



# TIBETAN BULLETIN

THE OFFICIAL JOURNAL OF THE CENTRAL TIBETAN ADMINISTRATION

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MARCH - APRIL 2014

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*His Holiness the Dalai Lama and fellow guests during the release of the book 'Lal Bahadur Shastri - Lessons in Leadership' in New Delhi, India on March 23, 2014. Photo/Tenzin Choejor/OHHDL*



*Sikyong Dr. Lobsang Sangay, Kalon Dicki Chhoyang and Mr. Henri Malosse (C), President of the European Economic and Social Committee speaking to reporters on 10 March 2014. DIIR Photo/ Tenzin Phende*

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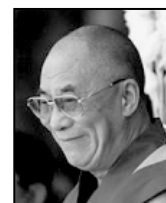
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# TIBETAN BULLETIN

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## French and Germans call to prioritise human rights in Tibet: Poll

A new opinion poll commissioned by the International Campaign for Tibet (ICT), a Washington, DC based Tibet advocacy group, showed an overwhelming majority of French and German citizens want their leaders to prioritise human rights and Tibet during their meetings with Chinese President Xi Jinping. President Xi arrived in France on 25th March, on his first four-nation European tour which will also take him to Germany and Belgium.

“An overwhelming majority of French and German citizens express solidarity and concern for the lack of respect for human rights and civil liberties of Tibetans; have a favorable opinion of the Dalai Lama and call on French President Hollande and German Chancellor Merkel to officially invite the Dalai Lama to their capitals,” ICT said, citing

from findings of the new poll released by the French Institute of Public Opinion (IFOP) in advance of Xi Jinping’s visit to Europe.

The opinion poll, conducted from 10-14 March, showed that “in France, 90 percent and in Germany, 92 percent of citizens expressed their support for a meeting between China’s Party Secretary Xi Jinping and the Dalai Lama, to find a negotiated solution to the Tibetan issue.”

It showed that “citizens in these two major European countries give greater priority to their leaders raising Tibet and human rights with the Chinese leadership, than pushing for commercial contracts.”

“The polls give a clear message that European citizens’ priorities go beyond trade and business in our relationship

with China,” said Matteo Mecacci, President of the International Campaign for Tibet in a statement. “People are concerned about human rights issues in Tibet, and they want European leaders not only to meet the Dalai Lama, but to encourage Xi Jinping to speak to him face to face to find a negotiated solution to the Tibetan issue. European Union leaders cannot ignore the opinion of their own citizens and should clearly assert their support for fellow Nobel Peace Laureate the Dalai Lama and the human rights crisis in Tibet during Xi’s visit. What is at stake in our relationship with China goes beyond a trade deal or access to their markets; it is the relationship with a rising authoritarian country that will shape the very nature and future of the world in which we all wish to live,” Mr Mecacci said.

## Chinese supporters build sculpture in memory of Tibetan self-immolators

A sculpture, made by a Chinese artist based in America in memory of all those Tibetans who have set themselves on fire in protest against the repressive policies of the Chinese government, was unveiled at the Tibet Museum in Dharamshala on the 55th Tibetan National Uprising Day on 10 March. The event was organised by the China Desk and Tibet Museum of the Department of Information & International Relations.

The sculpture was made by Chen Wei Ming with the financial support from Qi Jia Zhen, a supporter of Tibetan cause living in Australia.

Addressing the gathering during the unveiling ceremony, Qi Jia Zhen said the sculpture is a gesture of the Chinese people’s condolence and respect for all those Tibetans who have sacrificed their lives for the cause of Tibet through self-immolation.

“The unending protest and self-immolations in Tibet is a result of the Chinese government’s continued assault on Tibetans and their culture and religion since it invaded Tibet in 1949,” Qi said.

Qi said the self-immolators have demanded freedom for Tibetans and their actions have not caused physical harm to

other people. “We Chinese should learn from the culture and compassionate nature of Tibet and the Tibetan people,” she said.

Kalon Dicki Chhoyang of the Department of Information and International Relations, who unveiled the statue at the Tibet Museum, thanked the Chinese people for their support for the just cause of Tibet. She reiterated the Tibetan people’s firm commitment to non-violence and resolve the issue of Tibet through dialogue with the Chinese government based on the Middle Way Approach.

## Tibetan Political Prisoner dies of torture

A brutally tortured Tibetan political prisoner died from grievous injuries sustained in prison, just a few months after being released from prison on medical grounds by Chinese authorities.

Goshul Lobsang, 43, died on 19 March at his family home in Machu county in Kanlho Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture (incorporated into China’s Gansu province).

“The Chinese police and prison authorities brutally tortured him in detention

and in prison. He suffered death-threatening injuries as a result. He was given all kinds of pain-relief injections but that only exacerbated his condition. Since the authorities feared that he might die in prison, they decided to release him on medical parole, before he was to complete his full sentence. He was released on 27 October 2013,” TCHRD quoted a source as saying.

Goshul Lobsang was detained in May 2010 after Chinese police accused him

of leading a peaceful protests denouncing Chinese rule in Machu county in 2008. He was later kept in a jail in the provincial capital Lanzhou.

He was released on Oct. 27, 2013, after his health deteriorated severely in detention and his chances for survival appeared dim.

Goshul Lobsang hails from Belpen Yultso village in Machu county. He survived by his wife Tare and their two children, his brother said.

## His Holiness the Dalai Lama in Top 10 'World's Greatest Leaders' List

Fortune, a leading world magazine, has chosen Tibet's spiritual leader for its list of world's 50 greatest leaders, extolling his "more than five decades of tireless campaign for peace, nonviolence, democracy, and reconciliation, especially among world religions." His Holiness the Dalai Lama and Pope Francis are only two spiritual leaders listed in the top ten.

Describing His Holiness the Dalai Lama, who was ranked no 9, Fortune wrote: "For over 50 years he has cam-

paigned tirelessly for peace, nonviolence, democracy, and reconciliation, especially among world religions; he has met countless times with popes, rabbis, imam, and others to find common ground. Winner of the 1989 Nobel Peace Prize, the Dalai Lama radiates charisma. As for his influence, just ask those who look for his guidance on Twitter. All 8.6 million of them." In his latest tweet, His Holiness the Dalai Lama said: "Concern for others is not just a matter of religious practice; it's a practical step towards cre-

ating a happy society."

The top 10 leaders in the list are (1) Pope Francis, (2) Angela Merkel, German Chancellor, (3) Alan Mulally, CEO of Ford Motor Co. (4) Warren Buffett, CEO of Berkshire Hathaway, (5) Bill Clinton, (6) Aung San Suu Kyi, chair of the National League for Democracy, (7) Gen. Joe Dunford, Commander of U.S. Force, Afghanistan, (8) Bono, lead singer of U2, (9) Dalai Lama and (10) Jeff Bezos, CEO of Amazon.com.

## China sentences Tibetan monk to 18 years in prison

Thardoe Gyaltsen, the administrator of Drongna monastery in Driru county in Nagchu Prefecture in eastern Tibet (incorporated into Tibet Autonomous Prefecture) was sentenced to 18 years in prison for allegedly storing photos and speeches of His Holiness the Dalai Lama.

A local court in Driru county pronounced the sentence in January this year.

"Thardoe Gyaltsen was a dedicated Tibetan monk who is also one of the administrators of the monastery. He was sentenced to prison under politically motivated charges of inciting separat-

ism which in reality was to undermine his noble works in the monastery and the nearby schools," a source said.

Thardoe Gyaltsen joined Gaden monastery as a novice monk in his childhood. He later joined Drongna monastery and was appointed as the chant master and administrator of the monastery. He is a deeply pious monk, committed towards the practice and preservation of Tibetan Buddhism.

Drongna monastery was founded in the eleventh century. The monastery was heavily destroyed by Chinese forces during the cultural revolution. The mon-

astery was renovated later under abbot Khenrab Choedak and chant master Tenzin Wangchuk. The monastery currently has over 90 monks.

During the peaceful protests of Driru in mid 2013 and early 2014, several monks of Drongna monastery were also arrested. The monastery was also subjected to police raids and heavy surveillance in the aftermath of the peaceful protests in Driru. Currently, the monks of the monastery are banned from organising religious services and other monastic activities.

## 2 Tibetan monks self-immolate

A Tibetan monk from Kirti Monastery in Ngaba county has set himself on fire to protest against the repressive policies of Chinese government in northeastern Tibet, according to sources in exile. Meanwhile, China's official Xinhua news agency reported another Tibetan monk from Shaderi monastery in Zekog county (Tib: Tsekhog) in Huangnan prefecture (Tib: Malho) has self-immolated.

Lobsang Palden of Kirti Monastery, in his 20s set fire to his gasoline soaked body on Martyrs Street in Ngaba county (incorporated into China's Sichuan Province) around 11:30 am Sunday. He then walked few steps raising slogans and was immediately bundled away by police in a vehicle.

Local Tibetans shut down their shops and restaurants to mourn and express solidarity with the monk's family members. The situation in the area remain tense with heavy deployment of police and security forces.

The self-immolation protest marks the sixth anniversary of the massacre of monks of Kirti monastery by Chinese forces on 16 March 2008, few days after unprecedented protest against the Chinese government broke out in Tibet's capital Lhasa on 10 March. Hundreds of Tibetans were killed by Chinese security forces in the subsequent crackdown across Tibet.

Similar self-immolation protests by monks of Kirti monastery the same day

took place in 2011, 2012 and 2013.

Meanwhile, China's official Xinhua news agency said a Tibetan monk has self-immolated. "The monk was from the Shaderi Monastery in Huangnan Tibetan autonomous prefecture in Qinghai province. The report said police were rushing to the site and gave no further details," the Associated Press said quoting Xinhua's report. "A man at the Zekog county public security bureau confirmed the immolation and said it took place outside the monastery. He said he had no other information and refused to be identified," AP reported.

Both the self-immolators have died. The total number of self-immolation protests by Tibetans inside Tibet has risen to 128.

## DIIR Kalon inaugurates Tibet Museum's new Exhibition on Self-Immolation



Ms. Dicki Chhoyang, Kalon of the Department of Information and International Relations, Central Tibetan Administration inaugurated Tibet Museum's new exhibition on the wave of Tibetan self-immolations inside Tibet. The new exhibition consists of 27 panels in Tibetan, English and Hindi, documenting the aspirations, last words of the self-immolators and the reasons that lead them to self-immolate in protest.

"This exhibit is an effort by the Central Tibetan Administration to ensure that international community is clear about what is self-immolation, why are Tibetans self-immolating, what is leading, up until now, 129 Tibetans to self-immolate, said Kalon Dicki Chhoyang.

"Ever since the self-immolations began, we have urged the Tibetans inside Tibet not to resort to drastic forms of action. While the self-immolations continue, we

have a moral responsibility to make sure that the international community understands the background," she said.

"The Tibetans self-immolating are not politicians. They are common Tibetan people including farmers, nomads, students, monks and nuns. We have also documented how the Chinese government have responded to the self-immolation protests, she said adding, while we can appeal Tibetans inside Tibet not to self-immolate, the policies that are leading them to self-immolate are not in our control. It is in the hands of the Chinese government. So, through this exhibit, we hope that more and more people would understand the sad events taking place inside Tibet, she said.

The Tibet Museum, an undertaking of the Department of Information and International Relations, was established in 1998, to serve as a remembrance of

the loss of Tibetan culture and lives and present the hopes and aspirations of the Tibetan people through collected photographs and life histories.

Speaking to media persons after the inauguration, Mr Tashi Phuntsok, Director of Tibet Museum said: "We have travelled across India particularly south and north-east India showcasing the exhibition. Lots of people have turned up and expressed their solidarity with the Tibet issue after witnessing the exhibitions. Therefore, we are showcasing our new exhibition at our permanent base in McLeod Ganj so that foreigners as well as our Indian friends can understand what's happening inside Tibet."

"We will also travel to various parts of India to showcase the exhibition to create more awareness about the Tibet issue. Tibet supporters and friends of Tibet based outside India, can download our panels from our website or contact our office directly if they are interested to view the exhibit or organise similar exhibitions in their respective countries," he added.

The Tibet Museum has successfully toured various parts of India including all the major Tibetan settlements. It is composed of three sections: permanent exhibition, travelling exhibition and the photo archive section. It conducts various programs including lecture series, publishing pictorial books, collecting documents, photographs, objects and first hand accounts relating to Tibet and Tibetan issues.

## Tibetan Parliament honours local Indian support group leaders

At the invitation of the Tibetan Parliament-in-Exile, a local Indian delegation observed the budget session of the Tibetan Parliament-in-Exile. The delegation comprised of about 50 members of the three Tibet support groups – the Indo-Tibetan Friendship Association, Bharat Tibbat Sahyog Manch and Himalaya Parivar – and leaders of local organisations based in Dharamshala.

Welcoming the delegation in the House, Mr Penpa Tsering, the speaker of the

Tibetan Parliament, expressed deep gratitude to the government and people of Himachal Pradesh for their long-standing support for the Tibetan people. He also applauded the local Indian community for their reverence for His Holiness the Dalai Lama and respect for the Tibetan administration in Dharamshala.

He underlined the need to foster and strengthen the harmonious relationship between the local Indian and Tibetan communities.

Speaker Penpa Tsering presented Khatag (Tibetan ceremonial scarves) and mementos to the delegation in honour of their first visit to the Tibetan Parliament-in-Exile.



## Under China's Shadow : Mistreatment of Tibetans in Nepal

*A Report By Human Rights Watch*

Since the 2008 Tibetan uprising, the largest, most widespread unrest among Tibetans in decades, the Chinese government has significantly tightened its control in Tibetan areas of China. It has also pressured Nepal, which shares a long border with China and is home to a sizeable Tibetan community, to become China's partner in restricting Tibetans' basic rights.

Nepal has signed several security and "intelligence-sharing" agreements with China since 2008; operationalized border security cooperation; partially enforced a ban on Tibetan public demonstrations; implemented close monitoring of the Tibetan community, its leaders, and real or perceived activists; and deployed intimidating numbers of Nepali armed police in Tibetan neighborhoods on politically sensitive dates, such as the anniversary of the Dalai Lama, International Human Rights Day (December 10), or high-level visits by Chinese dignitaries.

The consequences are being felt across the Tibetan community. Partly as a result of this pressure, Tibetans face excessive use of force by police, preventive detention, torture and ill-treatment when detained, intrusive surveillance, and arbitrary application of vaguely formulated and overly broad definitions of security offences.

China has targeted Nepal because it has long been the first destination for Tibetans wanting to escape China, leave temporarily, or send their children outside the country. The long and often treacherous walk across the Himalayas into Nepal is the most direct way to reach Dharamsala, in northern India, where the Dalai Lama, the Tibetan government-in-exile, and 80,000 Tibetans are based.

Nepal's Tibetan community of about 15,000-20,000 is made up of the relatives and descendants of an initial wave of refugees who arrived in Nepal following the Dalai Lama's escape to India in 1959, and of periodic flows since then of

new refugees and migrants coming from Tibet or returning from India.

From 1959 to 1989, the Nepalese government recognized and registered Tibetans crossing the border as refugees. In 1989, following a diplomatic rapprochement with China, the King of Nepal stopped allowing Tibetan refugees to settle permanently in Nepal. Under the terms of an informal, unwritten, "Gentleman's Agreement" with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), however, Nepal continued to permit the "safe passage" of refugees from Tibet to India.

For several months during and after the 2008 protests in Tibet, Kathmandu became a focal point of pro-Tibetan political activity, with almost daily street demonstrations, gatherings, and political events. Under intense diplomatic pressure from China—some of it overt and public—the Nepalese government curtailed Tibetan demonstrations, with the police often clashing with demonstrators or rounding up Tibetans they suspected of planning public action. International media, barred from Tibet itself, prominently featured these clashes.

The suppression of Tibetan political activities in Nepal in 2008 was the subject of a report Human Rights Watch published in August of that year, titled "Appeasing China: Restricting the Rights of Tibetans in Nepal."

This report analyses conditions for Tibetans in Nepal five years later. Restrictions on Tibetans' rights in Nepal and on the Nepal-China border have grown much more stringent since 2008. While Nepal has maintained some basic protections for Tibetans, it has restricted their freedom of assembly and expression and engaged in arbitrary arrest and detention of protesters or those believed to be planning protests. The government has also made it harder for Tibetans to obtain documentation that would allow them to go to school, seek employment, run businesses, or engage in other activities.

### Chinese Pressure on Nepal

It is no surprise that China would pressure Nepal to push back Tibetans or to crackdown on their political activities in Nepal. Beijing continues to assert that the 14th Dalai Lama and supporters of the Tibetan cause in exile or abroad play a major role in seeding discontent among ethnic Tibetans in China. It also continues to see this purported negative influence as a substantial hurdle to inculcating the kind of undivided political loyalty to the Communist Party and the state that it would like to see among Tibetans in China. For these reasons, measures to limit foreign and cross-border influence have featured prominently in the policies that Beijing has meticulously deployed since the 2008 protests.

These policies have included militarily sealing off Tibet's international borders to end the constant trickle of Tibetans fleeing the region. The approach seems to be working: the number of Tibetans crossing the border has dropped from an average of 2,200 per year before the 2008 protests, to under a thousand between 2009 and 2012, to 171 in 2013. The available evidence suggests that Tibetans detained by Chinese authorities for crossing the border irregularly from Nepal are routinely imprisoned and physically abused in China.

Beijing seems to have recognized early on that the Nepali state did not have the capacity or resources to carry out the significant expansion of the security sector that Beijing had in mind. It also recognized that Nepal had no strong national interest in curbing the activities of a community that has lived peacefully and played an important role in the tourism and export economy in Nepal for many decades, and whose well-being has been a consistent concern of representatives in Nepal of the United States and of a number of European countries.

China's decision to significantly scale up its economic and diplomatic engagement with Nepal after 2008—which cul-

minated with then-premier Wen Jiabao's state visit in January 2012 and with China becoming one of the top foreign direct investors in the country—was in part aimed at influencing Nepal's calculations about where its national interests lie. This strategy appears to have been at least partially effective.

The Chinese authorities have kept some Tibetans, apparently on an ad hoc basis, from returning to China. Since January 2013, more than 20 ethnic Tibetan citizens of China seeking to return to China, all carrying valid PRC documents, have been refused re-entry by Chinese officials and forced to remain in Nepali territory. The reasons are not entirely clear, but it appears to be an effort by China to discourage surreptitious visits to Dharamsala by Tibetans from China.

Yet in recent years Chinese officials have become more aggressive on Tibetan issues in Nepal. In 2008 the Chinese embassy attempted to influence a decision by the Nepali Supreme Court regarding the registration in Nepal of the Tibetan Welfare Office, the de facto representative office of the Dalai Lama and the Central Tibetan Administration (CTA). The effort succeeded, even though an unofficial office has continued to operate in the same location.

Nepal and China have a longstanding agreement "not to allow their territories to be used to carry out activities against the other," a commitment regularly reiterated in diplomatic statements. Nepal's adherence to the "One-China policy" and its resistance to "allowing its territory to be used for activities against China" are reaffirmed at every meeting between China and Nepal. Yet Chinese expectations of Nepal have grown. Nepal now commits to "not allowing its territory to be used by any force to carry out 'anti-China' activities" and to "crack down on anti-China activities."

### The Gentleman's Agreement

The "Gentleman's Agreement" was established between Nepal and UNHCR guaranteeing the "safe passage" of refugees from Tibet to India. The agreement states that Tibetan refugees apprehended

by the Nepali authorities be handed over to UNHCR for processing and transit to Dharamsala. China rejects the categorization of Tibetans who have fled Tibet as "refugees."

When we began this research, many refugee experts and analysts said they believed the Gentleman's Agreement was working well for all Tibetans in Nepal. The agreement appears to be working well for Tibetans apprehended far inside the territory of Nepal, but less well and much more erratically for those apprehended at or near the border.

Our research suggests that border police forces have forcibly returned to China Tibetans intercepted at the border or before they reach inhabited areas. A former senior Nepali Home Ministry official told Human Rights Watch that local border police have pushed back or repatriated Tibetans found at or near the border if the Armed Police Force determined that they were not "legitimate refugees," although no formal process was undertaken to make such a determination. A senior official from the Department of Immigration also told Human Rights Watch that while he was working along the border Tibetans were forced back. Tibetans interviewed by Human Rights Watch who had crossed the border from Tibet clandestinely at Kodari said that they had to reach Kathmandu without being caught by Nepali police otherwise they would be handed back to China.

While Human Rights Watch is not able to corroborate these claims, we believe they are credible and require further investigation, not least because any persons forced back face a high risk of torture or ill-treatment upon return to China. Nepal bars UNHCR staff from visiting border areas to monitor the situation directly. The number of refugees from Tibet registered by UNHCR fell to an unprecedented low of 171 individuals in 2013, compared to an annual average between 1991 and 2008 of more than 2,200.

## Key Recommendations of Human Rights Watch:

### To the Government of Nepal

Immediately stop forcibly returning Tibetans to China unless their right to seek asylum is protected, including those rejected at the border or apprehended in Nepal.

Strictly uphold and respect international law prohibiting refoulement

Immediately provide all eligible Tibetans with refugee identification certificates (RCs);

Issue RCs, as appropriate, to Tibetans who fled to Nepal after 1989 and are unable or unwilling to go to India to lodge asylum claims.

Ease renewal modalities and issue refugee certificates to eligible Tibetans as well as to their dependents (spouse and children).

Protect the rights of all persons in Nepal, including Tibetans, to freedom of expression and assembly, regardless of legal status, and cease dispersing peaceful protests by Tibetans.

Repeal restrictions on the rights of Tibetan residents to own property, work, establish and incorporate businesses, and travel freely.

### To the Government of China

Immediately end the torture and other ill-treatment of Tibetans arrested for having crossed or attempting to cross the border without proper documentation

Provide passports and end restrictions on Tibetans who wish to leave the country.

Allow re-entry to all Tibetans who are Chinese citizens.

End pressure on the government of Nepal or individual Nepali officials to engage in policies or take measures that are in contradiction with international human rights and refugee law

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## Mr. Henri Malosse, President of EESC Visits Dharamshala

A delegation led by Mr Henri Malosse, the President of the European Economic and Social Committee (EESC) of the European Union visited Dharamshala and attended the 55th anniversary of the Tibetan National Uprising Day in Dharamshala, the seat of the Central Tibetan Administration in exile.

Mr Malosse reiterated the EESC's commitment to support the CTA's Middle Way Approach and engage the Chinese government in dialogue with the Tibetan leadership to resolve the issue of Tibet.

Mr Henri Malosse said the delegation of the European Economic and Social Committee visited Dharamshala to show support to the case of Tibet, which he said is a universal issue of freedom, dignity and liberty of Tibet and the Tibetan people. "The Tibetan nation has been deprived of its dignity and freedom for a very long time. So, I came here to express my solidarity with the Tibetan people and other people oppressed by the Chinese government including the Chinese people," he said.

The EESC president said its priority is to save the identity and culture of the Tibetan people which is being threatened under the repressive rule of the Chinese government.

Mr Malosse applauded the democratic governance of the Central Tibetan Administration as a model organisation and its effective welfare and education of the Tibetan refugees.

Later addressing a meet the press event, Mr Malosse spoke about his recent meeting with the Chinese ambassador to the EU, who told him not to interfere in China's internal affair in view of his visit to Dharamshala. He told the Chinese Ambassador that the issue of Tibet is a global concern and dialogue on human rights in Tibet is a part of EU-China Strategic Dialogue, he said.

Mr Malosse said he was honored to be the first president of the European Economic and Social Committee to visit the

Central Tibetan Administration and attend the Tibetan National Uprising Day on 10 March.

He reiterated his support for the Middle Way Approach to resolve the Tibet issue



*Mr. Henri Malosse, President of the European Economic and Social Committee, addressing the 55th anniversary of the Tibetan National Uprising Day in Dharamshala on 10 March 2014*

through dialogue between the Chinese government and the Tibetan leadership.

"As the only president of the European Union to visit the government of Tibet in exile, he wanted to pay tribute to the victims of the repression in Tibet and through them to all the people deprived of liberty in China and everywhere in the world," said a statement posted on his website later that day.

"The Tibet question is universal", said Mr Henri Malosse in his address at the Tibetan National Uprising Day in Dharamshala. "It is a question of liberty, democracy and solidarity, which are the values at the foundation of the European Union. As such, Europe has these values as a legacy and must defend them everywhere they are in danger in order to find a sustainable solution. Thus, support must be brought to the Middle Way Approach of Tibetans – Umaylam – and to the dialogue with China. It is the same approach that claims for a European involvement in the recent events in Crimea, not by following the other actors such as Russians or Americans, but by being more coherent and imposing dialogue between all the stakeholders," he said.

"It is Europe's duty to direct efforts towards setting up dialogue between the Tibetan people and the People's Republic of China without pre-conditions. I thus firmly believe that civil society – in Tibet, China and Europe – has the po-

tential to facilitate a peaceful way out of the crisis, as it has demonstrated in other conflicts in the past," he said.

The EESC president praised the will of the Tibetan community in exile expressed through their level of organisation, democratic structures, and civil society's commitment such as its active chamber of commerce. The Tibetan people have thus shown the strength of a people fighting for its dignity for more than half a century. Even if the road seems endless for Tibetans, the solution unexpectedly can be closer than it seems, such as was the case of the iron curtain in Europe even if Europeans are still struggling to prevent its return. "The Dalai Lama spoke about what is "beyond religion" such as ethics and a universal approach", said Henri Malosse. "I will underline that we have to look for what exists "beyond empires" in politics to find a sustainable way of living together for the well-being of all peoples."

Responding to questions, Mr Malosse assured the EESC would make efforts to have a EU Special Coordinator for Tibet

Thanking the EESC President for his support, Sikyong Dr Lobsang Sangay

said: “We express our profound gratitude to you for coming to Dharamsala and showing solidarity with the Tibetan people. In your position as the president of the European Economic and Social Committee and to partake in the 55th anniversary of the Tibetan National Uprising Day sends a strong message to the international community that freedom is universal and it sends a message of hope to the Tibetans inside Tibet that we have friends around the world who hear them and support them as well.”

“I thank your gesture for physically coming here to support Tibet and the Tibetan people despite pressure from the Chinese government. We appreciate your two specific reasons for coming to Dharamsala to support the Middle Way Approach as the realistic way forward which should be considered by the Chinese government to resolve the Tibet issue through dialogue. Secondly, your acknowledgement of the Central Tibetan Administration as a successful organisation or an entity which is taking care of the Tibetan refugees which could serve as an example for other marginalised people around the world. We take pride in saying that the CTA is functioning quite effectively for the last more than fifty years and have been quite successful not just in looking after the welfare of Tibetan refugees but also keeping our culture, identity alive and vibrant,” Sikyong said.

“We are pleased to welcome him again as the president of the European Economic and Social Committee to Dharamshala. It means a great deal to the Tibetan people that you have travelled this far with your colleagues to express solidarity with the plight of the Tibetan people on the 55th anniversary of the Tibetan Uprising day,” said Kalon Dicki Chhoyang of the Department of Information and International Relations.

The EU delegation also met His Holiness the Dalai Lama at his official residence during their visit. The delegation was composed of Madi Sharma, Tomasz Jasiński and Anne Marie Sigmund, joined by Vincent Metten, representative of the NGO International Campaign for Tibet in Brussels.

## Himachal Pradesh University Confers Honorary Degree on His Holiness the Dalai Lama



Tibet’s spiritual leader His Holiness the Dalai Lama was conferred with an honorary Doctor of Letters (D.Litt) degree by Governor Urmila Singh at the 21st convocation ceremony of the Himachal Pradesh University in Shimla, the capital of northern Indian state of Himachal Pradesh, on 19 March.

His Holiness the Dalai Lama and the Governor awarded 123 gold medals and certificates, 194 doctorate degrees to meritorious students in the convocation ceremony.

Addressing students and faculty at the convocation, His Holiness stressed the need to inculcate ancient Indian teachings with modern education. “India is a very rich country full of knowledge and wisdom and there is an urgent need to harness that, especially by the youth, for educational prosperity,” he said.

The Nobel Peace Laureate stressed the need of traditional education system for transforming a realistic society which in return gives new heights to the philosophy of the “gurus” adding that the students should use the knowledge gathered for the welfare of society and

their real achievement lies in using the knowledge with wisdom.

He said India has a flourishing democratic set up which has paved the way for peace, progress and stability throughout the world.

“The three big civilizations — Indus Valley, Indian and Chinese — have given new vistas to the phrase of humanity and incidentally all of them lie in the Asian continent,” he added.

While in Shimla, His Holiness the Dalai Lama paid a visit to Jonang Phuntsok Takten Choeling monastery and Dorjee Drak monastery, where he was welcomed by hundreds of Tibetans, including Settlement Officer Tsering Tashi and officials of the monasteries.

His Holiness the Dalai Lama also visited the Central School for Tibetans, where he was received by Education Secretary Ngodup Tsering and other local officials. He gave a teaching to a crowd of students and local Tibetans. He also released a biography of Khunu Geshe Palden Senge penned by Prof. V. S. Negi of the department of Buddhist studies at the Himachal Pradesh University.

## Shri Ram College of Commerce celebrates 88th Annual Day, His Holiness the Dalai Lama was Chief Guest

Shri Ram College of Commerce celebrated its 88th Annual Day on Monday, March 24, 2014. The Chief Guest was His Holiness the 14th Dalai Lama of Tibet and the Guest of Honour was Shri Analjit Singh, Eminent SRCC alumnus and Founder and CMD, Max India Ltd.

Shri Ajay S. Shriram, Chairman, SRCC Governing Body and CMD, DCM Shriram Ltd. welcomed the guests and spoke about the achievements of the College. He also elaborated upon the plans for the future where infrastructure development will continue to remain a priority area for the College management. He shared his ideas on promoting research among faculty and students, internationalisation, value-addition and professional skill development. Principal, Dr. P. C. Jain presented the College Annual Report that showcased the laurels and activities in the course of the previous academic year, 2013-14.

The College publications: Yamuna, the SRCC Students Magazine, Business Analyst, the bi-annual Research Journal of SRCC, a special edition of the Business Analyst compiling the Bangkok International Conference papers, Prerna, the NSS Magazine and Artha, the Economics Society's Student Journal, were released by the honoured guests.

Shri Analjit Singh mentioned how he felt blessed in the company of the Dalai Lama. He asked the audience to pick up one thing from what His Holiness would say as a takeaway for a lifetime.

His Holiness the Dalai Lama who had been received in the traditional Tibetan way by students of the College spoke about the importance of the Indian civilization, its thinkers and teachings of the gurus that has always stood up to the test of times. He mentioned how Karuna or Compassion is a determinant in the

evaluation of Indian culture. He referred to the twentieth century as a century of progress but also a century of war and violence. He called upon the younger generation who are the true inheritors of the twenty-first century to make this century into a century of conflict resolution, a century of dialogue. His message was simple: action is of greater necessity than belief. His Holiness also took questions from students and explained to them the essence of spirituality. He signed the Visitor's Book with his message.

The programme was followed by the Prize and Award Distribution Ceremony. Eminent Alumni and meritorious students were given medals, prizes and certificates for their contribution. The Function was followed by lunch for all the guests, students, faculty and alumni.

### His Holiness the Dalai Lama interacts with Indian students on ethics and compassion

On a bright spring morning in the Indian capital, His Holiness the Dalai Lama met with almost 260 students as well as 40 teachers and principals from 13 Delhi schools including the Step by Step School, Mount Abu School, Salwan Public School, Springdales School – Daula Kuan, Springdales School – Pusa Road, India Habitat Learning Centre, Bal Bharati School – Rohini, Bal Bharati School - Pitampura, Aman Biradari Homes, Vasant Valley School, G. D. Goenka School, Pathways International School, and Bluebells International School. The theme of the discussion was Ethics and Compassion for Young Minds and the event began with a young woman graciously welcoming and introducing His Holiness and a young man offering him a symbolic white scarf. His Holiness responded:

“I am very happy to be here to meet you young people, young brothers and sis-

ters. The world belongs to humanity. As a result of human intelligence we have made a lot of progress, and yet human beings can also be a source of trouble. War, for example, which is nothing more than legalised violence, is something only human beings engage in. During excessive wars in the 20th century some

historians say up to 200 million people were killed, including many innocent people, women, children and the aged among them. Nuclear weapons were used. In Hiroshima I met survivors of those attacks and heard of their terrible experiences, something that should never be repeated.”



*His Holiness the Dalai Lama shaking hands as he departs from the interactive discussion with students in New Delhi, India on March 22, 2014. Photo/Tenzin Choejor/OHHDL*

He said that people of his age belong to a century that is now gone, but will look forward to what the new generation can achieve. This is why His Holiness is keen to meet young people, because while the past is past and cannot be changed, the future remains open like space in which there is still room to move. He said that young people like those before him have the opportunity to create a more peaceful world, a world built on compassion rather than fear. He advised that if they acted honestly, truthfully and transparently they would win trust and friendship.

His Holiness noted that India is one of the world's ancient nations that for thousands of years has cherished the idea of ahimsa or non-violence, which finds expression in tolerance and inter-religious harmony.

“What holds society together is concern for others, while anger and hatred split it apart. On an individual level, science has shown that warm-heartedness con-



tributes to physical well-being. Findings also reveal that even preliminary training in compassionate attitudes can reduce blood pressure and stress, so individuals feel happier and enjoy better inter-personal relations. Now, let's have some questions and a more heated discussion!”

A young man opened the questions by asking about the status of women in Buddhism. In his reply His Holiness mentioned the general need for a firm sense of ethics rather than faith. He explained that the Buddha had treated men and women equally, they had the same rights and similar precepts. However, when monks and nuns gather the monks take precedence because of the social climate existing at the time of the Buddha. In the greater vehicle traditions,

men and women are equal and in the tantric tradition women are honoured and practitioners are forbidden to look down on them. He mentioned a meeting of religious leaders he is convening in September at which the status of women will be a topic of discussion along with anachronisms like dowry and caste distinctions.

Asked about the economy, His Holiness said that the gap between rich and poor must be reduced. He also remarked that while India has to put its own interests forward, it must also take the world's needs into account. Whenever problems or conflicts arise in this connection, they should be resolved through dialogue not a resort to force and weapons. To a question about whether he had ever felt sad and lonely, he recalled sitting in retreat in the dark Potala palace in the company of his stern tutor. He would find relief in watching mice drink from the water bowls and listened to boys and girls outside bringing their flocks home. He briefly yearned to be free like them, but said that eventually he realised he could use his name and position to benefit others.

With regard to technology by which so many are distracted His Holiness said it is important to remember that technology should serve humanity and not the other way around. If we allow ourselves to become slaves to it we'll have no rest.

A young woman asked if compassion doesn't often involve attachment and His Holiness commended the question saying that the compassion that arises as a biological instinct is like that. However, as human beings we can use our intelligence to extend it, reflecting that if others are happy, we will be happy. He noted an increasing resistance to the use of violence and a growing desire for peace in the world. He remarked that action is more effective than prayer. Since human beings are responsible for violence, they must put a stop to it and create peace.

The afternoon session began earlier than planned when His Holiness first released a book, the second in a series of novels, 'Gaise Jampa Goes to Tibet' by Neerja Madhav.

“This text I'm going to read, the '37 Practices of a Bodhisattva' was written by a Tibetan master called Thogmey Zangpo (1285-1369),” His Holiness explained. “He was a great practitioner of the awakening mind of bodhichitta and a good scholar too. The subject is compassion and infinite altruism. We all want to live a happy life and avoid suffering. And while we have developed impressive technology, we haven't yet developed our minds accordingly. Sensory satisfaction is short-lived, but the peace derived from mental development is longer lasting and more powerful. It can also help us withstand physical problems.”

His Holiness commended the need to think of the Buddha as a teacher not a protector, someone who said: “You are your own master; the Buddha only shows the path. He does not say your future is in my hands, he says it depends on your practice. Since you are your own master, who else will your master be?” His Holiness pointed out that the scriptural teachings comprise the texts in the Three Collections, while the teaching to be realized consists of the Three Trainings. These are common to several Indian spiritual traditions and only when followed in the context of selflessness do they become the Three Higher Trainings. Scriptural teachings are like a prescription, teachings to be realized are like the medication.

Having affirmed the Buddha's statement that happiness and suffering are not without cause, but are also not the result of some permanent cause, His Holiness embarked on a complex exploration of the relation between cause and effect. He spoke of how a cause is not a cause until it gives rise to an effect, and yet the cause ceases just as the effect arises. A man is not a father until his child is conceived. There are similar relations between action, agent and the object of the action. These interdependent relations indicate that nothing exists independently.

His Holiness remarked on the contribution the 'Ornament of Clear Realization' (Abhisamayalankara) and 'Entering the Middle Way' (Madhyamakavatara)

make to these discussions and how difficult these two texts are for monks to memorize. The philosophical positions they describe are a direct antidote to misconceptions about true existence. They are part of the various means the Buddha taught to lead sentient beings out of suffering. Ultimately things arise through dependent origination; they exist as merely designated. The Perfection of Wisdom Sutras say everything is a mere label or designation.

Reading the homage at the opening of the '37 Practices' His Holiness mentioned that he recites a verse of homage to the Buddha on waking every day. It expresses gratitude for his teaching of dependent origination. He reiterated that the aim of Buddhist teaching is liberation and enlightenment and to achieve it we need to understand emptiness, something that only human beings can do.

As he read through the verses of the text he pointed out impermanence, the perils of preoccupation with the next life, the power of the practice of exchanging self with others, the ultimate awakening mind with its space like absorption and illusion like appearance. Then came the verses dealing with the Six Perfections. Finally, he highlighted the admonition in the penultimate verse: "Whatever you are doing ask yourself 'What's the state of my mind?'"

Briskly reading through the 'Eight Verses for Training the Mind' His Holiness mentioned that he long ago memorized the text and finds reciting it to himself can be far more helpful than saying prayers because it contains advice on how to conduct yourself.

As the afternoon session came to an end, an artist, Ashok Chopra, came forward to offer a portrait he had done of His Holiness, who held it up and asked the audience:

"Which looks better the painting or my real face?"

The next day, His Holiness the Dalai Lama conducted an empowerment teaching related to Buddha Shakyamuni establishing the three pledges.

## Sinful to discriminate against leprosy patients: H.H the Dalai Lama

Even though India has achieved the World Health Organisation's (WHO) elimination level for leprosy, the social stigma associated with the disease is still prevalent, Tibetan spiritual leader Dalai Lama has said.

"This is a physical condition like any other and people should not look down upon others. All human beings are equal and capable. Discrimination on the basis of caste, religion or any other condition is a sinful act," the Dalai Lama said during a visit to the Tahirpur Leprosy Complex.

The purpose of the visit was to boost the morales of leprosy patients and their families and help people overcome their prejudice against the affected. In 2005, a total of 1,34,752 cases were reported in India and new cases of leprosy were reported which was 58 per cent of the cases reported world-wide. The leading states where new cases were reported are Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal, Bihar, Maharashtra and Gujarat.

"People who spend money on luxury are foolish. They should spend money for the needy. If you believe in God or Buddhism and spend your money on the needy you will accumulate good Karma," said the spiritual leader.

He pledged his help for leprosy-affected people and promised to donate Rs 10 lakh to the Kasturba Gram Kusht Ashram, Leprosy Complex in Tahirpur in Delhi.

Over the next five years, royalties received by the trust from the sale of the books written by the spiritual leader will be donated to the Ashram.

"A smiling man is always better than a rich and healthy man; because a smiling man has the confidence in him to smile and be happy in life," the spiritual leader said.

Leprosy, one of the oldest known diseases to mankind, is quite prevalent in India. However, through the efforts of individuals and various organisations, like Nippon Foundation, the eradication of the disease is not such a distant dream.

"If the brain is functioning then the

physical condition does not matter as, with your brain, you can solve problems and achieve a lot in life. "So, if your brain is functioning, you have the confidence which makes you smile," he said.

From April, 2012, to March, 2013, 1.35 lakh new cases of leprosy were reported in the country, which gives an Annual New Case Detection Rate (ANCDR) of 10.78 per cent for every 100,000 population, an increase of 4.15 per cent over 2011-12, a National Leprosy Eradication Programme 2012-13 survey has found.

In Delhi, 1,252 new cases were detected in 2012-2013, the report said. "Thanks to the (central) and the state governments, we have been able to control the situation in India. We are visiting various states to bring the cases of leprosy down from where we are currently at," said Yohei Sasakawa, Chairman of the Nippon Foundation and WHO Goodwill Ambassador for Elimination of Leprosy.

In India, there are about 850 colonies of which 31 are in Delhi. Serious human rights violations such as lack of education, employment opportunities, health facilities and basic amenities are reported in these colonies.

"Our colonies face problems due to absence of basic amenities like proper sewage systems, street lighting. Neither are the homes which we stay in registered in our name. So, some day, government might throw out our families from here after we die. We have informed the government about our problems, but that has fallen on deaf ears," said Venu Gopal, a resident of Kasturba Gram Kusht Ashram.

"According to government's survey in 1981, 2,600 leprosy-affected people were getting pension. Now, only 700 people are getting pension. "New patients of leprosy are not on the list as the survey has not been done. Former chief minister Sheila Dixit had in 2006 promised that a new survey will be done for leprosy-affected people, but nothing has been done yet," charged Giridhar Lal, in-charge of Hari Om Kusht Colony. (PTI)

## Statement of Sikyong Dr. Lobsang Sangay on the 55th Anniversary of the Tibetan National Uprising Day



*Sikyong Dr. Lobsang Sangay delivering the Statement on 10th March 2014*

Fifty-five years ago, thousands of Tibetans spontaneously gathered on this day in Lhasa, the capital city of Tibet, to protect His Holiness the Dalai Lama and protest against Chinese occupation. Seven days later, His Holiness the Dalai Lama left Lhasa and fled to India. 80,000 Tibetans followed him into exile.

I visited Tawang in Arunachal Pradesh this January and was profoundly moved to see the path His Holiness the Dalai Lama took to enter India. I also visited Bomdila and Tuting, where thousands of Tibetans sought refuge. There is no escape from the painful reality that many of the elders who were forced to make the journey into exile in 1959 have died without fulfilling their dreams of returning to their homeland. Similarly, innumerable Tibetans in Tibet have died without reuniting with family members or realizing their freedom. I take great solace, however, that their hopes and dreams live and grow in their children.

Demonstrations of resilience and resolve by Tibetans inside Tibet from the uprisings and resistance in Kham and Amdo in the 1950s, to the protests in Lhasa in the 1980s, to the nation-wide uprising in 2008 and the recent self-immolations reveal that the struggle for Tibet will not

abate. The Tibetan struggle today is led by a new generation of Tibetans inside Tibet and in exile. It is the younger generation of Tibetans in Tibet who clearly and loudly demand their identity, freedom and unity. The new generation of Tibetans in exile participates in similar endeavors.

School children in Chabcha have demanded Tibetan language instructions in their schools, Tibetans in Driru have refused to hoist Chinese flags on their rooftops, and outcries over the human loss and environmental destruction of Gyama mine in Meldro Gungkar reach our ears. These protests unambiguously refute the Chinese propaganda that, “except for a few, Tibetans are happy in Tibet.”

Since 2009, there have been 126 self-immolations all across Tibet. Despite repeated appeals not to engage in such drastic actions, the self-immolations have continued. Tsultrim Gyatso, a monk, who self-immolated on December 19, 2013, wrote in his last testament: “Can you hear me? Can you see it? Can you hear it? I am compelled to burn my precious body for the return of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, for the release of the imprisoned Panchen Lama and for

the welfare of the six million Tibetans.”

The Kashag expresses its deepest respect to all the brave men and women in Tibet. The Kashag is listening to the calls for the end of repression and suffering of Tibetans inside Tibet. It is for this reason that its primary and immediate objective is to peacefully resolve the issue of Tibet through dialogue as soon as possible. At the same time, the Kashag needs a long-term strategy to strengthen and sustain our struggle, if necessary. One complements the other, and so the Kashag will make efforts to both resolve the issue of Tibet through dialogue and successfully sustain the Tibetan struggle.

My fellow Tibetans, we must bear in mind that the year 2020 will mark 70 years since the invasion of Tibet by the People’s Republic of China. By then, the generation of Tibetans with memories of a free Tibet will have greatly dwindled. His Holiness the Dalai Lama will turn 85 and by that year he will have led the Tibetan people for 70 uninterrupted years. The next generation of Tibetan leadership inside and outside Tibet has to cope with a crucial and challenging reality. Tibetans inside Tibet will have no personal memories of traditional Tibet, while Tibetans outside of Tibet will know only a life lived in exile. Exile Tibetans constitute only 2.5 percent of six million Tibetans but it is likely there will be equal number of Tibetans in the West and in India, Nepal and Bhutan.

Exile is a precarious phase of uncertainty and contingency, and occupation can be a dangerous transition to permanent subjugation. The challenge we face will be in reconciling the distance and gap between life in exile and life under Chinese occupation. We will have to learn to carry forward the freedom struggle under these very different Tibetan realities and experiences, none of which are rooted in personal memories of a free Tibet. How do we achieve this?

As a long-term strategy, we need to build self-reliance in the Tibetan world,

in thought and action. Our more than 50-year-old movement cannot depend solely on others to help us achieve our goals. It is time to assume individual responsibility and collective leadership and stand on our own feet. We need to build our individual and collective strengths. We need to reflect deeply.

I believe that education is our most potent and realistic investment and tool. The more skillfully we educate our entire population, the more successfully we will develop strong foundations of self-reliant economic, technological, and governmental systems. Our global supporters know our cause is just and they value our Buddhist heritage. Tibetans embrace the values of humility, integrity, and resilience as the bedrock foundation of the Tibetan struggle. To that we must add modern education to achieve our goals. It is the combination of traditional values and contemporary education that will keep our struggle vigorous, dynamic, and formidable.

It is crucial that younger Tibetans study the language and history of the nation. It is equally important that they record the stories and narratives of individual families and ancestral land. Continue to enjoy momos in Tibetan restaurants and wear chubas in celebration of the Tibetan culture, but for identity to take strong roots we must educate ourselves, engage deeply with Tibetans from Tibet, and reflect individually on the challenges that lie ahead. 2014 is a year to engage, educate, and empower ourselves and the movement.

To maintain unity and achieve effectiveness in the exile community, a central core is critical and for Tibetans, the Central Tibetan Administration serves as this irreplaceable core. The Kashag invites dedicated youth to take leadership positions in the Central Tibetan Administration and in other Tibet-related organizations.

In conclusion, I welcome the recent meeting between His Holiness the Dalai Lama and President Barack Obama. I appreciate President Obama's strong endorsement of the Middle Way Approach. A genuine autonomy for Tibet through the Middle Way Approach aspires to

replace political repression with basic freedom, economic marginalization with economic empowerment, social discrimination with social equality, cultural assimilation with cultural promotion and environmental destruction with environmental protection. We are committed to the Middle Way as the most effective approach to end the suffering in Tibet. It is our hope that the new Chinese leadership led by President Xi Jinping will pay heed and adopt this pragmatic and moderate stand.

The Kashag would like to thank the great nation of India and its kind people. After assuming political responsibilities in Dharamsala, I came to realize more than ever how much India has supported and continues to support Tibet and the Tibetan people. The Kashag also extends deep appreciation to governments, parliamentarians, Tibet Support Groups and individuals around the world and urges them to continue the journey with us.

I am happy to announce that the Central Tibetan Administration will observe 2014 as the year of His Holiness the 14th Dalai Lama, to pay tribute to his visionary leadership and contribution to Tibet and the world. I am also happy to remind Tibetans and our friends across the globe that 2014 marks the 25th anniversary of His Holiness the Dalai Lama receiving

the Nobel Peace Prize. On April 25th, we will also commemorate the 25th birthday of the 11th Panchen Gedun Choekyi Nyima.

The Tibetan people have risen time after time to overcome great adversities in the long history of our civilization. Today, our sense of identity, solidarity, and dignity is deeper than ever. If we remain united, and bring the rich traditions of the elders to interplay with the innovation and dynamism of the younger generation, I firmly believe that the Chinese government will have no choice but to address our aspirations.

Dear Tibetan brothers and sisters inside Tibet, our journey may be long and the challenges may appear daunting, but we will succeed. In Tawang, I saw the path His Holiness the Dalai Lama, our parents, and grandparents took from Tibet to India. From a distance, I could see the great mountains and rivers of Tibet. I took it as a good omen to begin 2014, that like you, I saw a path back to Tibet.

Finally, I pray for the long life of His Holiness the Dalai Lama and the immediate resolution of the issue of Tibet.

10th March, 2014

Dharamsala

*I believe that education is our most potent and realistic investment and tool. The more skillfully we educate our entire population, the more successfully we will develop strong foundations of self-reliant economic, technological, and governmental systems. Our global supporters know our cause is just and they value our Buddhist heritage. Tibetans embrace the values of humility, integrity, and resilience as the bedrock foundation of the Tibetan struggle. To that we must add modern education to achieve our goals. It is the combination of traditional values and contemporary education that will keep our struggle vigorous, dynamic, and formidable.*

## Statement of the Tibetan Parliament-in-Exile on the occasion of the 55th Anniversary of the Tibetan National Uprising Day



*Mr. Penpa Tsering, Speaker of the Tibetan Parliament in Exile delivering the statement on 10th March 2014*

Today is the 55th anniversary of the Tibetan National Uprising which took place in Tibet's capital Lhasa on 10th March 1959. This historic event took place as a culmination of events marked by the invasion and occupation of Tibet, subjugation of its people, and pursuit of actions which threatened the life of His Holiness the Dalai Lama under a policy of naked and all-out aggression pursued by the communist government of China. The people of Tibet, being no longer able to endure such a situation, displayed undaunted valour to rise in a spontaneous outburst of uprising. For all the Tibetan compatriots who died untimely deaths, or who have suffered or who to this day continue to suffer oppression for the national religious, political and fellow-nationals' causes under the yoke of the imperialist and repressive policies of the government of China since that momentous event, we offer our admiration. We take this opportunity to express our appreciation to them and to praise them for their totally selfless and highly courageous deeds. We also use this occasion to offer our tribute to them; to express our solidarity with them; and, indeed, to bow in respect to them all.

Speaking in general terms, it is beyond

dispute and a matter of common knowledge everywhere that Tibet and China have evolved as two uniquely different neighbouring countries, whether one speaks about their natural geographical formations, racial ethnicities, cultures, languages, customs and habits, and national histories. Nevertheless, as soon as it seized political power in China, the communist Party of China, using the pretext of a so-called 'peaceful liberation,' launched a military invasion of Tibet and occupied the entire territory. Not contented with that, it launched what it called campaigns of Democratic Reform, Cultural Revolution, and so on. Their real aim was to obliterate Tibet's unique religious and cultural heritage, and people. They were highly atrocious policies of lie, deceit, and brazenness launched on successive occasions and under which countless numbers of innocent Tibetans were put to untimely deaths. These are universally known facts.

It is as a result of the past as well as the still continuing implementation of highly atrocious and deceitful policies of colonialism that the people of Tibet, being unable to endure the situation anymore, staged peaceful protest demonstrations

on successive occasions. They did so since the 1980s, including the widespread one which engulfed the whole of Tibet in the Earth-Mouse Year in 2008. The Chinese government carried out savage, inhuman crackdowns on those peaceful demonstrations. Such reprisal actions drove the Tibetan people to even greater desperation and a feeling of utter helplessness. And so, giving up their all, and being driven to do so, they carried out protests by burning themselves, shouting slogans to voice their demands that His Holiness the Dalai Lama be invited back to Tibet, that Tibetans be given freedom, and so on. From the time monk Tapey immolated himself in Ngaba area of Domey in eastern Tibet on 27 February 2009 to the date of 13 February 2014, when Lobsang Dorje did so, also in Ngaba, a total of 126 Tibetans have carried out this form of extreme protest, according to the facts which became available and which have been verified by us. Of them, 108 have died. Within the community of the Tibetans in exile too, a man named Thupten Ngodup immolated himself on 27 April 1998 in India's capital New Delhi. Since then, until 6 August 2013, when Karma Ngedhon Gyatso torched himself in Nepal's capital Kathmandu, a total of seven Tibetans have carried out such fiery protests. Of them, four died, while the remaining three survived.

The causes of the continuing protests by Tibetans in Tibet against the Chinese government, including in the form of self-immolations, are violent political repressions, cultural assimilation, economic marginalization, ethnic discrimination, nomadic displacement, environmental destruction, and so on. Everyone knows that the government of China has carried out and still continues to implement such hardline and cruel policies in Tibet.

In the year that has just gone by too, China did not relent even an inch to relax its policy of tight restrictions in Tibet. In 2013, the government of China dispatched a total of more than 18,000



cadres to the Kham Driru area alone. The multitude of purposes for this action included forcing the Tibetan people to show loyalty to the Communist Party of China and the People's Republic of China under its rule and to fly the national flag of China. The residents of the area's Mowa Township made clear their disapproval of such intimidation and coercive dicta from the authorities with various forms of protest, including by dumping the red flag of China into the local river. The Chinese police and army took extremely violent and strike-hard reprisal actions against them. In addition, many children were removed from their schools in this area and forced to return home. Also, everywhere in areas neighbouring Mowa Township, army camps of various sizes as well as monitoring and investigation centres were set up. The Tibetan people were thereby subjected to high degrees of all manners of oppression and controls in their day to day lives. As a result, the situation once again came to resemble the period of the virulent campaigns during the Cultural Revolution. Also in the recent past, the people's government in Dzoeg County of Sichuan Province publicized a document with 16 clauses listing rules of reprisal actions required to be taken in response to self-immolation protests carried out by Tibetans. They include provisions to deprive civil and political rights of Tibetans and to intimidate and impose restrictions, and are already being implemented in full force.

Tibet, known as the Roof of the World, is also referred to as the globe's third pole on account of its critical importance as the source of much of the Asian rivers, for its role in global climate change, and so on. Its environmental conditions have direct impact on other environments. Nevertheless, the government of China continues to carry out in Tibet indiscriminate building of numerous new electric power stations and water reservoirs, mineral resource exploitations, clear felling of tree, fencing of pastures and grasslands, and building beyond limits highways and railway networks. Likewise, it also carries out unlimited building of dams, projects for diversion of rivers, and so on, thereby causing untold damage to Tibet's natu-

ral environment. As a result, rivers and lakes affecting some three billion people across Asia, including China and India, have reached critically dangerous stages of drying up or stoppage. Last year, the Tibetan people of Gedrong Township in Dzatoe County of Kham Yulshul Prefecture (Qinghai Province), staged a peaceful protest demonstration when the government of China initiated a mineral extraction project in the area. The Chinese government responded by sending in armed troops to crack down on them. The troops fired teargas shells on the protesters, jabbed them with high-voltage electric batons, used other forms of violence on the Tibetans, and detained numerous innocent Tibetans.

The government of China has dispatched a large number of work teams of cadres, backed by armed troops, to the villages and pastoral areas across Tibet. By such means, the people of Tibet have been deprived of their right to travel to other parts of Tibet or to be visited by Tibetans from other parts of Tibet. As regards economically productive activities like running shops and factories, and setting up projects of various kinds, the majority of them have come to be owned privately by ethnic Chinese people. The needy Tibetan villagers and nomads have, on the other hand, not at all benefitted from these.

In the monasteries, the main centres of Tibet's religious and cultural heritage, the monks and nuns are, much against their wishes, being forced to listen to propaganda readings and to study the stands and policies and so on of the government of China. They are thereby being forced to turn their backs on the study, practice and teaching of their religion. As regards the displaying of visually liberating images of His Holiness the Dalai Lama for purposes of offering worship, a ban has been imposed. What is more, the Tibetan people are being coerced to blaspheme and libel against His Holiness the Dalai Lama with orders to isolate him in the fields of both religion and politics. Besides, since last year, a vicious policy called ensuring the purity of the monks was implemented in the Tibetan Buddhist monasteries in areas such as Amdo Labrang Monastery, Mogru Monastery

and this remains in full force today. At the end of the year 2013, the living quarters of the ordinary monks and the places of worship of Kham Drongna Monastery were forced to shut down. Likewise, monasteries such as Rabten Gonpa and Tarmoe Gonpa located in Kham Nagshoe Driru Dzong were also forcibly shut down and the monks made to end all religious activities. Likewise, in the area of education, the government of China has shown absolutely no concern despite pleas made by students and numerous educated people, calling for Tibetan to be made the main language of teaching.

According to the 2013 Annual Report by the Tibetan Centre for Human Rights and Democracy, Dharamsala, the total number of Tibetans detained or jailed for carrying out political activities today stand at 920. In 2013 alone, 215 Tibetans were arrested on pretext of political activities and were sentenced.

Making use of the opportunity offered by the occasion today, we would again like to make one very emphatic reiteration: The nature of the Tibetan struggle remains a resolute one of non-violence, with commitment to the Middle Way Policy, without any sort of wavering. At all times, from the very beginning until now, the Central Tibetan Administration has continued to make efforts, in keeping with the wishes of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, to resolve the issue of Tibet through dialogue with the government of China. This has been manifest to all those who have remained in enjoyment of freedom and democracy. Nevertheless, the government of China has at all times made various devious efforts to misrepresent the Tibetan struggle as being characteristically marked by violence, as indeed it is still doing now. For example, in 2008, when there was a violent incident in Zhongqing city in which a policeman on guard duty was killed in a clandestine attack, a false announcement was made to suggest that it was the work of a Tibetan terrorist. In 2014 too, when there was an arson attack on the gate of the Chinese Consulate in the US city of San Francisco, a suggestion was put out as if a Tibetan was connected with the incident. In particular, dur-

ing the uprising protests across Tibet in 2008, or during the self-immolation protests by Tibetans since 2009 and, indeed, every time Tibetans carry out a peaceful protest action, a misrepresentation was invariably sought to be made to paint it as a violent action. All sorts of misrepresentations are being sought to be put out that the so-called violent protests are taking place on the basis of the instigation and with the infiltration of His Holiness the Dalai Lama and the Central Tibetan Administration. Internationally, the Chinese government has also increased pressure and criticism against governments, parliaments, organizations and even individuals on Tibet related issues. For example, efforts were made to prevent the meeting which recently took place between the US President Mr. Barack Obama and His Holiness the Dalai Lama and China also made it clear that it would never recognize the Special Coordinator on Tibet issues announced at that time by the United States government. But leave aside such major incidents; even minor ones were not spared. Even in an extreme case, Kochon Prize selection committee of TB experts (Stop TB partnership, WHO) unanimously nominated the Noble Peace Prize winner Doctors without Border (MSF) and Tibetan TB Control Programme at Delek Hospital, Dharamsala for their appreciative contribution to their fight against TB, for the prestigious 2013 Stop TB Partnership Kochon Prize. As a result of the Chinese government's direct pressure, the formal approval could not be signed which therefore stands withdrawn. We are resolute in expressing our outrage against such evil and wanton interferences in the functioning of international organizations and in the freedoms of independent countries.

Nevertheless, today, there is a rising attention to the tragic situation in Tibet and increasing support for the Tibetan people as a result of it. Including the US government and Congress, governments and parliaments of many countries, international non-governmental human rights organizations, have expressed grave concern on the issue of Tibet and made appeals to the government of China in efforts towards achieving a Sino-Tibetan dialogue. In particular, on

21 February 2014, when His Holiness the Dalai Lama and the President of the United States of America, Mr Barack Obama, again met in the White House for about an hour, the latter expressed his government's support for His Holiness's Middle Way Policy designed as an effort for the resolution of the Sino-Tibetan dispute. Apart from that, President Obama also expressed his government's deep concern over the greatly worsening situation in Tibet with regard to human rights and religious freedom. At the same time, he also issued an emphatic call on the government of China to enter into a meaningful dialogue with His Holiness the Dalai Lama or his representatives. However, the policy of the government of China towards the issue of Tibet has so far continued to harden and worsen considerably, without any sight or sound indicating a sign of liberalization. Such a state of affair remains a source of deep anguish to us. In November 2013, The People's Republic of China got elected to the United Nations Human Rights council. Nevertheless, there are serious doubts about the government of China's ability or willingness to fulfill its commitment to respect the provisions of the basic human rights and freedoms enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of the United Nations. This being the case, we strongly appeal with a great hope to the governments and peoples of this world, as well as, especially, to the ordinary people of China, urging them to be unbiased and seek truth accordingly.

Likewise, when we look in hindsight at the past 55 years, we notice that there have been continuous strong moves to indoctrinate the Tibetans in Tibet through propaganda announcements, from the government of China with regard to its positions, policies, and so on. Nevertheless, because its utterances were invariably incompatible with its deeds, there was no way the public could ever repose trust in the actions and behaviours of the government of China. It is an all too well known fact, therefore, that there are many ordinary people who are vehement while showing their disapproval and distrust of the government of China. Such being the situation, it is high time that the leaders of China give

up their attitude of obstinate and invariably clinging to autocratic and narrow minded thinking. With a clear and open mind, coupled with an attitude of being an excellent human being, the leaders of China should adapt themselves to the developmental trends and moral ethos of the evolving world. By such a course of corrective and reformed behaviour, the Chinese leaders should make a clean break from their mistaken policy of the past. The time has come to realize the imperative to enter into a Sino-Tibetan dialogue and the Tibetan parliament in exile is taking the opportunity of this occasion to once again remind the Chinese leaders about it.

His Holiness the Dalai Lama has, with a clear vision of the current, as well as near and distant future developments, and keeping in mind the best possible religious, political and public interests, devolved his entire administrative and political powers to a leadership elected by the Tibetan people themselves. Since that happened, the concerned main and branch organs of the Central Tibetan Administration have been discharging their responsibilities with utmost diligence. And Tibetans both in exile and those left behind in Tibet have been highly appreciative and supportive of the new development. In future too, the Tibetan people will remain true to their mutual oath-bound commitments, as with the state of inseparability between milk and water, in discharging their share of their respective bounden duties. By pooling together whatever knowledge, capability and sense of selfless service they have, and working even more cooperatively for the collective good, they will aim for even greater achievements in order to attain a greater level of higher common goals. This has, in fact, become a root cause for ensuring both our immediate and long-term interests. We therefore once again appeal to everyone concerned to make ever greater efforts, buoyed by an even higher level of inspiration, to realize the importance of working with all-round care and energy.

It is true, of course that the state and central governments of India, as well as the Department of Security of the Central Tibetan Administration, have been

working with great diligence and to their utmost capability, to ensure the personal security of His Holiness the Dalai Lama. Nevertheless, we should be aware of the fact that 55 years ago, China had openly and without any hesitation launched attacks which directly threatened the life of His Holiness the Dalai Lama. In keeping with such an attitude, the government of China could again be motivated, under a stratagem of deceit motivated by political requirement, to act again. It is under their dispensation that a section of people having no sense of karma, who are historically blemished, and who act without thinking, professing allegiance to Dholgyal but motivated only by monetary and other material considerations, have been strengthening their efforts to create discord among Tibetans in Tibet and carry out defamatory and blasphemous actions against His Holiness the Dalai Lama. Keeping this in view, the intelligence agencies of the governments of the United States of America and India have emphasized the imperative to strengthen the personal security arrangements and precautions for His Holiness the Dalai Lama. In keeping with these developments, it has become extremely important for the Central Tibetan Administration and all living Tibetans to remain in a high state of alert and contribute their lot to cooperatively address this collective concern.

The issue underlying the Tibetan struggle is concerned with being beneficial for global peace and it is imperative to see it resolved urgently. This being the case, governments, parliaments, associations, and individual business people across the world having concern for peace and justice have given selfless and courageous support to the just cause of the Tibetan people's struggle, without being swayed or intimidated by the economic pressure tactics and coercive falsehood emanating from China. To them all we offer our heartfelt gratitude. At the same time, we take this opportunity to express our confidence that they will continue to stand by the side of truth and lend us their support more than ever before and we fervently appeal to them all accordingly. In particular, we greatly appreciate the appointment on 20 February this year of Dr. Sarah Sewall as the United States government's Special Coordinator for Tibetan Issues. We take this opportunity to express our gratitude to the United States government for this gesture.

Fundamentally, with regard to the administrative matters, The Kashag, the executive organ of the Central Tibetan Administration, has been continuing to discharge its functions with a great sense of responsibility. On the part of the Tibetan Parliament in Exile too, lobbying

and appeal campaigns have been carried out and continue to be carried out, urging the governments and parliaments, prominent public figures and the general populace both in India and across the world for support for the Tibetan cause, keeping in view the fundamental issue of Tibet in general terms and the tragic current situation in Tibet today in particular.

To all the leaders of governments, members of parliaments, organizations and private individuals, especially the central and local governments and people of India, who have provided all manners of help and support to the Central Tibetan Administration and the Tibetan community in this period of highly critical dangers to Tibet and its historical inhabitants and environment, we express heartfelt thanks.

Finally, we fervently pray that His Holiness the Dalai Lama, the spiritual lord of the Three Realms, a champion of world peace, live for a hundred eons and see all his wishes fulfilled with utmost spontaneity and that the just cause of Tibet may definitely prevail.

10 March 2014

*(In case of any discrepancy in meaning, the original, Tibetan text should be taken as authoritative and final )*

## His Holiness the Dalai Lama's Schedule for May-June 2014

**Public Talk in Oslo, Norway on May 9:** His Holiness will give a public talk on Cultivating Compassion in Everyday Life in the afternoon at Folketeateret.

**Teaching in Rotterdam, The Netherlands on May 11:** His Holiness will give a teaching on The Three Principal Paths (lamtso namsum) in the morning at Ahoy Stadium.

**Public Talk in Rotterdam, The Netherlands on May 11:** His Holiness will give a public talk on Well-being, Wisdom and Compassion: a Secular Approach in the afternoon at Ahoy Stadium.

**Public Talk in Frankfurt, Germany on May 14:** His Holiness will give a public talk on Self-Awareness and Compassion in the afternoon at Fraport organized by

Tibet House Germany.

**Discussion in Frankfurt, Germany on May 15:** His Holiness will participate in a discussion with school children on Secular Ethics in Our Common World in the morning at St. Paul's Church organized by Tibet House Germany in cooperation with the City of Frankfurt and the Foundation of Reading.

**Discussion in Frankfurt, Germany on May 15:** His Holiness will participate in a discussion with philosopher Rainer Forst and others on Ethics Beyond Religion in the afternoon at St. Paul's Church organized by Tibet House Germany in cooperation with the City of Frankfurt and Goethe University.

**Teachings in Mumbai, Maharashtra, India from May 30 to June 2:** His Ho-

liness will give four days of Introductory Teachings on Buddhism at the request of Nalanda Shiksha.

**Teaching in Livorno, Italy on June 14 & 15:** His Holiness the Dalai Lama will give teachings on Nagarjuna's Letter to a Friend (shetring) on June 14 and also confer an Avalokiteshvara Empowerment (chenresig wang – jigten wangchuk) on June 15 morning at Modigliani Forum organized by Istituto Lama Tzong Khapa.

**Public Talk in Livorno, Italy on June 15:** His Holiness the Dalai Lama will give a public talk on Compassionate Ethics in the afternoon at Modigliani Forum organized by Istituto Lama Tzong Khapa.

## Tibetan Parliament-in-Exile Passes Resolution of Solidarity

### RESOLUTION OF SOLIDARITY (Document 6/English Translation)



**TIBETAN PARLIAMENT IN EXILE**

#### Whereas:

After its invasion of Tibet, the Chinese government has made numerous efforts to mislead the world to paint a rosy picture of having “liberated a million Tibetan serfs from exploitation by the landlords”. In fact, it has turned Tibet into a colonial dominion and continues to impose a series of extremely brutal and hardline policies of political repression, ethnic and economic discrimination, and immeasurable destruction of religion, culture and environment of Tibet. As a result, unprecedented large-scale protests by tens of thousands of Tibetans broke out across the three traditional provinces of Tibet on 10 March 2008. Moreover, since the beginning of 2009 until the sixth session of the 15th Tibetan Parliament last year – over 120 Tibetan men and women with indomitable spirit and courage and as a highest form of non-violent protest against the hardline policies of the Chinese government, and for the freedom of Tibetan people – sacrificed their lives by setting themselves on fire. Another 6 Tibetans have self-immolated since then. However, instead of carrying out an impartial investigation into the causes of the Tibetan grievances and implement a policy of seeking truth from facts based on the ground realities in Tibet, the Chinese government continued its ruthless policy of deceiving people with every possible

monetary temptation on the one hand and with military repression on the other. Such actions are backward and out of step with the reality of today’s world in every respect.

According to the available facts, in the past six months the Chinese government has arbitrarily arrested and detained many Tibetans in Driru, Drakgo, Dzamthang and Sog counties on false charges. It is difficult to confirm actual statistics on the actual number of arrest, torture and death of Tibetans, or even whether they are dead or alive.

According to a report by the Tibetan Centre for Human Rights and Democracy based in Dharamshala, the total number of Tibetans detained or jailed for carrying out political activities today stands at 920.

In exile, the Central Tibetan Administration, organisations and individuals continue to carry out numerous activities to show their support and solidarity with the selfless acts of Tibetans inside Tibet. Since the 14th Tibetan Parliament-in-Exile, series of motions of condolence and solidarity have been passed. At the international level, many governments have passed resolutions, issued proclamations and statements expressing their grave concern about the situation in Tibet and urged the Chinese government to end its repressive policies in Tibet.

They have also called on the Chinese government to engage in dialogue with the representatives of His Holiness the Dalai Lama to resolve the Sino-Tibet issue.

In view of the worsening and urgent situation in Tibet, therefore, it is imperative that the following motion of solidarity be passed.

#### The Tibetan Parliament-in-Exile,

1. While commending the spirit and courage of all the brave men and women of Tibet who have set themselves on fire, their family members and those who are undergoing suffering for the cause of Tibet, hereby also expresses its solidarity.
2. Firmly reiterates its appeal to the Chinese government that it must end its hardline policies in Tibet and address the aspirations of Tibetans inside and outside Tibet for the return of His Holiness the Dalai Lama to Tibet and freedom and human rights for Tibetans, and immediately commence dialogue to resolve the issue of Tibet.
3. Expresses gratitude to the Governments and Parliaments of the world for passing resolutions of support and concern over the critical situation inside Tibet; and the Tibet Support Groups, Non Governmental Organisations, Chinese democratic activists and individual supporters for their support through various non-violent campaigns. It further appeals for more support to resolve the issue of Tibet in general and the ongoing urgent problems inside Tibet in particular. It urges the members of the UN Human Rights Council to convene an urgent session on the issue of Tibet and send fact-finding missions to assess the urgent situation inside Tibet.

11 March 2014

## Tibetan Parliament passes resolution concerning Dolgyal

### RESOLUTION (Document no. 22/English Translation)

#### Whereas:

Since the time of the Fifth Dalai Lama, all the successive Dalai Lamas and many great masters have placed stringent restrictions on the propitiation of harmful spirit of Dolgyal for Tibet's common spiritual and political interests. Like his predecessors, His Holiness the Fourteenth Dalai Lama, following a long and careful investigation, has also clearly advised against the propitiation of Dolgyal. A large number of Tibetans have followed his advice and gave up propitiating Dolgyal. However, a small number of Tibetans have remained ignorant about the propitiation. In order to lead the ignorant to righteous path, the Tibetan Parliament-in-Exile unanimously passed resolutions on 6 June 1996, 17 September 1997 and 15 March 2008. The majority of Tibetans – including the both monastic and lay community particularly the three monastic seats – who have acted upon the resolutions deserves appreciation.

Yet, a small number of ignorant Dolgyal propitiators have no consideration for Tibet's spiritual and political interests and the personal security of His Holiness the Dalai Lama. They are being deceived by the Chinese government through monetary and material incentive and are used as political tools. They have been also instigating foreigners to carry out disinformation campaigns at every opportunity. In a recent incident in San Francisco, they employed a handful of people, who are completely ignorant about the basic principles of Buddhism, to slander His Holiness the Dalai Lama with baseless accusations. To present these misdeeds for fair and correct understanding of the Tibetan people and the people of the world who support truth and justice, it is imperative that the following resolution be passed to reiterate and implement the earlier resolutions adopted by the House.

#### The Tibetan Parliament-in-Exile, on 17 March 2014, unanimously passed the following resolution:

- (1) Reaffirms to carefully follow up the series of resolutions unanimously passed by the Tibetan Parliament-in-Exile on this issue in 1996, 1997 and 2008.
- (2) Recognises and resolves to collectively disseminate to all people the actual issue as per the resolution/section (B) of article 5 passed during the Conference of the Heads, Abbots, Lamas/Trulkus and Representatives of the four schools of Tibetan Buddhism and Bon religion in 2009. It states: "Worshipping the worldly gods, particularly spirits for protection, contravenes the principle of following the three refuge in Buddhism. The conference unequivocally proclaims that any individuals or organisation propitiating Dolgyal, would not be affiliated to any Tibetan religious school."
- (3) Recognises clearly the actions of Dolgyal followers as a political tool to create discord within the Tibetan community under the influence and deception of monetary gains, and to denigrate His Holiness the Dalai Lama with baseless allegations. The Parliament would like to make it clear that the issue has nothing to do with religious freedom.  
  
Further recognises also the Dolgyal followers and others – whose have caused grave harm to the faith and polity of Tibet under the Chinese government's ploy and in violation of the law of Karma – as criminals in history.
- (4) As advised by the intelligence agencies of the US and India on the need to ensure greater security for His Holiness the Dalai Lama, the Tibetan administration and the entire Tibetan people must remain vigilant. Moreover, the Department of Security, the local Tibetan administration, and the Representatives of the Offices of Tibet should maintain close coordination with the central and state government of India and concerned governments of the overseas countries respectively in advance to ensure greater security for His Holiness the Dalai Lama during his visits.
- (5) Directs the Kashag to carry out a thorough investigation into real motives of the Dolgyal followers for their recent activities in San Francisco and accordingly issue firm directives to prevent future incidents.

## Italian Senate Passes Resolution on Tibet

The Special Committee on the Protection and Promotion of Human Rights of the Italian Senate has adopted a resolution on Tibet. The resolution came against the backdrop of a testimony by Kalon Dicki Chhoyang of the Central Tibetan Administration's Department of Information and International Relations, at the Italian Senate last December.

In her testimony, Kalon Dicki Chhoyang spoke about the tragic situation of Tibet under the oppression of the Chinese government, and the continuing efforts and commitment of Tibetans to preserve their dignity and Tibetan culture. She has requested the Italian Senate to urge the Chinese government to engage in dialogue with His Holiness the Dalai Lama's envoys to resolve the Tibet issue on the Middle Way Approach.

The resolution adopted by the Italian Senate's human rights committee last week urged the Chinese government to bring an "immediate halt to the oppression of Tibetan people, and resume dialogue with the envoys of His Holiness the Dalai Lama for the implementation of a genuine autonomy for the Tibetan people."

Expressing disappointment over the failure of EU-China dialogue to improve the human rights situation of the Tibetan people in any significant measure, it insisted that China should redouble its efforts to tackle human rights situation of the Tibetan people in the framework of the EU-China human rights dialogue.

It urged the Chinese authorities to respect Tibetan people's freedom of language and culture and allow the teaching of Tibetan language in Tibetan schools.

The resolution firmly reiterates its appeal to the European Parliament to urge the Chinese government to ensure permanent and uninterrupted access of the press, diplomats including EU officials and foreigners in general, to Tibet.

The senate also urged the United Nations particularly the High Commissioner for Human Rights and the Human Rights Council to monitor the human rights situation in Tibet. It emphasised that Chinese authorities should comply

with the outstanding requests of the UN and other human rights monitoring organisations to visit Tibet.

### **RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE SENATE SPECIAL COMMITTEE FOR THE PROTECTION AND**

### **PROMOTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS**

The Committee,

#### **whereas**

on 5 December 2013, the Senate Special Committee on the Protection and Promotion of Human Rights met with Mrs Dicki Chhoyang, Minister of Information and International Relations of the Central Administration of Tibet in Dharamsala, who described the tragic situation of Tibet under the oppression of the Chinese Government and emphasized the continuing efforts and commitment of Tibetans to preserve their dignity and Tibetan culture in exile; starting in 2002, Tibetan officials have with Chinese government officials in nine negotiating rounds and have expressed the approach of the government of Tibet to pursue autonomy from Beijing, through the so-called middle way policy, with no recourse to violence; the latest meeting with the Chinese authorities was held in January 2010: no concrete results were achieved and the dialogue of Tibetan officials with the People's Republic of China (PRC) has since been interrupted;

the Dalai Lama resigned as Head of the Government in exile in 2011, thereby relinquishing his authoritative position in the organisation in favour of a democratically elected leader. Sikyong Lobsang Sangay was elected on 27 April 2011 and is the head of the Tibetan Government in exile in India;

on 4 June 2012, Lobsang Sangay accepted the resignation of His Holiness the Dalai Lama's Special Envoy Mr Lodi G. Gyari, following the interruption of dialogue by the Chinese authorities;

#### **also whereas**

since the military occupation of Tibet in 1959, the PRC Government has implemented a policy of forced assimilation and marginalisation of Tibet, systematically denying the fundamental rights of

Tibetans;

the crackdown of PRC authorities on protest in Tibet has led to the imposition of measures restricting freedom of expression, association and worship. Tibetans are also systematically marginalised in the economy and in terms of access to education;

the EU-China dialogue on human rights has failed to improve the human rights situation of the Tibetan people in any significant measure;

#### **urges the Government to**

request the Chinese authorities to bring to an immediate halt any form of oppression in Tibet and all violence against the Tibetan people and its religious community and to respect fundamental rights in Tibet, particularly freedom of expression, association and worship;

foster the resumption of dialogue between the PRC Government and the envoys of the Dalai Lama, in order to identify a peaceful and shared settlement and to commence talks on the implementation of real regional autonomy in Tibet;

request the Chinese authorities to respect freedom of language, culture and religion for the Tibetan people and to include the teaching of the Tibetan language in the school curriculum in Tibet;

redouble efforts to tackle the human rights situation of the Tibetan people, in the framework of the EU-China human rights dialogue;

to reaffirm the requests already made by the European Parliament to the Chinese Government to ensure permanent and uninterrupted access of the press, diplomats including EU officials, and foreigners in general to Tibet;

to request monitoring of the respect for human rights in Tibet through the United Nations and particularly the High Commissioner for Human Rights and the Human Rights Council,

to insist with Chinese authorities so that they comply with the requests to visit Tibet made by UN bodies and human rights monitoring organisations, by means of a standing invitation, so as to help determine what has happened in that region.

## Blind Chinese Activist Chen Guangcheng at Tibetan Uprising Day in New York

*This is the full transcript of Chen Guangcheng's speech outside the U.N. Headquarters on March 10, 2014*

*(English translation by Rose Tang, followed by Chinese transcript provided by Yuan Weijing, Chen's wife)*

Hello all!

I'm very honored to take part in today's event with you. Many thanks to the invitation from Tibetan NGOs. Thank you, Mr. Kaydor Aukatsang, Representative of His Holiness the Dalai Lama to the Americas, and Mr. Kunga Tashi, the China Liaison Officer of the Tibet Office.

Today is the 55th anniversary of the Tibetan Uprising Day. I'm hoping that it's the Uprising Day for all of those who live in violent countries. In today's world, where the concept of peace and non-violence has been widely spread, I think it's very necessary to talk about fighting against violence. The purpose of us protesting here today is for us to be able to voice our demands and opinions like this today freely and safely in our home countries tomorrow.

What dictators rely on are lies and violence. And they use violence obsessively and continuously, as if it's the cure-all medicine. Under such circumstances, the weak have to guard our rights for proper defense -- this is a citizen's right that's recognized around the world. When our personal safety, dignity, and legal properties are violated, we should defend ourselves properly. We should be against non-violent peaceful resolution that has no principles, just like we fight against arbitrary use of violence. When we promote peaceful non-violent resistance, we should not deprive people of their right to fight against a violent regime that is against the people and that denies them of their right to overthrow it.

This is not about advocating violence. In an abnormal society, appropriateness and lawlessness may not match each

other. Stressing the rightfulness and the necessity of protecting one's right of self defense will help realize social justice. Non-violent restraint should be worn by the dictator, not by those who resist the ruler.

For a long time, His Holiness the Dalai Lama has been advocating tolerance, inner peace, and the ability to deal with people and events with a peaceful mind. Ever since 1974, His Holiness has been promoting the Middle Way approach around the world -- not seeking Tibet's separation from China, only asking for a genuine autonomy within the framework of the Chinese Constitution. Such a kind-hearted religious leader, who is full of wisdom, has been traveling around talking about the value of human rights. But the Chinese Communist leaders have played deaf and blind so far. Further more, they use their mouthpieces to wage a propaganda war, claiming His Holiness the Dalai Lama has been promoting Tibet's independence. They incite hatred among nationalities and block the Internet, not allowing people to receive information from all sources and angles so they can reach sensible conclusions. Their claims do not reflect the facts or help resolve problems. Instead, they intensify conflicts. Tricks such as twisting facts used to be effective in the past, but it's a self-cheating scheme in a modern society that has very advanced communications.

For instance: Whenever His Holiness meets with national leaders or government officials, China's Foreign Ministry accuses these countries of "hurting Chinese people's feelings and interfering in state internal affairs." They also point their fingers at His Holiness for being a "separatist." But what we see is that wherever His Holiness visits, numerous followers travel from afar to attend his teachings, or just to meet him. This is the people's will.

Those who have woken up have discovered: the ones in power are passing false information to them, so they gradually lost trust in them. These people want to

learn about the genuine demands from Tibetans through communicating with high-level Tibetans and ordinary Tibetans. Despite that, the Chinese Communist leaders are incredibly horrified and attempt to stop it, because they're facing a crisis of trust as their lies are being exposed. But we must know this: it's a very important historical opportunity to increase unity among nationalities. We must seize it! If China doesn't realize democracy and freedom, if China doesn't have openness and transparency of information, the root cause of numerous problems won't be solved.

The Chinese Communist dictators have enslaved and oppressed all nationalities in the whole country for a long time. This is a fact that's witnessed by many, not just by minority groups. The essence of the dictators is that they are against democracy, freedom, constitutional governance, and the rule of law. They would do anything to defend their privileges. Therefore, as long as we're aware that the one-party dictatorship has caused disasters everywhere, what's been eating people is the totalitarian regime, that's enough. Fortunately, it has lost its credibility among people. Whether China will have democracy and rule of law is the key to the freedom for all nationalities, not just freedom for a certain nationality. So, I am urging people of all nationalities, take action proactively from now on, widen and deepen communication among yourselves, treat one another with trust and honesty, eliminate misunderstandings. Unify and help realize democracy and freedom in China. This is the essential benefit shared by all nationalities. As a common saying goes: "Tibetans have many hopes. Confidence brings success." Struggle hard, my friends! This is our duty that we should not burden others with. Let us all work together.

Thank you, thank you all, thank you, my friends!

Chen Guangcheng

## Walk Home Together

YANG Jianli

*Speech at the New York Rally Commemorating the 55th Anniversary of the Tibetan National Uprising*

March 10, 2014

Dear Tibetan Brothers and Sisters:

Tashi Delek.

As always, I am excited to get together with you and feel honored and humbled to speak to you on this solemn occasion to remember the Tibetan National Uprising that took place 55 years ago, and to look forward. I am honored because I have become part of your extraordinary struggle for freedom which has won worldwide respect. I am humbled because your unspeakable suffering has been at the hands of a government that is largely Chinese, my own people. Struggling together with you is a redeeming process for me; you have reached out your hands to me in forgiveness, in friendship and brotherhood. You hold your suffering close to your heart while somehow keeping a smile on your face. The wisdom and guidance of His Holiness the Dalai Lama have shown a path to justice paved with compassion and non-violence for all to follow. I am indeed honored and privileged to follow the path of His Holiness and to walk with you and call each of you my brother or sister.

Today I want to talk with you about going home. This is the time of year when all of us feel a tug at our hearts for home.

China's unjust rule in Tibet has led to the killing of a million Tibetans, the destruction of thousands of temples and monasteries, the diluting and destroying of the Tibetan language and culture, and the irreversible damage to the natural environment on the Tibetan plateau, and it has also resulted in the 55 year long exile of His Holiness the Dalai Lama and produced nearly 200,000 Tibetan refugees, condemning them to a state of permanent exile. Scattered around the world as a minority among minorities, their existence is a constant battle for political recognition, financial survival

and cultural continuity. "There is no place like home." Returning home is an exile's greatest dream and being stranded in a foreign land his greatest sorrow.

For all the tragedies and hardships faced by the Tibetan people today there is one constant root, exacerbating or causing all the others in turn: China's block on the Dalai Lama and his people's right to return to their homeland. Let's listen to the saffron flames in Tibet. Through their heroic act of self-immolation, the nearly 130 Tibetan martyrs have expressed the great desire of all Tibetan, both in and outside Tibet, "Let the Dalai Lama Return Home"!

This voice, reverberating around all the time, often makes my heart burn and my eyes well with tears.

As remarkably kind, compassionate, tolerant and patient as His Holiness may be, this need to return must burn hot on his heart as he faces this beloved new generation of Tibetans, who either remain in their raped homeland without their spiritual leader or live with their spiritual leader in free lands that are not their own.

This is a grave humanitarian emergency, which is getting worse day by day. It is disheartening that an emergency can be as old as 55 years.

I know the Dalai Lama and his people have traveled a long journey toward home but nobody knows when they might set their foot on their homeland. Many good people seem to have been convinced that political realities make such an ultimate justice impossible. But the voice from the saffron flames has told us otherwise! The voice deep in our hearts is telling us otherwise!

If the past journey has taught us any thing, it is that there is no short cut or easy way home. We must battle every day to move forward. We must battle

against the hard hearts and iron arms of the Chinese rulers as well as the indifference of the world community and its leaders.

Now we must intensify our global campaign of truth and force China, a signatory of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and the International Community, onto the defensive about the right of return which is enshrined in Article 13(b) of the UDHR "Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country." The world community must recognize that the Right of Return for the Tibetans is a national, historical and individual claim and that recognizing Tibetans' right to return home is not an option but a must.

Are you missing home?

So I ask you, speak up about your plight. You should let everybody you meet know that you have been unjustly uprooted from your homeland. Let them know of your aching desire to return. You should educate the whole world that the roots of the Tibetans in Tibet are older than the roots of the British in Britain, and much older than the roots of most Americans in America.

The Tibetan self immolators' act would be unthinkable and pointless if they did not have a profound confidence in the conscience of man. We must carry their spirit of compassion forward to appeal to the conscience of the people around the world. Especially, we should make special efforts to reach out to the Chinese people with the Truth about Tibet and empower them with compassion for them to recognize the truth and end their silence. I believe that the Tibetan selfless martyrs had a strong belief that compassion can clean consciences, including that of the Chinese, and a clear conscience does not hide from the truth. I believe that with your courageous ef-



forts to meet the Chinese with compassion, more Chinese like myself will be awaking to the Truth, will be set free of the bondage of bigotry and malice, and will be particularly reminded of Confucius' teaching "Don't do to others what you don't wish for yourself" and realizing that our Tibetan brothers and sisters love their homeland and love living in their homeland, no less powerfully than we Chinese to our own homeland.

Many of Chinese democracy fighters, including myself, have been forced into exile for nearly 25 years following the 1989 Tiananmen Massacre. We share the Tibetans' excruciating pain of homesickness. Not long after the massacre, I got to know Tibetan exiles and the nature of your struggle. I soon understood that we were at least 30 years late in coming to the aid of your cause. Yet we came together in brotherhood and we have walked arm in arm. Today, on this painful anniversary, we recommit ourselves to continue to walk together toward freedom and home. With each step we take together in the path of truth, justice and compassion, we are closer to our goal.

Let me close with a little story which I have told many times and which I think is worth being told again. On March 10, 2010, the 51st anniversary of the Tibetan National Uprising, in Dharamsala, I led a group of Chinese freedom fighters in the audience with His Holiness. At the end of the meeting we all stood up together. I noticed that His Holiness had a pair of shoes of very good quality. I whispered to His Holiness that he had a pair of very fine shoes; much nicer than mine. "Yes" his Holiness replied. "I will walk home in them". I replied, "Yes, your Holiness, I will walk with you". We suddenly found ourselves embracing each other.

Dear brothers and sisters, let's walk home together!

Free Tibet.

Let the Dalai Lama return home.

Thank you all.

## The burden of empire

The Economist

### After a brutal attack in China, the Communist Party needs to change its policies towards minorities

A GROUP of knife-wielding assailants, apparently Muslims from western China, caused mayhem and murder on March 1st in the south-western Chinese city of Kunming, stabbing 29 people to death at the railway station and injuring 140 others. The attack has shocked China. The crime against innocents is monstrous and unjustifiable, and has been rightly condemned by the Chinese government and by America. But as well as rounding up the culprits, the Communist Party must face up to an uncomfortable truth. Its policy for integrating the country's restless western regions—a policy that mixes repression, development and Han-Chinese migration—is failing to persuade non-Han groups of the merits of Chinese rule.

The party says the attackers were "Xinjiang extremists", by implication ethnic Uighurs, a Turkic people with ties to Central Asia who once formed the majority in the region of Xinjiang. The killers may have been radicalised abroad with notions of global jihad. Whatever the truth, there is no doubt that Uighurs are committing ever more desperate acts. Scarcely a week passes in Xinjiang without anti-government violence.

The party claims that Xinjiang has been part of China for 2,000 years. Yet for most of that time, the region has been on the fringe of China's empire, or outside it altogether. An attempt to incorporate these lands began only with the Qing dynasty's conquests in the mid-18th century. (The name Xinjiang, "new frontier", was bestowed only in the 1880s.) During the chaos of the 1940s, Uighurs declared a short-lived independent state of East Turkestan. But from 1949 the Communists began integrating Xinjiang into China by force. Demobbed Chinese soldiers were sent to colonise arid lands, the state repression of Uighurs drawing heavily on the Soviet tactics for

handling "nationalities". Uighur resentment of the Han runs deep. The feeling is mutual. Many Chinese are openly racist towards Uighurs, and the government thinks them ungrateful. In 2009 hundreds of people were killed during street fighting between Uighurs and Han, who now make up two-fifths of Xinjiang's population and control a disproportionate share of its wealth.

### Identity crisis

The Kunming killers' motives may never be known. But fears of militant Islamism arriving at the heart of China must not obscure the broader problem of Chinese oppression in Xinjiang. Recent crackdowns hit at the heart of Uighur identity: students are banned from fasting during Ramadan, religious teaching for children is restricted, and Uighur-language education is limited. Many Uighurs, like their neighbours in Tibet, fear that their culture will be extinguished. Xinjiang and Tibet (and Inner Mongolia) are still China's colonies, their pacification under the Communist Party a continued imperial project. Were it not for the Dalai Lama's restraining influence, violence in Tibet might be as bad as it is in Xinjiang. As it is, over 100 Tibetans have burned themselves to death in protest at Chinese rule.

There is a large military presence in China's west. The government seems to believe that unless Uighurs and Tibetans are held in check by force, the western regions could break away. That is always a danger. But suppression, which leads to explosions of anger, may increase the risk, not mitigate it.

The only way forward is to show Uighurs (and Tibetans) how they can live peacefully and prosperously together within China. The first step is for the party to lift the bans on religious and cultural practices, give Uighurs and Tibetans more space to be themselves, and strive against prejudice in Chinese society. Economic development needs to be aimed at Uighur and Tibetan communities. Otherwise, there will be more violence and instability.

## The First Lady's Travel Journal: A Taste of Tibetan Culture



First Lady Michelle Obama, Sasha, Malia and Mrs. Robinson are greeted by Tibetan students at the Zangxiang Village Tea House in Chengdu, China. March 26, 2014. (Official White House Photo by Amanda Lucidon)

White House

*Note: This post is part of a series authored by First Lady Michelle Obama to share her visit to China with young people in the U.S.*

Chengdu is sometimes known as the “Gateway to Tibet” because it is located just a few hours from the towering mountains and rich culture of Tibet, which is a region of China. There are roughly 6.5 million Tibetans in China, and they are one of the largest and most well-known minority groups in the country.

For centuries, Tibet was largely unknown to the outside world — but today, Tibetan Buddhism (the main religion in this area) and its spiritual leader in exile, the Dalai Lama, are known across the globe for their teachings on compassion, forgiveness and tolerance. Tibet is also known for its beautiful, majestic landscapes. Some of the world’s tallest mountains are located there – if you want to scale Mount Everest, you can start from a base camp in Tibet.

To experience some of the rich culture of Tibet, we headed to the Zangxiang Village Tea House for a traditional Tibetan

meal that included the following items: truk ja (yak butter tea), yak soup made with highland barley, sha pa le (yak pie made with minced onion and celery), boiled yak ribs, samba (a dense bread made with barley) and steamed vegetables with barley.

Before we ate, we had the chance to spin a traditional Tibetan prayer wheel, a device used by the Tibetan people to spread spiritual blessings. Tibetans believe that spinning this wheel helps one accumulate wisdom and merit (known as good “karma”) and purify themselves of bad things (known as bad “karma”).

We were then greeted by a group of Tibetan students who placed beautiful silk scarves called “khataks” (which symbolize purity and compassion and are thought to bring good luck) around our necks — this is considered a welcome gesture. The students then displayed magnificent paintings they had made called “thangkas.” Thangkas traditionally depict images of Buddhist deities, retell myths or describe historical events.

I am incredibly grateful that we had the chance to learn a little bit about Tibetan traditions. The Tibetan people have struggled to preserve their unique re-

ligious and cultural traditions, and this visit was a powerful reminder of how important it is for each of us to treasure what makes us special, even when it makes us feel different from everyone else. I know that’s not always easy, especially when you’re a minority in your school or community. But in America, our diversity is what makes us who we are — it’s what makes our country so vibrant, strong and endlessly interesting. So don’t be afraid to celebrate where you come from and whatever it is that makes you who you are — and don’t hesitate to share that with others.

This visit was such a wonderful way to end our journey here in China. It has been a tremendous honor for me, my daughters and my mother to experience this fascinating country over this past week. I’ve especially enjoyed speaking with young people in China, learning about their hopes and dreams, and sharing your stories with them and their stories with all of you. I hope you’ve enjoyed learning about your peers on the other side of the globe — and I hope you find ways to keep on learning about China and other countries around the world in the years ahead.

## I unequivocally support the middle-way approach advocated by Dalai Lama: Karmapa Rinpoche

Economic Times:

*Ogyen Trinley Dorje, the 17th Karmapa or head of the Karma Kagyu school of Tibetan Buddhism, has for the first time slammed Beijing's totalitarian rule in Tibet and come out in open support of Dalai Lama's middle-path approach, or 'meaningful autonomy' to resolve the Tibetan crisis. In an interview with ET's Dipanjan Roy Chaudhury in New Delhi, the Karmapa who has lived in exile in India since 2000 when he was just 14, expressed hope that a change in political situation in China will soon make the communist country change its policy towards Tibet, Edited excerpts:*



There has been a fresh round of self-immolations in Tibet in protest against China's rule and in demand for more rights. Do you support this method of protest?

Tibet is under Communist China's totalitarian regime. Unlike democratic India, there is no religious freedom there. Many Tibetans, including the illustrious heads of the different sects of Tibetan Buddhism, had to flee to India following the Cultural Revolution.

The spate of self-immolations reveals the underlying tension that has been simmering for decades due to China's misguided policies in addressing the grievances and resentments of the Tibetan people. These are symptoms of a broken and wounded people desperately crying out for the restoration of their cultural identity, and religious and human rights.

**Do you support the Dalai Lama's call for meaningful autonomy for Tibet, or the 'middle-way approach'? Do you think Beijing will heed the demand?**

His Holiness, the Dalai Lama, is my spiritual and temporal leader and has been like a father figure for me in Dharamsala. I unequivocally support the middle-way approach advocated by the Dalai Lama.

He is the one and only leader who would provide leadership in this momentous task, not just in this life but in future lives as well. It is the shared responsibility of all Tibetans to preserve the Tibetan religion and culture and uphold the Tibetan identity. I am committed to the well being of the Tibetan people. I regard it as my duty and responsibility to support the religion and culture of Tibet.

I am totally committed to the middle-way approach. It is quite possible that the political situation in China will change considerably, which will result in a rethink on the Tibetan issue within the Chinese Communist Party. Additionally, the power of the aspirations and compassion of the Dalai Lama is virtually limitless.

It is the hope of all Tibetans to see the Dalai Lama return to Tibet safely and for Tibet to enjoy peace, happiness and the freedom to practice religion and culture.

**You have been living in India for more than 13 years now. How do you feel in exile?**

India is my second home. The Tibetan culture and religion has flourished in India's open, free and welcoming atmosphere. India has given refuge to the Dalai Lama and to many Buddhist lineage heads that have set up monasteries around the country when many other nations did not have the courage to do so.

Tibetan Buddhism, culture and the Tibetan way of life thrive in India. India has not only saved Tibetans and their way of life from extinction but also enabled us to draw inspiration from this holy land of the Buddha and take Bud-

dhism to distant parts of the world. I have nothing but gratitude for the Government of India since my arrival.

**Could you please elaborate on the historical linkages between Tibet and India for our readers?**

Tibet was an independent nation from ancient times right up to 1951. During this period Tibet was in full control of its external and defence policies. It maintained strong religious, cultural and trade ties with India. The common border was open and peaceful, allowing not only the free movement of goods and people but also the flow of some of the finest thoughts of human civilisation.

Hindus and Jains revere Mount Kailash and Mansarovar Lake in Tibet as places of holy pilgrimage. Tibetans regard India as the Holy land of Lord Buddha and aspire to make a pilgrimage to Bodhi Gaya. Buddhism came to Tibet from India. Along with Buddhism came much of the Tibetan language and the Tibetan script, which was derived from ancient Indian scripts.

**What made you flee to India when you were just 14?**

I had to receive oral teachings of the Karmapa Lineage which have been passed down in an unbroken chain from India since the time of Lord Buddha. The origins of my lineage are in Nalanda whose great scholar, Naropa, received the teachings from his teacher, the Mahasiddha Tilopa. The Karmapa lineage is deeply rooted in India.

My predecessor, His Holiness the 16th Karmapa, took refuge in India and established the Rumtek Monastery in Sikkim. The head lamas of the four main Tibetan Buddhist traditions are also currently residing in India. The Chinese Government would not allow them to visit me in Tibet. Most importantly, I desired to study under the tutelage of the Dalai Lama. If I had stayed in Tibet, I would have been forced to denounce the Dalai Lama.

## The Diplomat speaks with the prime minister of Tibetans in exile

by Anuradha Sharma, The Diplomat, Published 7 April 2014



**On April 26 it will be three years since you won the historic elections that made you the first political leader of the Tibetans, a post relinquished by the Dalai Lama. What has the experience been like?**

The first year was anxious but I told myself this is my karma and I had to do the best I could to fulfill the aspirations of Tibetans in exile and Tibet. The 400-year-old institution of the Dalai Lama was changing course. All of a sudden His Holiness had decided to pass on the baton of political head and that came to someone like me: young, new to politics and without much administrative experience. I was anxious about the transfer of political authority and so were the Tibetan people. In the second year, the anxiety subsided but it continued to be very hectic, and so it has been since then. Except Sikkim, I have been to all the Tibetan settlements in India, all Tibetan schools, 90 percent of the monasteries and around 80 percent of old-age homes. In North America and Europe, I've visited all major Tibetan communities except three or four places. I am still working hard and intend to continue doing so; the rest I leave to the collective karma of the Tibetan people.

**What is it like managing a 'nation' without physical boundaries? What are the challenges and opportunities?**

The major challenge is the travelling that is required to reach out to the Ti-

betan population across the globe in five continents. It's a grueling schedule every time—seven countries in 13 or 14 days in Europe and seven states in eight days in the U.S. The normal schedule is 8 am to 8 pm, followed by dinner and informal interactions with the local Tibetan communities. By the time you go to sleep, it is past midnight and the next morning you wake up early to travel to another city or country. The good part of it is the opportunity to meet different kinds of people, the exposure to different cultures and political systems.

**Engaging with China without antagonizing India, is that a tightrope? A recent opinion piece in an Indian newspaper accused you of being "alarmingly pro-Beijing," threatening India's security. How do you react to that criticisms?**

I was born in India and I've spent more years here than anywhere else. India has done the most for Tibetans, in fact more than any other country. Tibetans are forever grateful to India. The Middle Way approach has explicitly been our official policy since the early 70s and Tibetans seek genuine autonomy for Tibetan people. The "Memorandum On Genuine Autonomy For The Tibetan People" was presented to the Chinese government by the previous Khashag (cabinet) in 2008. "Genuine autonomy" essentially means the genuine implementation of autonomy rights enshrined in the Con-

stitution and Autonomy Law of the People's Republic of China for the minority nationals in both letter and spirit. I have continued working in accordance with the policy that has long been in place. Neither the Indian government nor any official in the Indian government has raised any objection to it. Some critics who advocate the independence of Tibet do not seem to like the stand and make accusations of compromising the sovereignty of Tibet. I've met several leaders and people in authority in India and the reception I've got from them and the relationship I've had with them have been very positive. So, officially I don't see any problem there. As for critics, what can I say? People write all kinds of things. I choose to ignore the allegations because they are baseless. As a political leader you expect some criticism from time to time.

**But do you feel India could do a lot more?**

We are guests in India and in no position to make any demands. Given a chance, we would like to urge upon India to make Tibet a core issue in its dealings with China. It is in India's interest for the Tibet issue to be resolved. It is our appeal to India, as we do to any other country sympathetic to our cause, to press China to engage in dialogue to resolve the issue of Tibet peacefully.

**But China has been consistent in refusing to recognize you as the political head, stalemating the talks.**

Yes, there has been a stalemate since January 2010, not because of a lack of willingness from the Tibetan side, but because China is maintaining hardline policies at the ground level and hardline rhetoric at the leadership level. They are on record that they don't want to talk to me because talking to me amounts to recognizing the Tibetan administration. However, for us process is secondary and substance is primary. We have consistently urged a continuation of the dialogue between the envoys of HH the

Dalai Lama and Chinese counterpart.

**Three more self-immolations took place in Tibet in March this year, taking the total number of cases to 129 since 2009. What steps have you taken to address this issue?**

We have consistently and categorically urged the Tibetan community not to resort to any kind of drastic action, including self-immolations. Despite our appeals, self-immolations have sadly continued, the blame for which goes to Chinese repression inside Tibet.

**How to reconcile this form of violent agitation with the basic Buddhist principles of non-violence?**

As human beings, self-immolation is extremely painful but, at the same time, we must keep in mind that none of the self-immolators so far has tried to hurt even a single Chinese person or cause any damage to Chinese property. So, even though it is a painful kind of death, the self-immolators are deliberately staying away from harming others. It a violent act upon oneself, yes; but in the larger sense, it cannot be summarily categorized as “violence” in that it is not aimed at causing harm to anyone else.

**Are refugees still arriving from Tibet?**

Yes. Many come for religious and secular education in India and some are forced out by oppressive Chinese policies. However, the number of arrivals has decreased because of the immense pressure the Chinese government places on the Nepalese authorities (Nepal has been the entry point for refugees fleeing Tibet) and the very strong sealing of the border areas.

**You’ve never been to Tibet. How does Tibet seem to you from the memories your parents passed on to you?**

I was born in a Tibetan settlement to my refugee parents in Darjeeling. My father, who was a monk in Lithang, and mother, who lived in Chamdo, were always arguing over whose village was more beautiful. I was told stories of a beautiful land, with clear streams, trees and flowers and farmland. But I guess the beautiful bit must have been true for the

summers. (Laughs)

Recently, I went to Arunachal Pradesh (a northeastern state in India bordering Tibet) and visited the Tawang and Tuting and Gelling areas. The McMahon Line was close by and I could visualize Tibet across it, similar to India on this side of the border. During my visit to Ladakh in July 2012 I could see Tibet on the other side—arid, dry mountains, without much vegetation. I am planning to go to Sikkim and set my eyes on Tibet on the other side. These are my attempts to get as close as possible to Tibet in the current circumstances.

**Are you hopeful that in your lifetime it will be possible to regain Tibet?**

Yes, that’s why I left America and came here to work for that. During my Arunachal Pradesh trip, it was like retracing the steps of His Holiness and my parents. I remembered my late father in Bomdilla village where he first stayed after crossing over. I called up my mother from Tuting where she lived for a while before shifting to Darjeeling, where my parents met and lived. Both of them had followed His Holiness, who had crossed over through Tawang, 55 years ago. They didn’t have much with them when they crossed over to India because they intended to go back. Their wait to go back home has now crossed 55 years and my father passed away in 2004 without realizing that dream. This story is similar to thousands of Tibetans in exile and inside Tibet. All this makes me more determined in my cause. Fulfilling their dream is the sole purpose of my life. It is the quest for my own identity and dignity. Someday soon we shall have it.

In the past, you were a member of the Tibetan Youth Congress and also the Students for a Free Tibet, both of which are strong advocates of Rangzen, or complete independence of Tibet. Now, as the head of the Central Tibetan Administration, you are a staunch advocate of the Middle Path.

I still have the same passion for Tibet that I had earlier. However, with time I’ve realized that it was wise and realistic on the part of our elders to opt for the

Middle Path. It is a win-win situation for all: China can have its sovereignty and territorial integrity and Tibet can have its genuine autonomy.

**The Dalai Lama’s objective was to separate politics from religion. Has that happened?**

To a large extent. It’s still going through a transition, but institutionally and constitutionally and on a day-to-day basis, a clear separation has taken place. His Holiness still remains the most popular and most revered person among the Tibetans. But because he magnanimously devolved his political authority, he has been deliberate in his approach to ensure that the separation remains.

**Is it possible to be a minister in the Tibetan government of exile without being religious?**

Yes.

**Do you consult His Holiness for any executive decision?**

Officially it is not mandated. But he has vast experience and it would be great to have his views, although he deliberately does not give formal instructions. He also joked once that now that I am an elected head of the people, I can be criticized by the people, including His Holiness himself. (Laughs) The last thing I’d want is criticism from him.

I was born in India and I’ve spent more years here than anywhere else. India has done the most for Tibetans, in fact more than any other country. Tibetans are forever grateful to India. The Middle Way approach has explicitly been our official policy since the early 70s and Tibetans seek genuine autonomy for Tibetan people. The “Memorandum On Genuine Autonomy For The Tibetan People” was presented to the Chinese government by the previous Khashag (cabinet) in 2008. “Genuine autonomy” essentially means the genuine implementation of autonomy rights enshrined in the Constitution and Autonomy Law of the People’s Republic of China for the minority nationals in both letter and spirit.

## Veteran Tibetan Communist Leader Passes Away

Veteran Tibetan Communist leader, Bapa Phuntsok Wangyal passed away in Beijing on March 30, 2014 at the age of 92. He was the founder of the Tibetan Communist Party in the 1930s, which he subsequently merged with the Chinese Communist Party.

He was a strong advocate of the Middle way Approach of the Central Tibetan Administration to resolve the issue of Tibet and has urged the top Chinese leadership including former Chinese President Hu Jintao to let His Holiness the Dalai Lama return to Tibet.

The demise of Bapa Phuntsok Wangyal elicited outpourings of grief and condolences from across the Tibetan political spectrum. His Holiness the Dalai Lama, who shared a unique bond with the veteran communist leader issued a personal condolence message at his demise.

“I am deeply saddened to learn of the passing away of Bapa Phuntsok Wangyal in Beijing. He was a true Communist, genuinely motivated to fulfill the interests of the Tibetan people. In his death we have lost a trusted friend,” His Holiness said.

“I first met Phunwang, as he was popularly known, in 1951, when he accompanied Chinese officials to Lhasa. Later, during my visit to Beijing and other cities in 1954-55 he assisted and interpreted for me in the course of which we became good friends. During the series of meetings I had with Chairman Mao in particular, he was of crucial help as my interpreter.”

“Through his own example Phunwang showed that you could be a true Communist while at the same time proud of your Tibetan heritage. He caught me by surprise, when, at our first meeting, in the company of the Chinese delegation, he chose to make prostrations before me. At the same time, while the Chinese officials were all dressed uniformly in their regulation Mao suits, he wore a traditional Tibetan chuba. When I asked him about this he told me it would be a mistake to think that the Communist Revolution was primarily concerned with how to dress. He said it was more about a revolution of ideas, indicating



*Baba Phuntsok Wangyal (2nd right standing) with Panchen Lama (4th), and members of the first fact-finding Tibetan delegation from exile that visited Tibet in 1979*

to me that he did not think that being a Communist meant a Tibetan needed to dismiss Tibetan traditions.” His Holiness said reminiscing his meeting with Bapa Phuntsok Wangyal.

“I pray that Phuntsok Wangyal may have a good rebirth and offer my condolences to his wife and children,” His Holiness the Dalai Lama added.

Sikyong Dr. Lobsang Sangay, the democratically elected political leader of Tibet, in his condolence message said: “The Central Tibetan Administration in Dharamshala extends its profound condolences to his family. We hope the Chinese leadership will take heed of the veteran Communist leader’s wisdom and far-sighted vision to resolve the issue of Tibet.”

Born in 1922 in Bathang, in eastern Tibet’s Kham province, he was a key figure in drafting the 17-Point Agreement to ensure Tibetan people’s right to regional national autonomy. As an early convert to socialism, he worked tirelessly to create a socialist Tibet that would encompass all Tibetans in the three traditional provinces of Kham, Amdo and U-Tsang under a single administration. He truly believed it would bring egalitarianism in the Tibetan society. Despite his contributions, he was arrested by the Chinese authorities in 1960 for his so-called advocacy of local Tibetan nationalism and spent 18 years in solitary confinement. Despite undergoing immeasurable suffering, he remained a vocal critic of the Chinese Communist Party and its misguided policies in Tibet.

Following his release during Deng Xiaoping’s liberalization policy, his

membership in the Party was restored. He remained a Tibetan patriot throughout his life and met with all the Tibetan delegations from exile which visited Tibet from 1979 to 1985. In his recent autobiography, he reiterated that His Holiness the Dalai Lama be allowed to return to Tibet to bring lasting peace in China.

Phuntsok Wangyal has openly supported the Middle Way Approach proposed by His Holiness the Dalai Lama as a pragmatic solution to the current crisis in Tibet. He stated that “the Dalai Lama’s Middle Way Approach of seeking only a meaningful autonomy for Tibet rather than independence, in the present critical context, is an expression of the great responsibility he takes in giving serious thoughts over the fundamental interests of the Tibetan people. It also shows that he takes great responsibility in understanding the issues concerning both sides and in carefully studying the changing circumstances. Furthermore, it is a thinking that is based on reality and foresight.”

In a meeting with President Hu Jintao in 2008, when unprecedented protest broke out in Tibet against the repressive policies of the Chinese government, he expressed disappointment over the Chinese government’s hardline position during the talks with the envoys of His Holiness the Dalai Lama. He was critical of the Chinese government’s outright rejection of the Tibetan proposal for genuine autonomy, which he considered consistent with the constitution of the People’s Republic of China.

Phuntsok Wangyal is survived by his wife Tseten Dolkar and his four children.

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## QUOTES

*“This is a physical condition like any other and people should not look down upon others. All human beings are equal and capable. Discrimination on the basis of caste, religion or any other condition is a sinful act,”*

*---His Holiness the Dalai Lama to media during a visit to the Tahirpur Leprosy Complex in New Delhi, India.*

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*“The Tibetan people have risen time after time to overcome great adversities in the long history of our civilization. Today, our sense of identity, solidarity, and dignity is deeper than ever. If we remain united, and bring the rich traditions of the elders to interplay with the innovation and dynamism of the younger generation, I firmly believe that the Chinese government will have no choice but to address our aspirations,”*

*---Tibetan Political leader Sikyong Dr. Lobsang Sangay in his 55th Tibetan National Uprising Day statement.*

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*“I am totally committed to the middle-way approach. It is quite possible that the political situation in China will change considerably, which will result in a rethink on the Tibetan issue within the Chinese Communist Party. Additionally, the power of the aspirations and compassion of the Dalai Lama is virtually limitless. It is the hope of all Tibetans to see the Dalai Lama return to Tibet safely and for Tibet to enjoy peace, happiness and the freedom to practice religion and culture.”*

*---His Eminence Karmapa Rinpoche during an interview to the Economic Times*

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*“The Tibet question is universal. It is a question of liberty, democracy and solidarity, which are the values at the foundation of the European Union. As such, Europe has these values as a legacy and must defend them everywhere they are in danger in order to find a sustainable solution. Thus, support must be brought to the Middle Way Approach of Tibetans – Umaylam – and to the dialogue with China:”*

*---Henri Malosse, President, European Economic and Social Committee*