



# TIBETAN BULLETIN

THE OFFICIAL JOURNAL OF THE CENTRAL TIBETAN ADMINISTRATION

VOLUME 16, ISSUE 2

MARCH - JULY, 2012

## FOCUS

Tibetans Celebrate 77th Birthday of His Holiness the Dalai Lama  
Pg - 12

## DOCUMENTATION

Ottawa Declaration on Tibet  
Pg - 10

## FEATURE

Hexie Farm Cartoons on Tibet and China  
Pg - 22

## WORLD PRESS

In Occupied Tibetan Monastery, a Reason for Fiery Deaths  
Pg - 28

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## TIBETAN BULLETIN

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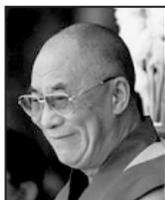
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VOL 16 ISSUE 2  
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# CONTENTS

NEWS BRIEF	4 - 5
* <i>His Holiness the Dalai Lama Receives the 2012 Templeton Prize</i>	
* <i>Kalon Tripa Accepts Resignations of Special Envoy Lodi Gyari and Envoy Kelsang Gyaltsen.</i>	
* <i>CTA launches Tibet Corps</i>	
* <i>His Holiness the Dalai Lama Meets Aung San Suu Kyi</i>	
* <i>Tibet Shut to travellers after Fiery Protests</i>	
* <i>CTA Signs Agreement with World Chess Federation</i>	
* <i>RC Extension for 5 Years</i>	
* <i>Brazilian Parliamentary Friends of Tibet Launched</i>	
DOCUMENTATION	6 - 11
* <i>Kashag's Statement on Security of His Holiness the Dalai lama</i>	
* <i>Declaration on Tibet: TSG</i>	
* <i>Ottawa Declaration on Tibet</i>	
FOCUS	12 - 15 18 - 21
* <i>77th Birthday Celebration of His Holiness the Dalai Lama</i>	
* <i>Kashag's statement on His Holiness the Dalai lama's 77th Birthday Celebration</i>	
* <i>Tibetan Parliament's statement on His Holiness the Dalai lama's 77th Birthday Celebration</i>	
FACT SHEET	16- 17
* <i>Self-Immolation Incidents</i> <i>(27 February 2009 - July 2012)</i>	
FEATURE	22- 26
* <i>Hexie Farm Cartoons on Tibet and China</i>	
WORLD PRESS	27- 30
* <i>For Tibetans, no other ways to Protest</i> <i>by Kalon Tripa Dr Lobsang Sangay</i>	
* <i>In Occupied Tibetan Monastery, a Reason for Fiery Deaths.</i> <i>by Edward Wong</i>	
* <i>The Dalai Lama is the best hope for a Tibet resolution</i> <i>by Isabel Hilton</i>	

**His Holiness the Dalai Lama Receives the 2012 Templeton Prize**

His Holiness the Dalai Lama on 14 May 2012 received the annual Templeton Prize for his long-standing engagement with multiple dimensions of science and with people of different religious traditions. Foundation President Dr John Templeton said "The Dalai Lama offers a universal voice of compassion underpinned by a love and respect for spiritually relevant scientific research that centres on every single human being."



*His Holiness the Dalai Lama receiving the Templeton Prize from John Templeton*

Established in 1972, the Templeton Prize is a global award honouring a living person who makes an exceptional contribution to affirming life's spiritual dimension, whether through insight, discovery, or practical works.

His Holiness accepted the award as 'recognition about my little service to humanity', and gave away the prize money of £1.1 million to charity. Donating about £900,000 of his prize money to Save the Children Fund specifically to address the problems of malnourishment among children in India, His Holiness said that our real hope is the younger generation who if given proper care and education will change the whole world.

His Holiness also gave £125,000 to the Mind and Life Institute, an organisation that has for nearly thirty years helped promote an impor-

tant exchange of ideas and collaboration between science and spirituality, while the rest of the prize money will be used to support science education in the Tibetan monastic universities.

**Kalon Tripa Accepts Resignations of Special Envoy Lodi G. Gyari and Envoy Kelsang Gyaltzen**

Kalon Tripa Dr. Lobsang Sangay, regrettfully accepted the resignations of Special Envoy of His Holiness the Dalai Lama Lodi G. Gyari and Envoy Kelsang Gyaltzen wef from June 1, 2012. Special Envoy Lodi Gyari, assisted by Envoy Kelsang Gyaltzen, led the Tibetan team in nine rounds of talks with representatives of the Chinese government starting in 2002. The last meeting with the Chinese side took place more than two years ago in January 2010. Despite Mr. Gyari's desire to step down in April 2011, the two envoys were asked to continue their efforts to reach out to their Chinese counterparts by Kalon Tripa. The envoys met and briefed Kalon Tripa on twelve separate occasions since May 2011.



*Resignations of Special Envoy Lodi G. Gyari and Envoy Kelsang Gyaltzen*

The Envoys expressed their utter frustration over the lack of positive response from the Chinese side and said that the deteriorating situation inside Tibet since 2008 leading to the increasing cases of self-immolations by Tibetans compelled them to submit their resignations.

Calling their decade-long contributions invaluable, Kalon Tripa Dr. Lobsang Sangay said that the Kashag will continue to rely on them for their wise counsel and they will remain as senior members of the Task Force team.

The Tibetan Task Force on Negotiations will be expanded and will meet again in December 2012 to discuss the Chinese leadership transition with the hope of continuing to dialogue with the new Chinese leaders.

**CTA launches Tibet Corps**



The Central Tibetan Administration on 12 April 2012 launched 'Tibet Corps' to provide opportunities to Tibetan professionals and university students to serve their community through voluntary service programme, initially involving the Central Tibetan Administration and eventually selected Tibetan NGOs (TiNGOs).

Dhang-shab-pas (renderers of service) would be drawn from a large and diverse pool of working and retired professionals and university students. They would be then assigned clearly defined and needed role as required by CTA department or entity affiliated with it

Tibet Corps, a public-private initiative of CTA, was launched with generous seed funding and ongoing support from the Isdell Foundation.

## His Holiness the Dalai Lama Meets Aung San Suu Kyi

His Holiness the Dalai Lama on his 15-day tour of England, Scotland and Italy met Burmese pro-democracy leader Aung San Suu Kyi in London on 19 June.



*His Holiness the Dalai Lama meets Aung San Suu Kyi*

In a close conversation which lasted for more than half an hour, His Holiness told her that just as her late father who had shown great dedication, he was confident that she too would be of great service to humanity. He also wished her every success in fulfilling her life's goals.

## Tibet Shut to travellers after Fiery Protests

The Chinese government again shut Tibet's door to the outside world amid its crackdown on Tibetan in Lhasa, ten days after two Tibetans set themselves on fire on 27 May 2012 in the Capital. Besides imposing ban on foreign travellers to Tibet for an unspecified time, the Chinese government deployed thousands of troops in capital Lhasa.

In the crackdown, Chinese authorities arbitrarily arrested hundreds of Tibetans by mainly targeting those from Amdo and Kham provinces. Amnesty International said in its 1 June statement that many of those arrested are being held at Tsel Gunthang prison and other sites in Lhasa.

It was the second such ban in this year alone. Tibet was closed earlier this year during mid-February through March.

Kalon Dicki Chhoyang of the Department of Information & International Relations, in her statement asked the Chinese leadership to address the root causes of Tibetan grievances through dialogue. She further made it clear that closing Tibet's door to the outside world and stifling the voices of Tibetans through force will not bring an end to the deepening crisis in Tibet.

## CTA Signs Agreement with World Chess Federation

The Central Tibetan Administration (CTA) has signed an agreement with World Chess Federation (FIDE), recognising chess as a universal tool to reinforce the capabilities of Tibetan children for a better schooling life.



World Chess Federation President Kirsan Ilyumzhinov, who is a former president of Russia's Kalmykia Republic and steadfast supporter of Tibet, signed the agreement with Kalon Tripa Dr Lobsang Sangay.

Under the agreement, the CTA will introduce the development and promotion of chess in the Tibetan education system. The Tibetan schools will have chess classes by the new school year/semester of 2012. The chess will be developed in Tibetan schools through educational programme, e-learning, awards, cer-

tificates, stipend and allowance.

## RC Extension for 5 Years

The Indian government has agreed to allow Tibetan refugees born in India and those who have lived in India for more than 20 years to renew their Registration Certificates for a period of 5 years.

The Home ministry of India has specified four conditions to be fulfilled by Tibetans to avail the 5-year extension of their stay, which includes production of supporting letter from the CTA and certificate of character and antecedent.

The 5-year extension of RC will come into effect once the states receive the centre's notification, and evolve a standard procedure in consultation with the Central Tibetan Administration.

## Brazilian Parliamentary Friends of Tibet Launched

The Brazilian Parliamentary Friends of Tibet was formally launched on 13 June 2012 at the National Congress of Brazil by the initiative of Deputy Mr. Walter Feldman and with support signature of 215 parliamentarians. It is an all-party group of deputies and senators which will make an effort to generate real support for the resumption of dialogue between the leadership in Beijing and Dharamsala to guarantee a genuine and meaningful autonomy for the Tibetan people.

"This fight does not belong only to Tibetans, it belongs to us, to government and non-governmental organisations, acting on behalf of human rights to contribute to world peace and the culture of peace....Brazil as a country of great importance in the world cannot stand indifferent to the problem. Our weapon is essential to combat all violence and we must put into practice the Culture of Peace." said Deputy Feldman. .

# Kashag's Statement on Security of His Holiness the Dalai Lama

The KASHAG May 20, 2012

In the recent days, there has been considerable media attention concerning reports of a possible security threat to His Holiness the Dalai Lama. The security of His Holiness the Dalai Lama is a matter of great concern.

On 8 May 2012, His Holiness the Dalai Lama gave an interview to the Sunday Telegraph in Dharamsala, India, during which the interviewer commented on the security surrounding His Holiness. In response, His Holiness remarked that the concerned security agencies have taken his security very seriously ever since his first arrival in India.

He mentioned that some time ago the officials responsible for his security received reports from a Tibetan working for the Chinese security establishment inside Tibet that Tibetan women were being trained to poison him by applying poison to their hair and to traditional greeting scarves.

When His Holiness meets with Tibetans, they often present him with such scarves and bow their heads to receive his blessing.

However, His Holiness also made it quite clear to the interviewer that there is no way to verify such reports. Although His Holiness takes security threat to his person lightly, there are a variety of threats to his well-being that the security agencies are obliged to take it seriously. According to reports received from Tibet in June 2010, Chinese intelligence agencies are making concrete plans to harm His Holiness by employing well-trained agents, particularly females. It is also learnt that they are exploring the possibility of harming him by using ultra-modern and highly sophisticated drugs and poisonous chemicals. In another report received in October 2011, it is also

learnt that Chinese intelligence agencies have stepped up their clandestine efforts to collect intelligence on the status of His Holiness's health, as well as collecting physical samples of his blood, urine and hair.

They are reportedly co-opting Tibetans inside Tibet to visit India with the intention of seek-

officials to organise protests by overseas Chinese communities against the Dalai Lama during his visits outside India.

A number of such protests have since been organised in the United States, Europe and Japan. His Holiness's efforts to reform and democratise Tibetan society have also emboldened certain fundamentalists within the Tibetan community. This relates to differences arising from the worship of the Shugden spirit, which His Holiness had advised the Tibetan people from worshipping against.

The primary group among these fundamentalists is the Dorje Shugden Devotees Charitable and Religious Society (DSD-CRS), founded in May 1996 with its headquarters in Delhi, India.

The supporters of DSDCRS are perhaps the most violent group. The Indian police have identified and charged DSDCRS of murdering three monks close to His Holiness, including his Chinese translator. This triple murder occurred in Dharamsala, India, very close to His Holiness's personal residence in February 1997.

A Red Corner Notice was issued by Interpol in June 2007

for the arrest of two of the accused in this case. Various reports also point to the fact that the Chinese government is also covertly backing the Shugden fundamentalist groups.

The leaders of an association called "North America Gelug Association", which was established in March 2011 in United States, met Chinese officials in New York several times and have also visited China on a regular basis. The Central Tibetan Administration is grateful to Government of India for the efficient security arrangements provided to His Holiness the Dalai Lama. The Central Tibetan Administration cautions all concerned to remain vigilant and alert in this regard. ■



*Kalon Pema Chhinjor, the officiating Kalon Tripa (L) and Kalon for Security Ngodup Dongchung (R) addressing a press conference on His Holiness the Dalai Lama's security in Dharamsala*

ing an audience with him to this end.

In early April 2008, Zhang Qingli, the then Party Secretary of the Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR) held a meeting of all top officials in the government. During that meeting, he quoted as saying, "those who must be killed should be killed and those must be imprisoned must be imprisoned." Recently in February 2012, Chen Quanguo, the current Party Secretary of TAR, called for "a war against secessionist sabotage".

In recent years, Chinese government has launched an unprecedented offensive campaign against His Holiness inside Tibet and has also issued instructions to its concerned

# Indian Tibet Support Groups Resolve to Mobilize Support for Tibetan Cause

*Following is the full text of the action plan declared by the 4th All India Tibet Support Groups Conference held in Dharamshala from 9-11 June 2012.*

We, the delegates to the 4th All India Tibet Support Groups Conference held at Dharamshala for the first time from June 9-11, 2012.

Noting that the year 2012 marks 62 years of armed occupation of the peace loving free nation of Tibet, and that Tibet continues to remain under the illegal subjugation of a lawless and brutal Chinese regime, recalling with agony that this year also marks the 50th year of the Chinese aggression against India, and large parts of our territory still remain under the illegal control of China.

Believing that this would not have happened had Tibet continued to remain a free country

Reaffirming our firm view that a free Tibet, whose people can govern themselves on the basis of their age old tradition, faith and principles of non-violence and friendliness with all, is the best guarantee of the well being of the people of Tibet and preservation of their unique culture and religion, the safety and security of India, and the protection and preservation of the ecology, economy and culture of the entire Himalayan region.

Noting with grievous pain that Human rights situation in Tibet has worsened and become so unbearable that as many as 38 young monks, nuns and lay persons have had to resort to the most desperate acts of sacrificing their precious lives by self-immolation.

Condemning the Chinese regime for its continued repressive policies and brutal atrocities against the Tibetan people for peacefully protesting such policies and wishing the return of His Holiness the Dalai Lama to his country.

Convinced that meaningful and sincere negotiations with a sense of urgency between the representatives of the Dalai Lama and democratically elected Tibetan government in exile, which calls itself the Central Tibetan Administration and the Chinese authorities, is the only honorable way to resolve the question of Tibet, and there is a need for immedi-

ate resumption of stalled talks.

Realizing the need for further strengthening the Tibet support groups in India and redoubling their efforts in the cause of Tibet, which we believe to be in the enlightened interest of India, too.

Also believing that the countries youth, women, students and the teaching community besides all the groups need to be mobilized on a larger scale and to have closer and wider cooperation and coordination with Tibetan organizations.

Therefore adopt the following Action Plan for the period till the next conference:-

1. A massive rally will be organized in February 2013 in New Delhi in which all Tibet Support Groups and supporters at large will actively participate.

2. Protest programs in various forms will be held between September and October 2012 to mark the 50th Anniversary of Chinese aggression against India. 1.3. 2013 will be celebrated as the year of Independent Tibet.

TSGs fervently hope that the 14th Dalai Lama of Tibet shall return to Tibet in the respectable manner as the 13th Dalai Lama returned to Tibet from India in 1913.

4. A committee will be set up to frame the constitution of the core group of Tibetan Cause. The committee will submit its draft report by the next meeting of the Core Group.

5. Regional conferences of the support groups under the auspices of core group shall be held during the next two years in all regions of the country.

6. The Indian Support Groups will campaign with government of India to confer the Bharat Ratna on His Holiness the Dalai Lama in recognition of his great services to India and the humanity.

7. The core group will also campaign with members of Parliament and political parties to invite His Holiness to address the Parliament.

8. Efforts will be made to arrange a meeting of the standing committee of Parliament on Foreign Affairs of parliament with Kalon Tripa.

9. The Core Group and TSGs shall campaign for the recognition of Gendun Choekyi Nyima as the reincarnation 10th of Penchen Lama.

10. Efforts shall be made to organize an International conference to highlight the awaiting disasters from activities of ecological destruction on the Tibetan plateau by the Chinese government which is affecting most parts of south and south east Asia. Strengthening of Tibet Support Groups in India

1. **WOMEN AND YOUTH:** In order to expand Tibet Support Groups' (TSG) work in India among women and youths, all TSGs will improve the participation of women, youths and teachers among their leadership at state and district levels. They are also advised to develop active friendly relationship with local woman and youth NGOs and undertake joint action programmes on Tibet with them. Wherever possible, new groups like branch units of "Students for Tibet" and "Teachers for Tibet" should be established.

2. **COLLABORATION WITH TIBETAN NGOs:** To get best possible results for various public events and actions on Tibet, Indian TSGs will evolve active cooperation with various Tibetan NGOs, local Tibetan community groups and other Tibetan organizations which are active in their respective regions. At national level also, they will join hands with Tibetan organizations like Tibetan Youth Congress (TYC), Tibetan Women's Association (TWA), Students For A Free Tibet (SFT) etc.

3. **ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE:** Need for substantial improvement in organizational structure of TSGs and coordination at state and district levels is strongly felt. The TSGs are advised to hold their organizational elections at all state as well as local levels.

In this regard India Tibet Coordination Office (ITCO) is advised to evolve active and regular coordination with these organizations

under the guidance of the Core Group. Core Group leaders, senior Tibetan leaders and friendly Tibet experts should travel to various places to participate in Tibet related events organized by these units.

4. MEMBERSHIP AND FUND RAISING: Special membership and fund raising campaigns should be organized at fixed intervals by various TSGs at state and local levels.

5. MEDIA RELATIONS: TSGs and their branch units should actively focus on developing relations with media in their respective areas and should make optimum use of published materials, internet, Tibet related pre-recorded audio-visuals and films for public screening and distribution.

6. MASS CONTACT: Special public education campaigns on Tibet should be organized during popular public events like fairs and Melas, popular pilgrimage sites. Similarly, public functions should be organized at town and state levels to commemorate important days like Birthday of HH the Dalai Lama, Buddha Jayanti, Intl Human Rights Day etc.

7. TRADE AND INDUSTRY GROUPS: Special relations should be developed and joint action plans be evolved in collaboration with such organizations of trade and industry in India who have suffered heavily due to the onslaught of cheap Chinese goods and services. Academic awareness programs (Schools, Colleges, Universities) It is strongly felt that special focus on winning hearts of the student and teacher communities is very vital to the success of developing a nationwide Tibet support movement for the cause of Tibet in India.

It is therefore necessary that TSGs at state and town levels should undertake regular and long term outreach projects focused at students and teachers at senior school, college and university levels. To achieve this goal, following steps need to be taken by all TSGs independently as well as in active collaboration with various other Indian and Tibetan organizations:

1. ESSAY/ DEBATE COMPETITIONS: To increase awareness about the Tibetan situa-

tion and to sensitize them about the significance of a free Tibet for the national interests and security of India, the students and teaching community across India should be kept regularly informed about all related vital issues. And to encourage them to understand these issues events like essay competitions, debate competitions, poetry competitions, painting competitions etc. should be organized by TSG units in schools and colleges at district, state and national levels on important days like Children's Day, Independence Day, 10th March and Human Rights Day etc. The winners and participants should be publicly honoured by important personalities in public functions. Talks by prominent persons and experts should be organized in schools and colleges.

2. INFORMATION MATERIAL: Well designed information materials like books, pamphlets, pre-recorded DVDs, films, stickers, badges etc should be distributed among students and teachers. Photo exhibitions and film shows related to Tibet and India should be regularly organized in schools, colleges and universities.

3. LIBRARIES: Impressive literature on Tibet in Hindi, English and various Indian languages shall be developed. Books on Tibet and magazines like Tibbat Desh shall be regularly sent to libraries of schools, colleges and universities across India.

4. LINKS WITH UNIONS AND YOUTH WINGS: All TSGs should establish Student and Teacher wings of their organisations and their units should be established at school, college and university levels. Active links with local student unions, teachers' unions and youth wings of various political groups should be established.

Joint campaigns and programmes with them should be regularly organized. Student and teachers unions should be encouraged to invite Tibetan leaders like HH the Dalai Lama, Kalon Tripa, Speaker of the Tibetan Parliament-in-Exile and its MPs to their important events.

5. TIBET IN CURRICULUM AND RESEARCH: TSGs should make focused efforts

at the policy making authorities to include Tibet related issues in the school and college curriculum and also in universities to include Tibet related issues like environment, security, philosophy etc. in Ph.D. studies in various universities.

6. YOUTHS AND SOCIAL MEDIA: To keep the youths informed on Tibet, well designed campaigns should be run regularly through Facebook and Twitter etc and crisp, informative messages should be sent through SMS to enrolled student members.

7. SEMINARS AND DISCUSSIONS: Various college and university level societies and clubs of students teachers should be encouraged to organize seminars, panel discussions and conferences on subjects related to Tibet, China and Indian security.

8. Efforts shall be made to encourage universities to institute Chairs in the name of His Holiness the Dalai Lama.

**India's Tibet Policy:** It is strongly felt that an effective regular and consistent campaign needs to be run at national level in India to positively influence India's policy on issues related to Tibet and China. This will require proper sensitization of opinion makers at large and policy makers in particular on those issues which seriously impact India's interests vis-a-vis China, especially on matters related to Tibetan situation. Some of these issues and campaign discussed during the conferences which need collective attention and action of all Indian TSGs are given here:

1. TSGs and Tibetan groups should reorganize and shall jointly escalate their lobbying efforts with the Indian policy makers and opinion makers like MPs, MLAs, senior bureaucrats and members of various think tanks. The aim of these efforts should be to affect changes in Government of India's policies on Tibet and China.

2. GOI should be encouraged to replace its old policy of gratifying China and to adopt a pro active policy on issues related to India's national interests, especially in relation to Tibet. GOI should make serious efforts to revive its Indian Consulate in Lhasa.

3. GOI should strictly adhere to the policy of accepting the entire Tibet (Cholka Sum) as the 'real' Tibet and not PRC initiated Tibetan Autonomous Region (TAR) as 'Tibet'.

4. GOI should be asked to boldly take up the Tibetan issue with the government of People's Republic of China (PRC) and to pressure the Chinese leaders to restart a meaningful dialogue with HH the Dalai Lama and the Tibetan government in exile.

5. In order to meet the ever increasing threats and utterances of Chinese leaders and their think tanks against India's national integrity and sovereignty, Indian counter efforts are now already overdue. A special lobbying campaign should be run by all TSGs at local and national levels among individual Indian political leaders, foreign policy cells of respective political parties, and sitting members of Indian Parliament to revive the unanimous resolution of Indian Parliament of 14th November 1962 in order to assert India's national sovereignty and national integrity as against such Chinese machinations.

6. All TSGs shall undertake a nationwide campaign to convince the GOI to develop international pressure on China to abandon its ecologically disastrous and politically dangerous plans of damming and diverting waters of Tibetan rivers to various parts of China.

GOI should join hands with other victim countries of this Chinese policy like Myanmar, Nepal, Bangladesh, Pakistan, Cambodia,

Laos, Vietnam, India, Thailand, Bhutan etc. GOI should also seriously raise the issue of environmental destruction by PRC in occupied Tibet by indiscriminately exploiting and

9. GOI should be encouraged to attend to relevant human rights issues of Tibetans living under Chinese occupation at relevant international forums like the UN Human Rights Council. GOI should be especially asked to shed down its hitherto consistent policy of voting in favour of PRC in the UN bodies to protect the Government of PRC from international accountability on serious HR related matters.

10. Special lobbying efforts should be undertaken to convince the GOI to review and suitably revise the rules which govern Tibetan refugee's status in India.

In view of the improved economic and social conditions of Tibetan refugees and their changing socio-economic needs, special focus should be laid on amending rules which regulated their right to ownland for personal use.

11. Suitable atmosphere should be built up by all TSGs in India and public pressure should be build up on GOI to recognize the Tibetan Government

in Exile as the legitimate 'Government of Tibet'.

12. TSGs should lobby with their MLAs and MPs at local and national level to create atmosphere favourable to inviting His Holiness the Dalai Lama to address Parliament of India and various State Assemblies.

13. Return of His Holiness the 14th Dalai Lama back to Tibet in the most respectable manner as the return of the 13th Dalai Lama to Tibet from India in 1913. ■



*From left: Mr Penpa Tsering, Speaker of Tibetan Parliament, Mr J P Urs, regional convener of Core Group for Tibetan Cause in South India, Mr Satya Prakash Malviya, MP, Mr Bashish Narain Singh, MP, and Dr N K Trikha, National Convener of Core Group for Tibetan Cause during the closing session of the 4th All India Support Groups Conference in Dharamshala on 11 June 2012*

looting forest and mineral wealth of Tibet.

7. All TSGs shall evolve a special public education campaign regarding PRC's overbearing and bullying policies governing the Kailash Mansarovar pilgrimage. GOI should be asked to put pressure on the government of PRC to remove all restrictions on pilgrimage by Indian pilgrims to this holy place.

8. All TSGs in India will observe 2013 as the "YEAR OF TIBETAN INDEPENDANCE" to commemorate the declaration of Tibetan sovereignty by the 13th Dalai Lama in 1913.

# Ottawa Declaration on Tibet

*Following is the full text of the Ottawa Declaration on Tibet adopted by the Sixth World Parliamentarians Convention on Tibet meeting in Ottawa, Canada, from 27 to 29 April 2012*

We, the delegates to the Sixth World Parliamentarians' Convention on Tibet meeting in Ottawa, Canada, from 27 to 29 of April 2012,

*Recalling* the findings and statements of the previous five Conventions held in New Delhi, Vilnius, Washington D.C., Edinburgh and Rome, and having reviewed the activities and programs that resulted from these meetings and their impact,

*Having reviewed* the grave situation in Tibet as well as the policies of the Government of the People's Republic of China (PRC) in relation to the Tibetan people,

*Noting with disappointment* the lack of progress in dialogue between the Government of the PRC and the Envoys of His Holiness the Dalai Lama since the meeting of the World Parliamentarians' Convention on Tibet in Rome in November 2009,

*Reaffirming* the great value to humanity of the Tibetan culture, language and spiritual tradition,

*Recognizing* the very important and successful democratization process in the governance of Tibetans in exile by His Holiness the Dalai Lama and the recent transfer by him of his political powers and responsibilities to the democratically elected Kalon Tripa and political leaders of the Central Tibetan Administration, which represents the aspirations of the Tibetan people,

*Convinced* of the continued indispensable role of His Holiness the Dalai Lama in bringing about a negotiated solution to the conflict between the Government of the PRC and the Tibetan people,

WE THEREFORE

*Reiterate* our firm conviction that this conflict

can be resolved through sincere and constructive dialogue and negotiations at the highest level between the Government of the PRC and His Holiness the Dalai Lama or his representatives and the democratically elected political leaders of the Central Tibetan Administration,

*Express* our equally firm belief that unilateral action in Tibet by the government authorities of the People's Republic of China, such as the imposition of new policies that do not reflect the aspirations of the Tibetan people, cannot lead to a solution,

*Welcome* the free and fair character of the elections held last year for the Kalon Tripa and for the members of the Tibetan Parliament in Exile, which the INPAT Election Observation Mission monitored and reported on,

*Acknowledge* the growing movement for democratic change among the Chinese people as well as the increasing understanding and support among Chinese for the Middle Way approach of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, all of which has potential impact on the realization of the aspirations of the Tibetan people,

*Mindful* that the yearning for democratic freedom is unstoppable as evidenced most recently in many parts of the Arab world, in Burma and elsewhere,

*Understand* the critical importance of freedom of information and of access to it through the internet and other electronic means of communication to the success of democratic movements,

*Are alarmed* at continuing grave violations of human rights in Tibet and the repressive measures taken by the PRC authorities in reaction to these and other peaceful protests by Tibetans,

*Continue to be deeply* concerned at the attacks by the authorities of the People's Republic of China on Tibetan Buddhism as well as their policies and practices that destroy, repress, or discourage the preservation and

development of other facets of the distinct identity of the Tibetan people, including their culture, language, customs, way of life and traditions, and which display elements of cultural genocide,

*Are saddened and moved* by the large number of Tibetans who set fire to themselves in protest against Chinese government policies and for a restoration of freedom for Tibetans and the return of His Holiness the Dalai Lama,

*Are seriously worried* by recent calls by persons of standing and influence with the Chinese Communist Party for the removal of existing provisions on autonomy for Tibetans and other 'minority nationalities' in the constitution and laws of the PRC, which would have very negative domestic and international implications,

*Acknowledge* the ineffectiveness of the bilateral human rights dialogues that governments have held with the PRC in bringing about necessary change,

*Welcome* the consideration of the human rights situation in Tibet by the United Nations Human Rights bodies and mechanisms, including by the UN High Commissioner on Human Rights and the Treaty bodies as well as through the Special Procedures of the UN Human Rights Council, but regret that no concrete action has been taken by the Council itself,

*Deeply regret* the apparent lack of political will of the Government of the PRC to respond positively to persistent efforts by His Holiness the Dalai Lama and the elected Tibetan leadership for the resumption of the dialogue,

*Reject* the argument made by the government of the PRC that the engagement of governments with His Holiness the Dalai Lama and members of the elected Tibetan leadership and the expression of support by governments for the peaceful resolution of the issue of Tibet through dialogue and negotiations constitute breaches of the 'one China policy',

*Remain convinced* that a sustainable solution to the issue of Tibet can be achieved through genuine autonomy for the Tibetan people within the PRC, as evidenced by the positive experience of the many autonomous regions around the world, and note in particular the example set by the creation of the Territory of Nunavut as a self governing community within the sovereign nation of Canada.

**WE DECIDE AS FOLLOWS:**

*Express solidarity* with the Tibetan people in their non-violent struggle for their rights and freedoms including the right to determine their own destiny,

*Express support* also for the Chinese people's efforts to bring about democratic change to their country and urge that this be achieved in ways that ensure the exercise by the Tibetans of their rights and freedoms and safeguard the rights of other other minority peoples in the PRC as well,

*Express concern* at the domestic and international efforts by the Government of the PRC to curtail the freedom of information and control electronic and internet communications for political purposes,

*Reaffirm* our strong commitment to the people of Tibet and the non-violent path they have chosen, under the inspiring leadership of His Holiness the Dalai Lama and commend the Kalon Tripa for his continuing efforts to pursue the Middle Way approach and to promote a resumption of the dialogue with the PRC,

*Endorse* the principles set out in the Memorandum on Genuine Autonomy for the Tibetan People, which provide the basis for a realistic and sustainable political solution to the issue of Tibet,

*Recall* the important invitation of Deng Xiaoping to His Holiness the Dalai Lama to discuss and resolve any issues except the in-

dependence of Tibet, and note that this position has been repeated by the Government of the PRC more recently also, Dispel the false accusation that His Holiness the Dalai Lama and the Central Tibetan Administration is seeking separation from the PRC since the Tibetan proposals expressly formulate a solution within the constitutional framework of the PRC and therefore call upon the government of the PRC to cease to propagate such misinformation,

*Call upon the Government of the PRC* to end



the repression in Tibet, provide access to all Tibetan areas in the PRC, schedule the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights' mission to China and especially to Tibet, and to resume the dialogue with the Envoys of His Holiness the Dalai Lama in that same positive spirit,

*Urge leaders* of all governments and relevant international organizations to support and promote this dialogue and to engage the government of the PRC in the potential for serious consequences should it scrap its constitutional and legal provisions on autonomy,

*Alert the international community* to the serious nature and consequences of the ongoing

destruction and repression of Tibetan culture, language and religion by the policies of the Government of the PRC,

*Offer to work* with members of the National People's Congress to jointly ascertain the causes of protest and unrest in Tibet, including the self-immolations,

*Urge the Government of the PRC* and the international community to address the environmental challenges on the Tibetan plateau where environmental stewardship profoundly affects life in vast regions of Asia, including in China and countries in South and South-east Asia,

*Commit* to introducing and/or keeping these issues on the agendas of our own parliaments and international parliamentary organizations and to persuade our own governments to address them in high level discussions with the Government of the PRC, His Holiness the Dalai Lama and the democratically elected Tibetan leadership,

*Urge governments* to create multilateral mechanisms to address the situation in Tibet and to promote a peaceful resolution of the conflict and, in particular, call on the European Union to implement the European Parliament resolution for the appointment of a Special Coordinator for Tibetan Affairs and on relevant national governments to support this initiative,

*Make available* our own expertise both to the Government of the PRC and to His Holiness the Dalai Lama and the leadership of the Central Tibetan Administration in order to assist in the furtherance of the objectives contained in this declaration,

*Adopt* an action program to ensure greater effectiveness in addressing the concerns and advancing the objectives contained in this declaration. ■

# Tibetans Celebrate 77th Birthday of His Holiness the Dalai Lama

Tenzin Jamchhen

For the Tibetans and people across the Himalaya region, the birth anniversary of His Holiness the 14th Dalai Lama is one of the most joyous occasions of the year. As the Kashag of Tibetan Administration called for a grand celebration of His Holiness's 77th birthday this year on 6th July, it was celebrated with great fanfare throughout the length and breadth of India and across the world. His Holiness's 77th birthday was also celebrated in different parts of Tibet despite heavy restrictions imposed by the Chinese government.

The celebration in the exile hometown of His Holiness, Dharamshala, began with the traditional celebration of Sangsol (incense burning) ceremony, followed by the official function at the Tsuglakhang temple courtyard, which was attended by thousands of Tibetans and foreigners from across the globe. His Holiness was welcomed at the function by Gyalwa Karmapa Rinpoche, the Tibetan Supreme Justice Commissioners, Kalon Tripa Dr Lobsang Sangay, Speaker Penpa Tsering and a host of Tibetan officials. State minister of Himachal Pradesh and a host of local Indian dignitaries were also present to greet His Holiness and to participate in the celebrations.

Speaking on the occasion, His Holiness thanked all his well-wishers and mentioned how Tibetans in general and particularly he himself do not regard birthday as something worth celebrating.

"If we start regarding birthdays as important, then every day when we get up in the morning, it should be considered like a birthday. Each and every day is important and one should try and help other people; in case one is unable to

help others, one should at least avoid causing harm to others."

"Every day I promise myself that I would treat others in this way. If I can get up each day and help and not hurt others, this is good. I have spent my life like this and today I am 77 years old," His Holiness said.

ing those who continue to work hard within the Tibetan administration, His Holiness expressed his hope that they will continue to do so in the future also.

Meanwhile, Mr Kishen Kapoor, cabinet minister of the Himachal government and the chief guest of the occasion, expressed his heartfelt birthday greetings to His Holiness on behalf of Chief Minister P K Dhumal and Indian public.

Speaking on behalf of Tibetans inside and outside Tibet and the Central Tibetan Administration, Kalon Tripa Dr Lobsang Sangay, in his official statement, offered His Holiness "deepest reverence, prayers, and warmest wishes."

Kalon Tripa quoted His Holiness as having stated that the final word on Tibet would be that of the Tibetans in Tibet. He affirmed that the Tibetan aspirations for freedom and dignity remain ever strong after the protests of 1980's and 2008 and the spate of self-immolations inside Tibet since 2009.



*His Holiness the Dalai Lama with Gyalwang Karmapa Rinpoche, chief guest Kishen Kapoor, Kalon Tripa Dr Lobsang Sangay, Speaker Penpa Tsering and Supreme Justice Commissioner Ngawang Phelgyal Gyechen at the ceremony.*

Reflecting upon his childhood days spent in Lhasa, His Holiness said that he used to be very naughty and very lazy—"too lazy to study and always interested in playing."

"When I reflect on these things, I consider there is nothing special about me for I am just one out of the 6 or 7 billion people in this world," he added.

His Holiness then spoke about his landmark decision to devolve his political and administrative responsibilities to the democratically-elected Tibetan leadership and that today he is totally retired from his political role. Thank-

The Tibetan Parliament-in-Exile in its statement also wished His Holiness on this special occasion. Coinciding with the especially important day, they also launched its worldwide campaign in the form of a "Flame of Truth" relay.

In the later part of the function, traditional Tibetan and Indian dance items were performed by the artists of Tibetan Institute of Performing Arts (TIPA) and the students of various Tibetan and Indian schools. Even though the official function concluded by noon, the celebration continued throughout the day in the form of musical concerts, games and fetes. ■

# Self-Immolation in Tibet Shows Tibetan Aspiration for Freedom and Dignity

*Following is the full text of Kashag's statement on the occasion of the 77th birthday of His Holiness the Dalai Lama*

On this special and joyous occasion of the seventy-seventh birthday of His Holiness the Dalai Lama and on behalf of Tibetans inside and outside Tibet and the Central Tibetan Administration, I offer His Holiness our deepest reverence, prayers, and warmest wishes.

Today is the most auspicious day not only for the people of the Land of Snow but also for the entire world. Though Tibetans are confronted with an unparalleled tragedy in our history, we have still been able to establish and sustain a successful and an exemplary refugee community under the visionary leadership of His Holiness. Tibetans should cherish the principles of non-violence and democracy and many other vast contributions that His Holiness has made including bringing about a more peaceful world.

His Holiness was recognized at a most difficult period of Tibetan history. He was compelled to take over the spiritual and temporal powers at the tender age of sixteen. Similarly, at the age of twenty-four he had to leave his country and go into exile. In exile he was able to implement many of his long-held visions for democratization of Tibet.

Major reforms included: the establishment of the Commission of the Tibetan People's Deputies in 1960; the promulgation of the Draft Constitution for a Future Tibet in 1963; adoption of the Charter of the Tibetans in Exile in 1991; the holding of the first direct election for Kalon Tripa in 2001; and finally in 2011 handing over of all political authority to the directly elected leadership. At that time His Holiness felt that it was an opportune moment for transferring political authority as Tibetans had reached greater maturity in democratic ideals and commitment to their practice. Undaunted by numerous challenges, sixty years of His Holiness' leadership has made the people of Tibet capable of standing on our own feet.

While deciding to hand over political authority to the directly-elected Tibetan leadership

His Holiness stated: "although you have not welcomed my decision, let me reassure you that as long as Tibetan people retain their faith in me, I will continue to uphold my responsibilities. I believe that eventually Tibetan people will come to appreciate my decision." It should be noted that His Holiness took this decision at a time when so many authoritarian rulers around the world still brutally clung to power. The world hails this wise and farsighted action towards a secular democracy.

Despite the anxieties of Tibetans in and outside Tibet over the last year, the devolution of political authority has ensured a smooth transition without major mishap due to the support and unity of Tibetans. The Kashag would like to appeal to all Tibetans to continue to remain united and extend their support to make this transition a success.

Today there is worldwide acknowledgement of the untiring contributions made by His Holiness as an advocate of non-violence, compassion, secular ethics, religious harmony and Tibetan freedom. His contributions have been marked by the highest honors including the Nobel Peace Prize in 1989.

Most recently, His Holiness was awarded the prestigious 2012 Templeton Prize which recognized his "engagement with science and with people far beyond his own religious traditions" and for focusing "on the connections between the investigative traditions of science and Buddhism." Moreover, it is well known that despite the obstacles and pressures from the People's Republic of China the number of world leaders meeting with His Holiness is growing.

It is also well known that his teachings are attracting an ever-growing global audience.

Perhaps less known is that this audience includes thousands of Chinese from the Mainland including many members of China's more than 200 million Buddhists. Conse-

quently, through their spiritual practice more Chinese are now learning about Tibet and its culture.

His Holiness has always stated that the final word on Tibet would be that of the Tibetans in Tibet. Despite forcible occupation by China for over fifty years, the Tibetan spirit and desire for freedom remains indomitable. Even the darkest period of the Cultural Revolution failed to crush the identity of the Tibetans. In the 1980's numerous protests took place against China's oppressive rule in Tibet. The landmark peaceful protests in 2008 were even larger in number and extended across the entire Tibetan plateau. The spate of self-immolations in Tibet since 2009 has clearly shown Tibetan aspirations for freedom and dignity remains strong.

Furthermore, the unshakeable Tibetan spirit and solidarity that now prevail across the three provinces are unprecedented in Tibet's history. The increasing number of people worldwide sympathetic to and interested in the Tibetan cause, culture and religion is a matter of pride. This has been possible solely because of His Holiness's leadership. For these vast contributions and achievement, and much more, we remain eternally grateful to His Holiness. The Great Fifth Dalai Lama helped strengthen Tibet by unifying the nation and creating greater consciousness of the Tibetan spirit and identity.

The Great Thirteenth Dalai Lama put Tibet on the world map by establishing relations with other countries and increasing its global status. Like his two great predecessors, His Holiness the Fourteenth Dalai Lama has contributed to strengthening internal unity of the Tibetans and the external profile of the Tibetan cause, and therefore will be recognized as amongst the great Dalai Lamas of Tibet.

At this delicate time external forces are trying to make every effort to undermine the legacy of His Holiness the Dalai Lama by creating disunity amongst Tibetans and disrupting

the path towards secular democracy. For instance, the Chinese government is manipulating and financing different groups including the Shugden followers, and their actions have harmed the Tibetan cause. Tibetans should not fall prey to their manipulations and harmful intents. They should remain vigilant.

On August 8 this year, which coincides with-

event, which is a four-day Special General Meeting to be held from September 25 to 28 in Dharamsala. The meeting will discuss and deliberate the ongoing crisis in Tibet and formulate appropriate action plans. A long-life offering will be also presented to His Holiness on behalf of the Tibetan people and administration during the meeting.

ness as secondary, and is ready to announce the special envoys of His Holiness the Dalai Lama to continue the dialogue process.

On this occasion, we would like to express our deep appreciation and gratitude to the government of India and her people, and, in particular the state of Himachal Pradesh, for their generous hospitality and support for



*His Holiness the Dalai Lama with Chief Guest Kishen Kapoor, Kalon Tripa Dr Lobsang Sangay, Speaker of the Tibetan Parliament Mr Penpa Tsering, the Tibetan Chief Justice Commissioner Ngawang Phelgyal Gyechen and Gyalwang Karmapa Rinpoche at the tsuklakhang.*

Lhakar (Wednesday), Kalon Tripa will complete a year in office. To mark the day and more importantly to show our support, the Kashag calls on all Tibetans and friends to observe the day by organizing a global solidarity vigil. This international vigil will remember those Tibetans who have given up their lives for Tibet and show solidarity with every Tibetan in Tibet who continues to suffer oppression under Chinese rule.

This vigil will be followed by another key

The Tibetan leadership remains firmly committed to non-violence and the Middle-Way Approach. We believe that the only way to resolve the issue of Tibet is through dialogue, and we remain prepared to engage in meaningful dialogue anywhere and at anytime. We strongly urge Beijing to accept the Middle-Way Approach, which seeks genuine autonomy for Tibetans within the People's Republic of China and within the framework of the Chinese constitution. The Tibetan leadership considers substance to be primary and pro-

more than fifty years. We also thank all those who support the Tibetan people.

Finally, like the Great Fifth who reunified Tibet and the Great 13th who was able to return to Tibet from India, we pledge to strive to facilitate the return of His Holiness the 14th Dalai Lama to the Potala Palace, which is the wish of all Tibetans and the universal cry of all those who have self-immolated. With fervent prayers for His Holiness' long life and may all his wishes be fulfilled. May the truth prevail in Tibet. ■

# We should apply our Effort towards Personal Responsibilities and Collective Endeavours

*Following is the full text of Tibetan Parliament's Statement on the occasion of the 77th birthday of His Holiness the Dalai Lama*

On this auspicious occasion of the birth anniversary of His Holiness the 14th Dalai Lama, the supreme saviour of all sentient beings, the master of the entire corpus of the Buddha's teachings extant on this earth; a great champion of world peace; the human embodiment of Avalokitesvara, the spiritual king of the three realms and Supreme leader, protector of symbol, of Tibet and the Tibetan people, I, on behalf of the Tibetan Parliament-in-Exile, extend my greetings with great pleasure to all the guests who are present here.

For the sake of all sentient beings in general, and especially for the sake of the sentient beings of the Snowland of Tibet, whom he had especially assumed the obligation to bring under the realm of His spiritual guidance, His Holiness took birth amid numerous amazing signs and omens on the 5th day of the 5th month in the Wood- Pig Year of the 16th Tibetan Royal Sexantry, corresponding to the 6th of July 1935, as a son to His father Chokyong Tsering and mother Dekyi Tsering at Taktser Village in the Kumbum region of Dhomey Province. On this perfect, auspicious occasion, we offer our greetings to His Holiness by worshipfully holding over our heads the soil on which He has trodden and with unwavering devotions of body, speech and mind.

On this basis, we forever remain in prayers to His Holiness, day and night, beseeching that He, the saviour and true refuge of all the Tibetan people in the Land of Snows, and a champion of world peace, to live for a hundred aeons so that we may receive the nectar of His omniscient guidance in a continuing stream from its pristine, original source.

By assuming obligation to bring the people of the Land of Snows under the realm of His spiritual guidance, and appearing in

human form in such numerous and diverse capacities as kings, ministers, Bodhisattvas and so on, His Holiness has carried out vast and varied religious and humanitarian roles. From the time of the Great Fifth, His Holiness the Dalai Lama had assumed temporal and spiritual leadership of Tibet and exercised unquestioned authority over the Tibetan people in accordance with the principles of the co-existence of religion and politics. In particular, for the benefit of the people of Tibet, His Holiness the 14th Dalai Lama had, with a great sense of commitment and resolute drive, expressed desires and undertaken initiatives to introduce historic reforms in the system of governance in Tibet for the benefit of the Tibetan people.

However, by then Communist China had already begun its invasion of Tibet and His sacred wishes could not be carried out. In addition, by 1959, the entire territory of Tibet was already under the occupation of Communist China. Therefore left with no other choices, nearly 100,000 Tibetan people fled into exile to the neighbouring country India. Immediately on reaching India, His Holiness especially established Tibetan schools, monasteries, settlements, and other kinds of Tibetan centres. In particular, since introducing democracy in the Tibetan community in exile in 1960, steps were taken in a continuous series of moves to attain a genuine democratic system. In this connection, a new system was introduced in 2001 by which the Tibetan people directly elected the head of their government, the Kalon Tripa. Thereafter, in 2011, His Holiness devolved to the directly elected leaders of the Tibetan people his entire political and administrative authorities.

He thereby oversaw the transition of the Tibetan administration in exile into a legitimate, stable democratic system fully based on law. The

entire deeds of great magnitude He carried out in both spiritual and political fields has earned His Holiness the Dalai Lama plaudits from across the world, which has presented to Him hundreds of awards and certificates, including the Nobel Peace Prize.

In the immediate past one year alone, for example, he was presented the Mahatma Gandhi International Award for Reconciliation and Peace, reiterated with the awarding of recognition as the master of all the traditions of Tibetan Buddhism, awarded the peace prize of the University of California San Diego, and presented an honorary degree by Loyola University in the US city of Chicago. In particular, for His constant and unrivalled accomplishments in the courses of advocating kindness and compassion, universal responsibility, and peace and non-violence as well as for his promotion of interfaith harmony and friendship, and the inter-relationship between Buddhism and science, His Holiness the Dalai Lama was presented the famous Templeton Prize.

Likewise, during the past one year alone, His Holiness visited numerous countries across the world, including the United States of America, Switzerland, France, Finland, Germany, Canada, Mexico, Argentina, Brazil, Mongolia, Japan, the Czech Republic, the United Kingdom, Slovenia, Austria, Italy, Belgium, and India's capital New Delhi. In all these places, He met with revered religious leaders, as well as important political figures, such as current and former presidents and prime ministers, and members of parliaments.

He also very graciously gave lectures on profound topics of great current and future as well as immediate and long term universal relevance and benefits to the student community as well as the general public in those countries. He especially visited the

*continued on pg 18*

# Fact Sheet on Self-Immolation

## (27 February 2012)

	Name	Affiliation	Location of Incident	Age	Father's Name	Mother's Name	Date of Self Immolation	Current Status
1	Tapey	Kirti Monastery	Ngaba town	20s			27/2/2009	Unknown
2	Phuntsok	Kirti Monastery	Ngaba town	21	Tsering Tashi	Dzongkar	16/3/2011	Died on 17/3/2011
3	Tsewang Norbu/Norko	Nyitso Monastery, Tawo County	Main street, Tawu townnpa	29	Tsokye	Choklek	15/8/2011	Died on 17/3/2011
4	Lobsang Kelsang	Kirti Monastery	Ngaba town	18/19	Tsering Tashi		26/9/2011	Legs amputated, Unknown
5	Lobsang Kunchok	Kirti Monastery	Ngaba town, Main market	18/19			26/9/2011	Serious condition after legs amputation
6	Kelsang Wangchuk	Kirti Monastery	Ngaba town, Main market	17	Tsurdri	Dechok	03/10/2011	Permenantly paralysed after spinal injury
7	Choephel	Former monk of Kirti Monastery	Ngaba town Main market	19			07/10/2011	Died on 11/10/2011
8	Khaying/Lhungyang	Former monk Kirti Monastery	Ngaba town Main market	18			07/10/2011	Died on 08/10/2011
9	Norbu Dramdul	Former monk Kirti Monastery	Ngaba town Main market	19			15/10/2011	Died on 05/1/2012
10	Tenzin Wangmo	Mamae Dechen Choekhorling Nunnery	Near nunnery, Ngaba	20	Nyitse		17/10/2011	Died on 17/10/2011
11	Dawa Tsering	Karze Monastery	Karze Monastery	38	Delek	Dontso	25/10/2011	Conditions unknown
12	Palden Choetso/Choesang	Gaden Choeling Nunnery, Tawu	Tawu Namgyal Stupa	35	Joney	Kolen	03/11/2011	Died on 3/11/2011
13	Tenzin Phuntsok	Former monk Karma Monastery, Chamdo	Near Karma Monastery	40s			01/12/2011	Died on 6/12/2011
14	Tsultrim	Former monk Kirti Monastery	Near Kirti Monastery	20s			06/1/2012	Died on 7/1/2012
15	Tennyi	Former monk Kirti Monastery	Near Kirti Monastery	20s			06/1/2012	Died on 6/1/2012
16	Sonam Wangyal	Tulku, Darlag Monastery	Golog	40s			08/1/2012	Died on 8/1/2012
17	Lobsang Jamyang	Ngaba Town	Ngaba	22	Gyatso	Lhachung	14/1/2012	Died on 16/1/2012
18	Rigzin Dorjee	Meruma Town	No 2 Primary school Ngaba	19	Garpa Tsongkho	Dhunkar	08/2/2012	Died on 21//2012
19	Sonam Rabyang	Lab Monastery, Kyegudo	Triwang town	42			08/02/2012	Unknown
20	Tenzin Chedron	Mamae Dechen Choekhorling Nunnery	Near nunnery, Ngaba	18	Lopay	Tsepo	08/2/2012	Died on 08/2/2012

# Immolation Incidents (09 to 17 July 2012)

21	Lobsang Gyatso	Kirti Monastery	Ngaba, main street	19	Badzri	Pekar	13/2/2012	Unknown
22	Dhamchoe Sangpo	Bongthak Monastery	Bongthak Monastery	30s	Taklha		17/2/2012	Died on 17/2/2012
23	Nangdrol		Zamthang	18	Chensig	Nyingmo	19/2/2012	Died on 19/2/2012
24	Tsering Kyi	Tibetan Middle School, Machu	Main market, Machu	20			03/03/2012	Died on 03/3/2012
25	Rinchen	Ngaba	Kirti Gonpa	32	Rana	Lhakho	4/03/2012	Died on 04/3/2012
26	Dorjee	Cha Ruwa, Ngaba	Cha town	18	Chacha		5/03/2012	Died on 05/3/2012
27	Gepey	Kirti Monastery	Ngaba	18	Chakdor	Chako	10/3/2012	Died on 10/3/2012
28	Jamyang Palden	Rongpo Monastery, Rebkong	Dolma square, Rebko	34	Kunchok Kyab	Chakmo	14/3/2012	Serious condition
29	Lobsang Tsultrim	Kitti Monastery	Ngaba town	20	Yeshe	Tsedron	16/3/2012	Died on 19/3/2012
30	Sonam Dargyal	Rebgong	Rebgong	44	Shamo	Chakmo Gyal	17/3/2012	Died on 17/3/2012
31	Jampel Yeshe	Tawu	New Delhi	27			26/3/2012	Died on 28/3/2012
32	Lobsang Sherab	Cha Town	Ngaba town	20			28/3/2012	Died on 28/3/2012
33	Tempa Dargey	Tsodun, Bharkham	Bharkham	22	Kalden	Paltso	30/3/2012	Died on 7/4/2012
34	Chimey Palden	Tsodun, Bharkham	Bharkham	21	Rabgye	Machiktso	30/3/2012	Died on 30/3/2012
35	Sonam	Dzamthang, Ngaba	Ngaba town	20s		Samkye	19/4/2012	Died on 19/4/2012
36	Choepak Kyab	Dzamthang, Ngaba	Ngaba town	20s	Sungthar	Penay	19/04/2012	Died on 19/4/2012
37	Doejee Tseten	Sangchu, Labrang	Infront of Jokhang	19			27/5/2012	Died on 27/5/2012
38	Dhargye	Ngaba	Jokhang	20s			27/5/2012	Unknown
39	Rikyo	Dzamthang, Ngaba	Dzamthang Monastery	36	Chuklo	Rinlha	30/5/2012	Died on 30/5/2012
40	Tamding Thar	Infront of Local Police station	Infront of Police station	64			15/6/2012	Died on 15/6/2012
41	Ngawang Norphel	Chentsa, Amdo	Tridu, Yushul	22	Lhakpa Dhondup	Tsering Yangchen	20/6/2012	Died on 30/7/2012
42	Tenzin Khedup	Ngaba, Amdo	Tridu, Yushul	24	Lhakdup	Kyizom	20/6/2012	Died on 20/6/2012
43	Dekyi Chomezom	Tridu, Yushul	Yushul, Amdo	40s			27/6/2012	Unknown
44	Tsewang Dorjee	Damshung, near Lhasa	Damshung, TAR	22			7/7/2012	Died on 10/7/2012
45	Lobsang Lozin	Bharkham, Ngaba	Tsodun, Kirti Monastery		Jorgye	Tsepopo	17/7/2012	Died on 17/7/2012

physically handicapped and those devastated by flood, met with the affected people, encouraged them by counseling about the importance of having a sense of determination, gave donations and consoled them in such manners. Likewise, His Holiness visited people devastated by earthquakes, offered prayers at the affected places, as well as consoled and instilled courage in the victims of the calamities.

Also especially in the past one year, His Holiness gave His 31st and 32nd Kalachakra Empowerment teachings. In Canada, His Holiness took part in the inaugural session of the 6th World Parliamentarians' Convention on Tibet and addressed its participants. It bears no mention at all that through events such as the above, His Holiness has carried out His noble commitments and advocacy actions without subjecting himself to any kinds of limits and still continues to do so.

It also bears no mention that the happiness of the people of this world in general terms and especially the hopes for an immediate resolution of the just cause of Tibet, as also the happiness of the Tibetan people, and the sanctity thereof rises in direct proportion to the rise in the level of the roles carried out by His Holiness the Dalai Lama. Given this fact, it is obvious that not even a minuscule fraction of the gratitude we owe to His Holiness for his past and continuing roles for our benefits cannot be repaid even if we were to offer to Him the entire collection of virtues and a universe filled with Seven Kinds of Precious Minerals.

Nevertheless, on behalf of the Tibetan people both in and outside the Land of Snows, we, with our body, speech and mind pay obeisance and prostration, present a manner of expressing our unfathomable gratitude to Him and at the same time pray with utmost vigour that for the sake of all sentient beings in general terms and especially for the benefit of the exceedingly anguished people of the land of snows, turn His attention to this blessed land of snows and continue as before his vast and uninterrupted role of caring for them out of a compassionate feeling of special closeness.

In the year 2010, His Holiness spoke on successive occasions about His desire to retire from politics. There was no denying the fact that His Holiness made His remarks out of a great feeling of compassionate concern for the immediate and long term interests of the Tibetan people, religion and government. Nevertheless, the Tibetan people both in and outside Tibet felt greatly concerned and saddened by this development and they offered successive petitions to Him, pleading with him never to entertain any thought about taking such a step.

In the course of this development, the Standing Committee of the Tibetan Parliament-in-Exile too pleaded with Him, saying we the people of the Tibetan Land of Snows were sustained only by the kindness and gratitude they owed to His Holiness.

On the basis of the fact that it was destined by the Buddha's prophecy for His Holiness to have Tibet as the realm of his spiritual guidance or care, the Standing Committee entreated that He continue to adhere firmly to the oath-bound commitments he had been moved to make regarding the people of Tibet, which we said rendered it impossible for him to ever remove himself from his excellent role as the temporal and spiritual leader of the country for as long as this aeon endures.

Likewise, in a background report to the First Special General Meeting of Tibetans held under Article 59 of the Charter of Tibetans in Exile in 2008; during successive sessions of the Tibetan Parliament-in-Exile; and especially in the very first paragraph of the final report summarizing the suggestions received from the participants in the First Tibetan National General Meeting, held at Bylakuppe in 2010, it was stated: "His Holiness the Dalai Lama has thus far assumed responsibility as the Head of the great Tibetan nation and as the head of the Tibetan government.

On behalf of the Tibetan people both in Tibet and in exile, we offer immense gratitude to His Holiness. At the same time, His Holiness the Dalai Lama remarked in His speech that He was already in semi-retirement. This has

plunged the entire people of Tibet, both those in the county and outside it, to such depth of despair that they are no longer able to digest their food or to go to sleep in peace. In view of this development, this general meeting appeals to His Holiness the Dalai Lama never to carry out any plan for such a decision." Such was the prayer we offered in our petition to His Holiness.

Thereafter on 14 March 2011, during the 11th session of the 14th Tibetan Parliament-in-Exile, a precious message was received from His Holiness, which stated thus: "Lay down the conditions by which within a definite time schedule both the political and administrative authorities will vest in a leadership directly elected by the Tibetan people. In doing so, make sure that the relevant provisions of the Charter of Tibetans in Exile are in scrupulous conformity with a republican form of democracy.

Because of this development, a number of deliberations in and outside of the parliament were held over a period of four working days, during which detailed discussions were held. At the end of it, a petition was submitted to His Holiness through the Secretaries of the Private Office, stating, among other things, "We remain resolute in praying that Your Holiness continue to assume your role as the supreme temporal and spiritual leader of the Tibetan people."

However, the reply we received through the Private Office was stern and firm, stating, "There will be no change in His Holiness's wishes and the decisions which flowed from them. There is therefore no possibility to take up for consideration the provisions of the resolution of the Parliament-in-Exile. The resolution is therefore being sent back herewith." Pursuant to this development, the members again held informal meetings, as well as group meetings with equal apportionment of the members of the parliament-in-Exile.

Thorough and indepth discussions were held in each of these committees. And for the purpose of implementing the wishes expressed by His Holiness the Dalai Lama,

the Speakers constituted a committee consisting of members of the parliament-in-Exile and members of the Kashag of the Tibetan administration in exile, with the task of drawing up draft recommendations for amending the relevant provisions of the Charter of Tibetans in Exile. And in accordance with its recommendations, a Second Special General Meeting of Tibetans was held. At that meeting too, it was amply explained that because an emphatic appeal based on our unanimous decision praying that His Holiness the Dalai Lama continue his leadership of the Tibetan nation, as was traditionally done by his successive predecessors, was turned down, an additional session of the Tibetan parliament was held from 26 to 28 May 2011 and the 25th amendment of the Charter of the Tibetans in Exile adopted.

And it is a fact that in accordance with the provisions of this amendment, all the political and administrative authorities bequeathed by His Holiness were vested in leaders directly elected by the Tibetan people over the following courses of developments. Apart from that, it is important for everyone to understand that there is no reason whatsoever for anyone to give any credence or repose any trust in the exaggerated kinds of information which are totally at variance from the facts. Only a short time has passed since it finally became clear with absolute certainty that we had no alternative but to respect His Holiness the Dalai Lama's wish mandating that his decision to hand over all his authorities be accepted.

Nevertheless, the entire Tibetan people have thus far managed to properly follow, straight on, along the path of democracy and freedom so that the situation of the Tibetan administration in exile remains in conformity with the wishes and successive advices of His Holiness. However, the Tibetan people both in and out of Tibet still haven't stopped feeling uneasy and discomforted by the fact that His Holiness no longer exercises direct political and administrative leadership over them. We would therefore like to emphatically remind the entire Tibetan people that the current situation means that we have arrived at an especially

momentous event in history when we should apply our efforts with even greater vigour to both carry out our personal responsibilities and to contribute to the collective endeavours for the purpose of upholding our end of the sacred mutual obligations.

Ever since invading and occupying Tibet, Communist China set out to obliterate the Tibetan people's ethnic identity and implemented a policy of demographic aggression. In the course of doing so, it split apart the entire territory of Tibet and separated them by merging various portions of it with a number of Chinese provinces. It banned the great monastic seats of learning in Dhotoe, Dhomey and U-Tsang from continuing their age-old practice of enrolling students from their historically connected areas and regions in Tibet within their various sections.

In addition, the Chinese government especially established monastery management committees and through them forced the Tibetan monks and nuns to study, and subjected them to propaganda, about the atheist communist Chinese ideology and policies in the name of the so-called "love your nation, love your religion" campaigns. These practices continue to this day through successive campaign actions.

In this milieu, any Tibetan who shows loyalty to his or her own race or work to protect the Tibetan culture is criminally branded as a separatist or splittist. And in violation of its own ethnic minority policy, China subjects such Tibetans to racially discriminatory "strike hard" campaigns, thereby making it impossible for the Tibetan people to tolerate the situation through day and night.

It is no wonder, therefore, that peaceful Tibetan protest movements against the Chinese government has continued unabated. Since the great Tibetan protest movement of the Earth-Mouse Year in 2008 and thereafter the self-immolation protest by monk Tabey in Amdo Ngaba on 27 February 2009, until 27 June, 2012 when Tenzin Choezom la at Ga-Kyegudo staged self-immolation protests, a total of 42 lay and ecclesiastical Tibetans have torched

themselves in Tibet. Of them, 31 have died. These courageous men and women living in Tibet have shouted demands that, speaking in general terms, sought to uphold the just cause of the Tibetan people and, in particular, called for His Holiness the Dalai Lama to return to Tibet, the rights and freedoms of the Tibetan people to be respected, the policy to obliterate the Tibetan religion and culture to be halted, and so on.

These Tibetan made great personal sacrifices by adopting such non-violent methods as self-immolation on numerous successive occasions. Many have lost their precious lives in doing so. In addition, much more number of Tibetans have been detained for purposes of investigation and their whereabouts remain unknown even as they continue to be subjected to all manners of unbearable torture.

For all such Tibetans who still continue to suffer, and with the hope to see all their demands being fulfilled, the Tibetan administration in exile and the Tibetan Parliament-in-Exile jointly led from 18 October 2011 a four-day official programmes of extensive campaign actions carried out by Tibetans living across the world to make clear our sense of solidarity and feeling of communal oneness with them in hours of both happiness and sorrow. From 29 January 2012 onwards, a delegation of the Tibetan Parliament-in-Exile travelled to New Delhi and over a period of one week met with prominent Indian leaders as well as diplomats of various missions.

The Tibetan MPs spoke to them about the tragedy of the situation in Tibet today. And on the Tibetan Water-Dragon New Year day this year, the members of the Tibetan Parliament-in-Exile, including the Standing Committee members, carried out a peaceful campaign action designed to symbolically express solidarity with the Tibetans in Tibet by leading a day-long hunger strike by the Tibetan public. Likewise, during the third session of the 15th Tibetan Parliament-in-Exile, an eight-point official resolution expressing solidarity with the Tibetans in Tibet was adopted. The resolution urged people across the world to lend their support to the just cause of the

Tibetan people and so on. Also adopted was an additional resolution in memory of and by way of expressing solidarity with the patriotic and heroic men and women of Tibet who, in their struggle for freedom, gave up their all, including their very lives, in the cause of the religion, government, people and culture of Tibet.

Besides, at the 6th World Parliamentarians' Convention on Tibet, discussions were held on about six agenda items which focused on reviewing and furthering the major decisions for action arrived at during the World Parliamentarians' Conventions on Tibet since 2009 and during other similar meetings. In addition, not only agreements and decisions were reached on many Tibet related issues, but also the meeting, in which all the delegates took part, was able to come out with an Ottawa Declaration on Tibet.

Likewise, through contacts and discussions with and by way of appeals to members of parliaments in various countries of the world, we were able to get resolutions and related parliamentary actions in support of Tibet being adopted. In that way, numerous and various kinds of urgent campaign actions were carried out and we plan to make more such efforts in future. With regard to the especially important day of today, the Tibetan parliament is going to organize a worldwide campaign in the form of a "Flame of Truth" relay. In India, the relay will set off from three places, namely from Ladakh, Shillong and Kochi.

All three relays will eventually conclude in New Delhi. Likewise, "Flame of Truth" relays will also set off in North America, Europe and also other places where offices of representatives of the Tibetan administration in exile have been set up, with the date for it being 2 September this year.

Along the courses of the relays of the "Flame of Truth," public gatherings will be organized at various places and lectures delivered, press conferences held, petitions submitted,

signatures collected on a petition on Tibet to be sent to the United Nations Secretary General, and so on. Three separate relays will eventually come to an end on the World Human Rights Day of 10 December 2012 in front of the United Nations Headquarters in New York City where the United Nations Secretary General has his office, in front of the office of the United Nations Human Rights Council in the Swiss city of Geneva, and in front of the United Nations representative's office in New Delhi.

At each of these places, the flames and a compilation of the collected signatures will be submitted and the campaign concluded. In view of this, we appeal to all Tibetans and supporters of the Tibetan cause to provide wholehearted and cooperative support when the relay campaign takes place in their concerned areas. The demands of the "Flame of Truth" relay campaign are:

- 1) The United Nations must discuss the issue of Tibet based on the resolutions that it had adopted in 1959, 1961 and 1965, and continuously make efforts to fulfill the substantive provisions of these resolutions;
- 2) An independent international fact-finding delegations must immediately be sent to investigate the ongoing crisis in Tibet; and
- 3) The United Nations must bear special responsibility to ensure that the basic aspirations of the Tibetans inside Tibet are fulfilled.

For the purpose of resolving the Sino-Tibetan dispute, the Tibetan side has made every possible effort without making any change in our mutually beneficial Middle Way policy. However, the Chinese government's position and policy on the Tibet issue has only kept on deteriorating from bad to worse.

Besides, the Chinese government totally ignored the basic aspirations of the Tibetan people and their just demands. On the contrary,

it took to allege that the self-immolation protest movement being carried out by Tibetans in Tibet has been instigated by the Dalai Lama and the Tibetan administration in exile. And using that as a pretext, it has made massive troop deployments throughout Tibet and thereby subjected a thoroughly oppressed Tibetan people to intimidation and violent repression on a war footing.

As a result, the situation in Tibet today is so extremely serious that a state of de facto martial law prevails there. Many tens of thousands of Chinese cadres have been deployed in all the villages throughout Tibet to clampdown on the Tibetan people with surveillance and spying operations over them. At the monasteries in Tibet, China has ordered the implementation of a policy called "Nine Must Haves" and "Six Ones".

Under this campaign, the Chinese government has made it compulsory for all the monasteries to display portraits of the top leaders of the atheist communist party leaders. Within the monasteries, communist party offices have been set up and communist cadres exercise direct control over their administration and religious functions and routines.

In particular, a campaign called "Model Harmonious Monastery" and a policy of selecting and awarding what is called "Advanced, Patriotic Monks and Nuns" has been started.

What all this means in realistic terms is that a system of class division and class persecution which prevailed during the period of the Cultural Revolution has been revived in the whole of Tibet.

Besides, in Tibet's capital Lhasa, Tibetans who are not permanent residents in the city are being expelled while Tibetans who wish to visit there are required to produce six different kinds of identity papers. On the other hand, ethnic Chinese are allowed to freely enter Tibet both by air and land routes without any

kind of hindrance to their journeys.

Tibetans who complete their higher level education in China are required to land a job there itself while Chinese graduates continue to be poured into Tibet in the name of “Aid Tibet” cadres. To sum up, the Chinese government is implementing in Tibet a policy of racial contempt, racial discrimination, and racial obliteration against the Tibetan people in a manner which is all too obvious and blatant to warrant any doubt.

Recently, delegations of so-called Chinese Tibetologists undertook tours to a number of countries, including the United States of America and Canada. In the course of doing so, they spoke about a so-called four basic points underlying the reasons why thereincarnation of the Dalai Lama would be needed to be appointed by the Chinese government.

They also spoke, with obvious negative motivations, about a set of so-called four reasons underlying the self-immolations in Tibet, including an insidious suggestion that they were caused by foreign political and religious instigators.

With planned and scheduled courses of actions, they have been carrying out – as they still do – various kinds of distorted propaganda campaigns borne of ill-motivated designs. A concerned official of the United Front Work Department of China publicly made a suggestion that the status of ethnic minorities enshrined in the constitution of the People’s Republic of China should be done away with altogether.

His ulterior motive was to thereby eliminate the legal basis on which the system of regional autonomy for ethnic minorities is founded. Because of these reasons, the Tibetan Special Envoy and the Envoy in talks with the Chinese government both felt constrained to resign and the Kashag had to accept the resignations with regret.

Many educated people in China these days are opposed to the policies of their government. The existence of disharmony and power struggle within the Chinese leadership became obvious recently from the Bo Xilai and Wang Lijun episode.

Premier Wen Jiabao has, at numerous places, spoken out about the need for reform in China’s political system. Within the general Chinese population too, there is a hope for a democratic transformation of their country and their desire and interest for it keeps on growing.

Speaking from the point of view of a China of the future, this is a moment of great opportunity. At this juncture of imminent transformation in their political powers, the call of the moment is for the Chinese government leaders to introspect, review the erroneous policies that they have hitherto pursued on the Tibet issue, and set out on a corrective course to bring them in line with the global trend of today and thereby make changes for the better.

So far His Holiness the Dalai Lama has not been touched by even an iota of any manifest harm to his bodily, oral and mental health. That He has continued to remain in a permanent state of good health, without being marred by any moment of any dip in it, is, no doubt, attributable primarily to the sacred strength of the effect of his prayers for his obligated objects of spiritual guidance, the collective merits of the Tibetan people, and the deeds of Tibet’s sea of oath-bound protector deities.

In addition to these, gratitude is owed to the central and state governments of India where Tibetans mainly reside and, likewise, to the facilitative role played by the central and local government of other foreign countries visited by His Holiness the Dalai Lama, to the dedication of the officials of the Security Department of the Central Tibetan Administration, and so on. The sunshine of His Holiness the Dalai Lama’s great noble

deeds of today could hardly be blurred by anyone.

Nevertheless, the autocratic government leaders of China continue to try to libel him in all sorts of unimaginable and degrading manners and the possibility of them trying to harm him even physically cannot be ruled out. And so, over and above the security measures and conditions mentioned above, it is of utmost importance that Tibetans at all levels must remain alert and quick to react at all times. With regard to the personal security of His Holiness the Dalai Lama especially, the main thing is to faithfully carry out all his wishes, for the entire people of all the Three Provinces of Tibet to unite and work as one oath-bound entity, and it also depends on the collective merits of the Tibetan people, as unequivocally stated in unison by all the protector deities and lamas.

In view of this, the entire Tibetan people should make no mistakes about what they have to put into practice. This is the essence of the matter and we take this opportunity to again remind our people about it and thereby again beseech them emphatically.

India has become like a second home to the Tibetans in exile. Over the past more than 53 years, the government of India, the concerned state governments, and the relevant local administrative bodies have extended unimaginable help, patronage, benefits and friendship to the Tibetan people.

To both the governments and the people of India we owe unlimited gratitude and we take this great opportunity to express our thanks.

Finally, we offer prayers that His Holiness the Dalai Lama continue to live for a hundred aeons, that all his wishes be fulfilled spontaneously, that the just cause of the Tibetan people be accomplished with urgency.

The Tibetan Parliament-in-Exile  
6 July 2012

# Hexie Farm Cartoons on Tibet and China

Courtesy : [www.chinadigitaltimes.net](http://www.chinadigitaltimes.net)

Hexie Farm is the name of a series of political cartoons created by an anonymous Chinese cartoonist who uses the pen name or Crazy Crab.

His images have been widely and enthusiastically distributed through online channels both by Chinese netizens and fans around the world (despite the fact that “Hexie Farm” appears in a recent list of terms that have been banned on Sina Weibo search).

The cartoons have quickly gained a large following for their unique blend of satire, wit, and razor-sharp commentary on current events in China (and elsewhere). All of his images can be viewed on his website.

“Hexie” literally means “river crab” but is also a homonym for “harmony,” a term employed by government propagandists to justify a crackdown on dissent.

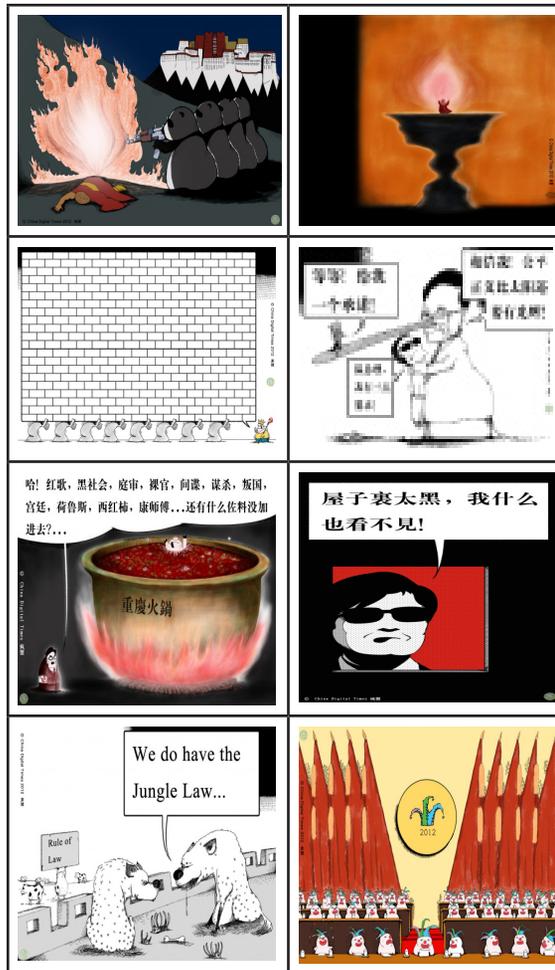
The cartoonist, who does not publicly reveal his real name, also launched the Dark Glasses: Portrait campaign to show support for activist Chen Guangcheng, who has been held under a particularly stringent form of house arrest in Shandong with his family.

Starting since Febuary,2012 Hexie Farm will be team up with China Digital Times to produce a series of cartoons, which will be published each week exclusively on CDT. CDT will translate the cartoons when necessary.

To launch the series, we asked Crazy Crab a few questions about his life and work:

Q. Can you give us some idea of your childhood and upbringing? What was your family like, what kind of work did your parents do, and what kind of area did you grow up in (rural, urban, etc)?

A. I grow up in a military family, both of my parents served in the army when I was small. Originally from north China, our family lived



in southern China at that time. It was a poor area, my classmates were either countryside children or from army families. I enjoyed walking to school barefoot in summer, like a village kid. When I was in the secondary school, my family moved back to a small city in the north part of China.

Q. Your work is clearly heavily influenced by George Orwell. When did you first read Orwell? What other writers or artists have had an important influence on you?

A. I cannot remember when I first read Animal Farm, probably after university. I like reading comic books. Some cartoonists, such as Charles Schultz, Bill Watterson, Gary Larson, Quino have a great influence on me.

Q. When did you first begin drawing political cartoons?

A. I started to draw Hexie Farm since late 2009.

Q. Who do you consider to be your primary audience? What has the reaction been to your drawings among your contemporaries/friends/colleagues in China?

A. Most readers of my cartoons are from China. My colleagues and old friends in fact do not know my drawings, except two of my best friends, but they all pretend that they do not know me on the Internet. I think they are protecting me as well as themselves. However, since I started to draw Hexie Farm, I feel that I have more and more friends day by day.

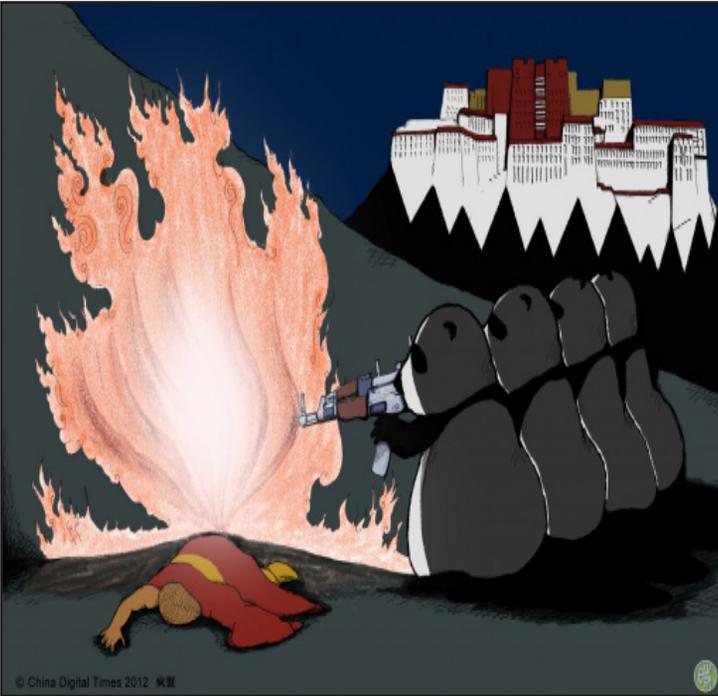
People have forwarded and reposted my cartoons even knowing their accounts would be deleted for doing this. I enjoy exchanging my ideas with them on the Internet.

They encourage me to draw and they also try to support me. When I say thanks to them, they reply “to not stop cartooning is the best thanks”.

From a certain perspective, Hexie Farm is not only my own work, it survives until today because all of the support from these friends on the Internet, most of them I even do not know, and I have never met any of them.:

Here is the first cartoon in Hexie Farm’s CDT series: To Kill the Spirit of Tibet. It was inspired by Francisco Goya’s “The Third of May 1808,” which commemorates the Spanish resistance to Napoleon’s armies.

## Some of the Hexie Farm Cartoons:

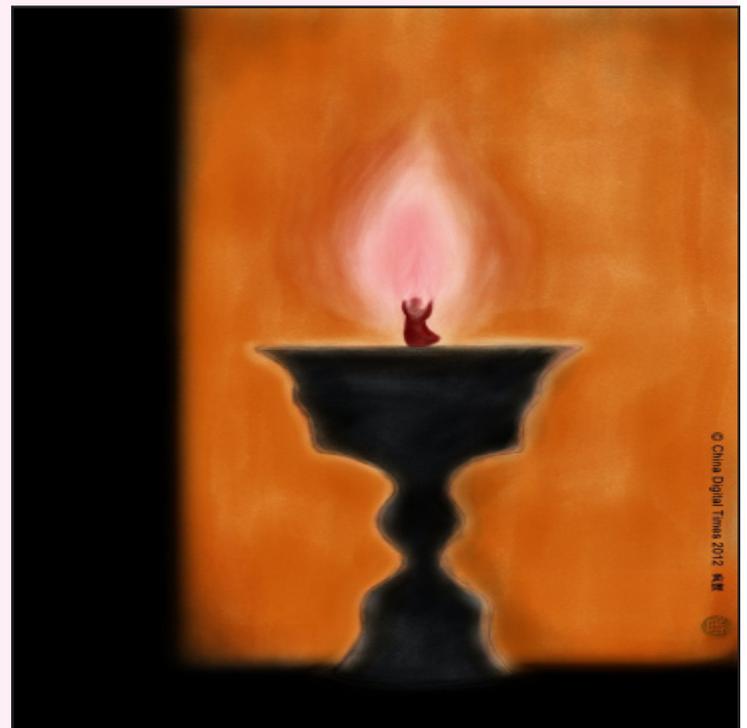


### To Kill the Spirit of Tibet

This cartoon represents the self immolation of Tibetans who are discontented with the communist rule of law.

### Butter Lamp

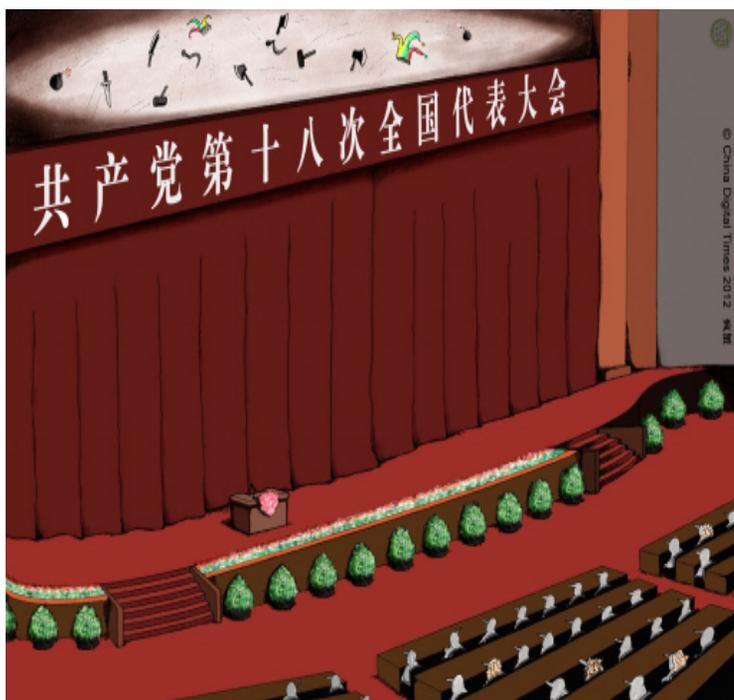
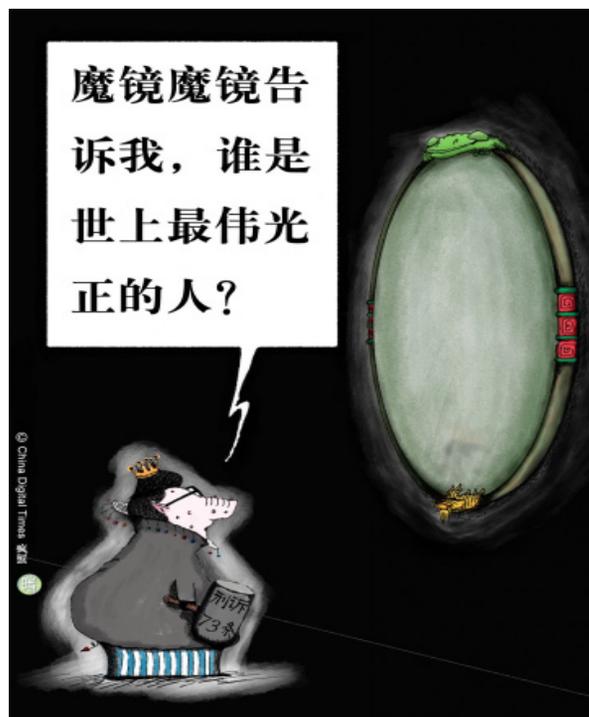
This cartoon honors the Tibetans who have burned themselves in self-immolation. In Tibetan Buddhism, butter lamps are highly symbolic and are burned at temples and sacred ceremonies.



## Mirror, Mirror on the Wall...

**M**irror, mirror on the wall, who is the greatest, most glorious, and most correct of them all? [The phrase “great, glorious and correct” has been used to describe the Communist Party for more than 40 years but has recently been reinterpreted by Chinese netizens.

This cartoon is a response to the proposed changes to the Criminal Procedure Law, which is slated for a vote this week by the National People’s Congress. The armband on the figure reads. “Criminal Procedure Law, Article 73.” This article has been the focus of criticism of the revisions. According to Human Rights Watch’s Nicholas Bequelin, writing in the New York Times: “Under the guise of regulating ‘residential surveillance,’ Article 73 of the revised law would effectively legalize secret detentions and ‘disappearances’ of people viewed as political risks by the government. This would legalize a pernicious practice that has recently been used against the artist Ai Weiwei, the lawyer Gao Zhisheng and the Nobel Peace Prize laureate Liu Xiaobo. Up to now, such abductions have been technically illegal.”



## The Politburo at War

**T**his cartoon is a response to a National People’s Congress meeting, which saw the dismissal of Chongqing Party Secretary and Politburo member Bo Xilai. The cartoon depicts the battle going on behind the scenes in the lead-up to the leadership transition at the 18th Party Congress later this year, when Bo was widely expected to be elevated to the Politburo Standing Committee.

The banner reads “Communist Party of China 18th National Congress”

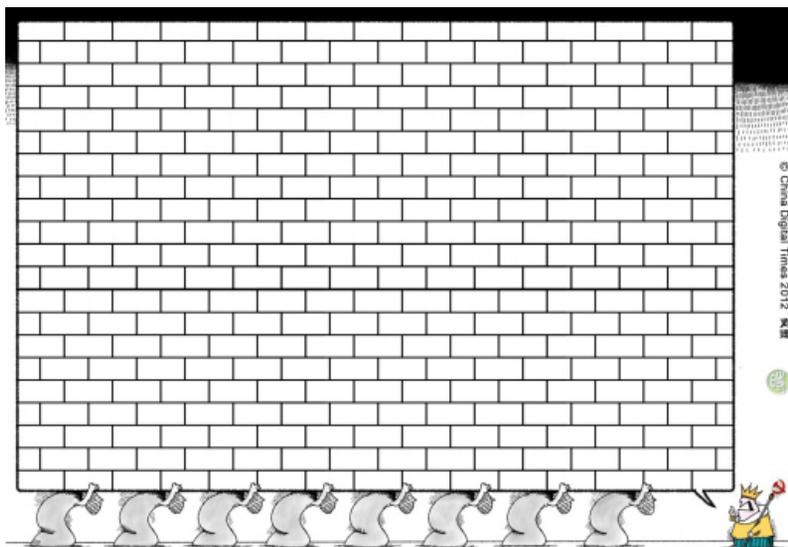


## The Law Is Not a Shield!

In this cartoon, the expulsion of Al Jazeera English bureau chief Melissa Chan from China. At a press conference, Foreign Ministry spokesperson Hong Lei referred repeatedly to “relevant laws and regulations” but failed to answer foreign journalists’ questions about why Chan was not invited back to report from China. All the phrases in this cartoon come from questions asked at the press conference. The title comes from a previous Foreign Ministry press conference, when then-spokesperson Jiang Yu answered foreign journalists’ questions about why they were roughed up while reporting on so-called Jasmine Revolution protests by telling them, “The law is not a shield!”

## The Dongshigu Redemption

This cartoon portrays the recent escape of activist Chen Guangcheng, who was under a particularly stringent form of house arrest, as a scene from the Shawshank Redemption, a 1994 movie in which a prisoner spends two decades digging a tunnel out of his cell. (The pig is a character from Angry Birds.) Chen, a self-educated legal activist, had been the target of local activists (and movie stars) who traveled to his town of Dongshigu to visit him despite being turned away and sometimes beaten or detained by thugs hired to guard Chen.



## The Wall

This cartoon depicts the invisible walls of censorship and self-censorship, as well as dictatorship and servility. The dictator is barking commands which the figures underneath obey.



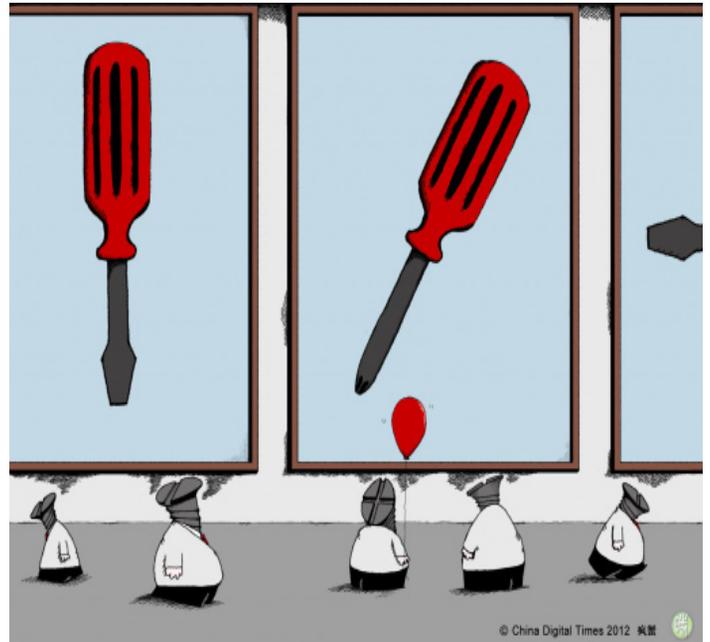
## The Stage

Just in time for the opening of the annual National People's Congress meetings in Beijing.

## Remembering Lei Feng

The cartoon, which is untitled, is partly inspired by news that the government will release the Complete Works of Lei Feng, the revolutionary soldier held up as a model of altruism and selflessness. August will mark the 50th anniversary of the death of Lei Feng, and authorities in China continue to use his image and story in education and propaganda campaigns.

Update: Lei Feng once said: "I'll be a bolt in whatever part of the machinery of state the Party wants to screw me."



## Rule of Law

The concept of the "rule of law" in China. In the official media, the Chinese government has insisted that the recent dismissal of former Politburo member and Chongqing Party secretary demonstrates the "resilience" of China's rule of law.

# For Tibetans, no other way to Protest

*This article by Kalon Tripa Dr Lobsang Sangay featured in The Washington Post on 13 July 2012*

Since 2009, 43 Tibetans have set themselves on fire while shouting slogans for the return of His Holiness the Dalai Lama to Tibet and crying for freedom for Tibetans. These people include monks, nuns, nomads and students. Two were mothers. All but 11 have died. Yet their actions and the issue of Tibet have not generated the commensurate attention or support. Instead, the Chinese government casts blame on these Tibetans and refuses to examine the root causes of their actions.

Despite repeated appeals by the central Tibetan administration, which is based in India, to refrain from such drastic actions, Tibetans persist in self-immolations. At the same time, we in the Tibetan administration recognize our sacred duty to make the protesters' cries heard around the globe by all who believe in justice. Tibetans everywhere have offered prayers for those who have died.

The Communist Party of China has labeled these self-immolations terrorist acts. This is ludicrous. Complexities exist in Buddhist philosophy about whether harming oneself is violent or if the motivation for the act, rather than the act itself, determines its nature. What is absolutely clear, however, is that these protesters intended to avoid harming anyone other than themselves.

To understand these acts, it is crucial to know that within China, there is no room for freedom of speech and conventional forms of protest.

A participant in a simple demonstration runs a high risk of arrest, torture and even death. Consider that when the Chinese celebrated their new year in February, hundreds of Tibetans protested in the regions of Drakgo, Serta and Ngaba (traditionally known as

Amdo; now Qinghai province). The Beijing government responded by shooting at the demonstrators. Six died.

Denied the right to less extreme forms of protest, Tibetans are setting fire to themselves as political action. Nearly all have been younger than 50. That means they were born and brought up under the occupation of Tibet that has lasted since 1959, when the government of the People's Republic of China promised a "socialist paradise." These Tibetans were intended to be the "primary beneficiaries" of the Chinese political system and its education, economy and culture.

Instead, they serve as a clear indictment of the Chinese government's failed policies for Tibet: policies founded on political oppression, social marginalization, cultural assimilation and environmental destruction. These are the root causes of the demonstrations and the deaths. Were the Chinese government to offer to resolve the issue of Tibet peacefully through dialogue, the self-immolations would end immediately.

The Chinese government has completely shut down Tibet to foreign tourists and journalists. Tibetans from outside the Tibet Autonomous Region are expelled. One Chinese scholar noted early this year that in the capital of the region, it is thought that "there are more Han Chinese than Tibetans, more soldiers than monks, and more surveillance cameras than windows." Sadly, there are simply more guns than our traditional butter lamps for the dead.

Tibetan self-immolation is part of a historical global phenomenon. It is well known that Vietnamese monks set themselves alight in protest against the Vietnam War and that a Quaker in the United States then self-immolated in an act of support. In 1969, a man self-immolated in Czechoslovakia to protest Communist rule. In Tunisia in late 2010, an unemployed fruit seller set himself

on fire and became the catalyst for the Jasmine Revolution. During the uprisings that followed, more such acts were reported in Tunisia and across the Arab countries. Even in China, self-immolations have been committed by Chinese as a protest against their government.

What is unique about the situation in Tibet is the terribly high number of tragedies. Even though so many of our people have resorted to self-immolation as their only means of protest, the international response has not at all resembled the outpouring of support for the anti-Vietnam War campaign or the powerful network of support shown during the Arab Spring.

Of course, all Tibetans welcome statements of concern from the international community, such as the recent one from Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, asking the Chinese to resume dialogue with Tibetans. But concrete action is needed to help stop the tragedy in Tibet.

The time has come for the world to shut out the noise of China's influence and to hear the Tibetan cries: that repression is unbearable and unacceptable. Voices in Tibet cry out to see their leader, His Holiness the Dalai Lama. Exiled since 1959, His Holiness is accessible to millions of people around the world, but not to his own people inside Tibet.

Because we know that the democracies of the world recognize basic human rights and freedoms to be universal values, we ask the international community to intervene before our situation deteriorates even further.

In its annual human rights dialogue with China this month, the State Department should urge the Chinese to relax restrictions in Tibet immediately and request fact-finding delegations to investigate the reasons for the tragically high number of self-immolations in Tibet. ■

# In Occupied Tibetan Monastery, a Reason for Fiery Deaths

*The following article by Edward Wong was published in The New York Times on 2 June 2012*

DHARAMSALA, India — One young Tibetan monk walked down a street kicking Chinese military vehicles, then left a suicide note condemning an official ban on a religious ceremony. Another smiled often, and preferred to talk about Buddhism rather than politics. A third man, a former monk, liked herding animals with nomads.

All had worn the crimson robes of Kirti Monastery, a venerable institution of learning ringed by mountains on the eastern edge of the Tibetan plateau. All set themselves on fire to protest Chinese rule. Two died.

At least 38 Tibetans have set fire to themselves since 2009, and 29 have died, according to the International Campaign for Tibet, an advocacy group in Washington. The 2,000 or so monks of Kirti Monastery in Sichuan Province have been at the centre of the movement, one of the biggest waves of self-immolations in modern history. The acts evoke the self-immolations in the early 1960s by Buddhist monks in South Vietnam to protest the corrupt government in Saigon.

Twenty-five of the self-immolators came from Ngaba, the county that includes Kirti; 15 were young monks or former monks from Kirti, and two were nuns from Mame Dechen Chokorling Nunnery.

Chinese paramilitary units are now posted on every block of the town of Ngaba, and Kirti is under lockdown. Journalists are barred from entering the monastery, which has made the question of how Kirti became the volcanic heart of this eruption of self-immolations something of a mystery.

But monks and laypeople from Ngaba who have fled across the Himalayas to this Indian hill town said that Kirti had been radicalized in the last four years by an occupation of the monastery that amounted to one of the harshest crackdowns in Tibet. Chinese security measures have converted the white-walled monastery, with its temples and dormitories and rows of prayer wheels, into a de facto

prison, which has fueled the anger that the measures are aimed at containing.

After a five-week lull, the self-immolations picked up again last week. On May 27, two men in Lhasa, the Tibetan capital, set fire to themselves outside the Jokhang Temple, the holiest in Tibetan Buddhism. It was the first notable act of protest in Lhasa in four years. One of the men was a former Kirti monk. On Wednesday, a mother of three burned herself to death in Ngaba, known as Aba in Chinese.



The Ngaba exiles here say the security measures imposed on the town and the monastery have been extreme, even by the standards of Chinese control in Tibet. In 2008, during a Tibet-wide uprising, security forces shot protesters in Ngaba with live ammunition, killing at least 10 civilians, including one monk, according to reports by advocacy groups and photographs of corpses that had been brought to Kirti. It was one of the most violent events of the uprising, and anger and alienation set in among local Tibetans. Officials tightened security.

In February 2009, in the town's market area, a young man from Kirti self-immolated, the first monk to do so in modern Tibetan history. The monk, named Tapey, survived, and officials stepped up surveillance of Kirti. In March 2011, the next self-immolation oc-

curred: Phuntsog, 20, set fire to himself on the same street in the market, which locals now call Hero's Road.

Local Tibetans say the heavy-handed reaction of the authorities in the six months after that event backfired, encouraging the self-immolations to continue. Chinese officials ordered the People's Armed Police to surround the monastery; built a wall to cut off a rear entrance; banned all religious activities; smashed photographs of the Dalai Lama, the Tibetan spiritual leader; forced monks to attend patriotic

re-education sessions; cut off Internet access; and barred pilgrims from entering. They also took away 300 monks in a nighttime raid; many of them have not returned.

Kanyag Tsering, a Kirti monk in exile who keeps in touch with colleagues in Ngaba, said about 300 officials now lived inside the monastery to keep watch. Last summer, at the height of the patriotic re-education campaign, there were perhaps twice that many.

Another Kirti monk, Lobsang, said the paramilitary police had set up four camps around the monastery.

"The most uncomfortable thing was seeing soldiers pointing guns at you but not shooting at you," said Lobsang, who recently arrived here and agreed to speak on the condition

that only his first name be used. “This has been daily life since 2008. For myself, I’d rather get shot than to have them pointing the guns at me every day, 24 hours a day.”

He said there did not appear to be any coordination or organized plan for self-immolation.

“I think those who self-immolated didn’t have an official agreement, but there was spiritual solidarity between people,” he said. “The energy of the Tibetan people is totally linked like a bracelet of prayer beads. You cannot find the end and the beginning because it’s a circle.”

Chinese officials have condemned some of the self-immolators as “terrorists” and blamed the Dalai Lama for inciting the acts, a charge he has denied.

Researchers for Human Rights Watch attribute much of the frustration in Ngaba to the smothering security and “provocative policing techniques.” The group found that per capita government spending on security in Ngaba from 2002 to 2006 was three times the average for non-Tibetan parts of Sichuan. There was a rapid increase after 2006, and by 2009 it was five times that of non-Tibetan areas.

Top officials have signaled their approval of the security clampdown. In February, the party chief of Ngaba, Shi Jun, was promoted to lead Sichuan’s public security bureau.

A former monk with whom Lobsang had close ties, Rinzen Dorje, was one of those who felt suffocated by the security. He left Kirti Monastery in 2010 to herd animals and do manual labor. He set fire to himself at a primary school one evening in February. Lobsang last saw him in July.



“He told me he felt very uncomfortable and had headaches when he saw the atmosphere in Ngaba town,” Lobsang said.

That was also the case with Tapey, the first monk to self-immolate, Lobsang said. Two days before his self-immolation in 2009, Tapey was walking among military trucks and kicking them.

“He was intentionally trying to provoke the soldiers,” Lobsang said. “I asked myself, ‘What happened? What’s wrong with him?’ That day he was really different, and in his eyes I could see how he hated the military.”

On Feb. 27, 2009, a high lama told a gathering of monks that Kirti had to comply with official orders to cancel an important prayer ceremony scheduled for that day. Tapey set himself on fire in the marketplace half an hour later, having left a note saying he would kill himself if the government banned the ceremony, Lobsang said.

“The people very much respected his motivation and the price he paid for freedom,” Lobsang said.

The next monk to self-immolate, Phuntsog, never appeared to be in a dark mood, said Lob-

sang, who had studied with him. Phunstog liked to joke and play around with friends, often showing off his biceps by flexing.

“I never heard any political agenda expressed by Phuntsog,” Lobsang said. “The action he took is unimaginable to me. But, of course, we can now understand how many things he must have hid inside.”

After that self-immolation, the authorities started an intense re-education campaign and locked down the monastery for half a year. That led to the

radicalization of more monks. One of the tensest moments came in April 2011, when officials sought to detain monks who were not from Ngaba. Residents of the town tried to block the police, and two elderly Tibetans were beaten to death, according to the International Campaign for Tibet. Officers took away 300 monks.

In August, a court sentenced three monks to more than a decade in prison, two of them for being involved in Phuntsog’s self-immolation and one, an uncle of Phuntsog’s, for refusing to turn his body over to the police at the time. One day in September, after officials had eased some restrictions on Kirti, two monks raced through the marketplace at noon, their robes aflame. One held up the banned Tibetan snow lion flag. Before collapsing, one of the monks, Lobsang Kelsang, a younger brother of Phuntsog’s, shouted, “We are the accused.”

The event was described by a witness who arrived in Dharamsala this spring. “Because of unfair judgments, oppressive policies and discrimination, because of all those things, the Tibetan people feel isolated,” he said. “The self-immolations are not the end. This is only the beginning.” ■

# The Dalai Lama is the best hope for a Tibet resolution

*The following article by Isabel Hilton was published in The Guardian on 29 March 2012.*

The Dalai Lama is the best hope for a Tibet resolution As Tibetan deaths by self-immolation rise, the Dalai Lama's Templeton prize is a rebuke to China's ruthless repression

Yesterday, Jamphel Yeshi, a 27-year-old Tibetan in exile in India, died in hospital. Two days earlier, in a desperate and harrowing protest against the visit to India of the Chinese premier Wen Jiabao, he had set himself alight in a Delhi street. He suffered 97% burns.

In a letter discovered after his self-immolation, he wrote: "We (Tibetans) demand freedom to practice our religion and culture. We demand freedom to use our language. We demand the same right as other people living elsewhere in the world ..."

Today, the Dalai Lama was awarded the prestigious Templeton prize, a million-dollar prize awarded each year to an outstanding spiritual leader. In other circumstances, the Templeton prize would have been the occasion for unrestrained celebration for Tibetans, for whom any international recognition of their leader stands as a gesture of moral support for a people whose future looks increasingly bleak. But this award is overshadowed by the mounting toll of sacrifice of young Tibetan lives: in the past year, some 30 Tibetans, men and women, religious figures and lay people, have set themselves on fire.

Their protests are a measure of the despair that has been growing across Tibet since the uprising in 2008 was crushed with an unrepentant brutality. Since then, scores of Tibetans, including writers and public intellectuals, monks and farmers, have been imprisoned and Tibet's monasteries, seen by the Chinese government as the focus of dissent, have been subject to intensified controls and political pressure.

One self-immolation in Tunisia shocked the world and triggered the Arab spring. Thirty self-immolations in Tibet have received little international attention. It took a 30-day hun-

ger strike outside the United Nations in New York by three Tibetans, one of them a senior religious figure, to wring an assurance that UN special rapporteurs would investigate the situation in Tibet. Their hunger strike ended a few days ago.

But if international attention has been scant, the self-immolations have raised the level of tension, protest and distress in Tibet to new

for more than 50 years, they say, is the sole instigator of these tragedies.

Beijing seems blind to the fact that Chinese policies over the past half-century in Tibet have been the most important driver of what is a growing call for independence, even in areas where the Dalai Lama traditionally held little sway. Beijing's policies are generating exactly what they were supposed to prevent.



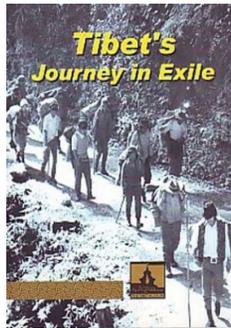
*Tibetan exiles in New Delhi pray for protester Janphel Yeshi, who set himself on fire on 26 March and died on 28 March. Photograph: Sajjad Hussain/AFP/Getty Images*

ger heights. Earlier this month, 4,000 students in Tibetan schools in Qinghai protested against the proposed imposition of Chinese as the medium of instruction in their schools. Security forces have raided monasteries, searching for signs of allegiance to the Dalai Lama. Demonstrations, vigils and expressions of moral support for men and women seen as martyrs by the wider population, have been met with ever tighter security lockdown. Fresh reports of incidents arrive almost daily.

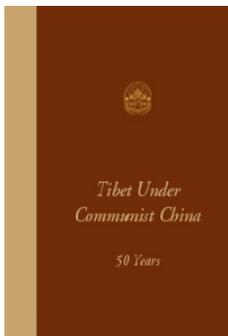
For the Chinese government, this is all the Dalai Lama's fault: a spiritual leader, in exile

The Templeton award, with its million-dollar prize, is unlikely to change this terrible cycle of events. But it does stand as a rebuke to a regime that has refused to recognise that the Dalai Lama is the best hope for a resolution of a crisis that is costing so much in human suffering and that stands as an implacable moral reproach to Beijing's rule. The Chinese government describes the Dalai Lama as a wolf in monk's robes. In awarding him the prize, the Templeton judges have affirmed the value of peace over violence, and ethical, moral and spiritual values over the power of the state. It could not have been more timely. ■

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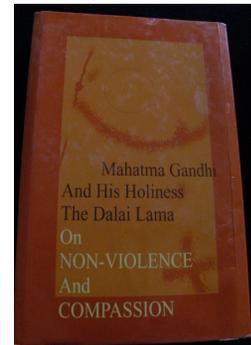
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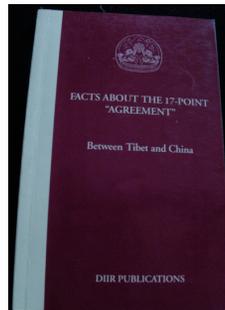
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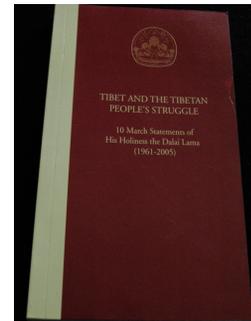
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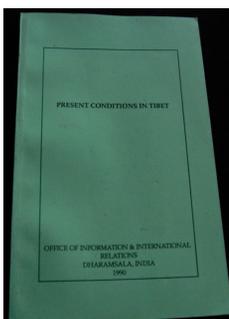
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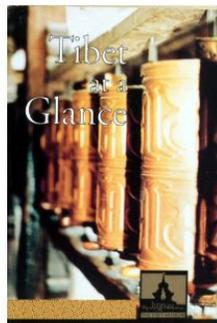
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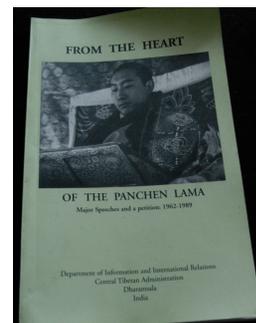
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# PERSPECTIVES

“The self-immolations are somehow an assertion of freedom – you can restrain my freedom but I can choose to die as I want.”

- *Kalon Tripa, Dr Lobsang Sangay Sydney Morning Herald*

“Organizers came to me asking to go outside for some time as Chinese kept complaining (about my presence) ... But I said I am here on invitation and this is Korea, not Beijing”

-*Kalon Pema Chhinjor of Dept of Religion and Culture was quoted as saying about the protests of the Chinese delegation to prevent him from attending World Fellowship of Buddhists conference in Korea*

“We hope the Danish Parliamentary delegation be allowed by the Chinese authorities to carry out independent interviews with members of local community in Yushu”.

- *Kalon Dicki Chhoyang of DIIR was quoted as saying in a statement released after the twin self-immolation of Ngawang Norpel and Tenzin Khedup*

“The Tibetan spirit will never be cowed down by the use of force. It is rooted in Buddhism, a tradition that is more than 2500 years old, whose image in the world is on the rise. Communism, on the other hand is barely 200 years old and its image is on the wane, while totalitarianism is completely out of date”

- *His Holiness the Dalai Lama was quoted as saying during an interview with the Italian news channel.*

“The stand of CTA on self-immolation is that...it does not want to see people dying and urge Tibetans to refrain from such drastic actions, and as a Buddhist, we offer prayers for the deceased and their family members, and as a Tibetan, it is our sacred duty to show solidarity to keep alive their aspiration for the return of His Holiness the Dalai Lama and restoration of freedom in Tibet.”

- *Kalon Tripa, Dr Lobsang Sangay was quoted as saying during an address to the 6th World Parliamentarian Convention on Tibet.*