



TIBETAN BULLETIN

THE OFFICIAL JOURNAL OF THE CENTRAL TIBETAN ADMINISTRATION

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MAY - JUNE 2014

FOCUS

CTA Launches Middle Way Approach International Awareness Campaign

Middle Way Approach Documents

FEATURE

Common Buddhist Heritage of The Himalayan Region & Tibetan People

INTERVIEW

Sikyong: 'Tibetans seek genuine autonomy, not independence'



Tibetan political leader Dr Lobsang Sangay presents documents to His Holiness the Dalai Lama on Middle Way policy campaign at TCV school in Dharamsala, India, on 5 June 2014. Also seen in the picture is Dicki Chhoyang, the Kalon for the Department of Information & International Relations of the Central Tibetan Administration, which is spearheading the Campaign



His Holiness the Dalai Lama with the Nobel Committee during his visit to the Nobel Institute in Oslo, Norway on 8 May, 2014. Photo/Jeremy Russell/OHHDL

FOCUS

- 8. International awareness campaign “UMAYLAM: Middle Way ‘Approach” launched by Tibetan leader
- 9. Briefing Note on Middle Way Approach
- 11. Frequently Asked Questions about the Middle Way Approach
- 15. A Chronology of the Middle Way Approach

FEATURE

- 19. Common Buddhist Heritage of The Himalayan Region & Tibetan People*

DOCUMENTATION

- 22. Statement of Kalon for the Department of Security concerning Dolgyal related issues at the sixth session of the 15th Tibetan Parliament-in-Exile
- 27. Statement of the Deutsche Buddhistische Ordensgemeinschaft (DBO, German Buddhist Monastic Association) on the Protests against the Dalai Lama by the International Shugden Community (ISC)

WORLDPRESS

- 28. Dalai Lama Urges Outside Inquiry Into Spate of Self-Immolations Among Tibetans

INTERVIEW

- 29. Sangay: ‘Tibetans seek genuine autonomy, not independence’

REGULARS

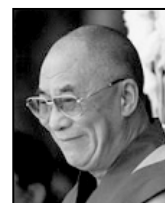
News From Tibet & Exile4
 Contact 31

Quotes32



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 BULLETIN**

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Golog Jigme Speaks About His Arrest and Escape from Chinese Prison

Golog Jigme, a Tibetan political prisoner and social worker, who recently escaped to India from Tibet, spoke about the horrific details of physical torture and mental trauma that Tibetan political prisoners are put through by Chinese officials. He



also urged the Chinese government for the timely release of Tibetan filmmaker Dhondup Wangchen and other Tibetan political prisoners suffering unimaginable torture and imprisonment in Tibet.

Addressing a press conference at Dharamshala, Golog Jigme, aka Jigme Gyatso, said he was first arrested and jailed in 2008 for assisting filmmaker Dhondup Wangchen in the making of the documentary "Leaving Fear Behind". He was accused of taking part in violent protests against the Chinese government and not making defamatory statements against His Holiness the Dalai Lama.

Recounting his ordeal, Golog Jigme narrated his experience in Chinese prison, where he was brutally tortured, causing serious injuries including broken ribs, a dislocated shoulder and damaged knees. "When I was first arrested, my hands and feet were shackled and I was tied hanging for 10 hours. Later, I experienced similar torture seven times, which often lasted between 2 to 5 hours. Even today I continue to have severe pain on the backbone and ribs and my knee dislocates whenever my body gets cold," he said.

Golog Jigme was released a few months after his first arrest. However, he continued to be constantly harassed by Chinese police leading to re-arrests and imprisonments under false charges, including inciting self-immolations in Tibet and sharing state secrets with outside forces.

During his third imprisonment, Chinese prison officials tried to coerce him to visit a hospital for some medical check ups. It was later discovered that the Chinese officials were planning to kill him through false medications, which prompted

him to escape from prison.

"After learning their plan to kill me, I decided to escape. On 30 September I slept at 8 that night. Of the two guards, one had to leave early for an urgent matter and the other slept at midnight. After praying to His Holiness the Dalai Lama and with some efforts, I was able to free myself from the chains. I noticed how other guards were busy playing Mahjong. As I proceeded towards the main gate, I felt lucky to find it open. At once, I ran out of the gate," Golog Jigme recounted.

However, his escape and freedom was short-lived as he soon discovered that the Chinese government had accused him of murder, announcing a huge cash reward for information about his whereabouts.

"For two months I ran and hid across the mountains, after which I was shocked to find that the Chinese Government has blamed me for murder. They had announced a reward of 200,000 RMB for information on my whereabouts. The Chinese Government never made such accusation before when I was in their custody and I never had intention of killing anyone. I then thought of protesting

this false allegation by setting myself on fire at one of the police stations in Gansu or Sichuan."

"However after careful consideration, I decided not to proceed with the act: I felt perhaps because they were ashamed of my escape that they had to make such allegations; if I set myself on fire they would only continue to defame me by making such unimaginable allegations. But if I were to live I could continue to be of service to the Tibetan cause, and thus I changed my mind," he said.

For one year and eight months since his escape from the Chinese prison, Golog Jigme hid across mountains, rivers and forests. He had been on the run until his sudden arrival in Dharamshala, the seat of the Central Tibetan Administration, a few days back.

Golog Jigme's heroic social activities in Tibet including his assistance in filming 'Leaving Fear Behind' was widely recognised. He was recently listed among '100 Information Heroes' by Reporters Without Borders on World Press Freedom Day.

According to the four-page press statement released on the occasion, Golog Jigme reiterated that the Chinese government's vilification of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, the forced re-education policies in Tibetan monasteries, the destruction of Tibetan language and identity, marginalisation of Tibetans and stifling the true aspirations and sufferings of the Tibetan people are some of the major grievances of the Tibetan people inside Tibet.

He also expressed his support to His Holiness the Dalai Lama's Middle Way Approach to resolve the Tibet issue, asserting that 99% of the Tibetan people inside Tibet supports the Middle Way Approach.

The press conference was organised by Dharamshala-based Tibetan Centre for Human Rights and Democracy (TCHRD) along with Swiss-based organisation 'Filming for Tibet', to welcome Golog Jigme to freedom and to support his exemplary social work in Tibet.

US Rebukes China for Perpetrating Severe Violations of Religious Freedom in Tibet

The United States Commission on International Religious Freedom (USCIRF), an independent and bi-partisan body commissioned by the US government, rebuked China for perpetrating severe violations of religious freedom in its annual report published yesterday and recommended that China be re-designated as “countries of particular concern,” or CPC.

The Chinese government continues to perpetrate particularly severe violations of religious freedom. For Tibetan Buddhists and Uighur Muslims, conditions are worse now than at any time in the past decade, it said.

The report suggested that religious freedom conditions in Tibetan areas remain acute. “Since May 2011, there have been 127 self-immolations, including 61 monks, nuns, and former nuns. In the past year, there were 18 self-immolations, including nine by Buddhist monks. These protests are directly related to Chinese

efforts to control religious practice and culture of Tibetans, but Chinese authorities view these expressions of protest as criminal activities,” the report said.

“Authorities detain senior monks for periods after self-immolations by monks associated with their monasteries, and in April 2013, officials in Dzoegé, Ngaba Autonomous Prefecture, issued new rules extending criminal penalties to family members, fellow villagers, and monasteries of self-immolators,” it added.

“Since the 2008 and 2009 protests in Tibetan and Uighur areas respectively, the Chinese government has intensified efforts to discredit religious leaders. There are currently hundreds of Tibetans and Uighurs in prison for their religious activity or religious freedom advocacy, including individuals arrested in the past year,” it said.

The over 200-page annual report, the 15th since the Commission’s creation in

1998, documents religious freedom violations in 33 countries and makes country-specific policy recommendations.

“With religious freedom abuses occurring daily around the world against people of all faiths and those without religious faith, the United States must by words and deeds stand in solidarity with the persecuted,” said USCIRF Chairman Robert P. George.

“Religious freedom is a fundamental human right recognized by international law that guarantees to all human beings the freedom to believe or not believe as their conscience leads, and live out their beliefs openly, peacefully, and without fear. Religious freedom also is essential to national and global security. Thus, the defense of religious freedom is both a human rights imperative and a practical necessity and merits a seat at the table with economic, security and other key concerns of U.S. foreign policy.”

Czech Senators Express Support for Tibet and Democracy in Tibet

“We want to express our support for the Tibetan people and democracy in Tibet,” said Senator Mr. Petr Bratský at the Czech Senate in Prague on 4 June. He is the head of the Tibet Group within the Czech Senate.

Senator Bratský hosted a luncheon for the visiting Tibetan delegation led by Khenpo Lopon Sonam Tenphel, the Deputy Speaker of the Tibetan Parliament-in-Exile based in Dharamsala. The other members of the delegation were Mr Karma Chopel, Mr. Dawa Phunkeyi and Mr. Jamyang Soepa.

Senator Bratský said members of the Tibet Group within the Czech Parliament in collaboration with Czech based Tibetan NGOs, raise the Tibetans issue to gather more support and awareness.

He said that what the Tibetan people in Tibet today experience under Communist Chinese occupation, the Czech people had experienced the same under Communist rule for many decades. “We understand your situation,” he said.

Mr. Martin Bursik, the former Environment Minister was also present with Senator Petra Šilar at the lunch. Mr. Bursik was wearing a large button with photos of His Holiness the Dalai Lama and President Václav Havel with the caption “Czech Support Tibet”.

He said 644 Tibetan flags were hoisted across Czech Republic in schools, towns and cities hall on 10 March 2014.

Mr Karma Chopel speaking on behalf of the Tibetan Parliamentary delegation briefed the Senators about the present

situation in Tibet. He also said the delegation had visited Belgium, Estonia, Poland and will be travelling to Slovakia, Austria and Switzerland. The delegation’s main objective was to thank Tibet supporters and lobby for the Tibetan issue.

They were invited by the Czech daily newspaper Lidové Noviny and the Czech News Agency.

Prague city’s Deputy Major Mr. Václav Novotný welcomed the Tibetan Parliamentary delegation. Former Czech Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Mr. Sasha Vondra expressed his support for the Tibetan issue and fondly spoke about his meeting with His Holiness the Dalai Lama.

CTA and His Holiness the Dalai Lama Congratulate Narendra Modi on Election Win

The Central Tibetan Administration and His Holiness the Dalai Lama congratulated Narendra Modi for his party's decisive victory in the Indian general election.

In his congratulatory message, Tibetan political leader Sikyong Dr. Lobsang Sangay said: "I take this opportunity to thank the United Progressive Alliance (UPA) government for their unwavering support for the Tibetan people during its two full terms. I also congratulate the incoming National Democratic Alliance (NDA) government led by Bharatiya Janata Party."

"The people of India have strongly affirmed their democratic rights by setting a new benchmark with highest-ever voter turnout of 66.4%. India is truly the larg-

est democracy in the world. With unity in diversity as its core principles, India continues to practice vibrant democracy with development."

In a letter to the Prime Minister-elect, His Holiness stated that India was the world's largest democratic nation and the most stable country in South Asia with a deep tradition of Ahimsa.

He said that he took pride in citing India as a living example of unity in diversity, an ancient country in which all the major world's religious traditions flourish and from which other countries could learn from.

His Holiness expressed that just as he had brought development and prosperity to Gujarat, he prayed that under his lead-

ership India would continue to flourish and prosper.

His Holiness wished him every success in meeting the many challenges that lay ahead and in fulfilling the hopes and aspirations of the people of this great nation.

The Tibetan Parliament-in-Exile also congratulated India's Prime Minister-elect Narendra Modi and Bharatiya Janata Party for their historic win in the recent national election.

In its congratulatory message, the Tibetan Parliament-in-Exile said: "We hope you will not only maintain the tradition of support for the cause of Tibet but give the much needed strength to resolve the issue of Tibet in the interest of all."

Danish Parliamentarians Meet Sikyong, Express Support for Middle-Way Policy

Sikyong Dr. Lobsang Sangay visited the Danish capital Copenhagen on 18-21 May 2014 at the invitation of CareTibetan, a new organisation devoted to the preservation of Tibetan identity, assisted by The Tibet Support Committee, Denmark. His last visit to Copenhagen took place in November 2011.

In the course of three full days, the Sikyong met Tibetans living in Denmark and Tibet organisations and he gave a talk on the importance of traditional Tibetan values and the situation of Buddhism in Tibet in the Phendeling Center for Tibetan Buddhism.

Dr. Sangay met representatives from five of the eight parties in the Danish Parliament (Folketinget) on 19 and 20 May, including four foreign affairs spokesper-

sons, one former Foreign Minister, Mr. Holger K. Nielsen from the Socialist People's Party, and one party leader, Mr. Kristian Thulesen Dahl from the Danish People's Party.

The parliamentarians unanimously expressed their support for the Tibetan people in their just and non-violent struggle for genuine self-rule. They also found inspiration in the moderate Middle-Way approach in the face of severe repression and pledged themselves to raise the Tibetan issue in the Parliament.

Part of the reason for the Sikyong's visit to Denmark was to discuss the DANIDA-funded education projects in the exile community and he met with the University College Copenhagen that manages and implements the projects in

cooperation with the Central Tibetan Administration.

The Sikyong also met other institutions in Denmark, including the Danish Institute for Parties and Democracy that was established by the Danish Parliament in May 2010 to strengthen and complement democracy assistance, particularly through support of political parties and multi-party systems in developing countries.

The Danish press covered the Sikyong's visit through articles in two of the three major newspapers, an interview for the main in-depth news program on Danish national radio and an interview for the 24-hour national TV news channel, TV2 News.

China Steps Up Repression During Religious Festival in Tibet

Reports coming from Tibet indicate that Chinese authorities are making every effort to restrict Tibetan devotees and tourists from congregating at Mount Kailash, particularly during Saka Dawa, one of the most sacred months observed by Tibetans. Saka Dawa is celebrated on the 15th day of the fourth month of the Tibetan lunar calendar, which fell on 13

June this year.

A source also confirms that government officials in Tibet Autonomous Region have been ordered not to take their annual leave from April to September this year. Officials found taking leave during these months shall be dismissed from their posts, it said.

Similar restrictions are also imposed on general Tibetans in Tibet. It is reported that Tibetans found to be attending the Kalachakra teaching by His Holiness the Dalai Lama in Leh in India in July this year would face deprivation of their *them-tho* (Chinese: Huokou), a household registration system

CTA to mark “2014 as Year of His Holiness the Dalai Lama”

The Central Tibetan Administration will observe 2014 as the “Year of His Holiness the Dalai Lama” to express deep gratitude to his remarkable achievements for the cause of Tibet and promote his ideals of non-violence and human values.

“The Kashag and the Central Tibetan Administration have dedicated 2014 as the year of His Holiness the Dalai Lama to celebrate, pay tribute and express gratitude of the Tibetan people for the all achievements and blessings that he has bestowed on us till now. This declaration was made by the Sikyong in his statement on 10 March this year

and subsequently in the Parliament. The Kashag then formed a committee to organise events to mark the occasion,” said Mr Tashi Phuntsok, co-chairman of the organising committee and secretary for the Department of Information & International Relations, said at a press conference today.

He said 25 events will be organised in Tibetan across the world to celebrate the year from June to December. The departments of the Central Tibetan Administration involved in organising the events are Religion and Culture, Home, Education, Department of Information & International Relations and Health.

He said Nobel Peace laureates would be invited to grace events in Dharamsala and Delhi on the occasion of the birth anniversary of Mahatma Gandhi on 2 October. “These events will be organised on Gandhi Jayanti to express appreciation for His Holiness the Dalai Lama’s commitment to promote non-violence and dialogue to resolve conflicts,” he added.

Another key event for the year is the celebration of the 25th anniversary of the conferment of Nobel peace prize on His Holiness the Dalai Lama on 10 December.

US Urges China to Hold Unconditional Talks with Tibetan Leadership

The US has urged China to engage in unconditional talks with His Holiness the Dalai Lama or his representatives as the Tibetan administration in India reinvigo-



rated its effort to achieve genuine autonomy for the Tibetan people through the Middle Way policy.

The Department of Information & International Relations of the Central Tibetan Administration in Dharamshala launched the Middle Way Approach campaign on Thursday (5 June) to garner wider international support and counter the Chinese government’s propaganda about the policy.

Reacting to the Tibetan leadership’s renewed push to seek genuine autonomy, a Chinese foreign ministry spokesperson

yesterday said, “the door to talks is always open, but China will only talk to the Dalai Lama’s personal representatives and only about his personal future, not anything to do with Tibet.”

Responding to a query on the Chinese government’s position, the US government reiterated its call for unconditional dialogue between China and the representatives of His Holiness the Dalai Lama.

“Well, as we’ve long said, we are deeply concerned about the poor human rights situation in Tibetan areas of China. We have continued to urge the Chinese Government to engage in substantive dialogue with the Dalai Lama or his representatives without preconditions as a means to reduce tensions, obviously urge China to address policies that have created tensions in Tibetan areas and that threaten the Tibetan unique culture,” said US State Department spokesperson Marie Harf at a press briefing yesterday.

“As envisioned in the Tibetan Policy Act of 2002, we continue (our) efforts to open a consulate in Lhasa, also continue to request the Chinese Government al-

low a consular officer to visit Tibet and ethnically Tibetan areas of China,” Ms. Harf said.

Meanwhile, in an exclusive interview with German media Deutsche Welle, Tibetan political leader Dr. Lobsang Sangay said: “We hope the Xi Jinping-led government will review its hard-line approach and introduce liberal policies towards Tibetans. I hope that President Xi Jinping will accept dialogue as the only way to resolve the Tibet issue peacefully.”

“That is exactly what the “Middle Way” approach is all about. We would like to see an end to the present repression in Tibet. If granted genuine autonomy within the framework of the Chinese constitution. We do not seek separation from China,” he added.

It may be recalled that His Holiness the Dalai Lama’s envoys held ninth rounds of talks with the Chinese government since the resumption of dialogue in 2002. During the eighth round of talks in 2008, the Tibetan side presented to the Chinese government a Memorandum for Genuine Autonomy for the Tibetan People. In 2010, the envoys of His Holiness the Dalai Lama presented a Note to the Memorandum to clarify the concerns and misinterpretation on the Memorandum by the Chinese leadership.

International Awareness Campaign “UMAYLAM: Middle Way Approach” Launched by Tibetan Leader

“Most concerted effort to date” to secure basic freedom through genuine autonomy for the Tibetan people”



THE Central Tibetan Administration’s leader, or Sikyong, on 5 June unveiled the administration’s most concerted effort to date to bring about basic freedom for Tibetan people.

Four years after talks reached a stalemate in 2010 and following the self-immolation of 130 Tibetans since 2009, Dr. Lobsang Sangay said the Middle Way Approach Campaign would help people across the globe understand exactly what the Tibetan people were calling for – genuine autonomy.

“The Middle Way Approach information materials – including an interactive website, short documentary video, Social Media campaign, timeline of the Tibetan struggle and FAQs – many of them available in 7 languages including Chinese – will make it very easy for people around the world to understand exactly what the Tibetan administration is proposing in terms of genuine autonomy within China,” Dr. Sangay said.

“With the Middle Way Approach Campaign, we are trying to engage the international community – young people, diplomats, media, people from all walks of life across different nations — to counter the Chinese Government’s misinforma-

tion campaign about the policy.

“By visiting our website (www.middle-wayapproach.org OR www.tibet.net/mwa) they will learn the exact nature and intent of the policy, and then by clicking on through to such forums as our UMayLAM page on Facebook and making a ‘Like’ or ‘Share’ they can show their support for the Middle Way.”

The Middle Way Approach is already supported by international leaders including US President Barack Obama and many Chinese intellectuals, such as imprisoned Nobel Peace Laureate, Liu Xiaobo. The name, the Middle Way, refers to ‘the middle way’ between repression and separation.

Dr. Sangay said the Central Tibetan Administration (CTA) had spent the past year creating a set of documents and multimedia materials that would make it clear how long His Holiness and the Tibetan administration had stuck firm to this policy, about its impact to date and its intentions for the future.

During an auspicious inauguration ceremony today, the Sikyong presented His Holiness the Dalai Lama – who has devolved his political responsibilities to

the elected leader – with the information package.

He said that His Holiness and the then-Tibetan administration formulated the “Middle Way Approach” policy in 1974 as a realistic option to solve the issue of Tibet. This foresight of His Holiness was affirmed in 1979 when Chinese paramount leader, Deng Xiaoping, stated that, “apart from independence, all issues can be discussed” and offered talks with His Holiness.

His Holiness presented the Middle Way Approach to the Chinese leader, and a long period of contact and discussions between Dharamsala and Beijing resulted.

“Since this time, there have been 9 Rounds of Talks, four fact-finding delegations to Tibet and regular visits by Tibetans to the Tibetan regions,” Dr. Sangay said

“We are calling on the people of the world – young and old – to join the UMayLAM: Middle Way Approach Campaign and help secure the future of the Tibetan people.”

There are 6 million Tibetans in Tibet, and another 150,000 around the world.

Briefing Note

Middle Way Approach

Genuine Autonomy for Tibetan People

“To resolve the issue of Tibet, each and every provision of autonomy as stipulated in the Constitution of the PRC and its Law on National Regional Autonomy should be genuinely implemented by the Chinese Government and the entire Tibetan people must be brought under a single autonomous administration. Moreover, non-violence should be the only means by which to achieve these objectives. These are the inviolable principles of the Middle Way.”

The Middle Way Approach – Nature and History

The *Middle Way Approach for Genuine Autonomy for the Tibetan People (Tibetan: “Umaylam”)* is a policy conceived by His Holiness the Dalai Lama in 1974, in an effort to engage the Chinese government in dialogue and find a peaceful way to protect the unique Tibetan culture and identity. It is a policy adopted democratically through a series of discussions held over many decades by the Central Tibetan Administration (CTA) and the Tibetan people. It is a win-win proposition, which straddles the middle path between the status quo and independence – one that categorically rejects the present repressive and colonial policies of the Chinese government towards the Tibetan people while not seeking separation from the People’s Republic of China.

To this day, His Holiness the Dalai Lama remains steadfast in his endorsement of this approach as a realistic and pragmatic solution to the grave and now-urgent problems faced inside Tibet. The policy’s first accomplishment came with the establishment of direct contact between Dharamshala and Beijing when Deng Xiaoping said in 1979 that, “apart from independence, all issues can be discussed.” Four fact-finding delegations visited Tibet from 1979 - 1985. Two exploratory delegations from Dharamshala met the highest Chinese leadership in Beijing in 1982 and 1984, and there were official contacts between Dharamshala and Beijing till August 1993.

Meanwhile, since 1987, His Holiness the Dalai Lama had presented the Mid-

dle Way Approach in a range of forums around the world – including the U.S. Congress and the European Parliament – hoping to once again draw the Chinese leadership into discussions. Dialogue resumed in earnest in 2002, and led to a total of nine rounds of talks. During the 7th round of talks in 2008 – the year in which unprecedented and widespread protests broke out across Tibet – the Chinese government asked the Tibetan leadership to put in writing the nature of the autonomy it sought. The *Memorandum on Genuine Autonomy for the Tibetan People* was presented during the 8th round of talks in 2008.

The Chinese government expressed a number of concerns and objections to the *Memorandum*. To address these, during the 9th and last round of talks in January 2010 the Tibetan leadership presented the *Note on the Memorandum on Genuine Autonomy for the Tibetan People*. The *Memorandum* and the *Note* elaborate how genuine autonomy for the Tibetan people would operate within the framework of the People’s Republic of China: its constitution, sovereignty and territorial integrity, its ‘three adherences’¹ and the hierarchy and authority of the Chinese Central Government (CCG). The *Note* further addresses specific concerns raised by the Chinese government in respect to: the Form of Single Administration; Political, Social and Economic systems; Public Security; Regulation of Population Migration; Language; and Religion. The *Note* also provides a commitment that His Holiness the Dalai

Lama is prepared to issue a formal statement to allay the CCG’s “doubts and concerns as to his position and intention on matters” contained in the *Memorandum*.

There has been no dialogue with the Chinese since 2010. Despite this, the Tibetan leadership remains steadfast in its commitment to the *Middle Way Approach for Genuine Autonomy for the Tibetan People* and to finding a lasting solution through dialogue between the envoys of His Holiness the Dalai Lama and the representatives of the Chinese leadership.

Please see separate Timeline for a more detailed history of the Middle Way Approach.

What are Tibetan people seeking through the Middle Way Approach?

Tibetans are seeking a form of self-governance, which would allow them to meet their basic needs but not challenge the unity and stability of the People’s Republic of China. They are seeking a form of autonomy where Tibetan people share the customs and value system, language, way of life and geography. Uniting them under a single administrative unit would be a more efficient and effective form of governance than the existing structure where Tibetans are divided into the Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR) and neighbouring provinces with a Chinese majority, i.e. Qinghai, Sichuan, Gansu and Yunnan.

The Chinese authorities have claimed

that it is the Tibetan leadership's intention to expel "all Chinese" from Tibetan areas. In fact, the *Memorandum* clearly articulates that this is not the case: "Our intention is not to expel non-Tibetans. Our concern is the induced mass movement of primarily Han, but also some other nationalities, into many Tibetan areas, which in turn marginalises the native Tibetan population." The *Memorandum* calls for the Tibetan areas to have a Tibetan majority for the preservation and promotion of the unique Tibetan identity. The Tibetan population in the People's Republic of China is estimated at 6.2 million (6th National Population Census of PRC) which is approximately 0.47% of China's total population.

A Tibetan regional administration would govern the protection and promotion of the 11 Basic Needs of Tibetans, which encompass the following:

language, culture, religion, education, environmental protection, utilisation of natural resources, economic development and trade, public health, public security, regulation on population migration and cultural, educational and religious exchanges with other countries.

This is consistent with both the National Regional Autonomy Law and the Constitution of the People's Republic of China.

¹The 'three adherences' as stipulated by the Central Government are: (1) the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party; (2) Socialism with Chinese characteristics; and (3) the Regional National Autonomy system.

Position of His Holiness the Dalai Lama

In 2011, His Holiness the Dalai Lama devolved his political responsibilities to the elected Tibetan leadership – the Central Tibetan Administration (CTA) under the leadership of the Sikyong, the democratically-elected Tibetan political leader.

As stated in the *Memorandum*, His Holiness the Dalai Lama has made it clear on numerous occasions that he will not hold

any political position in Tibet. As symbol of Tibetan unity and identity, he is a beacon of hope for the Tibetan people. Tibetan people place their hope in his spiritual leadership as the person most trusted with bringing about a peaceful resolution to the situation inside Tibet. As a Tibetan, he remains deeply committed to lending whatever support is needed to reach a resolution to the current impasse and remains a staunch and unwavering advocate of the Middle Way Approach.

Widespread support for the Middle Way Approach

The Tibetan leadership believes the Middle Way Approach is the most viable solution to the current urgent situation inside Tibet. It is also the approach which has enjoyed the strongest international support. Many national governments have officially stated their support for dialogue between the envoys of His Holiness the Dalai Lama and the representatives of the Chinese leadership, including the U.S., E.U., Britain, France, Germany, Australia and New Zealand. In the past two years alone, resolutions, motions and statements of support for dialogue have been passed in parliaments in the U.S., E.U., France, Italy, Japan, Australia, Brazil and Luxembourg, amongst others.

The Middle Way Approach gains more support every year from the Chinese community. Some of the most respected Chinese intellectuals and artists endorse the policy. These include Liu Xiaobo, the imprisoned Nobel Laureate who was one of the co-authors of an open letter in 2008 that expressed support for His Holiness the Dalai Lama's peace initiatives. Since then, more than 1,000 articles and opinion pieces have been written by Chinese scholars and writers supporting dialogue to resolve the issue of Tibet. These include a report by the Beijing-based legal NGO, the Gongmeng Constitutional Initiative, describing the grievances of the Tibetan people and calling for policy review. In 2012, 82 Chinese NGOs based in 15 countries sent a petition to the United Nations, the E.U., various parliaments and governments, exhorting them to "urge the Chinese government to start

negotiations as soon as possible."

Other Chinese intellectuals who support the Middle Way Approach include Wang Lixiong, a well-known writer, Zhang Boshu of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences and a constitutional expert, Ran Yunfei of Sichuan Literary Periodical, Yu Haocheng, a senior member of the Communist Party and legal expert based in Beijing, Su Shaozhi, former economist at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences and Yan Jiaqi, a close aide of former CCP Party Secretary, Zhao Ziyang.

To put the Middle Way Approach into effect, global leaders who have called for dialogue include U.S. President Barack Obama, former U.S. President, George Bush, High Commissioner for UN Human Rights, Navi Pillay, High Representative for E.U. on Foreign Affairs/Security Policy and Vice-President of European Commission, Lady Catherine Ashton, former British Prime Minister Gordon Brown, former French President, Nicolas Sarkozy, German Chancellor, Angela Merkel, Canadian Prime Minister, Stephen Harper, Australian Prime Minister, Tony Abbot, former Australian Prime Minister, Kevin Rudd and Taiwanese President, Ma Ying-jeou.

After President Barack Obama's meeting with His Holiness the Dalai Lama on 16 July 2011 and again on 21 February 2014, the White House applauded "the Dalai Lama's commitment to non-violence and dialogue with China and his pursuit of the Middle Way Approach," and encouraged "direct dialogue to resolve long-standing differences", saying "that a dialogue that produces results would be positive for China and Tibetans."

The Middle Way Approach has been supported by a number of Nobel Peace Laureates such as Archbishop Desmond Tutu of South Africa, Elie Wiesel of the U.S., Jody Williams of the U.S., Leymah Gbowee of Liberia, Lech Walesa of Poland, Shirin Ebadi of Iran, Rigoberta Menchú Tum of Guatemala, José Ramos Horta of East Timor, Adolfo Pérez Esquivel of Argentina, Mairead Corrigan Maguire of Ireland, and Betty Williams of the U.K.

In an open letter to Chinese President Hu Jintao in 2012, 12 Nobel peace laureates wrote: “The people of Tibet wish to be heard. They have long sought meaningful autonomy, and chosen negotiation and friendly help as their means of attaining it. The Chinese government should hear their voices, understand their grievances and find a non-violent solution. That solution is offered by our friend and brother His Holiness the Dalai Lama, who has never sought separatism, and has always chosen a peaceful path. We strongly urge the Chinese government to seize the opportunity he provides for a meaningful dialogue. Once formed, this channel should remain open, active and productive. It should address issues that are at the heart of the current tension, respecting the dignity of the Tibetan people and the integrity of China.”

Prominent leaders inside Tibet who have supported the Middle Way Approach include the late Panchen Lama, who openly expressed support for the policy. The late Ngapo Ngawang Jigme, a former minister of the Tibetan government in Tibet, urged the Chinese government to implement regional autonomy in Tibet as promised in its 17-Point Agreement. ⁽¹⁾

The late Baba Phuntsok Wangyal, a se-

nior Tibetan official of the Chinese Communist Party, stated that “the Dalai Lama’s Middle Way Approach of seeking only a meaningful autonomy for Tibet rather than independence, in the present historical context, is an expression of the great responsibility he takes in giving serious thoughts over the fundamental interests, future and fate of Tibet and the Tibetans as a whole. It also shows that he takes great responsibility in understanding the issues concerning both sides and in carefully studying the changing circumstances. Furthermore, it is a thinking that is based on reality and foresight.”

Tibetan leaders such as Dorje Tseten, a senior Tibetan Communist leader and former director of the Tibetology Research Centre in Beijing, Sangye Yeshe (Tian Bao), a veteran Tibetan Communist leader, Tashi Tsering, a professor of English at Tibet University in Lhasa, and Yangling Dorjee, a senior Tibetan Communist leader, support the unification of all the Tibetan people under a single administration.

The Way Forward

The Tibetan administration is seeking the support of the Chinese community and the wider international community

to encourage the Chinese government to resume dialogue in a spirit of reconciliation, and mindful of the many benefits to both sides that would stem from genuine autonomy. The Tibetan leadership believes the Central Chinese Government can no longer defend its position that Tibetans in Tibet are satisfied with the current Chinese policies. Therefore the Tibetan people must be granted a genuine say in their own affairs in order for them to live in harmony. Through the Middle Way Approach, the People’s Republic of China can ensure regional peace and stability by having a legitimate presence. Internationally, it also stands to gain by improving its image in the minds and hearts of people around the world, while at the same time protect its territorial integrity and sovereignty.

Footnote:

(2) *The Tibetan government was coerced to sign the agreement in 1951 under the threat of military invasion. In 1959, His Holiness the Dalai Lama repudiated the agreement following China’s failure to abide by its commitment.*

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Frequently Asked Questions about the Middle Way Approach *Genuine Autonomy for Tibetan People*

1. What is the Middle Way Approach?

The *Middle Way Approach for Genuine Autonomy for the Tibetan People* (*Tibetan: “Umaylam”*) is a policy conceived by His Holiness the Dalai Lama in 1974, in an effort to engage the Chinese government in dialogue and find a peaceful way to protect the unique Tibetan culture and identity. It is a policy adopted democratically through a series of discussions held over many decades by the Central Tibetan Administration (CTA) and the Tibetan people. It is a win-win proposition, which straddles the middle path between the status quo and independence - one that categorically rejects the present repressive and colonial policies of the

Chinese government towards the Tibetan people while not seeking separation from the People’s Republic of China.

It is a pragmatic position that safeguards the vital interests of concerned parties: for Tibetans, the protection and preservation of their identity and dignity; and for China, the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the motherland. It has enabled direct contact between the envoys of His Holiness the Dalai Lama and the Chinese government in 1979 making possible, for four fact-finding delegations of exile leadership, to travel extensively within Tibet and the holding of exploratory talks in 1982 and 1984. From 2002 to 2010, nine rounds of formal talks and one in-

formal meeting took place between the envoys of His Holiness the Dalai Lama and representatives of the Chinese leadership.

2. Why seek autonomy?

The Tibetan leadership believes that genuine autonomy is a pragmatic, win-win solution for Tibet and China. In today’s interdependent world, countries cannot live in isolation without depending on others. Many countries are now foregoing some of their individual sovereign rights by joining federations such as the European Union.

3. What form will genuine autonomy for Tibet take?

Tibetans are seeking a form of self-governance which would allow them to meet their basic needs but not challenge the unity and stability of the People's Republic of China. Tibetans are seeking a form of autonomy where they share customs and the same value system, language, way of life and geography. Uniting them under a single administrative unit would be a more efficient and effective form of governance than the existing structure where Tibetans are divided into the Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR) and neighbouring provinces with a Chinese majority, i.e. Qinghai, Sichuan, Gansu and Yunnan.

The Chinese authorities claim that it is the Tibetan leadership's intention to expel "all Chinese" from Tibetan areas. In fact, the *Memorandum on Genuine Autonomy for the Tibetan People* clearly articulates that this is not the case: "Our intention is not to expel non-Tibetans. Our concern is the induced mass movement of primarily Han, but also some other nationalities, into many Tibetan areas, which in turn marginalizes the native Tibetan population." The *Memorandum* calls for Tibetan areas to have a Tibetan majority for the preservation and promotion of the unique Tibetan identity. The Tibetan population in the People's Republic of China is estimated at 6.2 million (Source: 6th National Population Census of PRC), which is approximately 0.47% of China's total population.

A Tibetan regional administration would govern the protection and promotion of the 11 Basic Needs of Tibetans, which encompass the following:

language, culture, religion, education, environmental protection, utilisation of natural resources, economic development and trade, public health, public security, regulation on population migration and cultural, educational and religious exchanges with other countries.

This is consistent with both the National Regional Autonomy Law and the Constitution of the People's Republic of China.

4. Does the Middle Way Approach enjoy widespread support from the Tibetan people? If so how have the Tibetan people shown their support?

The Middle Way Approach was adopted as the official policy of the Central Tibetan Administration based on the result of majority approval in a series of meetings and opinion polls held between 1988 and 2010. This was done through a democratic process by directly soliciting the views of the delegates representing the Tibetan public. Again during an opinion poll in 1997, 64% of the total opinions received expressed that there was no need to hold a referendum, and that they would support which ever policy His Holiness the Dalai Lama pursued. Reflecting the outcome of the opinion poll, the Tibetan Parliament-in-Exile adopted a unanimous resolution in favor of the Middle-Way Approach on 18 September 1997. Similarly, more than 80% of opinions collected during the six-day First Special General Meeting held in November 2008 also reiterated the support for the Middle Way Approach. Finally, in March 2010, a parliamentary resolution in support of the policy was unanimously adopted again. Thus, the Middle Way Approach has the support of an overwhelming majority of Tibetans.

5. How did Tibetans inside Tibet voice their support for the Middle-Way Approach?

Though it is impossible to openly collect opinions from inside Tibet, His Holiness the Dalai Lama and the Central Tibetan Administration made every possible effort to incorporate their views in the decision-making process. For instance, newly-arrived Tibetans from Tibet were invited to participate in a special political meeting held in June 1988. Similarly, opinions from inside Tibet were also collected during an opinion poll for the referendum in 1995/96. Both written and verbal suggestions were solicited from Tibetans inside Tibet for the First Special General Meeting in November 2008. The majority of these opinions were in support of the Middle Way Approach.

Moreover, the Middle Way Approach has

enjoyed support from the highest ranking Tibetan leaders and intellectuals inside Tibet which include the late Panchen Lama, who openly expressed support for the Middle Way Approach, as well as senior leaders such as the late Ngapo Ngawang Jigme, Baba Phuntsok Wangyal, Dorjee Tseten, Sangye Yeshe (Tian Bao), Tashi Tsering and Yangling Dorjee.

6. Does the Middle-Way Approach advocate only cultural autonomy?

No, the Middle Way Approach advocates self-governance. It is not limited to cultural autonomy. The *Memorandum on Genuine Autonomy for the Tibetan People* spells out 11 areas of self-governance under the section titled "Basic Needs of Tibetans" with the application of a single administration for the Tibetan Nationality in the People's Republic of China.

The "Basic Needs of Tibetans" are the following:

- 1) Language
- 2) Culture
- 3) Religion
- 4) Education
- 5) Environmental Protection
- 6) Utilisation of Natural Resources
- 7) Economic Development and Trade
- 8) Public Health
- 9) Public Security
- 10) Regulation on Population Migration
- 11) Cultural, Educational and Religious Exchanges with Other Countries

7. Under genuine autonomy for the Tibetan people, what would be the future of non-Tibetans living in the present-day Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR) and neighbouring Tibetan-inhabited areas?

As stated in the *Note on the Memorandum on Genuine Autonomy for the Tibetan People*: "It is not our intention to ex-

pel non-Tibetans who have permanently settled in Tibet and have lived there and grown up there for a considerable time.” Tibetans’ concern is the induced mass movement of primarily Han, but also some other nationalities, into many Tibetan areas, which in turn marginalizes the native Tibetan population and threatens Tibet’s fragile environment. The proposal to regulate the transient population is in keeping with the Chinese constitution and Article 43 of the Law on Regional National Autonomy which states: “In accordance with legal stipulations, the organs of self-government of national autonomous shall work out measures for control of the transient population.”

8. Will genuine autonomy for the Tibetan people benefit environmental preservation in Tibet?

Tibet, with its fragile ecosystem, is the prime source of Asia’s great rivers. Today, Tibet’s traditional environment is suffering irreparable damage. “Environmental Protection” and “Utilisation of Natural Resources” are the 5th and 6th Basic Needs of Tibetans spelled out in the *Memorandum on Genuine Autonomy for the Tibetan People*. The rapid cultural assimilation, destruction of environment and excessive exploitation of natural resources are key reasons for the CTA to intensify its push for genuine autonomy for the Tibetan people. Every year, evidence grows of Chinese environmental and development policies which prove unsustainable, thus causing long-term environmental damage. This includes the damming of river systems which reach as far as India, Pakistan, Burma, Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos and mainland China – thus affecting almost half of the world’s population.

9. Why does the CTA pursue the Middle Way Approach and what are its accomplishments so far?

The Middle Way Approach has succeeded in many ways, including allowing contact with Tibetans in Tibet and multiple rounds of dialogue with the Chinese leadership. It is mainly due to the policy that the Tibet issue continues to enjoy overwhelming support not only from the international community but also from

the Chinese people.

The Middle Way Approach enabled direct contact between the Tibetan leadership and the Chinese government in 1979, which led to four fact-finding delegations of exiled Tibetans who travelled extensively within Tibet. The fact-finding delegations visited Lhasa, Shigatse, Lhokha, Kongpo Nyingtri, Sakya, Lhuntse, Tsona, Tsethang, Gyantse, Choekhorgyal, Sangagchoeling and YartokNakartse in U-Tsang; Kanlho, Siling, Golok, Malho, Ngaba and Zoege in Amdo; Nagchu, Chamdo, Dege, Kardze, Nyarong, Gyalthang and Markham in Kham. In 1982 and 1984, Chinese leaders met exploratory delegations from Dharamshala for talks in Beijing. Between 2002 and 2010, nine rounds of formal talks and one informal meeting took place between the envoys of His Holiness the Dalai Lama and representatives of the Chinese leadership. To date, thousands of students, monks and nuns have been able to study in exile, contributing to the preservation of Tibetan culture and religion.

The Middle-Way Approach enables many governments to support a solution-oriented Tibet policy and help them raise the grave and urgent problems of Tibet in their dialogue with China. After President Barack Obama’s meeting with His Holiness the Dalai Lama in July 2011, the White House applauded “the Dalai Lama’s commitment to non-violence and dialogue with China and his pursuit of the Middle Way Approach” and encouraged the relevant parties to engage in “direct dialogue to resolve long-standing differences.” The Middle Way Approach has enjoyed the strongest international support as the most viable option to address the current situation inside Tibet. Many national governments have officially stated their support for the Middle Way Approach, including the U.S., India, Britain, France, Germany, Australia and New Zealand. In the past two years alone, declarations, resolutions and motions of support for the Middle Way Approach have been passed in parliaments in the U.S., European Union, France, Italy, Japan, Australia, Brazil and Luxembourg, amongst others.

The Middle Way Approach gains more support every year from the Chinese community including intellectuals and artists such as Liu Xiaobo, the imprisoned Nobel Laureate, who was one of the co-authors of an open letter in 2008 that expressed support for His Holiness the Dalai Lama’s peace initiatives. Since then, more than 1,000 articles and opinion pieces have been written by Chinese scholars and writers supporting dialogue to resolve the issue of Tibet. These include a report by the

Beijing-based legal NGO, the Gongmeng Constitutional Initiative, describing the grievances of the Tibetan people and calling for policy review.

In 2012, 82 Chinese NGOs based in 15 countries sent a petition to the United Nations,

the European Union, various parliaments and governments, exhorting them to “urge the Chinese government to start negotiations as soon as possible.” The Middle Way Approach has received the support of a number of leading Chinese intellectuals including Wang Lixiong, a well-known writer, Zhang Boshu of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences and constitutional expert, Ran Yunfei of Sichuan Literary Periodical, Yu Haocheng, a senior member of the Communist Party and legal expert based in Beijing, Su Shaozhi, former economist at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences and Yan Jiaqi, close aide of former CCP Party Secretary Zhao Ziyang.

To put into effect the Middle Way Approach, global leaders who have called for dialogue include U.S. President Barack Obama, former U.S. President George

Bush, High Commissioner for UN Human Rights Navi Pillay, High Representative for European Union Foreign Affairs/Security Policy/Vice-President of European Commission Lady Catherine Ashton, former British Prime Minister Gordon Brown, former French President Nicolas Sarkozy, German Chancellor Angela Merkel, Canadian Prime Minister Stephen Harper, Australian Prime Minister Tony Abbot, former Australian

Prime Minister Kevin Rudd and Taiwanese President Ma Yingjeou.

After President Barack Obama's meeting with His Holiness the Dalai Lama on 16 July 2011, the White House applauded "the Dalai Lama's commitment to non-violence and dialogue with China and his pursuit of the Middle Way Approach," and encouraged "direct dialogue to resolve long-standing differences", saying "that a dialogue that produces results would be positive for China and Tibetans."

The Middle Way Approach has been supported by a number of Nobel Peace Laureates such as Archbishop Desmond Tutu of South Africa, Elie Wiesel and Jody Williams of the U.S., Leymah Gbowee of Liberia, Lech Walesa of Poland, Shirin Ebadi of Iran, Rigoberta Menchú Tum of Guatemala, José Ramos Horta of East Timor, Adolfo Pérez Esquivel of Argentina, Mairead Corrigan Maguire of Ireland, and Betty Williams of the U.K.

In an open letter to Chinese President Hu Jintao sent by a group of 12 Nobel peace laureates in 2012, they said: "The people of Tibet wish to be heard. They have long sought meaningful autonomy, and chosen negotiation and friendly help as their means of attaining it. The Chinese government should hear their voices, understand their grievances and find a non-violent solution. That solution is offered by our friend and brother His Holiness the Dalai Lama, who has never sought separatism, and has always chosen a peaceful path. We strongly urge the Chinese government to seize the opportunity he provides for a meaningful dialogue. Once formed, this channel should remain open, active and productive. It should address issues that are at the heart of the current tension, respecting the dignity of the Tibetan people and the integrity of China."

10. Are Tibetans seeking a "Greater Tibet" and a "High Degree of Autonomy" as alleged by the Chinese government?

Our aspiration to seek genuine autonomy has been made clear in writing not

just to the Chinese government but also to the international community. The Memorandum on Genuine Autonomy for the Tibetan people and its Note are in the public domain. Anyone can verify whether Chinese government's allegations are true. The Central Tibetan Administration is committed to the Middle Way Approach, which neither seeks "Greater Tibet" nor a "high degree of autonomy", but genuine autonomy for all Tibetan people under a single administration. This is consistent with both the National Regional Autonomy Law and the Constitution of the People's Republic of China.

The People's Republic of China has intentionally formulated the word "Greater Tibet" to mislead the international community into believing that Tibetans are seeking separation or demarcation of Tibetan areas. The CTA does not use the term "Greater Tibet". The three traditional provinces of U-Tsang, Kham and Amdo have always been essential parts of traditional Tibet which cover the entire Tibetan plateau. They share not just the same geography and topography but also culture, language and religion. Division of Tibet into several provinces of China is a clear violation of Chinese laws and of Article 4 of the Constitution which recognizes the right of minority nationalities to practice regional autonomy "in the areas where they live in concentrated communities" and "to set up organ of self-government for the exercise of power of autonomy." 99% of Uyghurs in China live in Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region and 95% of Zhuangs live in Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region. Tibetans living in one concentrated community are divided into different provinces with less than 50% in the Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR) while the majority is incorporated into neighbouring Chinese provinces as autonomous prefectures and counties.

Tibet constituting one-fourth of China is not a recent political creation but a natural outcome of Tibetans inhabiting the Tibetan plateau for thousands of years. The fact that Tibet constitutes one-fourth of China should not be a concern for the Chinese government because one sixth of China is already established as

Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region and one-eighth as Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region. Moreover, genuine autonomy for all Tibetans does not only conform to Tibet's geographical reality, but conforms to its administrative needs, all of which aims for the actual implementation of Chinese laws in these areas to empower Tibetans to become masters of their own affairs.

Having all Tibetans, who share the same culture, same level and mode of economic development and even the same environment of the Tibetan Plateau, live within a single administrative unit will be an efficient and effective form of governance rather than dividing them into TAR and four Chinese provinces of Qinghai, Sichuan, Gansu and Yunnan with Chinese majority.

Similarly, the Chinese government has unleashed a massive propaganda to project that Tibetans are seeking "high degree of autonomy." In reality our aspiration is for the Chinese government to implement the provisions of national regional autonomy as enshrined in the PRC constitution. Apart from this we have never talk about high or low degree of autonomy.

11. Does the Middle Way Approach seeking genuine autonomy for Tibetan people contradict the Chinese Constitution?

No, it does not contradict the Chinese Constitution. The Middle Way Approach, which seeks genuine autonomy for the Tibetan people under a single administration, is entirely in accordance with the constitutional principle contained in Article 4, which is also reflected in the National Regional Autonomy Law (Article 2), that "regional autonomy is practiced in areas where people of minority nationalities live in concentrated communities."

The Law on Regional National Autonomy (LRNA) describes regional national autonomy as the "basic policy adopted by the Communist Party of China for the solution of the national question in China" and explains its meaning and intent in its preface:

The minority nationalities, under the unified state leadership, practice regional autonomy in areas where they live in concentrated communities and set up organs of self-governance for the exercise of the power of autonomy. Regional national autonomy embodies the state's full respect for and guarantee of the right of the minority nationalities to administer

their internal affairs and its adherence to principle of equality, unity and common prosperity of all nationalities.

Therefore, these allegations are baseless. The fact is that Chinese government is not willing to implement or accept the rights given to the minorities in its own constitution.

If Chinese government truly believes that Tibetan aspiration is to seek genuine autonomy is against the constitution, it should be able to explain how and why it is against the constitution rather than making mere allegations.

Timeline

A Chronology of the Middle Way Approach

This timeline does not attempt to be exhaustive, but rather, gives the key points in the evolution of the history of the Middle Way Approach.

- 1949** The People's Liberation Army of China invades and starts to assume control of Tibet.
- 1951-1959** In 1951, the Chinese government force the Tibetan representatives to sign the "17-Point Agreement on Measures for Peaceful Liberation of Tibet". The Chinese government violates the provisions of the agreement and fails to abide by it.
- 1959** With resistance taking place in various parts of Tibet in the late 1950s, a National Uprising also breaks out in the Tibetan capital, Lhasa, in March 1959. Chinese forces crush the uprising, leading to the deaths of 87,000 Tibetans in seven months. Fleeing the Chinese occupation of Tibet, approximately 80,000 Tibetans follow His Holiness the Dalai Lama across the Himalayas and into exile in India, Nepal and Bhutan.
- 1959-1974** Thanks to the support of the Government of India, His Holiness the Dalai Lama makes a base in exile in northern India. He first settles in Mussoorie and then later in Dharamshala, where the Central Tibetan Administration (CTA) is established. In the coming years, with the support and guidance of His Holiness the Dalai Lama and the CTA, Tibetans in exile concentrate on establishing themselves in communities around the world. During this period, the UN General Assembly adopts three resolutions on the issue of Tibet, in 1959, 1961 and 1965.
- 1974** After 15 years in exile, and taking into consideration the gravity of the situation inside Tibet and the need to alleviate the suffering of Tibetans, His Holiness the Dalai Lama envisions a win-win proposition to solve the issue of Tibet. He holds a series of discussions with the Kashag (CTA/Tibetan cabinet members), leaders of the Tibetan Parliament-in-Exile (TPiE), and trusted friends of Tibet. An internal decision is taken to pursue a policy of autonomy— the "Middle Way" — rather than separation from the People's Republic of China (PRC). This policy comes to be known as the Middle Way Approach. (*Tibetan: "Umaylam"*)
- 1979** Chinese paramount leader, Deng Xiaoping, states that, "apart from independence, all issues can be discussed" and offers talks with His Holiness the Dalai Lama. Since the Middle Way Approach has already been developed, a positive response is sent to Deng Xiaoping, beginning a long period of contact and discussions between Dharamshala and Beijing.
- 1979-1985** China accepts four fact-finding delegations to Tibet, in August 1979, May 1980, June 1980 and June 1985. The delegations are enthusiastically received by local Tibetans. They visit various parts of Tibet, including Lhasa, Shigatse, Lhokha, Kongpo Nyingtri, Sakya, Lhuntse, Tsona, Tsethang, Gyangtse, Choekhorgyal, Sangagchoeling and YartokNakartse in U-Tsang; Kanlho, Siling, Golok, Malho, Ngaba and Zoege in Amdo; Nagchu, Chamdo, Dege, Kardze, Nyarong, Gyalthag and Markham in Kham. In 1982 and 1984, Chinese leaders meet exploratory delegations from Dharamshala for talks in Beijing. Following the 1985 fact-finding delegation, China refuses to receive further

- missions. No reason is given.
- 1987** His Holiness the Dalai Lama addresses the U.S. Congressional Human Rights Caucus and presents a Five-Point Peace Plan for Tibet, proposing the Chinese government to start earnest negotiations based on the Middle Way Approach.
- 1987-1989** In 1987, a large-scale peaceful street protest which breaks out in Lhasa is brutally suppressed by Chinese forces. A new wave of repression and arrests ensues. Following continued peaceful protests, China declares martial law in Lhasa in March 1989.
- 1988** In 1988, His Holiness the Dalai Lama presents the Strasbourg Proposal in the European Parliament, which elaborates on the Five-Point Peace Plan. In September, Beijing announces its willingness to negotiate with Tibetans and says that His Holiness the Dalai Lama can choose the date and venue for negotiations. Welcoming Beijing's willingness, Dharamshala announces a six-member Tibetan negotiating team. Before the talks can begin, the Chinese government reverts to its former hard-line position and says that the Strasbourg Proposal cannot be the basis of talks.
- 1989** His Holiness the Dalai Lama is awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for his advocacy for a peaceful solution to the issue of Tibet based upon an approach of tolerance and mutual respect.
- 1992** His Holiness the Dalai Lama declares the Strasbourg Proposal invalid due to a lack of positive response from the Chinese government.
- 1993** With Beijing failing to reciprocate the numerous diplomatic initiatives of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, 14 years of formal contact with the Chinese government come to an end. The next year, 1994, Beijing holds the third "Tibet Work Forum" during which it adopts a hard-line policy on Tibet. This marks a significant shift from the more open approach of earlier forums.
- 1994** Given Beijing's change in stance, His Holiness the Dalai Lama proposes a referendum of the Tibetan community be held for future dealings with China and to reorientate the course of the Tibetan freedom struggle.
- 1997** In September 1997, based on the preliminary opinion survey and reflecting the Tibetan people's profound trust in His Holiness the Dalai Lama, the TPiE adopts a unanimous resolution stating that he should, in the future, be the sole person to take decisions on Sino-Tibetan issues. The TPiE further resolves that whatever decisions His Holiness the Dalai Lama takes will be regarded by all the Tibetan people as being the equivalent to a decision reached through a referendum.
- 1998** During the 29th anniversary of the Tibetan people's National Uprising Day on 10 March, His Holiness the Dalai Lama in his public statement responds to the events of the previous year, thanking the people of Tibet for the trust and hope placed in him and reiterating his commitment to the Middle Way Approach.
- 2001** His Holiness the Dalai Lama addresses the plenary session of the European Parliament, urging the resumption of dialogue.
- 2002** Dialogue with China resumes with the first of what will become nine "rounds of talks" based on the Middle Way Approach. The 1st round of talks between the envoys of His Holiness the Dalai Lama and the representatives of the Chinese government takes place in September 2002 in Beijing. This is followed by the 2nd round in May-June 2003 in Beijing; 3rd round in September 2004 in Beijing; 4th round in June-July 2005 in Berne, Switzerland; 5th round in February 2006 in Guilin city in China; 6th round in June-July 2007 in Shanghai and Nanjing; an informal meeting in May 2008 in Shenzhen; 7th round in June-July 2008 in Beijing; 8th round in October-November 2008 in Beijing and 9th round of talks in January-February 2010 in Hunan province and Beijing.
- 2008** During the first half of 2008, unprecedented and widespread protests break out across Tibet. At the 7th round of talks with the Chinese government in July 2008, Chinese negotiators ask the Tibetan leadership to put in writing the nature of the autonomy it seeks. The *Memorandum on Genuine Autonomy for the Tibetan People* is presented during the 8th round of talks in October-November that year. The Memorandum elaborates how genuine autonomy for the Tibetan people would operate within the framework of the PRC constitution and Law on National Regional Autonomy – defines areas such as the "application of a single administration for the Tibetan nationality in the People's Republic of China", the "nature and structure

- of autonomy” and the “11 Basic Needs of Tibetans”. The Chinese leadership rejects the proposal, falsely claiming that the *Memorandum* includes references to a “Greater Tibet”, “Higher Degree of Autonomy,” “covert independence” and “independence in disguise”.
- 2009** Tibetans begin setting themselves on fire to protest against the Chinese government’s continued occupation of Tibet and political repression, religious persecution, cultural assimilation and economic marginalisation of its people and environmental destruction. While attempting to take their lives, self-immolators consistently call for the return of His Holiness the Dalai Lama to Tibet and freedom for the Tibetan people.
- 2010** To address the Chinese government’s concerns about and objections to the *Memorandum*, the Tibetan leadership presents a *Note on the Memorandum on Genuine Autonomy for the Tibetan People* during the 9th round of talks. The Memorandum and the Note describe how a genuine autonomy for the Tibetan people would operate within the framework of the People’s Republic of China: its constitution, territorial integrity and sovereignty, its ‘three adherences’¹ and the hierarchy and authority of the Chinese Central Government (CCG). The *Note* further addresses specific concerns raised by the Chinese government with respect to the form of single administration; political, social and economic systems; public security; regulation of population migration; language; and religion. The Chinese government once again refuses to accept the proposal.
- 2011** After President Barack Obama meets with His Holiness the Dalai Lama in July 2011 the White House applauds “the Dalai Lama’s commitment to non-violence and dialogue with China and his pursuit of the Middle Way Approach,” and encourages the relevant parties to engage in “direct dialogue to resolve long-standing differences”, saying that “a dialogue that produces results would be positive for China and Tibetans.” The Tibetan leadership, headed by the Sikyong, Dr. Lobsang Sangay, reiterates its firm commitment to the Middle Way Approach and clearly states that dialogue between the envoys of His Holiness the Dalai Lama and the representatives of the Chinese leadership is the only way forward.
- Today** So far, 130 self-immolations have taken place inside Tibet since 2009. Dialogue between envoys of His Holiness the Dalai Lama and the Chinese leadership remains stalled. Meanwhile, many governments – including the U.S., European Union, France, Japan, Australia, Brazil, and New Zealand – hail the dialogue process as a viable and reasonable way forward. Despite worsening conditions inside Tibet and self-immolations now numbering more than 130 people, the Tibetan people’s commitment to the Middle Way Approach is unwavering. They are buoyed in their faith in the policy by growing support from the international community, including the many Chinese who believe in peace and justice.

¹The ‘three adherences’ as stipulated by the Central Government are: (1) the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party; (2) socialism with Chinese characteristics; and (3) the Regional National Autonomy system.

His Holiness the Dalai Lama’s Message on June 4 Tiananmen Event Anniversary

Today, as our Chinese brothers and sisters commemorate the 25th anniversary of the June 4, 1989 event in Tiananmen Square in Beijing, I offer my prayers for those who died for freedom, democracy and human rights.

These values are the foundation of a free and dynamic society. They are also the source of true peace and stability. While great progress has been made to integrate China into the world economy, I believe it is equally important to encourage China to enter the mainstream of global democracy. This will help China to gain the trust and respect of the rest of the world, enabling China to fulfill its potential in playing a leading role in global affairs.

Major News Media Cover Tibetans' Push for Middle Way Awareness Campaign



DHARAMSHALA: Major international news media yesterday covered the launch of the Central Tibetan Administration’s renewed Middle Way Approach international campaign to achieve genuine autonomy for the Tibetan people through dialogue with China.

His Holiness the Dalai Lama blessed campaign documents which were launched by Tibetan political leader Dr. Lobsang Sangay in Dharamshala.

Addressing a press conference at the launch, Dr. Lobsang Sangay said: “Our aim is to counter the efforts of Chinese officials and representatives who are misleading many around the world about what the ‘Middle Way’ is. The Middle Way is a win-win proposition which seeks genuine autonomy for the Tibetan people by straddling the middle way between repression and separation from China.”

Dr. Sangay says the new campaign also aims to persuade the international community to support the Tibetan people’s aspiration for genuine autonomy.

“There is total repression and total discrimination” in Tibet, he told reporters. “All this repression is making Tibetans more resentful of the Chinese government’s policies and towards the Chinese government and various forms of protests are taking place.”

In an exclusive interview the Reuters, Dr. Sangay said he was hopeful Chinese President Xi Jinping would resume formal talks and soften China’s handling of Tibet.

“This hardline policy has not worked. In the last 50 years it has gone through this vicious cycle of repression, resentment and protests. So it is clearly not working,” he told Reuters.

The Middle Way Approach information materials – including an interactive website, short documentary video, Social media campaign, timeline of the Tibetan struggle and FAQs – many of them available in 7 languages including Chinese – were launched. “These will make it very easy for people around the world to understand exactly what the Tibetan administration is proposing in terms of genuine autonomy,” Dr. Sangay said.

Numerous international news media including The New York Times, The Wall Street Journal, The Guardian, The Financial Times, Reuters, AFP, AP, BBC, The Washington Post, as well as leading Indian media like the Times of India, Hindustan Times, NDTV covered the campaign launch. Local Indian and Tibetan media also covered campaign.



“Our aim is to counter the efforts of Chinese officials and representatives who are misleading many around the world about what the ‘Middle Way’ is. The Middle Way is a win-win proposition which seeks genuine autonomy for the Tibetan people by straddling the middle way between repression and separation from China.” -- Sikyong Dr. Lobsang Sangay

COMMON BUDDHIST HERITAGE OF THE HIMALAYAN REGION AND TIBETAN PEOPLE *

- Tashi Phuntsok **

The Himalayas, despite its inhospitable nature and terrain, have nurtured a unique trans-Himalayan Buddhist culture from the seventh century. The sacred mountains have been the abode of snows, great yogis and saints. The isolated caves in the rugged mountains and the monasteries on the craggy ridges have nurtured the hardy monks and nuns in their meditational retreats. Political boundaries did not exist. Like the free migrant birds that graced the Himalayan sky, the intrepid travellers and the seekers of the Buddha Dharma trudged across the blistering wind and barren landscape of the Tibetan plateau.

To the south of Tibet are the Himalayan communities of Ladakh, Lahual, Spiti, Kinnaur, Sikkim and Arunachal in India, upland Nepal and Bhutan. Taken together, they constitute a Buddhist world, a coherent cultural, religious and linguistic bloc with deep ties and connections over many centuries. This whole belt long predates the interventions of great powers – the British Raj, China and modern India. It was a porous life that for long had brought down from the plateau water, wool, salt, pilgrims, lamas and religion; while carrying up from the lowlands and through the mountains cotton, pilgrims and great Indian masters. This rich history of two-way traffic, of goods and ideas, commodities and mind training have brought the Himalayan peoples closer together, overcoming all hardship of a steep terrain.

Indeed monks from the Indian Himalayas could get admission and receive all facilities in major Tibetan monasteries like any Tibetan. Ngari Khangtsen, Spiti Khangtsen and Tsawa Khangtsen and other hostels were reserved for them. This tradition continues even now.

BUDDHISM IN THE HIMALAYAN BELT

Historically, Indian Buddhist institutions such as Nalanda and Vikramasila were the centres of excellence for propagation of Buddhist ideas. Indian influence and role were pivotal in the establishment of Mahayana Buddhism in Tibet. The knowledge and literature of Buddhism, rather than being available in India, was preserved, got ingrained and further developed in Tibet before it declined in India. In mid-twentieth century, when the People's Republic of China (PRC) took over Tibet, that very knowledge pool came back to India with the Tibetan exiles.

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Despite the prevailing situations inside Tibet, the cultural and spiritual relations still exist amongst the exile Tibetans and the Himalayan peoples that follow the Buddhist traditions. It is due to the revival and establishment of various Buddhist monasteries and centres that has kept this relation intact throughout the Himalayan belt.

In Ladakh, there are about 37 monasteries of different sects and more than 90 elderly monks who had been to various monasteries in Tibet before 1959. The Hemis monastery, for instance is the biggest monastery of the Drukpa Kargyu School of the Great Mahayana Culture. It was founded in 1630 by Tagtsang Repa Ngawang Gyatso (1574-1651) under the patronage of King Sengye Namgyal. The monastery now has about 350 monks with its various branch monasteries in over 50 villages all over Ladakh.

Phyang and Shachukul Monasteries in Ladakh follow Drikung Kagyu lineage. Matho monastery about 26 kms from Leh, is the only monastery that follows Sakya sect. It was established in the early 15th century by the Tibetan Sakya scholar Dorje Pal-sang for the benefit of the local community. Thak Thog monastery that follows the Nyingma sect in Sakti village, about 45 kms from Leh was founded in the late sixteenth century. Alchi monastery that follows the Gelukpa sect was built by the great translator Guru Rinchen Zangpo between 958 and 1055. Other Gelukpa sect monasteries in Ladakh include Thikse and Likir monasteries.

Tabo monastery, in Tabo village, Himachal Pradesh, was founded by Lotsawa Rinchen Sanpo in 996. It is located on the left bank of Spiti River. It was built by King Yeshe Yod. It is noted for being the oldest continuously operating Buddhist enclave in the Himalayas. It is protected by Archaeological Survey of India (ASI) and is a listed UNESCO Heritage.

Key Monastery was said to be founded by Dromton (1008-1064), a well-known pupil of Atisha. It is close to Spiti River. It is the biggest monastery in the Spiti Valley in Himachal Pradesh.

The Himalayan kingdom of Sikkim became the 22nd state of India in 1975, though the majority follows traditional Hindu cultures and rituals (about 70%), but in northern part the Bhutias and Lepchas are Buddhists.

For the Monpas and Khampa peoples of Arunachal Pradesh too have been the Buddhists. Looking back in time, the 6th Dalai Lama, Tseyang Gyatso was also born at Urgelling Monastery, 5 km from Tawang, he was a Monpa by ethnicity.

It may not be out of place to mention here that with exception of the Khampis of the Lohit District the Monpas are the only people in the North-East Frontier Agency who can claim to have a script.

TIBETAN EXILE - 1959

China’s occupation of Tibet forced His Holiness the XIV Dalai Lama and some 80,000 Tibetans to leave Tibet. They came to India, Nepal and Bhutan. His Holiness, escaping Chinese army, crossed into India on 30 March 1959 and spent some days resting at Tawang Monastery before reaching Tezpur in Assam on 18 April. Early Tibetan Refugee settlements, monastic communities and schools were established here.

While China systematically destroyed ancestral cultural and religious centres in Tibet, these Tibetan establishments, set up all across India, became the central hope of safeguarding the unique cultural and religious traditions of Tibet.

H. H. the Dalai Lama has been the esteemed guest of Government India since 1959. The Central Tibetan Administration (CTA) has been based in Dharamsala as well. All these would not have been possible without the generous help and kind consideration of the people and government of India.

CURRENT RELATIONS

The exiled Tibetan community with the generous support from the Indian government has successfully thrived in many Indian states. According to the latest demographic census released by the Planning Commission (CTA) in 2010, the Himalayans states of Himachal Pradesh, Uttarakhand, Jammu & Kashmir, Sikkim and Arunachal Pradesh has a total of 25 Tibetan settlements with the total population of about 50,500 (Fig 1).

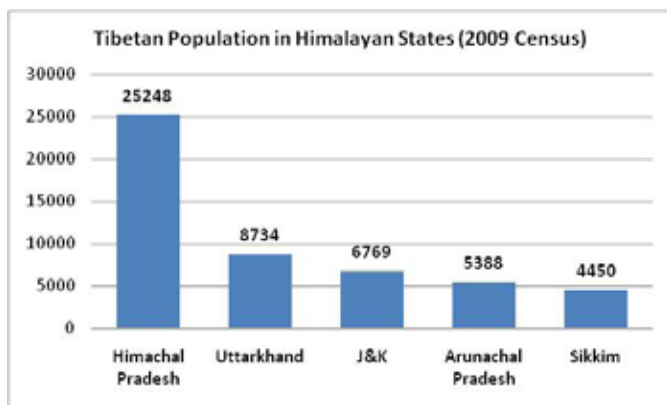


Figure 1: Tibetan populations in the Indian Himalayan states

Source: The office of the Planning Commission, Central Tibetan Administration, 2010

These Himalayan states are also home to various Tibetan boarding and private schools. Most of them are administered by the Department of Education (CTA, Dharamsala), Tibetan Children’s Village (TCV), Dharamsala and Tibetan Homes Foun-

ation (THF), Mussoorie. As of March, 2013, 32 schools currently impart modern education to more than 11,800 students, from which 1200 students are non-Tibetans (Fig 2). There are further details from TCV and THF. TCV has 1050 boarders and 164 day scholars, in total 1214. For example, TCV, Choglamsar, Leh, Ladakh has 7 homes for the local children. THF has 71 students from the North-East Himalayan region alone.

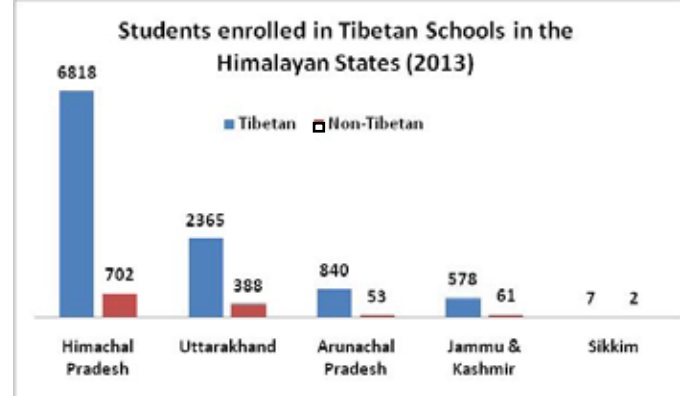


Figure 2: Students enrolled in Tibetan schools in the Himalayan states

Source: DoE, Central Tibetan Administration (March, 2013)

The current rate of young Himalayan scholars enrolling into the various monasteries, religious and cultural centres and Tibetan schools are encouraging. It is a positive indication of the ability of the Himalayan peoples to retain, practice and preach this unique Buddhist philosophy and it’s teachings in a free country. For instance, according to the 2011 records maintained by the Department of Religion and Culture of the Central Tibetan Administration, in the North-East India alone, there are about 53 Tibetan-run Buddhist monasteries and religious centres that educate more than 4400 monks from various ethnic backgrounds. According to the available data more than 80 percent of monks are non-Tibetan or monks from the other Himalayan region. (Fig. 3)

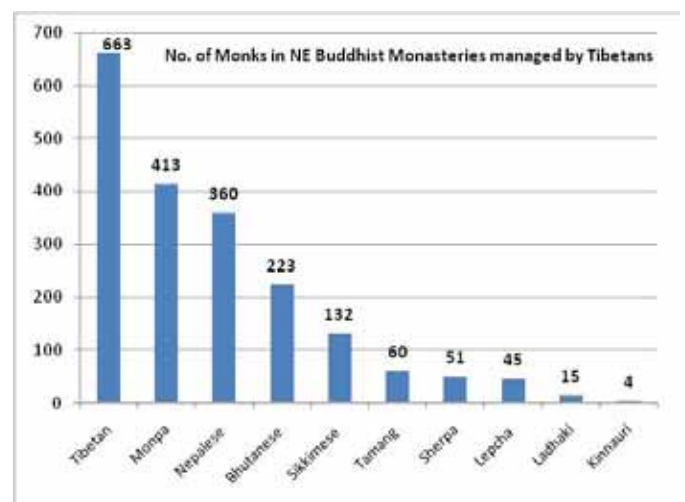


Figure 3. Number of monks enrolled in Northeast Buddhist monasteries managed by Tibetan administration

Source: Department of Religion and Culture of the Central Tibetan Administration- Dharamsala, 2011

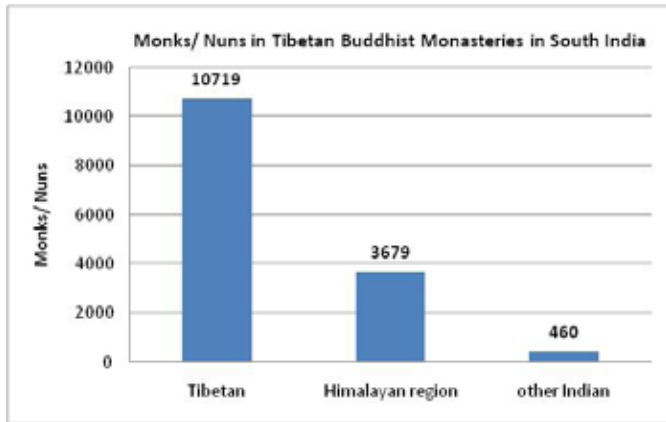


Figure 4: Number of monks and nuns in Tibetan Buddhist Monasteries in South India

Source: Department of Religion and Culture of the Central Tibetan Administration- Dharamsala, 2011

As reflected in figure 4, the peoples from the Himalayan regions (Kinnaur, Spiti, Ladakh, Mon, Nepal, Bhutan and Sikkim) make up roughly 25 percent of the total monks and nuns in the major monasteries in South India.

In an around Dharamsala several Buddhist monasteries, nunneries and religious institutes also educate many students (comprising of monks, nuns and lay person from the Himalayan region). According to the report published in 2011 by the Department of Religion and Culture, there are over 400 monks and nuns enrolled in various Tibetan monasteries and nunneries.

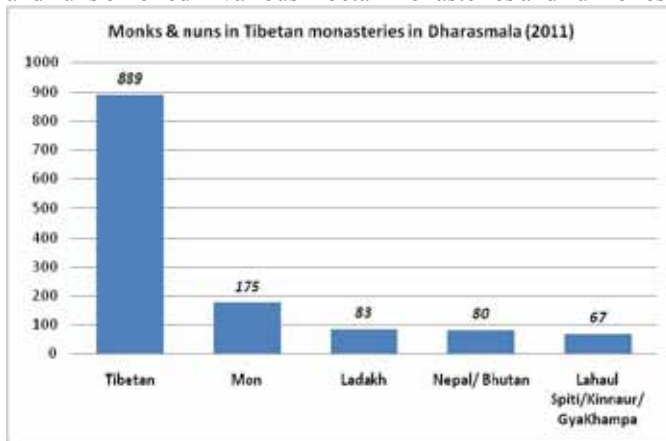


Figure 5: Number of monks and nuns enrolled in various Tibetan monasteries in Dharamsala.

Source: Department of Religion and Culture of the Central Tibetan Administration- Dharamsala, 2011

Tibetan Monasteries in the Himalayan regions are now becoming

the main learning centres for the local people. In due course majority of the spiritual scholars will be from the Himalayan region. Their linguistic know-how and cultural and spiritual affinity give them an edge to excel and become renowned Buddhist scholars and high priests. It should also be comforting for those concerned researchers who have shown great concerns regarding the ‘Tibetanization of the Himalayan Regions. It is clear that these monastic institutions and religious centres will become the main centre for future Buddhist studies and practitioners.

Already many eminent spiritual scholars from the Himalayan region have adorned the leadership in Tibetan Buddhist hierarchy. The current Gaden Tripa (the throne holder of Gelugpa school), His Eminence Rizong Rinpoche is from Ladakh; Khenrinpoche Jangchup Choeden, Abbot of Gadhen Shartse is from Spiti and Khen Rinpoche Lobsang Tseten, Abbot of Tashi Lhunpo monastery is also from Ladakh. Geshe Lharampa Guru Rinpoche, Abbot of Tawang Monastery, is Monpa from Arunachal Pradesh. The list is random and not comprehensive. There are several other eminent religious teachers, Abbots, directors of religious and cultural institutions, high authorities in the managerial posts of the monasteries of all Buddhists schools and nunneries from the region.

HIS HOLINESS THE DALAI LAMA'S ROLE

His Holiness the XIV Dalai Lama has made special efforts for the improvement of the quality of learning, re-strengthening the confidence of people and in the revival and promotion of Buddhist culture in the Himalayan region. His tireless commitment has taken him 52 times to the region since his arrival in India. Excluding areas around Dharamsala, His Holiness has visited places in the Himalayan regions of Himachal Pradesh 17 times; Jammu & Kashmir 18 times; Sikkim 5 times; West Bengal 7 times and Arunachal Pradesh 5 times. His Holiness has also conferred the Kalachakra initiation, highest form Buddhist empowerment, seven times in the region. The first was granted in Leh, Ladakh, Jammu & Kashmir in 1976; Tabo in Himachal Pradesh in 1983; Zanskar in Jammu & Kashmir in 1988; Gangtok in Sikkim in 1993; Jispa in Himachal Pradesh in 1994; Tabo in Himachal Pradesh in 1996 and Kyi again in Himachal Pradesh in 2000. His Holiness will give the 33rd Kalachakra at Shewai Tsel by the Indus river-side in Leh, next July (2014).

CONCLUSION

The shift caused in the relationship because of the Chinese occupation of Tibet has proven beneficial and enriching for the Himalayan region. Far more importantly and for posterity, the revival and robust growth of cultural and spiritual institutions in the region will have far reaching consequences for Tibetan Buddhism. It has ushered in a new era - the revival and the easy access of the higher standards of Buddhism in the Himalayan region of India.

Statement of Kalon for the Department of Security concerning Dolgyal related issues at the sixth session of the 15th Tibetan Parliament-in-Exile

I would like to extend my sincere thanks to the Honorable Members of the Parliament for their emphatic opinions and appeals on the Resolution no. 22, on which we had an almost entire day of discussion this day. Specially, since the issue concerns with the Department of Security, I have tried to make note of all the opinions concerning the issue of His Holiness the Dalai Lama's security. However, I am not going to say I have such plans regarding the matter.

Honorable Members of the Parliament are well aware about the Dolgyal issue. However, given the growing attention for this medium (the parliamentary session) among the masses, I will try my best to clarify certain prominent issues.

I will not speak about the nature and history of Dolgyal as many of the Honorable Members of the Parliament already spoke about it. Since 1996, His Holiness the Dalai Lama has openly advised against the practice of propitiating Dolgyal but he never prohibited its practice although restrictions were imposed. (As explained earlier in the parliament) You all are well aware about the incidents that happened since 1996. Two resolutions were also passed on this issue in the same year.

Following His Holiness's advice on Dolgyal during the spring teaching, the Dolgyal followers established Dorjee Shugden Devotees Charitable and Religious Society in Delhi and subsequently harassed and threatened violence against many individuals, monasteries, organizations and Tibetan settlements. Particularly (as far as I remember) on May 27, 1996 they set fire to the barn of Gaden-Jangtse monastery and attempted to kill Venerable Wangyal, a former abbot of the Jangtse College, by pouring kerosene on him. A personal testimony of this can be seen in video documentaries.

Almost after two months on July 3, 1996 some men broke into Kasur Kundeling Woesser Gyaltzen's residence in Rajpur

and assaulted him with knife; he was later hospitalized. In his later interview, the late Kundeling revealed from where these assailants came from and for what purpose.

In February 1997, the Director of the Institute of Buddhist Dialectics and two of his students were brutally murdered in Dharamshala. The local Police Commissioner later told the media that the murderers came from Delhi. All these can be seen in the newspapers and the video documentaries, I request you all to pay attention to it. At the request of the Indian government, the Interpol had also issued a Red Corner notice for the two alleged men suspected of the murder which is still on their website. All these statements of local law-enforcing bodies and international agencies are real and legitimate, and it justifies the Tibetan Administration's allegation against the Dolgyal group for the incident.

On September 10, 2000 an incident happened in Mundgod Tibetan settlement. On learning that the Dolgyal group was hosting a meeting in Mundgod, a group of local Tibetans gathered in front of Dokhang Khangtzen of Gaden Shartse Monastery to appeal that they didn't host the meeting. However, they were attacked with stones and bricks from the roof of the monastery. Many of them were injured and all of these can be seen in pictures.

A similar incident happened in Sera Monastery where a group of local Tibetans were beaten on their way to appeal that they didn't host any meeting of Dolgyal group in Serpom Monastery. Probably a pregnant woman was also beaten up. This incident has not been documented anywhere.

Similarly, a teacher of Sera-Mey Monastery was brutally beaten because the Dolgyal supporters did not like his teachings on Dolgyal issue. In a similar manner, a Geshe of Gaden Jangtse Monastery who had been a member of local Tibetan

Freedom Movement Association (*Rangden Tsokchung*) for many years and Sera-Jey's official in-charge of scholarship and identity card department was also brutally beaten.

On October 19, in Bylakupee, the settlement officer of Deckyi Larso settlement and his wife was brutally beaten and the roof of his residence was broken. All of this was covered by the local news media and the local Indian investigation officer also gave a similar account of this incident. I am saying these just to remind you.

Besides these incidents, undoubtedly many things have happened. For instance, after the assassination of the Director of the Institute of Buddhist Dialectics, a circular purportedly issued from Bylakupee was received and was addressed to His Holiness the Dalai Lama. The circular threatened: "Did you enjoy eating the three carcasses at the time of Losar? You will be treated to many more carcasses if you continue the present practice."

The Indian government is well aware about the threat the Dolgyal group poses for the safety of His Holiness the Dalai Lama. Also, there were instances of Kalons of the Tibetan administration being stalked, issued warnings and threat letters.

Without having to say all of that one can see that their activities are much in line with the very nature of Dolgyal which is harmful. They have made many false allegations against the Tibetan administration in the past and they continue to do so still. Some of the Honorable Members of the Parliament (being there at the time of these incidents) gave a very effective account of these incidents for which I would like to present my gratitude towards them.

They have accused of being discriminated but discrimination over what? They have accused of denial of there-

ligious freedom. But is it related to religion or freedom? They have accused that the children of Dolgyal propitiators were thrown out of the Tibetan schools and offices and they are not given any medical care in the Tibetan hospitals. On the website of the so-called Western Shugden Society, they have accused His Holiness the Dalai Lama and the Central Tibetan Administration for the incident that happened with Chonze lak of Trijang Labrang in Mundgod Tibetan settlement in December 2013.

Honorable Speaker, (even if it takes some time) taking the opportunity of this medium, I wish to clarify what the Tibetan administration has done on this issue, although I am not sure if I can cover everything.

The allegation of children of Dolgyal propitiators being thrown out of the Tibetan schools is totally insubstantial. In fact, the children of Jampel Yeshe, the President of Dolgyal society in Delhi remained enrolled at that time at the Tibetan Children's Village (TCV) School in lower Dharamshala. They were neither expelled nor did anyone asked them to leave. Though the President himself withdrew his children from the school two years later but this was not due to any pressure from the Tibetan administration. Parents have rights to withdraw their children from school but I am sure the children have nothing in their mind. Their accusation can be validated on the basis that the TCV School and some other schools are functioning directly under the administrative control of the Tibetan administration. However, the office of the Tibetan Children's Village, the Tibetan Homes Foundation and the Central Tibetan Schools Administration (which runs all the schools for Tibetans funded by the Government of India) issued written denials that no single child was expelled from their schools on the grounds that their parents propitiated Dolgyal. One can see all of these in the books published by the Department of Information and International Relations and the Department of Religion and Culture. May be these books are scarce nowadays but it contains detailed explanations of the matter and I urge you to go through them.

Similarly, they accuse the Tibetan administration for the discrimination against the Dolgyal followers over monastic enrollment. In 2007, sixteen young Tibetans from Tibet arrived in Dharamshala. They admitted their propitiation of Dolgyal and said they cannot leave off the propitiation as their parents have advised them not to. Moreover, they insisted that they be sent to the monasteries. One might think what decisions were made by the Tibetan administration; and since the Dolgyal group have nothing to support their claims, they are also not in a position to take out their names. Whatever it may be, they have accused the Tibetan administration for not enrolling them in the monasteries. It is true that they cannot be enrolled into the monasteries because the Charter of the Monastic Discipline of the Gelugpa Sect (Chapter#4 Article#12 Section-7) categorically states that all new entrants must stop propitiation of Dolgyal. This Charter was adopted during the conference of the abbots and representatives of the great monastic seats of Gelugpa under the chairmanship of the Gaden Throne Holder and Sharjang Choeje. The Central Tibetan Administration has no authority to act against the Charter of the Gelugpa sect and enroll Dolgyal propitiators in Gelugpa monasteries. Every organization has its own rules and conditions and we have respected that. The other schools of Tibetan Buddhism have nothing to do with it and so they have not passed any such regulation. There is no instance of interrogation and discrimination on the basis of Dolgyal propitiation in other schools of Tibetan Buddhism.

After considering the matter carefully, the Tibetan administration expressed its inability to send them to Gelugpa monasteries and advised them to join schools to avail more opportunities. They stayed at the reception centre for many days and then went on to join TCV Suja School and Sherab Gatseling School. However, sadly they did not stay there for long. Eventually in their application to the reception center, they wrote they would rather go back to Tibet if they are not able to get admission in the monastery here and also asked for their travel expenses. It was well agreed upon by the Tibetan administration. The Tibetan ad-

ministration has always maintained that it will not object to anyone who wishes to return to Tibet and will provide the travel expenses if asked for.

The Kashag of the Central Tibetan administration has issued a directive on February 17, 2007, following which the Tibetan administration has not issued any referral letter to the Dolgyal followers for the enrollment in Gelugpa monasteries. This is true.

Similarly, they have also accused the Tibetan administration for not issuing the support letter to Dolgyal followers and their family members to apply for the travel document, which is a false argument. Dakpa Gyaltsen (also known as Geshe Chime Tsering), the so-called Secretary of the Dolgyal society in Delhi, was issued a support letter when his travel document (IC) was expired. He later acquired a travel document and now he lives in abroad. Likewise, on what document did the members of Ganden Nyen Gyud Monastery (who are very active on Mangthrod Khabda <Tibetan Public Talk>) reached the U.S.A., although they claim to have received an asylum because of Dolgyal issue. When Jampel Yeshe's wife immigrated to the west under the family reunification program, her travel document (IC) was issued by the Indian government with a support letter of the Tibetan administration. The Tibetan administration has not discriminated anyone over issuing documents and such allegations are completely baseless. It has been said that the Tibetan administration has remained silent over all these allegations. However if one pays attention, we have aptly responded against these baseless allegations whenever it was required. Those who aren't attentive always hang in the middle. I sought this opportunity this day because this medium is closely watched by the masses and especially because of the great attention over the resolution that has passed this day. People must be watching this at the cost of their sleep and therefore, I felt it is very important to tell them the reality.

Similarly, they have accused the Tibetan administration of discrimination and with holding medical care. If they name a single person who was denied medi-

cal care by the Department of Health for their beliefs, then we can definitely investigate the matter. There is no such instance of discrimination. They have also accused the Tibetan administration of dismissing Dolgyal followers from the government jobs. If they name a single person who was dismissed, we can see how he/she was dismissed.

It is not the sole authority of Kashag to dismiss the civil servants of the Central Tibetan Administration. *The Charter of the Tibetans-in-Exile* provides for an institution of an independent body with its own rules and conditions for the dismissal of a civil servant. If any civil servant commits a crime, it is only on the basis of the investigation carried out by the investigating committee that he/she will be penalized. Who has been dismissed for following Dolgyal? There are over 600 civil servants serving in the Tibetan administration and none of them has been harassed under any circumstances for propitiating Dolgyal. Let me also make it clear that there is not a single civil servant in the Central Tibetan Administration who propitiates Dolgyal.

If the propitiation of Dolgyal forms a basis of dismissal from the government job, should it also not be a requisite for the recruitment of new staff? However there is no such condition as the door is open for any Tibetan to work in the CTA. Particularly so in the Tibetan Parliament-in-Exile (a platform which is even more important), I don't think there is such a condition which bars any Dolgyal follower from becoming a member of the parliament. Parliament is a law-making body and there is nothing whatsoever that prevents them from making such laws. As a matter of fact, some people are of view that such laws should be made but no such laws have been made by the Tibetan administration. Any eligible Tibetan can rightfully become a member of the Tibetan parliament. In fact, one should contest for the parliamentary election and speak from this platform. Therefore, there is no instance of discrimination and partiality from the administration.

Similarly, they accuse of discrimination over the issue of land and housing. Hon-

orable Members of Parliament, who are well aware about the ground situation, clearly spoke about it.

Keeping with the principles of Dharma and Vinaya, the mouth was distinguished from the moustache during the proceeding of Tsulshing in Gelugpa monasteries in 2008. Nobody was asked to leave the monastery; it was in fact left for the monks to decide where they wished to live. As it was said earlier, it is true that a small number of people are living with so many rights. At present, there are so-called Shar Gaden Nampar Gyalwayling in Mundgod and Serpom Khangtsen in Bylakupee who are living on the lands provided by the Indian government at the request of His Holiness the Dalai Lama. The Tibetan administration has never asked them to leave the land. If they voluntarily decide to leave, they are free to do so. There is no prohibition from the Tibetan administration but rather the words of appreciation. During the meeting of Tibetan settlement officers last year, a clear directive was issued that everyone is equally entitled to the rights enshrined and this directive still remains valid. There is no discrimination regarding this issue.

Recently, on the website of the so-called Western Shugden Society, they released news (with pictures) on the attack of Chonzelak of Thrijang Labrang and who accused His Holiness the Dalai Lama and the Tibetan administration for the attack. If their allegations are legitimate, we live in a free and lawful nation of India; they should have accordingly informed the police about the incident. However they did not. But since the incident happened with a person under the jurisdiction of Mundgod Tibetan Settlement Office, the settlement officer informed the local police and requested for a thorough investigation. Eventually, the police summoned the local heads and representatives of the settlement and monks of Shar Gaden who were involved. Due to his advancing age, Chonze lak requested for the continuation of investigation without having him to come in person. Unwilling to say anything on this matter, the monks of Shar Gaden issued a written statement in which they called off the investigation under the pretext of social stability. If this

attack was carried out under the direction of the Central Tibetan administration, the police should have been duly informed. What is the reason that they did not inform the police? There is a lot of speculation and it becomes very important that people are informed about the reality. This issue and the related matters are taken care of by the Tibetan Administration.

If a large section of youth is misled about the issue, through this platform, it is imperative to appeal to everyone to pay attention. Meanwhile, between mid 1990s and 2000, they have resorted to violent acts like those carried out by the terrorists such as intimidation, beating and even murdering people. In recent times, the tactics have definitely undergone changes. It is being done in a sophisticated manner. Even then they do not see the possibility of making their base in India, a country with the rule of law. In recent times, many books are being delivered by misusing media channels, including social media. Disinformation campaign has been carried out in the media channels such as the release of a book titled False Dalai Lama.

His Holiness the Dalai Lama has recently said in south India that the Indian and the US governments had informed him about the threats to his security from Dolgyal organization. The Dolgyal propitiators have alleged that this is a lie and that they don't pose any threat to His Holiness the Dalai Lama and even the Indian government will not profess such things. They further alleged that how come many Dolgyal propitiators have managed to get an asylum in the US. To back up their allegations with evidence and to convince the public, they also alleged that the recent fencing of His Holiness the Dalai Lama's residence has nothing to do with them and it was done in view of the bomb blasts at Bodhi Gaya in 2013. Everyone knows about the level of security Indian government has provided to His Holiness the Dalai Lama since he shifted his residence to McLeod-Ganj. Following the murder of a teacher at the Institute of Buddhist Dialectics in 1997, the Indian government has carried out thorough investigation. The Indian security officials subsequently made a

recommendation on His Holiness the Dalai Lama's security that there should be a 10-12 feet fencing with six feet wall and four feet iron fencing around his residence.

These measures were taken in view of the Dolgyal-related incidents. Due to the high cost of building the fence and something which is not in His Holiness the Dalai Lama's mind, we requested that not a very high but with four feet wall with iron fencing over it be build. At last, after the concerned investigation and refusal of security officials to take any risks, we had to appeal to the Ministry of Home Affairs in Delhi. That iron fencing was built in 1997 and all of you must have seen during your recent visit to Tsuglagkhang (Main Temple). In 2013, our administration on its own expense had put barbwire on the fencing, as we didn't feel the need to seek the Indian government's support for small matters. Therefore, I want to make it clear that the claims made by Dolgyal organization in Mangtroe Khada (news bulletin on youtube) are baseless. Moreover, since the matter is concerned with His Holiness the Dalai Lama's security, there shouldn't be any ambiguity. In every country, the security apparatus of the dignitaries are reviewed from time to time. As you know, the Government of India has issued a written note about the threat posed by Dolgyal organizations to the security of His Holiness the Dalai Lama. It is also clearly mentioned in the government of India's notices and the documents whenever His Holiness the Dalai Lama visits different places in India. Whenever His Holiness the Dalai Lama visits a country, its government takes the responsibility of his security. Since His Holiness the Dalai Lama resides in India, the government of India discusses with us about the security procedures it puts in place for His Holiness the Dalai Lama in view of the threat perceptions. Similarly, the US Government has made it clear His Holiness the Dalai Lama is under threat from Dolgyal organizations.

The US government's position has been corroborated after its intelligence officials found that a man carried out a reconnaissance of an underground parking lot at the ho-

tel where His Holiness the Dalai Lama was staying in Minnesota during the first day of the Tibetan New Year. This information was revealed by the man himself and we weren't aware of that. The US government knew this because it is vigilant about the dangers. So, the misleading statement that there is no threat to His Holiness the Dalai Lama's security is false. Not only the US government has said that the threat exists but it has complete knowledge about it.

Likewise, on religious freedom, they also claim of authoritarian rule but are lying. But there is no need to respond to every allegation. In fact, honorable members of the parliament have earlier made it clear that it has nothing to do with the religious freedom. However, it is imperative to make it clear that in 1996/1997/2000 His Holiness the Dalai Lama advised that those who propitiate Dolgyal should not attend his initiations, which traditionally requires the establishment of a teacher-student relationship. All of us have seen the actions of Dolgyal organizations and how they have heeded to the advice of His Holiness the Dalai Lama. His Holiness the Dalai Lama today says that those who propitiate Dolgyal should not attend his teachings and the Tibetan administration also makes the same announcements. It is not that they can attend the teachings but not initiations. This is to make it clear that it is not appropriate to attend the teachings also.

The Dolgyal followers have not only disseminated their allegations in publications but also complained to some human rights organizations such as Amnesty International. Petitions were sent to India's prime minister, foreign minister and home minister and National Human Rights Commission. After carrying out a thorough and impartial probe, these agencies rejected the petitions saying that the allegations have nothing to do with the religious freedom. Complaint about the 16 students as mentioned earlier was also made to India's National Human Rights Commission, who sent the reply to the complainants and a copy to the Tibetan Reception Centre.

The National Human Rights Commis-

sion's Law Division has made its position very clear in its reply dated December 19, 2007. In their recent petitions to the Indian prime minister and officials, Dolgyal organizations have argued that they are not like as they have been described by His Holiness the Dalai Lama in south India. The Indian security officials must be laughing about such claims. The truth of the matter is as I have told earlier. Take note of the books and articles about Dolgyal written by foreigners so that one will have a better and a clear understanding about the matter. They misled those who are ignorant about the issue and the latter also joined them. I hope these issues can now be seen in a better light.

There is no need for me to explain what is the present situation of Dolgyal and the relationship between Dolgyal and the Chinese government because those who watch Mangtroe Khada (news programme) are aware how the former dared to say they have relations with the Chinese government and at their invitation regularly visit the Chinese embassy and attend receptions during the visits of senior Chinese officials. Therefore this is the fact. In 2012 and 2013 what is the count of the members of the North American Gelug Buddhist Association which went to Tibet and China and how well have they been received? What comes to our notice is that on the one hand, they say there is support for Dolgyal amongst the Tibetans inside Tibet, but they also need a security protection to visit Tibet. It could be the Chinese government's honour for their agents, but we are yet to get any credible evidence on this. There are reports that some Dolgyal followers have attended the People's Congress of Tibet Autonomous Region. If this is true, it is evident for everyone to see that amongst them there are Lamas and the members of the Dolgyal organizations.

Similarly, some Dolgyal followers in Tibet are being taken on tour to Europe and America to use them. For instance, on World Human Rights day on December 10, 2012 in New York, Dolgyal followers announced that they would organize press conferences to accuse His Holiness the Dalai Lama for denying them religious freedom. As you must have seen it, these people sitting in a row with not

a single person or a journalist in front of them. The empty words are then relayed through video. Likewise, in December 2013, they also went to the UN office in New York and submitted a petition. They also spoke of sitting on a hunger strike to fight for their cause.

So, if I have not misunderstood what the honourable Member of the Parliament suggested whether the CTA can find a way to solve the problem through dialogue with Dolgyal followers. May be I have misunderstood it. But we don't think that way. Since the beginning, the successive concerned Kalons (Ministers) and Secretaries during their visits to the Tibetan settlements held a series of meetings with a group of 20-30 people from the so-called Dorje Shugden Devotees' Charitable and Religious Society and advised them. This situation no longer exists today and we also don't feel the need for it. If there is a need for it then they should not act in the way they are presently behaving. So it is important to understand this and to not to believe in whatever they remark in their propaganda.

Their activities have been causing insult and degeneration of Buddhism. For example, the so-called New Kadampa Tradition (NKT) has been established in South East Asian countries and their followers have violated the Buddhist principles by changing the traditional colour of a monk's robe into green. Hundreds of them openly work for the so-called New Kadampa Tradition. If they are true followers of Kadampa tradition, there is a standard rule for wearing a Buddhist robe. But they are doing whatever comes to their mind with complete disregard to these rules and make as much money as possible. We consider these as deplorable acts.

As we all might have seen, unable to bear the pain caused by the recent Lamrim teachings in South India, they resorted to making baseless statements in Mangtroe Khada. Why they felt such a pain? The false claim of Dolgyal as the protector of Gelug tradition got exposed by the three great monasteries and other Gelug monasteries in south India, who are the real protector of the tradition?

The claims that His Holiness the Dalai Lama's main aim was to launch the book on Dolgyal under the pretext of giving a Lamrim teaching is a complete fabrication. We really express our appreciation for Gelug Tendag Lhentsog, International Buddhist Association and others for voluntarily taking the responsibility and their work is needed for historical record. It has served its purpose if it has hit where it pains.

No matter how much they try to mislead the public and hold protests, their effect will be like the flutter of a fly's wing that cannot affect a mountain. Everyone has to be aware of this.

Concerning His Holiness the Dalai Lama's security, as I have stated earlier, Dolgyal is the biggest threat to his security and Tibetan unity. The current US visit is different from the earlier ones as it was long and there were programmes in different places. There was a meeting with the US President and the members of the Congress. Over all, it went very well. People expressed strong opinion on the incident that occurred at the hotel in California. Nearly two hours after that incident took place, someone phoned me as I am related with the security. I also checked the Internet though I don't know how to use it. Then I immediately contacted those responsible in California and explained why there was negligence. Series of discussions also took place in the Kashag and we also received a report from the concerned region.

I have nothing to say on the need for thorough probe into the matter as mentioned in the resolution. The important thing is to act after conducting the investigation.

Looking from a security perspective, we have seen in the video the Dolgyal protesters came very close to His Holiness the Dalai Lama during the protests and got the chance to cause him harm if they intended to do so. But no unwanted incidents happened, which I think is due to our collective merit. Therefore, I have nothing special to say on the resolution.

It is also important to mention that His Holiness the Dalai Lama and the Central Tibetan Administration has a very clear

policy on this matter. We welcome those who repent their past actions and choose the correct path as it is said that sins can be absolved if one expresses penitence. Few who want to join the Dolgyal propitiation will go and it is their freedom. As the matter became clear after 2008, a considerable number of people have chosen the correct path. These people, including Lamas and important personalities, have lots of fear in their hearts because they are aware of the behaviour of the people associated with Dolgyal.

I have spoken many times on Mangtroe Khada programme on numerous occasions in the parliament. Those who denounce His Holiness the Dalai Lama and the Tibetan administration are invited to the programme and are forced to speak. These people include those who claim of having no relations with Dolgyal but use the platform to speak. As you might have noticed, these people criticize His Holiness the Dalai Lama's teaching but claim they have nothing to do with Dolgyal. In accordance with the resolution that these acts amount to crime in history, it is important to identify who these people are! These people are also pitiable. So the reason for making it clear today is that it is not late for those who want to choose the correct path. The Chinese communists have a saying that there is no set time to become a nationalist. Though we are asking them to become nationalists, it is in their interest to choose the correct path from going to the hell. We always welcome and think that everyone has the opportunity. However, we notice that there are many people, who are associated with some kind of organization, feel difficult and fear to leave it.

So when we look back in the future the Dolgyal related issues in the present circumstances was made clear by everyone in the parliament through a day-long session. It is a ready-made weapon not to be made by any powerful countries and being used as a mouthpiece of the Chinese Communist Party by members of the Dolgyal organization and their articles on self-immolation protests come out in the Chinese state media. One can understand the issue by paying attention to all these matters.

Therefore, many honourable members of Parliament have spoken on the matters concerning the security of His Holiness the Dalai Lama and we will keep them in our mind. Doing everything we can is not only our responsibility; I always say that it is the responsibility of every Tibetan. I would wish to thank each one of you who spoke and gave their suggestions with strong feelings. I think Honourable Sikyong will add if I had missed something in my speech. The administration would like to express its appreciation for bringing this resolution. Thank you, Honourable Speaker.

Statement of the Deutsche Buddhistische Ordensgemeinschaft (DBO, German Buddhist Monastic Association) on the Protests against the Dalai Lama by the International Shugden Community (ISC)

Berlin, Schneverdingen, Hannover
May 1st, 2014

The Deutsche Buddhistische Ordensgemeinschaft (DBO) formally dissociates itself from the protests against the Dalai Lama, which are being staged worldwide, and also in Frankfurt (Main). The DBO remains of the conviction that opinions among Buddhists should be expressed in a peaceful, respectful, truthful and reasonable manner. The DBO is very concerned about the protesters' aggressive, misleading and unethical behaviour and the false image being presented by them to the public. The DBO emphasizes that the protesters belonging to the New Kadampa Tradition (NKT) are no Buddhist monks and nuns according to the monastic rules of the Buddha and that their behaviour in public represents neither the Buddha nor his teachings (Dharma) nor the Buddhist community (Sangha).

We regret that a Buddhist group is trying to cause further damage in the West to the Dalai Lama and Tibetan Buddhism at a time when the Tibetan Buddhist teachings are under great pressure in their country of origin, Tibet.

The background: As early as 1996 to 1998 and especially since 2008, an international media and rally campaign, conducted professionally and aggressively, is being waged by mostly western followers of the so-called protector Dorje Shugden against the Dalai Lama.

The reason is as follows: Since 1978, the religious leader of the Tibetan people has been publicly emphasizing that the invocation of Shugden has degenerated to a cult practice with strongly sectar-

ian characteristics, a practice of which he could not approve. In fact, religious scientists and Tibetologists confirm that the organized form of the invocation of Shugden is tied to the conviction that the Gelug school is superior to the other schools of Tibetan Buddhism.

The Dalai Lama further criticizes that this practice has veered farther and farther away from the Buddhist teachings.

Dorje Shugden (also called Dholgyal) is a so-called protector who has been controversial since his origination in the 17th century. In the Tibetan cultural area, protectors are entities which are invoked and asked for help, e.g. for the protection of the Buddhist teachings, but also in worldly matters such as the harvest, the building of houses, et cetera. There are different and contradictory views of the nature and the functions of Shugden.

The protesters, usually appearing in public as Buddhist monks and nuns, accuse the Dalai Lama of the suppression of religious freedom, even calling him the "the worst dictator in the modern world". However, Tibetan Buddhist monasteries and centers as well as the practitioners themselves are free to decide whether or not they will follow the Dalai Lama's advice. And a majority among them have spoken out against a controversial practice such as that of the organized followers of Shugden that causes disharmony and depreciates other religious communities.

The internationally well-linked protesters are for the most part members of

the New Kadampa Tradition (NKT), a charitable organisation that was founded in England by the Tibetan scholar Geshe Kelsang Gyatso. It is one of the fastest growing organisations in the UK. On the outside, it presents itself as modern, contemporary and democratic, internally however – according to testimony by former followers – the organisation is marked by rigid, sectarian structures, with Kelsang Gyatso as its intangible and sole ruler.

To organize its worldwide protests, NKT keeps founding new "front organizations", which serve to veil the protesters' background. The ISC is already the third of its kind. The Shugden websites, which it operates, do not cite any official contact information or legal registration, are run anonymously (domains by proxy), and do not name anyone legally responsible for the accusations.

For further information the DBO recommends those interested to consult academic experts and independent academic sources to better understand the background of these controversies and the motives of the protesters.

These are representative examples of available online resources that can be consulted:

Canonicity and Divine Interference: The Tulkus and the Shugden-Controversy by Michael von Brück, Centre for Religious Studies Ludwig-Maximilians-University Munich

Academic Research regarding Shugden Controversy & New Kadampa Tradition

Dalai Lama Urges Outside Inquiry Into Spate of Self-Immolations Among Tibetans

New York Times

By Rick Gladstone and Henrik Pryser Libell

The Dalai Lama, Tibet's spiritual leader in exile, on Friday called for an outside inquiry into the self-immolations of more than 130 Tibetans in anti-China demon-

strations over the past five years, and he suggested that in some cases, such acts of protest were understandable and not entirely wrong.



If compassion is the reason driving those who immolate themselves, the Dalai Lama said, they should be viewed differently from those motivated by anger. The religious issues surrounding the self-immolations, he said, "are very, very complicated."

The remarks by the Dalai Lama, 78, a soft-spoken Buddhist theologian, were ambiguous compared with his previous criticisms of self-immolations, carried out mainly by Tibetan Buddhist monks frustrated with what they view as China's repressive policies toward Tibet's culture and religion.

The Dalai Lama made the remarks on the final day of a three-day visit to Norway, where he received the Nobel Peace Prize 25 years ago for his nonviolent philosophy in opposing China's domination of his Himalayan homeland, which he fled in 1959.

China, which considers the Dalai Lama a subversive separatist, has accused him

and his loyalists in exile of fomenting the self-immolations, which have embarrassed the Chinese authorities despite government attempts to thwart them.

The International Campaign for Tibet, an advocacy group, has chronicled at least 131 self-immolations since February 2009, mostly in Tibetan-populated areas of western China adjoining Tibet.

Norwegian lawmakers in Oslo, who were among the Dalai Lama's hosts, met with him in Parliament, where he appeared at a forum on Friday and answered questions that included whether he had urged a halt to the self-immolations.

"This is a very sensitive issue," the Dalai Lama said, speaking in English. He said the self-immolations were "very sad" and that such "drastic action" probably had little effect on the underlying issue of Chinese policy on Tibet.

The Dalai Lama also said outsiders, like his hosts in Parliament, should conduct their own fact-finding visit to determine the causes. "I think sometimes Chinese leaders also need these things, too," he said, because they are not given accurate information by their subordinates.

There was no immediate reaction from Chinese officials, who have described the self-immolations as a form of terrorism.

Whether self-immolations are religiously wrong, the Dalai Lama said, "entirely depends on motivation."

"If such a drastic action takes place with full anger, then negative," he said. "But more compassionate, more calm mind, then sometimes maybe less negative."

The Dalai Lama's visit to Norway has drawn particular attention because senior Norwegian government leaders decided against meeting with him in deference to China.

The Norwegian prime minister, Erna Solberg, justified the decision on the grounds that Norway has been trying to improve relations with China, which has been angry at Norway ever since the Nobel Peace Prize committee gave the award to the Chinese dissident Liu Xiaobo in 2010. Ms. Solberg elaborated on the decision on Friday, telling the national broadcaster NRK that it was a "necessary sacrifice" to improve relations with China.

Surveys suggested that many Norwegians were critical of the official snub, viewing it as a cowardly capitulation that sacrificed human rights in favor of economics. Thousands of well-wishers turned out to greet the Dalai Lama when he arrived in Oslo on Wednesday.

China's state-run news media have not reported on the Dalai Lama's trip, but the Chinese Foreign Ministry acknowledged the Norwegian government's decision to snub him. "China pays attention to the announcement by the Norwegian side," a Foreign Ministry spokesman, Qin Gang, said on April 28.

—A version of this article appears in print on May 10, 2014, on page A10 of the New York edition with the headline: Dalai Lama Urges Outside Inquiry Into Spate of Self-Immolations Among Tibetans.

Sikyong: 'Tibetans seek genuine autonomy, not independence'

[Deutsche Welle]

The leader of Tibet's exiled government, Lobsang Sangay, spoke with DW about his new campaign aimed at resuming long-stalled talks with Beijing and softening China's handling of his homeland.

The prime minister of the Central Tibetan Administration (CTA) has reaffirmed his commitment to the "Middle Way" approach of engaging the Chinese government through dialogue to achieve what his government calls "genuine autonomy" for Tibetans within the country.

Sangay's announcement comes as the CTA launches a global publicity campaign to persuade world governments to put pressure on China to restart dialogue with exiled Tibetans. Formal talks between the Chinese government and the CTA reached a stalemate in 2010 following leadership changes in Beijing and a crackdown in Tibet. China has ruled Tibet since 1950, and many Tibetans feel their intensely Buddhist culture is at risk of annihilation by Beijing's political and economic domination.

In a DW interview, Sangay says he hopes the Xi Jinping-led Chinese government will review its hard-line approach and accept dialogue as the only way to peacefully resolve the Tibet issue.

DW: Given that the mother of Chinese President Xi Jinping was a Buddhist and his father was on friendly terms with the Dalai Lama, have you seen any changes in the attitude of China's leaders toward national minorities in general and the Tibetans in particular?

Lobsang Sangay: We have heard reports that discussions on minorities have been going on for some time. Recently, scholars have contributed with their views on minorities and Tibetans in general. But we have yet to see any changes in the attitude of the Chinese leaders and the

ground reality of repressive policies in Tibet.

China's growing clout in the international arena is very much felt by the Tibetans in exile. For instance, fewer and fewer governments are willing to meet with the Dalai Lama. Is time playing in China's favor?

The Chinese government is putting pressure on different governments not to meet with His Holiness the Dalai Lama, misinforming about the Central Tibetan Administration and its "Middle Way" approach.

Yet on the people's level, interest in Tibet remains and it is important on our part to create more awareness and strengthen support from the international community. Time is not playing in support of China because even after 60 years of occupation, the third generation of Tibetans is in the streets protesting against the hard-line policies of the Chinese government, even though they are the beneficiaries of whatever Beijing claims to provide to Tibetans.

Resentment and protests persist. The sense of unity and solidarity among Tibetans inside and outside has never been stronger in recent years. Given this foundation, the Tibetan struggle is here to stay.

On Sunday (08.06.2014), China's Foreign Minister Wang Yi will meet with India's new prime minister, Narendra Modi. Could a thaw in Indo-Chinese ties potentially threaten the status of the Central Tibetan Administration, based in

the Indian city of Dharamsala?

No. India's policies over Tibet and its treatment of Tibetans have remained the same, regardless of who is in power. We believe and hope the government of the recently elected Prime Minister Narendra Modi will continue the same policies. I hope China's foreign minister will appreciate India's unity in diversity and democracy as the foundation that keeps multilingual, multiethnic India united as one country. We regard similar policies by the Chinese government towards Tibetan people as a win-win proposition.

What exactly do you expect from the Chinese government?

We hope the Xi Jinping-led government will review its hard-line approach and introduce liberal policies towards Tibetans. I hope that President Xi Jinping will accept dialogue as the only way to resolve the Tibet issue peacefully.

To what extent are you willing to compromise with Beijing?

That is exactly what the "Middle Way" approach is all about. We would like to see an end to the present repression in Tibet. If granted genuine autonomy within the framework of the Chinese constitution, we will not seek separation from China.

How has Chinese rule affected Tibet over the past decades?

Over the past decades there has been ongoing political repression, social discrimination, economic marginalization,

environmental destruction and cultural assimilation, particularly due to Chinese migration to Tibet which is fuelling intense resentment among the Tibetan people.

How hopeful are you that China will begin a review of its Tibet policy?

Sooner or later, China should realize that the hard-line policies are not working. Some 130 self-immolations by Tibetans

– which we discourage – should send a clear message to the Chinese government that it is time to enter into a dialogue between the envoys of His Holiness the Dalai Lama and the representatives of the Chinese government.

Are Chinese authorities following a similar hard line in Tibet as in Xinjiang?

Yes. From occupation until the present day, the treatment of the Tibetan and U-

ghur people has been very similar. Sixty years of repression have not been working. It is time to give the “Middle Way” approach a chance, for the dignity of the Tibetan people, harmony within China and peace.

Lobsang Sangay is the elected prime minister of the India-based Central Tibetan Administration, also referred to as the Tibetan government-in-exile.

His Holiness the Dalai Lama's teaching schedule

Teaching in Padum, Zaskar, J&K, India on June 23 to 25: His Holiness will give a teaching on *Tsongkhapa's Concise Treatises on the Stages of the Path to Enlightenment (lamrim dudon)* on the mornings of June 23 & 24. On June 25 morning he will confer an *Avalokiteshvara Initiation (chenresig wang)*.

Teaching in Likir, Ladakh, J&K, India on July 1: His Holiness will give a teaching on The Heart Sutra in the morning at Likir Monastery.

Kalachakra in Leh, Ladakh, J&K, India from July 3 to 13: His Holiness will be giving the Kalachakra at the request of the two main organizers, the Ladakh Buddhist Association and the Ladakh Gonpa Association. The Tibetan Kongpo Association and the Tibetan Jonang Association are co-sponsors. During the first three days of the Kalachakra, from July 3 to 5, His Holiness the Dalai Lama, along with the monks of Namgyal Monastery and senior lamas, will conduct rituals which prepare and consecrate the venue. These include chanting of prayers, creation of the sand mandala and other rituals. From July 6 to 8, His Holiness will give preliminary teachings on *Nagarjuna's Letter to a Friend (shetring)*. On July 9, the Kalachakra Ritual Dance will be performed by the monks of Namgyal Monastery. His Holiness will confer the Kalachakra Initiation from July 10 to 12. On July 13, a long life empowerment (*tsewang*) and a ceremony offering prayers for the long life of His Holiness the Dalai Lama will be performed. Contact Website: www.ladakhkalachakra2014.com

Discussion in Hamburg, Germany on August 23: His Holiness will lead a discussion on *Secular Ethics - Human Values In Our Lives*. Contact Website: www.dalailama-hamburg.de

Teaching in Hamburg, Germany from August 24 to 26: His Holiness will give teachings on *Shantideva's A Guide to the Bodhisattva's Way of Life (chodjug)* on August 24 and 25. He will confer an *Avalokiteshvara Initiation (chenresig wang jigten wangchuk)* on the morning of August 26. Contact Website: www.dalailama-hamburg.de

Teaching in Dharamsala, HP, India from September 24 to 26: His Holiness will give a two and a half-day teaching and continue teaching from *Shantideva's A Guide to the Bodhisattva's Way of Life (chodjug)* at the request of a group of South-east Asians at the Main Tibetan Temple. Contact Website: www.tibetanbc.org

Teaching in Dharamsala, HP, India from October 6 to 9: His Holiness will give a three and a half-day teaching at the request of a group of Taiwanese at the Main Tibetan Temple.

Teaching in Dharamsala, HP, India from November 11 to 13: His Holiness will give a two and a half-day teaching at the request of a group of Koreans at the Main Tibetan Temple.

Teaching in Mundgod, Karnataka, India from December 23 to 29: His Holiness will continue his teachings on the *18 Great Stages of the Path (Lam Rim) Commentaries* in Mundgod (venue to be decided) at the request of H.E. Ling Choktrul Rinpoche and Gaden Shartse Monastery. Contact Websites: <http://www.jangchuplamrim.org> and <http://www.jangchuplamrim.com>

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: tibfreedom@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
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Web: www.xizang-zhiye.org
www.tibetonline.tv



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QUOTES

“MEPs call on the Chinese authorities to respect the rights of Tibetans in all Chinese provinces and to take proactive steps to resolve the underlying grievances of the Tibetan population. The authorities should cease promoting policies that threaten the Tibetan language, culture, religion, heritage and environment, in contravention of the Chinese constitution and the Chinese law granting autonomy to ethnic minorities,” says the EU’s Urgent Resolution on 27 October 2011

“Calls on the People’s Republic of China to release all persons that have been arbitrarily detained; to cease the intimidation, harassment and detention of peaceful protestors; and to allow unrestricted access to journalists, foreign diplomats, and international organizations to Tibet,” US Senate Resolution on 1 February 2012

“Social stability in Tibet will never be achieved through heavy security measures and suppression of human rights,” she said. “Deep underlying issues need to be addressed, and I call on the Government to seriously consider the recommendations made to it by various international human rights bodies, as well as to avail itself of the expert advice being offered by the UN’s independent experts on human rights,” UN High Commissioner for Human Rights Navi Pillay on 2 November 2012

“President Barack Obama reiterated his strong support for the preservation of the unique religious, cultural, and linguistic traditions of Tibet and the Tibetan people throughout the world. He underscored the importance of the protection of human rights of Tibetans in China. The President commended the Dalai Lama’s commitment to nonviolence and dialogue with China and his pursuit of the “Middle Way” approach,” White House statement on President Obama’s meeting with His Holiness the Dalai Lama on 16 July 2011