



# TIBETAN BULLETIN

THE OFFICIAL JOURNAL OF THE CENTRAL TIBETAN ADMINISTRATION

VOLUME 17, ISSUE 3

MAY - JUNE 2013

## FOCUS

Human Rights: Repression in Tibet Worst in Decade

P - 6

## CTA BRIEFING

Sikyong Successfully Concludes visits to US and Europe

P -12

## DOCUMENTATION

Preventing Cultural Genocide: The Case for Genuine Autonomy for Tibet

P -16

## WORLD PRESS

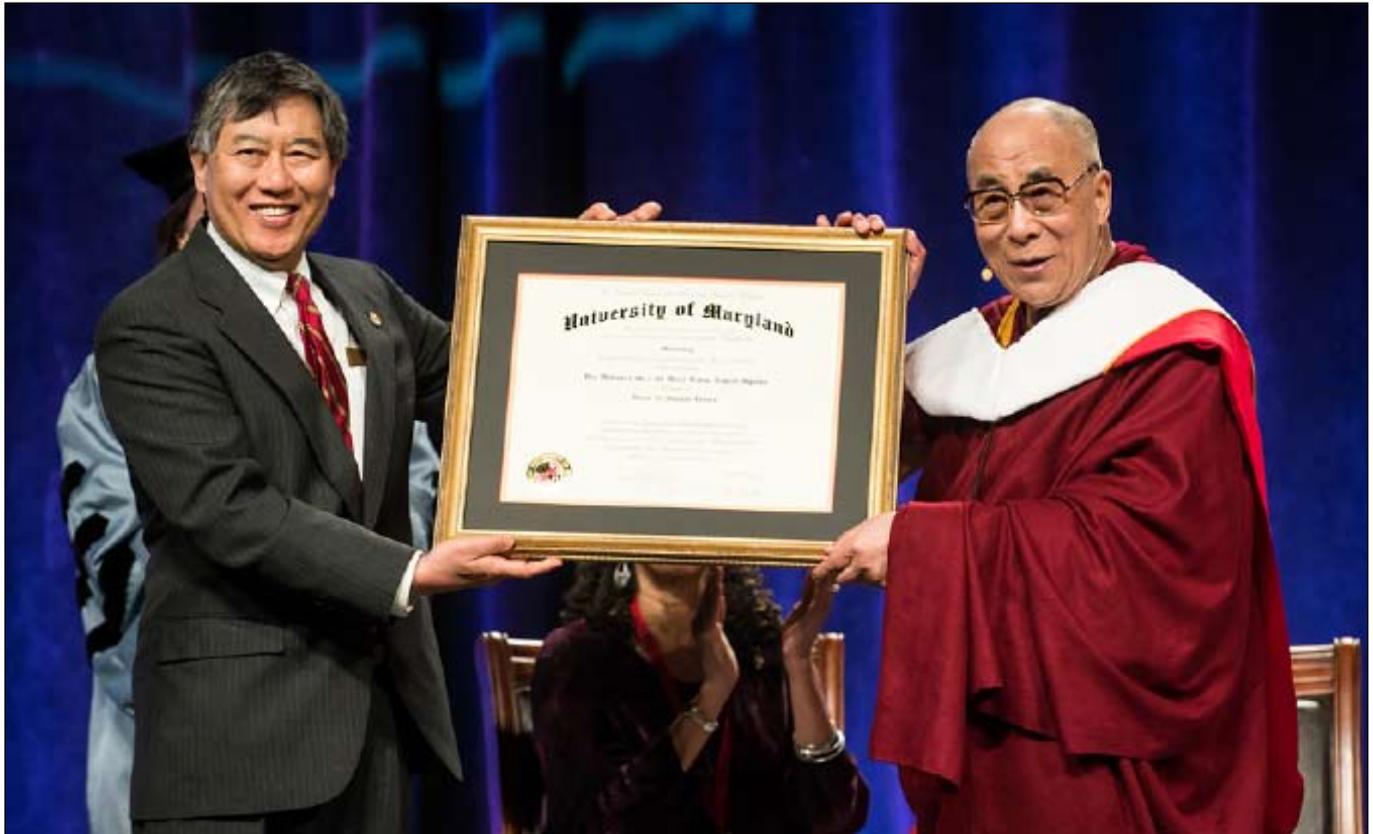
The Tibetan test: The West must unite to resist Chinese bullying against those who meet Tibet's leaders

P - 22

## INTERVIEW

Tête-à-Tête with Ms Tenzin Choekyi, the exile trailblazer

P - 28



*President of the University of Maryland Dr Wallace Loh presents His Holiness the Dalai Lama with an Honorary Degree of Human Letters at the University of Maryland in College Park, Maryland, on 7 May 2013/Photo/Mike Morgan*



*His Holiness the Dalai Lama with members of Friends of Tibet New Zealand, a group of all party parliamentarians, after their meeting in Christchurch, New Zealand on 10 June, 2013. Photo/Jacqui Walker*

# CONTENTS

www.tibet.net/en/tibbul

## FOCUS

6. New Reports Indict China for its Egregious Human Rights Record in Tibet
6. Repression was Severe in Tibet: US State Department
8. China: 'Benefit the Masses' Campaign Surveilling Tibetans
9. Amnesty International: Annual Report
10. Freedom House: Annual Report
11. "Tibetan demonstrations are illegal": China at the UN Human Rights Council

## CTA BRIEFING

12. Sikyong Visits US and Europe
13. Sikyong Successfully Concludes visit to Norway
14. CTA Holds First Education Advisory Committee Meeting
14. Tibetan Health Minister Inaugurates Telemedicine Centre
15. Kaydor Aukatsang Appointed New Representative for Office of Tibet, New York

## DOCUMENTATION

16. Translation of His Holiness the Dalai Lama's remarks to Tibetans at Salugara in the Indian State of West Bengal on 29 April 2013
18. Preventing Cultural Genocide: The Case for Genuine Autonomy for Tibet
21. Sikyong Welcomes United States Senate Judiciary Committee's Approval of the Provision of 5,000 Visas to Tibetan Refugees

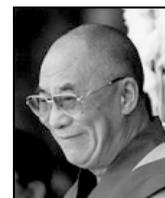
## WORLD PRESS

22. The Tibetan test  
*--by Edward Lucas*
22. Congress needs to hold China to account on Tibet  
*--by Sikyong Dr. Lobsang Sangay*
23. Special Report: The mother who burned herself to death for Tibet  
*--by Sui-Lee Wee*
26. Video: A rare glimpse inside Tibet at a time of unwelcome change  
*--by Max Fisher*



## TIBETAN BULLETIN

*Tibetan Bulletin* is an official bi-monthly journal of the Central Tibetan Administration.



Signed articles or quotations do not necessarily reflect the views of the Central Tibetan Administration. Contributions are welcome and may be addressed to the editor, Tibetan Bulletin. However the publisher regrets its inability to return unused articles unless they are accompanied by a self-addressed envelope with adequate postage.

Tibetan Bulletin is distributed free of charge. To subscribe please email the circulation manager or see page 2.

### Editor

Lobsang Choedak  
Email: tibbul@tibet.net

### Asst. Editor

Jamphel Shonu

### Layout & Design

Dorjee Tsering

### Circulation Manager

Tenzin Choephel  
Email: circulation@tibet.net  
Tibetan Bulletin is published by:  
Department of Information and  
International Relations,  
Central Tibetan Administration,  
Dharamshala- 176 215 H.P. India  
Tel: +91-1892-222510 / 222457

## REGULARS

NEWSBRIEF \_\_\_\_\_ 4

INTERVIEWS \_\_\_\_\_ 27

CONTACT ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_ 31

Vol. 17, Issue 3  
MAY - JUNE 2013

## French Senate Delegation Visits Dharamshala

At the invitation of the Tibetan Parliament-in-Exile, a four-member French Senate delegation led by Senator Jean-Francois Humbert, President of the Tibet Group, visited Dharamshala from 8-14 May. The senators include Mr Michel Berson, Mr Bernard Fournier and Mr Andre Gattolin.

Addressing a press conference at the Department of information and International Relations, the delegation pledged their continued support to the Tibet issue and expressed hopes to invite representatives from Dharamshala to visit the French senate. Earlier Sikyong Dr. Lobsang Sangay and Speaker Penpa Tsering of the Tibetan Parliament have visited the French Senate.

The senators unanimously affirmed that the suffering of the Tibetan people inside Tibet is real and said: "We condemn the cultural genocide that is going on inside Tibet."

They also urged the international community to recognise the non-violent struggle of the Tibetan people and indicated personal desires to visit Tibet and ascertain the situation themselves.

The delegation met with His Eminence the 17th Karmapa, Ogyen Trinley Dorji. They also met CTA's Secretary for Information and International Relations, Mr. Tashi Phuntsok and visited the Tibetan Medical and Astrological Institute (Mentseekhang). The delegation also visited the Tibetan Children's village school and various other Tibetan NGOs based in Dharamshala.

## Exile Tibetans Mark International Solidarity Day for Tibet

Tibetans living across the world marked 17 May as the international solidarity for Tibet, with the Central Tibetan Administration urging the Tibetans in the free world to reinvigorate their efforts to fulfill the aspirations of their brethren for freedom in Tibet.

The Central Tibetan Administration and the Tibetan Parliament-in-Exile have

jointly decided to observe International Solidarity Day on 17 May every year. It symbolises international community's solidarity with the aspirations of the Tibetan people inside Tibet who yearn for freedom and continue to stand strong in the face of great adversity. The day also marks the day when 11th Panchen Lama Gendhun Choekyi Nyima disappeared suspiciously in 1995 at the age of 6 after His Holiness the Dalai Lama recognised him as the reincarnation of his predecessor on 14 May.

Thousands of Tibetans, Indians and foreigners joined the campaign organised by the Central Tibetan Administration in Dharamshala.

A day-long exhibition organised by the Tibet Museum entitled 'History of Tibet', 'A Long Look Homeward' and the self-immolation protests by Tibetans in Tibet against the Chinese rule drew a stream of visitors, including foreigners, Indians and a posse of journalists who are in Dharamshala to cover the Indian Premier League extravaganza.

A grand prayer service was held at Thekchen Choeling Tsuglagkhang, the main temple, to express solidarity with Tibetans inside Tibet and pray for all those who have sacrificed their lives for the cause of Tibet.

Following the prayer service, Kalon Pema Chhinjor and Tibetan Parliament Deputy Speaker addressed thousands of Tibetans.

In his address, Kalon Pema Chhinjor said the self-immolation protests by Tibetans inside Tibet symbolises the failure of Chinese government to win the hearts and minds of Tibetans after more than fifty years of its invasion and rule over Tibet.

He said Tibetans living in Tibet, especially writers and singers, put their lives at grave danger to express their deep resentment against the Chinese government's policies to annihilate the Tibetan identity.

He said that the Middle-Way policy to resolve the issue of Tibet through dialogue with the Chinese government is supported by the Chinese people.

Kalon Pema Chhinjor strongly called on the Tibetans to remember that the international support to the issue of Tibet is solely due to His Holiness the Dalai Lama's visionary leadership. He urged the Tibetans to be responsible in their actions to ensure that these do not disturb the visions of His Holiness the Dalai Lama.

He also said in strongest possible that the Tibetan writers have the freedom of speech, adding that they should also take the responsibility to ensure that their writings don't harm the cause of Tibet.

Addressing the gathering, Deputy Speaker Khenpo Sonam Tenphel said there is a continuing and the best possible support from the international community to the Central Tibetan Administration's Middle-Way policy and their resolute adherence to a non-violent and democratic approach to resolve the problem of Tibet.

He said the disappearance of 11th Panchen Lama and his fate symbolises the continuing tragic situation in Tibet and the repression faced by Tibetans under the Chinese rule.

## Tibetan Monk Sentenced to Prison for Writing Book

The Chinese government, in their continued crackdown on Tibetan writers and intellectuals, sentenced a Tibetan monk to five years in prison for writing a book on Tibet and the wave of self-immolations that has swept Tibet since 2009.

Gartse Jigme, a well known Tibetan writer and monk from Gartse monastery in Amdo, was sentenced on 14 May by Tsekhog (Ch: Zekog) County People's Court in Malho (Ch: Huangnan). He was first arrested on 1 January 2013 and was kept in detention at Rebkong (Ch: Tongren) County in Malho Prefecture till the sentence was pronounced.

Gartse Jigme has earlier written two books on Tibet. The book in question is the second edition of his second book, Tsenpoi Nyintop (Eng: King's valour). The police seized the book from the publishers before it could be printed. He

was also briefly detained in April 2011 for his views expressed in his book.

He is also a respected member of the monastic community and has been vocal about government policies that threatened people's daily lives in the region, and has repeatedly urged the Chinese government to end the ill-founded accusations levelled by the authorities against Tibetan religious practitioners, that has detrimental impact on Tibetan religion and culture.

Gartse Jigme was also a Buddhist scholar having studied and successfully passed major Buddhist courses at his monastery in 2003.

### **Self-Immolation at Yushul, Eastern Tibet, Toll reaches 119**

Tenzin Sherab, a Tibetan from Yushul in eastern Tibet's Kham province set himself on fire on 27 May in an apparent protest against the Chinese government's policies in Tibet. He died on the spot.

Sources have said that the local Tibetan people came to know about his self-immolation only after he died in his fiery protest. Chinese police arrived at the site soon after and seized his body. Tenzin Sherab's body was returned to his family only the next day.

Tenzin Sherab reportedly told his friend a few days before he set himself on fire that the Chinese policies in Tibet are wrong and that Tibetan religion and culture are being annihilated. He hails from Adel village in Yushul Tibetan autonomous prefecture. He is survived by his parents, Dhondup and Choemey.

### **Tens of Thousands Throng Tibet festival in Japan**

TOKYO: Over 80,000 people came to the Tibet Festival 2013 at the Gokokuji temple in central Tokyo. The festival was organised by Tibet House, Japan with support from Ven. Eiji Okamoto, Chief Abbot and Ven. Thaikou Kobayashi, Vice-Abbot of the Gokokuji Temple.

The festival was held to coincide with the popular Japanese holiday season of

Golden week from May 1 to 6, 2013. The focus of the festival was on Tibetan food, costume and way of life.

Karchen Lobsang Sherab, Representative Lhakpa Tshoko and Ms. Maria Rinchen gave brief explanations on various aspects of Tibetan culture and Tibetan situation through interactive sessions during the festival. Ms. Maria Rinchen also gave a talk on her ongoing life experience in Dharamsala.

Ms. Noako Yamaguchi, a student of Tibetan Buddhist dialectics, talked about Tibetan Buddhist debate (Tsen-Nyid) and its peculiarities in general. Mr. Nawang Jamphel, a resident of Sapporo city and a former chief chef of Hotel Tibet in Dharamsala, assisted by local Tibetans cooked and sold Momo, Shabakleb, Thenthuk, Khabsey, Boedjha and Chang throughout the 6 day festival.

In his speech on the last day of festival, Ven. Eiji Okamoto, Chief Abbot of Gokokuji Temple, expressed his satisfaction by saying he felt glad to be able to help the Tibetan people by allowing the temple venue to be used for the 6 day Tibet Festival.

He said, the Gokokuji temple shares a special karmic relationship with the Office of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, Japan due to subsequent visits by His Holiness to their temple on three different occasions. His Holiness has visited the temple in April 2011 to conduct a special prayer service in memory of those who have lost their lives during the triple disaster of tsunami, earthquake and the leak of nuclear radiation.

Finally, Representative Lhakpa Tshoko thanked Chief Abbot Ven. Eiji Okamoto and Vice-Abbot Ven. Thaikou Kobayashi of Gokokuji Temple and all the volunteers and participants who made the Tibet Festival Tokyo 2013 a success.

### **International Human Rights Group Urges China to Change Approach on Tibet Issue**

The International Federation for Human Rights (FIDH), the oldest and largest human rights organisation based

in France, adopted a resolution at its 38th World Congress in Istanbul, Turkey, urging the Chinese government to change its approach in dealing with the issue of Tibet.

Representatives of 178 non-governmental organisations from 117 countries, including the International Campaign for Tibet, attended the FIDH Congress from 22 to 27 May.

Taking cognisance of the tragic self-immolations by Tibetans inside Tibet, FIDH called on the Chinese government to take immediate steps such as lifting of security restrictions to address the current emergency in Tibetan areas. Since 2009, 119 Tibetans have set themselves on fire to protest against the Chinese rule, calling for the return of His Holiness the Dalai Lama to Tibet and freedom for Tibetans.

It urged the international community to press the new Chinese leadership to end the military buildup and limit the dominance of the security apparatus in the Tibetan areas.

It encouraged diplomats, including representatives of multilateral organisations, and journalists, to continue seeking access to all Tibetan areas until it is granted, based on the principle of reciprocity by which Chinese diplomats and journalists presently enjoy relatively open access and unrestricted travel in the countries they are posted.

It called on the new Chinese leadership to resume dialogue with representatives of the Tibetan side to establish a broader and more substantive dialogue regarding the most serious current threats to Tibetan culture, including Chinese policies on religious practice and expression, education and language, immigration of non-Tibetans, and economic development.

It urged the Chinese government to acknowledge the importance of His Holiness the Dalai Lama to the Tibetan people and his critical role in Tibet's future and to stop rhetorical attacks and other propaganda efforts directed against His Holiness the Dalai Lama.

## Human Rights Situation in Tibet

### New Reports Indict China for its Egregious Human Rights Record in Tibet

*The human rights situation inside Tibet continues to remain grim, as the total number of self-immolations reached 119 after two more Tibetans set themselves on fire this month. The US government and prominent international human rights organisations such as Amnesty International, Freedom House and Human Rights Watch have released their reports on the current state of human rights situation in Tibet.*

*Key excerpts of findings from these reports are documented below to shed light on the real situation prevailing inside Tibet.*

### Repression was Severe in Tibet: US State Department

The US State Department said in a new report that Tibetans in Tibet faced severe religious repression, and societal discrimination throughout last year.

In its International Religious Freedom Report for 2012 released on 20 May, the Chinese government's respect for and protection of religious freedom in Tibet deteriorated markedly, with a substantial increase in official interference in religious practice, especially in Tibetan Buddhist monasteries and nunneries.

Of the 119 Tibetan self-immolation protests against the Chinese rule, 85 took place in 2012.

Repression was severe throughout the year, but tightened further in the lead-up to and during politically sensitive and religious anniversaries and events. Official interference in the practice of Tibetan Buddhist religious traditions continued to generate profound grievances. An increasing number of Tibetans self-immolated during the year.

There were numerous reports of societal discrimination, including of Tibetans who encountered discrimination in employment, obtaining hotel accommodation, and in business transactions, but because Tibetan Buddhists' ethnic identity is closely linked with religion, it can be difficult to categorize incidents solely as examples of either purely ethnic or religious intolerance. Many Tibetan Buddhist monks and nuns reported that they wore regular civilian clothes as opposed to their monastic robes when traveling in other parts of China in order to avoid being targeted for discrimination or arbitrary police checks.

The US government, including the Department of State, the US embassy in Beijing, and the US consulate general in Chengdu, made a sustained and concerted effort to encourage greater religious freedom in Tibetan areas. US government officials at the most senior levels urged China to ease restrictions on religious freedom, including repressive policies in Tibetan areas that have led to self-immolations. US government officials repeatedly raised Tibetan religious freedom issues with Chinese government counterparts at multiple levels, including expressing concern over and seeking further information on individual cases and incidents of religious persecution or discrimination. US officials also raised these concerns during the US-China Human Rights Dialogue, at which the United States special coordinator for Tibetan issues delivered formal closing remarks.

On 24 January and 5 December, the special coordinator for Tibetan issues released statements expressing grave concern over mounting self-immolations, reports of violence and heightened tensions in China's Tibetan areas, and noting that the dramatic expansion of Chinese policies that control religious life and practice were "counterproductive," created tensions, and threatened the "distinct religious, cultural and linguistic identity of the Tibetan people." The special coordinator called on the Chinese government to "resume substantive, results-oriented dialogue with the Dalai Lama or his representatives to address the underlying grievances of China's Tibetan population" and to "permit Tibetans to express their grievances freely, publically, peacefully, and

without fear of retribution."

Speaking before the 19th Session of the United Nations Human Rights Council in Geneva, Switzerland, on 2 March, the special coordinator noted that "the United States remains gravely concerned about recent violence and continuing tensions in Tibetan areas of China," and renewed her call for China's government to "respect the fundamental freedoms of religion and expression of all of its citizens, including members of ethnic minorities." The secretary of state raised concerns about the human rights situation in Tibet and the escalating number of Tibetan self-immolations in a September 27 meeting with Chinese Foreign Minister Yang Jiechi.

Throughout the year, the ambassador, the assistant secretary for East Asian and Pacific affairs, and the assistant secretary for democracy, human rights and labor repeatedly and consistently raised U.S. concerns over China's counterproductive Tibet policies with senior Chinese government interlocutors in Beijing and Washington, DC. During a 29 October online forum, the ambassador urged the Chinese government to "meet with the representatives of the Tibetan people to address and re-examine some of the policies that have led to some of the restrictions and the violence and the self-immolations." In an interview broadcast 27 November on CNN, the ambassador expressed concerns about the heightened tensions in Tibetan areas and said the United States was constantly urging the Chinese government to re-examine "policies that threaten the linguistic identity, the cultural identity, and religious

identity of the Tibetan people.” In his December 10 International Human Rights Day statement, the ambassador expressed concern about “constraints on the religious freedom and practices of Tibetans,” and said he was “deeply saddened by the increasing frequency of self-immolations in Tibetan areas of China.” US government officials urged counterparts in the Chinese government to engage in constructive dialogue with the Dalai Lama and his representatives, and to address the policies that threaten Tibet’s distinct religious, cultural, and linguistic identity and constitute a primary cause of grievances among Tibetans. In addition, diplomatic personnel at the US embassy coordinated closely on Tibet issues with counterparts at over a dozen foreign embassies and missions in Beijing.

US diplomatic personnel maintained contact with a wide range of religious leaders and practitioners in Tibetan areas to monitor the status of religious freedom, although travel and other restrictions made it more difficult to visit and communicate with these individuals than in previous years. Following the outbreak of violent protests in Qinghai Province in January, diplomatic personnel from the US embassy in Beijing traveled to Qinghai and Gansu Provinces to monitor the situation and attempt to visit affected monasteries. In late September the ambassador visited two monasteries in Aba (Ngaba) T&QAP. U.S. diplomatic personnel from the embassy and the consulate general in Chengdu made several trips throughout the year to visit monasteries and nunneries in Sichuan and Yunnan Provinces, including Sichuan’s restive Aba

(Ngaba) T&QAP and Ganzi (Kardze) TAP, although travel was sometimes prevented.

US government officials have submitted more than 10 requests for diplomatic access to the TAR since the last official visit in May 2011, but the Chinese government has not granted any of them. The TAR and some other Tibetan areas were largely closed to foreign visitors for much of the year, and unpublished restrictions on travel by foreigners to the TAR and some other Tibetan areas often resulted in US diplomats and other foreigners being turned back at police roadblocks, allegedly for their own safety, or being refused transportation on public buses to Tibetan areas outside the TAR that were ostensibly open to foreign visitors.

## Religious Freedom in Tibet Worst Now: US Commission

Meanwhile, a US government commission has said in its annual report that the “religious freedom conditions in Tibetan areas are worse now than at any time over the past decade.”

“Since 2008 protests in Tibetan areas, the government’s control of the doctrines, worship sites, and selection of religious leaders of Tibetan Buddhism, and its arrests and detentions of individuals who oppose government policy or support the Dalai Lama, have nurtured deep resentments among Tibetans,” United States Commission on International Religious Human Rights (USCIRF) said in its 2013 annual report issued on 30 April. USCIRF reviews the facts and circumstances of religious freedom violations and makes policy recommendations to the US President, the Secretary of State, and Congress.

It also documented self-immolation protests by Tibetans against the Chinese government.

“Hundreds of monks and nuns were arrested and detained in the aftermath of 2008 demonstrations. At least 283 Tibetan Buddhist monks, nuns, and trulkus are currently imprisoned in China, according to the Congressional Ex-

ecutive Commission on China prisoner database. Despite requests, the Chinese government has not provided full details or a credible accounting of those detained, missing, or disappeared,” trials have not been open, and those accused are given adequate legal representation,” it said.

It said the Chinese government continues to deny repeated international requests for access to the “disappeared” Gendun Choekyi Nyima, whom the Dalai Lama designated as the 11th Panchen Lama when he was six years old.

“Despite the efforts of the U.S. and other governments, no formal dialogue took place between the Dalai Lama’s representatives and Chinese government and Communist Party officials during the past year. The environment for productive exchanges deteriorated markedly, given the new religious freedom restrictions and the government’s public denunciations against the Dalai Lama,” it said.

The commission recommended that China again be designated as a “country of particular concern” because of its systematic, ongoing, and egregious violations of religious freedom.

The commission urged the Chinese government to allow a US government presence, such as consulates, in Lhasa, Tibet, which could monitor religious freedom and other human rights conditions.

Offer publicly to facilitate meetings between Chinese officials and envoys of His Holiness the Dalai Lama and seek to broker a trust building agreements to end religious restrictions in Tibet and Tibetan areas.

Strengthen efforts to highlight conditions faced by Tibetans by creating legal clinics to assist Tibetan Buddhists to enforce their human rights under the Chinese constitution and international law; similar to existing programs that serve other ethnic minority areas in China.

Supporting religious groups and organisations to address chronic needs, as articulated by the Tibetan and Uighur people, in areas such as education, conflict resolution, language and culture preservation, environmental protection, drug and alcohol abuse prevention, and sustainable development;

## Human Rights Watch: A Report

### China: 'Benefit the Masses' Campaign Surveilling Tibetans

*Cadre Teams in Villages Collecting Political Information, Monitoring Opinions*

The Chinese government, under the rationale of a campaign to improve rural living standards, has sent more than 20,000 officials and communist party cadres to Tibetan villages to undertake intrusive surveillance of people, carry out widespread political re-education, and establish partisan security units, said Human Rights Watch in a report on 19 June. These tactics discriminate against those perceived as potentially disloyal, and restrict their freedom of religion and opinion.

Over 5,000 teams of officials and communist party cadres have been stationed in Tibetan villages under a government campaign called "Solidify the Foundations, Benefit the Masses" (qianjihumin). The campaign, launched by the party leadership in the Tibetan Autonomous Region (TAR) on October 10, 2011, is now halfway through its planned three-year duration. It is described in state media reports as improving living conditions and prosperity for people living in rural areas of the TAR, but research by Human Rights Watch shows that the teams are also categorizing Tibetans according to their religious and political thinking, and establishing institutions to monitor their behavior and opinions.

"It's hard to see the 'benefit' to Tibetans of thousands of political education sessions, partisan quasi-police force operations, and scrutiny of their political views," said Sophie Richardson, China director at Human Rights Watch. "In a region where people are already subjected to extraordinary monitoring, this village-level drive, alongside similar efforts directed at towns and monasteries, effectively means that Tibetans cannot avoid state surveillance."

The campaign is one of three major new systems of social organization and control introduced in the TAR since 2011. An urban administrative network that includes significantly increased surveillance and monitoring known as the grid system was introduced in the TAR in 2012, and a new system of information gathering known as the "Six Ones" was introduced to monitor monks and nuns in Tibetan monasteries in November 2011.

The three systems are officially described as measures to promote "stability maintenance," a drive which was described by the TAR party secretary in March 2013 as "the number one priority exceeding all else" in the TAR. The "Benefit the Masses" campaign aims to achieve "the three non-occurrences," meaning no protests or expression of dissent.

In Tibetan areas, particularly since a

wave of unrest in spring 2008, dissent is viewed by the Chinese authorities as the result of "splittist sabotage by hostile forces and the Dalai Clique." In a major policy speech on February 14, 2013, Yu Zhengsheng, China's top official in charge of minority and religious affairs, called for forces supporting the Dalai Lama to be "resolutely ground into dust." As a result, hundreds of arrests, sentences, and punitive measures have been carried out in Tibetan areas since 2008 involving Tibetans suspected of support for the Dalai Lama.

"Beijing's obsession with so-called 'stability maintenance' is a recipe for abuses," Richardson said. "It is intended to suppress Tibetan citizens' basic rights to free expression and to instill fear."

While facilities have been upgraded by the cadre teams in some villages, "benefiting the masses" is only the last of the five objectives of the drive. The instructions given to the teams state that their first priority is to expand the role and size of the party in Tibetan villages, while the second is to "maintain stability" by "carrying out activities against the Dalai clique." Implementation of these measures, which are also reported to be taking place in some Tibetan areas outside the TAR, have led to curbs on freedom of expression and religious practice.

For example, according to a villager interviewed by Human Rights Watch,

### US calls on China to allow Tibet to express grievances freely

The United States on 10 May called on China to Tibetans to express grievances freely, publicly, peacefully and without fear of retribution.

"Our lines and our policy have not changed. But we continue to call on the Chinese Government to permit Tibetans to express grievances freely, publicly, peacefully and without fear of retribution. And we've also urged the Chinese Government – and this goes back some time – to refrain from

statements that denigrate the Dalai Lama and Tibet's unique cultural, linguistic, and religious traditions," State Department's Acting Deputy Spokesperson Mr Patrick Ventrell said at a daily press briefing Thursday.

Since 2009, 119 Tibetans have set themselves on fire inside Tibet demanding freedom for Tibetans and the return of His Holiness the Dalai Lama to Tibet. The Central Tibetan Administration has consistently appealed and categorically

discouraged Tibetans in Tibet from self-immolating as a form of protest.

Sikyong Dr. Lobsang Sangay, the democratically-elected leader of Tibetans and political successor to His Holiness the Dalai Lama, who is on a visit to the US, has urged the US Congress to further strengthen its efforts to encourage the Chinese government to enter into a meaningful dialogue to resolve the Tibet issue peacefully.

a resident village work cadre team (zhucungongzuodui) in Taktse (Dazi) county in Lhasa prefecture questioned all the inhabitants of his village, including young children, and classified them into three categories: those who want wealth and support the current system, those who secretly pray to and support the Dalai Lama but do not protest openly, and those who “do not accept re-education and do not have faith in motherland and party.” The classification led to about 135 people from the third category being “taken to the county seat and kept there for 45 days to be given re-education” in March 2013, according to the interviewee, who also claimed that up to 500 villagers from Nagchu (Naqu) prefecture had been detained for re-education during the same period. Another interviewee reported that 73 villagers had been sent from Meldro Gungkar (Mozhugongka) county for re-education at the same time.

An official report on the operations of a cadre team in a village in Chamdo (Changdu), one of the seven prefectures in the TAR, confirmed claims by interviewees that teams are tasked with identifying the social network of each villager. The team was also required to register “key personnel” in the village and maintain “close vigilance over them.” The term “key personnel” typically refers to people considered likely to cause political unrest.

Official documents about the campaign state that its first objective is to build the strength and numbers of the communist party in rural areas of the TAR. Each cadre team has been required to turn each village into “a fortress” in the struggle against separatism by setting up a new party committee in each village and by persuading “those who are good at getting rich” to become party members and village leaders.

The second objective of the drive, according to official reports, has three elements: to increase “social stability maintenance;” to “deepen the struggle” against followers of the Dalai Lama; and to “strengthen the management and education of monks and nuns.” Interviews conducted by Human Rights Watch

show that these directives have led to a sharp increase in information gathering by cadre teams about support for the Dalai Lama among rural families, and a setting up of security operations and surveillance mechanisms aimed at eradicating support for the Dalai Lama.

On February 28, 2013, the official in charge of stability maintenance in the TAR, Hao Peng, told paramilitary forces that they must “thoroughly ensure no shadows, no gaps, no cracks, not giving hostile forces even the slightest opportunity” and must “strengthen surveillance and secret intelligence.”

The campaign is unprecedented in its scope, size, and cost. Some 21,000 cadres – the largest proportion of a provincial-level cadre force to have been sent to the countryside since the establishment of the People’s Republic of China, according to an official report – have been stationed in groups of four or more in each of the 5,451 villages in the TAR as part of the three-year drive. The campaign costs 1.48 billion yuan (approximately US\$227 million) a year, more than 25% of the regional government’s budget, with an additional 10 billion yuan (approximately US\$1.5 billion) allocated for infrastructure construction in the villages.

Cadre teams in the villages are also tasked with “solving difficulties” and promoting economic development, and media reports have described the teams helping villagers with snow clearance, access to water, road building, solar energy supplies, literacy classes, and the purchase of entertainment or communications systems, besides other forms of practical and economic support. Each team has been allocated at least 100,000 yuan (approximately US\$16,000) per year to spend on their village.

“If the government and the party are serious about improving everyday life of Tibetans, they must begin with addressing ongoing human rights violations, including restrictions on religious freedom, freedom of expression, and access to information,” said Richardson. “That’s likely to be a far more successful approach to ‘solidifying foundations.’”

## Amnesty International: Annual Report

In its annual report 2013, Amnesty International said the authorities continued to repress Tibetans’ right to enjoy and promote their own culture as well as their rights to freedom of religion, expression, peaceful association and assembly. Socioeconomic discrimination against ethnic Tibetans persisted unchecked. During the year, at least 83 ethnic Tibetan monks, nuns and lay people set themselves on fire, bringing the total number of self-immolations in Tibetan populated areas in China to at least 95 since February 2009. At least three men were sentenced to up to seven and a half years in prison in separate cases for passing on information about cases of self-immolation to overseas organisations and media.

Numerous people allegedly involved in anti-government protests were beaten, detained, subjected to enforced disappearance or sentenced following unfair trials. At least two people were believed to have died because of injuries sustained from police beatings. In January, security forces reportedly shot at Tibetan protesters in three different incidents in Sichuan province, killing at least one and injuring many others.

The authorities used “patriotic” and “legal education” campaigns to force Tibetans to denounce the Dalai Lama. Officials increased their interference in management of monasteries and expelled monks.

*Numerous people allegedly involved in anti-government protests were beaten, detained, subjected to enforced disappearance or sentenced following unfair trials. At least two people were believed to have died because of injuries sustained from police beatings.*

## Freedom House: Annual Report on Tibet

The security clampdown established after an uprising in 2008 was sustained during 2012 and increasingly extended to Tibetan areas outside the Tibet Autonomous Region. Over the course of the year, a total of 84 Tibetans set themselves on fire to protest Chinese Communist rule. The authorities responded with communications blackouts, “patriotic education” campaigns, travel restrictions, and intrusive new controls on monasteries.

Chinese authorities tightly restrict all media in Tibet. Such measures intensified in 2012 as the authorities sought to suppress information about self-immolations and related security crackdowns. International broadcasts are jammed and communications devices periodically confiscated. The online restrictions and monitoring in place across China are enforced even more stringently in the TAR. In July 2012, Human Rights Watch reported new media controls and invigorated state propaganda efforts, particularly in the TAR. These included distribution of satellite receivers fixed to government channels and a pilot project for broadcasting official messages via loudspeakers in 40 villages. A number of Tibetans who transmitted information abroad suffered repercussions including long prison sentences. Some internet and mobile-telephone users have been arrested solely for accessing banned information. On several occasions in 2012, the authorities cut off the internet and mobile-phone text-messaging near the sites of self-immolations in Sichuan and Gansu Provinces. Also during the year, officials detained or imprisoned at least 10 cultural figures whose work—often circulated by hand within Tibet and shared with the outside world—emphasizes Tibetan identity. According to overseas Tibetan groups, more than 60 such writers, intellectuals, and musicians have been arrested since 2008, with some sentenced to lengthy prison terms.

Authorities continued to restrict access to the TAR for foreign journalists, hu-

man rights researchers, and even tourists in 2012.

The authorities regularly suppress religious activities, particularly those seen as forms of dissent or advocacy of Tibetan independence. Possession of Dalai Lama–related materials can lead to official harassment and punishment, though many Tibetans secretly possess such items. CCP members, government employees, and their family members are not allowed to practice Buddhism, at least within the TAR. The Religious Affairs Bureaus (RABs) control who can study in monasteries and nunneries. Officials allow only men and women over age 18 to become monks and nuns, and they are required to sign a declaration rejecting Tibetan independence, expressing loyalty to the government, and denouncing the Dalai Lama. In January 2012, the CCP announced that new committees of government officials were being set up within monasteries to manage their daily operations and enforce party indoctrination campaigns. Under the previous arrangement, managing committees comprised monks and nuns who had been deemed politically reliable. That system was reportedly retained in Tibetan regions outside the TAR, but with a government official appointed as deputy director. In addition, police posts are increasingly common even in smaller monasteries.

Ideological education campaigns that had been conducted sporadically since 1996 began to escalate in 2005, intensified again after 2008, and expanded further in 2012, reaching most monasteries and nunneries in the region. Such campaigns typically force participants to recognize the CCP claim that China “liberated” Tibet and to denounce the Dalai Lama. Some monks and nuns reportedly left their institutions to avoid the sessions, causing the closure of at least one monastery in the TAR. The effort was also extended to the lay population during the year, with students, civil servants, and farmers required to participate in discussions, singing ses-

sions, and propaganda film screenings. In a new program initiated in 2011, 21,000 CCP cadres were sent to over 5,000 villages across the TAR to spread the government’s message.

University professors cannot lecture on certain topics, and many must attend political indoctrination sessions. The government restricts course materials to prevent the circulation of unofficial versions of Tibetan history.

Freedoms of assembly and association are severely restricted in practice. Independent trade unions and human rights groups are illegal, and even non-violent protests are often harshly punished. Nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) focused on development and public health operate under highly restrictive agreements. Despite the risks, Tibetans continue to seek avenues for expressing dissatisfaction with government policies. Most self-immolation protesters in 2012 were lay Tibetans, whereas in 2011 the majority were monks and nuns. Authorities responded with information blackouts, a heightened security presence, and increased surveillance. Late in the year, officials in some areas employed collective punishment tactics, canceling public benefits for the households of self-immolators, and ending state-funded projects in their villages. Notices offered rewards of up to 200,000 yuan (\$31,500) for information on organizers.

In addition to the self-immolations, Tibetans staged periodic demonstrations or vigils to protest CCP rule or express solidarity with the immolators. Security forces sometimes responded violently. In January, police allegedly opened fire on unarmed protesters in Sichuan on three different occasions. At least 10 people were reportedly killed and scores injured; state media acknowledged at least one death. Later in the year, reports emerged of several Tibetans being sentenced to long prison terms for their alleged involvement in the protests. In other cases, such as two demonstrations

with nearly 2,000 participants in Qinghai in February, security forces showed restraint and the protests proceeded without incident. Meanwhile, rural TAR residents continued to stage periodic protests against mining operations, while students in Qinghai protested efforts to replace Tibetan-language textbooks with Chinese editions.

The judicial system in Tibet remains abysmal, and torture is reportedly widespread. In March 2012, press watchdogs reported that public notices posted in eight counties in Gansu Province explicitly threatened “violent beating/torture” for those found distributing banned information. In June, a Tibetan monk in Sichuan died due to torture in custody after being detained the previous month for putting up pro-independence posters. Defendants lack access to meaningful legal representation. Trials are closed if state security is invoked, and sometimes even when no political crime is listed. Chinese lawyers who offer to defend Tibetan suspects have been harassed or disbarred. Security forces routinely engage in arbitrary detention, and detainees’ fami-

lies are often left uninformed as to their whereabouts or well-being. In December 2012 the central authorities unveiled guidelines indicating that engaging in self-immolations and organizing, assisting, or gathering crowds related to such acts should be considered criminal offenses, including intentional homicide in some cases. A partial list of political prisoners published by the U.S. Congressional-Executive Commission on China included over 600 Tibetans as of September 2012; the commission’s Political Prisoner Database included 267 cases of Tibetans detained in 2012.

Heightened restrictions on freedom of movement—including the use of troop deployments, roadblocks, and passport restrictions—were employed during 2012, particularly in areas where self-immolations took place. New travel restrictions introduced in March inhibited many Tibetans from entering the TAR. It was reported in May that Tibetans without permanent residency permits were being forced to leave Lhasa. Increased security efforts kept the number of Tibetans who successfully crossed the border into Nepal at between 300

and 600 in 2012, continuing a trend of annual declines from over 2,000 in 2007. In February, hundreds of Tibetans were interrogated and subjected to “reeducation” sessions upon returning from India, where they attended religious teachings by the Dalai Lama. According to Radio Free Asia, new regulations introduced in April led to almost no passports being issued to TAR Tibetans for the rest of 2012.

Tibetans receive preferential treatment in university admission examinations, but this is often not enough to secure entrance. The dominant role of the Chinese language in education and employment limits opportunities for many Tibetans. Private employers favor ethnic Chinese for many jobs, and Tibetans reportedly find it more difficult to obtain permits and loans to open businesses.

The government’s extensive economic development programs in Tibet have disproportionately benefited ethnic Chinese residents and increased Chinese migration to the region, stoking Tibetan fears of marginalisation and cultural assimilation.

## “Tibetan demonstrations are illegal”: China at the UN Human Rights Council

The Chair-Rapporteur of the Working Group on Arbitrary Detention and the United Nations Human Rights Council Special Rapporteurs issued a joint communication on arbitrary detentions and rights to freedom of peaceful assembly at the 23th regular session of the UN Human Rights Council meeting. On 3rd June 2013, the Chinese representative responded in a statement that the peaceful demonstrations by young students in Chabcha (Ch: Gonghe) in Tsohlo in north-eastern Tibet on 26 November 2012 were illegal and required prior permission according to Chinese law. In making this statement, the Chinese representative revealed that any form of demonstration perceived as harmful to the interests of the state, society

or community by the Chinese authority will not be permitted.

On 26 November 2012, about 1,000 students protested in Chabcha area in Tibet against the release of an official Chinese booklet degrading the Tibetan language, which is one of many instances when the Chinese government has brazenly defied its own constitution. Article IV of the Constitution of the People’s Republic of China clearly stipulates that people of all nationalities have the freedom to use and develop their own spoken and written languages, and to preserve or reform their own ways and customs. It is therefore incomprehensible that when Tibetan students protest to protect their constitutional rights, their actions are labelled ‘illegal’ while, at the same time, China illegally reconfigures its own

constitutional authority in order to suit a particular definition of national security. It is widely known that China’s inability to redress grievances expressed by Chinese students in 1989 led to an outpouring of resentment that was brutally suppressed on June 4th 1989 in Tiananmen Square. This same suppression has been perpetrated and repeated inside Tibet since its occupation.

The CTA thanks the European Union, United States, Czech Republic and other countries for their valuable statements on June 5th, reiterating the importance of addressing the deteriorating human rights situation inside Tibet and China at the ongoing 23th session the Human Right Council meeting.

## CTA Briefing

### Sikyong visits US and Europe

Sikyong Dr. Lobsang Sangay completed a successful visit to Washington DC from 6-10 May. This was his third official visit to the American capital since assuming the Tibetan political leadership. The visit got off to an auspicious start with the Sikyong paying his respects to His Holiness the Dalai Lama on 6 May who was in the neighboring state of Maryland on 6 and 7 May. During the weeklong visit, the Sikyong was able to reach out to new and important audiences for Tibet, and actively promote his agenda. Visit highlights included:

### Congress



*Sikyong Dr. Lobsang Sangay with US Senator John McCain*

Senator Ben Cardin, a democrat from Maryland, and Chairman of the East Asian & Pacific Affairs Subcommittee, hosted a tea reception for the Sikyong on behalf of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on 7 May. Senator Tim Kaine, a democrat from Virginia, was also present. The two Senators and the Sikyong met for over an hour and discussed a range of issues related to Tibet. Another important meeting in the Senate was with Senator McCain who warmly received the Sikyong and reiterated his support. There were also important meetings with key aides of Senators Leahy and Feinstein and senior staff at the Senate Appropriations Committee.

In the House of Representatives, the Sikyong met with Leader Nancy Pelosi

and Congressmen Jim McGovern and George Miller. He also had a lunch meeting with 35 Congressional staffers in the US House of Representatives. This meeting was organized by the American Enterprise Institute. The staffers were able to ask questions and the Sikyong made a case for why Tibet is important and requested for support from the Congress.

### Think Tank & NGO Community



*Sikyong Dr. Lobsang Sangay with Professor Jerome Cohen during "A Conversation with Sikyong Lobsang Sangay" at the Council on Foreign Relations*

The Council on Foreign Relations (CFR) hosted "A Conversation with Sikyong Lobsang Sangay" on 8 May. Professor Jerome Cohen, a senior fellow at CFR, introduced the Sikyong and presided over the event. Speaking to the audience, the Sikyong spoke on his election, responsibilities, devolution of political power from His Holiness the Dalai Lama, Tibetan democracy and most importantly the current critical situation inside Tibet. Professor Cohen and the audience asked numerous questions. The audience was comprised of people in the government (both American and foreign), think tanks, media, universities, private and the NGO sectors.

The Foreign Policy Initiative (FPI), a non-profit, non-partisan organization, that has promotion of human rights of those oppressed by their governments as one of its objectives, hosted a private dinner for the Sikyong on 6 May.

The event brought together a select and high-level group of human rights and foreign policy experts in DC.

The Sikyong also met with representatives of various human rights organizations at the office of the International Campaign for Tibet on 8 May. Leaders from Amnesty International, Reporters without Borders, Project 2049 and Freedom House attended the meeting. The Sikyong earlier met with leaders of Human Rights Watch in a separate meeting.

The Sikyong met with the senior leadership of the National Endowment for Democracy on 10 May.

### Media

The Hill, a widely read publication in DC, published an Op-Ed by the Sikyong on 6 May.

C-SPAN, a private, non-profit American cable television network, did a live 40-minute interview and call-in show on 10 May as part of their C-SPAN Washington Journal program.

Josh Rogin, a well-known foreign policy journalist in Washington, DC, interviewed the Sikyong for an upcoming article in Newsweek.

The Sikyong also spoke with Sadanand Dhume of the American Enterprise Institute and he will be writing a piece on Tibet in his column on the Wall Street Journal.

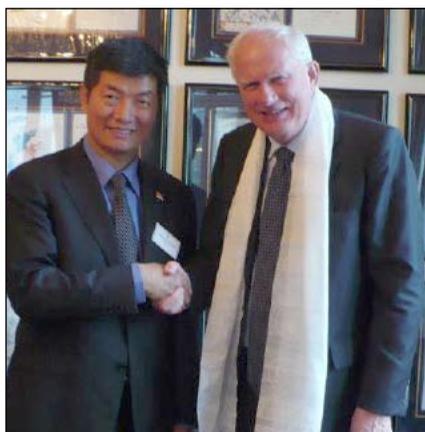
The Sikyong did a live interview with VOA Mandarin service on 8 May. He did a recorded interview for VOA Tibetan Service on 10 May, which appeared on Kunleng on 15 May. He also did a recording for VOA Mandarin Service's History's Mysteries show. In addition to the US Congress, think tanks and media, the Sikyong and his delegation also had meetings with officials in the current President Obama administration.

## Tibetan Community

Over a hundred Tibetans came together the evening of 9 May to meet the Sikyong and hear him provide an update on the work of the Kashag, and the purpose and accomplishments of his third visit to Washington, DC.

### Sikyong successfully concludes visit to Norway

Sikyong arrived at the Oslo airport, Norway from Frankfurt on 12 May. He was received at the airport by Mr-Thubten Samdup, Representative of His Holiness the Dalai Lama for the UK (based in London) and Chungdak



*Sikyong seen here with the Executive Director and also Secretary General of Norwegian Nobel Committee at his office.*

Koren (Tibetan parliamentarian based in Norway). Mrs. Tsomo, the newly elected chairwoman of the Norwegian Tibet Committee and a section of Tibetan community in Norway were also at the airport to receive the Sikyong.

Sikyong was invited to the 5th Oslo Freedom Forum (OFF) to deliver a talk on the subject “Democracy in exile” as part of the plenary session titled “The Assymetric Activist”.

Sikyong was able to network extensively among the participants during this reception.

On 13 May, Sikyong addressed a press conference organised by OFF. Global media organisations such as BBC and CNN covered the press conference. The media asked Sikyong about the current status of Tibet in the backdrop of the increasing

number of self-immolations there.

After the press conference, Sikyong headed to Civita (think tank) office at the invitation of its director, Mrs Kristin Clemet, who is also the former education minister. Civita is co-organiser of Oslo Freedom Forum. Sikyong discussed with Mrs Kristin and her two colleagues about the situation inside Tibet and about the Central Tibetan Administration. He stated that Civita and Tibet Policy Institute, a think tank of the Central Tibetan Administration, could work together in the near future.

Sikyong then visited the Nobel Institute where he was received by Mr Geir Lundestad, Executive Director / Secretary General of the Norwegian Nobel Committee. During the course of an hour-long interaction in the Nobel Committee meeting room, Sikyong thanked the Nobel Committee for their support all along, particularly for awarding the Nobel Peace Prize to His Holiness in 1989. Sikyong also extended an open invitation to the executive director and all the committee members of the Nobel committee to visit Dharamshala as CTA’s official guests. He also discussed some events that can be planned for 10th December 2014, which marks the twenty-fifth anniversary of the conferment of the Nobel peace prize on His Holiness the Dalai Lama.

Sikyong’s visit to the Nobel Institute was followed by a brief interview for the Voice of Tibet radio at Norwegian Tibet Committee office. Later, he addressed more than 70 members of the Norwegian Tibet Committee and also had an interactive session with them for almost an hour.

Sikyong gave an interview for NyTid weekly magazine and AftenPosten, one of the main newspapers of Norway, during the course of the day.

### 14 May 2013

Sikyong’s second day in Oslo began with a BBC World Service radio interview for about ten minutes.

Then he proceeded to the venue of the OFF where he spoke on the subject

“Democracy in exile” at the plenary session of the OFF.

“I have never been to Tibet and never seen Tibet, but I am proud to be born a Tibetan. I have committed myself to



the Tibetan cause,” Sikyong said in his speech. Elaborating on the functioning of the Central Tibetan Administration, he said: “The Tibetan administration in exile could be a model for many of you here fighting for your basic rights.” He sent a signal to the global audience and said “Tibet is a litmus test for the international community and China.” Among the other three speakers at the plenary session was Chinese activist Chen Guangcheng – who spoke on the inevitability of China’s transformation.

After the talk Sikyong headed to Norwegian Tibet Committee office to meet with two Chinese scholars; and also gave an interview for the committee’s magazine.

Sikyong then gave interviews to The Atlantic magazine and the Newsweek magazine.

Following the interviews, he addressed about 40 Tibetans who had gathered at the community office. He praised the community members for paying voluntary Green Book contribution regularly and for the distinction of being the Tibetan community abroad that has the highest number of contributors to the Green Book. He expressed confidence on the state of Tibetan diaspora in general and Central Tibetan Administration in particular. The Norwegian Tibet Committee then hosted a dinner in hon-

or of the Sikyong, where most of the Tibetan community members joined.

On 15 May the third and final day in Norway, he began his day by meeting Mr Anders Tunold of Norwegian Church Aid – during which Sikyong thanked NCA for their assistance to the Tibetan community. Sikyong then attended the first session of the Freedom Forum before heading to Stockholm, Sweden, accompanied by Representative MrThubten Samdup.

All of Sikyong's programmes in Oslo, Norway, were arranged by Ms Chungdak Koren, member of Tibetan Parliament-in-Exile in Europe, who attended the plenary session of the OFF and also accompanied the Sikyong all along during this visit.

### CTA holds First Education Advisory Committee Meeting

The first Education Advisory Committee Meeting of Tibetan schools is being organised by Department of Education (DoE) of the Central Tibetan Administration in Dharamsala from 5-6 June. The meeting was conducted as part of the 14th Kashag's prioritisation of education and academic excellence.

In his opening remarks, Sikyong and Education Kalon Dr. Lobsang Sangay said the meeting aims to solicit profound and substantive advices from the participants to improve and upgrade the education system of the Tibetan community. He also expressed his hope that the inspiring and motivating suggestions and contributions of the advisory committee members will bring the much needed exposure and groundbreaking innovations in the education system. He said a sound education is the most important construct that will strengthen and sustain the Tibetan community.

And as a mark of respect and gratitude, Sikyong highlighted the immense contributions made by former Indian prime minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and His Holiness the Dalai Lama towards the education of Tibetan youths since 1959.

The two-day meeting discussed the qualification and profile of a teacher,

quality of education, importance of language proficiency, school management, and higher education policy.

Members of the first Education Advisory Committee meeting include Tharlam D. Changra, Principal and recipient of National award from former President A P J Abdul Kalam, Arbind Kumar Jha, Dean, School of Education, Central University of Himachal Pradesh, ArunKapur, noted author and Executive Director of Vasant Valley School, Prof. Krishna Kumar, a Padma Shri recipient, former Director of NCERT and Professor of education at University of Delhi, renowned Professor RamuManivannan of Madras University, Furqan Qamar, Vice Chancellor of Central University of Himachal Pradesh, Kamala V. Mukunda from Centre for learning, Bangalore and Ashok Thakur, Secretary, Department of Higher Education, MHRD. Other members also include Ngawang-Samten, a Padma Shri recipient and Vice-Chancellor of Central University of Tibetan Studies, Sarnath, Samphe D. Lhalungpa, Education consultant from Canada, Nawang B. Phuntsog, Associate Professor of Education, California State University, Fullerton and Duke Tsering, Principal, Tibetan Children's Village School, Selakui. Representatives and heads of various Tibetan schools are also attending the meeting.

The Education Advisory Committee was established to provide guidance to the education department to improve the standard of education in Tibetan schools by assessing the existing situation and drawing necessary action plans.

### Tibetan Health Minister inaugurates telemedicine centre

The Central Tibetan Administration's Health Kalon — Dr Tsering Wangchuk — was in Bangalore on 29 May to experience and inaugurate the telemedicine connection between Telerad RXDX in Whitefield, Bangalore and Mainpat, Chattisgarh.

The telemedicine setup has been deployed in Mainpat, a remote Tibetan settlement in Chattisgarh. The patient end

is handled by a trained nurse equipped with a digital thermometer, blood pressure cuff, stethoscope and ECG. Using this technology a patient sitting in Mainpat can interactively discuss his condition with the physician sitting remotely in Bangalore and get treated. Cisco's Health presence is integrated with Telerad Tech's teleradiology platform — RADSpa. So the physician can not only examine the patient but also view his diagnostic scans.

The installation of the telemedicine clinic at Mainpat commenced last year in August and over 400 teleconsultations have been done till date. The telemedicine consultations are provided by Telerad RxDx doctors using Cisco's Health presence. Telerad Tech is the Managed Service Provider for this telemedicine platform. RxDx to date has done over 13000 telemedicine consultations for patients in Karnataka, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and now, Chattisgarh.

According to Dr. Wangchuk, Mainpat is the first Tibetan settlement in which a telemedicine pod has been set up. "After this successful pilot with RxDx, we would like to expand this service to our Tibetan population in other settlements. The use of technology is helping remote areas, such as our settlements, to leap frog into accessible healthcare."

Dr. Sunita Maheshwari, a Pediatric Cardiologist and founder of Telerad RxDx said, "It was our pleasure to have Dr. Wangchuk and his team visiting our facility to experience the live telemedicine consultations. The patients in rural areas are not only getting access to physicians for regular consultations but also specialist consults for specialties such as pediatric cardiology and dermatology. Telemedicine is truly touching lives through technology by providing quality treatment which otherwise is difficult for remote locations like Mainpat to access."

### Kaydor Aukatsang Appointed New Representative for Office of Tibet, New York

Kaydor Aukatsang, the political advisor to Sikyong Dr. Lobsang Sangay, has been appointed as the new Representative for

the office of Tibet, New York. He will take charge from 1 September 2013, a release from the Kashag secretariat stated.

There has also been a reshuffle of Representatives in the offices of Tibet based in Geneva and Brussels. Mr Tseten Samdup, currently the Representative for the Office of Tibet, Geneva will be the new Representative for the Office of Tibet, Brussels. He will take charge from 2 August 2013.

Mr Ngodup Dorjee, the incumbent Representative for the Office of Tibet based in Brussels, Belgium will be the new Representative for the Office of Tibet, Geneva from 9 August 2013.

Mr Lhakpa Tshoko, Representative to Japan and east Asia whose tenure ends on 1 June 2013, will continue in his current position until His Holiness the Dalai Lama's scheduled visit to Japan in November.

### **Kalon Gyari Dolma Calls on New Government of Karnataka State**



Home Kalon Dolma Gyari met the new leaders of Karnataka during her three-day visit to Bangalore from 20-23 June.

Kalon Dolma Gyari met with the newly-elected chief minister, Mr Siddaramaiah, in Bangalore on 22 June. She extended greetings to him on behalf of the Central Tibetan Administration and expressed gratitude to the state government for providing continued support and care to Tibetans. The chief minister also spoke about his plan to visit Bylakuppe when His Holiness the Dalai Lama visits there on the occasion of his 78th birthday on 6 July.

Kalon Dolma Gyari also called on the

leader of the Opposition party, Mr H D Kumaraswamy. She requested him to give a 30 minutes slot for Tibet-related news in Tibetan language once a week on his private TV channel, Kasthuri. Mr Kumaraswamy accepted the request and suggested her to discuss the modalities with the concerned staff of the channel.

Later in the afternoon, Kalon Dolma Gyari visited TERI (The Energy and Resource Institute), an NGO which conducts research and training to protect environment and develop energy from natural resources. She discussed with the officials about ways to seek support to some key ongoing projects in the Tibetan settlements such as organic farming, environmental cleanliness, and solar light.

Kalon Dolma Gyari also met Jawed Habib, one the most renowned hair stylists in India, on 20 June. They discussed future collaboration between the Neelamangala vocational training institute and Jawed Habib hair and beauty salon. The two met with Tibetan students at the Neelamangala institute.

Kalon Dolma Gyari told the students to maintain good behaviour and study hard to become self reliant. There are currently 39 students undergoing trainings in various courses, including hair dressing, beautician, tailoring, computer, medical transcription, and cookery. 1,113 students, comprising 558 boys and 554 females, have completed vocational trainings from Neelamangala institute since its inception in 2003.

### **DIIR Highlights Tibet Issue in Philippines**

Mr Tashi Phuntsok, Secretary of the Department of Information & International Relations of the Central Tibetan Administration, visited the Philippines from 16-18 June to highlight the case

of Tibet and in particular to address the water resource potential of Tibet at a panel discussion on 'Water Security and Asia'. As the main speaker at the panel, Mr Phuntsok made a power-point presentation on Tibet and Asia's water resource.

His address included the danger of its depletion if timely precaution is not taken. Under Chinese rule there have been unprecedented constructions of dams, resettlement of nomads, fencing of grasslands, depletion of permafrost – causing enormous stress on the water resource of Asia in Tibet -known also as the Third Pole or the Water Tower of Asia.

The panel included Mr Vinod Saigal, Retired Major General, India, Mr Leung Kyok Hun, member, Legislative Council, Hong Kong. The panel discussion was held at the prestigious Ayala Museum in Manila on 18 June 2013.

The Secretary also participated in a very well attended seminar on India's expanding maritime interests in South East Asia organised by the Asian Center, University of the Philippines. At a dinner meeting at Karma Yeshe Lhundrup's center, he met with followers of Buddhism and Tibet supporters.

The visit by the Secretary to Manila took place at the invitation of the National Commission on Indigenous Peoples under the Office of the President of the Philippines. Mr Phuntsok met with the Directors of the Commission, Marie Grace T. Pascua, Leilene Marie C. Gallardo, Carlos P. Buasen Jr. and Masli A. Quilaman. Col. Ferdinand M. Friginal, Senior Military Aide in the Office of the Vice President attended his panel presentation. He also met with the Ambassador and the First Secretary of Malaysia and more importantly the Ambassador of India, Mr Amit Das Gupta.

The DIIR Secretary thanked Rev. Ft. Jim Thomas, Society of Jesus, who organised the visit most successfully. It was facilitated by The Office of Tibet, Japan.

## Translation of His Holiness the Dalai Lama's remarks to Tibetans at Salugara in the Indian State of West Bengal on 29 April 2013



Two years ago, I took retirement from my political responsibility. In addition to my personal retirement, it also ended the nearly 400-year old system, established from the time of the Fifth Dalai Lama and followed by the successive Dalai Lamas, of being both the spiritual and temporal ruler of Tibet. This system proved useful during its time, now the time has changed. Even in the future, when the time comes for the Tibetans in exile and Tibet to be living together, I had already mentioned long time back that there would not be a situation where we will be at the helms. Not only that, even whether the institution of the Dalai Lama will exist or not, is needed or not, will be decided by the concerned people at that time. I have said that as early as 1969.

Since around 12 years back, I have been in semi-retirement, with our political leadership being appointed through elections since 2001. Thereafter, my status had been that of a semi-retirement. Around two years ago, we saw the completion of two five-year terms (for ten years) of the elected Kalon-Tripa. During the elections, Tibetans in different countries were paying good attention and taking good responsibility in the election process. Therefore, I felt the time had come for my complete re-

tirement, ending (as we Tibetans would say, in a good era and in a good way, and with auspiciousness) the system of Gaden Phodrang assuming political responsibility.

This did not happen unwillingly, but took place happily, joyously and voluntarily. Leaders that I know, whether in India, the United States or other places, have all commended my decision saying it was very good.

Among Tibetans, while the immediate reaction has been that of uneasiness, yet after the reasons for this have been explained everyone has concurred. Since the current period is one where we are struggling for freedom, our proceeding 100 per cent on the democratic path has only strengthened the power of the struggle. It has increased the opportunity for support from across the world. We are not holding on to the old system, like an old dog holding on to a bone, but rather we are implementing progress and changes with the times. Therefore, there have been many benefits.

I have taken such a decision not because I have become discouraged, nor have I relinquished the authority because I have lost hope for the cause of Tibet. So I would like to tell you all not to worry

about it.

The Tibetan struggle is not for the cause of a few Tibetans; it is a struggle for the just cause of the entire Tibetan people, and the Tibetans inside Tibet are the primary in this. I have always stated that I consider myself as the free spokesperson of Tibetans inside Tibet, rather than their leader or someone who gives order to them.

Therefore, it was my responsibility to explain the aspirations of the Tibetan people, and the real situation inside Tibet. It is my responsibility to place the aspirations of the Tibetans in Tibet before other people. Tibetans living inside Tibet continue to have remarkable courage and determination.

Secondly, the territory under the then Gaden Phodrang government only included Tibetans living in areas of U and Tsang, and parts of Dhotoe, on this side of the Driчу River. But today, there is a great and astounding sense of unity amongst Tibetans in all Dhotoe, Dhomoy, and U-tsang [three traditional provinces of Tibet]. In the seventh, eighth and the ninth centuries, during the time of the religious kings, Tibetans from the three provinces were subjects of one King. Around the ninth century, when Tibet began to break up, there was political disintegration. Although in terms of religion and culture they continued to be one, politically it had waned greatly.

Today, however, on account of many external and internal factors, there is an admirable sense of Tibetan unity and Tibetan-ness. Much attention is being paid to one's religion and culture. Likewise, those of us in exile have, under much difficulty in the past more than fifty years, remained steadfast in our courage and altruistic disposition. In the process of accepting the challenges we have shown remarkable distinction compared to other similar refugee communities. We don't have to pronounce this ourselves as many people who work with refugee

communities and know Tibetans, have made this observation. This is primarily the fruition of the altruistic disposition and courage of the greater Tibetan people who faced the challenges. In this connection, today, I would like to thank the Tibetans from Kalimpong, Darjeeling and Gangtok. You have all been enthusiastic to date and done well. I thank you for from the bottom of my heart for your zealotness. You all are able to represent the greater Tibetan people well. Thank you.

In terms of an approach to resolve the Tibetan issue in the future, in 1974 we decided on a policy — not in the spirit of “I win, others lose,” but being of benefit to the Chinese Government and also to the Tibetan people — which is the mutually beneficial Middle Way Approach.

In late 1978 and 1979 there was a situation when we had direct contact with Deng Xiaoping and the Chinese Government under his leadership. It was easy for us to establish this contact with the Chinese Government then because we had already decided on a mutually beneficial approach a few years earlier.

Following the harsh policy imposed all over China in the 1980s, when the democracy movement came to China, the Tibetans also experienced harshness under that overall policy. Otherwise, during Hu Yaobang’s time there was great hope. But Hu Yaobang was dismissed. Thereafter, Zhao Ziyang also was not able to achieve anything. Thus, it was somewhat like our misfortune that our contact with the Chinese Government did not result in anything concrete.

At the same time, inside Tibet, when the series of protests as a result of desperate attempt to air grievances were becoming bigger, there was violent suppression, and the situation is heartrending currently.

However, in the past several years, more than 20 and 30 years, and especially after the 2008 protests, I have been meeting many Chinese; Chinese intellectuals and students (I have met several thousand students who are studying in the United States and Europe, etc.). In terms of Chinese intellectuals, there

have been many prominent ones who have come to meet me. Also, we have had regular discussion sessions with Chinese scholars. Among these Chinese intellectuals and students, some of them after hearing our explanation of the Middle Way Approach, express understanding and are greatly elated. In essence, there has been strong support from among the Chinese people to our Middle Way Approach.

Around last year, I received a hand written letter in Chinese from a Chinese living in Beijing. He was an intellectual. He said that in the past although he knew the Dalai Lama was a spiritual leader, he considered him a political separatist. However, he went on a pilgrimage to Wu Taishan where he met a [Tibetan] monk from India (who was on a pilgrimage there) who spoke good Chinese. When the monk explained the Dalai Lama’s effort to resolve the Tibetan-Chinese problem through the Middle-Way approach, the scholar had written that he felt that this mutually beneficial solution would be supported by 100 percent of the people in China, if only they knew. This is a factual development.

Whatever it is, I have been meeting many Chinese. All of them hold the Middle Way Approach in great esteem saying this is also of benefit to China. They are greatly pleased. At the official level, the Chinese government has not budged, but if we ask: Is the government important or are the people important? Obviously in the long run, people are more important.

Our mutually beneficial Middle Way policy continues to attract widespread support among the Chinese people, particularly from intellectuals like Liu Xiao Bo in China. It is also admired and supported by many Chinese intellectuals and democracy activists in the US. And most importantly, my fellow Tibetans in Tibet, intellectuals, writers, artists, teachers, etc: I have met hundreds of them. They say that all Tibetans may want independence in their heart, but we need to see what is achievable and what can resolve the current problem. Therefore, the mutually beneficial Mid-

dle Way Approach is rational that can be explained to Chinese and that can be discussed.

I have met many Tibetan intellectuals from inside Tibet and none among them has suggested that we proceed on the path of independence. We do have the rights. The situation is clear if we look at the 7th, 8th and 9th centuries. From the time of our religious kings, it has been said that Tibetans will be happy in Tibet and the Chinese will be happy in China. With a distinct language and script, we have a different tradition and are a separate people.

However, the world is changing now. If we look at China, when the previous Dalai Lama was returning to Tibet after being in exile in India, the Chinese Emperor was no longer there and revolution was beginning. Even in his testament, his remarks, the previous Dalai Lama had said that China had then become like a pond whose water source had dried up. Today, China is not a pond whose water source had dried up. These days, some people seem to say that the previous Dalai Lama had done like this and the 14th Dalai Lama is not capable enough. We have to think carefully. We have every right to claim independence, but Tibet is in a critical situation now. We have different language, culture, and tradition, and if we gradually really think on a mutually beneficial solution; for example, I usually ask the Chinese to look at the situation in India. The East, South, West, and the North of India have different languages, different scripts, but there is no risk of separation as everyone receives equal facilities, and because there is rule of law, democracy and freedom. Tibet has different language and script and if the Chinese treat Tibetans, as they talk about brethren nationalities, respect, love and provide equal rights, Tibetans will also consider accordingly. This is because we, too, need to consider our interest at the broader level.

Occasionally, I have been saying this clearly and I wanted to say this here today. Among Tibetans in exile, as also those from Tibet who stay in India for few months, there are those who depart

for the United States and Europe. They do so not out of concern for religion, but for dollars. So, Tibetans need money and finance. Therefore, rather than living poorly in independence (which we cannot achieve), if Tibetans get good economic development by living within the People's Republic of China, and at the same time if we can preserve and promote our language, religion and culture. In particular, China today has around 400 -500 million Buddhists, and every week ten to twenty mainland Chinese Buddhists come to Dharamsala. When we meet them, most of them cry and urge me not to forget the Chinese Buddhists. Although there are difficulties, many Chinese also attend important teachings when there are Chinese translators, like thousands of Mainland Chinese pilgrims visited Bodhgaya last year during the Kalachakra teachings. Even in the past, many Chinese emperors have been enamored by Tibetan religion and culture and have become Buddhists, and practiced Tibetan religion. In the future, too, many Chinese will be interested in Buddhism, in particular Tibetan Buddhism. Even today, there are many Chinese showing interest in Tibetan Buddhism.

Therefore, we have to think from a broader perspective. China is economically a powerful country and so we need to see how we can benefit from that. From the religious and cultural per-

spective, in addition to preserving and promoting Tibetan religion and culture, if we can help hundreds of millions of Chinese Buddhists, it also benefits the Buddha Dharma as also the individual people. This is mutually beneficial.

So, you must understand that the Middle-Way Approach has concretely yielded some fundamental results. The issue of not having any results by talking to Chinese government is from only one aspect. It cannot represent the entire aspect. If we look at it from a wider perspective, from the people level, we have achieved a very good result.

Whatever it is, under the Middle Way Approach, if the Chinese government has some flexible thinking, we are in a position of establishing contact comfortably. If we keep on claiming independence, we ourselves are closing that door for contacts. Even if the Chinese show an indication of being in contact with us, it would be like our side would have closed the door then. So we have to think carefully about this.

So, you Tibetans from Kalimpong, Darjeeling and Gangtok, we all have the responsibility for our common cause. Though I have already retired, I am still a Tibetan and an Amdowa (We have not been under the Gaden Phodrang in the past). Most importantly, the Tibetans in Tibet continue to put their trust in me

and to place their faith in me. Similarly, the Tibetans in exile put their trust in me and place their faith in me. So I retain a responsibility. That is why I thought I would speak a little bit on the fundamental issue of Tibet at this gathering. You should think over this.

In the past 60 years, China has changed dramatically. Today's China is greatly different from the one over 30 or 40 years back. Today's China has some freedom of expression. Some Tibetans say that when they are in Tibetan areas, especially Lhasa, there are severe restrictions but when they are in China there is immense freedom. Therefore, China is changing.

On our Tibetan issue, the current condition in Tibet is such that China faces mortification while Tibet experiences suffering. It is only harming both the sides and nothing else. Therefore, if China thinks rationally, it will help China as well as the Tibetans. Since the Middle Way Approach is on a path of mutual benefit, I have full confidence that it will produce results in the future. Please understand this and bear it in mind.

*N.B. This has been translated from the original remarks given in Tibetan. If there is any discrepancy between the two, please treat the Tibetan version as authoritative and final.*

## Preventing Cultural Genocide: The Case for Genuine Autonomy for Tibet

*by Kelsang Gyaltsen, Special Representative of His Holiness the Dalai Lama to Europe delivered at the Symposium on Cultural Diplomacy & Human Rights on 31 May 2013, Berlin, Germany*

Just last weekend we witnessed the public demonstration of the excellent bilateral relationship between Germany and China on the occasion of the visit of Chinese Prime Minister Li Keqiang to Berlin. A lot has been said and written about the "privileged partnership" between Germany and China which both countries intend to further expand and deepen. This is welcome. The more China is integrated into the world community the more the likelihood that the arbitrariness of a one-party dictatorship can somewhat be curtailed by interna-

tional rules and regulations. It is, however, of overriding importance to ensure that relations with China are conducted in a way that does not amount to tacitly condoning a dictatorship and its abuses and crimes. In fact as a matter of principle it should be the duty of every democracy entering into relations with a dictatorship to make this clear publicly. History has provided Germany with sufficient experiences and lessons from dealing with the former German Democratic Republic and the Soviet Union how to engage with dictatorships in a

flexible but also principled and responsible way. An example of such a value-based strategic approach in dealing with totalitarian regimes is Willy Brandt's Ostpolitik "Wandeldurch Annäherung" (change through rapprochement). In doing so, however, it is important to point out that Brandt's Ostpolitik never implied the acceptance of the status quo or the acquiescence of the Communist dictatorship in East Germany. In fact the very long-term aim of that policy has been to bring about the eventual dismantlement of that dictatorship.

Today, what is required is the same political resolve, will and vision by the free world in dealing with the dictatorships of this new 21st century. Profit cannot and should not be the sole aim and the driving force for a democracy in building a relationship with a dictatorship. The conduct of relations with dictatorships must be guided by the pursuit of value-based strategic aims such as human rights, democracy and the rule of law.

It is the inherent nature of all human beings to yearn for freedom, justice and dignity. Human rights, democracy and the rule of law have become today universal aspirations of people suffering from oppression and persecution. The pursuit of fundamental freedoms, human rights and human dignity are as important to the peoples of Africa and Asia as it is to those in the West. But unfortunately it is often those people who are deprived of their human rights who are the least able to speak up for themselves. This responsibility, therefore, rests with those of us who do enjoy such freedoms.

The world needs Europe to play a leading role in the promotion, defense, and protection of human rights. At the core of Europe's spirit is a fundamental belief in the inherent equality and dignity of all peoples and are the values of human rights, democracy and the rule of law. Guided by this spirit Europe succeeded in defeating and eliminating tyranny and despotism on the continent of Europe.

It is important that this spirit of Europe does not halt at the borders of Europe out of political expediency or because of commercial interests. The oppressed people around the world needs Europe's commitment to these values beyond the shores of Europe.

In the case of my own country, Tibet, for too long the international community has underestimated the gravity and urgency of the plight of the Tibetan people. To a certain extent, today's dramatic worsening of the situation inside Tibet is clearly a consequence of the negligence of this issue by the interna-

tional community.

Today the very survival of the Tibetan people with our distinct and unique culture, language, religion and identity is at threat. With the invasion and occupation of Tibet more than 60 years ago the Chinese authorities launched an era of radical changes not only in the political fortunes of the Tibetan people but also for Tibetan culture. The imposition of direct Chinese rule, combined with the application of Maoist political theories to Tibetan society, produced unprecedented social upheaval, cultural destruction and immense suffering for Tibetans.

The Chinese authorities see the distinct culture, religion, language and identity of Tibet as a threat to the stability of its rule and as a potential source for Tibet's separation from China. Accordingly, there is an attempt to destroy the integral core of the Tibetan civilization and identity. After initial disastrous efforts to obliterate Tibetan culture in the early decades of Communist rule by physical destructions of monasteries and temples and killings of monks and nuns, Chinese authorities adjusted their policy to a more subtle and sophisticated approach by engaging in a consistent effort to replace authentic, organic Tibetan culture with a state-approved and controlled version that conforms with the ideological, political and economic objectives of the Chinese Communist Party. This effort has been pursued through intentional policies that are designed to fundamentally alter Tibetan culture in a way that robs it of its essence and turns it into something that the Chinese authorities can manage.

The Chinese party-state's attacks on Tibetan Buddhism and culture are not just ancillary effects of this state and nation-building effort, but rather represent a central weapon in it. This is clear from the repeated ideological campaigns that the Chinese party-state has directed toward Tibet since its invasion. Given the might and resources that the Chinese party-state has at its disposal to carry out its long-term assimilation goals in Tibet, the threat of cultural genocide being committed in Tibet is imminent.

There is little doubt that the policies of the Chinese government with regard to Tibet have been established and executed in such a way that wholesale cultural destruction in Tibet was predictable and likely. It is also clear that the Chinese authorities have acted intentionally in its treatment of the Tibetans, including in the abrogation of their cultural rights, and that the present grave situation in Tibet is a cause for serious concerns that acts of cultural genocide will continue to be committed.

There is compelling evidence that the Chinese state's policies and practices related to Tibetan culture have created conditions that violate key international human rights instruments and contain elements of cultural genocide. While there is no question that the various elements that comprise 'cultural genocide' are prohibited under international human rights law, these elements have not been formally bound together and recognized as a specific violation. It is, therefore, our sincere hope, that the tragic case of Tibet will encourage governments, universities, human rights organizations etc. to take the initiative in the further development of a cultural genocide framework.

Regardless of whether there is an international legal regime under which a charge of cultural genocide can be applied to the Chinese government, there is overwhelming evidence that the Tibetan culture is being dismantled and undermined at an alarming scale and pace and redefined by the Chinese state for its own purposes. This fact is well documented and substantiated by authoritative studies and reports. The conclusion is that the Chinese government's policies and practices of cultural repression and destruction are so systematic and persistent in Tibet, and their effects are so serious, that they contain elements of cultural genocide.

For the Tibetan people these repeated and systematic assaults on their culture, religion and language cannot but be called genocidal in intent and impact. Raphael Lemkin, who first coined the term, genocide, in 1944 in his book "Axis Rule in Occupied Europe",

writes: "By 'genocide' we mean the destruction of an ethnic group. ... Generally speaking, genocide does not necessarily mean the immediate destruction of a nation, except when accomplished by mass killings of all members of a nation. It is intended rather to signify a coordinated plan of different actions aiming at the destruction of essential foundations of the life of national groups, with the aim of annihilating the groups themselves. The objectives of such a plan would be disintegration of the political and social institutions, of culture, language, national feelings, religion, and the economic existence of national groups, and the destruction of the personal security, liberty, health, dignity, and even the lives of the individuals belonging to such groups ..."

According to the UN Declaration on Rights of Indigenous Peoples of 1994, genocide involves attempts by a more powerful group to dilute the integrity of another group, dispossess them of their lands, assimilate or absorb them into the more powerful culture, or to seek to malign or diminish the minority culture through propaganda.

The sad fact is that almost all these aspects of an act of genocide have been well-established features of the tragedy in Tibet under Chinese occupation.

Viewing the Sino-Tibetan conflict in this context it is obvious that the fundamental cause of the Tibetan problem is not difference in ideology or social system or issues resulting from clashes between tradition and modernity. Neither is it just the issue of human rights violations alone. The root of the Tibetan issue lies in Tibet's long and separate history, its distinct and ancient culture and civilisation and its unique identity.

Because of a total lack of understanding, appreciation and respect for Tibet's distinct culture, history and identity, China's Tibet policies have been consistently misguided. The use of force and coercion as the principal means to rule and administer Tibet compel Tibetans to lie out of fear and local officials to hide the truth and create false facts in order to suit and to please Beijing and

its stewards in Tibet. As a result China's treatment of Tibet continues to evade the realities in Tibet.

Today, it is the third and fourth generations of Tibetans, who are born under Chinese communist rule, who continue to resent and resist the Chinese policies in Tibet. The old generation of Tibetans, who witnessed the invasion and occupation, has gone. However, irrespective of the passage of time the freedom struggle of the Tibetan people continues with undiminished determination.

This sad state of affairs in Tibet is of no benefit either to the Tibetans or to the government of the PRC. To continue along this path does nothing to alleviate the suffering of the Tibetan people, nor does it bring stability and unity to China or help in enhancing her international image and standing. If China is seriously concerned about stability and unity, she must make honest efforts to win over the hearts of the Tibetans and not attempt to impose her will on them.

Successive Chinese leaders have always assured that the Chinese presence in Tibet is to work for the welfare of the Tibetans and to help develop Tibet. If this is true and sincere, there is no reason why the Chinese leadership cannot start addressing the issue of Tibet by entering into a dialogue with us. Our position on a mutually acceptable solution is straightforward. We are not seeking separation and independence. What we are seeking is genuine self-rule for the Tibetan people. Our main concern is to ensure the survival of the Tibetan people with our distinct Buddhist cultural heritage and language. For this, it is essential that we Tibetans are able to handle our domestic affairs and to freely determine our social, economic and cultural development.

We remain committed to the path of non-violence and to the process of dialogue and reconciliation. It is our firm belief that only dialogue and a willingness to look with honesty and clarity at the reality in Tibet can lead to a mutually beneficial solution that will enhance greatly the stability and unity of the PRC and secure the basic rights

of the Tibetan people to live in freedom, peace and dignity.

Against this background it is obvious that the Tibetan issue represents both a challenge and an opportunity for China. Many people throughout the world feel deeply committed to the Tibetan cause as a matter of humanitarian and moral principles. China's inability to resolve the Tibetan issue peacefully has been tarnishing her international image and reputation. Moreover, there is no doubt that a solution to the Tibetan issue would have far-reaching positive implications for China's image in the world, including in its dealing with Taiwan as well as in its relationship with India. Without peace and stability on the Tibetan plateau, it is unrealistic to hope that genuine trust and confidence can be restored in the Sino-Indian relationship.

Looking around the world we cannot fail to notice how unattended conflicts with strong ethnic undercurrents can erupt in ways that make them virtually impossible to solve. It is, therefore, in China's interest not to let that happen in the case of Tibet. A creative and courageous initiative to resolve the issue of Tibet by the new Chinese leadership would serve as a widely appreciated signal that China is maturing and becoming more responsible in assuming a greater leading role on the global stage. Such a political initiative and gesture by the new Chinese leadership during this time of deep sense of insecurity and anxiety in the international community will go a long way to impressing and reassuring the public at home and in the larger world.

*"Today the very survival of the Tibetan people with our distinct and unique culture, language, religion and identity is at threat. With the invasion and occupation of Tibet more than 60 years ago the Chinese authorities launched an era of radical changes not only in the political fortunes of the Tibetan people but also for Tibetan culture."*

## Sikyong Welcomes United States Senate Judiciary Committee's Approval of the Provision of 5,000 Visas to Tibetan Refugees

The US Senate Judiciary Committee approved the provision of 5,000 immigration visas to displaced Tibetans residing in India and Nepal. The amendment, offered by Senator Dianne Feinstein and cosponsored by Chairman Patrick Leahy and Senator Chuck Schumer, was approved by voice vote and included in the immigration reform bill currently under consideration in the US Senate.

The approval of the Tibet-related amendment, however, faces a long and possibly arduous process before it gets enacted. The immigration bill with the Tibetan provision must be approved first by the Judiciary Committee and then by the full US Senate, reconciled with the House version, and eventually passed by both houses of Congress. The entire process could take several months.

"I want to thank Senator Feinstein for introducing the amendment, Chairman Leahy and Senator Schumer for co-sponsoring, and honorable members of the US Senate Judiciary Committee for approving the amendment. This provision will provide a great boost to Tibetans and contribute to burden sharing of Tibetans in India and Nepal. The passage of this provision provides a timely moral support to Tibetans as they strug-

gle against a new wave of repressive Chinese policies, and represents a tangible continuation of the long-standing and bipartisan support of the United States for Tibet," said SikyongDrLobsangSangay.

Senator Feinstein's amendment that would create 5,000 immigrant visas for displaced Tibetans over a three-year period is based on a similar provision in the Immigration Act of 1990. The US Congress then generously approved a provision to grant immigrant visa to 1,000 displaced Tibetans living in India and Nepal. That program, carried out at no cost to US taxpayers, resulted in the successful establishment of thriving and independent Tibetan-American communities in 21 states.

His Holiness the Dalai Lama and the Tibetan leadership have been trying for over five decades to preserve Tibetan identity and culture in exile until Tibetans are free to return home again. It has long been His Holiness' vision that a healthy and prosperous diaspora is key to achieving this objective. The new Tibetan immigration provision, if and when enacted, will help the Central Tibetan Administration's efforts to find meaningful livelihoods and support the well being of displaced Tibetans who

have fled Tibet into exile.

The Fourteenth Kashag has been vigorously seeking international governmental support for Tibet. Over the past two years SikyongDrLobsangSangay has visited Washington frequently and met with Congressional leaders including Senators Feinstein, Leahy and Schumer to press the case for Tibet and Tibetans, including with regard to immigration issues. During his most recent visit to Washington on May 6-10, the Sikyong thanked the US government and Congress for their support and discussed the status of Tibetan refugee settlements in South Asia and the challenges faced by the Central Tibetan Administration in providing educational and employment opportunities for Tibetan refugees.

The Kashag urges all Tibetans to again be mindful that the inclusion of a Tibet-related amendment in the US immigration bill is only the first step in a long process. Firstly, the Senate Judiciary Committee and the full Senate must approve the immigration bill. The House of Representatives will be working on their own immigration bill. The two bills will then need to be reconciled. Lastly, immigration reform is a highly contentious issue and it is possible that there may not be an agreement on a final bill.

### CTA rejects false claims made by legislators from Tibet Autonomous Region in U.S.

The Central Tibetan Administration strongly rejects the false claims made by the delegation of China's National People's Congress of the so-called Tibet Autonomous Region on the issue of Tibet during its visit to the U.S. from 19 to 20 June. Ironically, this visit takes place shortly after that of Sikyong Dr. Lobsang Sangay of the CTA.

The delegation, led by chairman Padma Choling, met with Congressman Charles Boustany, co-chair of the bipartisan U.S.-China Working Group in the House of Representatives, congressional researchers and staff, and experts of the Brookings Institute, a U.S. think-tank, China's state media reported.

The unfounded allegations made by the delegation that the Central Tibetan Administration is behind the cycle of self-immolations in Tibet are unlikely to provide convincing evidence to change the U.S. authorities' position on Tibet. The U.S. government and Congress have unequivocally stated that they deplore the Chinese government's repressive policies targeting Tibetans and have repeatedly called on the Chinese government to suspend its counter-productive policies implemented in Tibet, and resume dialogue with representatives of His Holiness the Dalai Lama to resolve the problem of Tibet.

"Despite repeated appeals by the inter-

national community, China has been steadfast in its refusal to open up Tibet to independent fact-finding delegations and the international media to investigate the true causes behind the self-immolations. Sending a group of individuals to disseminate Chinese State propaganda will prove a futile exercise in foreign countries where freedom of speech and respect for human rights are fundamental values," said Kalon Dicki Chhoyang of the Department of Information & International Relations of the Central Tibetan Administration. The latter has repeatedly urged Tibetans not to resort to drastic forms of protests, including self-immolation.

## The Tibetan test

By Edward Lucas

{[www.europeanvoice.com](http://www.europeanvoice.com)}

The West must unite to resist Chinese bullying against those who meet Tibet's leaders

The Tibet season has opened again, with a dire warning to the British government that Prime Minister David Cameron's temerity in meeting the Dalai Lama last year had blighted relations. Only an apology can mend matters. The communist authorities in Beijing like to think that they can boss other countries around on this score. When Nicolas Sarkozy, then French president, met the Tibetan leader in 2009, France was forced to issue a humble joint statement implying that it would do no such thing again. In 2007, after Germany's Angela Merkel met the Dalai Lama, Germany did the same.

These are tough times for Tibetans, not just because of their despair at occupation of their homeland, but because of Western pusillanimity. Under the last Labour government, Britain (for no good reason) dropped its position of recognising only Chinese "sovereignty" over Tibet, not *de jure* rule. Now Cameron is being asked to kow-tow if he wants to restore Chinese trade and investment. Estonia, where President Toomas Hendrik Ilves commendably met the Dalai Lama in 2011, has had the same icy treatment.

Chinese bullying is working. It is ever-

harder for Tibetan leaders to get meetings when they travel in Europe and the United States (though the country's émigré political leader, Lobsang Sangay, did have a reasonably successful trip to Washington DC this month).

This is a test of European and transatlantic political will. If Europe and the US adopted a common position (something on the lines of 'we will meet with anyone we choose to, regardless of diplomatic bluster'), then the Chinese protests would be fireworks not cannons. China can afford to pick off individual countries, punishing them with a ban on high-level meetings and visits, or even trade and investment sanctions. But it cannot do that to the entire West.

The burden of responsibility and solidarity lies particularly heavily on the countries that have living memories of communist rule and foreign occupation. The Tibetan flag is banned by the Chinese authorities, just as owning a flag in the colours of the pre-war republics guaranteed harsh punishment in the Soviet era. The Baltic states were wiped off the map by the Soviet Union, which criminalised any expression of national sentiment. Migration and russification countered Baltic "nationalist" tendencies; now Beijing is destroying Tibetan identity with huge Han Chinese settlement. The bogus rhetoric of communist ethnic harmony (be like us and we can all be happy) and modernisation are al-

most identical. The sense of near-hopelessness is similar too. Only 30 years ago the restoration of Baltic independence seemed an impossible dream.

A similar duty lies on Poles, Czechs, Slovaks, Hungarians and other former captive nations. Indeed, anyone who cared about freedom in Europe during the Cold War should care about Tibet now, for the same reasons. Members of the European Parliament, of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, of national legislatures and governments, and everywhere else in public life (universities, think tanks, even media outlets) should make a point of arranging meetings with Tibetan representatives and doing so publicly and proudly. It does not require great moral courage to schedule a meeting and publish a photo. But once everyone is doing so, the ability of the Chinese embassies to feign outrage, and to impose punishments, is greatly limited. Instead of letting timidity ratchet down towards defeat, collective action ratchets resistance upwards towards victory.

The importance of this goes far beyond Tibet. If Europe cannot stick up for principle and defend itself against bullying when the stakes are relatively low, what chance is there that it can do so when the stakes are higher?

*(The writer edits the international section of The Economist)*

## Congress needs to hold China to account on Tibet

By Sikyong Dr. Lobsang Sangay

[*The Hill* / 5 June]

On April 24, 2013, two youths, Lobsang Dawa, 20, and Kunchok Woser, 23, lit themselves on fire near their monastery in eastern Tibet. The toll of Tibetans who have chosen to self-immolate has now reached 117, one of the highest in recent world history. The prime cause of this tragedy is the profound resentment

of and resistance to China's continued occupation and repression in Tibet.

For more than 60 years under Chinese rule, Tibetans in Tibet have suffered a continual assault on their identity and dignity. Decisions about their land, their livelihoods and their faith are made without their consent. Chinese settlers stream into Tibet, taking the

high-paying jobs. Tens of thousands of Tibetan nomads have been forcibly removed from their traditional grasslands, settled in concrete ghettos and reduced to poverty and alienation. Tibetans witness colonial-like development activities that loot Tibet's natural resources to a resource-hungry China. In addition, Tibetans deeply resent attacks on their Buddhist civilization, especially

China's demonization of His Holiness the Dalai Lama. The U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom in its April 2013 annual report states that the "religious freedom conditions in Tibetan areas are worse now than at any time over the past decade." Tibetans have every reason to believe that China wants Tibet but not the Tibetan people.

As a Tibetan, this is an extraordinarily difficult and sad time. Self-immolation manifests both the desperation and determination of the Tibetan people. The Central Tibetan Administration has consistently appealed and categorically discouraged Tibetans in Tibet from self-immolating as a form of protest. However, as Tibetans it is our sacred duty to support the aspirations of Tibetans in Tibet: the return of His Holiness the Dalai Lama to Tibet, and freedom for the Tibetan people.

Despite 54 years of occupation by the People's Republic of China (PRC), the Tibetan spirit and identity inside Tibet remains unbroken. In the face of such oppression, Tibetans inside Tibet and in exile have strived to save their unique culture, religion and language, and anchored their struggle on the two core and unshakable principles of democracy and nonviolence.

With foresight and conviction, Members of Congress from both sides of the aisle have legislated over the years

to help Tibet. This has given political, moral and financial support to the His Holiness the Dalai Lama's vision of a peaceful solution to the Tibet problem through the "Middle Way" approach that would provide for genuine autonomy for Tibet within the framework of Chinese constitution. Tibet is not a constitutional or an institutional problem for the government of the People's Republic of China. As per Article 31 of the PRC Constitution, China has created a separate institutional mechanism of one country, two systems for Hong Kong and Macau. The Chinese leadership has also displayed the political will by forming a cabinet level committee to deal with Taiwan. However, when it comes to Tibet, the Chinese leadership has neither employed the available constitutional mechanism at its disposal, nor has it shown the political will to resolve the issue peacefully.

Under the enlightened leadership of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, Tibetans in exile have built a vibrant model of democracy. The world witnessed a significant validation of this democracy when in March 2011, His Holiness the Dalai Lama fully devolved his political responsibilities to an elected Tibetan leadership led by the Sikyong. The Central Tibetan Administration, under the Sikyong's leadership, is tasked with both pursuing a peaceful and negotiated settlement to the Tibet issue, as well as

the development and welfare of more than 120,000 Tibetan refugees in South Asia. The exile community has become essential to preserving Tibetan culture, identity, liberty and dignity until they can flourish again in Tibet.

Tibetans are deeply grateful for the generosity of the U.S. government and the American people. Congress has enacted laws such as the Tibetan Policy Act to require reporting on human rights in Tibet, to ensure that Tibet is a priority in U.S.-China relations and to promote Tibetan-Chinese dialogue.

As the elected leader of the Tibetan people, now charged with the political responsibilities formerly held by His Holiness the Dalai Lama, I look to Congress for your continued support in advancing a peaceful solution to the Tibet question. It would be extremely helpful if Congressional foreign policy committees could hold hearings on Tibet. Congress has established several financial assistance programs for Tibetans and continued funding is vital. Lastly, I urge the U.S. Congress to further strengthen its efforts to encourage the Chinese government to enter into a meaningful dialogue to resolve the Tibet issue peacefully.

*Dr. Sangay is the Sikyong, the democratically elected leader of the Tibetan people*

## Special Report: The mother who burned herself to death for Tibet

By Sui-Lee Wee

6 June 2013

(Reuters) – In March, a young Tibetan woman named Kalkyi began making frequent visits to a monastery in Barma, a township in China's Sichuan Province.

The slim, rosy-cheeked mother of four was a devout Tibetan Buddhist, a close relative says. But her visits to the Dzamthang Jonang monastery this spring were out of character. So too were the spiritual mantras Kalkyi had begun to chant several times a day, and

the way she had taken to prostrating herself in the monastery at least twice a day.

On the chilly afternoon of March 24, Kalkyi – who like some Tibetans went by just one name – stood outside the monastery gates with about 200 to 300 other worshippers. She doused herself with gasoline and lit a match. Flames instantly engulfed her, and as they did, she shouted words that no one could make out.

Witnesses say it took less than 15 min-

utes for the blaze to kill Kalkyi. She was 30 years old.

It was the ninth time in just over a year that a Tibetan mother had set herself on fire, an especially startling statistic to emerge from a grisly campaign of suicidal political defiance that shows no sign of ending.

Since 2009, at least 117 Tibetans have committed acts of self-immolation in China in protest against Beijing's policies in Tibet and nearby regions with

large Tibetan populations.

More than 90 have perished as a result, with the latest fatality coming on May 29 in Qinghai province. Kalkyi's death was the 39th immolation in Ngaba prefecture, the corner of Sichuan Province where Barma township sits. This majority-Tibetan prefecture is the geographic focal point of the immolation wave, which increased dramatically in 2012.

The ultimate impact of the Tibetan suicides is uncertain. In 2010, one fruit seller's self-immolation in Tunisia sparked a revolution that would become known as the Arab Spring. But the Chinese government's restrictions on the domestic and international media have limited awareness of the growing number of immolations both inside and outside the country.

Kalkyi's story nonetheless underscores how the movement has reached a desperate new stage, with the suicides moving beyond the Buddhist clerics who launched them and into the lay community. The deaths in the restive Tibet Autonomous Region and other Tibetan parts of China pose a particular challenge to two men: new Chinese President Xi Jinping, and the exiled Tibetan spiritual leader, the Dalai Lama. Some Tibetan scholars have criticized the Dalai Lama for not calling for an end to the burnings.

Kalkyi didn't belong to a religious order, long a source of dissent against Chinese rule; nor did she appear to have suffered specific acts of abuse. She was not, in other words, anyone the authorities would have expected trouble from.

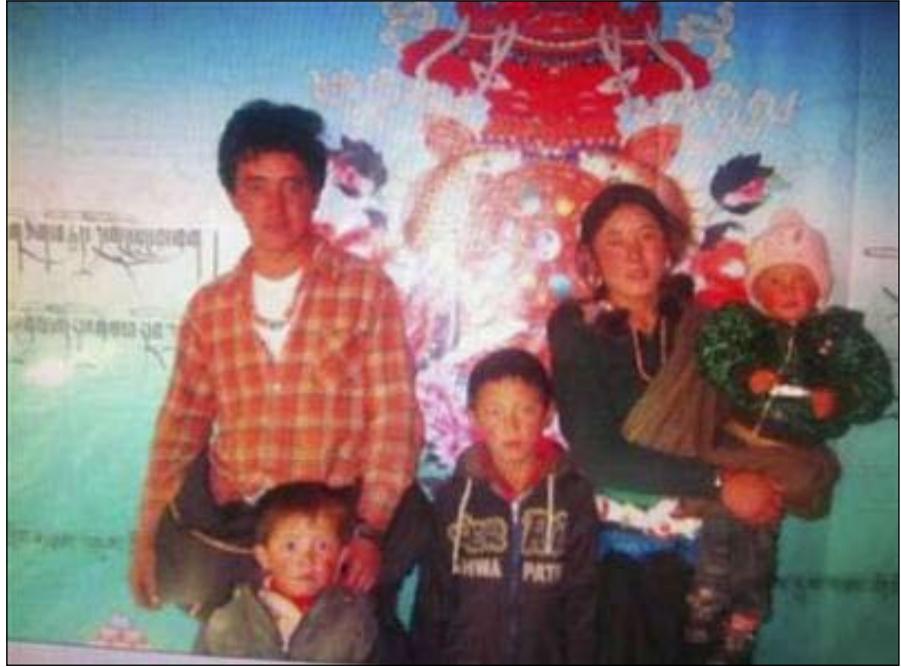
An examination of her life provides possible clues to why she set herself on fire. Among them: an emerging fervor among some lay Buddhists for imitating the monks who began the series of self-immolations.

A Reuters correspondent was able to verify Kalkyi's suicide and piece together the first account of her final days by visiting Barma, about 550 kilometers (310 miles) northwest of Sichuan's capital of Chengdu. No foreign journalist had been in Barma before this trip.

Some Tibet experts say the January 2012 shooting of a 20-year-old student named Urgen may have instigated the suicides in the Barma region. Urgen was killed when Chinese security forces fired on protesters in Barma trying to prevent the arrest of another youth, who had published leaflets declaring

trampling Tibetan rights and boasts of having brought development and prosperity to the region.

In 2008, months before the Olympic Games in Beijing, demonstrations about the perceived lack of freedoms for Tibetans broke out across the region, elic-



the self-immolations to be in support of a free Tibet and the return of the Dalai Lama, according to Tibetan advocacy groups.

Tsering Woeser, a Tibetan writer who tracks the self-immolations, considers the shooting a turning point. Since then, six people have killed themselves in Barma alone.

"There is no calm in these Tibetan areas. Each place is a dynamite package with a fuse," she said. "Once that's ignited, the anger in these places will explode."

Officials in Barma could not be reached for comment.

### TROUBLED REGION

Violence has flared in Tibet since 1950, when Beijing claims it "peacefully liberated" the region. Many Tibetans say Chinese rule has eroded their culture and religion. They are agitating for the Dalai Lama's return from exile in India, and genuine autonomy for their homeland. The Chinese government denies

iting a brutal crackdown.

The first series of self-immolations began three years later, in 2011. They started with monks, nuns or former clergy and continued for about a year.

As shocking as the first suicides were, the people who chose to burn themselves did so, Tibetan scholars say, in reaction to specific instances of abuse at particular monasteries. Tibetan Buddhist monasteries are often under surveillance and subject to raids by Chinese security forces.

The dynamic began to change in 2012. Of the more than 100 Tibetans to self-immolate in 2012 and 2013, about two-thirds were lay people, according to Tibetan activists and scholars who track the phenomenon.

One of them, a woman named Rikyo, traveled in May of last year to the Dzamthang Jonang monastery, where she set herself ablaze. Word of the suicide note she left traveled far and wide.

Rikyō, 33, a mother of one child, wrote that she wanted the Dalai Lama to return to Tibet – a near-universal request from the self-immolators.

“I am willing to bear the suffering of everyone in despair,” Rikyō wrote in her note. “If I fall into the hands of the communists, please do not fight back.”

Beijing intensified its crackdown. It called the self-immolators “terrorists” and arrested people it accuses of inciting the acts. Chinese authorities have detained at least 75 people in Tibetan regions this year. In Barma today, a notice stuck on a pole in the village offers a 100,000 yuan (\$16,310) reward for any information on those “masterminding, supporting, abetting and coercing others to self-immolate.”

Chinese officials have specifically accused the Dalai Lama, who the government calls a “wolf in monk’s robes,” of providing money to the families of those who set themselves on fire. The Tibetan government in exile, based in Dharamsala, India, says it “categorically rejects” these allegations.

## FINE LINES

The escalating suicide toll has put the Dalai Lama in a bind. He has called the acts “understandable,” even as he says he does not encourage them.

Several Tibet scholars have criticized his stance, saying his reluctance to tell his people to stop has strengthened their resolve to continue the fiery protests.

“I am puzzled by the Dalai Lama’s failure to act decisively in this situation, and by his decision not to advise people to consider their dependents before killing themselves,” said Robbie Barnett, director of modern Tibet studies at Columbia University.

The Dalai Lama did not respond to requests for comment.

In an interview, KhedroobThondup, the Dalai Lama’s nephew, said his uncle is in a “very difficult position.” Even an appeal from the Dalai Lama couldn’t stop the self-immolations, he said. “This is not something started by him and this

is not something he can end.”

“He feels these people are protesting because there are no alternatives, that they are desperate,” said KhedroobThondup. “When they self-immolate, they are asking him to return.”

Lobsang Sangay, prime minister of the government in exile, said in an interview the self-immolations are a political issue. The response should come not from the Dalai Lama but from Sangay’s government, which discourages the suicides. The blame lies with Beijing – and so does the solution, he says.

“All they need to do is reform their repressive policies, and introduce liberal policies towards the Tibetan people, and solve the issue of Tibet peacefully through dialogue,” Sangay said.

That approach, called the “Middle Way” by the Tibetans, seeks a Hong Kong-style autonomy for the region. But years of autonomy talks between the two sides broke down in 2010. And the growing carnage has added to the frustration some Tibetan activists have with the Middle Way. They seek independence, not just autonomy, and advocate non-violent ways of protest.

Xi, the new president, has said very little publicly about Tibet since taking office in March. His late father, a liberal-minded former vice premier, was close to the Dalai Lama. The Tibetan leader once gave the elder Xi an expensive watch in the 1950s, a gift the senior party official still wore decades later.

The younger Xi has shown no such warmth. During a trip to Tibet last July, Xi vowed to crack down on separatist forces that he said were led by the Dalai Lama.

State broadcaster CCTV aired a documentary in mid-May that blamed the “Dalai Lama clique” for publishing a guidebook teaching Tibetans how to set themselves on fire. The accusation was a reference to a blog post by a former member of Tibet’s parliament-in-exile, who advised would-be suicides to maximize the impact through “military-like” planning, such as having friends

film the act. The Tibetan government-in-exile denounced the post as “irresponsible”.

## HONOR THE COMMUNITY

Political stalemate and a suffocating crackdown are the standard reasons given to explain the rising number of fiery suicides. But some scholars and Tibetans say there may be more to the death of a woman like Kalkyi than that.

Tibetans in China practice what some scholars call an “honor-based” politics. “Many people see themselves as socially insignificant, particularly younger women, so it seems to them more reasonable that they should sacrifice themselves for the honor of the community as a whole – as the community leaders, the monks, had already done,” said Columbia’s Barnett.

As such, the second wave of self-immolations – mostly involving lay Tibetans – has been a way to honor the 2011 deaths among the clergy and give meaning to their sacrifice. What’s worrying, Barnett said, is that they are spreading rapidly among people – such as young mothers like Kalkyi – who had not previously been drawn to overt defiance.

The township of Barma, called Zhongrangtang in Chinese, is remote, poor and sparsely populated, with only 4,000 inhabitants. Women clad in sheepskin garments hack at rocks with construction tools to make gravel. Few speak Chinese.

One main road runs through the township, which sits 3,560 meters (11,680 feet) above sea level and is surrounded by mountains dotted with pine trees. About 96 percent of the people who live there are herders, according to 2009 data from the website of the local county government.

Kalkyi’s husband, Truype, was one of them. A relative of Kalkyi described the family as middle-class for the region. Truype made some money selling his animals. He also built houses. They had sold one home and were living in a second, a traditional, two-story mud-brick structure. A month before she died, ac-

ording to a relative, Kalkyi said they had just finished work on a third, a modern stone building, but had not yet furnished it.

In the summer Kalkyi and Truype would climb the mountains to gather herbs and fungi to sell. Many Tibetan nomads are skilled at harvesting “caterpillar fungi”, a prized ingredient in traditional Chinese medicine, which sells for 225,000 yuan (\$36,700) per kilogram.

The couple had four children, who range in age from one to 10. In the yard of their brick house, Tibetan prayer flags on a long pole now flutter in the wind. A stone carving on the wall in front of her house is inscribed with the Tibetan words: “Om manipadme hum,” a traditional Buddhist mantra that is also chanted as a prayer to the Dalai Lama.

Kalkyi was uneducated. The Chinese government shut down Tibetan-language schools in the 1990s, so she never learned how to write, and she never attended the Chinese-language schools the government opened in their place. When she got married at 20, she wanted to learn Tibetan so she could pray, say those who know her. She began going to the Dzamthang Jonang, an imposing structure that consists of three different monasteries, surrounded by large courtyards and smaller buildings.

Her friends and a family member who lived with her for two years describe her as easygoing, a woman who liked chatting with the elderly folk in her village. According to the relative and to Tsangyang Gyatso, an India-based Tibetan who has contacts with Kalkyi’s family and friends, her family life was stable and she had no financial problems.

In the weeks and months before she took her life, Kalkyi grew more openly devout, those closest to her say, but she displayed no signs of political radicalism.

“I never had any idea she would set herself on fire,” the close relative told Reuters on condition of anonymity. According to neighbors, her husband Truype was also caught off guard.

Reuters was unable to speak to Truype. Police stopped Reuters reporters en route to his home and detained them for six hours before ordering them to leave for Chengdu, the provincial capital.

In the immediate aftermath of Kalkyi’s death on March 24th, monks from the Dzamthang Jonang monastery carried her body into the main hall, as Chinese security forces and military locked down the area.

Tibetan culture requires a body be kept until an astrologer determines the most

auspicious date for a cremation ceremony. But Chinese authorities ordered that Kalkyi’s ceremony be completed by midnight, witnesses say. Even so, despite a large military presence, that evening some 4,000 people gathered on the monastery’s grounds for the ceremony, according to local residents.

The close relative has come to believe that Kalkyi’s decision to sacrifice her life was meant to honor the Tibetan community. “She might have thought that since she didn’t go to school, this was the only way she could do something for her country.”

“Right after her fiery protest,” he said, “I was very sad, but then I was really, really happy, because even a young woman can sacrifice her life for such a big cause, a nation’s cause.”

To the Chinese government’s alarm, they continue to do so.

Less than a month after Kalkyi killed herself, a 20-year-old woman named Chugtso trekked from her home to the Dzamthang Jonang monastery. On April 16, at around 3 p.m., she set herself ablaze, dying in almost the same spot as Kalkyi.

Chugtso was the mother of a three-year-old boy.

## Video: A rare glimpse inside Tibet at a time of unwelcome change

By Max Fisher

[*The Washington Post* / 23 May]

Western reporters have had scant access to the Chinese province of Tibet since 2008, when a series of protests and riots calling for greater autonomy coincided with the Beijing Olympics. China, wanting to tamp down the protests and avoid more international criticism, shut down most foreign access to Tibet. The rise of self-immolations by Tibetans has not made Beijing any more eager to open up the province, which is being flooded by Chinese migrants from the ethnic Han majority.

It was a big deal, then, when France24

reporter Cyril Payen secured a visa to visit the province. He interviewed a number of Tibetans, who spoke with surprising candor about Chinese oppression, a lack of religious freedoms and a fear that inflowing Chinese migrants will erase their ancient culture. Payen says the Tibetan capital of Lhasa feels like “an Orwellian world of surveillance, like a city under occupation.”

“We don’t have any freedoms or human rights today,” a young activist tells the reporter, agreeing to meet only for a moment in a busy market. She says of her Buddhist belief that the Dalai Lama is

sacred, “If we said that, then we would be put in jail.”

Payen also visits the construction around the Jokhang Temple, a U.N. world heritage site that is considered the most sacred building in Tibet. Controversially, Chinese officials are building a shopping plaza there, part of a larger construction boom in Lhasa that activists say is destroying the city’s heritage.

The reporter also visits with a Tibetan monk who says he’s afraid to leave the monastery. Payen signs off by calling the Tibetan capital “a shadow of what it once was.”

## The Accidental Prime Minister of Tibet

*How a Buddhist mindset, the “Middle Way,” and a Harvard education keep Lobsang Sangay, the country’s Sikyong, afloat. Oh, and no attachments, please.*

By Olga Khazan

[*The Atlantic* / 15 May]

OSLO, Norway — In a way, Lobsang Sangay ended up overseeing of one of the world’s longest-running political conflicts largely by accident. A Tibetan legal expert born to refugee parents in India, he was working at Harvard University when, on a lark, he ran for Tibet’s top government job as sikyong, or prime minister, in 2011.

Sangay never actually lived in Tibet, but his connection to the region’s decades-long struggle for autonomy is generations deep. His father was a monk who fled Tibet in 1959, the same year as the Dalai Lama. His uncle was shot dead. His aunt, unable to tolerate the daily injustices of her life, committed suicide by jumping in a river while pregnant. Sangay was born in a refugee camp, attended the University of Delhi, and became the first Tibetan to receive a degree from Harvard Law School. He stayed on as an academic, organizing conferences between Chinese and Tibetan scholars throughout the early 2000s.

Tibet had traditionally been ruled by the Dalai Lama, but in 2011 the aging monk said he would turn his authority over to a new, elected leader. Sangay’s name was submitted to an online petition site, making him an official candidate for office. He ran dutifully and frugally, sharing cabs and hotel rooms with the other candidates, whose platforms differed from his (and each others’) very little. He won with 55 percent of the vote, surprising even himself in the process.

A cornerstone of Tibet’s — and Sangay’s — strategy toward China for the past few years has been the so-called “Middle Way,” or the idea that through dialogue and non-violence, Tibetan people can achieve autonomy within

China, similar to what Hong Kong or Macau enjoy today. The newly chosen Chinese leadership hasn’t warmed to the possibility of greater Tibetan self-determination. The government has increased its control of Buddhist monasteries in the region, pushed the Tibetan language out of regional schools, and threatened to prosecute any Tibetan caught protesting or inciting protests. As a result, self-immolations have spiked sharply — at least 115 Tibetans have set themselves on fire since March 2011.

Meanwhile, Sangay governs in exile from Dharamsala, India, not recognized by the Chinese government but persistently urging Chinese officials to come to the table.

The Atlantic spoke with Sangay in Norway, where he recently spoke at the Oslo Freedom Forum. An edited transcript of our conversation follows.

### **Why did you decide to run for office?**

My father and my mother — when we lost our country, they fled to India as refugees, so I always had this legacy of the separation of my family. It has stayed in my mind. My parents always felt serving the cause was very important. I was in Beijing in 2005, but the Chinese authorities didn’t allow me to enter Tibet. My father had passed away in 2004 — I told the Chinese authorities that it was important for me to go to Lhasa — it’s important for Tibetans to pay respects and pray. Even then, they refused. The legacy of the elder generation and my own parents’ experience was always there.

### **How did you come to win the election?**

This guy launched a site — kalontripa.org [the former title for the head of the

elected government]. He wanted to push candidates to come forward. Anyone could nominate a candidate, but when no candidates volunteered, it almost flopped. A friend of mine happened to visit him. He nominated me, and said, let’s see where it goes. My name was put forward to entice other candidates to come forward. My name came first, then the other candidates actually came. Then newspapers started nominating names, and they all took their cue from the site, and everyone started nominating me because I was listed first. I had no plans whatsoever. I spent 16 years at Harvard Law School. I hardly ever went to the Kennedy School [of government].

I said, “what the heck, I am just going to lose anyway.” I thought I could improve the election by pulling the other candidates along. We never had campaigns or debates of candidates before. After I was drawn in, I started drawing interest in the cause. Conventional wisdom was that I had a 1 or 2 percent chance of winning. You’re running an exile administration, filling the shoes of the Dalai Lama ... how can someone parachute in and win just like that?

Then we had debates, and interest started generating. The other candidates were seen as insiders, and me as the outside candidate. And then one thing led to another and people voted for me. It became more of an election of personalities than policies.

The Dalai Lama pulled all of his authority right at the same time. Before, the job was a lot simpler because you could just get a paper signed by him and show it to Tibetans and say, “don’t criticize this.” But then, His Holiness said, “you’re on your own.” And I thought, “Oh my goodness, what did I bargain for?”

I took it as my karma. I started moving forward, doing the best I can.

**How could the “one country, two systems” mechanism that’s in place in Hong Kong and Macau work for Tibet? What types of liberties or rights do you hope would come through that type of autonomy?**

Ideally, you want as much freedom as possible. But realistically we would like something in the middle of repression and separation. Ongoing repression is unbearable. At the same time we are not seeking separation from China.

There is a racial element to this. The Chinese government is giving autonomy to Hong Kong and Macau; the message seems to be that for Tibetans, we don’t trust you. The Chinese constitution clearly says the Tibetan language should be encouraged, and Tibetan culture should be promoted. We want Tibetans to administer their own regime.

Has the fact that you are no longer pushing for full separation resulted in any dissatisfaction among Tibetan exiles?

There are some Tibetans who believe independence is our birthright, and historically speaking, they are right. How we deal with that is that we are a democratic society, and we are all entitled to our own views — we try to maintain it as difference of views, but not divisions.

**Do you think there will be a solution to the Tibet issue within the lifetime of the current Dalai Lama?**

Yes. Otherwise why would I leave my job at Harvard and go to Dharamsala? You have to always walk with hope that tomorrow will be different and better. If that hope disappears, then I think it’s a very lonely place. You have to believe that he will be able to return to Tibet during his lifetime.

**The Tibetan struggle has been going on for so long ... how has it changed over time?**

Our elder generation were sincere, dedicated, hardworking, they sacrificed a lot. We have to continue that tradition

and build on it, with modern education, exposure, and the understanding that we have. The traditional ethos and the modern know-how — you have to have both. People are engaged from different countries and different backgrounds — that is a challenge. Before, everyone was on the same page.

The situation inside Tibet has also gone from bad to worse. Before, there were protests, now there are self-immolations. The Chinese government is more powerful militarily and economically. But you have to keep the spirit and solidarity of Tibetans inside Tibet strong, and united with the spirit outside of Tibet also. We have to keep pressing the Chinese government to enter dialogue with Tibetans. And at the same time we have to invest in nonviolence and democracy, and hope that Chinese leaders will realize that repressive policies toward Tibet are not working.

**We’ve seen self-immolations increase sharply in the past year. What explains the rise?**

The system is so repressive that there is bound to be resentment and resistance. In 2008, there were a lot of protests all over Tibet. The consequences were very harsh. Most of them were arrested, tortured, put behind bars, and many died. Self-immolation is also a form of protest, but unlike before, self-immolators are drinking poison or petrol before they self-immolate, or left messages saying, “Don’t let me fall into the hands of Chinese authorities” — they wanted a quick death rather than to suffer at the hands of the Chinese.

The macro cause is repression, and the immediate cause is that there is no space for any form of protest. The Chinese have been cracking down on domestic monastic communities. Now the Communist party decides who can be a monk or not, and that seems to cause some monks to commit self-immolation. The largest number of self-immolations took place during the Party Congress in November — they wanted to send an urgent message to the Chinese leadership.

There have been some signs that China has recently stepped up the campaign to suppress Tibetan culture. Do you think anything will change for the Tibetan people under China’s new leadership?

On the personnel level, there used to be one representative for “minorities” in the Politburo. In the 200-member central committee, there were 16 representatives for minorities. The one has been reduced to zero, and 16 to 10. Even the token representation has been reduced. It doesn’t look like they’re giving priority to the minority issue in general and to the Tibet issue in particular. Also, at the ground level, the Chinese are prosecuting self-immolation. It seems they really want to continue this vicious cycle. In that sense, it’s not that optimistic.

But they only took over fully in March. By March of 2014, we’ll get a clear picture of whether Xi wants to bring change or not. It’s a little early at the moment.

**How do you feel like your Harvard education and U.S. experience has helped you so far?**

It helps you meet all kinds of leaders. It gives you knowledge and confidence. But I’m a Tibetan, and humility is an integral part of Tibetan tradition. It’s how to balance learning from America but not being too American. You have to be individualistic in some sense, but at the same time you’re very aware of the communitarian mindset that Tibetans have. You have to balance between the two.

**How do you work with the Chinese government, since they won’t recognize you?**

Publicly, we reach out to say that we are ready for dialogue, that’s our stance. Now, formally, we haven’t had dialogue since January 2010. But informally, many Chinese do come to Dharamsala — journalists, scholars — and I convey to them the same message. When I come out here [to Oslo] or anywhere, I meet Chinese scholars. My commitment to dialogue is established. Now,

*(contd on Page 30)*

## Tête-à-Tête with Ms Tenzin Choekyi, an exile trailblazer

### If you work hard, nothing is impossible to achieve: Tenzin Chokyi

Tibet TV of the Central Tibetan Administration interviewed Ms Tenzin Chokyi of Tibetan Homes Foundation, who scored 95.4% in her class XII board examination. She became the first recipient of the prestigious Sikyong scholarship, rolled out last year by the Department of Education to promote academic excellence.

**Congratulations to you first. Except your family and friends, not many people know you or heard about you before. But since your incredible performance in this year's board exams, you have generated a lot of interest among many people. So can you tell us a bit about yourself?**

I am Tenzin Chokyi. I am from Bhandra Tibetan settlement. My parents worked at the Tibetan Homes Foundation (THF) in Mussoorie. My father expired last year. I joined THF Mussoorie in 2004 and was looked after by the school since then.

**How did you feel when the results came out?**

When I came to know that I have scored 95%, I felt very happy. But when I checked the marks subject-wise, I felt a little disappointed with my English score. I have got only 94 in English, I was expecting a little bit more than that.

**When you came to know about your result, whom did you first share the good news with?**

I first broke the good news to my mother.

**What was the reaction of your friends and family when they came to know about the results?**

They were all very happy and congratulated me.



**When the congratulations started pouring in from your friends, family and teachers, how did you feel?**

I felt very glad and proud as well, as I felt that I was able to repay them, in a way, with this result.

**Could tell us how much hard work did you put in preparing for the exams?**

There is a combination of factors involved behind my success. I started studying at the beginning of the year itself. Whenever I faced some problems, I used to ask my teachers for direction and guidance. I also used to visit the library and the browsing centre to clarify my doubts. Moreover, the teachers also helped us a lot by taking extra classes and coaching.

**How do you view success? What is success in your opinion?**

To me, success is being able to repay the people that have been instrumental in my life. In my case, the source of support and inspiration are His Holiness the Dalai Lama, THF school, my parents, my teachers, friends etc.

**What kind of a student are you in the school?**

When I was in school, I was a member of the English editorial board. I used to participate in school debates.

**Other than just studies, what are your hobbies in school?**

I was in the school dance troupe until class VIII.

**Among the various subjects in your school curriculum, which is your favourite subject?**

English

**Having an excellent result in the +2 exams, what are your plans for the future?**

I am planning to do BA English honours. I will work hard to build on the excellent result that I got in the +2 board exam.

**With a score of 95.4%, there are a lot of opportunities available in front of you. The last time I called you, you said you wanted to pursue a course in journalism in Shimla.**

I have earlier decided to study in Shimla because the weather condition will be favourable to my health. But now my family is asking me to reconsider my choice of college and city.

**What is your word of advice to the future class 12 students who will appear for the board examination?**

I want to say that when the Department of Education first rolled out the Sikyong

scholarship last year, everybody said that it is impossible to get such a high cut off marks. Now that I have got it, I want to tell my friends that if you work hard, nothing is impossible to achieve.

**You will be meeting the Sikyong soon. Since you are the first recipient of the prestigious Sikyong scholarship, what are your feelings?**

I feel very happy and deeply honoured.

**The Sikyong will personally meet you in a short while. And you have already met the two secretaries of the Education department, how do you feel about everything that is happening around you?**

I feel very happy and proud with all the love and adulation that I am receiving now.

### Three Tibetan Schools Achieve 100% Result in AISSCE 2013

The Central Board of Secondary Education (CBSE) declared class XII board examination results on 27 May. And three Tibetan schools namely, TCV Selakui, TNMF Clement Town and TCV Gopalpur have achieved 100% result this year.

Out of the 1616 Tibetan students who appeared in the All India Secondary School Certificate Examination (AISSCE) conducted by CBSE, 1411 have passed, 47 students failed and 158 students were placed under compartment category (failed in one subject). The overall pass percentage of Tibetan schools is 87.3, which is a notch higher

than the All India aggregate of 82.10%.

However, compared to last year's result of Tibetan schools in class XII board examination, this year's performance has shown a significant dip. Last year, the overall pass percentage was 92.52 (Out of 1286 students who appeared in the exam, 1177 passed, 27 failed and 82 failed in one subject (Compartment).

Girls of Tibetan schools have outshined boys in this year's examination. Out of 798 boys who appeared in the examination, 686 (85.96%) have passed whereas 725 girls (88.63%) out of 818 have cleared the examination.

Ms Tenzin Chokyi of THF School Mussoorie topped in Arts Stream with 95.4%. Having scored above 95%, she is entitled to claim the prestigious Sikyong Scholarship of Rs 100,000. This new scholarship was rolled out this year by the Department of Education to encourage students to work harder and perform better in class XII board examination.

Mr Trinley Tsering Lama of TCV School Selakui topped in Science and Mr Tenzin Thinlay of THF Mussoorie topped in Commerce stream with 92.8% and 90.4% respectively.

### Recipients of Gaden Phodrang Merit Award 2013

#### SCIENCE STREAM

Rank	Name	School	%
1	Thinley Tsering Lama	TCV Selakui	92.8%
2	Tenzin Kunsang	TCV Selakui	92.6%
3	Tenzin Wangchuk	CST Mundgod	91.8%

#### ARTS STREAM

Rank	Name	School	%
1	Tenzin Chokyi	THF Mussoorie	95.4%
2	Phuntsok Dhondup	THF Mussoorie	92%
3	Gonpo Tashi	THF Mussoorie	89.2%

#### COMMERCE STREAM

Rank	Name	School	%
1	Tenzin Thinley	THF Mussoorie	90.4%
2	Tseten Dolma	TCV Bylakuppe	87.2%
3	Kalsang	THF Mussoorie	84.8%

(contd from Page 28)

the Chinese government has yet to respond.

**It sounds like you were subject to Chinese phishing attempts via email attachments? Does that happen often?**

Yes, all the time. They try to monitor

me, destroy my computer, make my life difficult.

It's where the Buddhist philosophy comes in — don't have attachments!

**What can the everyday people do for Tibet, if they're interested in the cause?**

First, I would urge them to visit Tibet. net. Through that, get engaged in Tibetan issues. And after that, they should write to congressmen and senators on the need to support the issue of Tibet. It's an urgent critical situation. And come Dharamsala!

## TIBETAN MEDIA

Sheja (Official Tibetan monthly)  
Department of Information & International  
Relations, Dharamshala-176215, HP, India  
Email: sheja\_editor@tibet.net  
Web: www.bod.asia

Tibetan Freedom (Official Tibetan weekly)  
Department of Information & International  
Relations, Dharamshala-176215, HP, India  
Email: tibefreedom@tibet.net  
Web: www.bod.asia

NewsTibet  
241 E. 32nd Street  
New York, NY 10016  
Web: www.tibetoffice.org

Tibet Bulletin (Official Chinese bi-monthly)  
Department of Information & International  
Relations, Dharamshala-176 215, HP, India  
Email: chinadesk@tibet.net  
Web: www.xizang-zhiye.org  
www.tibetonline.tv

## Contacts for the Central Tibetan Administration

### INDIA

Department of Information & International  
Relations, Central Tibetan Administration,  
Gangchen Kyishong, Dharamshala - 176 215  
H.P., India Tel: +91-1892-222510/222457  
Fax: +91-1892-224957 Email: diir@tibet.net  
www.tibet.net

**Bureau of H.H. the Dalai Lama**, 10-B Ring Road,  
Lajpat Nagar IV, New Delhi 110 024, India  
Tel:+91-11-26474798, Fax:+91-11-2646-1914  
Email: rep.in@tibet.net  
www.tibetbureau.in

**Chief Representative (South Zone)**, No. 7,  
Sampangiramaiah Garden, Srinivagalu Tank,  
Viveknagar Post, Bangalore-560047  
Karnataka, India Tel:+91-080-5506842 / 5506843  
Fax:+91-080-5506966  
Email:chiefrep@bgl.vsnl.net.in

### NEPAL

**The Office of Tibet**, Tibetan Refugee Welfare Office,  
Gaden Khangsar, Narayan Gopal Marg-270.  
Lazimpat, Ward 2, P.O.Box No. 310,  
Kathmandu, Nepal Tel: +977-1-4419903/4420799  
Fax: +977-1-4411660 Email: rep.np@tibet.net

### UNITED STATES

**The Office of Tibet**, 241 E. 32nd Street, New York  
NY 10016, U.S.A. Tel: +1-212-213-5010,  
Fax: +1-212-779-9245  
Email: rep.us@tibet.net  
www.tibetoffice.org

### Liaison Officer for Latin America,

241 E. 32nd Street, New York NY 10016, U.S.A.  
Tel: +1-212-213-5010, Fax: +1-212-779-9245  
Email: latin@tibet.net  
spanish.tibetoffice.org

### SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE TO EUROPE

Office of the Special Representative of H.H. the Dalai  
Lama, P.O.Box CH-8036 Zurich  
Tel:+41-79-349-2448 Fax:+41-43-536-2909  
Email: special.eu@tibet.net  
www.tibet-europe.com

### SWITZERLAND

**The Tibet Bureau**, Place de la Navigation 10  
1201 Geneva, Switzerland Tel: +41-22-7387-940  
Fax: +41-22-7387-941 Email: rep.ch@tibet.net  
www.tibetoffice.ch

### JAPAN

**Liaison Office of H.H. the Dalai Lama**, Hayama  
Building No. 5(5F), 5-11-30 Shinjuku Shinjuku-ku,  
Tokyo 160-0022, Japan  
Tel: +81-3-3353-4094, Fax: +81-3-3225-8013  
E-mail: rep.jp@tibet.net  
www.tibethouse.jp

### UNITED KINGDOM

**The Office of Tibet**, 1 Culworth Street, London,  
NW8 7AF, U.K. Tel:+44-207-722-5378,  
Fax:+44-207-722-0362 Email: rep.uk@tibet.net  
www.tibet.com

### FRANCE

**Bureau Du Tibet**, 84 BD Adolphe Pinard, 75014,  
Paris, France, Tel:+33-1-46-565-453,  
Fax:+33-1-41-170-014,  
Email: francebureau@tibet.net

### BELGIUM

**Bureau du Tibet**, 24 Avenue des Arts,  
1000 Brussels, Belgium Tel: +32-2-280 4922  
Email: rep.be@tibet.net

### AUSTRALIA

**Tibet Information Office**, 8/13 Napier Close,  
Deakin, Canberra, ACT 2600, Australia Tel: +61-2-  
6285-4046 Fax: +61-2-6282-4301  
Email: rep.au@tibet.net  
www.tibetoffice.com.au

### RUSSIA

**Tibet Culture & Information Centre**,  
Korn # 110, POB # 7, St. Bolshaya Novodmitrovs-  
kaya - 14 Moscow 127015, Russia  
Tel: +7-495-786-4362 Fax: +7-495-685-11-32  
Email: rep.ru@tibet.net  
www.savetibet.ru

### SOUTH AFRICA

**Office of Tibet**, P.O. Box. 16812, Lyttelton 0140,  
Republic of South Africa. Tel: +27-12-664-1193  
Fax: +27-12-664-1194  
Email: rep.sa@tibet.net  
www.officeoftibet.com

### TAIWAN

**Religious Foundation of H.H. the Dalai Lama**  
10th Fl. 4 & 5, No. 189, Sector - 2, Keelung Rd.,  
Taipei, Taiwan (ROC)  
Tel: +886-2-2736-0366 Fax: +886-2-2377-9163  
Email: rep.tw@tibet.net  
www.tibet.org.tw



## TIBETAN BULLETIN NEEDS YOU

## AN APPEAL

Tibetan Bulletin promotes awareness and provides facts of the situation in Tibet and Tibetans in exile. Published bi-monthly and distributed free around the world, we are looking to increase our readership and improve the Tibetan Bulletin with your kind help and suggestions.

If you have enjoyed this issue and would like to help achieve our aims of dissemination of news and views about Tibet, we would be most appreciative of your donation. Help us to publish your favourite journal on Tibet.

Kindly address your donations to:

- For Cheques and Drafts from outside India: His Holiness the Dalai Lama's Charitable Trust
- For Cheques and Drafts from within India: Tibetan Administrations Welfare Society (TAWS)
- For Money Order: Department of Information and International Relations

Name: \_\_\_\_\_

Address: \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

City: \_\_\_\_\_ PostCode \_\_\_\_\_

Country: \_\_\_\_\_

Email: \_\_\_\_\_

### POSTAL ADDRESS:

Circulation Manager, DIIR,  
Central Tibetan Administration,  
Dharamshala 176 215, H.P., India



*His Holiness the Dalai Lama with Chinese friends and scholars after their meeting in Melbourne, Australia on 20 June 2013. Photo/Jeremy Russell/OHHDL*



*Sikyong with participants of first ever leadership workshop for school prefects in Dharamshala from 3 - 7 June 2013*