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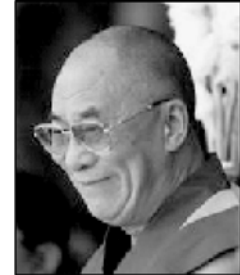
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## TIBETAN BULLETIN

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## His Holiness the Dalai Lama's Speech at the Swearing-in Ceremony of The Kalon Tripa Dr. Lobsang Sangay

Today we have gathered here — the general public, the new Kalon Tripa, Lobsang Sangay, the outgoing Kalon Tripa, and friends of Tibet from various countries, who genuinely support the just cause of Tibet — to show our support and stand in solidarity with the

participated in the democratic elections. I think that our brothers and sisters in Tibet, who are not even allowed to express their views and opinions freely, let alone participate in a democratic election, would also be proud when they hear about these democratic steps we

democracy.

For over a millennium, Tibetans have been practicing Buddhism in our day-to-day lives and have been able to maintain, study and promote the complete teaching of Buddha. Today, the entire corpus of the Buddha's teaching can only be found in Tibetan. For a practitioner of such a deep spiritual tradition, he should be realistic and move with changing tunes of time. There is no room for old and outdated practices.

Buddha taught a spiritual practice in accordance with the level of intelligence and needs of the people. Moreover, many political changes are taking place in the world. I often say that the world belongs to its nearly seven billion people and not to the kings, religious heads or rulers. Same is the case with individual countries, where the citizens should have power and not the rulers. Likewise, the Tibetan people are the masters of Tibet and not the religious heads or their heirs. Therefore, I always state that it is wrong for the religious leaders to hold political positions. Since I, myself, am a religious leader with political authority, this contradicts my own words which makes me feel uneasy.

Now that I have implemented what I preach, I feel proud and will tell others to put into practice this principle that the countries belong to the people and the time to hold on to power through force is over. Similarly, I will continue to strongly speak about the importance of the separation of religion and politics.

Personally, I feel that today my most cherished aspiration has been fulfilled. The Tibetans in exile who have taken great initiative and interest in the election is the most important part of this development. As a result of your active participation, we have been able to elect a leader with high standard of modern education. So, I would like to thank the general public for their hard work. Lobsang Sangay has become the first democratically-elected Sikyong or the Tibetan political leader, who is vested with full political authority and responsibility. He will lead the



new political leader. I want to tell you that today is a very special day in over 2000-year-long history of Tibet. During the time of great dharma kings, comparing with other neighbouring countries Tibet stood in equal stature with them in every field. This shows that the leadership provided then was dynamic and in tune with existing circumstances.

After witnessing the dramatic events and changes in the twentieth century, we are now in the twenty-first century. This is a new time and a new era. For over half a century, I have viewed it important that we should build a complete and a functioning democratic system in our society. As a result, today though we are in exile, Sikyong is the highest democratically-elected political leader of our administration. As stated in the Kashag's statement the term Sikyong means 'political leader'. This term has been in our political parlance for a long time.

Today is a very proud day for all the Tibetan people who directly

are taking in tune with changing times.

When Tibet was confronted with imminent external threats, I was a naughty sixteen-year-old boy, who was lazy in religious studies. However, like the thirteenth Dalai Lama who took the political leadership at the age of eighteen, I too had to take the political responsibility at sixteen because Tibet was undergoing a very difficult time. At the time Tagdra Rinpoche was the Sikyong from whom I inherited the political leadership. Since then it has been sixty very difficult years, and yet as the spiritual and temporal leader of Tibet, I have been able to keep the issue of Tibet alive in the world. I consider this as my small achievement.

Today, sixty years after I took the political responsibility from Regent Tagdra Rinpoche under a different circumstance in Tibet, I am completely devolving my political responsibility to Lobsang Sangay, who is the new popularly-elected Kalon Tripa. This is in keeping with the trend everywhere around the world to move towards

administration with sincerity and dedication. If there are positive criticisms from the members of legislature, administrative staff, members of NGOs and the general public, it is right to criticise. Otherwise it is of utmost importance to consider our common cause more important than personal or group's interests. During my recent visit to the US, I said that the issue relating

to one's political party should be secondary and that the primary concern should be the nation's economic stability. Likewise, when Tibet is undergoing a life-and-death struggle, personal fame and fortune should not be considered more important than our common cause.

I would again thank Tibetan people for their hard work. In future too,

I want to urge the Tibetan people to work in unity to realize our common aspiration.

Thank You.

*Note: This is English translation. Should discrepancy arise, please treat the original Tibetan final and authoritative.*

## Inaugural Speech of Kalon Tripa Dr. Lobsang Sangay

My fellow Tibetans:

Today on this auspicious day when Guru Rinpoche, the great Indian yogi who spread Buddhism in Tibet, was born, and in the presence of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, our most revered leader, I accept, with deep humility, the post of the Kalon Tripa.

We invoke the spirit and call on the Gods and Goddesses of Tibet to watch over and guide us. My profound gratitude goes out to the overwhelming support of brave men and women in exile, and the enduring solidarity and support of our brave brothers and sisters in occupied Tibet. We are motivated by their support and sustained by their prayers.

Blessed spiritually by His Holiness the Dalai Lama and authorized politically to continue the extended historical legitimacy of the great institution of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, I am here not as a result of my personal achievement but as a result of the hard work and sacrifices made by elder generations in Tibet and in exile. Today, I pledge to carry on and build upon this great legacy of our elders. I pledge to you, my fellow Tibetans, to strengthen and sustain our movement until freedom is restored in Tibet, and His Holiness the Dalai Lama returns to our homeland.

Over one century ago, in 1910, His Holiness the 13<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama, took one last glance at the Potala Palace before leaving his homeland and promised to his people: "I shall return." Our ancestors at the time did not have modern education and sophistication, but with dedication and unity they work tirelessly to make the return of His Holiness the 13<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama possible. His Holiness returned to Lhasa in early 1913 and reaffirmed Tibet's independence from China.

Almost half a century later, the same pledge to return was poignantly repeated by His Holiness the 14<sup>th</sup> Dalai

Lama as he departed Lhasa on the fateful night of March 17, 1959.

Today, the responsibility to help ensure the return of His Holiness is with our generation of Tibetans who have



modern education and sophistication. But do we have dedication, unity and commitment to make tireless effort like our ancestors? If we do, we will prevail. If we don't, we fail.

No doubt, our task is of Himalayan proportion. But we take inspiration from thousands of other brave Tibetans who, throughout our history, have given up their lives and devoted their hearts to Tibet. We have been tragically separated by force, not by choice, and, we will reach the mountaintop of freedom to reunite Tibetans on both sides of Himalayas.

I promise to work to fulfill the vision of His Holiness the 14<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama to create a truly secular democratic society. This year's dynamic Tibetan election demonstrated to the world our commitment to genuine democracy and the universal principle of human freedom.

Our democratic election reveals that Tibetan unity is built upon and sustained by universal democratic principles that transcend region, sect, gender, and generations.

The results of this election should send a clear message to the hardliners in the Chinese government that Tibetan leadership is far from fizzling out – we are democracy that will only grow stronger in years ahead. And we are here to stay.

Let me be very clear: our struggle is not against the Chinese people, nor is it against China as a country. Our struggle is against hard-line policies of the Chinese regime in Tibet. Our struggle is against those who would deny freedom, justice, dignity, and the very identity of Tibetan people. Chinese authorities and our Chinese friends alike must realize that grievances of Tibetan people are many and genuine.

Today, my fellow Tibetans, I reaffirm in the oath and aspiration forged by our forefathers – a treaty signed more than a millennia ago by Tibet and China

that pledged a great epoch when “Tibetans shall be happy in the land of Tibet and Chinese in the land of China”.

In 1950, when the Chinese Army first came to Tibet, they promised “Socialist Paradise” for Tibetans. Some Tibetans helped build roads to Tibet from China and were paid in Silver coins for their labor. During that time, the Chinese soldiers were very polite and treated our ancestors kindly.

However, once the roads were built, tanks encircled strategic urban areas, lorries headed straight to the mineral-rich mountains and pristine forests: and Chinese workers arrived to exploit and mine billions of dollars of gold, copper, and uranium. Overnight, it seemed, something had changed. The polite Chinese soldiers changed and became overbearing, aggressive, and violent. They used their guns. Battles erupted. Death and destruction ensued.

The great epoch of happiness was put into peril. And since that time, I fear, Tibetans have become second class citizens in their own homeland.

The ongoing political repression, cultural assimilation, economic marginalization and environmental destruction in occupied Tibet is unacceptable. The construction of new Railway Line brings each day more heavy equipment to exploit mineral resources and more Chinese migrants to demographically dominate Tibet and dilute our rich culture and identity. Today’s empirical facts are startling: around seventy percent of the private sector is owned or run by Chinese, and more than fifty percent of public sector jobs of the local Communist Party cadre are also held by the Chinese. Meanwhile, nearly forty percent of our Tibetan brothers and sisters who have worked hard and earned university and high school degrees are unemployed. These statistics are made worse, as we all know, by Chinese officials who treat Tibet as their personal inheritance, and act as feudal lords.

But three years ago, in 2008, Tibetan men and women, young and old, nomads and farmers, monks and nuns, all rose up against the Chinese rule in Tibet - from Dromo to Dhartsedo, Ngari to Ngaba, from Lhasa to Lithang, from Kongpo to Kumbum. They spoke out against Chinese oppression and mistreatment and the universal slogan was: we want His Holiness the Dalai Lama return to Tibet. Let me be clear: the Tibetan Administration does not encourage

protest in part because we cannot forget the harsh response Chinese authorities hand down in the face of free and peaceful expression. However, it is our sacred duty to support and to be the voice for our voiceless and courageous compatriots.

After sixty years of misrule, Tibet is no Socialist Paradise that Chinese officials promised. There is no “Socialism” in Tibet, but rather Colonialism. Tibet is not the “Paradise” that it could be: today, it is a tragedy because of the Chinese occupation. Chinese government ought to know it. Recently, many Chinese leaders have visited Lhasa to observe sixty years of “peaceful liberation”. The reality is that the anniversary was observed under undeclared martial law with troops holding automatic machine guns, marching in the streets of Lhasa, sharp shooters positioned on rooftops, tourists banned from visiting Tibet entirely. Beijing’s rule in Tibet is clearly unjust and untenable.

Despite the tragedy in Tibet, we want the world to know, especially Chinese friends, that we remain firmly committed to non-violence. We do not view China as a nation and Chinese as a people with malice but with respect. Guided by the wisdom of our forefathers and foremothers, we will continue the Middle-Way policy, which seeks genuine autonomy for Tibet within the People’s Republic of China. This, my fellow Tibetans, is a win-win proposition for both the Tibetans and the Chinese. We believe in a peaceful resolution for Tibet, which means a peaceful process and peaceful dialogue. We are also willing to negotiate with the Chinese government anytime, anywhere.

Let’s not forget: China aspires to be a superpower. It is the fastest growing major economy in the world and is backed by the largest army in the world. Sadly, however, China’s moral power is lacking behind. Moral power cannot be bought in the market or forced with military might. It has to be earned. As long as Tibetans are repressed, there will be resistance, and waning respect for China. Finding a lasting solution to the Tibet question will go a long way toward restoring China’s positive image in the minds and hearts of people around the world, as well as towards protecting its territorial integrity and sovereignty. The Chinese people in China and the Greater Chinese diasporic community have a key role to play in helping China overcome this moral deficiency.

I have sixteen years record of

reaching out to hundreds of Chinese students and have organized conferences on Tibet between Chinese and Tibetan scholars at Harvard University. We will continue to reach out to the Chinese people to build mutual understanding and trust. I would like to extend our heartfelt gratitude and appreciation to the United States, Europe, international community and Tibet Support Groups for their enduring support. We appeal to them to continue to stand with us for justice, freedom, dignity, and equality, and to persuade Beijing to resolve the issue of Tibet peacefully. A lasting solution to the situation in Tibet will be one of the most defining stories of the 21<sup>st</sup> century for it will reaffirm faith in humanity’s capacity to build peace, non-violence and universal freedom. This would be a victory not only for the Tibetan people, but for all the marginalized people around the world.

A just and speedy resolution of the issue of Tibet is in the interest of all Asia. For thousands of years, the Tibetan people served as responsible guardian of the environment of the world’s highest and largest plateau that is the source of ten major rivers that contribute to the livelihood of more than 2 billion human beings. China’s damming of rivers that originate from Tibet will undermine the livelihood of millions of people downstream in Asia. It is for this reason, millions of people in Asia have a vested interest in seeing that the Tibetan people are restored to their traditional role of being the responsible guardian of the environment of the Tibetan Plateau. This transcends politics. It touches upon the wellbeing and welfare of Asia.

We remain eternally grateful to the people and the government of India for offering the Tibetan people refuge and for allowing us to remain as guests for the past five decades. For those of us who live here, India is our second home. The Tibetan Administration will uphold and continue to honor the special relationship between the Tibetan and the Indian people. Our debt to the Indian government and its people is already enormous. But our work together continues. We humbly appeal for your continued support and kind consideration to treat Tibet as one of the core issues between India and China.

For the next five years, with unity, innovation and self-reliance as our guiding principles, the Tibetan Administration will strengthen the freedom movement, and sustain it for

another fifty years, if need be. I urge Tibetans inside and outside to support the Lhakar Movement to be proud of and assert Tibetanness - to show solidarity, to embrace unity, and to keep alive the Tibetan spirit - for together, I know we will foster a dynamic environment and strengthen Tibetan institutions and communities around the world.

Education will be our number one priority. As His Holiness the Dalai Lama has taught us, sharing knowledge is “a way to achieve immortality”. It is the beacon that will light the future of Tibet. We will strive to reach 10,000 professionals among 150,000 in exile and appeal to Tibetans inside Tibet to reach 100,000 in the next two decades.

We will also continue to professionalize the Tibetan Administration and ensure greater access and transparency through the integration of technology and social networking tools. To this end, in the months ahead we will establish a Tibet Policy Institute that will serve as an intellectual platform to envision, develop, and execute policies that will strengthen Tibet. We will also establish Sister Shichaks (settlements) to strengthen solidarity between Tibetans in India and the West and introduce Tibet Corps, a movement that will invite skills and know-how of Tibetans within and abroad to serve Tibet, and create employment for youth and build sustainable shichaks (settlements).

Along with all other Tibetans, I am profoundly grateful to Professor Samdhong Rinpoche for his leadership over the past decade. And I thank him and the able members of his cabinet for their heartwarming hospitality and productive support during this smooth transition of administrations. Going forward, I will abide by the Charter and Supreme Justice Commission, and extend my full co-operation and partnership to the honorable speakers and gentlemen and women of the fifteenth parliament, and lead our very capable and dedicated civil servants in the fulfillment of this pledge.

In conclusion, it is important to remember that the devolution of His Holiness the Dalai Lama’s political power is not at all solely to me as the Kalon Tripa, but to all Tibetans. His Holiness’ trust and belief in the people and our 50 years of consolidation of democratic institutions now will be challenged to survive and thrive independently, without his political involvement. So this is a test for each of

us. It is a test, for the leadership in the judiciary, for the parliament and for the executive branch to live up to His Holiness’ expectations and to work as an effective and united entity. This is our challenge and our opportunity.

I speak with particular urgency to the younger generations of Tibetans. We need your support, your energy, and your talent to stand tall and march forward to freedom. Let us never forget: during our lifetime, our freedom struggle will meet the fate of justice or defeat. Tibet will either

Tibet who have put their faith in us, and who will be closely watching every step we take from today onward. However, thankfully we take comfort in the knowledge that His Holiness the Dalai Lama, our most revered leader, is very much in our midst to offer his wisdom.

During my first audience as the Kalon Tripa elect earlier this year, I was reminded by His Holiness the Dalai Lama that I was sitting on the same spot when I first met him nearly two decade ago, in 1992. His Holiness told me that my term



appear or disappear from the map of the world. Tibetans, as a people, will be alive or become a museum piece. Tibetan perseverance and pride, wit and will, courage and commitment, will be truly tested.

This is no time for simply criticism and cynicism. This is a time for courage, and a time for conviction. Above all, it is time for confidence in the belief that we are Tibetans and we can do it. The time has come for the younger generation to take a greater leadership role in both internal and international forums. Remember: if we do not, no one will.

Of this, we can be certain too, my fellow Tibetans: like the successful return of His Holiness the 13<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama to Tibet, the opportunity will arise and our day will come. Like our dedicated and united ancestors, if we are not united and prepared to accept the challenges together, we will fail. Unity is paramount and it simply cannot be compromised; it is the bedrock of our movement. Any failure to attain unity will solely be our fault. We should do our utmost not to disappoint the majority of compatriots in

as the Kalon Tripa will be good and I am committed to making his words come true. However, my two hands alone are not nearly enough. I request you to lend me your 12 million hands in realizing the words of the present Dalai Lama on the fateful night of March 17, 1959 that “he shall return” to Tibet.

For my brothers and sisters in Tibet, I say to you with confidence today: we will meet soon. Though I have never been allowed to set foot in Tibet, Tibet is in my heart each and every day. I am proud to be born a Tibetan and I will be proud to die as one. While I live, I am determined to fight for our freedom. My late father, like many of our parents, could not return to Tibet. But this, my fellow Tibetans, will not be the story of all Tibetans. Together, we will ensure the return of His Holiness the Dalai Lama to Tibet, reunite our people, and restore freedom in Tibet.

Today, we are in the holy land of India, where the Lord Shakyamuni attained Buddhahood. Next we will meet in the holy land of Tibet, where Buddhism is the heart and soul of six million Tibetans. We are always ready to embark on this

epic journey from Dharamsala, the abode of Dharma, to Lhasa, the abode of Gods. From the town where His Holiness the Dalai Lama lives, to the city where he belongs.

This is our aspiration. This is our struggle. This is our dream. And with unity, innovation, and self-reliance as the guiding principles of six million Tibetans, victory will be ours. Long Live His Holiness the Dalai Lama.

Bod Gyalo.

## Statement of the outgoing Kalon Tripa Prof. Samdhong Rinpoche on the oath-taking ceremony of the new Kalon Tripa

With profound respect to Your Holiness, the democratic leadership of the Tibetan people, your excellencies, the honorable guests and the Tibetans in and outside Tibet. On the auspicious occasion of

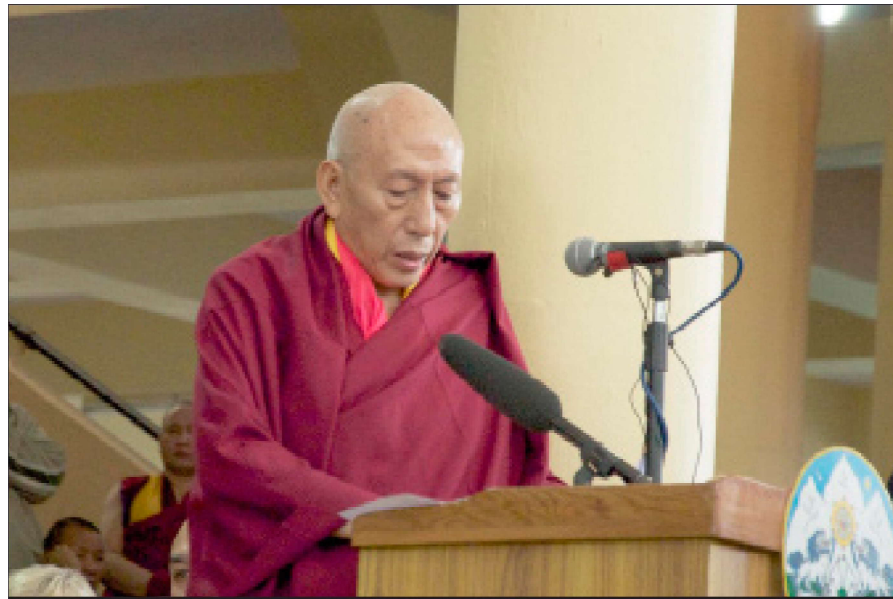
most of the time Tibet has been a sovereign independent country. Despite its small population, Tibet has a long and rich civilization with deep spiritual tradition and cultural heritage. Tibet also

stage.

Though His Holiness the Dalai Lama, since the very young age, had the strong desire to introduce democratic system, the external circumstances did not allow him to do so when he was in Tibet. Immediately upon his arrival in exile, His Holiness the Dalai Lama set up the democratic institutions and continued to educate the Tibetan people about democracy and its culture. Irrespective of the general public's political maturity, His Holiness the Dalai Lama initiated the adoption of Charter for the Tibetans-in-Exile and introduced the processes to elect Sikyong or political leadership directly by the people, which ultimately brought to a complete democratic system for the exile Tibetan community. His Holiness the Dalai Lama's vision and unceasing guidance for the last thirty years to build a democratic Tibetan polity, that is not dependent on him, has finally achieved. This is a great moment for all of us.

Your Holiness, the Kashag would like to offer our gratitude from the deepest bottoms of our hearts for your incomparable leadership during the hardest time in our history. Your Holiness has provided us the longest leadership and that your temporal and spiritual achievements far exceed the combined deeds of all the thirteen previous Dalai Lamas. Particularly, we will never be able to repay your kindness for introducing the democratic system, devolving your power to the elected Tibetan leadership and handing over the legitimate Tibetan government founded 369 years ago by the Great Fifth Dalai Lama to the democratically elected leaders.

We are deeply indebted to Your Holiness for your consistent and immensely compassionate guidance



oath-taking ceremony of the third Kalon Tripa democratically elected by the Tibetan people, I happily and proudly offer my heartfelt greetings and congratulate to you all.

Today is a very special day on which this special ceremony takes place. This is a new chapter in Tibetan history in which a giant step is taken towards a genuine democracy. Today is also a beginning of a future where the Tibetan people will show courage and put great efforts for their common goal. The democratic system we practice here in exile is an example not only to people under occupation but also to others around the world. This will also be a valuable gift to the Tibetans inside Tibet when the time comes for all of us to be reunited in Tibet.

From the second century BC to the middle of the twentieth century for

became a recognizably powerful country in Asia. Especially since the Great Fifth Dalai Lama established the Gaden Phodrang Government in 1642, which has been the legitimate government that ruled the whole of Tibet, the successive Dalai Lamas became the temporal and spiritual head of the Tibetan people to this day.

At a tender age of sixteen, His Holiness the Fourteenth Dalai Lama took the political leadership of Tibet from regent Tagdrag Rinpoche. It has been now sixty years since and this has become the longest duration that a Dalai Lama has provided able leadership to the Tibetan people. Despite the fact that this has been the hardest and the most testing period in Tibetan history, His Holiness the Dalai Lama's charisma and the leadership has brought the Tibetan issue to the forefront of the international



during the tenure of the 12th and 13th Kashag. We would like to pay our sincerest gratitude and at the same time ask your forgiveness for our inability to fulfill all your wishes.

Your Holiness, you are the Fourteenth Dalai Lama and the undisputed leader of the Tibetan people in and outside Tibet, and as a result Your Holiness has the full moral, political and legitimate authority to devolve all your powers and responsibilities. The devolution of your power and the transfer of your responsibilities were carried out according to appropriate legislative procedures, and there is no space for doubts and questions about the timeliness of the transition and the legitimacy or legality of the Central Tibetan Administration. The Kashag would like to emphasize here that a few people who raise doubts and scorn at Your Holiness' visionary democratic steps to benefit the Tibetans should not be taken seriously by anyone.

Today's transition is from an

older generation who lack modern education to a new generation having excellent modern education. This is not only a special occasion that the Tibetans should record in its annals in golden letters but also a beginning of making a new history for our common future. Therefore, my colleagues and I would heartily like to congratulate Dr. Lobsang Sangay and offer our prayers that under your able leadership the situation of the Tibetan politics, administration and the community will move forward to attain great progress.

There is no doubt that the issue of Tibet will be resolved sooner or later if the policies and plans in tune with His Holiness the Dalai Lama's vision are followed. On the contrary, if other paths are followed, then it is difficult to predict the future destiny of Tibetan people.

Taking this opportunity, my colleagues and I would like to express our heartfelt gratitude to all Tibetans in and outside Tibet for their continued support during the tenure of the twelfth

and thirteenth Kashag. We would like to urge you to provide the same support to the fourteenth Kashag as well. We regret for our inability to fulfill all the aspirations of the general public.

Finally, I pray for the long life of His Holiness the Dalai Lama and the spontaneous fulfillment of all his wishes. May the issue of Tibet be resolved and the day of reunification of Tibetans in Tibet and diaspora may come at the soonest. I now handover this 260-years-old seal, which signifies the legitimacy of the Kashag. The Seventh Dalai Lama bestowed this seal to the Kashag, when he re-established Kashag in 1751.

Samdhong Rinpoche  
Outgoing Kalon Tripa

8 August 2011, Dharamsala

*Note: This is the English translation. Should any doubt arise, please consider the Tibetan version final and authoritative.*

## Addresses of Foreign Dignitaries on the Swearing in Ceremony of Kalon Tripa Dr. Lobsang Sangay

### Mr. Seishu Makino, Member of Democratic Party of Japan



Honourable Chief Justice, Chairman of the Tibetan Parliament in exile, new Kalon Tripa Dr Lobsang Sangay, distinguished guests and ladies and gentlemen.

It gives me great pleasure and honour to be with you all today here in Dharamshala to mark the historic day to celebrate the swearing in ceremony of the assumption of political leadership

by new Kalon Tripa Dr Lobsang Sangay yesterday in the presence of His Holiness the Dalai Lama and many other dignitaries and public.

My name is Seishu Makino, a Japanese member of Parliament from the democratic party of Japan. I am also working as the chairman of Japanese Parliamentarian's support group for Tibet founded in 1995.

I understand that gradual changes are taking place in China today. It is becoming more and more clear that Chinese government is fooling their own people by all means. We also know that in a year two hundred thousand demonstrations and protests are taking place in China. China has been for a long time encroaching the borders of other countries and exploiting their natural resources and their technology

New changes in the political leadership of the Central Tibetan Administration is a clear sign of

welcome. It is certainly a farsighted move from the Tibetan leadership. The pursuit of middle way approach initiated by His Holiness the Dalai Lama need serious effort on the part of the Central Tibetan Administration and its people to continue further a united force. If the Tibetan people continue to work hard, compassionately under the new leadership, the support from the international community will keep growing for sure to bring an effective and desired result.

I will always stand by your struggle and promise to work hard to bring genuine freedom and happiness to the long suffering people of Tibet. In order to achieve this goal Tibetan people and international Tibetan supporters need to co-ordinate with each other and work collectively.

Thank you very much.

## Mr Batjargal Batbayar, Member of Parliament, Mongolia



I would like to extend my warmest greetings and tashi delek to Kalon Tripa Dr Lobsang Sangay and all the other guests.

My name is Batjargal Batbayar. This is my first visit to Dharamshala. A lot of mongolians rever His Holiness the Dalai Lama, we are like one people. Mongolia and Tibet has a rich historical relation in both religion and politics for over a thousand years. Even the title, the Dalai Lama has come from Mongolia. Therefore, His Holiness always says that

Mongolia and Tibet are like twin siblings from the same mother.

His Holiness the Dalai Lama first came to Mongolia in late 1979 and since then we are lucky to have him visit Mongolia a number of times.

Lastly, on behalf of the Mongolian people, I would like to express my best wishes to Dr Lobsang Sangay on his new job.

Tashi Delek!

## Chen Chieh-Ju, Legislator, Democratic Progressive Party, Taiwan



It is my pleasure to convey the greetings of the Democratic Progressive Party of Taiwan to Kalon Tripa Dr Lobsang Sangay and express my gratitude to His Holiness the Dalai Lama.

In January of 2009, the DPP proposed a bill in the legislature for Tibetans living in exile to legally reside in Taiwan and I was chair of the negotiation committee and we were able to pass the bill. In the following two years, while processing the resident and work permit for our Tibetan friends from India and Nepal, I became aware of the difficult situations our friends were facing.

However, I also witnessed a treasure of friendship among you while you unselfishly help each other. People in Taiwan have become aware of the issues regarding Tibet. And our support is reflected through the annual ceremony, the Tibetan March uprising where more and more Taiwanese individuals and NGOs participate in the ceremony

every year.

During the DPP administration from year 2000 to 2008, there was a structure of communication channel between Taipei and Dharamshala. However, in order to pave the way for a signing of the economic co-operation framework of agreement with China, the Kuomintang, the current government of Taiwan, has diminished the previous bilateral exchange to prevent provocation with Beijing.

Although, Taiwan and Tibet differ in geographical locations, environment, religion, history and democratic process, we both are daring the regime that denies the value of democracy, violates the freedom of religion and ruins the peaceful dialogue and suppresses human rights.

His Holiness, whom I have deep respect for, appeals for non violent action. With his wisdom and efforts he has worked so hard to preserve the spirit of Tibetan Buddhism, solidifying the Tibetan groups all over the world and demonstrating the arduous history of Tibet with the sacrifice of his life. With the belief in universal value of democracy, he has divolved political authority to the elected leadership. Therefore, the Tibetan people can democratically elect their leader. It is my honour to take part in this historical moment. Lastly I would like

to share a story with you.

In Taiwan, we also suffered under the suppression of an authoritarian regime a few decades ago, where our future leaders are put into prison. Mr Lin Yi-hsiung, former DPP chairman was one of them. He was arrested as a political prisoner after the 1979 Formosa incident. On 28 February 1980, his mother and five year old twin daughters were murdered at home. And the perpetrator was never found. Mr Lin Yi-hsiung then became the ecwon propetrian church of Taiwan in 1982. ecwon means the light of justice of god. This community church has been actively involved in the rescue and support of political prisoners and their families. In his family memorial park, Mr Lin quoted from The Flower Ornaments Sutra for the inscription, "I shall ourselves contribute to the world just as the sun shines without claiming rewards".

The situation of the Tibetan people living in exile and the suppression by the Chinese authorities in Tibet must have made greater pain to you, especially to His Holiness the Dalai Lama and Dr Lobsang Sangay. However you are not alone, there are many supporters for Tibet from all over the world including the DPP and the people of Taiwan. Lets hand in hand help each other and we shall see the lights of hope for the future. So best wishes from Chen Chieh-Ju, Taiwan.

## Dr N.K Trikha, National Convener of Core Group for Tibet Cause, India



Your excellency, Dr Lobsang Sangay, Prime Minister of the genuine Government of Tibet, temporarily stationed here in exile. Honourable members of Tibetan Parliament in exile and members of parliament around the world. Other dignitaries and friends particularly my young Tibetan friends here on whom the future of Tibet lies.

As national convener of the Core group for Tibet cause, I stand here as a representative of all Tibet support groups in India to warmly congratulate and honour the new Kalon Tripa Dr Lobsang sangay, who has assumed this challenging office in the new paradigm of Tibetan polity. While His Holiness the Dalai Lama remains as ever as the supreme protector and symbol of Tibet and all Tibetans as well as the guiding star of all of us, the entire humanity. The great political responsibility has been devolved by him on his new political dispensation requiring firm determination and deepest sense of dedication and devotion. Firm determination and sagacity to turn this

challenge into an opportunity to achieve the goal of going back with honour and dignity to where they belong and to install His Holiness on his rightful place. I assure you that we Indians will do everything we can to make this happen. For the cause of Tibet is the cause of India, but more so is the cause of humanity. It's a cause that is always, as I said, implanted deepest in the hearts of and minds of India. I consider and most Indians consider, Tibet and India as one soul in two bodies. We breathe Tibet in every breath of ours, we feel Tibet in all our emotions, you will never find us winding in your support.

The repression, denial of human rights to you, cultural and religious rights and attempts to decimate your culture is absolutely unacceptable to every Indian and we'll see that this doesn't happen anymore.

Mr prime minister, I assure you that we found your acceptance speech yesterday highly inspiring and very reassuring. When you said, we are Tibetans and we can do it, it gave a tremendous amount of hope to everybody that the goal is very near. And I know every Tibetan, how much determined they are to regain their [freedom] and we are with you, I assure you.

It was full of grit and determination and clarity about the issues and ultimate goals and objectives. While we would pray for His Holiness the Dalai Lama to lead a spiritual revolution from this land of Buddha and we would like Prof Samdhong Rinpoche to continue to rouse the conscience of the

intellectuals of this country and the world, we expect you to go around in India and inspire the youth of India and make them aware, the stake that Tibet has for India.

And on this occasion, I invite you on behalf of the first university of journalism and mass communications in India, in fact in Asia, the Madhanlal Chaturvedi University of Journalism and Mass Communications at Bhopal, where I am again a senior professor to lead it from there and I speak it on behalf of the vice-chancellor of the university.

Of all the issues that you have referred to, of course the freedom of Tibet is supreme and we all stand by you for this, but one thing that has touched the hearts of the people and which requires to rouse the conscience of the world, is the question of Chinese doing the greatest criminal act of diverting the waters which belong to 42 percent of the world's population from the Tibetan plateau. Ten major rivers flow from the Tibetan plateau and many others flow from other parts of China and they are all being diverted and they are being so managed that it will be a great catastrophe for the world in the years to come. Not only for Asia or the countries around China, India, Myanmar, Bangladesh, Laos, Cambodia, but also Russia and many other countries.

And I think the leads you have given by referring to this needs to be made a world movement and I would expect you to go around and arouse the conscience of the world.

Thank you.

## Ms Eva Lichtenberger, Member of European Parliament, Belgium

Honourable members of the newly elected Parliament, my dear colleagues from other areas in the world, let me bring the warmest wishes of the European Parliament and Tibet Inter-group which has over a hundred members and supporters in the European Parliament. And I assure you that Tibet and the problems of the Tibetan people of the refugees and of the Tibetans in Tibet remain in the center of our hearts in the European parliament.

The European Parliament has

always given strong attention to what is happening to refugees but also to what is happening in Tibet itself especially when it comes to the growing power of the Chinese government on the world level and especially on the way in which it executes its external actions. So lately we were passing a resolution on the situation of refugees in Nepal and we were raising the international attention on what has been going on right there but also issues like the human rights situation are always very much

debated and discussed in the European Parliament when it comes to human rights issues, when it comes to offenses against human rights concerning Tibetans, be it outside Tibet but especially of course inside Tibet.

The European Parliament has also send a delegation to Tibet before the Olympic Games so that European Members of Parliament could make their own mind and have their own look on what is happening in Tibet and how the development is there, despite of every



publication you find on the official level. We are very much concerned about the recent developments and we will hold some hearings in the upcoming year, especially on the situation on the religious freedom, be it on the situation

of the realization of an autonomy for Tibet right now within the Chinese constitution which would be possible and could be realized already tomorrow. But we have to put international pressure so that the situation for the people in Tibet really improve and to help them to have a life that's worth living.

I must mention and this is also very important for me, the speech of His Holiness the Dalai Lama in the European Parliament remains still in the memory of the members of the European Parliament and is always a part of reference and a part of discussion.

We always mention when we have guests from the People's Republic of China about the situation in Tibet and the situation of human rights and the social situation on the highland to make them aware that the international attention on Tibet is still there. And let me assure you that there are thousands and thousands of people in Europe that

follow what is happening in Tibet and that supports really from their hearts that Tibet has to see major improvements of its situation right now be it for the people and its social situation. We will not stop to go for an improvement of the situation in Tibet before Tibetan people inside and outside Tibet enjoy their full human rights, be it in education, be it in cultural and religious freedom or be it in political issues and social equalities. Because this take its part of the human rights catalog the European Union is defending all over the world. And we see one thing, Tibet gave such a big present to the world in the form of a rich culture that really is very important also for us westerners to think about sometimes. And we have to give back our support for the full realization of human rights, social rights and political rights in Tibet.

Thank you very much for your attention.

### Mr. Siegfried Herzog, Director of Friedrich Naumann Foundation



Honourable Kalon Tripa Dr Lobsang Sangay, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen.

On behalf of the Friedrich Naumann Foundation, I would like to congratulate the newly elected Kalon Tripa Dr Lobsang Sangay and extend our best wishes for his work. This is indeed a historic occasion. You have held an election that was a real contest that brought up a lot of vigorous debate

and finally was conducted with an absolutely smooth and professional voting procedure. Tibetan democracy indeed has come of age!

Dr Sangay, you take over with a very strong mandate both from the voters and His Holiness the Dalai Lama. In many ways, your election is an culmination of the democratization process that His Holiness has started more than four decades ago. And thus it marks also a new beginning and one that will in time, establish its own traditions. My organization, the Friedrich Naumann Foundation, has been supporting this democratization process for the last twenty years through our joint project, the Tibetan Parliamentary and Policy Research Center through training of young leaders, through policy debates and through supporting democratic discourse within the community. We will continue to support this process because democracy is never at a final stage, its always an ever evolving

process of debate, discourse and negotiation.

We strongly believe that this itself strengthens the Tibetan cause because it unifies ends and means. And this is really the heart of active non-violence that the means have to reflect the ends. This is the heart of active non-violence that you have chosen as your path and in this lies an example to other people around the world who are struggling for their rights. This makes your election significant beyond the Tibetan cause and makes it significant for the rest of us. The challenges ahead of course, are huge and daunting and we cannot know the future but this path, I firmly believe, offers the best hope. We wish you all strength, courage and wisdom for the task that you shoulder today.

Thank you very much.

### Mr Ajit Singh, MP, President of Rashtriya Lok Dal

I am indeed delighted to receive a formal invitation to attend the oath taking ceremony in Dharamshala on 8<sup>th</sup> August 2011. I was willing to come but due to viral fever, I cannot attend your programme. I would like to reiterate that people of India and our party share and sympathise with Tibetans as ever before. I send my congratulations and best wishes for your successful tenure.

## US Congressman James P. McGovern of Massachusetts

At a time when autocrats around the world are clinging to power, the Dalai Lama's voluntary effort to give up power is remarkable. It is the culmination of a decades long process of nurturing the development of democratic institutions in the Tibetan exile community. Congressman James P. McGovern of Massachusetts said in a speech on the floor of the US House of Representative on Tuesday, 2 August 2011.

This stands in stark contrast to the reality that neither Tibetans in Tibet, nor anyone in China, are allowed fundamental democratic freedoms or free elections. What the Tibetans have

accomplished is worthy of our attention and respect.

In March 2011, the Dalai Lama announced his decision to devolve his political authority to the elected leadership. These changes were ratified by the Tibetan parliament in May.

Tibetans from around the world will gather for a historic occasion on 8 August 2011, the inauguration of their democratically elected Kalon Tripa, Dr Lobsang Sangay.

On the occasion of the inauguration of the next Kalon Tripa, Dr Lobsang Sangay, I send my warm wishes to the Tibetan people and congratulate

them on their democratic achievements.

Dr Lobsang Sangay takes over as chief executive of the Central Tibetan Administration at a critical point, as much of the political responsibilities for the Tibetan community in exile now reside on his shoulders.

I had the chance to meet Lobsang Sangay when he came to Capitol Hill in July 2011, during the Dalai Lama's visit to Washington. I look forward to his return to discuss ways the United States can help Tibetans in their endeavor to find a solution for the Tibet issue.

## Mr. Matteo Maccaci, Member of Italian Parliament



You have come a long way, a long way towards democracy.

Today is an important day in the history of Tibet and that of the humanity. The decision that you have taken to elect a secular, political leadership is not only important for the Tibetan people but its also a very important example for the whole world community.

We have specified with our international observation mission here and in other locations in India last March in Canada and also in United States and Nepal, that the Tibetan people have genuinely chosen democracy according to international standards. And this is something that

China must keep in mind when they are talking about the future of their country. I am firmly convinced that China is not a stable country. They are increasingly becoming an economic and military power but they base their power on the fear of the people, and not on their trust. And if you govern the country based on fear, then you are not going to last long. When political change will come to China, we don't know. Probably, it will depend on us, it will depend on you and what the world community and leaders decide to do. Either to continue to trust a leadership that is based on fear, security, and oppression or to encourage, for example, the Tibetan community in exile to foster a democratic system.

We have seen that over the last decades, all over the world democracy is on the march and totalitarian governments are losing ground and democracy is advancing. What we should do is to encourage experiences and examples such as that of the Tibetan community and the newly elected Tibetan leadership in exile as a mean to encourage to different nationalities in China to build co-operation among themselves as a base for improving the country's living and social conditions.

There is no future for an authoritarian government. Humanity is one, human values and freedom are same for everybody. We can not think that people that belong to different ethnicity can not live together. Living together is the only way forward. Violence is not the solution. Compassion, understanding and co-operation are the only way forward. I believe that today you are taking forward the tradition of compassion, love and co-operation among the people. That is an example that should be carried out in other countries where authoritarian governments are ruling. Our thoughts today should go also to the brave Tibetans, those men and women in their 70s, 80s and 90s, who three years ago in 2008, decided to get into the streets demanding respect for their freedom. Many of them died, many of them are still in jail but all the people in Tibet should know that their struggle is not just a struggle, it's a universal struggle that helps the West also to remember the importance of freedom and what people can do to protect their freedom. So, we have to be with them and help them get out of the jail to be able to pray with freedom in their temples, to be able to enjoy their culture until we reach a free Tibet for a free China.

Bod Gyalo.

## Mr Gautam, Member of Constituent Assembly, Nepal



I would like to pay my respects and Tashi Delek to His Holiness the Dalai Lama and the people of Tibet.

Nepal and Tibet's relation goes a long way back in history as Nepal and Tibet share the same border and had trade as well as ancestral ties with Tibet.

The Tibetans residing in Nepal are not refugees as Nepal is like an uncle to Tibet and those who stay in their uncle's house are not refugees. The Tibetan people have been struggling for a long time after the unfortunate occupation of Tibet by communist China. In view of this, the Nepalese people are equally sad. And

in this moment of sadness and struggle the Nepalese people stand by and will continue to stand by His Holiness the Dalai Lama, the Central Tibetan Administration and the Tibetan people in their movement.

I am sad to say that even in Nepal these days, the presence of communist China is increasing day by day. It is also a matter of concern for us that Nepal may soon face what Tibet faced 50 years ago due to the increasing intervention by communist China in Nepal's internal politics. Therefore, the Nepalese people are always with the Tibetan people in their movement. And jointly Nepal and Tibet will fight step by step for the restoration of freedom and dignity for Tibetans in Tibet. And hopefully, the joint efforts will bring joint benefits to both Tibet and Nepal.

A lot of people in Nepal say that there has been so much development in Tibet. But just infrastructural development alone is not a meaningful development until the basic human rights, democratic rights, religious freedom of the Tibetan people are respected. Moreover, not only Tibet, even China should become a democratic country because until China becomes a democratic country no country

is safe from communist aggression. So we all should support Tibet in their struggle so much so that China also becomes a democratic country for peace and stability in Asia and the world.

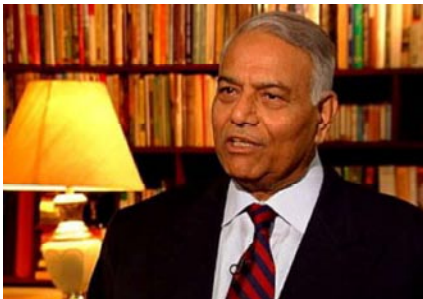
Lastly, I want to wish the newly elected Kalon Tripa Dr Lobsang Sangay a warm Tashi Delek and congratulations and wish him all the best for his future endeavours and hope that he will make the Tibetan movement a meaningful one and bring immediate results. The Nepalese people will wholeheartedly extend whatever help and co-operation needed to the Tibetans.

And I am sure the movement will gain momentum under Dr Lobsang Sangay's leadership and the Tibetan people along with His Holiness The Dalai Lama will be able to return back to Tibet. When that day comes, I will also go to Tibet.

I hope and pray that the special bond between Nepal and Tibet will be strengthened even further.

And lastly, I would like to thank you all for giving me this opportunity to talk. I will always support Tibet and the Tibetan people's struggle for freedom.

## Former Finance Minister and Convener of all party Indian Parliamentary forum for Tibet



On behalf of all party Indian Parliamentarian's forum for Tibet and its members, I extend my apology for not being able to make this event. Nevertheless, I must however reiterate this that the people of India share and sympathizes with Tibet as ever before. With the reconstituted APIPFT in February 2011 and its convener, I would

like to assure you that we will continue to work and support for the restoration of basic rights and freedom of the Tibetan people.

Congratulations and best wishes for your successful tenure.

## US Senator Joseph Lieberman's Congratulatory Message



I am pleased to extend my deepest congratulations to Dr. Lobsang Sangay on the occasion of his inauguration as the democratically-elected Kalon Tripa. The United States has a natural bond with and affinity for fellow democracies, and so the progress of Tibetan democracy—of which today marks an important milestone—brings our two peoples closer together.

Guided by the Kalon Tripa's political leadership and the spiritual wisdom and leadership of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, I am confident that the Central Tibetan Administration will continue to thrive in the years ahead. I offer warm wishes to the people of Tibet—both those living in Tibet and those in exile—as you celebrate this historic event.

## Hope of Tibet's survival hinges on world's moral obligation

By Lt General (Retd) Baljit Singh

Eleventh November 1950 marks the watershed in the collective political awakening of the comity of nations to Tibet, as a sovereign nation in the spirit of the charter of the United Nations Organisation. For, Holiness the Dalai Lama of Tibet, made the first of his several appeals to arouse the conscience of the world, through the Secretary General of UNO, in the hope that "aggression will not go unchecked and freedom unprotected in any part of the world." The People's Liberation Army of China had invaded and entrenched its presence over considerable territory in eastern Tibet. The Dalai Lama's appeal of 1950 was a factually profound historical synopsis of Tibet's past and present. The poignancy of that text resurfaces in the mind every time the Tibetans in Lhasa or elsewhere, protest the loss of sovereignty of their country.

The constraints of geography had made Tibet inaccessible almost up to the last decades of the 19th century. This had to a large measure also moulded their national psyche of living in "splendid" isolation. The earliest outsiders ever received and in fact invited by the Tibetans themselves were the "gurus" of Buddhism from India, more than 1000 years ago. Of course a few Jesuit priests had also succeeded in reaching Lhasa in the 18th century but they failed in proselytizing the Tibetans and their narratives of the adventure are disappointingly superficial.

So to this day, the world hardly knows that before the first Dalai Lama assumed the role of a King - cum - spiritual authority over Tibet in 1642 AD, there had been forty generations of kings of Tibet. This dynastic line of indigenous rulers presided over Tibet for more than one thousand years.

The peak of consolidation of Tibet as a sovereign state can be said to have occurred in 629 AD, when the 33rd king felt self assured to demand and solemnize marriage with a Chinese princess. In the prevalent manner of royalty consolidating regional power status in those days he also took the daughter of the king of Nepal as yet another wife!

During the reign of the 36th king, Tibet's sovereignty was militarily challenged by China for the first time. But this aggression was met and defeated promptly and followed up by capturing sizable adjacent Chinese territory to create a buffer! And as a mark of sagacity to prevent any future misadventure, the 40th Tibetan king

erected a stone pillar on the Tibet-China boundary in 829 AD.

On the pillar was chiseled its purpose and date of installation, both in the Chinese and Tibetan official scripts. Two more identical pillars, one of which was got installed on the grounds of Peking palace and the third at Lhasa. This whole episode speaks volumes for the unassailable sovereignty of Tibet vis-a-vis the Chinese empire.

Unfortunately, a few decades later, this robust and perhaps the world's largest lived dynastic line of kings ended with the 41st king for possibly want of a natural, male heir. So, the next about 500 years witnessed kingship change hands between two leading houses of Tibetan nobility. And for the first time, foundations of Tibetan sovereignty were strained by internal dissension.

Perhaps this is the time when Tibet came to have three distinct administrative entities: Amdo in the north, Kham in the east and Lhasa encompassing the rest of territory down to its southern frontiers with India, Nepal and Bhutan. But, there was no internal challenge to the writ of the king at Lhasa over Amdo and Kham or any external machinations to splinter the country.

This was the stage when the first Dalai Lama was by popular consent handed the reins of the king - cum - reincarnating divinity of Tibet. Over a period of time the Dalai Lamas came to command the unqualified allegiance of the entire citizenry of Tibet, perhaps more comprehensively than any Pope has from its entire Christian congregation.

Under the circumstances there was little hope for China to subjugate Tibet. So, they conceived a clever subterfuge. Soon after the first Manchu emperor of China consolidated his position, he invited his Tibetan counterpart, the fifth Dalai Lama as his religious mentor. Throughout his journey to and lengthy stay at Peking, the Dalai Lama was accorded the protocol of a sovereign king.

At the time of leave-taking, the Manchu emperor assigned two of his senior officials called Ambans to accompany the Dalai Lama to oversee his comforts during the journey. Why or how the Tibetan officialdom accepted the Ambans' pleas to be allowed to remain at Lhasa as the emperor's plenipotentiaries is a mystery. And that is the beginning of the end of Tibet's sovereignty and the first diabolical strategy to absorb Tibet in the "motherland".

Tibet's self imposed "isolation" was now to prove even more grievous to its sovereignty. They could not perceive the advantage of allying with the British in India as partners in the "Great Game" against China. For that would have neutralized the presence of the noxious Chinese Ambans in Lhasa and perhaps changed the course of Tibet's present history for all times. But then Tibet simply had to flow with her ordained "Karma."

But, the British too were past masters at diplomatic intrigue. They cultivated the Chinese and through a bilateral convention in 1893 they obtained trading rights in south Tibet as also to jointly survey and fix boundary pillars on the Indo-Tibet frontier in Sikkim.

The Dalai Lama was quick to assert his sovereignty. No sooner had the Chinese and British left after erecting boundary pillars the Tibetans removed and erased all evidence! The British political agent in Gangtok, Claude White, was equally quick to counter-react. He went and camped at the site of the northern-most pillar at Kongka La (lately in the news as the "Little Finger Area"). The Tibetan outpost at Khamba Dzong some fifty miles north, mobilized their detachment and surrounded Claude White and his escort by night. At day break, they lifted Claude White, sat him down astride a pony and led him upto the western slopes of Guru - Dongmar mountain, some 10 km due south where they considered was the traditional boundary!

But Tibet's Karma was indeed blighted. When Colonel Sir Francis Younghusband led the expeditionary force to Lhasa in 1904, Claude White would witness the hoisting of the Union Jack in the shadow of the Potala. Far more catastrophic effect was that the ill matched Tibetan troops were so thoroughly mauled and demoralized, that soon thereafter the Chinese troops once again intruded and reached the outskirts of Lhasa in 1910. The thirteenth Dalai Lama fled to India from where to negotiate. And then finally, the fourteenth too met the same fate in 1959.

Individuals may be driven to exile but for a better part of a sovereign nation to be deprived of its home and hearth is an unforgivable high treason. In the manner that the world had acquiesced with the Jews to carve out Israel, there is little hope that the UNO and the world at large will ever aid the Dalai Lama and his people to return to Tibet in dignity.

## Harvard man takes the oath as new leader of Central Tibetan Administration

*Newly elected Lobsang Sangay says he's sticking to the Dalai Lama's 'middle way' in seeking autonomy within China. Though the new prime minister has never foot in Tibet, Tu Thanh Ha reports, he says the Tibetan leadership is 'far from fizzling out'*

An era ended Monday (8 August) in a rainy temple courtyard in the Indian hill town of Dharamshala when the Harvard educated lawyer Lobsang Sangay took the oath of office as Kalon Tripa of the Central Tibetan Administration and the Dalai Lama ended his formal role as a political leader.

The move has been parsed in various quarters as either a break from Tibet's feudal past, a modest stepwise change, or an attempt to outsmart the Chinese occupation of their homeland.

It was mainly a reminder of the mortality of the 76 year old Dalai Lama, who has to prepare for the chaotic days after his death when his next reincarnation will be named and pitted against a competing candidate backed by Beijing.

It has been more than half a century now since Tenzin Gyatso the 14<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama and head of state of Tibet, fled his country in 1959 when Chinese troops there crushed an uprising against their presence.

Despite the Dalai Lama's world stature as a much loved spiritual leader and noble peace prize laureate, Tibet is still ruled with an iron fist by China while thousands of exiles live in neighboring India with little hope of seeing their homeland.

The 43 year old Dr Sangay, who was born in exile and has never set foot in Tibet is the first Kalon Tripa or the prime minister of the government in exile since the Dalai Lama stepped back from his executive duties.

"He [the Dalai Lama] is trying to build a sustainable exile political movement before he becomes too old," said Robert Barnett, director of the modern Tibetan studies program at Columbia university.

To buttress the continuity and legitimacy of Dr Sangay's mandate, the Dalai Lama recalled Monday that he had long argued for a democratic Tibetan political leadership.

"The Tibetan people are the masters of Tibet and not the religious leaders and kings and their heirs. Therefore I always tell that it is wrong for the religious leaders to hold the political authority," he said.

"In the eyes of the Tibetans he remains the ultimate authority," said Tsering Shakya, a Lhasa born Tibet scholar

at the university of British Columbia's institute of Asian research.

The new Kalon Tripa was born in Darjeeling, the son of poor exiles who had to sell one of their cows to send him to school. Selected as a Fulbright scholar, he was the first Tibetan to attend Harvard law school and complete a doctorate there in 2004.

He was elected by exiles as this spring after a campaign in which he played up his academic credentials, spoke about innovation and unity and boasted of having private contacts with Chinese scholars.

"[The] Tibetan leadership is far from fizzling out... we are here to stay," Dr. Sangay said in his inaugural speech Monday, 8th August 2011.

"After 60 years of misrule, Tibet is no socialist paradise that Chinese officials promised. There is no socialism in Tibet, but rather a colonialism," he said.

Because of its behavior in Tibet, he said, "China's moral power is lacking behind. Moral power cannot be bought in the market or forced with the military might. It has to be earned. As long as Tibetans are repressed, there will be resistance and waning respect for China."

The tough tone surprised some observers, who wondered whether Dr. Sangay was talking to hardliners in exiled community. His views can be ambiguous because he used to be a leader of the pro-independence Tibetan youth Congress. But since his election, he has said he wants to stick with the Dalai Lama's "middle way" approach to seeking Tibetan autonomy within China.

Nevertheless, Dr. Sangay expressed in his speech his willingness to "to negotiate with the Chinese government any time, anywhere."

However, the Chinese have always refused to deal with the government in exile, saying they have no legitimacy.

Beijing favours informal meetings with representatives of the Dalai Lama, especially since the spiritual leader has been willing to seek autonomy within China rather than full fledged sovereignty, said Jiang Wenran, a political scientist at the University of Alberta.

Despite the tough Chinese

rhetoric, "the door is still open," said Prof. Jiang, who said the Dalai Lama's withdrawal from daily political matters could leave him more freedom to pursue contacts with Chinese representatives.

Prof. Barnett, however noted that the Dalai Lama has specifically refused to remain involved in the talks, rejecting a proposal that he keep the power to name his own envoys to the process.

"He 's trying to get the Chinese to shift course from their refusal to talk to the exile government," prof Barnett said.

Thing would get even trickier once the Dalai Lama dies. He says that his successor is likely to be someone in exile since the purpose of reincarnation is to continue the work of one's current incarnation.

To undercut that, Communist Chinese officials took the odd position of supporting old religious customs and imperial traditions.

A Chinese spokesman said last year that the next reincarnation of the Dalai Lama has to be named by Beijing, citing precedents from the days when Tibetan leaders were approved by the court of the Qing dynasty.

"The way China handles Tibet is very much in the imperial tradition," Prof. Barnett said.

Meanwhile, Dr. Sangay's election, which injects some youth in the exile leadership, also short-circuits the Chinese governments dismissal of Tibetan exiles as a reactionary, feudal theocracy.

Some observers have questioned how much sway Dr. Sangay will have among his compatriots, considering that he was born abroad and elected among the 100000 exiles, without input from the six million Tibetans living under Chinese control.

Prof. Shakya said Dr. Sangay's election is a sign of the renewal of the Tibetan Diaspora's leadership.

"They're all born in exile, they've never been to Tibet, they're distant from their homeland. That they are able to maintain their momentum for over half a century is remarkable."

*—The article is republished from The Globe and Mail newspaper.*



## US Government Reports Severe Repression of Religious Freedom in Tibet

The US State Department in its International Religious Freedom Report, which was published on 13 September, said the Chinese government's repression of religious freedom remained severe in Tibet during the reporting period of July-December 2010.

"In China, Tibetan Buddhists, Uighur Muslims, "house church" Christians all suffer from government attempts to restrict their religious practice," Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton said during the release of the report.

"The [Chinese] constitution protects religious freedom for all citizens but, in practice, the government generally enforced other laws and policies that restrict religious freedom," the report said.

"The government's level of respect for religious freedom remained poor in the Tibet Autonomous Region and other Tibetan areas. Repression was severe, particularly during "sensitive periods" such as the Shanghai World Expo or the Asian Games in Guangzhou," it noted.

It said "control over religious

practice and the day-to-day management of monasteries and other religious institutions continued to be extraordinarily tight. Monks and nuns reported that government restrictions continued to interfere with their ability to carry out the teaching and practice of Tibetan Buddhist religious traditions."

"The residents continued to face societal discrimination, including, for example, being denied rooms at hotels in large cities, including Beijing, Shanghai, and Chengdu, during the 2010 Shanghai World Expo (April 30 to October 31, 2010)," it noted.

The US government encouraged the government and local authorities to respect religious freedom and allow Tibetans to preserve and develop their religious traditions.

The US government protested religious persecution and discrimination, discussed individual cases with the authorities, and requested further information about specific incidents.

US government officials continued to urge government leaders to engage in constructive dialogue with

the Dalai Lama and his representatives and address policies in Tibetan areas that have created tensions due to their effect on Tibetan religion, culture, and livelihoods, as well as the environment.

"As we look around the world, in fact, we see many countries where governments deny their people the most fundamental human rights: the right to believe according to their own conscience – including the freedom to not believe or not follow the religion favored by their government; the right to practice their religion freely, without risking discrimination, arrest, or violence; and the right to educate their children in their own religious traditions; and the freedom to express their beliefs," Secretary Clinton said in her remarks.

"As we release this report, we reaffirm the role that religious freedom and tolerance play in building stable and harmonious societies," Clinton said.

"The protection of religious freedom is a fundamental concern of the United States going back to the earliest days of our republic, and it remains so today," she said.

## CTA Considers China's New White Paper on Tibet Another Whitewash

The ultimate judge of China's rule or misrule in Tibet should be the Tibetan people. Ever since the 17-Point Agreement, which was signed under duress in 1951 in Beijing, more than 60 years ago, the Tibetan people have made their judgment clear with their lives and limbs. Even after 60 years of China's invasion of Tibet and more than 50 years after Tibet came under the complete control of Beijing in the aftermath of the repression which crushed that year's popular uprising against Chinese rule, today large parts of Tibet are still under martial law, all but in name. The grim situation in Karze and Ngaba in eastern and northeastern Tibet is a clear judgment made by the Tibetan people of China's sixty years rule of Tibet.

Against this background, for the State Council, the Cabinet of the Chinese Communist government, to issue another white paper on Tibet on 11 July compels the Central Tibetan Administration to consider this document another whitewash of an ongoing and ugly reality. Such a white paper cannot stifle the voices of increasing number of monks, nuns, writers and students who demand greater freedom for Tibet and the return of His Holiness the Dalai Lama to his people.

In fact, the latest white paper is an attempt to cover up the darkest period experienced by the Tibetan people after China's invasion of Tibet. Every vestige of the Tibetan identity is annihilated and more than 1.2 million Tibetans died as a direct result of China's rule of Tibet.

Another startling fact of the nature of China's white papers on Tibet is their frequency. In an open, plural society, no elected government is compelled to issue white papers so frequently. An educated electorate and free media enable people to make their judgment on the performance of their elected representatives during elections. This is not so with China. In the age of the Internet, the Chinese Communist authorities spend enormous resources to keep the Chinese people ignorant and the media muzzled. In view of this, no amount of cycled and recycled white papers can silence those brave Chinese voices that demand democracy in China and Tibetan voices that call for greater freedoms for the Tibetan people.

Another startling fact is that no other minorities in China have been inflicted with so many white papers as the Tibetan people.

Perhaps one reason for China to waste so much ink and paper on the

Tibetans is to counter the enormous and growing sympathy the Tibetan struggle attracts within the international community, including amongst Chinese scholars, writers, public intellectuals and human rights activists in and outside China. The international community, as such, will not be fooled by China's white papers on Tibet.

The Central Tibetan Administration take this opportunity to inform Beijing that the day when the State Council feels that there is no need to issue white papers on Tibet is the day when the reality in Tibet conforms to official Chinese Communist rhetoric.

If the sentiments of the Tibetan people are respected and their aspirations incorporated into state policy, the Tibetan people on their own volition, with no nudging from the Chinese Communist Party, will present their own White Paper to Beijing. For China to deserve such a White Paper from the Tibetan people on its performance in Tibet, Beijing must let the Tibetan people to speak free. Stifling the voices of the Tibetan people in Tibet and using one giant megaphone to trumpet its propaganda to the world will fool no one. The resources and talent of official China can be gainfully used in other fields.

## Australia Radio ABC Interview with Special Envoy Kasur Lodi Gyari

*Below is the full text of Australia's ABC Radio interview with Kasur Lodi Gyari, the Special Envoy of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, on its Sunday Profile.*

**JULIA BAIRD:** Hello, I'm Julia Baird. Welcome to Sunday Profile.

Surely one of the most curious and fascinating jobs on earth would be that of the Dalai Lama's number one man in Washington.

Lodi Gyari, also known as Gyari Rinpoche, is the special envoy of the revered Tibetan leader, the Dalai Lama, in the US.

He's walked the corridors of Capitol Hill for almost two decades pleading the case for the autonomy of Tibet. In that time, China's become a super power but Tibet is still in turmoil.

So what lies ahead for Tibet? Lodi Gyari would know better than almost anyone. Like the Dalai Lama, Gyari too is recognised by Tibetan Buddhists to be the reincarnation of an important lama or guru and lived in a monastery as a boy.

Today he is the head of the largest Tibet advocacy group in the US. He was formerly foreign minister in the Tibetan government in exile and has led negotiations with China on behalf of his government.

He's been called legendary for his diplomacy. His lobbying work laid the ground work for the US policy shift in Tibet's favour in 2002 when the American government introduced the Tibet Policy Act.

He also played a pivotal part in setting up the first historic meeting between the Dalai Lama and an American president – George H.W. Bush senior in 1991.

Since then the Dalai Lama has met Bill Clinton, George W. Bush and Obama.

So what's it like having one of the most difficult and potentially unrewarding jobs in global politics?

Will Tibetans ever get what they want?

Gyari Rinpoche spoke to me in Sydney soon after attending the new prime minister's inauguration in Dharamsala India and meeting with Australian politicians in Canberra.

I asked him about his first trip to Australia and if he thought our economic dependence on China has made our politicians more timid.

**LODI GYARI:** Well, first of all, tremendous goodwill. You know, I was really deeply moved because I had opportunity to meet one to one quite a few politicians. And also with a group of them together. And then finally yesterday afternoon I had the opportunity to make a visitation, a briefing to this very important committee which I think deals with foreign defence and trade.

So I was deeply touched by their genuine interest.

And I'm also aware, you know, of the important relations that you have with China. And I respect that. China is a very important country.

And I really very much encourage Australia to even further enhance that relation because for us only those countries that has a relation or only a person who has relation with China can help us, because we are not adversaries in that sense, because we are trying to talk to them.

And we want people to tell the Chinese to talk to us to find a solution. So only a person who has a relation can talk to China.

So therefore... But however I think sometimes yes. I mean, you know, economic relations is very, very important, no doubt, particularly in this day and age. But you must understand China needs you as much as you need. You know, China is going all over the world grabbing resources. And you have tremendous resources.

So I think, sometimes maybe your political leaders or maybe your bureaucrats do not really understand. Because here the Chinese are very, very good at making people believe that, you know, it is from us you need everything, as if there's nothing we need from you.

But they need as much from you.

So therefore I think there could be a very complementary, balanced relation where you keep set of your principles, don't compromise on that. At the same time respect China's, because we are not challenging, you know, your policy with regard to China. We're not fighting for independence.

**JULIA BAIRD:** Have you seen any signs that Australian politicians are more timid than they might otherwise be because of our strong economic dependence on China?

**LODI GYARI:** I think some of your political leaders have been made to believe that. My point is that I don't think you are really, economically, you're dependent. I think you are an important economic partner with China, which can benefit both sides.

So that I think unfortunately yes, that kind of impression I think has been built to the, you know, some of your leaders.

**JULIA BAIRD:** But is this something new? Is that impression that you're talking about, is this something that's only really developed over the last five years at a time of such great prosperity for Australia, because of our mining boom and some of our trade with China?

**LODI GYARI:** Well I, you know, do not want to try to pretend, you know, that I am an expert because this is a... it may surprise you, but my first visit to your country.

**JULIA BAIRD:** Welcome.

**LODI GYARI:** But you know I have seen this kind of pattern with other countries you see, also in Europe and sometimes even in America, where I have lived.

So therefore I don't want to single Australia out. But in the recent years, yes, I think because of your rather

than dependence I think ever increasing economic relation with PRC, there's definitely been, I think, a move with some of your political leaders of being a little bit too submissive to the Middle Kingdom, which I don't think is good for China in the long run.

Because I think we all have a collective responsibility to help China grow as a responsible nation, a nation that can truly be one of the most important country in the world. Because if you continue to kind of really make China behave like a spoiled person, then you don't allow China to grow.

I think I do know a little bit of China because the last 26 years in fact my main kind of job is dealing with China. There are, I think, many leaders in China would themselves want to make a change.

So every time I think countries such as yours takes a firm stand on issues such as Tibet or human rights, I think you're contributing in helping those moderate forces within China.

Every time you submit to the whims of the hardliners I really think you are doing huge disservice even to those leaders, those forces in China who themselves are trying to bring that great nation as responsible stakeholder.

**JULIA BAIRD:** Now it's a very critical time in Tibet at the moment. We were just talking about hardliners in China. Now there is an increasing number of young people who are frustrated, who are fed up, who think that the years of trying to get autonomy and not independence have not worked and it's time to consider another solution.

I'm very interested in your attitude to this because in 2008 the Dalai Lama said he was ready to accept the fact that he had failed to win true autonomy for his people and he was looking to other Tibetans to advise the way forward.

Is this true? Has the Dalai Lama, after half a century of fighting for his people's autonomy, fundamentally failed?

**LODI GYARI:** Absolutely not. I think it is through his influence, you know,

through his, the path that he has already charted for us, there will be success.

But yes, I am aware of the remark. In fact you know I was present when he made that remark. And he had not only said it once but he said it several times during that period.

But that was after these country-wide demonstrations inside Tibet.

**JULIA BAIRD:** In 2008.

**LODI GYARI:** That's right, yes. For the first time, because earlier Tibetan people have been deeply resentful of China's policies. But the only reports that you got were from out of Lhasa mostly and out of some of the monasteries, some of the monks and nuns. But 2008, it was nationwide. So once it became evident this deep resentment is felt by every Tibetan, not just by some monks and nuns... Because China has always tried to, you know, tell the Westerners: look, [they're] just a handful of reactionaries who want to restore the old Tibet. And in 2008 you saw young people, most of them products of their education system. And many of them sons and daughters of party functionaries.

But at the same time, you know, His Holiness... yes, really also felt at that time, for the first time, a sense of being – not hopeless, but helpless.

Because you know, he really didn't know what he can do because he is, every day he's getting news about this outpour of strong sentiments, the demonstrations, the Chinese cracking down on them.

And there he was in Dharamsala, deeply pained by what's happening and almost unable physically to do anything about it. It was a difficult year for His Holiness. I myself saw that he was in deep, deep pain.

And so sometimes I think he really felt that "have I failed?", you know?

**JULIA BAIRD:** Do you think he was depressed by what had happened?

**LODI GYARI:** I think he was deeply saddened. And he felt handicapped of not being able to do something that will have immediate impact. So that was I

think purely a reaction to that widespread situation.

But now he's absolutely convinced. You know he now forcefully still encourages people to follow his middle way approach, the non-violent approach.

And I have no doubt that for us Tibetans, you know, the best way to pursue this is through non-violence. Best way to pursue this is reaching out to the Chinese government, even though it has been difficult, almost, unfortunately, 'til today, without any tangible result.

But even as the person who has been going there all the time and most of the time coming back empty handed, even I don't feel anything rather than a sense of optimism.

Because first of all the most important is the Tibetan people themselves. You know this two-thousand -and for me was really very moving because I then realised that the Tibetan movement is very much alive within Tibet.

**JULIA BAIRD:** Do you think there's anything that could be done differently, given that we have had two decades where you still have not achieved the goals that you wished for in China?

I mean the Dalai Lama has global renown and affection. He's feted by Hollywood. His books have sold millions.

But what he hasn't done is actually captured the hearts of the Chinese. And by that I mean the man and woman on the street.

Do you think there's anything that he could have done differently strategically?

**LODI GYARI:** No. I think we need to do more of what he has been doing. And I think he has captured, or is beginning to capture, the hearts and minds of the Chinese people. Not the politburo, unfortunately, and it may take time. Even there, you know, I'm not that hopeless.

Unfortunately there is a huge, huge number of Chinese who are indoctrinated by the Chinese Communist Party who think of Tibet in a very distorted way. And not only about the

political stand of His Holiness but even as a people, I think, maybe backward. Unfortunately, therefore, many Chinese don't know, think that Tibetans have no culture... We've been so kind, liberated them... These are a kind of people who live on the mountains, you know, kind of illiterate.

They don't know that this is a great civilisation, a civilisation that has so much to offer to China.

So I think, you know, His Holiness is definitely now reaching out to the hearts and minds. And that, I think, is what frightens the leaders in Beijing.

You know I think one of the biggest problems right now is the fear because they know that if the Dalai Lama has unrestricted access to the Chinese people, you know, that His Holiness may not only become something to inspire the Tibetans and other minorities, but even the Chinese themselves.

But my job is to try to always tell them - don't fear him. He has no ulterior motive. He even loves people in the politburo, you know. Reach out to him. He is not something that you need to fear.

But you know I don't blame them, of course. They don't take my word seriously because I'm his envoy. But I do hope that, this is a way I think people can help, this is the way I think many US presidents like President Bush, President Clinton and even President Obama, and I think this is important - every time they meet Chinese leaders that they keep on telling them don't fear him, reach out. You haven't met him for the last many decades. We meet him all the time and we know that he is someone who can really help China rather than, harm China.

**JULIA BAIRD:** Do you think a part of this fear comes from the fact that the Chinese government has called him a separatist, a traitor, a monk in wolf's clothing, a monster with a human face and an animal's heart and one of the most critical obstacles to resolving the dispute? I mean they're harsh words. Do you think that they've trickled down to the Chinese people generally?

**LODIGYARI:** Unfortunately yes. It does to a great segment who have no other access other than the party propaganda.

But I think, again, no matter, whatever effort they may make, Chinese people are beginning to have more access to, you know, international situation.

But yes, this is the biggest problem. In fact during my last round I clearly told my Chinese counterparts, I said you are doing something unforgivable. You are doing something that for the Chinese and Tibetan people will take long time to reconcile. You are feeding wrong information and making the Chinese and Tibetans have animosity for the first time.

Because, you know, the Tibetans always deeply resented the Chinese government policy. But the Tibetan people, you know, I think this is something we should be very proud, had no bitterness against Chinese as people.

But in the last few years, because of what the Chinese government has been doing, instigating, Tibetans are beginning to have some kind of resentment against the Chinese as people because they see, you know, that they have no rights, their resources are being taken away.

And similarly, the Chinese people are also beginning to have resentment against Tibetans as a people because Chinese propaganda has been telling them that these people are ungrateful people. These people are collaborating with international forces to destabilise China, [that] if the Dalai Lama had the right he would most probably want to divide China into so many pieces.

So this kind of thing of course is causing, you know, deep resentment which I think is really irresponsible, and if I can use a Chinese term, unpatriotic.

**JULIA BAIRD:** You're on Sunday Profile. I'm Julia Baird and I'm talking to Mr Lodi Gyari, the Dalai Lama's envoy in the United States.

Now in 2008, the year in which you said the Dalai Lama was very saddened by the turmoil and the violence in Tibet, he said: "My trust in the Chinese government has become thinner, thinner,

thinner. Suppression is increasing and I cannot pretend that everything is okay."

You yourself, that year there were talks which China rejected your request or demand for autonomy once again and you said: "We have now reached the crossroads. There's a total lack of willingness to seriously reciprocate our sincere and serious efforts."

Now you're still at an impasse. You say that you're optimistic. So how can you reconcile that? What's the way forward?

**LODIGYARI:** Well the forward is I think continued, I think we are on the right path. The important thing is to make the Chinese leaders make a little move, you know, so that they can also come to the right path.

And I think, you see this is where I think countries such as Australia can help.

You know, I was telling some of your experts in Canberra and also some of your lawmakers that besides discussing about human rights abuses which is gross, which must be raised... Stability. China is obsessed with stability. And of course it should be, because I think her stability is, you know, being undermined by her policies.

Look what's happening in East Turkestan, what the Chinese call Xinjiang, inner Mongolia. You see, not just Tibet now. And unless they really try to resolve that there's going to be huge instability in China.

And I don't think anyone, particularly let's say that even some of your leaders and people who want to have this great economic relation with China, I'm sure even they want, maybe not for Tibet but for their own interest, a stable China.

**JULIA BAIRD:** So if they don't recognise the rights or the autonomy of some of these kind of growing nation states it'll threaten the economic stability of the entire region?

**LODIGYARI:** Yes absolutely, yes, I think it is a fact. China's current leaders talk about harmony. But where's the harmony in Tibet? Where's the harmony

in East Turkestan, Xinjiang? Where's the harmony in inner Mongolia? Where's also the harmony, you know, among ordinary Chinese?

So today I think, unfortunately the leaders of Beijing live in fear, fear of their people, fear of people like the Dalai Lama. They don't have to have that fear.

**JULIA BAIRD:** You spoke before about how there might be some kind of fear or timidity amongst Australia's politicians that to speak out boldly on Tibet might jeopardise economic relations with China. Do you believe the same is true in the US, given the large amount of debt America has to China right now?

**LODI GYARI:** I saw a similar situation in America also in the beginning, absolutely, you know. But I think, somehow, at least a fairly large number of them, I think have overcome that through, I think, experience.

And we know several American business people, very important business people, who really took the bold step of publicly inviting the Dalai Lama, honouring him. And they've realised that, you see, if you do that, you know, the Chinese tolerate it. At the end of the day Chinese are very rational people.

**JULIA BAIRD:** We're coming up to a time when I understand the Dalai Lama is going to be meeting or his senior lamas are meeting to discuss who his spiritual successor will be in Dharamsala in September, next month. Have you been included in these considerations about who his spiritual successor might be?

**LODI GYARI:** Even though I grew up as a monk and people still call me Rinpoche, I'm not in that hierarchy.

I did urge His Holiness that it's important that he make a clear pronouncement because, you know, Chinese have this kind of false hope that maybe, you see, if we can't somehow make this Dalai Lama do what we want, maybe we will have a hand in the selection of the next dalai lama and then make that dalai lama do what we want.

But the sooner the Chinese, you know, get the clear message that is nothing but an illusion, I think it'll make them even

more kind of sensible in their negotiations.

At the end of the day, you see, no-one, no-one else but the Dalai Lama himself should be able to decide in what manner his reincarnation should be selected.

**JULIA BAIRD:** Are you worried about what would happen if the Dalai Lama dies suddenly, or unexpectedly?

**LODI GYARI:** Well I'm certainly worried because even though he has been wise to set in motion a system, I think it will be devastating for the Tibetan movement, you know, when he's not there.

But similarly for the Chinese, this is something that we discuss all the time because Chinese always kind of threaten us that well anyway, we know that your whole movement is around one person and when he's not there... And I tell them, true. I said I'm one person who will agree with you, I don't disagree, but it will also be devastating for the Chinese. So I said that the clock is ticking for both of us. When he's not there the Chinese don't have a counterpart that has the historical moral authority and also courage to make difficult decisions.

I mean look at the Dalai Lama's decision not to seek independence. No-one would have dared to do that. You have to be the Dalai Lama.

**JULIA BAIRD:** What is it exactly that you would be afraid of should the Dalai Lama pass away?

**LODI GYARI:** The unity and the cohesiveness of the Tibetan people. And if you're familiar with our recent history, like all other I think different nations, peoples, we were not all the time unified. And you know, we had our own problems, differences, regional differences. Even sometimes, you know, sectarian differences.

And it was the leadership of this Dalai Lama in a very kind of ironic way actually, you know, in a way it was a most tragic time for us... In a way, you know, this was time that Tibet actually resurrected again as a people, as a nation, as a unified.

And so one of my concerns as a Tibetan is that if he's not there whether

we will be able to continue to move on the path that he has chosen, with this great unity amongst ourselves to pursue a common goal, or we ourselves again kind of become as we were last few hundred years. I mean that to me is a really huge concern.

The other is yes, also to resolve the issue with China. Because at the end of the day we'll have to find a solution with China. And if there are serious negotiations then I think there's going to be very tough proposals that will be confronted by the Tibetan leadership.

And at that time, again, I really don't think just the elected institutions will have the historical and moral capability to take those... You know, they may be bold to make decisions. But being bold to take a decision and being able to sell that idea to the Tibetans, especially inside, is not going to be easy.

I personally feel that these negotiations cannot really succeed, you know. I have deep worries, you know. But sometimes I say jokingly maybe I'm too timid, you know, because during our elections to the office of the Kalon Tripa, some people also kind of suggested why don't you run?

I said, I'm too timid. I really don't want to run for office, knowing very well that the Dalai Lama will not be there as the head of that institution.

I feel that a person like myself has some capability to serve if there is a strong leader like him. And I said that, therefore, I said that I'm not as courageous as some of my friends who were running for this very important office because I'm kind of terrified, you know, to be there and, you know, not have him as the head of the system.

**JULIA BAIRD:** Mr Gyari, thank you so much for joining us on Sunday Profile.

**LODI GYARI:** Thank you, thank you very much.

**JULIA BAIRD:** That was Lodi Gyari, the special envoy of the Dalai Lama in Washington talking to me, Julia Baird, on Sunday Profile.

## Full Text of Kalon Tripa Dr. Lobsang Sangay's Response to Questions During Meet the Press Event Following Swearing-in Ceremony

*Around 92 journalists from India and abroad covered the historic swearing-in of Dr. Lobsang Sangay as the 3rd democratically elected Kalon Tripa of the Central Tibetan Administration in Dharamshala on 8 August 2011. During a Meet the Press event on the day, Kalon Tripa Dr. Lobsang Sangay answered questions on a wide-range of issues such as policy formulation, reforms, and challenges to resolve the issue of Tibet that he will take on during his leadership.*

**Question:** I express my warm Tashi Delek and congratulations to you on assuming the charge as Kalon Tripa of the Central Tibetan Administration. My first question is who will be the new Kalons in your cabinet. Secondly, as Prof. Samdhong Rinpoche stated earlier, there is a problem with regard to shortage of staff in the administration. How are you going to deal with that?

**Kalon Tripa Dr. Lobsang Sangay:** As I promised during my campaigns, I promised to appoint three elders and four younger Kalons. And as per my pledge, I am going to keep the promise and appoint three elders and four younger ones. And I will do my best to appoint from three traditional provinces and a women representative too. So all those will be followed to the best I can and the list will be issued on the day when I have to submit the names to the parliament when it comes in session on September 16th. I think it's too early now.

And about the staff issue, since it's my duty, I will do a detailed study of the issue and do my best to solve the problem. Not only that, keeping with my election manifesto of innovation and self determination, I will study the policies implemented before and if necessary, make the required changes. Moreover, Prof. Samdhong Rinpoche assured me that he will give his full fledged support regarding any new decisions that I take or any changes that I make to the old policies.

**Question:** It's a big jump from Harvard to Dharamshala to take over the political leadership of the Dalai Lama. So are you more horrified or more excited about the new job and what is your biggest difference compared to the Dalai Lama as a political leader?

**Kalon Tripa:** First of all, I don't think my role is to fill in the shoes of His

Holiness the Dalai Lama. I think it's an impossible task. I don't think any Tibetan would attempt to do that. Rather my responsibility is to fulfill his vision of establishing a secular democratic Tibetan society and to live up to his expectation that Tibetan people stand on their own feet and provide leadership [political leadership], to the Tibetan freedom movement so that we can strengthen and sustain the movement for a prolonged period of time till His Holiness returns to Tibet and our freedom is restored to the Tibetan people. That is my goal.

And as for whether I am horrified or not, at a personal level, perhaps I am bit excited in the sense I ran for this post. I am sure any Tibetan youngsters when they were in schools, they would dream of providing political leadership to the Tibetan people. In that sense, my dream is achieved and in some ways I fought for this position. But at a more public level, I have a very sobering kind of a feeling because the duty that I have to fulfill is quite painful because the news that I'll read on a daily basis is not going to be a pleasant one. It's more often about someone getting arrested, someone being tortured, someone being killed, like our representative in Nepal being arrested. So on a daily basis, as an individual, when I read about those stories, I could feel it and I can live with it. But now, I have to not only feel it but decide on what to do and because it's a struggle, it will be a difficult one. It's about people without our own homeland and the people back home in Tibet, brave men and women, on a daily basis, they are struggling and trying to resist a very powerful system that is very oppressive. So in that sense, very sobering that from today on, I have to take on this daunting task to live up to the expectation of six million Tibetans and provide leadership and at the same time it's also painful in some ways that my parents, when they fled Tibet, all Tibetans both inside and

outside Tibet have very painful experiences. For example, my grandmother died on the way, my uncle died on the way, another uncle went back to fight the Chinese army and never came back. My aunt committed suicide when she was pregnant with an infant child by jumping into a river, my father was a monk, he was forced to become a guerrilla fighter and fought against the Chinese army and got wounded. This is my personal story. This story is a story of all the Tibetans that they have lost so much; they have sacrificed so much with a hope that one day we will be able to return to our homeland with freedom. So at family level, it's a painful one. I have to be cognizant of the painful legacies of my family and of the families of the six million Tibetans and the continuing sufferings the Tibetans are undergoing in Tibet on a daily basis. I have to decide and take leadership on those issues. In that sense, painful and sobering yet exciting to the level one could be excited about.

**Question:** China has made it clear that they will not proceed with any kind of dialogues or talks with you. So how will you deal with that issue?

**Kalon Tripa:** I have said this often. For us the process or the personality is not the primary factor. If the Chinese government doesn't want to talk to me as a person or they don't want to deal with the Tibetan administration, these are secondary factors for us. What we want is the result. What we care about is the substance. If the Chinese government is interested to solve the issue of Tibet, on the basis of mutual interest for long lasting peace in China and for their own sake of territorial integrity and sovereignty, which guarantees genuine autonomy for Tibetan people, we are willing to find innovative ways to deal with the process and the personality. For example if the

Chinese government says, we want to talk only with the representative of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, that's fine with

mountains and rivers. As per experts after Antarctica and Arctic, Tibet has the largest deposit of ice or snow which is

government is doing which is harming our environment and exploiting our mineral resources. So all that will be raised at international forums and we will debate this with the people in Asia and the international community.

**Question:** Do you think that Tibetans in exile are keen to return home?



us. We will appoint an envoy in the name of His Holiness the Dalai Lama and send him or her to Beijing to talk about the substantive issues. What we are interested is the substantive aspect of the problem. So Beijing simply cannot say just because they don't like the person, they can't deal with the process. If they are interested to move forward, we have extended our hand all along, we extend our hand even now, anytime, anywhere to resolve the issue of Tibet because the sufferings of Tibetans in Tibet is real. As I said in my statement, when the Chinese first came to Tibet, they promised us socialist paradise. But what you see in Tibet is not socialism, its colonialism. It's not a paradise, it's a tragedy. So we have to address the tragic situation in Tibet. We have to end the colonial mindset of the Chinese leadership. So that we can resolve the issue peacefully. We have gone to the extent that we could and we are still waiting and willing to take steps to meet the Chinese leadership whenever and wherever.

**Question:** Since 1959, there has been considerable and continuous damage to Tibet's natural environment which has reached an alarming level now. What steps are you going to take with that regard?

**Kalon Tripa:** As I said in the statement, the Tibetans had been the guardian of the Tibetan plateau along with its

the source of fresh water for 2 billion people in Asia. Tibet is also the source of ten major rivers in Asia. In some ways, we can claim that the major portion of Asian people drink Tibetan water from Brahmaputra, Indus, Yangtze. So all this time for more than 2-3 millennium, as guardian of the Tibetan plateau and rivers, we have been, based on the Buddhist principles, willing to share or let the natural course of the river flow to the population it deserves because many people on the downstream of the river or rivers, survives on agriculture and fisheries. We have shared that for all these years. Now the Chinese government is damming these rivers and its disrupting the natural flow of these rivers and has negative impact on the environment. So in that sense, it is an interest for the people in Asia that our traditional role or historical role of being the guardian of the Tibetan plateau and Tibetan environment be restored so that we can continue the natural flow these rivers and share with our neighbours which we have done for all these years. So Tibet is vitally important, not just for the Tibetan people but for the people in Asia as a whole. Mekong River flows all the way to Thailand and Vietnam as well. So lot is at stake for the people in Asia as far as Tibet's environment is concerned.

And as far as I am concerned, as I have stated in my speech, I will be more forthright and frank on these issues and point out things which the Chinese

**Kalon Tripa:** Yes. I left America. I have left my job at Harvard University for the time being. I have left my family there for some time. I have left my job as well, to return to India, to provide political leadership to the Tibetan people. Because I want to return to the homeland which belongs to me and to our people. I'll give you an example. In 2008, I used to get calls from my uncle. He used to say, I am the last remaining member of my father's family among the, I think 9 or 10 members of the family. He said we have to meet because I am the only one he hasn't met. And we talked on the phone but I never met him. And since my father passed away in 2004, I have this longing, to meet with the last remaining member of my father's family. And I believe, that is the dream of every Tibetan, to meet the last remaining members of your family in Tibet. But he (my uncle) passed away in 2008. It's a very painful experience. For all my life, I could hear only voices of my relatives in Tibet. I want to reunite with their family members back home in Tibet. That is the dream, that is the desire, that's why I am here. We all want to go to Tibet for sure.

**Question:** In some settlements, there is a huge number of old aged people. And due to the decrease in the new arrivals from Tibet, classes face shortage of students in some schools and also, in the monasteries we have to take a lot of monks from Himalayan regions. What do you as the new Kalon Tripa plan to do about it?

**Kalon Tripa:** I have visited most of the settlements and the monasteries during my campaign and I have witnessed the problem first hand. I think it's a very important issue and I have given a lot of thought about it. And as and when I take some decisions regarding those matters, I will let everyone know about it.

**Question:** Is there any plan to meet Indian prime minister Manmohan Singh in the coming days?

**Kalon Tripa:** Well, as of now it's my first day, so I don't have a plan. But I when I was interviewed by NDTV's Sonia Singh, she told me that prime minister Manmohan Singh also studied under the street light which I did when I was studying at a Tibetan refugee school. He was an academician who returned to India to serve the Indian people and he is doing a great job. I am a big admirer of him and given a chance I would like to meet people including prime minister Manmohan Singh.

**Question:** You said in your statement that you plan to churn out 10,000 professionals from the Tibetans living in exile, but at the same time there are other fields like sports, arts, culture, and show biz in which Tibetans are not doing very well. So is there any plan to promote youngsters in these fields. Besides there is also Miss Tibet competition every year which has remained a low profile event. Is there any plan to revive it on a large scale?

**Kalon Tripa:** I will do the best I can to have Tibetan artists, singers and painters. As a priority, trying to achieve 10,000 professionals in twenty years time is the goal of this administration. I will put much of my effort because I came from a very humble background and because of education I am here today. So I know the importance of education, that if you give proper education to an individual you can not only change that person's life but also help his family and community and become an effective leader in the movement as a whole. In that sense, for the short-, mid- and long-term interest, having good education and having as many Tibetan professionals is very important and that will be our priority. Regarding the Miss Tibet event, I wish they will do better because one of the three principles that land on unity, innovation and self-reliance. So based on unity, if you come with innovative means, you should go head and do it. But at the same time, it should be self-reliant that you have to do it, as much as possible you could, independently. So you can't expect the Tibetan administration to involve in, or interfere in, or invest in all the activities that is needed for the Tibetan cause. We have a role to play, we will play. But I think if one uses innovative means to do certain things, including Miss Tibet and other things, you should go head

and do it.

**Question:** In your statement you have mentioned about Tibet Policy Institute. Could you please elaborate what this institute will do?

**Kalon Tripa:** The Tibet Policy Institute will be like any think tank. Its objective is to analyse the situation and predict based on the analysis on issues of Tibetans in exile in the next 5 to 10 years, Tibetans in India, India and China, Tibet and China, Tibetans in Europe and America, Tibetan language, culture, identity and movement in the coming 50 years. The idea is to have around seven scholars to do research related programmes in the administration. Through integration and coordination of all these research related programmes, we will have a close network where all the researchers will meet, study and analyse Tibet-related issues which will have impact in 5 to 50 years. Based on that we will try to formulate policies, programmes, actions and events. So we will invite scholars from all around the world, perhaps to give lectures, hold panel discussions, major conferences. We hope the Tibet Policy Institute will be running pretty soon.

**Question:** His Holiness the Dalai Lama and outgoing Kalon Tripa Prof Samdhong Rinpoche in their statements used the term Sikyong, which means political leader. As His Holiness stated, when he reached the age of 16, regent Tagdrag handed over to him the political leadership. Today, when he is handing over political leadership to you, are you more comfortable or prefer to use the term Kalon Tripa or Sikyong?

**Kalon Tripa:** Well, I fully respect His Holiness the Dalai Lama's view. I am here with the blessings of His Holiness to take on the political leadership and I enjoy the extended historical legitimacy of His Holiness the Dalai Lama. I have also tremendous respect for Prof Samdhong Rinpoche. Having said that, now it is for the Tibetan people and the Parliament to decide which title they want to choose and accordingly I will abide by the Parliamentary and the people's decision. As it stands today I am Kalon Tripa and I will be Kalon Tripa till there are changes.

**Question:** In one of your answers

regarding the negotiation process with China, you said you will try to work with China and put process over the personality. If I am wrong you have said that you will appoint the envoys of His Holiness the Dalai Lama. Are you hinting that you are going to change the envoys or appoint new envoys?

**Kalon Tripa:** I am not hinting anything. What I am saying is, If the Chinese government wants to talk with the envoys in the name of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, we will facilitate that. Or, if the Chinese government wants to talk with me directly, I will have to send my representatives. And if they say they want to talk with someone in the name of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, we will facilitate that as well. No hints.

**Question:** What kind of political support are you expecting from the European Union countries and European countries because the Tibet question is very difficult for the European countries for economic reasons. What are you expecting and hoping for?

**Kalon Tripa:** Europe has personal and deep experience as to what it means to have freedom and to deny with freedom. So the Tibetan people are struggling for same thing that the Europeans enjoy and it is enshrined in the constitutions of the European countries. I was elected with democratic mandate. What I stand for is very much on principles of Europe, US, India and all the free world. I would expect and request, and appeal to democratic countries around the world that I am a democratically elected leader. Similarly, I hope that they will extend the same support for me as they expected, particularly, in Europe during the second world war as many of them went to London to form exile governments and to some other countries. So they have the experience of being in exile and struggles as well. So I appeal to them to support and extend support the same way as they had expected when they were in exile. And what they enjoy now, we want the same thing for Tibetan people.

**Question:** Give his vast experience, is there any plan to appoint Prof Samdhong Rinpoche as a political advisor to the Tibetan government or any kind of special envoy?



**Kalon Tripa:** I have said during the campaign that I will consult him, seek

programmes, and while doing so, one has to be cognizance of what the



his advice from time to time. For practical purposes it is very necessary because a new administration to coming and it has to review so many projects, policies and

previous Kalon Tripa and the Kashag have done. So without having full knowledge about the administration you simply cannot move ahead and make

major changes. For that reason it is practical for me to consult and seek his advice as to what he did, how he did and why he did it. And based on that if I have to make necessary changes I will. Prof Samdhong Rinpoche has himself, when I met him today, told me “I have full support from him and his Kalons”. If I make any changes in any programmes in any departments they will give full support because change is necessary. So that is quite admirable because if I want to make certain changes. I am pragmatic by nature, so I will definitely consult him before I make any major changes. I have to make changes and now the changes won't be in protest or against him, it will be because he supports it. In that way we are together in moving forward and making necessary changes to make our administration more effective and our movement more stronger and sustainable.

‘The world is scared of this unknown entity called China that has come up. But we know them very well’

[The Indian Express]

*Lobsang Sangay, political successor to the Dalai Lama, was sworn Kalon Tripa of the Central Tibetan Administration last month. In this Idea Exchange moderated by Consulting Editor C Raja Mohan, Sangay speaks about Beijing's “hardline attitude” and autonomy for Tibet within China.*

**C Raja Mohan:** Tell us about yourself and the challenges of leading the movement.

**Lobsang Sangay:** I grew up in place called Lamahatta. It is between Darjeeling and Kalimpong. It's a remote Tibetan refugee camp better known for radish and carrots. I owe a lot to India and the Indian people—I grew up in a refugee camp subsidised by the Indian government. My parents own an acre of land and a couple of cows. They sold one of the cows to send me to a Tibetan refugee school. Later, I attended Delhi University and then went to the US. What does this transition of political power from His Holiness Dalai Lama to me mean? On August 8, His Holiness made a very powerful and important historical statement. He said, “When I was young, the elderly regent Takdrag Rinpoche handed over the political

power to me, today I am handing over it to young Lobsang Sangay”. Some people misunderstand this devolution of political power to mean the end of one chapter and the beginning of a new chapter. No, it's a continuation of the same chapter. That means the history of Tibetan leadership, the legitimacy of Tibetan leadership and the political authority of that leadership continues. What has happened is that the institution of Dalai Lama has separated spiritual authority and political authority. It is very difficult to fill His Holiness's shoes and I am not here to fill his shoes. Rather, I will do my best to live up to his expectations and endeavour that the Tibetan movement led by Tibetans will stand on its own feet. I will try to make the movement stronger and sustain it post His Holiness. His vision of secular Tibetan democracy needs to be fulfilled.

**C Raja Mohan:** At a time when China is getting stronger, your talks with them have broken down. China is putting pressure on most governments in the world to stop their interaction with His Holiness. Has negotiating with them become more difficult as China grows stronger? How do you see the prospect of engaging the Chinese?

**Lobsang Sangay:** Number one: for India and Indian people, China is new. As Tibetans, we don't look at China and the Chinese people that way. We are genetically disposed to dealing with China as we have been next to each other for the last 2,000 years. They have invaded us, we have invaded them, sometimes we have chased them out, and sometimes we have settled issues amicably, sometimes violently. We have seen ups and downs. When China invaded

Tibet, the 13th Dalai Lama fled to India, to Kalimpong. We fought hard and were successful in making the return of His Holiness the 13th Dalai Lama to Tibet possible. So we have done it before and we are confident that we will do it again.

Second is Buddhist philosophy. We believe our identity is based on Buddhist philosophy, which is 2,000-plus years old while Communism is just 100 years old. We know we will live through it and we will return to Tibet and restore freedom. At the moment, there is this tunnel vision in seeing China as a great military power and a growing economic power. At the moment, they call me names and call me illegal. But I am the democratically elected leader, hence legal. It is tough at the moment but in the long run, we will prevail.

**Coomi Kapoor:** Your aim is autonomy in Tibet but aren't there more Chinese in Tibet than people of Tibetan origin?

**Lobsang Sangay:** The scary number is 7 million Chinese in Tibet, outnumbering 6 million Tibetans. But that includes the border areas of Tibet which have more Chinese; in inner Tibet, the majority is Tibetan. In urban areas, increasingly the Chinese presence is felt. In Lhasa, the majority is Chinese. But thanks to Tibet's altitude, it is so cold in winter that 70 plus per cent of Chinese flee Tibet and go to their hometowns. It will take genetic adaptation for the Chinese to permanently settle down in Tibet. In rural areas, Tibetans are in a majority.

**Dilip Bobb:** What will the Dalai Lama's role be now?

**Lobsang Sangay:** He has always said he has three main roles in this world. One is to spread peace and non-violence. Two, is an inter-faith dialogue. And the third is Tibet and the Tibetan people. That is his responsibility. The political aspect he has handed over to me. But he is a Tibetan and it is the responsibility of every Tibetan to speak for Tibet and its people. In that capacity he will

continue to do so. But politics will be handled by me—he has 60 years of experience as a leader and a vast source of knowledge which anyone should tap, and I will do so whenever it is necessary.

**Amitabh Sinha:** There's one viewpoint that in recent years, the Dalai Lama was becoming more of a problem in initiating a dialogue with China than a solution. Do you think that will change with your appointment?

**Lobsang Sangay:** When you say Dalai Lama is more of a problem, it's a narrative and you have to look at the source of the narrative, which is clearly Beijing. Why is Dalai Lama the source of the problem? He has advocated peace, non-violence, moderation, autonomy within China. So what is the problem? The problem is Beijing's hardline attitude. I will continue the same middle-way policy—I ran my election on that and people voted for me supporting that policy. I am familiar with Chinese propaganda and how the system works. It's all scripted—Dalai Lama was the problem and hence they were not talking to us. Now if they want to change the script and say Lobsang Sangay is the solution, then I will be happy to facilitate a dialogue because I have said this over and over again: we are willing to negotiate with the Chinese government anytime, anywhere. I have a 16-year track record to prove it. When I didn't have to, I have talked to hundreds and hundreds of Chinese scholars at Harvard University. We are sincere, we believe in dialogue.

**C Raja Mohan:** There were 6-7 rounds of negotiations between 2002 and 2008. What are the sticking points now in terms of your demands and Beijing's position?

**Lobsang Sangay:** I remember speaking to a very senior Chinese scholar and asking him, do you see Tibet as a difficult issue or an easy issue? And he said, Tibet is a difficult issue if the Chinese government doesn't want to talk to you and it is an easy issue if

they want to talk to you. As simple as that. If they want to resolve the issue, then I think it has an easy solution. They bring in the issue of greater China and that we have a hidden agenda of independence. It is the suspicious mindset that is the problem. They always project a scary image and say Dalai Lama is asking for one-fourth of China and that is so unreasonable. It does sound unreasonable but the Tibetan plateau is one-fourth of China, and Tibetans live on the Tibetan plateau. One-sixth of China is Uighur, the Xinjiang autonomous region, and the Chinese have already granted one-sixth area to Uighur and one-ninth to Inner Mongolia. So what is the problem with Tibetans saying, 'Can we live on the Tibetan plateau where we have lived for 2,000 years?' In our language, in our writing, for thousands of years we don't have a word that combines us as a nation or one people or one language. It's not like we are artificially creating it now. Having said that, we are different and distinct does not necessarily mean we cannot be part of the same entity. Look at the European Union. Germany and the rest of Europe fought brutally at the cost of millions of lives but they are living together, so that's the civilised way of doing it and we are willing to do it.

**Manu Pabby:** One reason the Dalai Lama has a presence around the world is that he represents not just Tibet but he is spiritually revered by many. You represent only the political side of Tibet. How difficult will it be for you to make a name for yourself?

**Lobsang Sangay:** His Holiness had led us brilliantly and by combining a spiritual and political role, he has made a tremendous contribution to the Tibetan cause. By separating the two, he is highlighting the political aspect of Tibet. My duty is to put Tibet and the Tibetan people at the centre. There ought to be support worldwide for Tibet not simply because it is the cause of the Tibetan people but because the Tibet issue reflects and represents general injustices around the world.

The issue of Tibet is linked to India's, Asia's and even global concerns. India shares a land border with China. It has a sea border too. So, the Tibet issue has a direct link with India's security. The Tibet issue is vitally important for the international community because the world is confused, anxious, to some extent scared, of this unknown entity called China that has come up. We know them very well. The Tibet experience reflects the dark side of China, not the one you read in the business section of newspapers and news magazines. The tragic experience of Tibet reflects the brutal side of hardliners in the Chinese government who can kill Tibetan people and get away with it. If the Chinese government gets away with Tibet, they will think they can get away with the rest of the world.

If the Tibet issue is solved, we will be the catalysts for moderation and humanisation of China because only then will they accept the principle of diversity and freedom. The Tibet issue is not a constitutional or institutional or political problem. The Chinese government has the political ability to grant autonomy. They have done so for Hong Kong and Macau—there is a Special Administrative Region for Hong Kong and Macau. Institutionally, they are separate. For Tibet, they are not willing to do this. Why? Because we are not Han Chinese.

Mine is a very challenging job. But the definition of leadership is when an ordinary person does something extraordinary.

**N P Singh:** Do you think there is a similarity between the situation in Tibet and the situation in Kashmir?

**Lobsang Sangay:** I think they are two different issues. What we are striving for is genuine autonomy within China. If we are granted what Kashmir has, we will welcome it. Having said that, basic human rights ought to be respected everywhere in the world.

**Coomi Kapoor:** How successful has the Chinese government been in

assimilating Tibetan people into mainstream Chinese society? How long can Tibetans hold out?

**Lobsang Sangay:** We can hold out for a very long time. Obviously, the ultimate goal of the Chinese government is the assimilation of the Tibetan people into China's fold. They have done that in Manchuria, Mongolia. They are doing it with four to five other minorities. For example, there are minorities who don't speak their own language. They speak only Han Chinese or Mandarin. In Tibet, they are trying the same thing. But we will preserve our language and culture, as was demonstrated in 2008 when Tibetans in 100-plus countries protested against the Chinese occupation. When the Chinese first came to Tibet, they promised a socialist paradise. And some Tibetans helped them build roads. But soon we realised that once roads were built, tanks would follow and trucks and they would encircle cities and towns. And the trucks would go straight to our pristine forests and cut out trees, mine all our mineral resources. Tibet is the source of major rivers in Asia as a whole—10 major rivers of Asia flow from Tibet. The Teesta river, which Mamata Banerjee was complaining about, is also Tibetan water.

**Shubhojit Roy:** How much of a free hand do you envisage for yourself as a political leader without being tied down by the spiritual heads of your community here?

**Lobsang Sangay:** I have an absolutely free hand. Spiritual leaders don't get involved in Tibetan policies generally, except for His Holiness because he had a political role to play earlier. But all the religious heads are coming to Dharamsala in September, and they'll discuss mainly the spiritual aspect. Talking to all the major lamas will be a challenge for me. I am young but sensible. I would not run with decisions that will backfire eventually. So, I'll take everyone on board.

**Coomi Kapoor:** There is a whole set of

issues about the Dalai Lama's legitimacy to select his own reincarnation. Dalai Lama himself has talked about modernising some of the procedures, even having a woman (as Dalai Lama). Is there going to be some change in the religious organisation?

**Lobsang Sangay:** I think and sincerely feel that India and people in the world should get over the fear psychosis while dealing with China. China is questioning the reincarnation of Dalai Lama. If you keep giving validity to that question, they will keep on asking the question. You should just brush off their questions.

I am not very spiritual. If you ask me the intricacies of reincarnation, spirituality, I am no authority. But I think the idea of reincarnation is based on karma—what you sow, you get. It's like a bank account. If you have more balance, you have more to withdraw from at the end of your life. And if you keep withdrawing, in the end you pay in the spiritual sense.

There is a believer and a non-believer. The non-believer says this is nonsense, we don't subscribe to this. Believers believe that reincarnations come for the good of humanity and I am one of those who believe in it.

**Amitabh Sinha:** What is it like being a prime minister without a country?

**Lobsang Sangay:** I try not to think too much about what it means to be a Prime Minister. But this position gives you a microphone and louder volume and I make use of it for Tibet and the Tibetan people. I am a leader of people without a territory and a country. And when I get an opportunity to meet people like you, I try to make use of it for Tibet and Tibetan people.

*Transcribed by Ananya Bhardwaj and Sumegha Gulati*

## The Statement of Kalon Tripa on the Occasion of the Fifty-first Tibetan Democracy Day

Today, we celebrate the fifty-first anniversary of Tibetan Democracy

Chinese forces disrupted the work and disbanded the committee.



Day. On this auspicious occasion, in which we celebrate our shared aspiration for human freedom, I extend my warm greetings to fellow Tibetans around the world particularly to those in occupied Tibet.

I pay my sincere and heart-felt tribute to our most revered leader His Holiness the Dalai Lama, whose vision of a democratic and secular Tibetan society I am fully committed to realizing. Let me begin by acknowledging and celebrating the pivotal role of His Holiness the Dalai Lama who is a true democrat and a magnanimous people's leader. He was drawn towards fairness and democratic principles even when growing up as a young child in the Potala Palace. Being from a humble peasant family himself, he befriended the Palace sweepers, gatekeepers and cooks, and these people became his source of information about ordinary Tibetans and conditions in Tibet. Two years after assuming leadership of the country, His Holiness established the Reform Committee in 1952, which had exempting poor farmers and indigent Tibetans from heavy taxes as one of its objectives. However, the occupying

I would like to share my own experience of His Holiness' magnanimity in 1995. Along with other students, I received an audience with His Holiness just before we were to leave for further studies in the United States. As I was introduced, His Holiness mentioned an article that I published in the Tibetan Review entitled "Human Rights and Asian Values." I was struck and honored that he took notice of an article published by a young and ordinary Tibetan. I know countless others who have had similar encounters.

The story of Tibet's democracy, after the early attempts in 1952, continued in 1959 after His Holiness sought refuge in India following the occupation of Tibet. At a time when anti-colonialism was taking hold and new democracies were being established around the world, the first step towards establishing the Tibetan parliament began at Bodhi Gaya, where the Na-gyen Chenmo (great oath) was taken and Tibetan leaders pledged an iron-like unity under one leadership. On June 29, 1960, at a very emotional public event, His Holiness shared his vision of

democracy to Tibetan construction workers of Indian highways near Dalhousie. It must have been a traumatic experience for Tibetans; who having lost their nation, homes, and family members; had to witness their 26-year-old leader as a refugee amidst makeshift tents that served as their home. Tibetans - young and old - were overwhelmed with emotions - many cried and were deeply moved.

Tibetans elected (actually selected) their members of parliament and had their first meeting on September 2, 1960, which from that day on came to be commemorated as the Tibetan Democracy Day. As for selecting the regional representatives, Tibetan road workers from Sikkim to Manali met on roadsides and nominated candidates by raising their hands. The elected representatives, carrying tin box full of documents, met under a tree (not far from Tsuklagkhang) on weekends to conduct parliamentary business. Women members were elected as early as 1963, when some advanced democracies still did not have female parliamentarians. In 1977, representatives of Bon were also included.

In 1963, the constitution of Tibet, modeled after India's, was adopted and His Holiness the Dalai Lama insisted that the constitution include a provision that allowed for his own impeachment which went against the wishes of his own people. In 1970, the Tibetan Youth Congress was established by Tibetan youth leaders, and in 1984 the Tibetan Women's Association was re-established in exile. Both organizations have played an important role in producing leaders with emphasis on non-sectarianism, non-regionalism and unity.

With the collapse of the Soviet Union and the Berlin Wall and the spread of "third wave" of democracy around the world in the early nineties, more democratic reforms ensued in the

Tibetan community. These reforms occurred while the Chinese government was cracking down on its own people seeking democracy during the Tiananmen Square massacre. In 1991, the Charter of the Tibetans – the supreme law governing the functions of the Central Tibetan Administration (CTA) – was drafted and adopted by the Tibetan parliament. The parliament was expanded and constitutionally empowered to elect the Kashag. The parliamentary procedures and functional processes akin to Indian parliamentary system became more disciplined, sophisticated and effective over time.

Tibetan democracy continued to flourish in the 2000s when the world witnessed the color revolutions in Eastern Europe. As per an amendment in the Tibetan charter, the first direct election for the post of the Kalon Tripa, administrative head of CTA, took place in 2001. Professor Samdhong Rinpoche won the election with more than 80 percent of the votes and provided admirable leadership.

A decade later, in March 2011, amid the Arab Spring and where some leaders are still violently resisting their people's demands for change, His Holiness the Dalai Lama announced his devolution of power ten days before the final round of Kalon Tripa and parliamentary elections. He expressed his strong desire to transfer all his political and administrative powers and announced his decision to "devolve his formal authority to the elected leader." His Holiness the Dalai Lama rejected impassioned appeals by both the parliament and the people to stay on even as the nominal head of state.

It is important to note that His Holiness Dalai Lama made significant changes that coincided with major global developments. In retrospect, it is clear that His Holiness' decisions were not driven by these developments. Rather, he was taking advantage of these events to hasten the democratic reforms that he had initiated (which his people resisted) since coming into exile. The timing of each one of His Holiness' major steps:

the impeachment clause in the 1960s, establishing a leader's position between himself and the Kashag in the 1980s, and the direct election of Kalon Tripa in the 2000s, has been brilliant. The timing of the devolution of political power in particular is masterful as His Holiness' decision has legitimized the outcome of the 2011 Kalon Tripa elections – the largest and most democratic round of elections in Tibetan history.

The recent elections is a testament to the growing maturity and vibrancy of Tibetan democracy. The historic elections attracted an unprecedented number of Tibetans from 30 countries, particularly the youth. Tibetans from Tibet also showed keen interest and solidarity by going to monasteries to pray for the success of election, following developments closely and bursting fireworks when election results were announced. The Kalon Tripa elections were intensely but fairly contested with the three final candidates participating in around seventeen debates and visiting majority of the Tibetan communities in exile. The parliamentary elections resulted in fifty percent new members, including substantial number of women and new arrivals from Tibet. The successful outcome of these elections have given new hope for our compatriots inside Tibet, and sent a strong message to Beijing that the Tibetan movement is gaining new momentum.

His Holiness' magnanimity and democratic values is again reaffirmed by his remarks at the recent oath-taking ceremony of the Kalon Tripa. His Holiness when transferring a piece of important history and more importantly the political legitimacy of the 369-year-old institution of the Dalai Lama to the leader with democratic mandate stated, "When I was young, an elderly regent Takdrag Rinpoche handed over Sikyong (political leadership) to me, and today I am handing over Sikyong to young Lobsang Sangay... in doing this I have fulfilled my long-cherished goal." The transferring of the 1751 seal of the 7th Dalai Lama to the current Kalon Tripa,

a lay Tibetan from a humble background who grew up in a refugee settlement, truly represents continued legitimacy and symbol of Tibetan leadership. My fellow Tibetans, history of Tibetan leadership and its glorious legacy will continue.

Today our democracy, while nascent, is a successful model of an exile community establishing a strong democratic base and governance system. This is in large part due to the generosity of the Indian government and people, our host. In fact our experience has attracted the interest of other exile and refugee communities and students of democracy. The CTA and some of our non-governmental organizations have shared our five decades of experience in implementing democratic principles, processes and mechanisms with others, and we invite everyone to examine and study our experience. Having said that, our democracy is still far from perfect and we must make it even more robust.

I can say with confidence that our exile democratic administration is far superior to China's colonial rule in Tibet. Tibetans in Tibet live under harsh autocracy while those of us in exile enjoy democracy. While I have the mandate of the Tibetan world, the Party Secretary of "Tibet Autonomous Region" (TAR) is hand picked by Beijing, and has never been a Tibetan. We are part of a democratic family in the world, China is not. The Kalon Tripa is the legitimate representative of the Tibetan people, while China's rule in Tibet is undemocratic and illegitimate. China cannot be a legitimate superpower without accepting the universality of freedom. I call upon the Chinese regime to respect the freedom of both the Tibetan and Chinese people.

Finally, let me conclude by stating that the devolution of political power is not solely to me, but to all Tibetans. The time has now come for us to demonstrate that we can survive and indeed thrive independently with our new responsibilities. We must actively participate in the democratic process by ensuring that our leaders

remain accountable and true to the democratic spirit. My election as the Kalon Tripa is a vote of confidence in the newer generation of Tibetans. So, it is expected of the younger generation to work with renewed dedication and conviction. We must live up to the expectations of His Holiness. This is no time for cynicism but optimism. Our focus must be to pursue the sacred cause of supporting the brave men and women inside Tibet who continue to sacrifice their lives for the preservation of

Tibetan identity and dignity. With Tibetan spirit as strong as the majestic Mount Jomolangma, we must all work hard towards ensuring the return of His Holiness the 14th Dalai Lama and emulate the honorable service of our elder generation who successfully ensured the 13th Dalai Lama's return to Tibet.

My dear fellow compatriots inside Tibet! Many of us in exile have never seen Tibet, but Tibet is in our heart and soul. With determination, dedication, and Dharma on our side,

we will make sure to achieve our parent's dream to return to our homeland. I want to reiterate my deep conviction that with unity, innovation and self-reliance as our guiding principles we will ensure the restoration of freedom, reunification of Tibetans and the return of His Holiness the Dalai Lama to Tibet.

BODGYALO!

## Statement of the Tibetan Parliament in Exile on Fifty-first Tibetan Democracy Day

Today, we are celebrating the occasion of the 51st Democracy Day. This day

Holiness the Dalai Lama for leading us into the path of democracy. Last year on

Tibet. Immediately after His Holiness the Dalai Lama came into exile in India, he spoke about the importance of people to elect their representatives at during a religious teaching in Bodhgaya. Accordingly, the first elected members of the parliament took their oath of office on 2nd September 1960. Reforms were also introduced in the exile administration, including promulgation of the Draft Constitution of Future Tibet in 1963, which turned the exile administration into a fully functioning democracy. In 1991, the Charter for Tibetans-in-Exile was promulgated, which further strengthened the democratic exile community with three pillars of democracy. In 2001, provisions were created in the charter to enable the election of Kalon Tripa directly by the exile Tibetan people. In 2011, in a historic decision, His Holiness the Dalai Lama devolved his political authority to the elected Tibetan leadership. These are, without a shadow of doubt, His Holiness the Dalai Lama's vision to benefit the Tibetan people and their struggle for freedom both the short and long-term.

We would also like to pay our tribute to the senior staff members and individuals who have tirelessly worked for the just cause of Tibet. What we have achieved so far is the result of their hard work and commitment. Therefore, we would like to knowledge and honour their courage and selfless dedication.

Taking this opportunity, we



also marks first Democracy Day since His Holiness the Dalai Lama devolved his political powers to the elected Tibetan leadership. Therefore, this is a historic occasion.

Looking back into the past five decades, we have been successful in establishing our administration, preserving and promoting our spiritual and cultural heritage, and maintaining unity amongst the Tibetan people. While we cherish these great accomplishments, we should at the same time pay our heartfelt respect and gratitude to His

the occasion of 50th anniversary of our Democracy Day in Bylakupee, South India, the parliament, on behalf of all the Tibetans, was able to present His Holiness the Dalai Lama with the Gold Medal, as our small token of gratitude, which is bound to become a source to accumulate our collective merits.

It is a common knowledge that His Holiness the Dalai Lama was fascinated by democratic principles since a young age and worked hard to bring social reforms in Tibet. However, his efforts failed due to Chinese occupation of

would also like to thank former Kalon Tripa, Samdong Rinpoche, for his leadership for ten years as the Speaker of the parliament, and later as a Kalon Tripa for another ten years. During these times, he has tried his best to fulfil the wishes of His Holiness the Dalai Lama by providing able leadership.

At a time when the world involved in great political and economic upheavals, His Holiness the Dalai Lama is fully committed to promoting global peace, non-violence and harmony. All the Tibetan people must join hands to realise His Holiness the Dalai Lama's principles of world peace and harmony. It goes without saying that the further His Holiness the Dalai Lama's great deeds spreads, better it is for the resolution of the Tibetan issue. Therefore, I request the Central Tibetan Administration, various NGOs and the general populace to unite and work in harmony with His Holiness the Dalai Lama's vision and also to face any future challenges and obstacles.

We are passing through stage where His Holiness the Dalai Lama has devolved his political authorities and Dr. Lobsang Sangay has taken over responsibility of Kalon Tripa. It is without doubt that the responsibilities of the Kalon Tripa has increased manifold in finding a resolution to the issue of Tibet, preserving and promoting Tibetan language, religion and culture, garnering further international support, imparting education to younger generation and creating a more stable Tibetan settlements. All these can be achieved only with the full support and cooperation from the concerned heads and staff members of the exile administration and the general public. Hence everyone must take their due responsibilities.

As one of the three pillars of democracy, the parliament would extend our full support to the 14th Kashag on all issues and especially in the coming session of the parliament, when it has to push forward many works, including approving new Kalons and make further amendments in the Charter.

Recently the members of the 15th parliament visited various settlements and locality where Tibetans

live to talk about changes in the Central Tibetan Administration, and to solicit public opinions and find out conditions of the people. The parliamentarians would do the same again after the second session. This is to create a special bridge between the Central Tibetan Administration and the general populace and hence we request the concerned staff members and heads of settlements and the public to provide their unwavering support and cooperation.

The Tibetan Parliament-in-Exile is working to further build a strong Tibet support groups worldwide and especially in India in building close contacts with leaders, scholars, researchers, intellectuals and the media.

Changes are taking place around the world and in China as well. However, Beijing's Tibet policy, instead of improving, continues with clear and systematic aims to annihilate Tibetan people and its fragile environment. Beijing has issued documents like Sixty Years Since Peaceful Liberation of Tibet and various White Papers on Tibet, which are propaganda materials filled with fabricated lies. The reality is that the China continues to increase its colonial rule in Tibet, denying the Tibetans even basic rights. As a result Tibetans have live under constant fear and threat of harassment, arrest and imprisonment.

For instance, peaceful protests have been taking place one after another in Ngaba in Amdo and Kardze and Tawu in Kham, Eastern Tibet, against Chinese rule. On 16 March 2011 Lobsang Phuntsok, a monk from Kirti Monastery in Amdo self-immolated himself to demand basic rights for the Tibetans. Similarly, on 15 August Tsewang Norbu, another young monk from Nyitso Monastery in Kham self-immolated to express his grievances against the Chinese rule and to appeal for the restoration of peace and basic rights in Tibet. However, the Chinese authorities, instead of addressing these appeals have cracked down on the Tibetan people. This is the real situation in Tibet today under China.

We would like to pay our tribute the courage and spirit of the Tibetan

people inside Tibet and stand in solidarity with them for their determination and audacity under the Chinese rule. We urgently and strongly appeal to the Chinese leaders to change its hardline policy on Tibet, and not to forcefully change the traditional lifestyles of Tibetan nomads and farmers and to give complete religious freedom.

The basic aspiration of the Tibetans people, both in and outside Tibet, is to resolve the issue of Tibet. However, due to circumstance that are beyond our reach, if it takes a long time to regain our freedom, we should be well prepared for such an eventuality. Tibetans living in Tibet, using the rights and provision of enshrined in the Constitution of the People's Republic of China and Laws on the Regional Autonomy, must work hard to preserve our unique cultural and spiritual heritage, and to protect Tibet's fragile environment. Those of us living in exile, we must put our collective efforts towards creating political and democratic maturity, and at the same abide by the laws of their respective countries or states. We must take active part in various Tibetan associations and communities in preserving and promoting our cultural and spiritual heritage.

On this special occasion, we would like to pay our heartfelt gratitude to the Tibet Support Groups around the world, the parliamentarians, heads of governments, and particularly central and the state governments of India and its people for providing us with a second home for over half a century. We remain grateful to you always and request for your continued support until the issue of Tibet is resolved.

Finally, I pray for the long life of His Holiness the Dalai Lama and fulfilment of all his wishes. We would request from the bottom of our hearts to continue to provide us with your blessing and guidance. May the issue of Tibet be resolved soon.

2 September 2011  
The Tibetan Parliament-in-Exile

## Tribute to Tibetan Monks' Sacrifice and a Call for China

*By Lobsang Choedak*

Shrill cries for want of 'return of His Holiness the Dalai Lama to Tibet' and 'freedom in Tibet' were on the lips of five Tibetan monks before they set themselves on fire. The Chinese government's relentless policy of suppression of Tibetans' genuine grievances became the final straw for the four monks, Phuntsok, Tsewang Norbu, Lobsang Kelsang and Lobsang Kunchok. Phuntsok, aged 21 and Tsewang Norbu, 29, died, while the whereabouts of Lobsang Kelsang and Lobsang Kunchok, aged between 18 to 19, and Kelsang Wangchuk, 17, is still not known.

The policy to suppress the Tibetan people's genuine aspiration will continue to backfire in the unforeseeable future. The Chinese authorities' brutal crackdown on peaceful protests across Tibet in 2008 which left hundreds of Tibetans dead and thousands imprisoned became the last straw for Phuntsok, the monk of Kirti monastery in northeastern Tibet's Amdo province, who killed himself by immolation on 14 March. Later on 15 August, when India was celebrating its freedom and independence from British colonial rule, Tsewang Norbu, 29, of Nyitso monastery in eastern Tibet, called the world's attention to the lack of freedom to the Tibetan people. Before setting himself ablaze, Tsewang Norbu distributed leaflets calling for freedom for Tibet and return of His Holiness the Dalai Lama to his people. Again on 26 September, two monks of Kirti monastery, Lobsang Kelsang and Lobsang Kunchok,

cried for religious freedom and "long live the Dalai Lama" before they set themselves on fire.

These growing acts of desperation in Tibet, five within a short span of six months since March this year, have reinforced the grim reality of suppression of the Tibetan people's aspiration by the Chinese government. It sends a strong message to the Chinese government that His Holiness the Dalai Lama's return to Tibet and restoration of freedom are the panacea to the Tibet problem. This lasting solution could be achieved only through the resumption of dialogue between His Holiness the Dalai Lama's representatives and Beijing. The new Tibetan leadership in Dharamsala has offered his olive branch to Beijing, reaffirming time and again its willingness to meet anywhere and anywhere.

Moreover, there was a chorus of calls from the international community to Beijing to address the Tibetan people's grievances and respect their human rights. In its statement on the issue of self-immolation of Tibetan monks, the US government called on Beijing to address policies in Tibetan areas that have created tension, and to protect Tibetans' unique religious, cultural and linguistic identity. Voicing similar sentiments, MEP Ojuland told the European Parliament said, "such radical form of protest illustrates the despair of the Tibetans, who are seeking freedom of religion as well as

meaningful autonomy in the historic area of Tibet. Continuous desperate acts of protest also demonstrate that the Tibetans determinedly resist the ongoing violations of human rights and the cultural genocide that is being carried out in Tibet. Therefore, the European Union and its Member States should lend their support address the situation of human rights in Tibet more rigorously with the PRC."

The human rights groups also urged China to end its policy of repression and resume talks for a negotiated solution to the crisis in Tibet.

The Central Tibetan Administration in Dharamsala has offered its prayers for the soul of the deceased monks and sends its condolence to the family members. It strongly urge all Tibetans inside Tibet to follow His Holiness the Dalai Lama's advice and teachings on the importance of non-violence. May the aspirations of the four monks and countless Tibetans who have sacrificed their lives for Tibet's cause would come true sooner rather than later.

It is imperative to reiterate that such precious loss of Tibetan lives could be prevented only if the Chinese government addresses the genuine grievances of the Tibetan people and resolve the issue of Tibet peacefully.

Returning to the negotiating table for a substantive talk is need of the hour.



## Joint Press Statement



Since the 2008 uprising in Tibet, the situation in Tibet has been deteriorating. Particularly, as of March this year, it has become ever more tense and urgent with the increasing cases of self-immolation by young Tibetans who find China's occupation and repression of Tibet intolerable.

Tibetans in Tibet are driven to these drastic acts to resist political repression, cultural assimilation, economic marginalization and environmental destruction.

From the seven young Tibetans who self-immolated this year, the following succumbed to their injuries: On March 16, 2011, Lobsang Phuntsok (age 21), a monk of Kirti Monastery in northeastern Tibet. The second reported case, on August 15, 2011 was that of Tsewang Norbu, (age 29), a monk at Nyitso monastery in eastern Tibet. The third and the fourth cases were Khaying (age 18), and Choephel (age 19), both former monks of Kirti Monastery. They self-immolated on October 7, 2011 and died on October 8 and 11 respectively.

The conditions of the three others, namely Lobsang Kelsang (age 18), Lobsang Kunchok (age 19) and Kelsang Wangchuk (age 17) are still unknown.

The Central Tibetan Administration is deeply concerned about their whereabouts and well-being. We express our solidarity with all those who lost their lives and with all other Tibetans who are incarcerated for their courage to speak up for the rights of the Tibetan people.

We appeal to the United Nations, freedom-loving countries and people around the world to show their support and solidarity with the Tibetan people at this critical stage.

Given the undeclared martial law in Tibet and the increasing cases of self-immolation, the international community must press the government of People's Republic of China to restore freedom and resolve the issue of Tibet through dialogue for the mutual benefit of the Tibetan and Chinese people. In this light, we urge the international community and the media to send fact-finding delegations to ascertain the situation on the ground inside Tibet.

The Kashag and the Tibetan Parliament-in-Exile have jointly planned activities in India and the world-at-large to highlight the deepening crisis in Tibet.

We call upon all Tibetans and Tibet supporters in the free world to join efforts and organize activities in their respective regions. These events must be peaceful, respectful of local laws and dignified. On October 19, 2011, the Central Tibetan Administration will offer day-long prayers and encourage all Tibetans to fast on that day as a gesture of solidarity with Tibetans in Tibet.

To our brothers and sisters in Tibet, we stand with you in fulfilling our common aspirations, and we share the pain of your sacrifice.

**Tibetan Parliament-in-Exile**

**The Kashag**

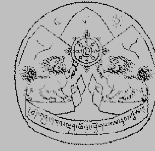
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*Tibet Bulletin* (official Chinese bi-monthly)  
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His Holiness the 14th Dalai Lama receiving Degree of Doctor of Letters (Honoris Causa)



His Holiness the 14th Dalai Lama Addressing the 24th Convocation of Indira Gandhi National Open University, New Delhi



**Indira Gandhi National Open University**  
**इंदिरा गांधी राष्ट्रीय मुक्त विश्वविद्यालय**



**Award of the Degree of Doctor of Letters**  
**(Honoris Causa)**

to

**His Holiness The 14th Dalai Lama**

Spiritual Leader of Tibet

*Citation*

*I have the honour of presenting His Holiness The 14<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama, the Spiritual Leader of Tibet and a crusader of peace for the award of the degree of Doctor of Letters (Honoris Causa) of the Indira Gandhi National Open University.*

*A noble follower of peace, ahimsa and harmony, His Holiness epitomizes the promotion of human values such as compassion, forgiveness, tolerance, contentment and self-discipline. With a belief that all human beings are the same and that all want happiness and not suffering, His Holiness recognizes the fact that even people who do not believe in religion recognize the importance of these human values in making their life happier. His Holiness refers to these human values as secular ethics and remains committed to the importance of these human values. His Holiness has been a champion of peace and an ardent believer of non-violence.*

*His Holiness began his monastic education at the age of six which included Logic, Tibetan art and culture, Sanskrit, Medicine and Buddhist Philosophy which was further divided into five categories: Prajnaparimita, the perfection of wisdom; Madhyamika, the philosophy of the middle Way; Vinaya, the canon of monastic discipline; Abidharma, metaphysics; and Pramana, logic and epistemology. By the age of 23, he passed with honours and was awarded the Geshe Lharampa degree, the highest-level degree equivalent to a doctorate of Buddhist Philosophy.*

*In recognition to the cause of universal peace and harmony, His Holiness was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for his non-violent struggle for the liberation of Tibet in 1989. His commitments to the Philosophy of non-violence and ahimsa have been recognized world over. His Holiness has received over 84 awards & honorary doctorates in recognition of his message of peace, non-violence, inter-religious faith & understanding, universal responsibility and compassion and has authored more than 72 books.*

*The Indira Gandhi National Open University deems it a great privilege and honour to confer upon His Holiness The 14<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama, the degree of Doctor of Letters (Honoris Causa) in recognition of his outstanding contributions to the world peace and development and for his devotion in taking forward the charter of non-violence and ahimsa across the globe.*

New Delhi  
 5th September, 2011

**24<sup>th</sup>** वीं दीक्षांत समारोह  
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