to misinterpret the Tibetan struggle as an attempt to revive the old system of governance. Nothing is farther from truth. His Holiness the Dalai Lama and the exile administration have never thought of holding power in future Tibet. Not even in our dreams.

His Holiness the Dalai Lama has declared time and again that He will not hold any political or institutional position the moment Tibetan issue is resolved for once and all. The officials of the exile administration will also not aspire for political authority in Tibet. They will lead the life of the common people. Therefore, the issue between us is how to rule the people and not who will rule.

### **d) True nature of Tibetan struggle**

Then, what is the true nature of Tibetan issue? It is an issue between truth and false, justice and injustice. In other words, it is an issue of difference in approach to fulfill one's duty. Tibetans are not struggling for their rights but to perform their special duty towards universal responsibility. The precious Buddhist tradition of all the yanas, including vajra-yana, originated from the great land of India is today not available in any other part of the world.

Preservation of this tradition, which is of immense value to all living beings, is the true nature of our struggle. If we read carefully the definition of "civilisation" as explained in Hind Swaraj by Mahatma Gandhi, then one can exactly identify the true nature of the Tibetan struggle.

Community that preserves Buddhist tradition should be a non-violent society and there is a need to create non-violent environment for such society. Therefore the broad vision to transform Tibet into a zone of non-violence was suggested. Need for consistency between means and ends is not only highlighted in Buddhist philosophy, but Mahatma Gandhi also emphasized on this point. To conform our means and ends we strive to adopt only non-violent means. As a result the Tibetan movement at present is free from violence.

There are opposite ways of looking to our struggle from the two sides. The Chinese consider us their enemy and our struggle as struggle for victory and defeat and life and death. But we view the authorities of People's Republic of China (PRC) as our potential friends and our struggle as win-win to both sides. We do not struggle for the victory of oneself and defeat of the opponent.

Undoubtedly, the Tibet problem is a direct result of a larger scheme of modern power struggle among the nations, continents and civilisations. Therefore, it is difficult to keep our movement away from the larger conflict. But we are happy that under the leadership of His Holiness the Dalai Lama we are able to protect ourselves until now from becoming tools of the bigger powers.

### **Etymological Meaning of Middle-Way**

The Lord Buddha first used the word "middle-way" in his first sermon. It refers to the middle which avoids two extremes. At first it was used in reference to ethics but later on it was

more commonly used in reference to philosophy. Going to extremes is divergence from the truth and there is a need to have middle-way in every field.

In this case when we use the word "middle-way" in reference to policy, the two extremes are 1) to seek separation from China and 2) to remain within China under present condition. The essence of the Middle-Way Approach is to seek meaningful national regional autonomy status to all Tibetans as provided under the constitution of PRC by avoiding these two extremes.

### **Why Middle-Way Approach?**

Since Tibet is a country which has remained independent for a long period, what are the reasons for upholding the Middle-Way Approach instead of restoring independence?

- a) Given the realities of the present global scenario, it is absolutely necessary for us to be pragmatic and realistic in formulating any policy to conform to these realities.
- b) Even if Tibet became independent and lived as a neighbour of China, it will face unavoidable encroachment in the fields of politics, economy and social matters.
- c) Since Tibet is land-locked and situated on a high plateau, it has to rely on others to meet its needs.
- d) On the positive side if we remain with the PRC, this will be helpful for our modern material development.
- e) Under the present global scenario when there is a loosening of the nation-state ideology, there is a trend towards greater unions, like the European Union.
- f) This will make it less inconvenient for friendly nations like India to extent their support.
- g) Since the PRC's constitution

sufficiently provides national regional autonomy provisions, this aspiration is legitimate and within the Chinese constitution and it can be achieved.

i) Many areas of Kham and Amdo were gradually separated from Tibetan sovereignty. In 1951 when Tibet lost its independence, Tibetan territory was already reduced to the size of the present day so-called Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR). Even if we managed to restore independence, it is unlikely to extent beyond the territory of the present so-called TAR. Since more than fifty percent of Tibetan population lives outside of this area, it is impossible to achieve the unification of all Tibetans. There are many other such reasons.

The reason why His Holiness the Dalai Lama chose autonomy as the objective of the Tibetan struggle is quite similar to Gandhi's choice of "self-rule; Swaraj" instead of "independence". Gandhi's article "Independence versus Swaraj" published on 12 January 1928 has been the supreme guiding light for us in our path.

Detractors of Middle-Way Approach may think this as surrendering of the Tibetan people's legitimate right. If we look at Chapter 4 of Gandhi's Hind Swaraj titled "What is Swaraj?" then one can clearly see our aspiration. To safe time I will not quote here.

### Formation of Middle-Way Approach

Around 1968, under changing national and international situation, it was clear to us that restoring Tibetan independence was difficult and the means to resolve the Tibetan issue through autonomy was suggested. Since then series of discussions and consultations were held. Especially after internal consultations with the Kashag, Speaker and Deputy Speaker in mid-1970s, the basis for the Middle-Way Approach was established by formulating a new policy to seek meaningful autonomy instead of

independence when an opportunity for negotiation arose.

In China, the turmoil of the Great Leap Forward and Cultural Revolution came to an end. Post - Mao China witnessed major political changes. Deng Xiaoping informed His Holiness the Dalai Lama through his elder brother Mr. Gyalo Thondup, who was stationed in Hong Kong, to consider returning home and declared that "except independence" all other issues can be resolved through negotiation. This has paved the way for new era of relationship between the Tibetans and Chinese. Since His Holiness the Dalai Lama has already formulated a policy of Middle-Way Approach it was easy for Him to respond immediately.

However, during the course of contacts substantial negotiations were delayed without any concrete result. Similarly there was a shift in the views of Chinese leaders. Therefore, in order to clarify the background and framework of negotiation, His Holiness the Dalai Lama issued the Five-Point Peace Plan in 1987. In his Strasbourg Proposal of 1988, His Holiness the Dalai Lama outlined the detailed framework for autonomy. But the Chinese termed it as semi-independence or independence in disguise. Since China has rejected these proposals, there was no further discussion on this and gradually the documents became somewhat like ineffective. Contacts between the two sides broke off in 1994.

Thereafter in 1996 and 1997 His Holiness the Dalai Lama proposed that Tibetan people should decide on the best possible way of realizing the cause of Tibet through a referendum. Accordingly, a preliminary opinion poll was conducted in which more than 64% of the Tibetan people expressed that there was no need to hold a referendum, and that they would support the Middle-Way Approach, or whatever decisions His Holiness the Dalai Lama takes from time to time, in accordance with the changing political

situation in China and the world at large. To this effect, the Assembly of Tibetan People's Deputies adopted a unanimous resolution on 18 September of 1997 and informed His Holiness the Dalai Lama. Responding to this, His Holiness the Dalai Lama said in his 10 March Statement of 1998: "...I continue to believe that my 'Middle-Way Approach' is the most realistic and pragmatic course to resolve the issue of Tibet peacefully. This approach meets the vital needs of the Tibetan people while ensuring the unity and stability of the People's Republic of China. I will, therefore, continue to pursue this course of approach with full commitment and make earnest efforts to reach out to the Chinese leadership..." Based on His Holiness the Dalai Lama's guidance, this policy was, hence, adopted through highest decision-making process of democratic system by taking into account the opinion of the Tibetan people both in exile and inside Tibet and a unanimous resolution passed by the Assembly of Tibetan People's Deputies.

### Renewal of Direct Contacts

Since the renewal of direct contacts in 2002, the Chinese side has expressed deep suspicions and doubts concerning the Five-Point Peace Plan and Strasbourg Proposal. In order to dispel these suspicions it was explained that Five-Point Peace Plan is a future vision for the benefit of entire humanity, including Chinese and Tibetans, irrespective of the resolution to the Tibetan issue. The Preamble and other explanations of the Strasbourg proposal are not a part of the discussion agenda. The framework for autonomy that was outlined in the text is only a proposal and not an ultimate decision. To avoid suspicion from both sides on the proposal for negotiations, envoys have, in a nutshell, explained our aspiration for implementation of the provision of national regional autonomy enshrined in the PRC constitution in its entirety in both letter and spirit. His Holiness

the Dalai Lama has also explained it several times. In his address to the 4th World Parliamentarians' Convention on Tibet, 18 November 2005, His Holiness the Dalai Lama said,

“Basically, we are not seeking independence and everybody knows that. What we are seeking is genuine, meaningful autonomy within the framework of the constitution of the People's Republic of China.”

Similarly on 10 March Statement of 2006, His Holiness the Dalai Lama said,

“I have stated time and again that I do not wish to seek Tibet's separation from China, but that I will seek its future within the framework of the Chinese constitution. Anyone who has heard this statement would realise, unless his or her view of reality is clouded by suspicion, that my demand for genuine self-rule does not amount to a demand for separation.”

### **Provisions of Autonomy in the PRC Constitution**

Since China is a multi-national state, the reason behind adopting provisions of national regional autonomy in the constitution of the PRC is because it was impossible to achieve equality and unity among nationalities without abandoning both Han chauvinism and local nationalism. It was said, to ensure equality and unity among nationalities the policy of national regional autonomy was formulated based on nationality policy of Marxist-Leninism by criticising exploitation of minority nationals in the past by previous Emperors and the nationalist government, which caused the separation of nationalities.

Preamble of the PRC constitution states,

“The People's Republic of China is a unitary multi-national State created jointly by the people of all its nationalities. Socialist relations of equality, unity and mutual assistance

have been established among the nationalities and will continue to be strengthened. In the struggle to safeguard the unity of the nationalities, it is necessary to combat big-nation chauvinism, mainly Han chauvinism, and to combat local national chauvinism. The State will do its utmost to promote the common prosperity of all the nationalities.”

Similarly article 4 of the Chapter 1 states,

“All nationalities in the People's Republic of China are equal. The State protects the lawful rights and interests of the minority nationalities and upholds and develops a relationship of equality, unity and mutual assistance among all of China's nationalities. Discrimination against and oppression of any nationality are prohibited; any act which undermines the unity of the nationalities or instigates division is prohibited.

The State assists areas inhabited by minority nationalities in accelerating their economic and cultural development according to the characteristic and needs of the various minority nationalities.

Regional autonomy is practiced in areas where people of minority nationalities live in concentrated communities; in these areas organs of self-government are established to exercise the power of autonomy. All national autonomy areas are integral parts of the People's Republic of China.

All nationalities have the freedom to use and develop their own spoken and written language and to preserve or reform their own folkways and customs.”

Article 112 to 122 of Section 6 of the constitution explains in detail organs of national regional autonomy.

Article 116 empowers local people's congress of the national regional autonomy areas to enact regulations

in accordance with the need of the areas.

Article 117 and 118 explains provisions of autonomy in the field of economy and financial development.

Article 119 provides autonomous provisions in educational, scientific, cultural, public health and physical culture affairs.

Article 120 explains provision of autonomy to organise local public security forces for the maintenance of public order.

Article 121 explains provision to use local language of the area as an official language. Similarly article 134 of Section 7 on Judiciary provides provisions to use local language in judicial proceedings.

Preamble of National Regional Autonomy Law (NRA Law) states,

“Regional national autonomy means that the minority nationalities, under unified state leadership, practice regional autonomy in areas where they live in concentrated communities and set up organs of self-government for the exercise of power of autonomy. Regional national autonomy embodies the state's full respect for and guarantee of the right of the minority nationalities to administer their internal affairs and its adherence to the principle of equality, unity and common prosperity for all its nationalities.”

Article 10 of Chapter 1 on General Principles of NRA Law guarantees the freedom to use and develop one's own spoken and written language and to preserve one's own folkways and customs.

Article 11 clearly guarantees freedom of religion.

Similarly article 19 of Chapter 3 provides provision to adopt autonomy regulations.

Article 20 provides rights to not to implement resolution, decision, order or instruction of a state organ at a higher level if it does not suit the conditions of the autonomous areas.

Article 43 provides provision to work out measures for control of the transient population.

Likewise there are sufficient provisions to ensure self-rule and autonomy in terms of culture, economy, usage of natural resources, taxation, trade, health, public security and education.

Moreover article 31 of the constitution provides provision to establish special administrative regions when necessary. This essentially provides that accept foreign relations and national defence, all other affairs are left under the domain of the administration of regional autonomy.

If these provisions of constitution and autonomy law are implemented in true spirit it will ensure the welfare of Tibetan people and the protection of Tibet's unique culture, religion, tradition and language. It will further enable Tibetans to perform their universal responsibility. However, at present, unfortunately it is a universal fact that none of these provisions are implemented in all Tibetan autonomous region, prefectures and counties.

All Tibetans lived together on the Tibetan plateau since time immemorial, sharing the same religion, culture, language, customs, geographical location and livelihood, and if the PRC truly accepts Tibetan nationality as one of the 55 minority nationalities of China as they already claim, one cannot divide them into different parts or designate them into inner or outer region and smaller or greater. It is essential to implement self-rule

provided under the provisions of national regional autonomy to all Tibetans.

### **PRC's Concerns and Differences in Opinion**

Since 2002, six rounds of meetings were held. Though we have time and again clearly explained our aspirations of Middle-Way Approach, they still do not understand or prefer not to understand. Though there are many differences in opinion, it comes down to two main points. Firstly difference on history and secondly regarding the unification of Tibetans.

The Chinese side insists that His Holiness the Dalai Lama accept Tibet was part of China from a historical point of view. Tibetan side has explained that is not true. Therefore, His Holiness the Dalai Lama is not in a position to accept it. Chinese concern is that if we do not accept Tibet as a part of China from past history, then liberation of 1951 will be considered as invasion and the present Chinese rule of Tibet will be viewed as illegal occupation. His Holiness the Dalai Lama sees that no nation today has remained the same as its past history and this will never make the present status illegitimate. Tibet will naturally become a legitimate part of China the moment Tibetans have voluntarily decided to remain as a part of the PRC. For such a thing to happen, His Holiness the Dalai Lama has repeatedly agreed to work on this.

Similarly the Chinese side supports their position by saying that united Tibet has never happened in history and it will be impossible to change the boundaries of the present provinces. To this we explained that since time immemorial the Tibetans lived together in concentrated and compacted groups and not scattered. For larger period of the

history, Tibetans were ruled by the early Kings as well as during the early period of Sakya reign. Moreover, PRC considers Tibetan nationality as one of the 55 minority nationalities, it is imperative that Tibetans come under one single administration. If Tibetan nationality does not come under one single administration then this will be tantamount to a policy of "Divide and Rule" as practiced by the past imperialist regimes. Especially, this aspiration is not a new aspiration. During the signing of 17-Point Agreement, the Tibetan delegation raised the unification of the Tibetan nationality. The Chinese side responded by saying that the time was not yet ripe but the idea of unification of the Tibetan nationality was appropriate. This was again discussed during the meeting on the establishment of the Preparatory Committee of the TAR and a special committee to make a detailed plan was appointed under the leadership of senior Communist Party cadre, Sangye Yeshe (Tian Bao). However, due to ultra-leftist policy this could not materialize. Similarly there are many incidents where the boundaries of the provinces are altered according to the needs of the time. In the future too boundaries can be altered.

Though Chinese side has unleashed massive propaganda to project that His Holiness the Dalai Lama is demanding a "greater Tibet" and "high degree autonomy", but in reality Tibetans are one single nationality and it cannot be divided into greater or smaller parts. Our aspiration is to implement the provisions of national regional autonomy as enshrined in the PRC constitution. Apart from that we have never talked about high degree or low degree autonomy. We see that these differences can be resolved if PRC leadership possesses political will.

## The Statement of the Kashag on the Occasion of the 73rd Birthday Celebration of His Holiness the Dalai Lama

On this very special occasion of the 73rd birthday celebration of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, the Kashag of the Central Tibetan Administration - on behalf of the Tibetans in and outside Tibet, as well as all of his followers across the world - makes its obeisance to His Holiness and prays that he may live for hundreds of aeons as the true protector and saviour of humanity, plagued with the "Five Degenerations, or Impurities" of this Samsaric world.

While remembering the great services that His Holiness has been making to the people living in this age of "Five Degenerations", the Kashag would like to implore him to continue to shower his compassion and loving kindness on all humanity, and particularly on the people of his adopted Land of Snows, until they are all led to the path of enlightenment.

In our previous statement on this very occasion, the Kashag emphasised the need for enhancing the Tibetan people's collective merit and strengthening the power of non-violent principle. The Kashag also emphasised that we cannot afford to lose heart, or be lethargic, in our struggle towards the resolution of the issue of Tibet - even if this struggle were to drag on for hundreds of years. The Kashag, in particular, suggested 11-point constructive programmes or actions to be undertaken by the Tibetans in general, and the exiled Tibetans in particular. While reiterating all these points, the Kashag would like to emphatically urge all Tibetans to not only heed these important requests, but also put them into real practice.

Since 10 March this year, in all the three traditional provinces of Tibet, Tibetans have been courageously protesting against the ultra-leftist policies of the People's Republic of

China at great personal risks. These have not only reflected the inner strength and unity of the Tibetan people, but have also demonstrated before the international community the fact that the Tibetan struggle will continue generation after generation. It is indeed a source of great encouragement for us Tibetans that all the justice-and peace-loving governments and peoples across the globe have been showing their support to, and solidarity with, the Tibetan people. Today, while once again expressing our sincere appreciation to all the Tibetan people in Tibet for making great sacrifices for the common cause of Tibet, the Kashag would like to inform them that their sacrifices will never go in vain. It will, certainly, achieve a great result that will be of universal benefit.

The recent peaceful protests that rocked the plateau of Tibet were brutally crushed by the Chinese government, leading to many thousands of Tibetan people being arbitrarily arrested, incarcerated, beaten, injured and killed. This is not only a cause of great disappointment for us Tibetans, but has also brought to the fore the ugly face of China's Tibet policy. We are, moreover, greatly concerned about what fate will befall on the Tibetan people in the future. Therefore, the Kashag would like to appeal to all the governments and peoples of the world that they should - while supporting the Tibetans inside Tibet as before - continue to urge, or impress upon, the leaders of the People's Republic of China to exercise utmost restraint.

In a crisis situation like this, it is important for all the exiled Tibetans to initiate solidarity actions that are both proper and law-abiding. As such, on the request of the Kashag, the Tibetan Solidarity Committee has been set up

under the leadership of the highest Tibetan legislative body - the Tibetan Parliament-in-Exile. Under its guidance, most of the campaigns or activities undertaken by the Tibetan diasporic community were not only effective, but were also carried out in a manner that reveals the unity of the Tibetan people. Therefore, the Kashag would like to express its appreciation to all those who are involved in these activities. Similarly, as we have reiterated to the Solidarity Committee, these mass movements or activities, aimed at the realisation of the cause of Tibet, must be continued for a long time to come. And for this, peaceful demonstrations and sloganeering alone will not suffice; it is important for us to come out with numerous constructive programmes or actions. The Kashag believes that the time has come for us to give a serious thought over it. The Kashag would like to, however, emphasise that whatever actions the Tibetans in and outside Tibet may initiate, the nature and form of these actions must not go against the principle of non-violence as well as the wishes of His Holiness the Dalai Lama. This is to reiterate that if anybody - be it an organisation or an individual person - undertakes any activities that go against the advice of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, the Kashag will express its all-out opposition to it. For, we recognise that these activities will not, in any way, help resolve the issue of Tibet.

Even during the most critical times in the wake of the recent protests in Tibet, His Holiness the Dalai Lama was kind enough to send a personal communication to Hu Jintao, the president of the People's Republic of China. To save Tibet from the crisis situation it is facing, he also dispatched his envoys to Shenzhen (4 May 2008) for an informal discussion with the concerned officials of the

People's Republic of China. As agreed during this informal meeting, the seventh round of the Sino-Tibetan dialogue was held in Beijing for two days from 1 to 2 July 2008. Unfortunately, the seventh round of talks - as we have suspected from the very beginning - did not at all go in accordance with our hopes and expectations. Moreover, the Chinese government has indulged in a selfish act of spewing one-sided propaganda on Tibet. Greatly disturbed by these negative developments, we are doubtful, more than ever before, whether the leaders of the People's Republic of China have the determination and sincerity to work towards achieving a reconciliation on the issue of Tibet.

It is universally known that His Holiness the Dalai Lama - being an undisputed champion of global peace - would not agree to, or support, violence in any form. It is also a universal knowledge that he has always pursued a mutually beneficial Middle-Way policy of seeking a solution to the Tibet issue within the constitutional framework of the People's Republic of China and that he has consistently supported China's hosting of the Olympic Games. Therefore, to demand that His Holiness should not support - or rather stop initiating - activities aimed at separating Tibet from China, creating violence, and sabotaging the Olympic Games is not a statement that a person with sound state of mind makes. Even a child would know this fact. Therefore, we do not find it necessary to respond, or offer our explanations, to these statements. His Holiness the Dalai Lama's Middle-Way policy is a transparent policy that is still being pursued without undergoing a slightest changes. Under this right policy, we will unswervingly pursue these three commitments of not seeking separation, not engaging in violence, and availing of the opportunities at hand to find a solution to the issue of Tibet through dialogue.

As far as His Holiness the Dalai Lama and the Tibetan diasporic community are concerned, we have made every possible effort towards the continuation of the dialogue process and the creation of conducive environment for it. We have also made greatest efforts - even during the most difficult period of the recent unrest in Tibet - to restore stability, and to alleviate the sufferings of the Tibetans living, there. If the Chinese side is sincere about the current process of engagement, then it must lend us a helping hand in creating a conducive environment for dialogue between the two sides. Therefore, the Kashag would like to urge the leaders of the People's Republic of China to do the following, so that stability and harmony could be restored in Tibet:

- Stop immediately all acts of repressing, beating, torturing, arresting and incarcerating Tibetan people for peacefully expressing their views;
- Conducting excessive, or rather extreme, political "education" among the Tibetan clergy and making undue, or unnecessary, interference in religious affairs should be stopped immediately. For, these are the root cause of instability in the monasteries and nunneries; and
- Stop immediately all those activities - carried out in the name of progress and development - which harm the land and environment of Tibet. Excessive exploitation of natural resources, changing forcefully the traditional lifestyles of the Tibetan peasants and nomads, as well as the policy of flooding Tibet with non-Tibetan migrants, etc., should also be stopped immediately.

During the latest, seventh round of talks, both sides agreed to hold the eighth round of talks before the end of October, this year. During that time - it was also agreed - both sides will deliberate on how the provisions of the National Regional Autonomy as enshrined in the constitution of the

People's Republic of China are being implemented in Tibet. This, we consider, is a positive step in the present moment or circumstances. We will make our preparations for the next round of talks, keeping in view not just the statements coming out from the People's Republic of China, but also the way they conduct themselves with us.

However, as we have already emphasised many times before, the main issue of contention between China and Tibet is only the welfare of the six million Tibetan people. It is not at all related to the personal status of His Holiness the Dalai Lama; nor is it related to the status of a few Tibetans who are close to him. We would like to once again make it very categorical that concerning them, we do not have a single issue to be discussed with the People's Republic of China.

In May this year, Sichuan province of the People's Republic of China have been hit by earthquake, causing enormous sufferings to millions of Chinese and Tibetans living in that part of the world. With heavy heart, we express our deep condolences to all of them. As a way of expressing our solidarity with the quake victims, we the Tibetan exiles - led by His Holiness the Dalai Lama - have been able to make our share of contribution by organising prayer meetings and making donations toward relief activities through various channels.

Finally, we pray for the long life of His Holiness the Dalai Lama and for an immediate end to the sufferings of those Tibetans who are facing Chinese suppression and torture. May the truth of the issue of Tibet prevail soon!

The Kashag

6 July 2008

*N.B. This is an English translation of the original statement in Tibetan. If there is any difference between this and the Tibetan version, please treat the latter as authoritative and final.*

## Statement by Special Envoy Kasur Lodi Gyaltsen Gyari

Envoy Kelsang Gyaltsen and I accompanied by senior aides Sonam N. Dagpo, Bhuchung K. Tsering, both members of the Task Force on Sino-Tibetan Negotiations, and Jigme Passang from the Secretariat of the Tibetan Task Force, visited Beijing from June 30 to July 3, 2008.



*His Holiness the Dalai Lama's Special Envoy Lodi Gyari (R) and Envoy Kelsang Gyaltsen during a press conference in Dharamsala, Saturday, 5 June 2008 (Photo by Tenzin Dase / Phayul)*

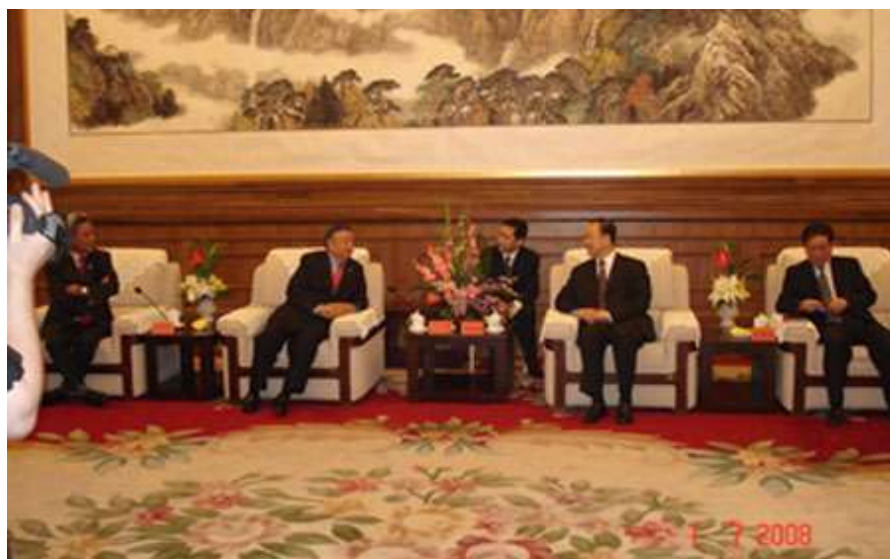
We met with Du Qinglin, Vice Chairman of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference and Minister of the Central United Front Work Department, on July 1, 2008. This was our first meeting with Minister Du who had taken over the present post after the 17th Party Congress. He gave us a brief overview of China's domestic and international situation as well as on China's policy on Tibet. We took the opportunity to explain His Holiness the Dalai Lama's basic approach in resolving the issue of Tibet and also expressed our heartfelt condolences to the victims of the earthquake in Sichuan.

We visited the China's Centre for Tibetan Studies and were received by Director Lhakpa Phuntsok and Deputy Director Zhu Xiaoming. We had a good discussion with the scholars who briefed us about their research projects. We appreciated the work of the scholars in various fields and had the opportunity to emphasize the importance of scholars engaging in

unbiased and independent research on issues such as the history of Tibet, which will contribute to a better understanding of the different perceptions.

We had a day-long discussion with Executive Vice Minister Zhu Weiqun and Vice Minister Sithar on July 2, 2008.

This meeting took place at a crucial time in our relationship. The recent events in Tibet clearly demonstrated the Tibetan people's genuine and deep-rooted discontentment with the People's Republic of China's policies. The urgent need for serious and sincere efforts to address this issue with courage and vision in the interest of stability, unity and harmony of all nationalities of the PRC is obvious. In addition even though His Holiness the Dalai Lama is seeking a solution to the issue of Tibet within the PRC, it is a fact that it has become an issue of great international concern. In this context, we had hoped that the Chinese leadership would reciprocate



*Special Envoy Lodi Gyari (second from left) and Kelsang Gyaltsen (far left) during their meeting on July 1st with Du Qinglin, Vice Chairman of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference and Minister of the Central United Front Work Department.*

our efforts by taking tangible steps during this round. On the contrary, due to their excessive concern about

legitimacy the Chinese side even failed to agree to our proposal of issuing a joint statement with the aim of committing both parties to the dialogue process.

While the Chinese side finally seems to have realized that their allegations against His Holiness for instigating the recent events in Tibet and in sabotaging the Olympics Games have become untenable, they are now urging His Holiness not to support violence, terrorism, and sabotaging the Olympics. We stated in the strongest possible terms that no one needs to urge us on this as His Holiness and the Tibetan struggle are universally acknowledged and appreciated for consistently rejecting and opposing such acts. While the Tibetan Youth Congress does not support the Middle Way Approach of His Holiness the Dalai Lama and stands for independence of Tibet, we categorically rejected the Chinese attempt to label it as a violent and terrorist organization. His Holiness has repeatedly and clearly stated

publicly he is not seeking separation and independence of Tibet.

Throughout our talks we have reiterated to our counterparts that the issue at hand is the welfare of the Tibetan people and is not about the personal status and affairs of His Holiness the Dalai Lama or that of the



*His Holiness the Dalai Lama's Envoys Lodi Gyari and Kelsang Gyaltzen and their team in discussion with Executive Vice Minister Zhu Weiqun and Vice Minister Sithar with their team on July 2, 2008 in Beijing*

Tibetans in exile. In the course of our discussions we were compelled to candidly convey to our counterparts that in the absence of serious and sincere commitment on their part the continuation of the present dialogue process would serve no purpose.

The Chinese side expressed the view that the dialogue process has been productive and that we need to keep in mind that a half-a-century-old issue of great complexity, cannot be resolved in a matter of years.

Guided by the Tibetan leadership's policy of engagement, we agreed with our counterparts to have the next round of discussions in October and discussed some points that could serve as the basis of the agenda.

We briefed His Holiness the Dalai Lama today. We also briefed Speaker Karma Chopel and the Deputy Speaker Dolma Gyari this morning. On our arrival in Dharamsala on July 4 we briefed Kalon Tripa Samdhong Rinpoche.

We thank our host the Central United Front Work Department of the Chinese Communist Party for its hospitality and assistance.

Dharamsala,  
5 July, 2008

## His Holiness the Dalai Lama and the Tibet Issue

In the light of recent news reports quoting Chinese officials that the issue of Tibet is only about the person of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, we would like to take this opportunity to clarify once again that the issue of Tibet concerns the future of six million Tibetans in Tibet and not His Holiness the Dalai Lama.

In fact, when the Chinese Government made a five-point proposal in 1981 which included that "the Dalai Lama will enjoy the same political status and living conditions as he had before 1959", His Holiness categorically made it clear to the Chinese leadership that the issue at stake was the well-being of six million Tibetans, and he personally had nothing to ask of the Central Chinese government.

His Holiness has stated right from 1969 onwards that even the continuation of the institution of the Dalai Lama is for the Tibetan people to decide.

In 1992 His Holiness declared that once we are able to return to Tibet with meaningful autonomy, he will not play any role in the future government of Tibet, let alone seek the Dalai Lama's traditional political position in the

government. We would also like to make it clear, especially to our Chinese brothers and sisters that Tibetans, including His Holiness the Dalai Lama, do not even dream of restoring the old society that prevailed in Tibet before 1959. As a matter of fact, democracy was introduced in the exile Tibetan community in 1960 through election of representatives to the Assembly of Tibetan People's Deputies (Parliament in exile).

Since 2001, Tibetans in exile have an elected political leadership and His Holiness considers himself in semi-retirement. However, he will continue fulfill his life-long commitment to promote human values and religious harmony.

Following the resumption of talks with the Chinese government in 2002, His Holiness' envoys have also conveyed at every meeting that the issue is about the well-being of the Tibetan people and not of His Holiness the Dalai Lama.

*Press Release issued by Chhime R. Chhoekeyapa, Secretary to His Holiness the Dalai Lama on 18 July, 2008.*

### Message by His Holiness the Dalai Lama on the Beijing Olympics

I would like to offer my greetings to the People's Republic of China, the organizers and the athletes participating in the forthcoming Olympic Games in Beijing.

Right from the time of China's application to hold the Olympic games, I have supported China's right to host the Games. This is a moment of great pride to the 1.3 billion Chinese people. These Games should contribute to promoting the Olympic spirit of friendship, openness and peace.

I send my prayers and good wishes for the success of this event.

DALAI LAMA

6 August 2008



# Chronological Details of Recent Events in Tibet

*July Press Releases of the Tibetan Solidarity Committee, edited by Tenzin Dickyi*

## July 01, 2008

Four monks of Tarmo Monastery in Driru (Ch: Biru) County, Nagchu (Nagu) Prefecture were arrested on their way to Lhasa. Arrested monks are Ngawang Gyaltzen (age 42), the abbot and the President of the Democratic Management Committee of the Monastery, and his administrative colleagues, Ngawang Jampa (around 40), Ngawang Sangye (38) and Kalsang Lochok (20).

Earlier in March and April, Tarmo Monastery received a contingent of Chinese work team asking the monks to denounce His Holiness the Dalai Lama. Ngawang Gyaltzen had then resisted the campaign by insisting that, as a Buddhist, it was ethically unjustifiable for the monks to condemn their root guru. He also demanded from the authorities to invite His Holiness the Dalai Lama back to Tibet. The abbot was then joined by all the monks of the monastery compelling the work team to return but with a stern warning that the fate of the monastery would be decided later in the month of July when another contingent of work team arrive. The arrest is most probably related to the above incident.

The authorities alleged that these monks had embarked on the journey [to Lhasa] in violation of the monastery's regulation without taking proper leave, but their arrest have already been planned due to the above incident and the reason cited by the authorities are just an excuse, sources have added. It is yet not known where these four monks are being held.

## July 02, 2008

**Tibetan prisoner dies of heart attack and monks prevent authorities from ransacking their quarters**

According to a confirmed report, monks of Genden Samdup Ling monastery in Khangmar, Karze (Ch: Ganzi) County, prevented a contingent of local county officials and security personnel from raiding the quarters of five other monks who had been arrested earlier for staging peaceful protest in Karze.

Three monks from Nubsur Monastery in Serta (Ch: Seda) County staged a peaceful demonstration on June 28 at around 2:30 p.m. local time. The monks, Tulku Gendun, Sashi and Gyachuk Wangchuk were immediately arrested by the security personnel.

A monk named Ngawang Palsang has reportedly died following a heart attack in prison sometime in May. Reports suggest that Ngawang Palsang was subjected to brutal and mistreatment by the prison officials and more often threatened with torturous treatment that led to his ultimate heart failure. Ngawang Palsang was born in Taktse County under Lhasa municipality, TAR and he used to be monk at Lo Monastery. He was earlier imprisoned for six years after his arrest in 1993 on charges of political activities. At the time of his re-arrest, he was studying Tibetan medicine at Lhasa Mentsee-khang (Tibetan Medicine and Astrological Institute in Lhasa). After his death, the police returned his is corpse was returned to his family.

Similarly, Pasang (alias Tenzin Namgyal), a monk of Phagmo Monastery in Taktse, Lhasa was also arbitrarily arrested in March. After sustaining severe torture and maltreatment in the prison, he was released in an appalling state of health. Tenzin Namgyal is also a former Tibetan political prisoner who was sentenced for six years in Drapchi prison following his arrest in August 1993.

Another former prisoner, who was also arrested by the Chinese security

personnel in March, has been released recently. He too was treated inhumanely in the prison with torture and beatings. A monk of Drepung Monastery, a former prisoner had earlier served 13 years of jail term in Drapchi prison. He was arrested in 1991.

Many other former Tibetan political prisoners had to undergo similar treatment of arrest and beatings at the hands of the Chinese authorities in the aftermath of the March incident.

Among the 50 odd nuns of Pang Ri-na Nunnery in Karze (Ch: Ganzi) County who were earlier arrested following a peaceful protest, four of them have been released, a source has said. The remaining nuns continue to be detained in Dar-tsedo (Ch: Kangding) and are subjected to political indoctrination, said the source.

## July 03, 2008

**More than 300 Nuns Expelled from their Nunnery**

According to a relevant source, more than three hundred nuns were expelled on 27 June 2008 from Samtenling Nunnery (Ch: Watag Nunnery) in Tehor Township, Drakgo (Ch: Luhuo) County, Karze (Ch: Ganzi) TAP. The expelled nuns were arrested and beaten mercilessly by the Chinese armed forces for planning a peaceful demonstration in their support of another fellow nun, Tsering Tso, who was arrested on 8 June for her peaceful demonstration.

Urgyen Lhamo and Guru have disappeared since 8 June demonstration. However, Chinese authorities deny their detention.

On 18 June 2008, at around 11 AM, Ngawang Phuntsok, age 32 from Karze (Ch: Ganzi) County, Karze TAP protested in front of the Karze Police

District County. Chinese military beat him with iron and electric rods and thereby arrested.

Yangzom, age 31, Poewang (Pemo), age 27 and Lhamo, age 29 from Yae Tseg Nunnery were beaten mercilessly for protesting and were arrested.

On 26 June 2008, more than 100 Chinese military with the guns and rifle unexpectedly came to Drakar Nunnery in Trehor Township, Karze County. Drakar nunnery was then surrounded by armed forces and Tsering Wangchuk was arrested.

### July 05, 2008

#### **China Continues to Rob Tibetans' Wealth and Possessions**

Since March, Chinese government has raided countless private homes, monasteries, and monks' local residence. During the raids, Chinese work teams, militaries and armies have pillaged myriad of personal items that are both extremely costly and valuable.

On June 11, 2008 in Sey Monastery in Ngaba (Ch: Aba) County, Chinese military made a forced entry into each monk's resident hall where a thorough search of each room took place and confiscated all electronic gadgets.

On April 19 at Minthang Monastery in Minthang Township, Chigdril (Ch: Jiuzhi) County, all valued items and electronic gadgets were seized.

On April 18, at Rongpo Monastery in Rebgong (Ch: Tongren) County, countless Tibetans from the area were arrested. Specifically on April 17, Choenyng Gyatso of Rongpo Monastery was arrested. From his room, approximately 23, 000 Yuan worth of possessions was stolen.

On April 18, Chinese armed police and military, in approximately 40 huge trucks, unexpectedly arrived at Sera Monastery (North of Lhasa) and raided each monk's room. Countless monks were arrested and innumerable goods

were stolen from the monks. Similarly, Drepung and Ramoche faced similar robbery.

Around 4:30 AM on April 16 at Taktsang Ratoe Monastery in Nyethang Township, Chushul (Ch: Chushui) County, Lhasa, Armed police descended and forced every monk to wait out on the courtyard while armies along with Chinese military raided every room. Phone lines in the Taktsang Ratoe Monastery have been cut off.

On April 3 in Tongkor Monastery in Zithang County, Karze, Chinese armed police raided every room and confiscated all valuable gadgets. Similarly, on March 28 at Kirti Monastery (the main cathedral) in Ngaba (Ch: Aba) County, 700 monk's quarters were raided. Approximately over 1, 200, 000 Yuan value of possessions were stolen.

### July 07, 2008

#### **Tight Restriction Increases on His Holiness the Dalai Lama's Birthday in Tibet**

According to a reliable source, on His Holiness the Dalai Lama's birthday on July 6, 2008, Chinese authorities increased their clampdown on the entire Tibetan plateau. The enormity of yesterday's restriction involved countless numbers of military deployment; stern scrutiny on every Tibetan; restaurants, stores and guest house force to remain closed, particularly in Drakgo (Ch: Luhuo) County, Karze (Ch: Ganzi) Prefecture. Tibetans have been prohibited from gathering in groups; and the sangsol performance (the auspicious burning incense ritual) was banned.

Two foreigners who came to Drakgo Monastery yesterday were denied entry inside the Monastery. The two foreigners were pulled and dragged out of the monastery.

On July 3, 2008, Palden Nyendak, age 60, was found dead. Palden Nyendak was the father of Tsering Tsomo and Urgen Lhamo, two nuns of Wa-tag

Samtenling Nunnery, who are still under Chinese detention for their affiliation in a peaceful demonstration. On July 2, Palden Nyendak was called in at Drakgo Police Station. During his interrogation, he was abashedly chastised by Chinese armies for the poor up-bringing of his two daughters.

### July 08, 2008

#### **Disparagement of Tibetans and restriction on Annual Horse Race festival**

Reliable sources have confirmed about imposition of unannounced curfew on July 5 in Lithang (Ch: Litang) County of Karze (Ch: Ganzi) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture in Sichuan province. The day marking the eve of His Holiness the Dalai Lama's birthday saw massive deployment of troops and armed security personnel and clampdown on the movements of the Tibetan people was imposed that evening around 8 p.m. local time, extending to three days. Those found to defy the orders were warned of dire consequences including shoot at sight.

The Tibetans living in the nearby counties of Nyagchukha (Ch: Yia jiang), Bapa (Ch: Batang) and Nyagrong (Ch: Xing Long) were all barred from entering Lithang County. The government has also ordered to cancel the annual horse racing festival that is usually celebrated during this time of year in Lithang County. Lithang County has been under heavy military presence since August 1 last year, when Rungye Adrak had staged an anti-government protest. The presence of the security personnel in the county has relatively increased this year and many of them, according to sources, are attired in the local Tibetan dresses so as to hide their identities.

In Rebkong (Ch: Tongren) County, Tibetans chose not to celebrate this year's annual picnic as sign of solidarity with those Tibetans killed and injured during the Chinese crackdown in the aftermath of widespread freedom protests in the region as well as in

memory of thousands of Chinese killed, injured and deprived of following the May earthquake in Sichuan province.

**July 09, 2008**

**Govt. oppression claims four Tibetan lives while Serta rise in protest**

According to reliable sources, a senior monk of Kirti Monastery in Ngaba (Ch: Aba) County died on July 6 due to excessive pressure by the Chinese authorities. The monk identified as Jampel Gyatso, aged 70 had been a patient of high blood pressure and stress, which was exacerbated by immense pressure the authorities exerted upon him following the expulsion of all the monks below the age of 18 years old and the launch of “patriotic education” campaign in the monastery. The expulsion of younger monks had led the monastery almost vacant, which the authorities did not want for fear of public criticism. Therefore, the authorities ordered the return of all the monks by July 5 to the monastery, or otherwise they warned the monks would be arrested from their homes. These pressures from the authorities lead to deterioration of the health condition of Jampel Gyatso, and he passed away days later.

Earlier in Kirti Dongri Monastery under Ngaba County, another monk called Lobsang Tsultrim committed suicide on July 3 for unable to bear the pressures of “patriotic education” campaign that was launched for the second time in this monastery. Before his death, Lobsang Tsultrim had expressed his anguish at the impending patriotic education campaign and complained about its severity. His elder brother found his body hanging in a wood-store of the monastery just five minutes after he left the quarter. Lobsang Tsultrim is from Meu Ruma Village in Ngaba County. His father’s name is Palkho and he was only 16 years old.

In our July 2 release we had reported about the arrest of three monks namely Yingchuk (aka Gyachuk Wangchuk, 18),

Gephel (aka Gendun 19) and Sashi (21) from Nubsur Monastery in Serta (Ch: Seda) County. The next day on June 29, at the wee hours (around 4 a.m.) thousands of armed police raided the Nubsur Monastery. About half of the armed police broke into the quarters of Yingchuk and Sashi, pillaging and destroying whatever came their way. The quarters were razed to dust. The armed police also stormed in Gephel’s quarter and robbed his precious belongings and destroyed all other articles including religious texts. It is estimated that properties worth 20 thousand Yuans have been destroyed during the raid, including the quarters. Even the timbers from the rubbles were not spared and taken to the county headquarters by the authorities.

A Tibetan youth injured after the Chinese security personnel opened fire during the Lhasa protest had died around end of June notwithstanding the treatments to save him. The youth identified as Anu (38) was a resident of Paljor Rabten Khang quarter in Lhasa and his parents were Rabgyal and Tsetan (both expired).

Another Tibetan called Namlang, who sustained multiples injuries following his arrest and beatings in the prison has died in May. Namlang was arrested while participating in the peaceful demonstration in March in Phenpo and had been denied initial medical assistance, which deteriorated his condition. He was later treated in the county hospital but to no avail. Namlang is from dZong Shol village in Phenpo Lhundrup County and was 42 years old. He is survived by his wife, two children aged 8 and 15 years respectively and his grandmother, 82 years old.

Conditions of two other Tibetans from the same county, who were injured during the above protest are said to be critical with little hope of recuperation. One of them belongs to Loba Toe village while other is from Ding village, both in Phenpo Lhundrup County.

**July 10, 2008**

**Arbitrary Arrest of three monks and expulsion of a Disciplinary**

According to confirmed information, three monks hailing from Larung Gar Buddhist Institute in Serta (Ch: Seda) County, Karze TAP, Sichuan province were arrested on July 8 while they were in Chengdu. No reason, whatsoever, has been given for their arrest as of yet.

The monks, Taphun (or Tashi Phuntsok, aged 44), Ngachung (37) and Gudrak whose age cannot be confirmed, were all long time students in the Larung Gar Buddhist Institute in Serta county. The monks have also served the Institute at various capacities, the source has added. Taphun and Ngachung are nephews of the late Khenpo Jigme Phuntsok, the founder of the Larung Gar Buddhist Institute. Gudrak is the third monk arrested in the group. Their whereabouts remain unknown.

In Karze County, authorities have stripped of a senior monk of Karze Monastery from his post. The reason for Ngodup Phuntsok’s expulsion from his post is attributed to the fact that the Disciplinary had been instrumental in collecting donations, conducting prayer sessions etc. in solidarity to and for appealing other monks to dedicate their prayers to the hundreds of Tibetans killed, thousands injured and arrested due to Chinese government’s crackdown on the Tibetan people after widespread protests in Tibet. He had also defied the Chinese authorities to hoist Red flag over the monastery and rejected the authorities’ call to sign denunciation of His Holiness the Dalai Lama.

He had told the authorities during the forced signature campaign that there is no one in the monastery who does not have faith in His Holiness the Dalai Lama. He had then warned the authorities’ that their action would cause widespread dissension and that Tibetans in Karze would revolt to the last man, if they forcibly fly the flag or ask the monks to denounce the Dalai Lama.

**July 11, 2008**

### **Tibetan arrested for conveying grievances**

The State-run Xinhua News Agency today cited Tibetan Autonomous Region (TAR) executive vice-chairman Pema Thinlay as saying that the TAR Public Security Bureau had arrested and detained 953 people in connection with the March 14 incident. Among them were 362 people who surrendered themselves to the authorities. The executive vice chairman told that 116 people are still being investigated for their roles in the incident. The chairman gave these figures as a follow up to the 42 Tibetans who have already been sentenced by the court. However, during a press conference on June 20, the executive vice chairman of TAR, Pema Thinlay had told that 1157 people with minor offences were released and another 116 remained to be prosecuted. There are fundamental contradictions in these two statements. If there have been only 953 people detained following the incident, then how could there be release of 1157 and 116 yet to be prosecuted? If both these figures of 953 and 1157 were to be believed as detained in TAR, then it should be at least 2110 people arrested in TAR alone?

According to confirmed report, Palden Chodak and Nyidor, both residents of Nyinmo shang in Palbar (Ch: Bianba) County under Chamdo (Ch: Qamdo) Prefecture, were arrested in the first week of July for expressing their grievances of Tibetan people in front of the local officials. The two had expressed their resentment over presence of large number of ethnic Han Chinese in the region working as security personnel and govt. officials. They had demanded work for Tibetans.

Two days before, a monk named Choejor (24) of Gyalshoe Bhenkar Monastery and his elder brother Dorje Tashi (28), both from Nyinmo shang in Palbar County were unexpectedly arrested on the charges of passing information to outside world. Their whereabouts remain

unknown as of now.

Earlier on April 16, Chinese security people in Siling (Ch: Xining), Qinghai Province had surreptitiously arrested Kalsang Tsundu, Konchok Samten, Jimpa Gyatso and Lobsang Tsering, all monks of Je Kumbum Monastery. They were subjected to prolong interrogation coupled with constant beatings after they were taken to Siling city, where they were detained without any formal charges or explanation of their crime. After much efforts by the monks, Je Kumbum Monastery monks were finally released on May 15 but the authorities confiscated some of their belongings.

There are deep apprehensions about the whereabouts and fate of around 30 monks from Gyalshoe Bhenkar Monastery in Bhenkar village, Diru (Ch: Biru) County in Nagchu (Ch: Naqu) Prefecture under TAR. These monks had been temporarily living in Drepung Monastery and pursuing Buddhist studies there during the March protest in Lhasa. No one knows where these monks had been taken to and whether they are living or dead.

**July 14, 2008**

### **Tibetans in Tibet continue to suffer arrest, torture and killing:**

Within these past four months Tibetans in Tibet had to undergo unthinkable suffering at the hands of Chinese authorities simply for expressing their opinion in a peaceful manner that led to violent crackdown resulting in more than five thousand Tibetans arrested, hundreds killed and thousands critically injured. Cases of arrests, killings and torture still continue. With regard to number of peaceful protests so far, the Chinese government officially claimed that more than one hundred and fifty protests (both large and small scale) were recorded in Karze Province (Ch: Ganzi) alone until July 3 2008 which makes an average of 1.30 protests a day.

**July 16, 2008**

On July 12, a team of Chinese security

forces arrived at Togden Monastery in Amdo Ngaba (Ch: Aba) County to intensify the restrictions already imposed earlier. Officials announced that those monks who had left the monastery during the patriotic reeducation campaign must return back. It is also reported that on the pretext of laying new electrical wires, the security forces have installed surveillance cameras to monitor the activities of the monks in the monastery's main assembly hall. In March, Lama Kyab and Trinkho were arrested from this monastery but the whereabouts still remain unknown.

In Lhasa, a Tibetan resident called Thupten has been arrested from his home on July 10 on alleged ground of involvement in political activities. Thupten is forty years old, originally from Karze (Ch: Ganzi) County, near Dhargye Monastery.

A latest report indicated the transfer of around 10 monks from a monastery in Karze TAP who had been arrested in early July to a prison in Sangyip, near Lhasa. Among the arrested were monks Tenzin Soepa, Nyima Tashi and Gelek. They are monks of Kathok Monastery in Karze but no detailed information is yet available.

**July 17, 2008**

### **Unfair trial and a suicide of compulsion**

According to confirmed information, the Ngapa (Ch: Aba) Prefecture People's Middle Court, on July 10 awarded a sentence ranging from 13 years to life imprisonment to three monks. The monks, Kelba (23), Terzoed (25) and Tsekho (27) were sentenced to life imprisonment, 15 years and 13 years respectively. All the three monks hailed from Ngame Lota Township of Ngaba County. The court alleged that the monks were found guilty of looting, burning and smashing during March 16 demonstrations in Ngaba. Without any right or opportunity to an independent lawyer to represent them, it is entirely a case of enforced judgment. It is still

unknown where the monks have been imprisoned after the court's ruling.

On June 29, four Tibetans including Tsegyal Palbartsang was arrested in Genang, Jomda (Ch: Jiangda) County in Chamdo (Ch: Qamdo) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture of TAR. The local Tibetans therefore initiated a campaign for their release on June 31 but the Chinese security arrested another 32 Tibetans. Until the last report, except for seven Tibetans, all have been released. The seven Tibetan still in custody are Tsegyal Pelbartsang (74), Jamyang Tsering Momotsang (46), Angyok (41), Palchen (38), Tsering (22), Chokdup (21) and Sonam Dhargyal (39). Due to his old age, the prison officials in Chamdo refused to accept Tsegyal Pelbartsang. Similarly, despite his failing health condition, Sonam Dhargyal is still held in custody. No information is available on the whereabouts and where the other arrested Tibetans are incarcerated. The reason behind the initial arrest of four Tibetans is attributed to a protest that the local Tibetans had planned to stage after harvesting the caterpillar fungus (Yartsa Gunbu), which, however, may have leaked.

A monk named Trangma of Drapa Yangden Monastery in Minyag township in Nyagchu (Ch: Yajiang) County, Karze (Ch: Ganzi) TAP reportedly committed suicide on June 18 for not being able to bear the pressure of denouncing His Holiness the Dalai Lama. The Chinese authorities had launched a campaign of denunciation of His Holiness the Dalai Lama and had ordered to fly the Red Star over the monastery. The monk had, before his death, opined that it would be spiritually improper and defilement of his spiritual vows to denounce His Holiness and had declared instead to cut his life short.

### **July 19, 2008**

#### **Chinese authorities shoot at monks of Zogchen Monastery in Derge**

Many monks, according to reliable sources, have been injured following a

clash on July 18 between the security forces and the monks of Zogchen Monastery in Derge (Ch: Dege) County under Karze (Ch: Ganzi) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Sichuan province.

The large contingents of Chinese military who have been camping in the Zogchen Monastery since March 10 this year, taking un-due advantage of their deployment had been resorting to reckless hunting spree in the nearby jungles and mountains, which the local Tibetan nomads of Beyul Demo Jong (aka Zogchen Rudham Lung) regard as sacred and place of holy abode. The soldiers even dressed themselves up in Tibetan dresses to prevent from being exposed.

Since these actions are opposed to Tibetan customs and ethics and is moreover, breach of the local laws, a local Tibetan lama of Rudham Lung who had been in retreat tried to dissuade the soldiers from hunting, but was treated with severe beatings to the point of losing his life.

Only July 18 around 3 in the afternoon, monks of Zogchen Monastery went to the County headquarter to file a complaint. The monks were threatened for complaining and in an ensuing melee, the Chinese officials opened fire at the crowd of monks hitting number of monks including Thromtha Khenpo Tsering Sangpo, the incumbent Lopon (master/Acharya) of the monastery. Many of the monks have had their legs and arms fractured. It is yet unknown whether there have been any fatality. The situation remains tense with huge Chinese security presence. Zogchen Monastery has over 800 monks in its two branches.

In Karze Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, where monks and nuns of Trehor Chokri Monastery, Ngango Nunnery and Kharser Nunnery, all in Drakgo (Ch: Luhuo) County, staged a series of peaceful protests earlier and later had left their monasteries defying the patriotic reeducation campaign.

Earlier on June 26, four monks from Trewo Pal Ngagyur Khedrup Norsang Ling monastery in Migyag, Dadho township, Drakgo (Ch: Luhuo) County staged a peaceful demonstration in Dadho township and distributed leaflets demanding Tibetan independence, Long Life for His Holiness the Dalai Lama etc, and also shouted slogans. The four monks are Khepa, Thinlay Dorje, Rinchen Dorje and Gonpo successfully escaped after their protest and are believed to be hiding in the nearby mountains.

### **July 21, 2008**

#### **Two Derge Monastery Monks Killed**

At least two monks of Derge Gonchen in Derge (Ch: Dege) County have reportedly been killed on July 12 when the Chinese armed police opened fired on unarmed crowd of monks during a scuffle over an annual ritual Cham dance festival, which the authorities forcibly stopped, some sources have reported. Details of the incident are yet unavailable.

An unconfirmed report stated a blast in the Derge Gonchen monastery left unknown number of monk dead and some injured. It could not be however confirmed whether the two incidents, of firing and explosion, occurred simultaneously or by which incidents the two monks were killed. Nonetheless, sources have confirmed the death of around forty year's old monk named Delok and another monk in his 20's by the name of Gyaltzen. Among those injured, a monk named Passang along with three others whose conditions are said to be critical. Sources have further informed that the blast was a powerful one. Chinese authorities in the region have imposed severe restrictions and have imposed prohibition on the assembly of more than two persons.

On June 15, in Kanlho (Ch: Gannan) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, People's Middle Court announced its ruling on three Tibetans for their participation in the peaceful protests of

March in Machu (Ch: Maqu) County. They were arrested on April 11. Lama Kyab has been sentenced for 15 years, Khechok (30) for 13 years and Konchok (16) for 12 years respectively.

In Karze (Ch: Ganzi) County, the Chinese security forces have arrested two brothers, Lobsang (20) and Dorjee (30) for staging a peaceful protest on June 11 at around 2 .pm. Dorje sustained a bullet to his feet.

Similarly, two other Tibetans named Tashi Dorje from Lagang teng village and Thupten Phuntsok from Phukyul Nang village under Karze (Ch: Ganzi) County were arrested by the Chinese security people in June on charges of staging a demonstration earlier.

**July 22, 2008**

### **China maneuver Tibetan Versus Tibetan**

In a bizarre case of mounting surveillance over the monasteries, sources have reported about China's exploitation of Tibetan officials versus Tibetan monks. The new drive has recently been launched in Drakgo Monastery in Karze (Ch: Ganzi) County which requires the prominent county and township level officials to monitor and indoctrinate the high ranking lamas and abbots of the monastery while more than 120 low level Tibetan officials have been mobilized to monitor the activities of the general monks as well as to politically educate them. According to the new edict, if any monks are found guilty of disobeying and participating in the protests, the responsible Tibetan official will have to bear the brunt of expulsion from service. This new drive has thus placed both the officials and monks under immense pressure of distress and anxiety.

The new drive further decreed that the monastery would face closure, either permanently or temporarily, if more than 30% of the monks were found participating in the protests even after it

had been cleansed (of separatist forces). In the event of permanently closing down the monastery, all the monks would have to leave the monastery, which would then be confiscated by the state, the authorities have stated.

With only less than three weeks for the Summer Olympics to go, China has stepped up restrictions in whole of Tibet with particular intensification of restrictions and surveillance on the Tibetan people living in Beijing and elsewhere in Mainland China. Tibetan officials and students living in the Chinese capital and adjacent areas are under strict security observation with many of them ordered to leave the capital. This is a clear case of the innate distrust that the Chinese leaders have of Tibetan people.

In a daring effort, a young Tibetan monk, whose identity could not be confirmed except for his monastery, staged a lone demonstration in front of the Karze County's Armed Police office on July 15. The police fired at least three bullets (rubber bullet) rendering the monk unconscious and was thus captured, tossed into a police van and taken away. The monk is said to be a monk of Langna Monastery of Yarto Rongpatsa village in Karze (Ch: Ganzi) County.

**July 24, 2008**

### **Authorities Destroy Retreat Centre and Confiscate Religious Artifacts**

According to a reliable source, Tsezin, a Tibetan Yogi who had spent many years retreating in mount Wutai Shan, in China had built around ten new retreat huts with the monetary contribution of one hundred thousand Yuan from one of his patrons around a decade ago and was named Pema Gon. These huts were particularly built to alleviate the sufferings of other retreating monks who faced problem of shelter.

**July 26, 2008**

### **Drepung Monastery: Still under Critical Situation**

According to a reliable source, monasteries in all over Tibet are under strict control particularly those monasteries, which were involved in the recent peaceful demonstration. The Chinese authority still imposes patriotic education in those monasteries thereby creating immense misery to the monks and nuns. The Chinese Government states that all monasteries in and around Lhasa are open to general public but in reality, Drepung Monastery is still closed. Nechung Monastery located below Dreprung Monastery in Lhasa is surrounded by Chinese armies, which makes general public difficult to walk nearby the monasteries let alone entering those. The movements of monks in both Drepung and Nechung Monasteries are closely watched and checked that it is impossible to obtain information about the situation of those monks.

On June 13, 2008, the Chinese police officers in Tewo County, Kham Province have arrested Tsewang Rigzin, 55, living in Barzi Shang, Tewo District for his involvement in the recent protest in Tewo District.

In recent information, on May 15, 2008, a Tibetan named Sogyal, aged 35 from Gardo Shang in Markham area has staged a peaceful demonstration. A similar protest was staged in the beginning of June this year by a Tibetan nomad called Gyurmey Wangdak living in that same district. Both of them were arrested and detained in Markham District prison but later transferred to Chamdo District Prison.

*Source: Tibetan Solidarity Committee. Press Release Archives. July 01 through July 26, 2008. Available at [www.stoptibetcrisis.org](http://www.stoptibetcrisis.org).*

## Climate Change in Tibet and Its Consequences

By Chokyi

Tibet is warming at a rate faster than the rest of the world. The Tibetan plateau has already witnessed a dramatic rise in

continuous days of wind and dusts, a 20-year record high. In June of the same year, most areas in Ngari reported an

that Tibet's glaciers could disappear within the next 100 years.<sup>5</sup>



AMNYE MACHEN GLACIER PHOTO CREDIT: GREEN PEACE, 2004

The glacial melt has resulted in the destabilization of surrounding hillsides and landslides have become increasingly frequent. In 2005, a massive landslide in the Ngari Prefecture formed a natural dam, blocking Pareechu, a tributary of the Sutlej River. Fearing flooding from this dam even caused major concerns among those living along the river in Himachal Pradesh, India.<sup>6</sup>

Five years earlier, on June 10, 2000, Yidwong Tsangpo (Ch: Yigongzangbo), a tributary of Yarlung Tsangpo flooded resulting in the deaths of 30 people and the disappearance of more than 100 others. The flood also had disastrous effects in the five districts of Arunachal Pradesh in Eastern India where 50,000 people were left homeless and more than 20 big bridges and other infrastructure were damaged. The total economic loss was estimated at more than 1 billion rupees (22.9 million USD).<sup>7</sup>

Recently, the collapse of Amnye Machen glaciers has also been reported.<sup>8</sup> One massive collapse, in particular, occurred in March 2004. Ice, boulders and snow avalanched down the mountain into the Chu Ngon River (Ch: Qingshui River), forming a natural dam. In July 2005, the dam broke and the ensuing glacial-lake outburst flood dramatically affected the land and the people living downstream.<sup>9</sup>

temperature since the early 1970s, long before signs of global warming were widely recognized.<sup>1</sup>

According to a new study by the Tibet Meteorological Bureau, the annual temperature in the Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR) is rising at a rate of 0.3 degrees Celsius every ten years, more than twice the world average.<sup>2</sup>

Tibet, in recent years, has also been experiencing other disturbing weather phenomena such as snowstorms and windstorms. In 2007, Ngari prefecture in Western Tibet experienced nine

average temperature increase of 1 to 2 degree Celsius and average decrease in precipitation by 20 to 90 percent. Other abnormal weather phenomena have also occurred in Gertse county, where one snowstorm continued for 20 hours, the longest snowfall in the past 13 years, and 11 cm of snowfall was recorded.<sup>3</sup>

Many Tibetan glaciers are also melting due to increase in average temperatures of the region.<sup>4</sup> In the past 40 years, Tibet's glaciers have shrunk by 6,600 square kilometers, and are currently melting at an estimated rate of 7 percent each year. As a result, the UN has warned

The Yellow River (Tib: Machu), on which some 300 million people in China depend, is also quickly drying up. It has failed to reach the Yellow Sea many times.<sup>10</sup> Likewise in 2006, the Yangtze River (Tib: Drichu), that serves approximately 500 million people along its course, had the lowest water level in its upper reaches since 1920.<sup>11</sup>

A study indicates that the permafrost base area in the source region of the Yellow River is moving upwards. The

base of permafrost has climbed up by 50-70m as compare to the figures from the 1970s and 1990s.<sup>12</sup> According to Greenpeace, an environmental organization, there are significant carbon stores in permafrost layers, particularly in the form of methane (CH<sub>4</sub>), which could be released if the permafrost melts, further contributing to global warming.<sup>13</sup>

Permafrost degeneration is also thought to damage grasslands by gradually reducing moisture content in the soil.

According to the 2007 Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) Fourth Assessment Report, communities whose livelihoods are highly dependent on natural resources are among the most vulnerable to climate change. Approximately 80 percent of Tibetans, mostly nomads and farmers, live in rural areas and their livelihood depends primarily on the grasslands where their livestock graze. Tibetans are, therefore, very vulnerable to climate change.

Due to its unique geographical location and high altitude, Tibet faces rapid changes in its weather patterns and ecosystems unlike the rest of the world. The very survival of millions of people and thousands of plant and animal species in Tibet and neighboring countries depend on Tibetan water resources. The impact of climate change on the Tibetan headwaters raises real concerns for millions of downstream water users. Lack of communication and treaties between countries situated upstream and downstream along the same rivers has led to flash floods ravaging human settlements in recent years. It is therefore very important that information on cross-boundary issues like water be shared among the effected countries. Furthermore, it would be beneficial to both Tibetans and the world community to make the Tibetan Plateau an exploitation-free international observatory zone like Antarctica to conduct surveys and collect data on changes in climate and the ecosystem. The data collected thereafter should be disseminated worldwide in order to take

steps to curb global warming.

*\*Chokyi is a researcher at the Environmental and Development Desk, DIIR. Further research on the topic is being conducted and the final report will be published later this year.*

- 1 "Roof of the World" Testifies Early Global Warming, by Wang Jiaquan on June 21, 2007
- 2 Tibet is warming at twice global average, 14:48 24 July 2007, NewScientist.com news service
- 3 Ngari prefecture in Tibet sees more abnormal weather phenomena in 2007  
11 January 2008, Xinhua's China Economic Information Service
- 4 A disaster in the making, China's shrinking glaciers pose a huge threat to the country's stretched water supplies. By Clifford Coonan, The Independent, November 18, 2006
- 5 ibid
- 6 A Country deluged by VK Joshi, December 3, 2006
- 7 Approach to mountain hazards in Tibet, China, Chengdu Institute of Mountain Hazards and Environment, Chinese Academy of Sciences & Ministry of Water Conservancy, Chengdu 610041, Sichuan, China
- 8 Yellow River at Risk, An Assessment of the Impacts of Climate Change on the Yellow River Source Region
- 9 ibid
- 10 China's Water Shortage Could Shake World Food Security, by Lester R. Brown and Brian Halweil
- 11 Climate Change and the Right to Development. Himalayan Glacial Melting and the Future of Development on the Tibetan Plateau. By Kishan Khoday, UNDP, May 7 2007
- 12 Yellow River at Risk, An Assessment of the Impacts of

Climate Change on the Yellow River Source Region

13 Ibid

### A Personal Request by Kalon Tripa

Dear Friends,  
You might have seen the Appeal issued by the Tibetan Solidarity Committee to request all Tibetans, Tibet Support Groups and peace-loving people of the world to observe a 12-hour symbolic fasting and prayer on 30th August 2008 for world peace and, particularly, for the departed souls of the Tibetan people in recent months in Tibet. The appeal also re-commits ourselves to the path of non-violence. The objectives and how to observe the fasting are mentioned in detail in the appeal. If you have not received the appeal as yet, please visit our official website [www.tibet.net](http://www.tibet.net) and [www.stoptibetcrisis.org](http://www.stoptibetcrisis.org).

We consider this as extremely important non-violent action taken by Tibetans under the leadership of His Holiness the Dalai Lama in a very critical period for Tibet, particularly the post-Olympic period. I personally request you and your organization to kindly participate in this fast and prayer and encourage many other people to join us in this effort to reduce our own defilements and to create wisdom and compassion in the minds of the oppressor. I believe you will cooperate us in this non-violent action.

With my warm personal greetings,

Your sincerely,

Samdhong Rinpoche  
KALON TRIPA



## AN INTERVIEW WITH DIIR KALON

*In an exclusive interview, DIIR Kalon, Kesang Y. Takla reflects on the widespread protests inside Tibet, talks about the difficulties in getting information from inside Tibet; the general attitude towards the Tibetan struggle around the world; and where her optimism level stands today...*

1. *It has been four months since the wide spread protests began on the Tibetan plateau. Looking back, what are some of your immediate thoughts?*

The widespread protests in Tibet since 10<sup>th</sup> March have drawn the attention and conscience of the world on the difficult plight of the Tibetan people. This has also shown the Chinese authorities that they need to listen to the grievances of the Tibetan people and deal with this problem through meaningful negotiation with His Holiness the Dalai Lama's representatives for genuine autonomy for Tibetans.

2. *What is biggest challenge in getting information from inside Tibet? How widely has the information been disseminated?*

The biggest challenge in getting information from inside Tibet is the inaccessibility due to tight control from the Chinese authorities. In March and early April, information was available from international media and through some eyewitness accounts. However, once the authorities got rid of the tourists and took away every access to the international media, it was more difficult to get information. Moreover, the telephone and mobile lines have all been controlled in Tibet. Despite these extreme controls, some information keeps coming through, but it is difficult to get the exact details. Information on the brutal policies and treatments of Tibetans are still not available to the free world in spite of continued urges from various governments, parliaments, and public, who are very concerned about the situation in Tibet.

As the result of the events in Tibet, followed by the tremendous amount of interests from the international media, the Department of Information and International Relations (DIIR) has also been extremely busy dealing with continued questions and interviews. We have also been very busy disseminating our official statements. On request, I have traveled to seven European countries and Japan to give talks, take interviews and answer questions from governments, parliaments and the Tibet support groups who are very concerned about the situation in Tibet. Our Minister for Health also traveled to some of the South Asian countries to respond in the same way as I did. Our other members of the Kashag also traveled to different parts of India to brief the Tibetan public and to urge them about the importance of non-violence and our Middle way Approach.

Apart from that, our Department was also kept very busy with continued questions through the internet and telephone calls.

3. *From your extensive travel abroad in the recent months, what are your assessments on the general attitude towards the Tibetan struggle by various governments and respective leaders?*

All are very sympathetic and concerned about the plight of the Tibetans in Tibet. Many continue to urge China to use restraint in their treatment of Tibetans and believe that China should start a meaningful and substantive dialogue with His Holiness the Dalai Lama's representatives for finding a resolution to the Tibet problem.

4. *The Seventh round of talks in the Sino-Tibetan dialogue was just held last week and the envoys have expressed their disappointments with their Chinese counterparts. Do you truly think that China was genuine in their attempt for the dialogue? Or was this just another People's Republic of China's gimmick to show the world (just weeks before the Olympics) that they are engaging in "dialogue" with His Holiness the Dalai Lama's envoys?*

The tone of the Chinese government statements and continuous accusations against His Holiness the Dalai Lama and what appears like the increase of brutal strategies in Tibet make it very difficult to feel very positive about their commitment to having a meaningful dialogue. However, since they have agreed to have the eighth rounds of dialogues with our envoys in October, we will have to wait and see what the outcome is. In this respect, the world governments are also waiting to see if, this time, China will show genuine willingness and commitment to resolving the Tibet problem through proper negotiation with His Holiness the Dalai Lama's representatives.

5. *Some world leaders such as French President, Sarkozy, who had initially stated that they would attend the Olympics ceremony if China would improve its handling of the unrest in Tibet. Now recently, Sarkozy stated that he will be attending the opening ceremony of the Olympics.*

*Has PRC's gimmick of "dialogue" worked to win the hearts and minds of some influential world leaders?*

I do not think that the PRC's gimmick of dialogue has won the hearts and minds of the influential world leaders. However, I am aware that many expected more from the recent seventh rounds of talks with our envoys, especially, since the Chinese authorities publicly stated that they are ready to have the seventh rounds of talks. Specifically, China's President Hu Jintao in Japan said that "our attitude toward contacts and consultation with the Dalai Lama is serious [and] we hope the contact [will] yield positive results." I believe that it is now in China's interest to prove to the world that they will keep to their commitment to act responsibly in dealing with the Tibet issue. Therefore, the world will watch China with concern and interest, and see what the outcome of the eighth round of talks with our envoys will be.

6. *Many parliamentarians around the world have passed resolutions in support of the Tibetan cause. However, we have not witnessed any real progress in dealing with the Tibet crisis. In your opinion, is world truly doing enough?*

The fact that many parliaments around the world passed resolutions in support of the Tibetan cause indicates their great concern about the situation in Tibet. Also, many governments continue to urge China to start a meaningful negotiation with His Holiness the Dalai Lama's representatives to find a solution to this long-standing problem in Tibet. However, much more effort is still needed since China has not yet responded with a serious commitment.

7. *The People's Republic of China*

*(PRC) has been engaging in massive propaganda campaign to blame the His Holiness the Dalai Lama for stirring up the unrest in Tibet and furthermore, the PRC have attempted to stir up ethnic tensions. How has the Central Tibetan Administration (CTA), particularly DIIR, been responding to their propagandas?*

It is regretful that instead of sincerely addressing the problems in Tibet, the Chinese government continues to resort to massive propaganda campaigns to blame His Holiness the Dalai Lama. However, they must remember that the rest of the world can see and think. Unlike China, the outside world has freedom to see, hear and know the truth. These massive propaganda campaigns from China will only affect them and further shows their insincerity and dishonesty. This only harms China's image and will not help in their efforts to gain more trust and respect from the world community. In fact, the campaign rhetoric's from china are often received with the attitude of "the same old Chinese government propaganda language".

8. *There is approximately a month left until the start of Beijing Olympics. CTA has been fairly optimistic that this Olympics will provide China a platform for positive changes. However, their hard-line handling of the protests in Tibet has proven exactly the opposite. Where does your optimism level stand today?*

First of all, I would like to point out that we have been struggling for the solution to the Tibet problem for the past nearly fifty years and much before the Beijing Olympics issue was born. This Tibetan struggle will continue until a satisfactory resolution is found, whilst the Beijing Olympics game will come and go. The Beijing Olympics

happens to be scheduled for August 2008 and as we all know, that is only a sports event and we are not against the Beijing Olympic Games. However, many governments and the Olympics organizing committee believed that granting China the opportunity to host the Olympics in Beijing will help China improve human rights and free access to press. Unfortunately, that has not happened. Instead, the world saw the gross violations and brutal policies taking place in Tibet.

Subsequently, China will host the Olympic Games in Beijing with the knowledge that their success and acknowledgement from the world will depend on how the Chinese government treats the Tibetan people and reponds at the 8th round of talks with His Holiness's envoys in October.

Finally to answer your question on where my optimism level stands today, first of all I would like to say that it is vital for all to have hope. This is because the fact is that the moment one has no hope and optimism, any opportunity or chance is more difficult to achieve! Hope always provides courage and chance; and therefore, particularly since the Tibet problem is a national issue, it may take more time than any one of us wish. But it is important to be optimistic and keep on our efforts. Just imagine that if we had given up when we came into exile in 1959, then what we have achieved in Exile would not have been possible! Remember, we came as refugees and started with nothing and in a foreign land! Today, many in the world acknowledge that the Tibetans in Exile are one of the most successful refugee communities!

*This interview was conducted by Tenzin Dickyi (Dhela), an intern at the DIIR.*

## Tibetan Media

**Sheja** (official Tibetan monthly)  
Department of Information & International Relations,  
Dharamshala-176215, HP, India  
Email: sheja\_editor@gov.tibet.net  
Web: www.tibet.net/tb/sheja

**NewsTibet**  
241 E. 32nd Street  
New York, NY 10016  
Email: tendar@igc.org  
Web: www.tibetoffice.org

**Tibetan Freedom** (official Tibetan weekly)  
Department of Information & International Relations,  
Dharamshala-176215, HP, India  
Email: tibfreedom@gov.tibet.net  
Web: www.tibet.net/tb/tibfreedom

**Tibet Bulletin** (official Chinese bi-monthly)  
Department of Information & International Relations,  
Dharamshala-176215, HP, India  
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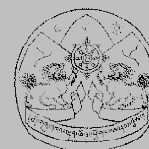
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## TIBETAN BULLETIN NEEDS YOU

### AN APPEAL

*Tibetan Bulletin* promotes awareness and provides facts of the situation in Tibet and Tibetans in exile. Produced bi-monthly and distributed free around the world, we are looking to increase our readership and improve the *Tibetan Bulletin*.

Today we would like to appeal to our esteemed readers for funding assistance, as we at the *Tibetan Bulletin* are running short of funds, making our publication erratic and irregular.

Help us to publish your favourite journal on Tibet.

If you have enjoyed this issue and would like to help achieve our aims of dissemination of news and views about Tibet, and inform Tibetans and Tibet sympathisers, we would be most appreciative of your donation.

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### **The Phurbu Dolma (Mrs.) Memorial Scholarship**

The Department of Education (DOE) is proud to add “The Phurbu Dolma Memorial Scholarship” to the list of DOE scholarships in support of destitute Tibetan refugee children’s education.

“The Phurbu Dolma Memorial Scholarship” aims to support 16 Tibetan destitute children to pursue their studies. The scholarship will be awarded to the needy students as follow:

- a) Four destitute children studying in schools under Central Tibetan School Society (CTSS)**
- b) Ten destitute children studying in schools under Central Tibetan School Administration (CTSA)**
- c) Two destitute children (girl) for Bachelor’s degree for three to four years depending upon the length of the course under the Songtsen Scholarship Program**

Mr. Tashi Dhondup, husband of late Mrs. Phurbu Dolma and their sons, Mr. Tenzing Jigmey and Mr. Tenzing Dhonden, residing in Nepal instituted this scholarship fund in fond memory of late Mrs. Phurbu Dolma and her many years of service to the Tibetan Community. She had also served as the Vice President of Regional Tibetan Women’s Association, Nepal. Owing to an illness, she passed away in May 2007. Mr. Tashi’s family is the first Tibetan to provide scholarship to study Bachelor’s degree for Tibetan destitute children particularly girl student.

The Department of Education expresses its profound appreciation to the family members of late Mrs. Phurbu Dolma for their financial support; and we assure that their funds will be used solely for the purpose it was provided for.

The Department of Education extends our sincere thanks to all the Donors (Tibetans and Non-Tibetans) for supporting the education of Tibetan Refugee Children.

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