



# TIBETAN BULLETIN

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VOLUME 16, ISSUE 4

NOVEMBER - DECEMBER 2012

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Sheja (Official Tibetan monthly)  
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Tibetan Freedom (Official Tibetan weekly)  
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NewsTibet  
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Tibet Bulletin (Official Chinese bi-monthly)  
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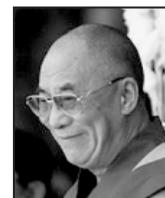
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## His Holiness the Dalai Lama teaches at three monastic seats



H.H the Dalai Lama being presented with traditional offerings at the main prayer hall of Drepung monastery Photo OHHDL

At the request of H.E Ling Choktrul Rinpoche and Gaden Shartse monastery, His Holiness the Dalai Lama gave fourteen days of teaching on the 18 Great stages of the Path (Tib: Lam Rim) Commentaries including Atisha's Lamp for the Path to Enlightenment (Tib: Jangchup Lamdron), Tsong Khapa's Great, Middle and Concise Treatises on the Stages of the Path to Enlightenment (Tib: Lamrim Chenmo, Lamrim Dringpo and Lamrim Dudon), and 14 other classic texts at the Gaden and Drepung monastery in Mundgod Tibetan settlement, Karnataka, from 30 November – 13 December 2012. His Holiness will continue these teachings at Sera monastery in Bylakuppe in 2013.

### Self-immolation Continues in Tibet

The fiery protest of self-immolation continues in Tibet as 33 Tibetans set themselves on fire in November and December 2012 alone, talking the total cases of self-immolation to staggering 95. The five self-immolations—the most ever recorded in one day—came on the eve of the Chinese Communist Party's 18th National Congress. The self-immolators called for the return of His Holiness the Dalai Lama to Tibet and freedom for Tibet.

Of 95 self-immolations since 2009, 80 have died so far, while the conditions and whereabouts of others remain unknown.

With the flame of self-immolation spreading all over Tibet, over 60 Tibetans living in different parts of Tibet

staged hunger strike on 26 November to show solidarity with all their brethren who self-immolated for the cause of Tibet, and those who are facing unbearable suffering under the Chinese repression.

The hunger strike began from Tibet's capital Lhasa to Drakgo, Jomda, Dzachukha, Tridu, Serthar, Siling, Karze and Chengdu in China's Sichuan Province. Tibetans from all walks of life, including teachers, government officials, writers, monks and businessmen took part in the hunger strike.

*For more details on self-immolation, please check the Fact-sheet*

### Massive Students' Protests and Arrests in Tibet



School children during peaceful protest in Rebgong in Amdoon 9 November 2012 Photo-TCHRD

Following a death of a Tibetan youth after self-immolation protest in Rebgong on 8 November 2012, around 5,000 Tibetan students from across Malho prefecture, studying in four different schools in Rebgong (Ch: Tongren) in north-eastern Tibet held a peaceful demonstration on 9 November. They called for equality of nationality, freedom for Tibetans and the return of His Holiness the Dalai Lama to Tibet. A large number of local Tibetans from neighbouring areas also assembled to express their solidarity with the self-immolator.

On 8 November, hundreds of school children protested against the Chinese government in Dowa township in Rebgong following self-immolation of 23-year-old Tamdin Tso. The students shouted slogans while marching towards the local government office, where they pulled down a Chinese flag.

In another protest on 26 November in

Chabcha (Ch: Gonghe) in Tsolho, north-eastern Tibet, thousands of students of Sorig Lobling medical school, took to the streets and raised slogans demanding equality, freedom and leadership change. In an ensuing crackdown by armed police and security forces, many Tibetan students were reportedly severely injured and taken to the local hospital.

Eight students, all below the age of 23, were reportedly sentenced to five years in prison.

### China Sentences Nun to 3 Years in Jail, Arrests 7 Monks in Crackdown over Self-immolations



The Chinese government has sentenced a Tibetan nun, Chemey, to 3 years in prison in Karze for her alleged role in political activities.

Chemey, from the Lamdrag nunnery, was among many Tibetans who was arrested during the Chinese government's crackdown on Tibetans regardless of whether or not they had any role in 2010 protest at Karze, eastern Tibet. The Chinese authorities had arbitrarily detained and handed down harsh prison sentences on many of the detainees.

The family members of Chemey were informed about Chemey's prison sentence after a year of her missing following her arrest. It is not known where she is being confined and under what charges she was sentenced.

In a separate incident, Chinese police arrested seven Tibetan monks of Dokar monastery for allegedly inciting Sangay Gyatso who self-immolated on 6 October 2012 in Tsoe, Kanlho in north-eastern Tibet.

## China Reinforces Ban on His Holiness the Dalai Lama's Photo

The Chinese government has reinforced the existing complete ban on Tibetans from keeping pictures of His Holiness the Dalai Lama and tightened restrictions on the management of monasteries in north-eastern Tibet's Rebgong county, where Tamdin Tso, a young Tibetan girl burnt herself to death after learning about this draconian measure being imposed in Dowa township on 7 November 2012.

A copy of the notice issued by the local government obtained by the Central Tibetan Administration says, "the government imposes complete ban on keeping photos of His Holiness the Dalai Lama in the monasteries." It vows to "ensure that all the religious activities by Tibetans should strictly conform to government regulations."

It pledges to "strengthen state management of the monasteries and proscribe under-aged Tibetans from joining monasteries and nunneries, and further vows to "maintain unity of the motherland and fight against the Dalai group's separatist activities."

## Golog Jigme Faces Possible Death Sentence



Golog Jigme, a Tibetan monk who assisted filmmaker Dhondup Wangchen for his documentary shot in Tibet in 2008, is facing possible death sentence as Chinese police has issued arrest warrant against him for alleged murder charges.

Golog Jigme, also known as Jigme Gyatso, is missing since 20 September when he travelled from Labrang monastery to Tsoe in Kanlho in north-eastern Tibet.

On 28 November 2012, the Public Security Bureau of Gansu Province issued an arrest warrant against him for alleged

murder charges, announcing 2,00,000 Yuan cash reward for the informers.

Human rights groups have expressed deep concern over the well-being of Golog Jigme and other political prisoners who are suffering under the repression of the Chinese government.

## Two Major Initiatives Propel the 14th Kashag's Education Agenda

The CTA's Department of Education announced two major initiatives aimed at addressing the core educational priorities of the 14th Kashag.

The first initiative announced on 20 November 2012 is a new scholarship programme based on merit and need. The new programme represents a 50% increase in annual scholarship funding, which includes new schemes such as increased prize amount and number of awardees of Gaden Phodrang Student Merit Award, Sikyong Scholarship, Sikyong Award for Academic Accomplishments, higher scholarship amounts on performance basis, Cash Incentive Award, and Special Scholarships for Economically Disadvantaged (Nyamthak) Students.

The second and larger initiative was the official launch of the Tibet Education Project (TEP) on 23 November 2012, a two-year program funded by the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) to help improve the quality of education opportunities for Tibetan refugee students in India and Nepal.

Earlier this September, USAID awarded US\$2 million to Tibet Fund, a U.S.-based NGO operating out of New York City, to implement the program. The TEP will be implemented in close cooperation with the CTA's Department of Education.

## Thousands attend Nobel Peace Prize Commemoration at Mundgod

Sikyong Dr Lobsang Sangay and thousands of local Tibetans and monks attended the 23rd anniversary of the conferment of the Nobel Peace Prize to His Holiness the Dalai Lama, at Drepung monastery in Mundgod, Karnataka state.

The function started with a minute's silence in memory of all those Tibetans

who have sacrificed their lives for Tibet.

Addressing the ceremony, His Holiness thanked all the guests for coming to the celebration and reiterated that his decision to retire from politics was not because he felt hopeless or discouraged about the Tibetan situation.

Speaking to the school children, His Holiness said that the children are the future stakeholders of Tibet and that Tibetans suffered because of the lack of modern education in Tibet. But modern education alone is not sufficient, we need traditional values too, His Holiness added.

Sikyong Dr Lobsang Sangay paid the Kashag's obeisance to His Holiness on the occasion and extended CTA's warmest greetings to all Tibetans and friends of Tibet.

At the same time, he reiterated that we must focus our attention and concern on the current crisis engulfing Tibet. He said that the responsibility as well as the solution for the current crisis in Tibet lies with the Chinese government.

A written message from the president of Kalmyk Republic to His Holiness was read out by Telo Rinpoche on the occasion. A silver globe topped with a conch shell was also presented to His Holiness by His Eminence Gaden Tripa Rinpoche.

## India supporters hold seminar on 'We stand in Solidarity with Tibet'

Antarashtriya Bharat Tibbat Sahyog Samiti, a Tibet Support Group and IIMT Groups of College, jointly organised a seminar on the issue of Tibet in Meerut to mark the 64th anniversary of the International Human Rights Day on 10 December.

Hundreds of people including teachers, students, and Tibet supporters attended the seminar "We stand in Solidarity with Tibet" at IIMT Groups of College.

Speakers at the occasion included Mr Inder Singh Namdhari, an Indian Member of Parliament, Dr N K Trikhya, National Convener of Core Group for Tibetan Cause, Acharya Yeshe Phuntsok, Tibetan Member of Parliament, and Mr K B Bakshi, President, Antarashtriya Bharat Tibbat Sahyog Samiti.

## Kashag's Statement on 23rd Anniversary of Conferment of Nobel Peace Prize to His Holiness the Dalai Lama



Kalon Pema Chhinjor delivering Sikyong Dr. Lobsang Sangay's statement during the 10 December function

We are gathered here today to commemorate the 23rd anniversary of the conferment of the Nobel Peace Prize to His Holiness the Dalai Lama and the 64th anniversary of the International Human Rights Day. On this noteworthy occasion, the Kashag pays its obeisance to His Holiness the Dalai Lama and extends its warmest greetings to all Tibetans, friends and well wishers around the world.

The Norwegian Nobel Committee's citation for the 1989 Nobel Peace Prize to His Holiness the Dalai Lama emphasized His Holiness' opposition to the use of violence and his advocacy of peaceful solutions based upon tolerance and mutual respect. In the twenty-three years since receiving the Nobel Prize, His Holiness the Dalai Lama's stature has attained such depth that his very name has become synonymous with compassion and non-violence. Tibetans are incredibly fortunate to have someone like His Holiness the Fourteenth Dalai Lama as our most revered leader.

On this occasion we must focus our attention and concern on the current crisis engulfing Tibet. With enormously sorrow, I report that a total of 95 Tibet-

ans have self-immolated in Tibet since 2009. There were 12 self-immolations in Tibet in all of 2011 and 82 so far in 2012, including 28 in the month of November alone. Sadly, 80 of these Tibetans have died. What began in the heavily sentined monasteries has spread as nomads, students and ordinary Tibetans in all three regions of Tibet (Amdo, Kham and U-Tsang) including Lhasa, the capital city of Tibet, join the swelling ranks of people willing to set themselves on fire to protest conditions in Tibet.

These tragic events in Tibet challenge in new ways a central assertion and rationalization of the Chinese government, namely, that Tibetans in Tibet are happy and content. For decades, against astronomical odds, Tibetans in Tibet have challenged this assertion and channeled their discontent in peaceful and myriad ways. After the tumultuous period of 1960s, from September 1987 to March 1989, Tibet again became front-page news when a series of major and non-violent protests erupted in Lhasa and neighboring Tibetan areas. At that time, Chinese security officials responded by imposing martial law and expelling all foreign journalists and tourists.

Later, in 2006, Tibetans gave up the use of fur of endangered animals and the world witnessed the extraordinary mass gatherings of Tibetans burning fur in public bonfires. Chinese authorities disapproved this show of Tibetan solidarity and, once again cracked down. Even so, celebrations over His Holiness the Dalai Lama receiving the U.S. Congressional Gold Medal in 2007 was not tolerated by the Chinese security forces in several Tibetan areas. In that same year, Rungye Adak, a Tibetan nomad, received an eight-year sentence for publicly calling for His Holiness the Dalai Lama's return to Tibet. Other Tibetans were also given stiff prison sentences.

The year 2008 marked the time of the largest and most intense unrest as thousands of Tibetans from all walks of life protested against hardline Chinese policies. Hundreds were arrested, beaten, tortured and killed. These events cast a pall over the 2008 Beijing Olympics.

More recently, in addition to the fiery self-immolations, other forms of protests and displays of solidarity have occurred throughout Tibet. Tibetan students in Rebkong and Chabcha in Northeast Tibet took to the streets in thousands demanding protection of Tibetan language and equality. Clashes have erupted in different parts of Tibet against efforts to divert the flow of rivers and mining projects that have displaced large number of Tibetans. In a brave show of solidarity with the self-immolators, Tibetan teachers, government officials, writers, monks and businessmen began a three-day hunger strike on November 26 in Lhasa, Drakgo, Jomda, Dzachukha, Tridu, Serthar, Siling, Karze and Chengdu in China's Sichuan Province. Another powerful development has been the Lhakar movement where every Wednesday thousands of Tibetans come together in formal and informal ways and take I-am-Tibetan pledges to speak, wear, eat and accentuate everything Tibetan.

The self-immolations are a continua-

tion of a sustained non-violent Tibetan resistance against the occupation of Tibet and its repression of Tibetans. They, however, represent a new threshold of Tibetan despair and resentment, and a worsening of the vicious cycle of unrest-repression-more unrest. The Kashag attributes the self-immolation and current situation to the political and religious repression, economic marginalization, social discrimination, cultural assimilation and environmental destruction in Tibet.

Despite repeated appeals by the Central Tibetan Administration (CTA) to refrain from such drastic acts, Tibetan self-immolations persist. The universal demands of the Tibetans have been the return of His Holiness the Dalai Lama to Tibet and freedom for Tibetans. This is the precious hope of the people of Tibet. It is the responsibility of those of us fortunate to live in freedom to do all within our power to help bring the Tibetan demands to fruition. We, therefore, view it as a sacred duty to make the cries of the self-immolators and other protestors heard around the world.

Inevitably, the Chinese Communist Party has blamed the self-immolations on the exiled Tibetan leadership. But to blame His Holiness the Dalai Lama and the Tibetan Administration is a frank admission by the Chinese government of its utter failure to win the loyalty of Tibetans despite fifty plus years of occupation. It also reflects Beijing's failure to engage in legitimate policy options, and to continue to rely, instead, on the blame game.

In my March 10, 2012 statement, I called on all Tibetans and friends to make 2012 a Tibet Lobby Year. This call, in conjunction with the dedicated work of Tibetans and Tibet support groups, has been a success as we have since seen significant official statements of support by many countries; resolutions in parliaments and congress in the European Union (EU), France, Italy and the United States; and statement by parliamentarians in Australia, Brazil, Canada, EU, France, Germany, Italy, India, Japan, South Africa and others.

The CTA expresses deep appreciation to the United Nations and various gov-

ernments and parliaments for their attention to the deteriorating situation in Tibet.

The UN High Commissioner on Human Rights, Navi Pillay, recently issued an unprecedented call to Chinese leaders to urgently address the underlying grievances of the Tibetan people. "Social stability in Tibet will never be achieved through heavy security measures and suppression of human rights," she said on November 2. Ms. Pillay appealed to the Chinese Government "to seriously consider the recommendations made to it by various international human rights bodies, as well as to avail itself of the expert advice being offered by the UN's independent experts on human rights."

We also welcome the recent comments made by Gary Locke, the US ambassador to China, who visited Tibetan areas in late September and implored "the Chinese to really meet with the representatives of the Tibetan people to address and re-examine some of the policies that have led to some restrictions and the violence and the self-immolations."

On November 21, the Human Rights Commissioner of Germany urged the Chinese government to reform its policies and requested international observers be allowed to visit Tibet. On November 27, the French Senate adopted a resolution calling on the European Union to give priority to Tibet within the mandate of its recently appointed EU Special Representative for Human Rights.

The above actions by various governments and institutions are a welcome positive development. We urge all foreign governments engaging in Human Rights Dialogue with China to acknowledge that the situation in Tibet has worsened. We urge them, and the international community, to intervene to end the crisis in Tibet. If Beijing ends repression of Tibetans then the self-immolations will abate. The CTA remains steadfastly committed to the Middle-Way Approach and to the resumption of dialogue between Beijing and Dharamsala to resolve the issue of Tibet. The responsibility as well as the solution for

the current crisis in Tibet lies with the Chinese government.

We appreciate the support of some of our Chinese friends and various Chinese NGOs based outside China, but remain deeply disturbed and saddened at the silence and seeming indifference of most Chinese people, particularly that of Chinese intellectuals and public thinkers, to the suffering of the Tibetan people. The Tibetan struggle is neither anti-China nor anti-Chinese people. What Tibetans seek is freedom and genuine autonomy as enshrined in the Chinese constitution. I appeal to our Chinese brothers and sisters to join us in supporting the aspirations of the Tibetan people.

Let us build on the successful lobbying efforts of 2012 by launching a Solidarity with Tibet campaign in 2013. I urge all Tibetan Associations, Tibet Support Groups, international NGOs, people of all faiths, and friends of justice to continue to lobby governments and parliaments for Tibet and the Tibetan people. Organize rallies and vigils particularly in capital and major world cities. Please call on the Chinese government to allow international media access into Tibet. Time magazine listed Tibetan self-immolations as one of the most underreported story of 2011. Let us alter that by reaching out to the media and encouraging them to write and broadcast about what is happening in Tibet.

Let us declare every 17th May as the Solidarity Day for Tibet. On that day in 1995, the six-year-old boy, Gendhun Choeky Nyima, who was recognized by His Holiness the Dalai Lama as the 11th Panchen Lama, was taken into custody by the Chinese authorities and has not been seen publicly since.

Also, the Kashag and the Tibetan Parliament-in-Exile will be jointly organizing a four-day program of rallies, presentations and other solidarity activities from January 30 to February 2, 2013 in New Delhi. Kalons, Tibetan parliamentarians and representatives from various Tibetan settlements will be participating.

In closing, the CTA offers its undying gratitude to the people and government of India for their generosity, hospitality

and assistance to the Tibetan refugees for these many years. We also extend, on behalf of all Tibetans, profound appreciation to our old and new friends around the world. Your outspoken and resounding support is needed more than ever.

To our brothers and sisters in Tibet, we are with you every step of the way. The three principles of unity, innovation and self-reliance will guide us towards our goal of seeing His Holiness the Dalai Lama return to Tibet and restoring free-

dom for Tibetans.

Finally, the Kashag and I join the people of Tibet in wishing His Holiness the Dalai Lama continued good health. May all his wishes be fulfilled.

## TPIE's Statement on 23rd Anniversary of Conferment of Nobel Peace Prize to His Holiness the Dalai Lama

Today is the 23rd anniversary of the uniquely important day on which His Holiness the Dalai Lama, the supreme saviour of all Tibetans – both those left behind in Tibet and the others living in exile – the guiding light who illuminates their paths with sound advices about the dos and don'ts of life, and a champion of world peace, was presented the globally acclaimed Nobel Peace Prize. On such a day, when His Holiness, ignoring the barriers of time realms, continues to provide an unfathomable expanse of source of well being to all sentient beings inhabiting across the universe through his hidden body, speech and mind deeds, I, with a feeling of joy, obeisance and gladness and on behalf of all Tibetans bar none and the Tibetan Parliament in Exile, and with a heartfelt sense of gratitude and prostrations performed countless times with body, speech and mind worship, offer congratulations and greetings.

Today is also a day on which not just the people of the Land of Snows – which needs no mentioning – but also all the people in this world who love democracy, freedom and peace can justly immerse themselves in glory happiness of the highest order in manners alike. In this respect, His Holiness has ensured the revival as well as the survival and sustenance of the religious traditions and culture of Tibet as well as its ethical values which are founded on the ideology of cause and effect and method of non-violence based on the Buddhist philosophy. By doing so, His Holiness has, in this world beset with Five Kinds of Degenerations, led the people of Tibet to the path of peace and non-violence and aspired to convert their land into a zone of peace, inspired by a profound concern; these could hardly be repaid. In particular, He enunciated the

mutually beneficial, ideal policy of the middle way, which is highly liberal in its scope and vast in its potential, in his efforts to resolve the Sino-Tibetan dispute by peaceful means in a stupendous deed of nobility. By pointing out that all beings are equal in desiring happiness and abhorring its opposite and proposing that everyone act to exchange one's own happiness with the others' sorrow in the spirit of a Bodhisattva, He suggested that people throughout the world embrace a sense of universal responsibility in order to protect the global environment and in an effort to resolve conflicts. He made efforts to bring peace, compassion and a sense of caring in governance in this world which is the common desire of all sentient beings and which will ensure the well being of oneself and the happiness of others. And he also made efforts to raise the ethical standards of the human society in this world through enhanced inter-religious friendship and harmony. Through continuous, and still continuing, efforts such as these, His Holiness the Dalai Lama routinely provides beneficial guidance akin to a river stream, carrying out inestimably great deeds of accomplishments. Because of all these, His Holiness the Dalai Lama has been praised by all categories of intelligent people and they conferred on him many hundreds of awards. More importantly, on this World Human Rights Day of 10 December 1989, He was presented with the globally, exceptionally acclaimed Nobel Peace Prize, ushering him in as a great champion of world peace. The award made Him an outstanding ornament which made this world even more beautiful and we feel inestimable gratitude for this gesture.

Likewise, many prominent public figures as well as tens of millions of ordi-

nary people across the world greatly admire and respect His Holiness the Dalai Lama's awesome, noble deeds whose greatness and relevance transcend the barriers of times. They wholeheartedly endorse and act on His profound words of wisdom and remain in continued service for the universal benefit of humanity. Apart from that, of course, they also continue to lend support to the just cause of Tibet on repeated occasions. Hence, along with observing this day of momentous and victorious occasion, we must practice genuine altruism and ethical moral principles for the benefit of others, inspired by the power of His Holiness the Dalai Lama's compassionate and affectionate Bodhisattva deeds which emphasizes that in the human society it is not external material progress alone but also internal happiness and contentment that we must strive to accomplish. It is by such means that we all should strive to achieve the realization of peace and harmony among oneself and others, as well as among and within families, peoples, societies, and nations. In particular, as repeatedly advised by His Holiness the Dalai Lama to the youth of today about the 21st century being a century of dialogue and peace and their role in bringing this about, every Tibetan people should keep these profound and noble words in the depth of their hearts and work to revive or, as the case may be, carry forward the treasured ethical Tibetan moral habit of altruism. By such means, they should adhere to the existing policy of the middle way and the ideology of non-violence and on that fundamental basis work for the benefit of the basic Tibetan cause with unity, sense of shared community through both good and bad times, nurturing and preservation of culture, study and use

of one's own language, and so on. It goes to the very essence of our purpose that there be relentless efforts with regard to all these matters.

Today is not only an occasion to observe the World Human Rights Day, it is also the 64th anniversary of the United Nations's adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. On this occasion, I, on behalf of the Tibetan Parliament in Exile, would like to make an appeal to the new leaders of China who assumed office during the recent transfer of power. It is, of course, beyond dispute that Tibet and China have been two neighbouring countries with a long history going back to ancient times. However, the Communist Party of China, after it began to rule China, invaded and occupied the whole of Tibet. It then set out to achieve an evil design to obliterate the very identity of the Tibetan people. In the course of implementing this objective, it seized ownership of the entire Tibetan land and subjected the Tibetan people to violent persecution. Such misguided and erroneous policies continue to be implemented to this day. Because of it, the Tibetan people, unable to live under policies that grossly trampled upon their basic human rights, found themselves to be left with no option but to carry out all types of peaceful protests. Although the old communist leaders of China kept harping all the time about "seeking truth from facts", they, instead of trying to address the real and obvious problems in Tibet, did not view the situation there as a government would its constituent subjects and citizens. Rather, they, without treating Tibetans as fellow fraternal nationals by any manner of acknowledgement, blackened them with the label of national separatists and subjected them to a violent campaign called Strike Hard in total violation of basic human rights. The result of this has been that the Tibetan protests not only did not come to an end but also included, till date, 95 self-immolations by both lay and religious ordained Tibetans. These included 28 Tibetans who with extremely passionate show of non-violent protests immolated themselves in the last month of November alone.

However, the leaders of China keep lying to the outside world by maintaining that the situation in Tibet continues to be harmonious and stable. And in order only to hide the truth about the real situation there, they have banned foreign and independent journalists from visiting Tibet. Hence, there is not only a lack of media freedom but also the online channels of communication like the internet and mobile phone, used by everyone across the world today, are subjected to tight controls. Thus, the people of Tibet remain deprived of every aspect of their fundamental human right of free speech. This has been compounded by further repression by which in every part of Tibet Chinese troops have arrested many totally innocent Tibetan people and punished them with death or prison sentences, disappearances, and so on. I would like to appeal to the new Chinese leaders to put an immediate end to all these still ongoing, totally repressive and inhuman practices.

Apart from the self-immolation peaceful protests, there was, on the 9th of last month, a demonstration by Tibetan students in Rebgong County. There was also a rally by Tibetan students in Tsolho Chabcha County on the 26th of the same month. Such protest campaigns, accompanied by raising of slogans, still continue. The reason for such continuing protests is that over the last 63 years of its occupation rule, the Communist Party of China has been continuing to carry out a policy based on an ideology of racial and class discrimination against the Tibetan people; they coveted the Tibetan land but did not want its people and hence continued – and still continues – on them a policy of violent persecution. If the Chinese leaders still keep ignoring the aspirations of the Tibetan people by continuing to adhere to their existing hardline approach, rather than changing their policies for the better, it is not impossible that the situation across the whole of Tibet will worsen considerably in comparison with the current state of affairs there. The responsibility for that will be entirely on the government of China. Likewise, because the government of China has not responded in any way to any of the items

of the announcements made by the Tibetan Parliament in Exile during their press conference on 7 November 2012, the Central Tibetan Administration is left with no option but to continue issuing further announcements and appeals to the international community and to carry out even more extensive courses of campaign actions. For these too, the responsibility should be borne entirely by the government of China.

Because of these developments it is high time for the leaders of the Communist Party of China to undertake at the very earliest, an earth-shaking, giant leap of reformative transformation in the so-called People's Republic of China which is, as of now, totally bereft of any respect for human rights and political freedom. To begin this process it should release all the lay and religiously ordained Tibetans, including the Panchen Lama Gedhun Choekyi Nyima, who are all innocent but have been jailed for political reasons, as well as all the innocent people in China, such as democracy activist Mr. Liu Xiaobo, who have also been jailed for political reasons.

In view of the tragic situation in Tibet, the Tibetan Parliament in Exile launched and led on 6 July this year a major Flame of Truth torch relay which covered more than 30 countries across five continents. Along with it, a petition was also launched on the urgent need to address the tragic situation in Tibet to be presented to the United National Secretary General. This petition garnered support signatures from 351,000 people in more than 90 countries. On the World Human Rights Day today, these two campaigns will be concluded with the presentation of a Flame of Truth torch, and copies of the petition and the signatures to office of the United Nations Secretary General at the United Nations Headquarters in New York City, USA; at the United Nations Human Rights Centre in Geneva, Switzerland; and at the UN Information Centre in New Delhi, India. Along with it, I strongly appeal to the United Nations to pay serious attention to the issue of Tibet in general and especially to the tragic

situation in Tibet today and address in an effective way our concerns and demands expressed in the petition. And as already announced by the Kashag of the Central Tibetan Administration, an as large-scale a campaign as possible of a Global Solidarity with Tibet Campaign is being launched today by the entire Tibetan people to bring timely focus on the tragic situation in Tibet today.

It was decided during the Sixth World Parliamentarians' Convention on Tibet that an International Solidarity Day for Tibet should be observed annually on 17 May, the day on which the government of China kidnapped and disappeared the 11th Panchen Lama Gedhun Choekyi Nyima. Both the Kashag and the Tibetan Parliament in Exile have already decided upon this date and I appeal to everyone to make collective efforts to mark the day on a large scale across the world and in such manner as to be effective and resulted oriented.

On the manner of implementing the recommendations for campaign actions finalized in the report of the Second Special General Meeting of the Tibetan People held in accordance with the provisions of Article 59 of the Charter of Tibetans in Exile from 25 to 28 September 2012, the Kashag and the Tibetan Parliament in Exile have held both their own separate and joint meetings on several occasions and held detailed discussions. Decisions reached in those meeting have already been announced and I appeal to everyone – both the concerned Central Tibetan Administration bodies and others – to work with diligence and without laxity to implement them successfully.

It is impossible for us here to tolerate the ever worsening tragedy in Tibet where

there is a real danger of the violent Chinese repression substantially worsening even further in the face of the relentless stream of self-immolations by Tibetans protesting peacefully against the inhuman policies of the government of China. In view of this, the Tibetan Parliament in Exile has planned to carry out a major campaign action lasting for about a month from 1 January 2013. Under it three groups from the Tibetan public, led by six members each of the Tibetan parliament in Exile, will undertake missions through states in South, North and northeast India. Each mission group will meet with leaders, journalists, and the public in the major centres of each state, give introductory talks to them about the very tragic situation in Tibet today, and make efforts to garner support for the Tibetan issue. Other campaign actions are also being listed and I call on all Tibetans to lend their cooperation.

As per a recommendation in the report of the Second Special General Meeting of the Tibetan People, for four days, starting from Wednesday, the 30th of January 2013, for the purposes of mourning for and expressing condolences to the families and close relatives of the Tibetan people who have sacrificed their lives for the cause of the Tibetan religion, polity and people, and for the purposes of showing our solidarity with them, a major campaign action will be carried out in India's capital New Delhi. The campaign will be led jointly by the Kashag and the Tibetan Parliament in Exile and all the Tibetans – both officials of the Central Tibetan Administration and the Tibetan public – will carry it out, all in one go. Details with regard to this campaign action will be announced on successive occasions.

All Tibetans, wherever they are living, should make it a point to take part in the campaign action without any excuses about not having been informed or not having known about it. As already announced before, every campaign action being carried out by the Central Tibetan Administration are to be without violence, in compliance with the laws of the host country and in a dignified manner. This being the case, everyone should pay attention to not transgressing these positions.

On behalf of Tibetans both in Tibet and in exile, I take this opportunity to express my gratitude to the nations, lawmaking bodies, leaders and peoples across the world who have till now paid great attention to and shown concern on the tragic situation in Tibet and extended support and help. Tibetans living in other countries across the world too should keep in mind the gratitude they owe to the governments and peoples of their host countries and make continuous efforts to achieve even closer friendship and harmony there. In particular, I appeal to everyone to carry out whatever His Holiness the Dalai Lama, the supremely religious among all the religious people, says and on that basis work without wavering and from beginning to end for the common benefit of the entirety of the cause of Tibet's freedom struggle.

Finally, I pray that His Holiness the Dalai Lama live for a hundred aeons, that all his wishes with fulfilled spontaneously, and that the just cause of Tibet definitely triumph at the earliest.

By the Tibetan Parliament in Exile  
10 December 2012  
Dharamsala

## Special International Meeting of Tibet Support Groups

Dharamsala, India, November 16-18, 2012

### CONCLUDING STATEMENT

In response to the escalating crisis in Tibet, the Special International Meeting of Tibet Support Groups was held in Dharamsala, India from 16-18 November 2012. The meeting, which was

attended by almost 200 participants from 43 countries, was convened by the Core Group for Tibetan Cause – India, and facilitated by the Department of Information & International

Relations of the Tibetan Government-in-exile. The purpose of the meeting was to develop strategic campaigns to address the deteriorating situation in Tibet where to date at least 75 Tibetans



DIIR Kalon Dicki Chhoyang speaking at the closing session of the Special International Tibet Support Groups Meeting in Dharamsala

have self-immolated.

This is a highly significant moment in the Tibetan struggle for freedom. Despite unprecedented repression, there has been a dramatic upsurge in resistance against China's occupation. There have been important changes within the Tibetan Government with the historic devolution of political power from His Holiness the Dalai Lama to the democratically elected leadership. Meanwhile the Communist Party of China has appointed its new leaders. These changes demand renewed efforts from Tibet Support Groups who pledge to increase their efforts on behalf of the Tibetan people and their human right to self-determination as recognized by the United Nations.

We, the conference participants, express our deep admiration and strong support for the unwavering determination and commitment to nonviolence by Tibetans in Tibet and for the many diverse ways in which they are resisting, including Tibetan cultural renaissance and Lhakar. Such resistance has continued despite mass detentions,

violent military responses to peaceful protests, and the increased use of "patriotic re-education" campaigns.

We express deep anguish that Tibetans feel compelled to self-immolate as an act of political resistance. We resolutely stand in solidarity with their aspirations for freedom and for the return of His Holiness the Dalai Lama to his homeland. Responsibility for this crisis lies with China's leaders and their failed Tibet policies

over the last sixty years. We call on China's new leaders to urgently address the root causes of these self-immolations.

We are deeply concerned about the forced removal of nomadic communities which is eroding cultural traditions, destroying livelihoods, and resulting in social exclusion. We believe that social and economic exclusion are contributing factors in the escalation of self-immolation and therefore must be urgently addressed.

We call specifically on General Secretary Xi Jinping and the new Politburo

Standing Committee to take immediate steps to resolve these and all legitimate grievances of the Tibetan people recognising that a peaceful resolution is in the best interests of both the Tibetan and the Chinese people.

We demand that our home governments initiate urgent and coordinated action, including at the United Nations and in other international and regional fora, to bring pressure upon the Government of China to change its policies in Tibet.

The conference participants welcome the creation of a coalition of Asian Tibet Support Groups and congratulate it on the adoption a common action program.

We, the conference participants, renew our commitment to work together and in cooperation with Tibetan organizations, Chinese human rights defenders, and other concerned organizations around the world, in pursuit of a political solution to the Tibet issue consistent with international human rights standards.

## Resolutions and Statements from Different Countries on Self-immolations in Tibet

### UN Urges China to Urgently Address Longstanding Grievances of Tibetans



UN High Commissioner for Human Rights Navi Pillay addressing the general assembly in New York on 24 October 2012.

United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights Navi Pillay on 2 November 2012 urged Chinese authorities to promptly address the longstanding grievances that have led to an alarming escalation in desperate forms of protest, including self-immolations, in Tibetan areas.

The UN human rights chief said she was disturbed by “continuing allegations of violence against Tibetans seeking to exercise their fundamental human rights of freedom of expression, association and religion,” and pointed to “reports of detentions and disappearances, of excessive use of force against peaceful demonstrators, and curbs on the cultural rights of Tibetans.”

Cases have included a 17-year-old girl who was reportedly severely beaten and sentenced to three years in prison for distributing flyers calling for Tibet’s freedom and the return of the Dalai Lama. Others have been sentenced to between four and seven years in prison for writing essays, making films or distributing photos of events in Tibet outside China. Serious concerns have been raised about

fair trial standards, and the torture and ill-treatment of detainees.

“I have had several exchanges with the Chinese Government on these issues. But more needs to be done to protect human rights and prevent violations,” Pillay said. “I call on the Government to respect the rights to peaceful assembly and expression, and to release all individuals detained for merely exercising these universal rights.”

The High Commissioner also appealed to Tibetans to refrain from resorting to extreme forms of protest, such as self-immolation, and urged community and religious leaders to use their influence to help stop this tragic loss of life.

“I recognise Tibetans’ intense sense of frustration and despair which has led them to resort to such extreme means,” she said, “but there are other ways to make those feelings clear. The Government also needs to recognise this, and permit Tibetans to express their feelings without fear of retribution.”

The High Commissioner urged the Government, as a confidence-building mea-

sure, to allow independent and impartial monitors to visit and assess the actual conditions on the ground, and to lift restrictions on media access to the region. She noted that there are 12 outstanding requests for official visits to China by UN Special Rapporteurs on various human rights issues, including one by the Special Rapporteur on freedom of religion and belief. During the Universal Periodic Review of China’s human rights record before the UN Human Rights Council, the State pledged to step up cooperation with Special Procedures. Pillay called on the Government to facilitate their access.

“Social stability in Tibet will never be achieved through heavy security measures and suppression of human rights,” she said. “Deep underlying issues need to be addressed, and I call on the Government to seriously consider the recommendations made to it by various international human rights bodies, as well as to avail itself of the expert advice being offered by the UN’s independent experts on human rights.”

Among the recommendations made by international human rights bodies to the Government of China on Tibet are the following:

- UN Special Rapporteur on the right to food, Olivier De Schutter, recommended a suspension of non-voluntary resettlement of nomadic herders, who make up the majority of the Tibetan population, and called for a meaningful consultation.

- The UN Committee on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination (CERD) recommended to China that any policies or incentives offered that may result in a substantial alteration of the demographic composition of autonomous minority areas be reviewed. CERD also recommended that the State party carefully consider the root causes of the unrest in March 2008, including inter-ethnic vio-

lence, and the reasons why the situation escalated.

- The UN Committee Against Torture in November 2008 recommended that China conduct a thorough and independent inquiry into events surrounding the

protests in March 2008, including the reported excessive use of force against peaceful demonstrators, notably monks, in Kardze county, Ngaba county, and Lhasa; and into allegations of torture and ill-treatment against those arrested

and detained.

“My office also stands ready to assist constructively on these issues in the region and promoting best practices from around the world with regard to protection of minorities,” Pillay added.

## Japanese Parliamentarians Pledge Full Support for Tibet Issue



Japanese Prime Minister-elect Shinzo Abe welcomes His Holiness the Dalai Lama to the Japanese Parliament building to address a gathering of parliamentarians in Tokyo on 13 November 2012.

Cutting across party lines, more than 150 Japanese parliamentarians on 13 November 2012 pledged their full support to the issue of Tibet, and urged China to stop the unlawful suppression of the Tibetan people in a state-

ment read out in front of His Holiness the Dalai Lama in Japanese parliament building.

“The Chinese government is violating the human rights of the Tibetan people in a ruthless manner. It is im-

posing strict limitations on the Tibetans for their freedom of political, religious, cultural and economic activities and punishing those who protest with physical torture and other atrocious means. A number of Tibetans have self-immolated in order to protest against such oppression. However, the Chinese government does not address the grievances of the Tibetan people and also does not respond to the Central Tibetan Administration’s repeated requests for the resumption of dialogue in seeking a peaceful solution of the Tibetan issue”, the statement said.

“We strongly urge the Chinese government to immediately stop the unlawful suppression of the Tibetan people’s human rights and improve the situation. We are also ready to send such a message to the international community without any hesitation”, it noted.

## German Human Rights Commissioner Calls for International Observers in Tibet

The Human Rights Commissioner of the Federal German Government urged the Chinese government to reform its policies in Tibet and said international observers be allowed to visit Tibetan areas to assess the causes of the increasing self-immolations.

In a statement on 21 November 2012, the Human Rights Commissioner said, “The Communist Party of China has determined its new leadership a few days ago. The outgoing President Hu Jintao has declared economic growth and the elimination of the tremendous social imbalance as being the biggest challenges and acknowledged that because of corruption and abuse of power there is need for reform.

“The new leadership will also be

judged by its respect for human rights. This includes progress in dealing with dissidents and human rights defenders as well as in dealing with minorities. I support the call of UN-High Commissioner for Human Rights, Navi Pillay, who also has pointed to the situation in Tibet in face of the ongoing self-immolations. With allowing international observers and a policy that reduces tensions and acknowledges the deep dissatisfaction in Tibet, China would leave a mark for more humanity.”

In its human rights policy report covering March 2010 to February 2012, the German government said “Particular worrisome is the human rights situation in Tibet and Xinjiang. Free-

dom of assembly and freedom of religion are suppressed more heavily in these regions than in others”.

“The Central Government (China) continues to relentlessly persecute any (even alleged) endeavor for autonomy or independence. The self-immolations of young Tibetan monks and nuns at the monastery of Kirti – a place confronted with extraordinarily repressive measures – were particularly desperate expressions of protest against these politics of repression,” the report said.

## French Senate Adopts Resolution on Tibet

The upper house of the French Parliament, Sénat, on 27 November 2012, adopted a resolution in favour of Tibet.

The resolution was proposed by the Group for Question on Tibet, an all-party parliamentary support group for Tibet in the French Senate.

The Senate adopted the resolution after it was cleared by the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee on 22 November 2012.

The resolution is brought in view of the deteriorating human rights situation inside Tibet and calls on the European Union to give priority to Tibet issue within the mandate of its recently appointed EU Special Representative for Human Rights.

*Following is English translation of the resolution:*

The Senate,

Having regard to Article 88-4 of the Constitution,

Noting resolution 2012/2685 of the European Parliament of 14 June 2012 on the situation of human rights in Tibet

Considering that respect for human rights and freedoms of religion and association, is one of the founding principles of the European Union, its foreign policy aims to promote;

Whereas the EU-China dialogue on human rights has led to any significant im-

provement in the human rights situation of Tibetans;

Whereas the authorities of the Republic of China (PRC) had a disproportionate use of force against the 2008 protests in Tibet and since then, they imposed stringent security measures that restrict freedom of expression, association and religion of Tibetans ;

Considering that the talks between the envoys of the Dalai Lama and the Government of the PRC, aimed at finding a peaceful and mutually satisfactory solution to the question of the rights of Tibetans led to any concrete results and are currently at a standstill;

Whereas the principles set out in the Memorandum on Genuine Autonomy for the Tibetan People, presented by the envoys of the Dalai Lama to their Chinese counterparts in October 2008, are to be taken into account to achieve a realistic and sustainable political solution to the Tibetan issue, taking into account the need for the PRC, to preserve its sovereignty and territorial integrity, and for Tibetans to enjoy genuine autonomy within the PRC;

Whereas the democratization of Tibetan institutions in exile has passed a milestone recently with the transfer of political power from the Dalai Lama to the Prime Minister of the Central Tibetan Administration in exile;

Requests the High Representative of

the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, in the absence of a special representative for Tibet, to entrust the Special Representative of the Union for Human Rights Tibet issue as a priority, with a mandate to:

- Promoting policy coordination in the European Union for coherent actions to advance human rights and freedoms of Tibetans, including their right to preserve their own identity, in its religious, cultural and linguistic

- Promoting policy coordination in the European Union for actions consistent support for dialogue between the Government of the PRC and envoys of the Dalai Lama, the prospect of reaching a peaceful and mutually beneficial to the rights of Tibetans;

- Promoting policy coordination in the European Union for coherent actions supporting Tibetan exile community in its efforts, under the direction of the Central Tibetan Administration, in development of education services and health, guarantee a sustainable livelihood to its members, as well as for the preservation of Tibetan culture in exile, in all its aspects.

Become the Senate resolution, November 27, 2012.

The President,

Signed: Jean-Pierre Bel

## US Government Urges Beijing to Hold Unconditional Dialogue with Tibetan leadership to Solve Tibet Problem



Expressing deep concern and sadness over the accelerating self-immolations by Tibetans inside Tibet, a top US government official on 6 December 2012 urged the China to address its policies in Tibet that are pushing Tibetans to burn themselves to death in protest and to engage in dialogue with the Dalai Lama or his representatives without preconditions.

Special Coordinator for Tibetan Issues Maria Otero said: “The United States is deeply concerned and saddened by the continuing violence in Tibetan areas of

China and the increasing frequency of self-immolations by Tibetans. Chinese authorities have responded to these tragic incidents with measures that tighten already strict controls on freedoms of religion, expression, assembly and association of Tibetans. Official rhetoric that denigrates the Tibetan language, the Dalai Lama, and those who have self-immolated has further exacerbated tensions.”

“Senior U.S. officials have directly raised the issue of Tibetan self-immolations with their Chinese government counterparts. The U.S. Government has

consistently urged the Chinese government to address policies in Tibetan areas that have created tensions. These policies include increasingly severe government controls on Tibetan Buddhist religious practice and monastic institutions; education practices that undermine the preservation of Tibetan language; intensive surveillance, arbitrary detentions and disappearances of Tibetans, including youth and Tibetan intellectual and cultural leaders; escalating restrictions on news, media and communications; and the use of force against Tibetans seeking peacefully to exercise their universal hu-

man rights.

“We call on the Chinese Government to permit Tibetans to express their grievances freely, publicly, peacefully, and without fear of retribution. We hope that the tragic acts of self-immolation end. We call on China’s leaders to allow journalists, diplomats and other observers unrestricted access to China’s Tibetan areas. We call on the Chinese Government to Chinese government to address policies in Tibetan areas that have created tensions,” Ms Otero said.

## Statement by US Senator Joseph Lieberman on Global Day of Action for Tibet



December 10, 2012

Tashi Delek, my friends.

It is both a pleasure and an honor to send greetings to you from Washington, DC today, the Global Day of Action for Tibet. I regret that I cannot be with you in person this afternoon as you gather before the United Nations in solidarity and in support of your brothers and sisters inside of Tibet.

I wish first to express my appreciation for the leadership of his Holiness the Dalai Lama. I had the great honor of meeting His Holiness earlier this fall in my home state of Connecticut. I thanked his Holiness for his historic decision to devolve his political power in favor of democracy, which I believe will strengthen the legitimacy of the Tibetan cause among the international

community and sustain it for decades to come.

The election held for Tibetans in March 2011, which brought Dr. Lobsang Sangay to office as Kalon Tripa, involved voting by tens of thousands of Tibetans living in exile in over thirty countries, including nearly 100 Tibetan-Americans in Connecticut alone. I have had the great privilege of meeting the Kalon Tripa three times in Washington, DC. He is a man of considerable intellect and accomplishment, and he has proven to be a leader of courage and conviction. The Tibetan people have chosen wisely in electing him as their Prime Minister.

I hope that the self-fulfillment of democratic governance exercised by Tibetan refugees can provide hope and inspira-

tion to those in Tibet and China who yearn for the fundamental freedom to choose their own government and leaders.

But as we gather today, my friends, I remain deeply concerned by the situation for the six million Tibetans living in the People’s Republic of China today. This is a community that has never been permitted to participate in a free and fair election of the sort that have taken place among Tibetans in exile. In fact, this is a community that is governed by authorities who have deemed that carrying a copy of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights or a simple photograph of his Holiness the Dalai Lama to be illegal and punishable acts. It is a community that has faced brutal repression and violence and that has, for decades, been denied their fundamental rights, including the freedoms of expression, assembly, and association.

I am deeply saddened and concerned about the rise in self-immolations in Tibet, and agree that the root cause of these acts of despair can be found in the repressive policies of the Chinese government. For this reason, earlier this year, I joined my colleagues in the United States Senate to introduce a resolution mourning the deaths of Tibetans who have self-immolated and deploring the repressive policies targeting Tibetans. Our resolution also called on the Chinese government to release all persons who have been arbitrarily detained; to suspend implementation of

## Fact Sheet on Self-Immolation Incidents in Tibet (27 February 2009 to 31 December 2012)

	Name	Date of Self Immolation	Current Status		Name	Date of Self Immolation	Current Status
				28	Jamyang Palden	14/3/2012	Serious condition
				29	Lobsang Tsultrim	16/3/2012	Died on 19/3/2012
1	Tapey	27/2/2009	Unknown	30	Sonam Dhargyal	17/3/2012	Died on 17/3/2012
2	Phuntsok	16/3/2011	Died on 17/3/2011	31	Lobsang Sherab	28/3/2012	Died on 28/3/2012
3	Tsewang Norbu/ Norko	15/8/2011	Died on 17/3/2011	32	Tempa Dargey	30/3/2012	Died on 7/4/2012
4	Lobsang Kelsang	26/9/2011	Legs amputated,Unknown	33	Chimey Palden	30/3/2012	Died on 30/3/2012
5	Lobsang Kunchok	26/9/2011	Serious condition after legs amputa- tion	34	Sonam	19/4/2012	Died on 19/4/2012
6	Kelsang Wangchuk	03/10/2011	Permenantly paralysed after spinal injury	35	Choepak Kyab	19/04/2012	Died on 19/4/2012
7	Choephel	07/10/2011	Died 11/10/2011	36	Doejee Tseten	27/5/2012	Died on 27/5/2012
8	Khaying/Lhungyang	07/10/2011	Died 08/10/2011	37	Dhargye	27/5/2012	Unknown
9	Norbu Dramdul	15/10/2011	Died on 05/1/2012	38	Rikyo	30/5/2012	Died on 30/5/2012
10	Tenzin Wangmo	17/10/2011	Died on 17/10/2011	39	Tamding Thar	15/6/2012	Died on 15/6/2012
11	Dawa Tsering	25/10/2011	Unknown	40	Ngawang Norphel	20/6/2012	Died on 30/7/2012
12	Palden Choetso/ Choesang	03/11/2011	Died on 3/11/2011	41	Tenzin Khedup	20/6/2012	Died on 20/6/2012
13	Tenzin Phuntsok	01/12/2011	Died on 6/12/2011	42	Dekyi Choezom	27/6/2012	Unknown
14	Tsultrim	06/1/2012	Died on 7/1/2012	43	Tsewang Dorjee	7/7/2012	Died on 10/7/2012
15	Tennyi	06/1/2012	Died on 6/1/2012	44	Lobsang Lozin	17/7/2012	Died on 17/7/2012
16	Sonam Wangyal	08/1/2012	Died on 8/1/2012	45	Lobsang Tsultrim	6/08/2012	Died 6/8/2012
17	Lobsang Jamyang	14/1/2012	Died on 16/1/2012	46	Dolkar Tso	7/8/2012	Died 7/8/2012
18	Rigzin Dorjee	08/2/2012	Died on 21//2012	47	Choepa`	10/8/2012	Died 10/8/2012
19	Sonam Rabyang	08/02/2012	Unknown	48	Lungtok	13/8/2012	Died
20	Tenzin Choedron	08/2/2012	Died on 08/2/2012	49	Tashi	13/8/2012	Died 14/8/2012
21	Lobsang Gyatso	13/2/2012	Unknown	50	Lobsang Kalsang	27/8/2012	Died 27/8/2012
22	Dhamchoe Sangpo	17/2/2012	Died on 17/2/2012	51	Dhamchoe	27/8/2012	Died 27/8/2012
23	Nangdrol	19/2/2012	Died on 19/2/2012	52	Yungdrung	29/9/2012	Unknown
24	Tsering Kyi	03/03/2012	Died on 03/3/2012	53	Gudrup	4/10/2012	Died 4/10/2012
25	Rinchen	4/03/2012	Died on 04/3/2012	54	Sangay Gyatso	6/10/2012	Died 6/10/2012
26	Dorjee	5/03/2012	Died on 05/3/2012	55	Tamdin Dorjee	13/10/2012	13/10/2012
27	Gepey	10/3/2012	Died on 10/3/2012	56	Lhamo Kyab	20/10/2012	Died 20/10/2012
				57	Dhondup	22/10/2012	Died 22/10/2012
				58	Dorjee Rinchen	23/10/2012	Died 23/10/2012
				59	Lhamo Tseten	26/10/2012	Died 26/10/2012
				60	Thubwang Kyab	26/10/2012	Died 26/10/2012
				61	Tsepo	25/10/2012	Died 25/10/2012
				62	Tenzin	25/10/2012	unknown

	Name	Affiliation	Location of Incident	Age	Father's Name	Mother's Name	Date of Self Immolation	Current Status
63	Dorjee Lhundup (M)	Rebgong,	Rebgong	24	Drukthar Gyal	S h a w o Yakmo	4/11/2012	Died on 4/11/2012
64	Dorjee (M)	Ngoshul monastery,	Tsodrug vil- lage,	15	Tsering	Ghangkar	7/11/2012	Died on 7/11/2012
65	Samdub (M)	Ngoshul monastery,	Tsodrug vil- lage,	16	Sothar	Pasang	7/11/2012	unknown

66	Dorjee Kyab (M)	Ngoshul monastery,	Tsodrug vil- lage,	16	Tsering Dhondup		7/11/2012	unknown
67	Tamdin Tso (F)	Dorongpo village,	Dorongpo vil- lage,	23	Tamdin Kyab	Kunchok Tso	7/11/2012	Died on 7/11/2012
68	Tsegyal (M)	Tingser Village,	Bekar town,	27			7/11/2012	Died on 18/11/2012
69	Kalsang Jinpa (M)	Rebgong	Rebgong	18	Choepa	Dechok Kyi	8/11/2012	Died on 8/11/2012
70	Gonpo Tsering (M)	Tsoe county in Amdo	Lushoe village,	19	Tashi Sonam	Nyinglo	10/11/2012	Died on 10/11/2012
71	Nyingkar Tashi (M)	Rebgong	Rebgong	24			12/11/2012	Died on 12/11/2012
72	Nyinchak Bum (M)	Dowo township, Re- bgong	Dowo town- ship, Rebgong	18			12/11/2012	Died on 12/11/2012
73	Khabum Gyal (M)	Gyalwo Luchungth- ang, Rebgong	Gyalwo Lu- chuthang,	18	Tadin Gyal	Dolkar Tso	15/11/2012	Died on 15/11/2012
74	Tenzin Dolma (F)	Goge village	Goge village	23	Bhulo	Tashi Dolma	15/11/2012	Died on 15/11/2012
75	Chagmo Kyi (F)	Khagya village, Reb- gong	Rongwo mon- astery,				17/11/2012	Died on 17/11/2012
76	Sangdhak Tsering (M)	Tsekhog Gonshul, Rebgong	Dokar town- ship, Rebgong	24	Choeying	Menlha Tso	17/11/2012	Died on 17/11/2012
77	Wangchen Norbu (M)	Yadzi, Tsoshar, Amdo	Gaden Choeph- eling,	25	Tenzin	Khando Tso	19/11/2012	Died on 19/11/2012
78	Tsering Dhondup (M)	Amchok Sangchu in Labrang	In front of the local mine field	34	Lubum Gyal	Drukmo tso	20/11/2012	Died on 20/11/2012
79	Lubum Tsering (M)	Dowa, Rebgong	Dowa Town	18	Tsego		22/11/2012	Died on 22/11/2012
80	Tadin Kyab (M)	Luchu, Kanlho	Luchu, Kanlho	23	Tsering Tashi	Dolma Tso	22/11/2012	Died on 22/11/2012
81	Tadin Dorjee (M)	Tsekhog, Malho	Tsekhog,	29			23/11/2012	Died on 23/11/2012
82	Wangyal (M)	Taktse Town, Serthar	Serthar	20's			26/11/2012	Unknown
83	Sangay Dolma (F)	Bharkor village,	Bharkor vil- lage,	17	Sonam Gyal	Dhondup Tso	25/11/2012	Died on 25/11/2012
84	Kunchok Tsering (M)	Achok, Labrang	Achok, Labrang	18	Tsephag Kyab	Gonpo Tso	26/11/2012	Died on 26/11/2012
85	Gonpo Tsering (M)	Luchu, Kanlho	Luchu, Kanlho	24	Wangyal	Namlolo	26/11/2012	Died on 26/11/2012
86	Kalsang Kyab (M)	Dowa Mergey vil- lage,	Kyangtse town- ship, Dzoegge	24	Trogyal	Achoe	27/11/2012	Died on 27/11/2012
87	Sangay Tashi (M)	Sangkhog,	Sangchu coun- ty,	18	Namkho		27/11/2012	Died on 27/11/2012
88	Bendey Khar (M)	Tsoe town, Kanlho, Amdo	Tsoe Town, Kanlho, Amdo	21	Tsering Thar	Kunsang Dolma	28/11/2012	Died on 28/11/2012
89	Tsering Namgyal (M)	Zama Lotso Village, Luchu,	Luchu	31	Choero	Tam- dingTso	29/11/2012	Died on 29/11/2012
90	Kunchok Kyab (M)	Zoegey, Ngaba coun- ty, Amdo	Zoegey, Ngaba county, Amdo	29	Phuntsok	Lobsang Dolma	30/11/2012	Died on 1/12/2012
91	Sungdue Kyab (M)	Sangchu County	Bora, Labrang.		Tsepa	Bendey Tso	2/12/2012	Unknown
92	Lobsang Gedun (M)	Penag Kadak Dzong	Golog Pema Dzong.	29	Golog Lokho	Sago De- wang	3/12/2012	Died on 3/12/2012
93	Kunchok Phelgye (M)	Gonda Dewa village, Ngaba	Dzoegge, Ngaba	24	Kunchok Kyab	Dolma Tso	8/12/2012	Died on 8/12/2012
94	Pema Dorjee (M)	Chokhor village, Shit- sang, Luchu, Kanlho	Shitsang Mon- aster, Luchu	23			8/12/2012	Died on 8/12/2012
95	Bhenchen Kyi (F)	Dokarmo region of Tsekhog, Rebkong	Rebkong,	17	Sonam tsering	Sermo	9/12/2012	Died on 9/12/2012

religious control regulations; to cease the intimidation, harassment and detention of peaceful protesters, and to allow unrestricted access to journalists, foreign diplomats, and international orga-

nizations to Tibet. I am happy to report that our resolution unanimously passed the Senate.

Today, I say to those in Tibet who are striving to secure their fundamental

freedoms: the United States Congress has not and will not forget about you and your cause.

## Issue of Human Rights Violations in Tibet Raised in Indian Parliament



Mr Yashwant Sinha addressing senior officials of the CTA in Dharamsala on 15 September 2012

Indian BJP leader and former External Affairs Minister, Mr Yashwant Sinha, on 10 December 2012 raised in the Lok Sabha the issue of rights violations in Tibet.

BJP leader Yashwant Sinha said the Chinese have been carrying out the “grossest” violations of human rights in Tibet over the last 60 years, the Press Trust of India reported.

Mr Sinha said Tibetans are setting themselves on fire because of “excessive use of military force, religious restrictions, disappearances and detentions, removal of nomads and degradation of ecologi-

cal system in the region under Chinese rule”.

“Worse, the response of the Chinese is more repression,” said Mr Sinha, who is the convener of the All Party Indian Parliamentarian Forum on Tibet.

He wanted the House to express “deepest heartfelt condolences” over Tibetans’ plight and call upon the Chinese to “listen to the anguish” and “ensure people (in Tibet) get their rights”.

“I call upon Parliament to speak up,” he appealed.

## UN should play key role in solving crisis in Tibet: US Congressman Capuano

US Congressman from Massachusetts, Michael E. Capuano said the United Nations should play a key role in finding a solution to the deteriorating human rights situation in Tibet.

“Tibet and the Tibetan people too suffered far too long from violations of their most fundamental rights,” Congressman Capuano said in his message to Tibetans on the International Human Rights Day on 10 December.

“With so much conflict in the world today, we must not forget the continuing oppression Tibetans have suffered. We must resolve to work toward freedom for the Tibetan people. Far too many have lost their lives as a result of injustice and in protest against it. We mourn the recent, tragic deaths of those who immolated themselves when, as they must have felt, no other act of resistance was possible,” he said.

“The UN can and should play a key role in remedying this situation, and I believe it is not unreasonable to expect permanent members of the Security Council to respect the UN’s founding principles,” he added.

“Many of us in Congress remain dedicated to the cause of the Tibetan people. Their voices will be heard, and we will not forget their struggles,” Congressman Capuano said.

## EU human rights strategy must include a Special Representative for Tibet: MEP

A member of Europe Parliament has called on the European Union to appoint a Special EU Representative on Tibet to reaffirm its strategy to support human rights and democracy.

The EU should prove its dedication to the policy of peaceful dialogue and support for human rights and democracy with a strong and consistent EU strategy for human rights, said Mr Leonidas Donskis, MEP from Lithuania, while speaking on the EU annual report on human rights and democracy in the world. The report was voted in a plenary session in Strasbourg on 13 December 2012.

Mr Donskis underlined that the annual report calls on the EU to ensure high, uncompromised human rights standards in its relations with other countries,” especially with big partners such as Russia and China, where human rights are often trivialised and marginalised in the context of economic and other considerations.

He said this year’s annual report to be sharp, focused, strategic and useful in shaping EU policy on human rights in the world and not just a mere reflection of important developments of the past year.

“I believe that each annual human rights

report should set ambitious, yet achievable goals, which the Parliament should push for. This year I want to focus on Tibet – a country which merely seeks to preserve its religious, cultural and historical identity, yet suffers from systemic human rights violations by China. Given the dramatic situation there, the European Union should set up an office of a Special EU Representative on Tibet to monitor the situation more closely,” he said.

## Canada Urges China for Meaningful Dialogue to Solve Tibet Issue



John Baird, Foreign Minister of Canada. File photo credit Alex Wong/Getty Images

The Canadian government has expressed concern over the wave of tragic self-immolations in Tibet and urged the Chinese government to resume dialogue with the Tibetan leadership to find a mutually-agreeable solution to the issue of Tibet.

“I am concerned about the escalating number of self-immolations in Tibetan areas of China and the increasingly punitive measures being taken in response, which further exacerbate tensions in the region,” Foreign Affairs Minister John Baird said on 14 December 2012.

“Canada supports Tibetans’ freedoms of expression, assembly and association. That anyone should feel such an end is justified by these means is a striking testament to Tibetans’ deep yearning for greater religious, linguistic and cultural rights.

“Canada encourages China to give full consideration to the traditions and culture of the Tibetan population in a manner that will help ease tensions. We call on China to lift restrictions on access to the affected areas for the diplomats, media and other observers.

“We urge China to engage in substantive and meaningful dialogue with the Dalai Lama or his representatives in working toward a peaceful resolution of outstanding issues that is acceptable to both sides,” Foreign Minister John Baird said.

## EU Encourages Dialogue to Resolve Tibet Issue

15 December 2012

Declaration by the High Representative, Catherine Ashton, on behalf of the European Union on Tibetan self-immolations

The EU is profoundly saddened by the increasing number of Tibetans committing self-immolation, many of them young people.

We are concerned by the restrictions on expressions of Tibetan identity, which appear to be giving rise to a surge of discontent in the region. While respecting China’s territorial integrity, the EU calls upon the Chinese authorities to address the deep-rooted causes of the frus-

tration of the Tibetan people and ensure that their civil, political, economic and social and cultural rights are respected, including their right to enjoy their own culture, to practise their own religion and to use their own language.

The EU fully supports the statement made by the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, Ms Navi Pillay on 2 November 2012. The EU calls upon the Chinese authorities to respect the rights of Tibetans to peaceful assembly and expression, to act with restraint, and to release all individuals detained for taking part in peaceful demonstrations.

We also urge Chinese authorities to al-

low free access to all Tibetan autonomous areas for diplomats as well as for international journalists.

Recognising their intense sense of despair, the EU calls on Tibetans to refrain from resorting to extreme forms of protest, such as self-immolation, and on their community and religious leaders to use their influence to help stop this tragic loss of life.

Finally, the EU encourages all concerned parties to resume a meaningful dialogue.

## US Urges China to Address Grievances of Tibetans

The United States has called on the Chinese government to address its policies that have aggravated the wave of self-immolations by Tibetans inside Tibet.

“We continue to publicly and privately urge the Chinese Government at all levels to address policies in Tibetan areas

that have created tensions and threaten the distinct religious, cultural, and linguistic identity of the Tibetan people,” State Department’s Acting Deputy Spokesperson Patrick Ventrell said on 14 December 2012.

“So we call on the Chinese Govern-

ment to permit Tibetans to express their grievances freely, publicly, peacefully, and without fear of retribution. So this is something that is very much a part of our dialogue with the Chinese Government,” Mr Ventrell said.

## UK Expresses Serious Concerns, Calls for Resumption of Dialogue to Resolve Tibet Issue

"British Foreign Office Minister Hugo Swire has said that the UK has serious concerns about the self-immolations in Tibetan regions", said a statement from the British Embassy in Beijing on 18 December 2012.

Following a European Union statement on self-immolations in Tibet, Foreign Office Minister Hugo Swire said: "We strongly support the recent statement from Baroness Ashton about the situation in Tibet. We continue to have serious concerns about the human rights

situation there, including the self-immolations in Tibetan regions.

"We urge the Chinese authorities to exercise restraint. At the same time, I join Baroness Ashton in calling on Tibetans not to resort to extreme forms of protest such as self-immolation, and urge their community and religious leaders to use their influence to stop this tragic loss of life. We strongly support the resumption of meaningful dialogue to resolve the underlying grievances of Tibetan communities.

"I also urge the Chinese government to ensure unrestricted access to the Tibetan Autonomous Region and other Tibetan areas of China for diplomats, international media and other concerned parties. We believe a long term solution is best achieved through respect for universal principles of human rights and genuine autonomy for Tibet within the framework of the Chinese constitution." Foreign Office Minister Hugo Swire said.

## Members of US Congress Urge President Obama to Lead Efforts to Resolve Tibet Issue

Members of the U.S. House of Representatives have written to President Obama asking that the "United States take a leading role and engage actively with partner nations on measures that could bring near-term improvements in the human rights situation in Tibet." The letter, dated 20 December 2012, was authored by Representatives Jim McGovern (D-MA) and Frank Wolf (R-VA) and signed by a total of 58 House Members of both parties.

Congressman McGovern said: "With the steep rise in self-immolations by Tibetans and the Chinese authorities' failure to address their legitimate grievances, the United States must lead efforts to resolve the crisis. We welcome recent statements by the State Department, the European Union, Canada and the United Kingdom, and in this letter we urge the President to work with these governments to address the human rights situation in Tibet. The recent statement by U.N. Human Rights Chief Navi Pillay provides a critical road map toward that goal."

In their letter to President Obama, the members of the U.S. Congress said: "We write to strongly urge you to make Tibet one of your top priorities for U.S. advocacy, especially given the desperate protests occurring in Tibet this past year. It is critical that the U.S. take a leading role and engage actively with partner nations on measures that could bring near-term improvements in the

human rights situation in Tibet. As you consider candidates to be the next Secretary of State, we urge you to nominate someone who will champion this issue.

"It has long been U.S. policy to promote dialogue without preconditions to advance a solution on Tibet and to press for respect for human rights and the preservation of Tibetan religion, language and cultural heritage.

"Regrettably, the policies of the Chinese government towards the Tibetan people have only increased in their level of repression, their intrusion into all Tibetan institutions, most particularly religious and educational, and their denigration of Tibetan culture. These repressive conditions have led to the self-immolations and protests by Tibetans. As incidents of self-immolation increased in frequency, so have reports of mass gatherings of Tibetans to mourn and express solidarity with those who have undertaken these often mortal acts of protest. Continued crackdowns by Beijing threaten to escalate the situation.

"It is in this context that we welcome the strong November 2nd statement on Tibet by U.N. High Commissioner for Human Rights Navi Pillay. She cited "continuing allegations of violence against Tibetans seeking to exercise their fundamental human rights of freedom of expression, association and religion," and pointed to "reports of detentions and disappearances, of excessive use of force against peaceful demon-

strators, and curbs on the cultural rights of Tibetans."

"We believe Commissioner Pillay's statement requires stronger efforts on the part of the United States and the international community to press China to respect human rights in Tibet. It should serve as a clarion call for a new level of collaborative and coordinated pressure and engagement with the Chinese government on the Tibetan issue, including but not limited to allowing access by independent and impartial monitors to assess conditions on the ground, including the 12 outstanding requests for official visits by U.N. special rapporteurs; adoption by the Chinese government of policies recommended by U.N. special rapporteurs, such as suspension and review of Chinese policies and incentives that promote the settlement of mainland Chinese into Tibet; the suspension of non-voluntary resettlement of Tibetan nomadic herders; an independent inquiry into alleged excessive use of force against peaceful demonstrators of 2008, and allegations of torture and ill-treatment against those arrested and detained; lifting restrictions on media access to the region; respect for Tibetans' rights to peaceful assembly, expression and religious practice, and the release of anyone detained for exercising those rights; and renewed engagement in dialogue with the Dalai Lama or his representatives without preconditions.

"The Chinese government appears to

believe that by sealing off Tibet, international interest and concern will diminish. It will not. We were therefore pleased to see the recent statements by Special Coordinator for Tibetan Issues Under Secretary Maria Otero and by Assistant Secretary of State for Democracy, Human Rights and Labor Michael Posner expressing U.S. concern over the increasing frequency of self-immolations by Tibetans and rejection of the continuing violence by Chinese authorities in Tibetan areas. But much

more must be done.

“We urge you, Mr. President, to take a leading role in support of Commissioner Pillay’s statement and actively engage partner nations on measures that could bring near-term improvements in the human rights situation in Tibet and serve to de-escalate rising tensions brought about by hard-line and destructive Chinese policies and actions. In addition, continued attention must be paid to promoting dialogue between Chinese officials and Tibetan leaders in

order to achieve a negotiated solution to the problems afflicting Tibet and the Tibetan people.

“We have the moral obligation to speak out for the Tibetan people and confront China about these abuses, to convey the aspirations for change that are being expressed so desperately by the Tibetan people directly to those who have the responsibility to heed Tibetans’ demands for change, respect and basic dignity. We ask that you make this a top priority and lead the way.”

## Department Of Education Announces New Scholarship Scheme

The Department of Education of the Central Tibetan Administration (CTA) is pleased to announce a new scholarship scheme based on merit, need. The new scheme aims to provide incentives to talented and hard-working students while also being mindful of the needs of the economically disadvantaged students and families. It aims to fulfil the vision of His Holiness the Dalai Lama and reflects the 14th Kashag prioritisation of education.

Investment in Education will strengthen and sustain the Tibet cause. This new scheme aims to promote academic excellence, produce more scholars and professionals, and also support economically disadvantaged students.

The new scheme represents a 50% increase in annual scholarship funding. The Department of Education will strive to provide more scholarship in the coming years that support better human resource development and enhance over all Tibetan capability and promote more leaders in the Tibetan community.

Some of the highlights of the new scheme are:

**1) Gaden Phodrang Student Merit Award:** As an incentive to students, the Department of Education has increased both the amount and the number of awardees of this prestigious award. The number of awardees has been increased to nine students from the present three, and the cash award is now 20,000 INR, 15,000 INR and 10,000 INR for the top three recipients in each of the three streams of science, arts and commerce.

**2) Sikyong Scholarship:** This new scholarship is being rolled out to encourage our students to work harder and perform better in the board exams. Any student who obtains 95% or higher in the XIIth grade board exam will be awarded this prestigious scholarship, with a monetary prize of 100,000 INR (One lakh rupees).

**3) Sikyong Award for Academic Accomplishments:** Any student or candidate who has completed a Ph.D. in any field will be awarded the Sikyong Award of 20,000 INR, along with a certificate of appreciation.

**4) Students scoring higher percentages on the annual exam will be rewarded with higher scholarship amounts.** Presently, we provide the same scholarship amount to all the students, irrespective of performance. For example, a student with a 60% score receives the same amount as one with 80% score. However, now under the new scholarship scheme, students will be awarded scholarships ranging from 35,000 INR to 100,000 INR depending on their performance in the school board exams.

**5) Cash Incentive Award:** If a student currently holding a scholarship scores 75% or more on the final yearly examination, he or she will be offered 10,000 INR, in addition to the regular scholarship amount he or she is offered.

**6) Special Scholarships for Economically Disadvantaged (Nyamthak) Students:** This scholarship has been introduced for students who are financially below the poverty line as determined by the CTA. It aims to help such students complete a higher education, which will in turn help alleviate families from poverty. The students under this category are eligible to apply who score a minimum of 40% on the board exam.

Education Kalon cum Sikyong  
20th November, 2012

For more information and clarification please contact: Department of Education, CTA Email: [education@tibet.net](mailto:education@tibet.net), [scholarship@tibet.net](mailto:scholarship@tibet.net)

**Note:** The above Scholarships are subject to the fulfilment of criterion stipulated in the Rules and Regulation governing DOE Scholarship Program.

## Global Solidarity Day for Tibet Observed across the World

On the occasion of the 23rd anniversary of the conferment of the Nobel Peace Prize to His Holiness the Dalai Lama and the 64th anniversary of International Human Rights Day, the Tibetan communities and Tibet supporters around the world observed the Global Solidarity Day on 10 December 2012, in view of the deepening crisis amid increasing Chinese repression inside Tibet.

### India

Major cities and Tibetan settlements across India observed Global Solidarity



Thousands participate in a rally on the world human rights day and global solidarity day for Tibet in New Delhi



Tibetan Parliamentarians visiting the UN office to submit signed petition on Tibet compiled in books (right) in New Delhi



Day on 10 December. Tibetans residing in Delhi and other adjacent areas like Noida, Gurgaon and Faridabad, organised a massive rally from Ramlila Ground to Jantar Mantar to mark the Global Solidarity Day with Tibet on 10 December.

Addressing the gathering at Jantar Mantar, His Holiness the Dalai Lama's Representative, Mr Tempa Tsering, read out Sikyong Dr Lobsang Sangay's state-

ment, following which Mr Choekyong Wangchuk, a Tibetan parliamentarian, delivered the parliament's statement. A minute's silence was observed to show solidarity with all those Tibetans who have sacrificed their lives for the cause of Tibet.

Indian dignitaries, Mr Balbir Punj, Member of Parliament (Rajya Sabha), Lt. General (Rtd.) N S Malik, former deputy Chief of Army Staff, and Mr JP Nadda, National General Secretary and Spokesperson of Bharatiya Janata Party

(BJP), spoke on the occasion to express their solidarity with Tibet.

A Tibetan parliamentary delegation visited the United Nations Information Center and submitted a petition of 357,000 signatures by government leaders, congressmen, parliamentarians and members of the international community calling for United Nations' intervention in finding a lasting solution

to the long-standing issue of Tibet, and to send an immediate fact-finding delegation to assess the prevailing critical situation inside Tibet. The signatures were collected during the course of Flame of Truth relay across 90 countries which started this July.

Later in the evening, hundreds of Indian supporters, friends of Tibet, human rights activists and people from different walks of life from Delhi and NCR joined a candle light vigil to show their solidarity with the Tibetan people at Jantar Mantar, which was jointly organised by Core Group for Tibetan Cause, India and Tibet Support Groups in Delhi.

### United States

Thousands of Tibetans and supporters held a peaceful rally in New York and urged the UN for its intervention to find a lasting solution to the problems in Tibet. Tibetans and supporters, including many from Canada, held peaceful rallies in front of the Chinese consulate and the UN headquarters.

Members of the Tibetan Parliament-in-Exile in North America, Mr Tashi Namgyal and Mr Norbu Tsering, lead a delegation of representatives of Tibetan associations and NGOs to meet Ms Maarit Kohonen Sheriff, Deputy Head of the Office of High Commissioner for Human Rights and Ms Ann Syuata, Human Rights Officer, at the UN headquarters and submitted to the UN officials a petition of 357,000 signatures.

Marking the Global Solidarity Day for Tibet in front of the UN headquarters Mr Lobsang Nyandak, Representative for the USA, Chinese democracy activist Yang Jianli, writer Chen Pokong and former Tibetan political prisoner Ngawang Sangdrol addressed the gathering on the issue of Tibet.

In his message on the occasion, US Senator Joseph Lieberman said: "Today, I say to those in Tibet who are striving to secure their fundamental freedoms: the United States Congress has not and will not forget about you and your cause".



Tibetan Parliamentarians submitting petition to UN officials at the UN headquarters in New York

New York City Council member and Connecticut State Senator, Mr Tony Boucher, also addressed the gathering to express his solidarity with the Tibetan people.

In addition to Tibetans living in New York and New Jersey, others from Massachusetts, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, Ithaca, Vermont, Washington, D.C., Virginia, Maryland, Illinois, Washington State, California as well as from Quebec and Ontario in Canada, attended the rally.

### Switzerland

Hundreds of Tibetans and supporters from Switzerland, Liechtenstein, Spain, Austria and France braved the cold winter weather in Geneva to express solidarity with all those Tibetans who self-immolated in Tibet since February 2009. The rally was organised by the Tibetan Community in Switzerland and Liechtenstein.

The signature petition was submitted to the Office of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights. A Tibetan delegation – comprising two members of the Tibetan Parliament-in-Exile, Ven. Thubten Wangchen and Mrs Chunggak Koren, the president of Tibetan Community, Mr Lobsang Gangshontsang and His Holiness the Dalai Lama's Representative based in Geneva, Mr Tseten Samdup Choekyapa – briefed Mrs Laura Dupuy Lasserre, President of the UN Human Rights Council in Geneva, on the present situation in Tibet and the Flame of Truth campaign.

They also thanked the High Commissioner for her recent statement on Tibet. The UN officials promised to



Tibetans gather for a rally in front of the UN office in Geneva

bring the petition on Tibet to the High Commissioners' attention.

### Belgium, Holland, Spain

Over 600 Tibetans and Tibet supporters in Belgium took part in a peace rally in front of the European commission in Brussels to mark Global Solidarity Day for Tibet.

The rally began with a prayer service in memory of all those Tibetans who have sacrificed their precious lives for the cause of Tibet, and for those who continue to suffer under the repressive Chinese rule.

Addressing the gathering, Mr Thupten Phegyal, the President of Tibetan community in Belgium, urged the Tibetans and the supporters of Tibet to gear up

for concerted campaigns to fulfil the aspirations of Tibetans inside Tibet.

Ms Inge Hermans, the president of Belgium's Vrienden Van Tibet (Friends of Tibet), expressed her deep anguish at the indifference of the international community and institutions to the tragic situation unfolding inside Tibet.

Mr Ngodup Dorjee, Representative of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, read out the statement of Sikyong Dr Lobsang Sangay on 23rd anniversary of the conferment of the Nobel Peace Prize to His Holiness the Dalai Lama.

After the official function, the local Tibetans and the supporters held a peace rally through the Brussels city to the Chinese embassy.

Similarly, the Tibetan community in Amsterdam and Barcelona respectively organised peace rally and prayer service in collaboration with local Tibet Support Groups. The Tibetans and friends of Tibet in both the cities participated in the rallies in large numbers.

### France

Around 300 Tibetans and French Tibet supporters marked the 64th anniversary of the declaration of Charter of the Universal Human Rights in Paris with a solidarity campaign to draw the attention of the international community to the deepening crisis in Tibet.

The solidarity vigil was held at Place Sainte-Michel, at the heart of the city flocked by tourists as well as local French citizens.

The vigil organized by the Tibetan Community in France and supported by other Asian human rights and Tibet support organisations started in the afternoon with the gathering observing silence to pay tribute to all those Tibetans who have lost their lives as a consequence of



Ven. Thubten Wangchen, Mr. Tseten Samdup Chhoekyapa, and Mr. Tenzin Skayta, during their meeting with Mrs. Laura Dupuy Lasserre, the President of the UN Human Rights Council in Geneva

China's military invasion of Tibet, particularly to the self-immolators.

The vigil was also participated by two French Senators. Mr Jean-Francois Humbert, the President of Tibet Group in France's upper house in his brief speech, renewed his call for the respect of Tibetan people's fundamental human rights and assured his unwavering support for Tibet until the day when freedom shines in Tibet.

The gathering was also addressed by representatives of various other organisations who had come forward in support of this rally, which included China-Tibet Alliance, Overseas Chinese Democratic Party, Communities of Vietnam, Uighur, Burma and Laos.

## Australia

Tibetans and Tibet supporters in Australia gathered in the city centre of Canberra, in solidarity with the Tibetans inside Tibet as well as to raise awareness regarding the current wave of self-immolations in Tibet.

Mr Sonam Dagpo, Representative of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, spoke on the present human rights situation in Tibet including the self-immolation of 95 Tibetans since 2009.

Prof. John Powers from the Australian National University told his personal ac-

count of a recent visit to Tibet and observation of heavy militarisation in Tibet.

Mr Fang Yuan, Chairman of the Chinese Labour party, expressed hope that the new Chinese leader Xi Jinping would be open-minded like his father who befriended His Holiness the Dalai Lama. He was optimistic that His Holiness the Dalai Lama would be able to return to Tibet and there would be no more Tibetans in exile and self-immolations.

Tibetans and supporters raised slogans and rallied from the city centre towards the Chinese embassy, where prayers were said for the self-immolators and their families. Slogans were also raised against the repressive actions of the

Chinese government against the Tibetans.

The Tibetan community of Canberra sent memoranda to the UN Secretary General Ban ki-moon and the Australian Prime Minister Julia Gillard.

## Russia

Global Solidarity Day for Tibet was also observed in several cities of Russian Federation.

In Moscow, Tibetans, friends and supporters of Tibet, and Buddhists gathered at White Cloud Culture Center in the city center in support of and solidarity with Tibetans suffering in Tibet and also to commemorate the 23rd anniversary of the conferment of Noble Peace Prize to His Holiness the Dalai Lama in 1989.

Representative of His Holiness the Dalai Lama to Russia and CIS, Nawang Rabgyal, spoke on the current situation in Tibet, and the farsighted mission, view and noble activities of His Holiness the Dalai Lama. Ms Irindjan Andriyanova, Kalmyk professional singer, sang songs in praise of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, after which the documentary film "THE BURNING QUESTION: WHY ARE TIBETAN TURNING TO SELF-IMMOLATION?" was screened.

Global Solidarity Day for Tibet was also observed in St. Petersburg and in the capital of Tuva Republic, where 18 participants in solidarity rally were arrested by police and were later released. The event was covered by Russian Information Agency (RIA), the biggest news agency in Russia and CIS.

## The Truth Will Set Us Free

*Following is the transcript of Yang Jianli's speech at the concluding session of Special International Tibet Support Groups Meeting in Dharamsala*

Dear Brothers and Sisters

Nearly 80 Tibetans have set themselves on fire in the past three years for the cause of their people's freedom. This month alone, the world bore witness to 15 more tragic and heroic self immolations. We all have a strong sense that

they will not stop. Even as I speak, there may be more actually happening.

The martyrdom of so many devoted and peaceable Tibetan people has overwhelmed me with grief. As a Chinese man, I stand before you shamed, embarrassed and humbled. Shamed by the un-

speakable suffering the Chinese government has systematically inflicted upon the people of Tibet. Embarrassed by the general apathy of the Chinese general public. Humbled because I am a proud man: A proud man brought to his knees by the weight of his grief, the force of

his anger, and the unbearable feeling of helplessness in the face of such powerful evil.

Yet I draw strength and inspiration from you, my dear Tibetan brothers and sisters; you inspire me through your endurance despite these grievous assaults on your language, your culture, your religion, your land, your spirit, and even your lives. And I draw strength and inspiration from good people like you, the participants of this international conference; your relentless efforts have kept the issue of Tibet alive and the worldwide Tibet support network snowballing. And I draw strength and inspiration from the words of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, “Tragedy should be utilized as a source of strength. No matter what sort of difficulties, how painful the experience is, if we lose our hope, that’s our real disaster.”

Yes. We must draw hope from these saffron flames of martyrdom. We must not lose hope. But hope alone cannot defeat this evil. We must have a tool more powerful than evil. His Holiness tells us, “In our struggle for freedom, truth is the only weapon we possess.”

My dear brothers and sisters, the time has come to unite for a campaign of truth.

No evil, no matter how strong, can withstand the force of truth. Wherever the evil lurks we must blind it with the light of truth. Wherever the conscience sleeps we must awaken it with the sound of truth.

With the burning flames from Tibet, we should see the truth. These courageous martyrs sacrificed their lives in the most painful way; they did it in protest against Chinese rule. This rule has led to the killing of a million Tibetans, the destruction of thousands of temples and monasteries, the diluting and destroying of the Tibetan language and culture, the irreversible damage to the natural environment on the Tibetan plateau, and the more than five-decade-long exile of His Holiness the Dalai Lama.

Each time when tensions escalate, in-

stead of showing concern and trying to address root causes, the Chinese regime responds with increasing force and oppression. The increased clampdown on the Tibetans especially monks and nuns, stepped up cultural genocide and ever growing ethnic oppression have made the situation in Tibet ultimately unbearable for the Tibetans.

Let’s listen to the flames. Yes, there are voices in the flames: ‘Free Tibet!’ and ‘Let the Dalai Lama Return Home!’ When we hear the voices, our conscience permits us no alternative but to act as their transmitters and amplifiers, to awaken more people’s moral conscience, to let more people know the truth about these tragedies, and to allow more people to experience these Tibetans’ despair and desire to be reborn in the flames.

Brothers and sisters, the time has come for a campaign of truth.

We must press the Western governments to speak the TRUTH. The grass roots movement is very important but it alone is not enough. The Chinese government generally does not respond if the world leaders remain silent, because the only language it can understand is that of power. It does not understand that in democracies the power is ultimately with the people. We must take advantage of our democratic mechanisms to press our governments to represent our will in regard to the issue of Tibet. We must not let our governments base their policies on the wrong assumption- that CCP rule is permanent.

Power has passed to a new generation of leadership in China. It is the nature of tyrannical regimes that they grow weaker and less coherent with each successive generation. Already we see the cracks weakening the CCP. We must exploit these cracks by waving the flag of truth in their faces at every turn.

The question of Tibet is both a political issue and a moral one. All of humanity is challenged. Every world leader must take this test, and just like any other test, one either passes or fails. To our great

dismay, many world leaders have so far either refused to take the test – or failed it. Too many of them looked the other way while our brothers and sisters were crying in flames. We should not let our governments continue to fail the test, politically or morally. We must insist that today silence is no longer an option. We must keep before us the words of Martin Luther King Jr., “In the end, we will remember not the words of our enemies, but the silence of our friends.”

We must challenge the silence of our governments at every turn and press them to confront the lies of the Chinese government with the TRUTH. We must also give praise when a world leader does speak the TRUTH. We commend and support US Ambassador Locke’s recent actions and the UN Human Rights High Commissioner Navi Pillay’s recent strong statement and welcome these actions as a big step forward.

Brothers and sisters, the time has come for a campaign of truth.

We must empower the Chinese People to end their silence on Tibet. We should make special efforts to reach out to them to meet them with the TRUTH, to appeal to their conscience and to let them realize that the suffering of the Tibetan people is the suffering of the Chinese people, and that the same government that brings such misery to the Tibetan people is the same government that is jailing their best citizens, robbing the land from the peasants, and controlling their right to speak and think freely. We must make the Chinese government feel the heat of the fires of martyrdom from all directions.

My dear brothers and sisters, I promise with all my heart, all my physical being and spirit that I will commit myself to this campaign of TRUTH. With our combined help, the world will learn the truth. The world will know the truth. The world will speak the truth. And in the end, the TRUTH will set us FREE.

Thank you.

## An Appeal to President Xi Jinping from the International Tibetan Studies Community

Mr President,

As you will be assuming your new role as President of the People's Republic of China in March 2013, the scientific community of Tibetologists would like to express to you its deep concern about the state of the Tibetan language in the Tibet Autonomous Region and in the Tibetan autonomous prefectures in neighboring provinces.

We know that many schools have been established in Tibetan areas over the last several decades, and we are delighted at that development. We also appreciate the benefits that schoolchildren can have from being educated in their own language.

However, over the last several years, the authorities have been trying to institute new measures that eliminate or severely restrict the use of Tibetan as the language of instruction in Tibetan-speaking areas, such as the replacement of Tibetan by Chinese as the medium of education (announced in Qinghai in 2010) and the replacement of textbooks written in Tibetan by Chinese textbooks —as was seen in Rebkong (Chin: Tongren) in March 2012. These developments have taken place despite the fact that worldwide research on this topic as well as official Chinese statistics have shown that students perform better when they are studying scientific subjects in their own language.

This policy has already been active in the Tibet Autonomous Region for several years and has led to well-known results: students destined for senior positions in the public or private sectors now have only a superficial knowledge of their own language and civilization.

The Tibetan people of Qinghai have repeatedly, through peaceful demonstrations by citizens, and through petitions and letters, expressed their opposition to the new language policy, which is officially designated the "Qinghai Province Mid- and Long-Term Plan for Educational Reform and Development (2010-2020)." They have made known their

strong desire to preserve their language as the medium of instruction and communication in their schools, which does not mean in any sense that they are not willing to learn Chinese. They generally acknowledge the economic and cultural significance of the Chinese language. Such requests are consistent with the Chinese Constitution which specifies in Article 4 that all nationalities have the freedom to use and develop their own spoken and written languages and to preserve or reform their own folkways and customs. Moreover, according to the decree of 2002, in the Tibet Autonomous Region, the Tibetan language has the status of an official language in China, though that status does not always seem to be reflected in practice.

Dozens of Tibetans of all ages, men and women, religious and lay, have committed acts of self-immolation over the last few years. Several of them have shouted slogans demanding respect for the language and culture of Tibet.

As specialists in the areas of Tibetan language, culture and religion, we would like to share with you, through this letter, our own concerns about the various measures that jeopardize the continuing viability of this civilization, a civilization that is one of the treasures of humanity and for which the Chinese government has clearly stated its responsibility. We would like to remind you that in China the Tibetan language is, after Chinese, one of oldest continually-used languages, and has also contributed to the understanding and reconstruction of the ancient Sino-Tibetan family, a family that, like Indo-European, contains many hundreds of languages.

Our work has led us to pursue our professional and intellectual lives within the structures of universities and institution of higher education. We know the value of Tibet's civilization and we regret that the Tibetan language, which is its fundamental support, is seemingly marginalized and devalued in the TAR and in various other Tibetan auto-

nous administrative units at the same time that it is increasingly being taught and studied in universities around the world. The responses of the authorities to the demands of Tibetans who are naturally worried about the disappearance of their culture have not assuaged their deep concerns about the situation.

This is why, at the time when new leadership is taking control of the country, we address you collectively with the hope that you will be sympathetic to the aspirations of Tibetan citizens of China; that you will work with them to find peaceful solutions to this crisis that will allow for the promotion and development of Tibet's language and culture. There is no reason why the Tibetan language and culture cannot coexist peacefully with the Chinese language and culture through the application of the principles expressed in the successive constitutions of the People's Republic of China, which is constituted as a multicultural state.

Signatories so far:

- 1 Katia Buffetrille [France] Paris,
- 2 Elliot Sperling [United States]
- 3 Françoise Robin [France]
- 4 Jean-Luc Achard [France] Paris,
- 5 Gedun Rabsal [United States]
- 6 Amy Heller [Switzerland]
- 7 Nicolas Tournadre [France]
- 8 The signatory decided not to show his/her name on the Internet.
- 9 Mireille Helffer [France] Paris, CNRS
- 10 Mona Schrempf [Germany] Berlin,
- 11 Thierry Dodin [Germany] Bonn,
- 12 Carole McGranahan [United States]
- 13 Pascale Dollfus [France] Paris,
- 14 Anne-Marie Blondeau [France] Paris, EPHE
- 15 Daniel Berounsky [Czech Republic] Prague,
- 16 Cameron Warner [Denmark] Aarhus,
- 17 Nicolas Sihlé [France] Villejuif,
- 18 Philippe Cornu [France] Les Lilas,
- 19 The signatory decided not to show his/her name on the Internet.
- 20 Gray Tuttle [United States] New York,
- 21 Françoise Pommaret [France] Paris, cnrs

- 22 Georges Dreyfus [United States] Williamstown,  
 23 Gareth Sparham [United States] Walnut Creek,  
 24 Klaus-Dieter Mathes [Austria] Vienna,  
 25 Roberto Vitali [India] Dharamsala,  
 26 Per Kvaerne [Norway] Oslo  
 27 Helmut Tauscher [Austria] Vienna,  
 28 Fiona McConnell [United Kingdom] London,  
 29 Robert Barnett [United States] New York,  
 30 Fiona McConnell [United Kingdom] London,  
 31 Sonam Dugdak [United Kingdom]  
 32 Martin Mills [United Kingdom] Aberdeen,  
 33 The signatory decided not to show his/her name on the Internet.  
 34 Dominique Townsend [United States] New York  
 35 Mary Prude [United States] Fort Atkinson,  
 36 Sienna Craig [U.S. Miscellaneous P]  
 37 Charlene Makley [United States] Portland,  
 38 Gillian Tan [Australia] Melbourne,  
 39 Maho Iuchi [United States] Cambridge  
 40 Yangdon Dhondup [United Kingdom] London,  
 41 Heather Stoddard [United Kingdom] Oxford  
 42 George FitzHerbert [United Kingdom] Oxford  
 43 Agata Bareja-Starzynska [Poland] Warsaw,  
 44 Tsering Shakya [Canada] Vancouver,  
 45 Tashi Tsering [Canada] Calgary,  
 46 Markus Viehbeck [Germany] Heidelberg,  
 47 Emily Yeh [United States] Boulder,  
 48 Samten Karmay [France] Fontenay-aux-Roses,  
 49 Robert Mayer [United Kingdom] Oxford,  
 50 Isabelle Henrion-Dourcy [Canada] Montreal,  
 51 Tibor Porcio [Hungary] Szeged,  
 52 Dr Cathy Cantwell [United Kingdom]  
 53 Alex McKay [Australia] Gloucester,  
 54 Benjamin Bogin [United States]  
 55 Petra Maurer [France] Zorneding,  
 56 Michela Clemente [Italy] Rome  
 57 Bruno Lainé [Austria] Vienna,

## Monk's testimony gives insight into causes behind self-immolations in Tibet

A Tibetan monk who recently escaped from Rebgong in north-eastern Tibet, where over 12 self-immolations took place, gave detailed accounts of the Chinese government's policy measures pushing Tibetans to take drastic steps.

The monk said in a detailed testimony, "I had to live under an atmosphere of constant fear and intimidation, with no freedom to move and speak to people, let alone pray for His Holiness the Dalai Lama. So I was compelled to escape to India. After arriving in Dharamsala, I naturally feel happy and calm inside because of freedom that I enjoy in this free land.

The only way we learn about the self-immolation incidents in other areas is either through radio services or phone calls to friends in Ngaba.

The Chinese government never broadcasts news about the self-immolations in Tibet, but routinely air propaganda programmes alleging that the self-immolations are incited by His Holiness the Dalai Lama. However, Tibetans living inside Tibet, attest to the fact that His Holiness the Dalai Lama or any other Tibetan or organisations have never encouraged Tibetans to self-immolate. Tibetans are resorting to self-immolations as they find it impossible to live under the Chinese rule.

The sole objective of the Chinese government's education policy in Tibet is to systematically downgrade the Tibet-

an language. The Tibetan children are denied the right to learn in their own language and they are forced to speak Chinese. The main aim is to gradually sinicize them.

Under the policy of settling nomads, the Tibetan nomads are given a sum of 20 to 30 thousand yuan in the initial phase of resettlement and are forced to sell off their livestock. However, once they have moved to the town, they are not offered any monetary help by the government. With several Chinese having migrated to Tibet, the situation is such that Tibetans need to learn Chinese even to be in the monasteries. The reason behind resettling Tibetan nomads is to implement the various policies of the Chinese government to undermine Tibetan language and culture as it is unfeasible for the government to exercise these policies in the remote nomadic regions. But as soon as the nomads are settled in the towns, all of them, including young children and older people are compelled to speak Chinese.

Due to such severe restriction on the Tibetan people's rights, Tibetans inside Tibet are setting themselves on fire in protest.

Instead of addressing the genuine grievances of the Tibetan people, the Chinese government imposes severe restrictions on the Tibetan people's rights. We are denied basic human rights such as the right to practice our religion, the right to express our thoughts, the right to

move freely. Therefore, the situation inside Tibet is deteriorating.

Furthermore, they have announced cash rewards to informers on the self-immolators. Our movements inside the monasteries are closely monitored and our phones tapped. If we speak anything related to self-immolation, we are instantly arrested and tortured.

The Tibetan struggle for freedom is non-violent. His Holiness the Dalai Lama's middle way path is also a non-violent approach and therefore Tibetans in Tibet have never indulged in any form of violence or vandalism. They have only self-immolated peacefully. Otherwise, for a person who has resolved to set his or her body on fire, it would not be difficult to harm a Chinese person. But they have never done that. They all chose to burn themselves without hurting anyone else.

The biggest concern and fear among the Tibetans in Tibet, especially the older generation, is that they might never see His Holiness the Dalai Lama and Tibetans reunited in their lifetime.

The Tibetans inside Tibet rest their hope on the United Nations and the Tibetans in exile. They hope that the world community, especially governments and organisations, in their commitment to truth and justice, will provide meaningful support for the issue of Tibet. They also hope that Tibetans living in exile will make utmost efforts to bring an immediate end to the sufferings in Tibet".

## Tibet Is the Test of China's Rise

President Obama should put the spotlight on human rights abuses during his Asian visit.

*This article by Sikyong Dr Lobsang Sangay was published in The Wall Street Journal on 14 November 2012*

U.S. President Barack Obama's decision to visit Asia, his first foreign trip after re-election, reaffirms his administration's



foreign policy pivot to Asia. The tour will attract a lot of attention throughout the region, but especially in Tibet. Mr. Obama will visit Cambodia and Thailand, two predominantly Buddhist countries, and will be the first sitting American president to visit Burma, also a majority Buddhist nation.

The Burma stop is meaningful to Tibetans because that country's struggle for freedom so closely tracks Tibet's efforts to secure greater autonomy from Beijing. Mr. Obama's presence will offer a firm gesture of support to the forces of democracy and freedom as symbolized by Aung San Suu Kyi, the Burmese pro-democracy leader. In partnership with President Thein Sein, she is working under extremely delicate circumstance with the junta lurking in the shadows.

The Burmese people and their leader, Ms. Suu Kyi, have suffered greatly. The 8888 Uprising was brutally crushed and the military junta killed thousands of Burmese democracy activists. Ms. Suu Kyi remained under house arrest for 15 years despite winning the 1990 general elections overwhelmingly. Her father, Aung San, the father of modern-day Burma, was assassinated in 1947.

Ms. Suu Kyi's struggle and experience has many parallels with the Dalai Lama, a fellow Nobel Peace Prize laureate. In spite of being forcibly separated from his people in Tibet, the Dalai Lama established a democratic system within the Tibetan refugee community, separating

church and state, and transferring his political power to a democratically elected leader, the Sikyong. This model of a functioning democracy is unique among refugee communities.

Mr. Obama should use his trip in part to make a broader point about the compatibility between Buddhism and democracy. Just as the Burmese people and the Thais, Tibetans in exile have worked to build a democracy. Indeed, as with the upsurge of the Saffron Revolution in Burma, Tibetan monks have been at the forefront of a non-violent struggle for freedom in Tibet for the last 60 years.

The Obama administration also could take up the issue of Tibet more seriously with the new Chinese leadership appointed at the 18th Party Congress. Tibetans in Tibet are crying out for justice, including the autonomy and freedom to worship they have been promised by Beijing over the years. Some 72 Tibetans have set themselves on fire, 70 of them since March 2011, and five in one day this month alone. The common cry of all self-immolators is the return of the Dalai Lama to Tibet and freedom for Tibetans.

Tibetans have invested in democracy and

non-violence for the last five decades. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton has made reassuring statements on U.S. commitment to human rights and democracy, and Ambassador Gary Locke recently visited Tibetan areas. The next four years present an opportunity for the Obama administration to build on the positive start from the visit to the three Asian Buddhist countries and make its Asia pivot even more meaningful by raising the issue of Tibet with China.

Helping resolve the issue of Tibet is not only in synch with American values, but it is also a strategic imperative. America and the rest of the world have a vital stake in China's rise from an economic giant to a potential superpower. With regard to the development of real stability in China and peace in Asia, a litmus test will be China's willingness to grant genuine autonomy for Tibet within the framework of the constitution of the People's Republic of China.

Solving the Tibet problem will help improve relations between China and India. It will allow Tibetans to resume their traditional role of being responsible stewards of Tibet's immense natural resources, including the management of Asia's great rivers that originate in Tibet and on which hundreds of millions of Asians depend for their livelihood and their very survival.

A successful American engagement with China on Tibet will also be welcomed by millions of Indians, Nepalese, Bhutanese and Mongolians who at one time looked upon Tibet as the source of their culture and home of their faith. Today there are reportedly more than 300 million Chinese Buddhists and millions of other Asians.

America's ability to engage China on Tibetan autonomy also accords with the thinking of the best minds in China. When peaceful and sustained protests swept Tibet in 2008, many Chinese intellectuals, writers and human rights activists, including Liu Xiaobo, the imprisoned Nobel laureate, signed an open letter to the Chinese government calling on the authori-

ties to stop its one-sided propaganda and to resolve the issue through dialogue.

*This article by Xu Zhiyong was published in The New York Times on 12 December 2012*

BEIJING: AROUND noon on Feb. 19, an 18-year-old named Nangdrol set himself on fire near the Zamthang Monastery in the northeast Tibetan town of Barma. In a note left behind, he wrote, "I am going to set myself on fire for the benefit of all Tibetans." Referring to China's ethnic Han majority as "devils," he added, "It is impossible to live under their evil law, impossible to bear this torture that leaves no scars."

Over the last three years, close to 100 Tibetan monks and laypeople have set themselves on fire; 30 people did so between Nov. 4 and Dec. 3. The Chinese government is seeking to halt this wave of self-immolations by detaining Tibetans it accuses of being instigators. Meanwhile, the scarless torture continues.

I first visited China's far west 21 years ago with college friends. Back then it at least looked peaceful, but now, sad news arrives daily. When I returned in October, a young monk invited me to visit his monastery. Passing a checkpoint where a red banner read, "Stability Maintenance Calls for Fast Response to Emergencies," he told me how he hated the sight of armed soldiers.

Because a road was closed for construction, I had to wait until evening to hitch a ride to Barma, where Nangdrol had lived, about 30 miles away. I was the third passenger in the car; the other two were young Tibetans.

"Are you Buddhist followers?" I asked them. One of them showed me a pendant portrait of the Dalai Lama that he pulled out from his chest. "He is our true Holiness," he said.

"Have you heard about the self-immolations? Like, burning oneself?" I asked tentatively, finally broaching the topic. They

This I believe is the current sentiment of many in China and the aspiration of Tibetans in Tibet. President Obama's lead-

## Tibet Is Burning

knew about it.

"Pardon me, but do you hate the Hans?" I asked them because Nangdrol had used the term "Han devils" in his suicide note. They'd heard about Nangdrol. When I told them I was there to visit Nangdrol's parents to express my sadness, they told me more.

They said they'd been to the site, as hundreds of Tibetans had. People had set up white tents at the intersection where he died. "He is our hero," one said.

It was dark when we arrived in Barma. At a lamppost, one of my fellow passengers asked a man for directions but was waved off. At a crossroads, he asked two men on motorcycles and an argument broke out. A monk came to the window to examine me.

"Sorry," my fellow passenger said, "they scolded me for taking you here." A minivan approached. Two men jumped out of it and upbraided him indignantly. Fear and hostility shrouded the place like night.

"We are Tibetans," he said all of a sudden as we left Barma in silence to spend the night in a nearby town. "We are Buddhists, but we can't go to Lhasa without a permit." Years ago, you could see many Tibetans on their pilgrimage to Lhasa, but not anymore.

The next day, I returned to Barma. I asked a young monk, on his way to fetch water, about Nangdrol. He took me to a hall where a middle-aged monk sat cross-legged in a corner. Since I didn't have Nangdrol's photo with me, he said he couldn't help me.

A teenage monk asked several of his peers but got no answers. Passers-by shook their heads. At a construction site, no one had heard about him either. In the town's elementary school I asked an armed soldier guarding the gate. I'd read that Nangdrol was a student. The soldier suggested that I

ership on this shared sentiment will give a much-needed human rights dimension to America's Asia pivot.

check out the nearby compound where a Chinese flag flew, but people told me the town had no secondary school.

The road back from Barma was open only from noon to 1 p.m. I had to leave. Along a creek, a row of poplars basked in the golden sun, and a group of young monks in crimson robes were holding a class. Reluctantly, I climbed into a cab. I had been to many places over the years but never felt so lost.

I stopped the driver a mile or so down the road when we passed by a village on a slope. After my repeated pleadings, the roadside shop owner gave me directions to Nangdrol's home. Up on the slope, an old couple pointed to the house.

It was a small mud-plastered house enclosed in mud-brick walls, and five tall sutra streamers flew on one side of the property. The iron gate was locked.

A middle-aged woman with a boy, passing by, said she had known Nangdrol. His parents now live on a faraway cattle farm, she said. The day of his death, she told me, he wore new clothes, and he was freshly bathed, with a fresh haircut. He asked people whether he was handsome.

I didn't know how else to express my sorrow. I asked the woman to give 500 yuan (about \$80) to Nangdrol's parents, letting them know that a Han Chinese man had come to pay his respects.

I am sorry we Han Chinese have been silent as Nangdrol and his fellow Tibetans are dying for freedom. We are victims ourselves, living in estrangement, infighting, hatred and destruction. We share this land. It's our shared home, our shared responsibility, our shared dream — and it will be our shared deliverance.

*Xu Zhiyong, a lawyer and human rights advocate, is a founder of Gongmeng, the Open Constitution Initiative. This essay was translated from the Chinese by Yaxue Cao.*

## Many Chinese Intellectuals Are Silent Amid a Wave of Tibetan Self-Immolations

*This article by Andrew Jacobs was published in The New York Times on 9 November 2012.*

tao, made no mention on Thursday of the anger consuming China's discontented borderlands during his sprawling address to the nation.

On Twitter, where China's most volatile critics find refuge from government censors, the topic is often buried by posts about persecuted dissidents,



A Tibetan exile shed tears during a candlelit vigil in Dharmasala. Attendees expressed solidarity with a young Tibetan who set fire to himself in protest of China, earlier that morning. AP Photo

BEIJING — In a gruesome act of resistance that has played out dozens of times in recent months, six young Tibetans set fire to themselves this week, shouting demands for freedom as they were consumed by flames. On Friday, for the second day in a row, thousands of Tibetan students took to the streets in the northwestern Chinese province of Qinghai denouncing “cultural genocide” and demanding an end to heavy-handed police tactics, exile groups said.

Here in the nation's capital, where Communist Party power brokers are presenting a new generation of leaders, the outgoing president, Hu Jin-

Asked by foreign reporters about the escalating crisis, delegates to the 18th Party Congress blamed the Dalai Lama, the exiled spiritual leader, or inelegantly dodged the question altogether. “Can I not answer that?” one asked nervously.

But while Tibetan rights advocates have long been inured to impassive officials, they are increasingly troubled by the deafening silence among Chinese intellectuals and the liberal online commentariat, a group usually eager to call out injustice despite the perils of bucking China's authoritarian strictures.

corrupt officials, illegal land grabs or other scandals of the day. Since the self-immolations began in earnest last year, few Chinese scholars have attempted to grapple with the subject.

“The apathy is appalling,” said Zhang Boshu, a political philosopher who lost his job at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences three years ago for criticizing the government's human rights record.

With a mounting toll of 69 self-immolations, at least 56 of them fatal, many Tibetans are asking themselves why their Han Chinese brethren seem unmoved by the suffering — or are

at least uninterested in exploring why so many people have embraced such a horrifying means of protest.

The silence, some say, is exposing an uncomfortable gulf between Tibetans and China's Han majority, despite decades of propaganda that seeks to portray the nation as a harmonious family comprising 56 contented minorities.

"It's the elephant in the room that no one wants to talk about," said Wang Lixiong, a prominent Tibetologist and social theorist whose writings have drawn the unwelcome attention of public security personnel, including a contingent of police officers who kept him sequestered inside his Beijing apartment this week as the party congress got under way.

Mr. Wang and others say a subtle undercurrent of antipathy toward Tibetans suffuses the worldview of educated Chinese. That sentiment, they say, has been nurtured by official propaganda that paints Tibetans as rebellious, uncultured and unappreciative of government efforts to raise their standard of living.

One prominent filmmaker, speaking more candidly than usual, but only under the condition of anonymity, noted that many Chinese are alternately fascinated and repulsed by Tibetans. "We Han love their exotic singing and dancing, but we also see them as barbarians seeking to split the nation apart," he said.

Whether it be antipathy or apathy, many Chinese have been unconsciously swayed by government propaganda that describes the self-immolators as "terrorists" even as unrelenting censorship blocks any public airing of their grievances, which include complaints about restrictions on Tibetan Buddhism and educational policies that, in some areas, favor Mandarin over Tibetan.

"I think the authorities have deliberately created a barrier between the two cultures," said Hu Yong, a pro-

fessor at Peking University's School of Journalism and Communication.

Mr. Hu said such attitudes were reinforced by China's army of Tibet specialists, nearly all of whom are employed by government-affiliated institutions and who faithfully parrot the party's official narrative on Tibetan history and politics.

Rigorous censorship has ensured that news about the protests rarely makes it onto the Internet, let alone into the mainstream news media. The Chinese media has reported only a handful of the self-immolations, and people who transmit news from Tibetan areas face harsh punishment.

The fear can be paralyzing for many Chinese intellectuals. "No one wants to be accused of being a separatist," said Mr. Zhang, the former academy member.

But neither fear nor censorship fully explain the silence of Chinese liberals, most of whom are adept at skirting the great firewall and many of whom regularly step across imaginary red lines to lob verbal critiques of the Communist Party. Tsering Woesser, a blogger of mixed Tibetan and Han ancestry, said many Chinese see Tibetans as the "other"; she said even friends have been known to cite a well-known Chinese proverb to explain their indifference to Tibetan grievances: "If you are not of my ethnicity, you cannot share my heart."

Ms. Woesser said that even her most open-minded friends are confounded by Tibetans, with their fierce religious devotion, their demands for greater autonomy and their aching for the return of the Dalai Lama, whom Beijing regularly dismisses as a "wolf in sheep's clothing."

Chinese intellectuals, she added, see Tibet as a forbidding, restive land, but also inseparable from China. "The Han are obsessed with issues of sovereignty," said Ms. Woesser, who is married to Mr. Wang, the critic barred from leaving his home. "They want to

claim Tibet as part of China, but they are not terribly concerned with the Tibetan people or their culture."

Even if the self-immolations are confined to a region thousands of miles away, Beijing officials were taking no chances this week as party elders gathered for the once-a-decade change in leadership. During the opening day of the party congress on Thursday, several security guards inside the Great Hall of the People held fire extinguishers between their knees as they sat in the back row of the auditorium.

Outside on Tiananmen Square, firefighters stood at attention with fire extinguishers at their feet, even if the vast granite-clad plaza was devoid of anything flammable. A New York Times photographer who snapped pictures of the firefighters was confronted by the police, who forced her to delete the images.

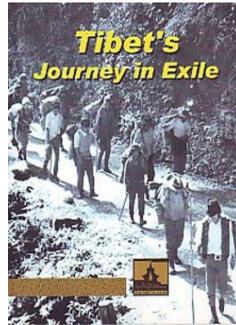
At a session held on Friday by delegates from the Tibet Autonomous Region, Liang Tiangeng, a top party official, dismissed a foreign reporter's question about whether the government had plans to address the self-immolations. After extolling the happiness of the Tibetan people, he noted that even developed and democratic nations were plagued by suicides.

"People kill themselves, they set fire to themselves, they shoot themselves every day," he said. "I think some media organizations are trying to sensationalize the very few cases of self-immolation that have happened in Tibetan area because they have ulterior motives."

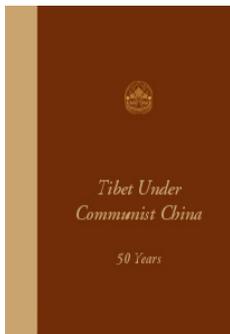
Shi Da, Amy Qin and Chang Lu contributed research.

*A version of this article appeared in print on November 10, 2012, on page A8 of the New York edition with the headline: Many Chinese Intellectuals Are Silent Amid a Wave of Tibetan Self-Immolations.*

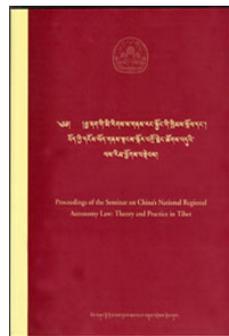
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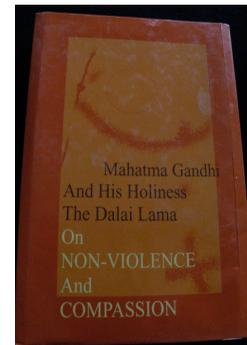
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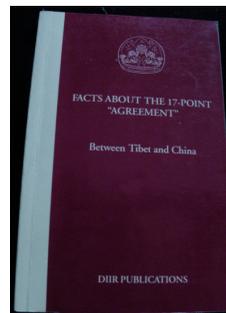
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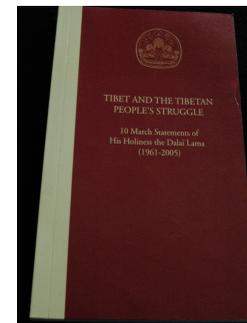
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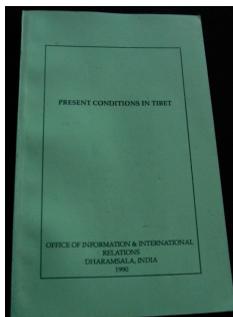
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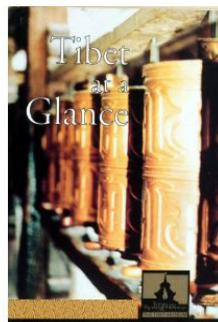
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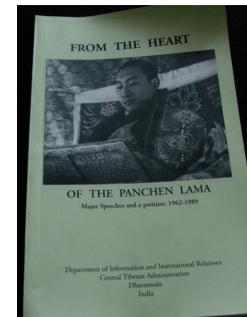
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