



# TIBETAN BULLETIN

THE OFFICIAL JOURNAL OF THE CENTRAL TIBETAN ADMINISTRATION

VOLUME 23 - ISSUE 4

JULY - AUGUST 2019

## Focus

His Holiness the Dalai Lama's exclusive interview for OTV Lebanon

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## Feature

His Holiness the Dalai Lama speaks at the 52nd National Convention of the All India Association of Catholic Schools

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## World Press

Tibetans fume at Chinese move to interfere in Dalai Lama reincarnation process

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## FOCUS

- 15 His Holiness the Dalai Lama's exclusive interview for OTV Lebanon
- 18 CTA President Dr Lobsang Sangay's interview for BBC HARD Talk Program

## FEATURE

- 22 His Holiness the Dalai Lama's final day teaching in Manali
- 24 His Holiness the Dalai Lama speaks at the 52nd National Convention of the All India Association of Catholic Schools.

## WORLD PRESS

- 26 Tibetans fume at Chinese move to interfere in Dalai Lama reincarnation process  
By Rohin Kumar, CNBCTV18.com
- 28 How China Is Bullying and Blocking the UN Human Rights Mechanisms  
By Marco Respinti, Bitter Winter.

## REGULARS

- News From Tibet & Exile .....4
- Contact ..... 31
- Quotes .....32

Vol. 23, Issue 4  
**JULY - AUGUST 2019**

## Jado Tulku Rinpoche awarded the prestigious 'Medal For Merit To Republic of Buryatia'



Rinpoche was awarded an Honorary doctorate diploma of D.Zayayev Buddhist University 'Dashi Choynhorlin'

On the eve of the last day of the Kalachakra initiation that was held for 14 days in Ulan-Ude in Russia, the master of the Kalachakra and esteemed Tibetan Buddhist master, Jado Tulku Rinpoche was awarded two prestigious awards by the Republic of Buryatia.

Jado Tulku Rinpoche is one of the most highly esteemed lamas in the Gelug lineage today. In addition to his excellent education in the Gelug monastic college system, over the years Rinpoche has also received many oral transmissions and empowerments from His Holiness the Dalai Lama and his two main tutors, as well as from many great teachers from other traditions.

Rinpoche was first awarded an honorary doctorate diploma of D.Zayayev Buddhist University 'Dashi Choynhorlin'. This was announced by Alla Namsaraeva, press secretary of the Ivolginsk Datsan of the Republic.

"In accordance with the tradition for the doctor of the Buddhist University, they sew a special cape and headdress," she wrote.

Later during a gala dinner attended by the leaders of the Republic of Buryatiya,

deputies of the People's Hural, the deputy chairman of the regional government, Bair Tsyrenov, on behalf of the head of Buryatia presented Jado Rinpoche with the medal 'for merit to the Republic of Buryatia' for Rinpoche's dedicated services towards preservation and propagation of ancient Nalanda Buddhist tradition.

As reported by Baikal Daily, "Initiation to Kalachakra Tantra – Duinhor Van" took place at the Central Stadium in Ulan-Ude from 6 to 19 July. On this occasion, the Sangha of Russia especially invited the spiritual teacher, philosopher, master of the Buddhist tantra, the Honorable Jado Tulku Rinpoche, who arrived with the blessing of His Holiness Dalai Lama.

The teachings were attended by over ten thousand Buddhist followers who filled the stadium every day.

Jado Tulku Rinpoche (Tenzin Jungne) was born in 1954 to a nomadic family living in the area of Namtso Lake, 220 kilometers north of Lhasa, Tibet. At the age of three, he was recognized and enthroned as the 6th incarnation of the abbot of Jhado Monastery. After fleeing Tibet in 1959, Rinpoche lived briefly in Nepal and later spent several years in Dalhousie and Dharamsala in North India where he completed his basic studies in Tibetan reading, writing and reciting Buddhist texts. Rinpoche took his vows as a novice monk from His Holiness the Dalai Lama in 1964 and his full ordination vows from the late Ling Rinpoche in 1973.

In 1991, Rinpoche attained the degree of Geshe Lharampa, the highest level of education in the Geluk tradition. In 1997, Rinpoche was appointed to the post of Abbot of Namgyal Monastery and served the institution in that capacity until 2004. Renowned for his keen intelligence and dynamic teaching style, Jhado Rinpoche is also highly acclaimed for his ability to engage Western students in ways that are interesting and personally relevant. In addition to these qualities, Rinpoche is also well known and loved for his gentle demeanor and his kindness.

## CTA inaugurates Second Five Fifty Youth Forum: Shaping Tibet's Future

The Central Tibetan Administration once again opened up its platform for young, bright minds from across the globe to voice their concerns, share their ideas, and discuss on challenges and opportunities concerning Tibet's future.

After the successful First Five Fifty Youth Forum hosted by the Department of Information and International Relations (DIIR) in 2018 which saw over 185 participants from 21 countries, the DIIR under the guidance of Kashag is hosting the Second Youth Forum for three days from 17-19 August.

The inaugural ceremony for three-day forum was held at T-building and it was presided by heads of the three pillars of democratic Tibetan administration in exile, representatives of the three Autonomous bodies of CTA, Kalons of various CTA departments, members of standing committee of Tibetan Parliament in exile, secretaries, and other officials.

Around 100 participants from 13 countries are participating this year.



CTA President Dr Lobsang Sangay addressing the gathering on Second Five Fifty Youth Forum. Photo/Tenzin Phende/CTA

The inaugural ceremony began with lighting of butter lamp by President Dr Lobsang Sangay and Chief Justice Commissioner Kargyu Dhondup followed by the welcome remarks by Secretary Sonam Norbu Dago of DIIR.

Addressing the inaugural session, President Dr Lobsang Sangay explained

about the inception of the Five Fifty Vision of CTA which he said was formed after much discussion and debate within the members of Kashag following His Holiness the Dalai Lama's devolvement of his political role in 2011.

"Kashag then came up with Five Fifty Vision which was originally inspired from His Holiness the Dalai Lama's advice to 'hope for the best and prepare for the worst, which aims towards restoration of freedom in Tibet and the return of His Holiness to Tibet", said President Sangay.

He explained that through Five Fifty Vision, CTA's goal is to realise this vision through policy of dialogue, nonviolence supported by middle way approach when dealing with China.

Resolving the issues of Tibet's political future within the next five years, sustaining and strengthening the resilience of the Tibetan people both inside and outside Tibet including preserving and promoting Tibetan culture and identity for the next 50 years if needs be has been the core mantra of CTA's Five Fifty Vision.

The youth forum therefore becomes one of the mechanisms for achieving the Five Fifty Vision mainly focusing on nurturing and empowering the leaders of tomorrow.

President lauded the participants for their active interest in this ambitious yet achievable vision of CTA. Unlike the previous youth forum, President Sangay announced that 5 outstanding leaders will be elected amongst the participants to be the representatives of youth.

Addressing the gathering, Chief Guest Pema Jungney, Speaker of the TPIE spoke about the crucial responsibilities of Tibetan youth in the nation building as he reiterated that they are in the possession of power to change the destiny of Tibet.

"In order to build a nation, you must be well acquainted with the past history of the nation", noted Speaker Pema Jungney.

He reminded the gathering about the significant contributions made by His Holiness the Dalai Lama and the elder generation alike in retaining the Tibet movement which he affirmed will never cease to exist or be extinguished as he acknowledged their effort and struggle.

Speaker then congratulated the participants and expressed his good wishes.

Secretary Tsewang Gyalpo Arya of DIIR gave a closing speech. He explained the details of 3 day forum which will have participants indulge in the discussion and debate on 4 major themes such as 1) Tibet and PRC: Establishing Constructive Engagement and Negotiations 2) Inclusion of and Responsiveness to Tibetans inside Tibet and Diaspora 3) Young Voices in the Tibetan Freedom Movement: Communications, Advocacy, and International Relations 4) CTA's Leadership towards the Five Fifty Vision-Creating Visionary Leadership, and Resource Mobilization.

## **“His Holiness the Dalai Lama’s message of religious harmony is doing magic in Ladakh” says Sonam Wangchuk**



*Sonam Wangchuk, award-winning innovator and education reformist speaks at the Khadot Yarchos Chenmo festival, a summer Buddhist council being held at Drikung Kagyu Thongdolphug Monastery in Khyungru, Nubra from 15 to 23 July 2019. Muslim Mullah Mohammed Iqbal is seen beside him.*

At a time when the world is spiralling towards polarisation and religious sectarianism is dividing societies apart, His Holiness the Dalai Lama's persistent calls for religious harmony,

understanding and dialogue is building bridges between communities that were otherwise divided.

This week, the Tibetan Buddhists and Muslim community in Ladakh came together to mark the year's Khadot Yarchos Chenmo, a summer Buddhist council held at a Tibetan Buddhist monastery in Nubra.

The summer Buddhist council is an initiative inspired and patronised by His Holiness the Dalai Lama. Except for this year, His Holiness has chaired all the summer Buddhist councils in Ladakh.

Speaking at the proceedings of the Yarchos Chenmo, renowned innovator and education reformist, Sonam Wangchuk conveyed a message to His Holiness the Dalai Lama, in which, he observed how His Holiness' message of harmony and oneness was doing magic in Ladakh communities.

He thanked His Holiness for his tireless and decades-long efforts in promoting interfaith dialogue and religious harmony in the region.

"Your Holiness the XIV Dalai Lama, I, Sonam Wangchuk from this tiny village Kyungru with some 50 to 60 people surrounded by few more villagers, not more than 300 people want to convey to you what magic your message, your teachings are doing in Ladakh," said Sonam Wangchuk, speaking at the Yarchos Chenmo as he is joined by Muslim Mullah Mohammed Iqbal.

"At a time when the world is divided and going away from one another. At a time when even in Ladakh, various sects of even the same religion were going apart from each other, different sects having differences and distances, your message of harmony and togetherness is doing magic."

"Your Holiness may not be here today. We pray for your good health and long life but your teachings are being absorbed by people somewhat as Eklavya learned by Guru Dronacharya without his presence so the message is going into each individual here;

the message of harmony and bringing people close.”

Noting the remarkable signs of religious harmony in the region, he spoke about the full-fledged participation of various other Buddhist sects in the Yarchos Chenmo festival—which is mainly associated with Gelug sect of the Buddhist tradition and the support of Muslim members from various villages in Nubra towards organising the Buddhist event. Many of them even volunteered to help build a sacred Buddhist temple in the village.

“Not just among Tibetan Buddhist sects but at this event, we find Muslims of Nubra participating shoulder to shoulder with the Buddhists here. They have been voluntarily contributing to build the Phodrang, even Muslim villagers from villages in Nubra have supported. Here with me is Muslim Mullah Mohammad Iqbal.”

“That’s the beauty of this event and the magic of your message. Thank you very much, your Holiness,” said the award-winning innovator.

## **“Tibetan system of democracy is inspiring to all those who believe in the democracy worldwide”: Congressman David Price to CTA officials**

The Central Tibetan Administration hosted a grand welcome reception for the six bipartisan Congressional delegation of the U.S House Democracy Partnership at T-building in Gangchen Kyishong.

Heads of the three pillars of democratic Tibetan administration in exile, representatives of the three Autonomous bodies of CTA, Kalons of various CTA departments, officials and staff of CTA filled the auditorium to pay their respect and expressed their gratitude to the Congressional delegation.



*CTA President Dr Lobsang Sangay delivering a welcome speech at T-building, CTA. Photo/Tenzin Jigme/CTA*

President Dr Lobsang Sangay convened the event by delivering a welcome speech to honour the visit of the delegation. Recounting on the series of events participated by the delegation, President Sangay remarked that the meeting of the delegation with His Holiness was the most consequential part of their two-day engagements in Dharamshala beside other notable events.

He further remarked that for someone like His Holiness the Dalai Lama, who gets up at 2:30 am daily who follows a systematic schedule every day, and despite that His Holiness today dedicated much of his time interacting with the delegation is certainly special and meaningful.

President reminded the gathering that His Holiness parting message to the delegation exemplifies the strengthening love and respect shared between the Americans and Tibetans.

He quoted His Holiness message which said, “today we will separate physically by saying goodbyes but in spirit, we will remain united”.

Meanwhile, His Holiness also urged the delegation to support the Tibetans so long their movement remains moral and non-violent.

President also reminded that the presence of such high-level Congressional

delegation in Dharamshala is sending a strong positive message to Beijing that democracy is inevitable and universal.

He pointed out that the presence of delegation in Dharamshala where three pillars of Tibetan democratic government in exile is seated signifies that democracy and human rights are the values that need to be embraced and supported.

“For the Tibetans inside Tibet, your presence reassures and reaffirms their belief in the just cause of Tibet by sending them hope and inspiration”, asserted President Sangay.

By doing so, President was optimistic that Tibetans inside Tibet will regain their momentum to keep on going until freedom is restored in Tibet until His Holiness returns to Tibet.

President Sangay also declared that the Tibetans inside Tibet will continue to look up to the U.S for their support based on today’s visit.

President Dr Lobsang Sangay once again extended the heartfelt gratitude to the six members U.S Congressional delegation and remarked how honoured and privileged CTA is for hosting them in Dharamshala.

Congressman and Chairman of the U.S House Democracy Partnership, David

Price addressed the gathering while acknowledging their visit as a productive and encouraging one.

In his noteworthy address, Chairman David Price drew attention to the special greeting sent by Speaker Nancy Pelosi of the U.S House of Representatives who also visited Dharamshala along with an eight-member bipartisan delegation in the year 2017.

Congressman Price enunciated Speaker Nancy Pelosi's decades' long effort in championing the cause of human rights in China.

Congressman Price informed that their visit to Dharamshala was particularly facilitated and encouraged by Speaker Nancy Pelosi and therefore it was utmost important that he conveys the Speaker's greeting to the gathering.

He remarked that meeting with His Holiness the Dalai Lama and listening to his profound wisdom over the prolonged luncheon was the icing on the cake beside other eventful programs.

"The experience of meeting with Holiness will never be forgotten by us as it was indeed an honour of a lifetime", affirmed Congressman David Price.

Recounting on the number of His Holiness the Dalai Lama's visit to the U.S, Congressman David most remembers His Holiness address to a joint session of the Congress because that time he had just become a Congressman.

However, Congressman David claimed that today's meeting with His Holiness since their last meeting will forever be etched in their memories.

And for that, Congressman David thanked CTA President Dr Lobsang Sangay for arranging the meeting.

Congressman announced that the people of U.S are honoured to support the Tibetan communities in India and Nepal. He extended their support in realising the goal of Tibetans in achieving self-reliance and sustainability.

He also reported on Vice-chair Vern Buchanan led bipartisan members visit to Nepal 4 years ago and assured the collective votes and advocacy of U.S Congress in the support of Tibetans for their rights to safeguard their distinct identity, to protect and perpetuate their religious freedom and cultural heritage.

"We in the United States are particularly proud of the long-standing partnership of the U.S and the Central Tibetan Administration, and with His Holiness the Dalai Lama", said Congressman David Price while adding that the support and aid of USAID and the state department will continue for Tibetan communities in India and Nepal to improve their livelihood including the preservation of their religion, culture, and language.

Congressman David prompted that U.S support will remain the same as far as aiding CTA to improve their ability is concerned in addition to providing services to the people particularly training the next generation of Tibetans.

Congressman David Price expressed that he and his colleague members were greatly inspired by the commitment of Tibetans to democracy which he said in fact resonates with the purpose of their visit.

He commended the success of the democratic system of the Tibetan government in exile over the years and spoke on the essentiality of parliament.

He said, "parliaments are just as essential as free and fair election in realising democracy".

He further noted that democracy is a work in progress and never perfectly and finally achieved.

Congressman mentioned that even though America has been lifted off from slavery 150 years ago, the country is still struggling with discrimination and inequality which demands that each new generation must expand democracy and make it more inclusive.

He also mentioned that the democratic system of the Tibetan government in exile helps them understand the aspiration of Tibetan people and assures them the cause of Tibet and the people of Tibet are never forgotten.

"Tibetan system of democracy is inspiring to all those who believe in the democracy worldwide", remarked Congressman David Price.

After Congressman David's speech, the representatives of Tibetan NGOs expressed their greetings by offering the delegation the ceremonial scarf.

The hour-long event was concluded with lively cultural performances by the artists of the Tibetan Institute of Performing Arts (TIPA) followed by a banquet reception.

The Congressional delegation is scheduled to depart for the U.S in the early morning of 4 August. The six bipartisan Congressional delegations of the House of Democracy Partnership along with the staffers visited Dharamshala on 2 August. The delegation includes Congressman and Chairman David Price, Congressman and Vice-chair Vern Buchanan, Congresswoman Susan Davis, Representative Neal Dunn of U.S House of Representatives, Representative John Rutherford of U.S House of Representatives, and Congressman Gerald Connolly.



For detailed news visit:  
[www.tibet.net](http://www.tibet.net)

**“We assure our complete support and solidarity to Tibetans in the preservation of their religion and culture”: Congressman David Price at Kashag Secretariat**

The six-members U.S Congressional delegation of the House of Democracy Partnership led by Chair Congressman David Price and Co-chair Vern Buchanan visited the Kashag Secretariat.

The delegation met with the CTA President Dr. Lobsang Sangay and the cabinet ministers and had an hour-long interaction with them before departing to visit His Holiness the Dalai Lama at his residence.

Speaking to the reporters, Congressman David Price affirmed his and the delegation’s solidarity with Tibet and the Tibetans in the preservation of Tibetan religion and culture. He assured to provide all the necessary assistance and support for the cause of Tibet to the best of their abilities.

During the meeting, Congressman Price led six-members U.S Congressional delegation have conveyed their support in promoting a system of democracy worldwide and meanwhile assured their complete support to the system of Tibetan democracy in exile which they greatly appreciate.

President Sangay explained the delegation on the evolution of Tibetan democracy in exile during the conversation and introduced them of the various departments under the Central Tibetan Government in exile.

President also sought support for the revised and updated Tibet Policy Act (of 2002) which will be tabled in the upcoming Congress session.

**China demolishes nearly half of Yachen Gar Buddhist complex in Tibet**



*A photo of the Yachen Gar Buddhist center before demolition (top), compared to a recent photo of the Yachen Gar (bottom).*

Nearly half of Yachen Gar Buddhist complex situated in Tibet’s Karze region which is now incorporated into China’s Sichuan province has been demolished by Chinese authorities. In the recent pictures received from Tibet, one can see that half of the Tibetan Buddhist nuns’ dwellings have been demolished and in an effort to cover-up the demolition the Chinese authorities have covered the ground with green plastic.

In May this year around 3,500 monks, nuns and Buddhist practitioners were forcefully evicted from the Yachen Gar Buddhist complex. The number crossed over 7,000 later and within months following their forceful evictions, their dwellings have been razed to the ground.

Many disturbing reports of torture and forceful confinement of the evicted residents including the beatings of the evicted nuns who are currently confined in Jomda (Ch: Jiangda) County of Chamdo Prefecture (Ch: Changdu) are emanating from Tibet. These nuns are being subjected to the so-called patriotic re-education camp and are not even allowed to wear their Buddhist robes.

The demolitions are part of the ongoing religious persecution of Tibetans. The Chinese government has been systematically repressing the rights of Tibetans to practice and partake in religious rites and rituals. Even Tibetan school children are forbidden from participating in any religious activities during their vacations. Tibetan children are barred from joining monasteries and receiving religious education until the age of 18. At the age of 6, the 11th Panchen Lama Gedhun Choekyi Nyima was abducted by Chinese authorities and even after 29 years of his enforced disappearance China refuses to divulge any information about him.

Commenting on the deplorable situation inside Tibet, Tsewang Gyalpo Arya, the Information Secretary of Department of Information and International Relations remarked, “The situation in Tibet has gone from bad to worst. Tibet is now virtually closed to the outside world. Through its large military presence and the draconian rule, China has Tibet under its iron grip in full control physically. Now, they are trying to erase the Tibetan identity and spiritualism by putting restrictions on the Tibetan language and religion. Destruction of monasteries and removal of monks and nuns from Larung Gar and Yachen Gar is a blatant violation of religious and cultural rights of the people. Almost half of the monastic complex of Yachen Gar is destroyed, this is a great loss not only to the Tibetans but also to the Chinese practitioners and to the world heritage. We sincerely urge the Chinese leadership to respect our religious and cultural values.”



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[www.tibet.net](http://www.tibet.net)

## Three Tibetan Monks in Ngaba Detained Incommunicado, One Sentenced



Lobsang Thapke, Thubpa, and Lobsang Dorje. Photo/Losang Yeshe and Kanyag Tsering

Three monks from Tibet's Amdo Ngaba region, incorporated into the Chinese province of Sichuan, have disappeared after they were arrested by Chinese authorities in separate incidents. The authorities in Ngaba (Chinese: Aba) have sentenced one of the three Tibetan monks to four years imprisonment while the other two are held in incommunicado detention.

Lobsang Thapke, aged around 37, was sentenced last month around 30 July. He was arrested sometime last year but details of his charges or wellbeing are not known, according to Kanyag Tsering and Lobsang Yeshe from the Dharamshala branch of Kirti Monastery in India. Lobsang Thapke, son of Lokho from upper Gongma area in Ngaba, joined Kirti Monastery at a young age. He was in the third batch of graduates from the Buddhist Youth School which was later closed down by the Chinese government.

### Two arrested and disappeared

In separate incidents, two other monks from Ngaba have disappeared since they were detained by Chinese authorities, according to the same source.

32-year-old Thubpa from Trotsik Monastery was taken by police at night from his monastery around the end of 2017. Since then, there has been no information about his whereabouts or condition. Thubpa is the son of Kalsang from Garwatsang in Trotsik Thangwama, who was arrested and imprisoned for protesting and raising slogans against Chinese rule on 16

March 2011. Exactly three years before his father's protest, during the 2008 pan-Tibet peaceful protests, Thubpa himself staged a protest and burnt the Chinese national flag on 16 March for which he was sentenced to a year and a half in prison.

The third monk, Lobsang Dorje from Kirti Monastery, aged around 36, was detained sometime around August in 2018. Like Thubpa, Lobsang Dorje was also taken away at night from his room at Kirti Monastery. A former Tibetan political prisoner, Lobsang Dorje was sentenced in 2011 and served three years in jail. His father's name is Sangri and is from Chukle Gagma in Ngaba county.

"The well-being and the whereabouts of the three Tibetan monks from Ngaba are concerning as reports of torture while in detention and deaths due to torture injuries is prevalent in Chinese jails. Just this April and May, within two months' time, deaths of three Tibetans due to torture related illness and injuries were reported", remarked Dukthen Kyi, head of the UN, EU & Human Rights Desk, DIIR, Central Tibetan Administration.

Information about the three Tibetan monks' disappearances and sentence of one was received outside Tibet despite strict surveillance and massive clampdown in Ngaba region. Reports of Tibetans in Ngaba staging political protests, including peaceful solo protests have been frequently recorded. Of the 153 self-immolation protests against China's rule in Tibet, more than a third took place in Ngaba region of Tibet.

## UN Experts Question China over Sentencing Tibetans for Celebrating 80th Birthday of His Holiness the Dalai Lama

Five UN independent experts have expressed concern and questioned China over charges brought against nine Tibetans who were imprisoned for participating in the celebration of the 80th birthday of His Holiness the Dalai Lama in 2015, and advocating for cultural and religious rights.

The Intermediate Peoples' Court in Barkham, Ngaba Tibetan area incorporated into China's Sichuan province has sentenced nine Tibetans for varying person terms ranging from five to fourteen years in December 2016.

Expressing deep "regret" over China's response towards "what appears to be a cultural and religious expression by the nine Tibetans", the experts voiced concern over "frequent application of article 103 (2) of the Chinese Criminal Law on "incitement to separatism" to suppress freedom of expression, religion, assembly and association and the cultural rights of the Tibetan minority". Furthermore, eight areas of concern, including application of due process, detention condition and information about charges and place of detention to the family members of imprisoned Tibetans, were raised in the joined communication to China.

The UN mandate on Special Rapporteur in the field of cultural rights, the Special Rapporteur on the promotion and protection of the right to freedom of opinion and expression, the Special Rapporteur on the situation of human rights defenders, the Special Rapporteur on minority issues and the Special Rapporteur on freedom of religion or belief transmitted the communication to China.

The experts have asked China to clarify and provide detailed information on the following nine Tibetans who were unjustly imprisoned.

Drugdra (also known as Dukda or Drukdra), a senior Kirti monastery monk sentenced to 14 years in prison on 6 December 2016. He was 50 years old at the time of pronouncing prison term. He is believed to be imprisoned in Mianyang prison near the city of Chengdu in Sichuan province.

Lobsang Khedrup, a monk from Kirti monastery was sentenced to 13 years in prison in December 2016, at age 44. His whereabouts are unknown since he was arrested in December 2015.

Lobsang Gephel, a monk from Kirti monastery was sentenced to 12 years in prison at age 29. The exact whereabouts of Gephel are unknown. Reports imply he might be serving in a labour camp in Mianyang prison.

Lodro, a monk from Kirti monastery was sentenced to imprisonment for nine years at age 41. He was arrested on 18 November. His whereabouts are unknown.

Ta're Kyi, a Tibetan woman was sentenced to eight years in prison for organizing the celebration of the 80th birthday of His Holiness the Dalai Lama and offering help to families of self-immolators. She is reportedly held at Mianyang prison in Sichuan.

Bonkho Kyi, also known as Wonkho Kyi, whereabouts remained unknown since she was arrested on 20 November 2015. No information is available on charges against her.

Trotsik Tsultrim, a former monk of Trotsik monastery, was arrested in October 2016. He was sentenced to six years in prison. His whereabouts are reportedly unknown.

Tsultrim, a former Kirti monastery monk, was sentenced to six years in prison at age 32. He was arrested on 18 November 2015.

Akyakya, a former monk of Kirti monastery, was sentenced to five years in prison at age 35. His whereabouts remained unknown.

All nine Tibetans had previously been jailed for varying person terms for participating in protests, and some for allegedly "inciting separatism".

## Niece of Tulku Tenzin Delek appeals President Trump for continued support and honourable return of His Holiness the Dalai Lama to Tibet

US President Donald Trump met with survivors of religious persecution in the White House's Oval Office on Wednesday. Niece of late Tulku Tenzin Rinpoche, Nyima Lhamo was part of the delegation which included 2018 Nobel Peace Prize winner, Nadia Murad.

Among the other survivors were Christians from Myanmar, Vietnam, North Korea, Iran, Turkey, Cuba, Eritrea, Nigeria, and Sudan; Muslims from Afghanistan, Sudan, Pakistan and New Zealand; Rohingya from Myanmar; Jews from Yemen and Germany; a practitioner of Cao Dai from Vietnam; and a Yezidi from Iraq.

Four people identified by the White House as being from China were Jewher Ilham, an Uighur Muslim; Yuhua Zhang, a Falun Gong practitioner; Nyima Lhamo, a Tibetan Buddhist; and Manping Ouyang, a Christian.

All the survivors of religious persecution had a chance to meet with the President during which Nyima Lhamo appealed Trump for continued US support for Tibet and the return of His Holiness the Dalai Lama to Tibet.

It is reported that Trump's administration plans to announce new measures Thursday aimed at protecting religious minority groups. Though no details have come to light yet, it is expected that Vice President Mike Pence and Secretary of State Mike Pompeo will deliver speeches on the issue.

President Trump was joined by White House Chief of Staff Mick Mulvaney and Sam Brownback, the administration's ambassador at large for international religious freedom at the meeting which took place on the sidelines of the annual Ministerial to Advance Religious Freedom, a conference hosted by the US State Department to bring together leaders from around the world to discuss the challenges facing religious



*Niece of late Tulku Tenzin Delek Rinpoche appeals US President Donald Trump for continued US support for Tibet and the return of His Holiness the Dalai Lama to Tibet. Screenshot image*

freedom, identify means to address religious persecution and discrimination worldwide, and promote greater respect and preservation of religious liberty for all.

The Tibet delegation who attended the Ministerial to Advance Religious Freedom comprised of the Representative Ngodup Tsering, Office of Tibet, Washington DC and staff of OoT-DC, Kunchok Dolma Yaklha, Special Appointee for Human Rights, Tibet Bureau Geneva, Members of International Campaign for Tibet, Azen Rinpoche from Nepal, and Nyima Lhamo, niece of late Tulku Tenzin Delek.

Ambassador-at-large for Religious Freedom, Samuel Brownback, started off the event by welcoming all the participants and explained the objectives of the Ministerial Conference. The US Secretary of State, Mike Pompeo, mentioned how important he views the concept of religious freedom, which is considered as the first freedom in the United States.

Nyima Lhamo gave a compelling account as a Survivor of religious persecution at the track II breakout session on the second day.

The Ministerial was attended by more than 1000 participants from more than 100 countries. Civil society, religious leaders, activists, policymakers, and government delegations attended the event.

## Kashag's Statement on the 84th Birthday of His Holiness the Great 14th Dalai Lama of Tibet

We are gathered here today to celebrate the eighty-fourth birthday of His Holiness the Great Fourteenth Dalai Lama, the manifestation of Avalokiteshvara, the Bodhisattva of Compassion, the spiritual leader of Tibet and the beloved global icon of peace and compassion.

On this auspicious and joyous occasion, with deepest gratitude and reverence in our hearts, I on behalf of the Kashag and the Tibetan people inside and outside Tibet join millions of admirers around the globe in wishing His Holiness a healthy and long life.

His Holiness was born on July 6, 1935, to a peasant family in Taktser in the Amdo region of Tibet as Lhamo Dhondup. At the very tender age of two, Lhamo Dhondup was recognized as the reincarnation of the Great Thirteenth Dalai Lama and was officially enthroned at the age of five. At the age of twenty-four, His Holiness received the Geshe Lharampa degree, the highest doctorate in Buddhist philosophy.

In 1950, His Holiness at the age of sixteen upon the solemn appeal by the cabinet shouldered the responsibility of the temporal leadership of Tibet. This came at a time when the tragic news of PLA's illegal invasion of the eastern Tibet poured into Lhasa.

While seeking assistance from the United Nations, western countries and other neighboring nations, His Holiness sought to strive for a harmonious concord between the Tibetans and Chinese. During his visit to Beijing in 1954-55, His Holiness met with Chairman Mao Zedong and other Chinese leaders. However, China failed to keep up with tenets of the 17 Point Agreement, which the Tibetan delegates signed under duress. The brutal repression of the Tibetan people continued to upsurge with China violating all the major provisions of the agreement. In 1959 at



*The President Dr Lobsang Sangay presents Kashag's statement on the 84th Birthday of His Holiness the Great 14th Dalai Lama of Tibet. Photo/Tenzin Jigme/CTA*

the age of twenty-four, His Holiness was compelled to go into exile in India.

Today, 60 years into exile, Tibetan cultural identity has been revived and preserved, a full-fledged democratic Central Tibetan Administration has been established, and the spirit of Tibetans inside and outside Tibet remain strong and united. Tibet cause found its voice and support throughout the globe and the Middle Way Approach in resolving the Tibet issue through dialogue continues to be widely supported by many countries. All these milestones were achieved only through His Holiness' tireless endeavors surmounting all the hardships through his wise and able leadership.

His Holiness has always spoken of the special historic and karmic relationship shared between the Dalai Lamas and the Tibetan people. We Tibetans are eternally grateful to the lineage of the Dalai Lamas and ever more so to His Holiness the Fourteenth Dalai Lama for being our ray of hope and our source of strength in our times of darkness.

His Holiness always describes himself as a simple Buddhist monk and one of the 7 billion human beings. As a human being,

one of the major principle commitments of His Holiness has been to advocate the cultivation of warm-heartedness, compassion and secular ethics. His Holiness has also consistently advocated for an education system that not only focused on building a successful professional, but also a good human being.

Based on His Holiness' vision and advice, today in India and in 37 countries, changes are being initiated and brought in the curriculums emphasizing on educating the heart. In order to secure a more peaceful world in the 21st Century, His Holiness trusted that the younger generation, who will be the leaders of tomorrow, be trained in such an education system.

His Holiness has often shared about his own realization of how knowledge from the Nalanda tradition had helped in the preservation of his peace of mind during difficult periods. As a benefactor, His Holiness was convinced of the practicality and effectiveness of Nalanda knowledge in today's world. His Holiness has often referred to the Nalanda Tradition as a 'Science of Mind' and remains steadfast in his

commitment to revive and promote the ancient Nalanda Tradition of India.

His Holiness has often iterated that the 21st century should be the century of peace. One of the messages that His Holiness has ardently called for and committed to is religious harmony. Counseling on how every religion has the potential to guide people on the path of true happiness, His Holiness has met with many world religious leaders and interacted through interfaith dialogues. Last month, His Holiness presided over the first ever national-level conference on ‘Celebrating Diversity in the Muslim World bringing Shia and Sunni leaders under one umbrella.

His Holiness’ life-long commitments and initiatives have been widely acknowledged and recognized through conferment of more than 150 awards including the prestigious Nobel Peace Prize in 1989.

This year during the Tenshug (Long Life Prayer) offering to His Holiness led by the Central Tibetan Administration, His Holiness reaffirmed that he would live beyond 110 years. It is important to remember that this year is also the obstacle-year of His Holiness and, therefore, it is of prime importance that we all indulge in meritorious deed and enrich our collective karma for the pacification of obstacles if there is any. In addition, we should always remember

and follow the counsels of His Holiness. Taking this opportunity I would like to offer our sincerest gratitude to His Holiness and thank each and every individuals, organizations and governments who have contributed in the fruition of His Holiness’ initiatives and supported the just cause of Tibet.

May His Holiness the Great Fourteenth Dalai Lama, the embodiment of three jewels, live for eons and eons for the benefit of all the sentient beings. May all his aspirations be fulfilled. May he soon return to Lhasa and to his people.

– KASHAG

July 6, 2019

### Third Special General Meeting of Tibetans to be convened in October 2019



Pursuant to Article 59 of Tibetan Charter-in-Exile and the recommendations of the preceding Special General Meeting of the Tibetans, the Kashag and the Tibetan Parliament-in-Exile is convening the third Special General Meeting of Tibetans from 3 to 5 October this year.

The Special Meeting with the participation of Tibetan community leaders around the world will be inaugurated on 3 October in Dharamshala, the seat of Central Tibetan Administration.

The key theme of the meeting are 1) Five Fifty Vision and 2) The relationship between the lineage of His Holiness the Dalai Lamas and Tibetan people.

Inter-alia, the third General Meeting will focus on enabling full-scale participation of Tibetan civil society in the decision-making processes apropos to the key themes.

The second Special General Meeting was held from 25 – 28 September 2012 to “discuss ways and means to deal

with the urgent and critical situation inside Tibet”. Over 432 delegates from 26 countries, including India, US, and Europe participated.



## Statement of Tibetan Parliament-in-Exile on the 84th Birthday Celebration of His Holiness the Dalai Lama



*Speaker Pema Jungney, Tibetan Parliament-in-Exile presents the statement of Tibetan Parliament-in-Exile on the 84th Birthday Celebration of His Holiness the Dalai Lama. Photo/Tenzin Jigme/CTA*

On the 5th day of the 5th month of the Tibetan Wood-Hog Year which corresponded to the 6th day of July in the universal calendar year 1935, the compassionate embodiment of all the Buddhas; the spiritual master of all the teachings of the Buddha on this earth; the one who bears great affection for all sentient beings, the champion of world peace and the visionary leader of Tibet, His Holiness the Great Fourteenth Dalai Lama was born at Taktser in the Tsongkha area of Domey Province of Tibet to Choekyong Tsering and Dekyi Tsering. His Holiness the Dalai Lama has now attained 85 years of age according to Tibetan traditional calendar and 84 years of age by the universal calendar. In keeping with the auspiciousness of this festive occasion, the Tibetan Parliament in Exile, on behalf of all Tibetans in Tibet and in exile, offers ardent prayers and good wishes to His Holiness the Great Fourteenth Dalai Lama of Tibet.

On this auspicious occasion, we take the liberty to recall a small part of the tremendous contributions made by His Holiness the Dalai Lama. The prophecies of the deities and lamas along with the power and effect of the kindness and concerns of the previous

Dalai Lama enabled the discovery of the reincarnate His Holiness the Fourteenth Dalai Lama. Soon after being recognized, His Holiness was escorted from his birthplace of Taktser in The Tsongkha area of Amdo Province to Lhasa, the capital of Tibet in the year 1939. His Holiness was ushered to the high golden throne held aloft by the five fearless snowlion figures in the Potala Palace on the 14th day of the 1st month in the Tibetan Iron-Dragon Year in the universal calendar year of 1940. He not only excelled in both listening and contemplating aspects of Buddhist philosophy but also earned his Geshe Lharampa degree in the year 1959. Meanwhile, the communist Chinese army began its invasion of Tibet from the country's eastern border areas in the year 1949. The political situation in the country became critical with the direct threat of Chinese occupation. At only sixteen years of age, His Holiness the Dalai Lama assumed full temporal power and spiritual leadership of the country on the 17th day of November in 1950 in accordance with the prayers and requests from all corners. In keeping with the precedence set by Tibet's ancient kings, His Holiness the Dalai Lama made efforts to maintain a

relationship of friendship and peaceful coexistence with neighboring China. At the same time, His Holiness the Dalai Lama especially set up a Reform Office with a view to bringing transformative changes to Tibet's political and social structure. This included exempting poor citizens from having to repay their old debts. However, the reform efforts were repeatedly thwarted by the occupying Chinese government. When in 1959 communist China took complete and direct control over the entire territory of Tibet, His Holiness the Dalai Lama had no other option but to flee into exile to the neighboring sacred land of India.

Immediately after setting foot on Indian soil, His Holiness the Dalai Lama embarked on the challenging task of realizing the restoration of the freedom of his homeland. For this purpose, he initiated establishing schools, settlements, and religious centers in exile for the Tibetan people which helped in building a flourishing Tibetan exile community. His Holiness established a Tibetan government in exile, known today as Central Tibetan Administration which is now fully democratic in all its aspects. To resolve the Sino-Tibetan dispute in a peaceful and mutually beneficial way, His Holiness articulated a Middle Way Approach. Governments of many countries, as well as other entities both private and the public across the world, continue to extend a high level of support for his approach. Many Chinese intellectuals and others from mainland China have been also voicing their support for the Middle Way Proposal put forward by His Holiness the Dalai Lama. This approach is fully in keeping with the reality of the current situation and remains an exceptionally admirable initiative from His Holiness the Dalai Lama for the resolution of the Sino-Tibetan dispute.

Having especially resolved to turn the system of governance in the exiled Tibetan community into a fully democratic one, His Holiness the Dalai

Lama, in 1960, newly established a Tibetan Parliament in exile. In 1961, an outline of a democratic constitution for a future Tibet was brought out. This was followed, in 1963, by the promulgation of the text of a fully democratic constitution for a future free Tibet. In 1991, the Tibetan Parliament in exile became a democratic legislative body. In keeping with this transformation, His Holiness, on the 28th of June in 1991, affixed his seal of assent to the Charter of Tibetans in Exile which was debated and adopted by the 11th Tibetan Parliament in exile. With the adoption of the Charter, the organizational entity of the Tibetan people in exile was transformed into a fully democratic one rooted in the system of rule of law. In the year 2001, in keeping with the directive issued by His Holiness the Dalai Lama, the Kalon Tripa of the Central Tibetan Administration was directly elected by the Tibetan public. The development marked a major forward movement in the exile Tibetan democratization process. In accordance with his vision and future well being of the Tibetan people, His Holiness in 2011 ended nearly 400 years of undisputed temporal and spiritual leadership of Tibet by the Gaden Phodrang by devolving all his political and administrative powers to the leaders elected by the Tibetans in exile. As a result, the Central Tibetan Administration of the Tibetan people is being run today as a fully democratic system with a high level of efficiency. This has won him the hearts and minds of many impartial observers across the world and their admiration and respect for him continue to this day.

His Holiness the Dalai Lama's four commitments in this life has been of infinite benefit to all sentient beings and his kindness and compassion can never be repaid. Therefore, it is of utmost importance that we the Central Tibetan Administration, the non-governmental organisations, as well as the general public, commit ourselves to be dedicated disciples of his four commitments. The accomplishments of His Holiness the Dalai Lama in carrying out those four commitments have earned him hundreds of awards and prizes,

including the globally renowned Nobel Peace Prize in 1989, the United States Congressional Gold Medal in 2007, and the John Templeton Award in the United Kingdom in 2012.

Likewise, in today's era of progress and predominance of Science, His Holiness the Dalai Lama has put forth the concept of Buddhist Science and established connections between Buddhism and modern science, holding frequent dialogues and discussions between the two. This has led to a number of unprejudiced eminent scientists to take interest in carrying out researches in the field of Buddhist Science. In their researches, they have reached conclusions and recorded findings that relate with the Buddhist understanding that in order to realize a world made up of happy societies primacy needs to be given to develop a sense of compassion which is, in fact, already inherent in a human being. Today everyone recognizes and reveres His Holiness the Dalai Lama as the undisputable leader who champions the cause of compassion as a universal responsibility.

We are indebted to His Holiness the Dalai Lama for all that he has done for the Tibetan people including his steadfast commitment to resolving the issue of Tibet through dialogue based on a mutually beneficial middle way approach. The dictatorial Chinese leadership has not only turned a blind eye to it but also continues to vilify His Holiness the Dalai Lama. Despite that, His Holiness the Dalai Lama has not wavered from his commitment towards finding a mutually beneficial solution to the Sino-Tibetan dispute. This is the reason why across the world, government leaders, Parliamentarians, and numerous prominent public figures have repeatedly urged the leadership of the government of China to enter into peace talks to resolve the Sino-Tibetan dispute with His Holiness the Dalai Lama or his representatives. In this connection, it bears noting that His Excellency Mr Terry Branstad, the United States Ambassador to China, concluded a visit to the Tso-nyon area and Tibet's capital Lhasa in May this

year by emphatically reiterating the call on the government of China to enter into unconditional talks with His Holiness Dalai Lama or his representatives as a way to find a solution to the issue of Tibet. During the 7th World Parliamentarians' Convention on Tibet held in Riga, capital of the Baltic republic of Latvia from the 7th to the 10th of May this year, participating lawmakers from across the world as well as other prominent figures spoke with one voice to declare that Tibet was never a part of China; that the most appropriate method for resolving the Sino-Tibetan dispute was through the mutually beneficial Middle Way Approach. Therefore in their resolution the participants, among other things, voiced strong support for the Tibetan people's aspiration for a meaningful autonomy in the governance of their homeland and on that basis recalled their reiterations of calls on the government of the People's Republic of China to enter into unconditional dialogue with envoys of His Holiness the Dalai Lama.

At the occasion of long-life prayer offering ceremony in May this year by the entire Tibetan people living in Tibet and in exile, His Holiness very graciously gave an undertaking to strive to live to be 113 years old. This has been a source of infinite joy to all of us. We accordingly take the opportunity provided by this joyous occasion to express boundless gratitude to His Holiness the Dalai Lama on behalf of the entire Tibetan people in Tibet and in exile. At the same time, it bears emphasizing that at this critical moment in the history of Tibet, the entirety of the Tibetan people should commit themselves to an oath of unity with the commonality of purpose and be unequivocal in carrying out the profound wishes of His Holiness the Dalai Lama. We should act in every possible way to ensure that His Holiness the Dalai Lama is comforted to see his wishes being sought to be fulfilled with utmost sincerity by all of us. This should be treated as the essence of our purpose. Since this year is an obstacle year for His Holiness the Dalai Lama, all the Tibetan people in Tibet and in exile, have already been fully immersed in accumulating enormous recitations of prayers for His

Holiness as solemnly prophesied and instructed by the deities and lamas. We only wish to request everyone to make sure that there is no slacking of effort and commitment in this undertaking.

It has been 60 years since Tibet was forcefully annexed by the communist government of China, resulting in His Holiness the Dalai Lama and thousands of Tibetans to flee into exile. The government and people of India with whom Tibet had deep cultural ties since

ancient times have been most generous in extending every possible assistance and facilities to the Tibetan people during this difficult time. Our feeling of gratitude to the central and state governments as well as the people of India knows no bounds. We also take the opportunity provided by this auspicious occasion to express our heartfelt gratitude on behalf of all the Tibetan people to the governments of countries, their leaders, civil society organizations as well as private individuals across the

world who have lent support to the issue of Tibet.

Finally, we fervently pray that His Holiness the Dalai Lama may live for a hundred eons; that all his wishes may be seen fulfilled with spontaneity and in all speediness.

The Tibetan Parliament in Exile

6 July 2019

## 2018 CTA Award to Two Distinctive Staff for Excellence in Service

The Kashag secretariat presented two staff of the Central Tibetan Administration with an award in recognition of their distinctive service in their respective departments.

The award is an official recognition of the exemplary work performed by individuals in their respective portfolios in the Central Tibetan Administration. It is also aimed at introducing these distinctive staff to the public, at the same time, to inspire passion and dedication among other staff of the Central Tibetan Administration.

Dhondup Tsering was appointed as the section officer in the year 1995 and since then have worked tirelessly for various Tibetan settlements like Rabgyaling Tibetan settlement in Hunsur, Dhoeguling Tibetan settlement in Mundgod and Choepheling Tibetan settlement in Maio. Mr Dhondup Tsering is highly recognised for his service of 3 years in the advancement and development of the agriculture project in exile.

Dhondup is also the founding member of the agriculture award committee.

Dhondup demonstrated his exemplary service when he visited the areas affected by hurricane 'Titli' in Phuntsokling Tibetan settlement as the representative of the Department of Home taking responsibility to provide necessary assistance and help during the disastrous event. He also took charge as the project



*Dhondup Tsering, Deputy Secretary of the Department of Home*

coordinator of COSPE. During the time, Mr Dhondup Tsering initiated and organised various training and awareness workshops on agriculture-related projects.

Dhondup Tsering has never failed to carry out his responsibilities throughout his service and therefore he is found to be a deserving candidate for 2018 distinctive award to CTA officials for excellence in service.

Ngawang Choephel joined the Central Tibetan Administration in 2008 as an accountant at the Tibetan settlement office in Mandi, HP. Thereafter, Mr Ngawang took charge as the accountant at Dekyiling Tibetan settlement in Dehradun.

Ngawang also took charge as the officiating settlement officer of Dekyi



*Ngawang Choedhen, under Secretary at Dekyi Larso Tibetan settlement.*

Larso Tibetan settlement in Bylakuppe for the period of 63 days. During his service at the settlement, Mr Ngawang contributed significantly towards the welfare of the Tibetan community in Bylakuppe such as he renovated the staff quarters of the former CTA officials and built around 80 houses for the newly arrived Tibetans. He also constructed sanitation facilities for the less privileged people in the settlement funded by the Department of Health. The clean drinking water facility was also made available during his service. Apart from that, outdoor fitness equipment was also developed during his service. To speak briefly, Mr Ngawang Choedhen has tremendously contributed 10 years of exemplary service to CTA and therefore he is found to be a deserving candidate for 2018 distinctive award to CTA officials for excellence in service.

## His Holiness the Dalai Lama's exclusive interview for OTV Lebanon

A Lebanon based reporter Karim from OTV Lebanon was accorded an opportunity to obtain an exclusive interview with His Holiness the Dalai Lama on 27 June 2019 at the residence of His Holiness the Dalai Lama in Dharamshala.

Below is the full transcript of the interview.

**Karim:** Thank You His Holiness for accepting our invitation. His Holiness, Lebanon in the Middle East is a multi-cultural country. We have a Christian President, we have a Speaker who is a Muslim Shia, we have a Prime Minister who is a Muslim Sunni. Talking about myself, I am a Christian married to a Muslim wife. So this is Lebanon and this is Lebanese diversity. I want to ask you first do you think such co-existence can hold on and survive?

**His Holiness the Dalai Lama:** Oh yes. I believe that is the only way. In ancient time, you see people are more or less isolated. Now modern time 21st century, information comes from different parts of the world which makes the world smaller. Similarly, in religious faith, you get different information about different religion which is always available. Then, a different mental disposition is useful for different ways of approach. Therefore pluralism of religion in the modern time is the reality. Based on that reality, mutual respect must be practised and consider religious faith as a personal matter. It is very good that you as a Christian husband and your wife as a Muslim is a wonderful thing! One of my commitment is the promotion of religious harmony and I have full confidence that religious harmony is possible. Look at India, over 2000 years different religious traditions have developed and over 3000 years India's own traditions emerged then followed Jainism, Sangya philosophy, Buddhism and later Christianity and Muslim, etc. All these religious traditions coexist harmoniously without any issue. I have



*His Holiness the Dalai Lama's exclusive interview with OTV Lebanon.*

never heard any problem or complain between Sunni and Shia in India. I have spent a few decades now in India and have only noticed religious harmony that exists here but when I saw and heard people killing each other in the name of religion particularly in the name of Sunni and Shia in Arab, Syria, and Afghanistan it is unthinkable! All of them are the followers of one Allah likewise all follow Kuran and pray five times a day so there is no reason to fight each other. I am really saddened by such news. While religion is the remedy to reduce destructive emotions it has now been used to cause destructive emotions. Just like medicine that becomes poisonous. Such problems arise due to lack of communication. Therefore, religious harmony is very much possible similarly reconciliation between Shia and Sunni is very possible too. Next week I am going to Delhi to meet a Muslim group mainly Muslims from Ladakh. There is going to be a national level Muslim conference which is initiated by Ladakhi Muslims. Since among Shias and Sunnis in India, there is no religious discord as such I have suggested the Indian Muslims to being more active regarding the promotion of religious harmony in general but particularly between

Shia and Sunni. The meeting will have the participation of representatives of various Muslim communities in India. I wish in this meeting the Indian Muslims will make an effort to show outside world that religious harmony is possible. This will eventually let countries like Syria and Afghanistan to India to witness the possibility of religious harmony in India.

**Karim:** You are very optimistic His Holiness about that. There are extremism and fanaticism in our society. People are suffering from extremism.

**His Holiness the Dalai Lama:** Yes I am. We are a human being whether created by God or nature, we are born with this special brain which has the ability to see, perceive the holistic view of everything. So if you use this human intelligence and the human brain properly then it is very easy to understand. We, humans, live in different areas so naturally, we are of different cultural values, we face different climatic conditions and have a different mental disposition. These are all understandable. But what is important is that all religious traditions carry the same message i.e message of love.

**Karim:** This is the best message you can give to Lebanon and the Lebanese people in particular because we need such a message in our countries. There are so much suffering and crisis in the area.

**His Holiness the Dalai Lama:** Yes, whatever I can even to make a small contribution is my duty. I always emphasise we 7 billion human beings are truly human brothers and sisters whether we like it or not, we have to live side by side on this planet. On top of that, global warming is quite serious so under such circumstances it is time we think globally. The 7 billion human beings represent the oneness of human being, then comes different cultures, different languages, and different religions which are the secondary and individual matter. I am Buddhist, but I have many genuine spiritual friends among the Muslims, Christians, Hindus and perhaps I may say among Communists. His Holiness chuckles. So basically, we all are same human beings, the way we were born is the same. We all received the maximum affection from our mothers so compassion is the key thing, loving-kindness is the key thing for our survival. That is the real message of all religious traditions. And there is, of course, different religious philosophies. Bishop Tutu, for instance, is one of my best spiritual friends who I always admire. We are always teasing each other whenever we meet. He jokingly describes me as a mischievous Dalai Lama while I, on the other hand, responds him with mischievous Bishop. He would always joke around saying, "I am Christian so after I die, I will go to heaven but you Dalai Lama is a non-believer in god so you will go to a different place probably hell".

**Karim:** You are so peaceful when you are talking about this. Usually, people are worried and fear death. I want to tell you when you went to the hospital, the whole of Lebanon was worried. You are very well known in Lebanon and we all pray for you.

**His Holiness the Dalai Lama:** Thank You. As I mentioned earlier, we have this very unique brain so it is very important

to analyze and not just analyze one point of view. We have to look at things more holistic way.

**Karim:** You always invite people to keep their own religion. Do you think they accept such kind of message?

**His Holiness the Dalai Lama:** This is the reality and this is the only realistic way. For a Muslim, Islam is the best religion for them, therefore, it is much better to keep their own religion instead of changing their religion. If someone was to ask me what religion to follow if the person is Hindu, Christian or Muslim, I usually will tell them it is better to keep their own religious tradition. And now because of different mental disposition, there are different philosophical views. Even within Buddhism, there are many different schools of thought. Buddha even though one teacher of the school of thought taught different philosophies. Why?. Among his own followers, there are different mental dispositions so they need different philosophical views. Therefore, I never state Buddhism is the best religion. For me personally, Buddhism is best but to others, according to their own mental disposition they can choose to follow a religion that is more suitable, more effective to them. That is the best religion for them. Just like medicine, we can't say pick one medicine and say this medicine is the best. How can we say that to different patients dealing with different illness? Only by judging their physical condition you can say this so and so medicine is the best for you.

**Karim:** Lebanon is proof that when nations are strong abled we can rebuild what has been destroyed from the war between many confessions and now the new Lebanon which we are striving to build is the reflection of hard work of all communities working together regardless of gender and religion. I hope that we will succeed. It is very important that we have to be united.

**His Holiness the Dalai Lama:** That is the only realistic way. As I already mentioned, the world is becoming smaller and we 7 billion humans having different culture, language, and religious

traditions must live side by side. I always consider myself as part of 7 billion human beings and with this feeling wherever I go, I always developed an immediate friendship. I have never felt separated from others. I never say I am Tibetan and Buddhist first and never felt that way. If God is one father then according to the belief, we all human beings are brothers and sisters of one father. therefore it is unthinkable fact the killing in the name of religion. We come from one father and that father has infinite love and we all are children of that kind of father. So we have to share love and kindness as real brothers and sisters. Due to small differences fighting, division and worse killing are indeed unthinkable. Now one of my wishes is to make this world demilitarised. I don't think weapons are the creation of God but rather a creation of our destructive emotions. If we truly follow God's path then no need for the weapon. Yes, small differences always happen even an individual go through different ideas in a day. So, naturally different people could have different concepts. The only way to sort out the differences is through dialogue. If there is any conflict of interest, solve it through dialogue. Using the weapon to resolve the conflict and issue is outdated now. In ancient time, yes, the use of weapons were relevant but today's world is not like that. Therefore, this century eventually should be a century of peace and in order to do that no longer money has to be spent for a weapon. So, the demilitarised world should be the goal. In order to create external disarmament first, we need to create internally disarmament.

**Karim:** This is one of your struggles against violence in the world?

**His Holiness the Dalai Lama:** Yes, I am committed to this till my death. Whether I achieve this or not it is worthwhile to try. Life is precious but then also I feel the war is very much related to the feudal system. So, one royal family including some religious leaders feel the need for authoritarian control commands soldiers to rage war. Each of these soldiers life is precious to them. Given freedom, they will not sacrifice their life. Yesterday on Television I watched about the D-Day.

People were praising their heroic actions and in the meantime, I felt oh, millions of German soldiers, German people also suffered. They are also human brothers and sisters. We should remember them also.

**Karim:** Yes. During the second world war, between German and all Europe and now Europe is creating a new Europe and new community.

**His Holiness the Dalai Lama:** That is right. Yesterday some big ceremony was held where they only talked about the Western ally which I think is incomplete. If you see during the first and the second world war many people in Germany were killed. I am a great admirer of the spirit of the European Union. During the second world war, both the Presidents of Germany and France were arch enemies but due to the changed circumstances, they realised that common interest is more important than national interest. As a result, European Union was formed. Thus I feel that even in the Middle East some kind of Union should begin.

**Karim:** But for that, we need values and principles like Europe. We need to think about it deeply and forget about religion, fanaticism and about extremism. You said once that the world is better now. How could it be with so many conflicts? our territory is all around the world.

**His Holiness the Dalai Lama:** There is a problem, therefore, we must be determined to change this. If life goes on without any problem then we can relax but it is not the case. Now global warming is an issue. Within the next few decades, the world might turn into a desert. We should use our wisdom as opposed to just following emotions.

**Karim:** You talk about happiness, about the friendliness. How to reach happiness? How to achieve happiness knowing we need to spread that happiness?

**His Holiness the Dalai Lama:** To give a very simple example, this very moment if we smile at each other and have sincere motives against each other, it is happiness. If I give a stern look right now no one would feel comfortable.

Happiness is like that. Not artificial and sarcastic smile but genuine smile. That will bring friendship, trust.

**Karim:** There is a lot of hypocrisy in society today. It is very important to not be fake, to be real. Is it possible to spread happiness and joy at this very moment?

**His Holiness the Dalai Lama:** Oh certainly yes. I feel through education it is possible. Usually, I tell people that from kindergarten we teach the hygiene of physical but now we should include the hygiene of emotion. Children receiving modern education tend to create a materialistic way of life, materialistic culture. This materialistic life is only catered to the needs of the five senses of organs. In due course, we neglect the sixth mind. Anger, attachment comes from this sixth mind so the remedy must be developed within the mental state. It is always nice to hear good things and listen to good music but these are only sensorial experiences and it is secondary to the mental experiences. The western or modern education is often materialistic oriented and ignores the ways to tackle inner emotions. Therefore, today's education should include education about the inner self, about mind thus hygiene of emotions must be taught from kindergarten. It has nothing to do with the religious matter but an academic subject.

Today's global problems we are facing is essentially created by us humans. Initially, human beings basic nature is more compassionate, each human being wants a happy life yet we create many problems. Why? it is because we lack in knowledge to tackle our emotion.

**Karim:** You think we need to evolve our programs for students in schools to teach them how to feel and move their emotions? What do we have to change in our program? Do we have to add something to our new generation?

**His Holiness the Dalai Lama:** Yes from kindergarten we should teach children. Of course, every child loves to smile and they love their mother's affection so we can teach them how to develop and preserve warmheartedness through

knowledge and not through prayers. So I feel the education system should include how to develop the peace of mind. And in order to know the peace of mind, we must first know what is the destroyer of the peace of mind and what is the available antidote.

**Karim:** Is this the way to reach the peace of mind?

**His Holiness the Dalai Lama:** Yes that is right. My own experience as now I am 84 years old, I have lived a difficult life major part of my life. At the age of 16, I lost my freedom and then at the age of 24 I lost my own country and since then a lot of problems but I have managed to maintain a peaceful mind despite all of it. We deal with many events in life and if we look at those events through a narrow-minded and shortsighted then it will create unhappiness, fear, and frustrations. But the same event, if we look at it from a wider perspective we will realise yes that one aspect of the event was very bad however, that also had a positive impact too. If we practice that then we can certainly sustain our hope.

**Karim:** But there is a tendency for criminology. Human beings are born with this tendency. How to stop that tendency?

**His Holiness the Dalai Lama:** No I don't think we are born with such tendencies. As scientists always pointed out that human nature is more compassionate. Also, medical scientists say, constant anger and fear eat away our immune system. Then the experience of young children, they don't care what is religious faith, or nationality, about rich and poor so long they play together with a smile on their faces. That moment the sense of oneness is very fresh. Then they get education about different religious faith, different nationality and they learn about money, power, as a result, the basic human nature becomes dormant and other manmade artificial feelings grows. Therefore, we have to think the existing education system should add education about our internal peace of mind. That is very important.

**Karim:** Thank You His Holiness for your time. We need maybe to give more programs to evolve in the Arab world. The old mentality was to create people to control but now we have got to dismantle the old mentality. Can you please give the last message to the people of the Middle East and Lebanon?

**His Holiness the Dalai Lama:** Firstly, I feel a great honor to express my own views through this media. Then East Asia and the Middle East, Africa and then Latin America are geographically different including the climatic conditions but we all want a happy life. Through the centuries, people in different places try their best effort to achieve a happy community, happy life. Now the modern time we have to think the entire globe as one home for all humans and each other as human brothers and sisters. I think that is the only realistic and necessary way. In ancient time, people are more or less self-supported but today's world is completely different therefore a sense of oneness is very important. Then different cultures, different languages, and religions are a personal matter. We are the same human beings who only want a happy life. I also practice that and it is very important and useful. So I want to share with you the sense of oneness of the entire 7 billion human beings. Thank You that I had this opportunity to meet Karim and his team. I had the opportunity to express some of my feelings and without your help, my thinking is limited but with your help, my idea reaches more people. Some people may find it useful and I am very happy. If some people find it nonsense then it doesn't matter. His Holiness chuckles.

**Karim:** Thank You. It is always a big pleasure to be with you His Holiness.

**His Holiness the Dalai Lama:** Thank You.



## CTA President Dr Lobsang Sangay's interview for BBC HARD Talk Program

On the last leg of his 10 days official trip to the UK, CTA President Dr. Lobsang Sangay gave a series of two interviews firstly for Asian Affairs magazine and later for BBC Hard Talk Program.

The editor of Asian Affairs, Mr. Duncan Bartlett, asked Dr. Sangay about China's rising influence in Japan, India, and Nepal, against the backdrop of the ongoing US-China trade war and the G20 Summit in Osaka, Japan. The interview will be published in Asian Affairs in due course. Later that afternoon the President was interviewed by presenter Zeinab Badawi for BBC HARD Talk program, to be telecast in the following week. This is the President's second appearance on the BBC HARD Talk program after having debuted on this program in May 2011.

Presenter Zeinab Badwal asked President a barrage of grueling questions ranging from India's position on Tibet, what next after the 14th Dalai Lama, the fate of the 'kidnapped' 11th Panchen Lama, Reciprocal Access to Tibet Act, prospects for resolution of Tibet issues, etc. A wide range of topics was covered and discussed in a short span of time.

Below is the full transcript of the President Sangay's interview at BBC Hard Talk Program interviewed by Zeinab Badwal.

**Presenter Zeinab Badwal:** How do the Tibetan people remember that revolt 60 years ago?

**Sikyong:** Thousands of Tibetan people from all over Tibet gathered in Lhasa (the capital city of Tibet) to protect His Holiness the Dalai Lama from the Chinese army and then it resulted in bloodshed. So as per the Chinese military archive, 87,000 Tibetans were killed between the month of March and September of 1959. His Holiness the Dalai Lama had to trek to India in the midnight of March 17. Its been 60 years of tragedy inside Tibet, 60 years

in exile along with 60 years of resilience and success. Because in exile, we have set up a democratic system and as per the vision of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, we have a parliamentary system, an executive judiciary which is running pretty well.

**Presenter Zeinab Badwal:** How do you remember that anniversary amongst yourselves in exile as a community with two hundred thousand in exile globally?

**Sikyong:** We also observe the 60th anniversary on 10 March as the Tibetan National Uprising Day. Thousands of Tibetans came and said 'Tibet belongs to Tibetans, China should get out of Tibet' but that resulted in the bloodshed and thousands of Tibetans were killed, so definitely there was the turning point where we lost an independent Tibet came under Chinese occupation.

**Presenter Zeinab Badwal:** What exactly are your demands now?

**Sikyong:** What we seek is all the countries around the world subscribe to one China policy and the Chinese government also says sovereignty and territorial integrity of China cannot be compromised and His Holiness the Dalai Lama has said, "okay we will take that but just give us the genuine autonomy within the framework of Chinese constitution.

**Presenter Zeinab Badwal:** There is a Tibetan autonomous region now in China that is what is called but you say it doesn't go far enough.

**Sikyong:** That's true. It is only on paper and Tibetans don't have any power. So, as per the constitution and within China, genuine autonomy should be given to Tibetan people because that is the middle way approach. It is middle between seeking separation from China and repression of the Tibetan people.

**Presenter Zeinab Badwal:** You now

advocate something called the five-fifty strategy. What exactly is that?

**Sikyong:** Within five years time based on the middle way approach, there should be a dialogue between envoys of the Dalai Lama and representatives of the Chinese government to solve the issue of Tibet, to grant Tibet genuine autonomy. That is five years strategy. But, at the same time, we should plan for fifty years if need be. Fifty years to return to Tibet, fifty years if we remain in exile to maintain solidarity with the Tibetans inside Tibet, to maintain contact with the Chinese people so they understand the plight of Tibetan people and what we are asking for.

**Presenter Zeinab Badwal:** So basically it's a long game you are playing.

**Sikyong:** It is a long game. it's a short and long game.

**Presenter Zeinab Badwal:** Can you do both? Can you play the long game where the Chinese leadership has got the strategy that is long?

**Sikyong:** That is true. But we have a short game too and that is five years strategy.

**Presenter Zeinab Badwal:** But won't that be giving the Chinese government a choice?

**Sikyong:** We are not giving them the choice because if you study the exile governments many exile governments were set right here in London during the second world war and after some time they tend to disappear and dilute. So what we are saying is if necessary we need fifty years strategy also to maintain Tibetan identity inside Tibet.

**Presenter Zeinab Badwal:** Are there any talks going behind the scenes because we haven't had any talks between the Dalai Lama and his representatives and the Chinese leadership for nearly ten years?

**Sikyong:** That is true. The last one was in January 2010. However, informal contacts so to speak were a lot of

Buddhists. Because China has become one of the largest Buddhist countries in the world where more than 300 million Chinese are Buddhists. So many of these Buddhists and some well-intended people and also some Chinese who have worked in the government are in contact.

**Presenter Zeinab Badwal:** But informal and unofficial contact will not get you anywhere? Won't it be like maintaining links without any outcome like the process for the sake of process?

**Sikyong:** No. It is a process with the hope that it will result in practical consequences. From our side, we are genuine and sincere and we are willing to meet. The envoys of His Holiness the Dalai Lama are willing to meet anytime and anywhere that the Chinese government wants us to.

**Presenter Zeinab Badwal:** The US Congressional-Executive Commission on China said it last year that the Chinese continuous to regard Dalai Lama as a leader of the separatist forces and that's still how they see him.

**Sikyong:** That's how they say it officially and till now that's how they say it but what we want is wisdom and will on the part of the Chinese leaders to see that repression on Tibetans is not working so we need a solution. Even Northern Ireland had a similar issue but then good Friday agreement did come even though many people didn't believe it would come.

**Presenter Zeinab Badwa:** You mentioned the word repression of the Tibetan people in China. The United Nation's Human Rights Council last year said conditions are fast deteriorating in Tibet and that the International Campaign for Tibet says in the last 10 years 150 people have carried out self-immolations in protest against Beijing's actions. What can you do to prevent in particular these self-immolations which have resulted in the vast majority of cases and people dying?

**Sikyong:** I have made it categorically and consistently clear to Tibetans inside Tibet that you should not commit self-

immolation, life is precious, one should live and continue to protest against the repression of the Chinese government. Despite the appeal, self-immolations continue. It is very painful, very tragic but what the Tibetans are saying is "what can I do?. If I lead a small protest in the streets of any town in Tibet I will be arrested, I will be imprisoned, tortured and often disappear and die". They are saying its better to die quickly burning oneself than prolonging your death and causing a lot of sufferings to your family members. The freedom house has come up with a report on the freedom index every year for the last three years in a row. They listed Syria as the least free region and Tibet as the second least free region in the world.

**Presenter Zeinab Badwa:** Are the self-immolators old or young? Are there any cases that strike you in particular?

**Sikyong:** 70% of them are very young and it is very common. They are 16 -20 years old and before burning themselves all they say is "we want to see the return of His Holiness the Dalai Lama to Tibet. We want basic freedom like any other human being". Their demands are very simple and universal and still, the Chinese government refuses to see the reality that repression is not working. Also, the international community should be talking more about but I can understand why all these are not reported well outside because the Chinese government doesn't allow journalists to go to Tibet. They don't allow unfettered access to Tibet.

**Presenter Zeinab Badwa:** The US just passed the Reciprocal Access Act that allows American officials, journalists, and tourists to Tibet so that may hopefully improve?

**Sikyong:** True. After passing the Reciprocal Access to Tibet, the Chinese government allowed the US Ambassador and 30 members delegation during the visit. It is a starting step and the UK government and other governments should consider the same.

**Presenter Zeinab Badwa:** You said we don't report a lot about what's going on

inside Tibet but for example the way other minorities are treated in China. We have heard about the Uyghurs and how they are treated also we have heard about what the government in Beijing calls the vocational education camps. Do such camp exists for the Tibetans?

**Sikyong:** Actually, the party secretary of Xinjiang was the party secretary of the Tibet autonomous region so he is the same architect. He implemented the same repressive policies in Tibet for 5 years which is implementing in one year time so we do have these camps but not as large as the Uyghurs so a lot of people are sent for education through labor, imprisonment, detention.

**Presenter Zeinab Badwa:** Do you have a figure when you say a lot of people? How many are detained?

**Sikyong:** Now that we really don't know. Even for Xinjiang, it is estimated. it could be as high as 1 million or more for the Uyghurs but as far as we know, the political prisoners who were arrested in prison it is few thousands we are talking about.

**Presenter Zeinab Badwa:** We know that China is increasingly a global player politically, economically and on President Xi, its what people describe it as a fairly authoritarian and centralized rule from Beijing. Sarah Sewall who was a special coordinator on Tibetan issue during Barack Obama's administration says "increasingly we see that countries that have typically spoken out on behalf of Tibet are now shying away from doing so. She said that during a recent interview. China is too big for people to ignore, they will always side with China and not Tibet.

**Sikyong:** Yes some countries do. We have seen even in Europe 28 members of the European Union is divided. There are 16 European countries and one China and now Italy has joined the group and the number standing is now 17 plus 1. So whenever there is a resolution passed on human rights in China in the Human Rights Council, most of the 16 members of Europe will not vote for Tibet. What we can now do is create awareness and

appeal to all these democratic countries and call them to support Tibet issue if they claim they support human rights, non-violence. The moral principle that you claim that you adhere to should be implemented and should be shown.

**Presenter Zeinab Badwa:** Even India seems to be not supporting the Tibet issue. James Charles Foundation research analysis group in the U.S says India tends to favor a relationship with China at least over Tibetan issues in general. Your host nation isn't even backing you on this.

**Sikyong:** No. India has done the most for the Tibetan people. Tibetan Administration is based in India. The largest number of Tibetans are in India. Our education and so many things are subsidized and supported by the Indian government. By far, they support us the most.

**Presenter Zeinab Badwa:** But when it comes down to it. It will go with China.

**Sikyong:** No. So far not. For example, India has not signed the One-China Principle in the last few years as per the agreement.

**Presenter Zeinab Badwa:** But last year it prohibited Tibetan rally in Delhi. What do you have to say about that?

**Sikyong:** We were asked to move to Dharamshala under the Chinese pressure. On a few things, yes but the 'Thank You India event' happened and we got more coverage because of Chinese pressure.

**Presenter Zeinab Badwa:** But that's changing. Tsering Shakya a Tibetan academic at the University of British Columbia Canada says "India is sensing that Tibet's appeal in the west is declining. That is true, isn't it?"

**Sikyong:** I think he is wrong. I travel to all the capitals and I do see support. Yesterday only Hon. Speaker John Bercow acknowledged me in the House of Commons and also Japan 10 years ago they would not mention Tibet but now they have established the largest Tibet

support parliamentary group in Japan with 92 members of parliament. In the Czech Republic, they have established 51 members of the Tibet support group parliament which is the largest in Europe. So you can see that it is happening.

**Presenter Zeinab Badwa:** But the governments are reluctant to meet the Dalai Lama. We saw what happened in the U.K in 2013 when the then Prime Minister David Cameron did meet the Dalai Lama but the Pope on this matter for some other reason didn't see the Dalai Lama in 2014. The Vatican said because of the delicate situation with China.

**Sikyong:** It is unfortunate that the Pope who is another moral leader should not shy away from standing up and meeting with His Holiness the Dalai Lama. Having said that, His Holiness met with the President of Slovakia and other leaders too. My point is I just gave a testimony in front of the Canadian Senate Committee on Foreign Relations and Trade, I spoke in front of the Czech Sub Committee on Environment so I do travel and I do get hearings as well.

**Presenter Zeinab Badwa:** There is another aspect to all these which makes your work difficult as the President in exile which is what Robert Farley from the Pattison school of Diplomacy says. He said while in the 1990s Free Tibet activist had a relatively freehand in many spaces. Beijing has used money and social mobilisation to foreclose some of that rhetorical territory. So China through its infrastructure projects, through lifting people out of poverty. That is resonating with the Tibetan people in the autonomous region in China.

**Sikyong:** That is not at all true. That is why we have 150 self-immolations right? Unprecedented in the history of Tibet. It has never happened. Not only the self-immolations, nomads protesting, farmers protesting and wherever there is mining taking place Tibetans are protesting. It is true. The repressive system is systematic and through which makes it difficult for Tibetans to protest but they are doing it.

**Presenter Zeinab Badwa:** But this economic might of China and it has got the high-speed railway link and the official growth rate of the country are high and Tibet as a whole benefit from that. The Chinese most senior official in Tibet has said, “The Dalai Lama has not done a single good thing for Tibet since he left”. When the Tibetan see these economic benefits they might start thinking well, we will just live our lives within China that is prospering.

**Sikyong:** Not at all! for any given day, if the Chinese government is that confident, you can have a referendum of Tibetan people and make them choose between China and Tibet or Chinese leaders or Tibetan leaders, I can say hands down overwhelming Tibetans in Tibet will vote to have their own Tibetan leaders.

**Presenter Zeinab Badwa:** Alright but their own leaders have not gone very far and there is dissatisfaction with what their leadership has delivered. For example, the 30,000 strong Tibetan Youth Congress President Tenzin Jigme says, “There is a sense of frustration among our people. We have lived for so many years in exile. We have to educate the people about the need for an independent Tibet”. They are marching towards a different tune. They see the middle way has not delivered. They want something different.

**Sikyong:** When you are young you will be frustrated and you will be agitated which I completely understand it. In fact CTA, Tibetan Administration has come up with a report saying Tibet was never a part of China, but the middle way remains a viable option’. Historically, Tibet was independent and do we deserve independence? yes. But is there a possibility that we could gain independence from China? No. We have to be pragmatic. Based on the reality of the world and China, middle way approach came out as the genuine autonomy for the Tibetan people.

**Presenter Zeinab Badwa:** What can you do to meet these frustrations? Could you carry out civil disobedience campaign? Mass protest? for example in

Hong Kong against Beijing’s policies. They often turn out into violence.

**Sikyong:** Violence is futile. Mass protest inside Tibet, given a choice the Tibetans would do it but they are not allowed or they will be repressed immediately. But outside, all kinds of protests are happening all over the world. For example, this March 10 all over the world we had the largest demonstrations and participation of Tibetans in the last 60 years.

**Presenter Zeinab Badwa:** But does this get you anywhere? I put it to you that Nathan Hill from the School of Oriental and African Studies University says that the fate of Tibetans is in the hands of the Chinese state, Tibetans outside the region are not very relevant to the fate of Tibet and this includes the Dalai Lama. You really don’t have any impact.

**Sikyong:** We do because I have spoken to hundreds of Tibetans inside Tibet. They do see us as the partner, as the spokesperson. But if you study any movement, had you asked Nelson Mandela in the late 1980s many news media ruled him out. They wrote obituaries about him even Gandhi when he was fighting for the independence of India. Eventually, these things change and as far Tibet is concerned, things will change for the better. That we are very sure.

**Presenter Zeinab Badwa:** You represent a very small group. You are voted by 58% for the second time by an electorate that is 60,000. You know there is a very small mandate you have. Greg Bruner on Tibetan Affairs writes as many Tibetan refugees it is just pushed away by the time, they are just moving on.

**Sikyong:** No not at all. In fact, Tibetans across the world are getting a better education, better exposure and they will be far more talented and better leaders in the coming years. Similarly, inside Tibet, they have not given up hope. We are partners you see. What we represent in exile is the moral symbol as the spokesperson for the Tibetan people inside Tibet.

**Presenter Zeinab Badwa:** Your moral symbol is the Dalai Lama but now he is past 83 years of age, he is cutting back on his travels. He is tired and when we look at the post-Dalai Lama era for all of you, It’s going to be even harder for you to raise interest for you have lost that moral compass.

**Sikyong:** Already our situation is very hard. we lost our country, we lost our freedom so we should persist and persevere. Having said that the post-Dalai Lama situation will be very difficult but having said that, he is the 14th Dalai Lama. He is very healthy, he would live very long. We will have 15th Dalai Lama and we will carry forward the Tibet movement.

**Presenter Zeinab Badwa:** Who can succeed him when in 1995 he identified a six-year-old boy as the 11th Panchen Lama who could succeed him and he must be about in his 30s now. We don’t know what has happened to him. Do we?

**Sikyong:** We don’t know about Panchen Lama because of its been 30 years since he disappeared and we are very concerned about the situation, We demand his immediate release. So hopefully the Chinese government will see to it that he be released and given proper education and that is what they should be doing. This is a religious issue, a spiritual leader who disappeared for 30 years.

**Presenter Zeinab Badwa:** The Dalai Lama has long advised the Tibetan people to hope for the best and prepare for the worst. It’s been 60 years, you haven’t got anywhere. You were born probably after the exile of the Dalai Lama. You have never seen Tibet. Do you think you will ever see it?

**Sikyong:** Of course. Definitely. In 2005, I went to Beijing, I was allowed to go. They promised that I will be allowed to go to Tibet but they did not. However, in my lifetime, I will definitely see Tibet. That much I know and freedom will be restored for Tibetans and His Holiness the Dalai Lama will return back to Tibet.

## His Holiness the Dalai Lama's final day teaching in Manali

"Today, we'll look at the 'Eight Verses for Training the Mind'," he remarked, opening a copy of the book containing the texts he was teaching in Tibetan, Hindi, English and Chinese. "Geshé Langri Thangpa was known for his practice of bodhichitta. Thinking of the sufferings of sentient beings he was so moved he wept. His face wore a perpetual doleful expression.

"I received an explanation of this text from several of my teachers including Kyabjé Trijang Rinpoché, and I've been reciting it daily since I was a small boy.

"Ask yourself what the word 'I' in the first verse means. We have feelings and sensations that seem to be like facilities for the 'I' that is their user and is the controller of the body and so forth. Non-Buddhists assert that the 'I' is something separate from the body-mind combination, but Buddhists say it can't exist apart from that. Some assert that the 'I' or person can be identified with mental consciousness. The Mind Only school, for example, refer to the foundational consciousness in this way.

"However, the Middle Way School states that the 'I' or the person is merely designated on the basis of the body-mind combination, just as other things in the world are designated by our projections and preconceptions. The purpose of this instruction is to counter our misconception of an independent self. Middle Way scholars don't say there is no conventional existence, they say things have no objective existence.

"As I mentioned yesterday, the Buddha neither is the body-mind combination, nor is he different from it. The body-mind combination is not in him, nor is he in the body-mind combination. The Buddha does not possess the body-mind combination, but what else is the Buddha? Even the Buddha has no objective existence, but exists nominally, as a convention.

"We make ourselves unhappy because our sense of an independent self makes



*His Holiness the Dalai Lama reading from the text on the final day of his teachings in Manali, HP, India on August 18, 2019. Photo by Tenzin Choejor*

us selfish, on the basis of which we express all kinds of emotions. Day to day experience tells us that selfish people tend to be more easily upset, whereas those who are compassionate and naturally concerned about others are more broadminded and relaxed.

"Since we don't want suffering and do want happiness, we need to reduce the causes of suffering and increase the causes of happiness. As human beings this is something we can think about and put into effect. The first verse shows that fulfilling our short and long term goals is dependent on others. Avoiding the unwholesome actions of killing, taking what is not given, sexual misconduct, as well as acts of unwholesome speech is done in relation to others. Because happiness comes about in relation to them, the second verse advises 'Cherish others as supreme'."

His Holiness stressed that as human beings we should respect each other. Should it be the case that we are kind to someone who then takes advantage of us, we shouldn't let our compassion fade. Whatever prompts afflictive emotions to arise, we should counter them. They stoke the self-cherishing attitude that leads to ruin.

"Whenever we see people who are really suffering, we shouldn't be condescending but compassionate to them. For example, we should give to beggars respectfully. Giving respectfully is one of the sixteen factors that give rise to higher rebirth. In verse 5 we read, 'May I accept defeat'. When one follower of the Kadampa tradition was subject to another's criticism, he asked his friends not to respond, saying, 'I'll take the defeat upon myself'. The next verse refers to an occasion when we may have helped someone who shows no appreciation. The appropriate response is to view that person as our teacher.

"The lines in verse 7, 'May I give all help and joy to my mothers, And may I take all their harm and pain secretly upon myself,' summarizes the practice of 'Giving and taking'. When you breathe in imagine taking the pain and suffering of others on yourself, and when you breathe out, imagine giving them joy. This is what I did when news of demonstrations in Lhasa in 2008 made me apprehensive about what might happen. I imagined taking anger and hostility away from the Chinese officials involved in the incident and giving them peacefulness and joy.

"The final verse advises us, when we do these practices, not to be carried away

by worldly concerns such as a desire for good reputation and fame. The line, ‘May I see all things as illusions’ refers to ultimate bodhichitta, which the Middle Way School characterizes as nothing having objective existence—things only exist by way of designation.”

Taking up the ‘37 Practices of a Bodhisattva’, His Holiness recalled that Togmé Sangpo was reputed to be a bodhisattva, someone with actual experience of bodhichitta. He lived in a cave in Ngulchu. He was an accomplished scholar who composed a commentary on Maitreya’s ‘Sublime Continuum’, but was also acknowledged for his humility and good nature.

His Holiness observed that the contents of the Three Baskets of the Buddha’s teaching Sutras, Vinaya and Abhidharma, were meant for individuals to practise. An individual of least capacity works to achieve the high status of good rebirth. One of medium capacity aims to accomplish liberation from the cycle of existence, while an individual of great capacity works to benefit all sentient beings by attaining enlightenment.

His Holiness noted that the two preliminary verses involve paying respects to Avalokiteshvara, embodiment of all Buddhas’ compassion, and declaring a promise to compose the text.

“A stanza in Aryadeva’s ‘400 Verses’ also refers to the three kinds of capacity for making progress on the path:

“First overcome unwholesome deeds  
Next prevent [conceptions of] self;  
Later prevent wrong views of all kinds.  
Whoever knows of this is wise.

“Fulfilling these three ambitions requires study and practice as the line in the first verse recommends—‘Hear, think, and meditate unwaveringly night and day.’ We have a human life that affords an opportunity to distinguish right from wrong. To waste such an opportunity would be a great loss, whereas making use of it and cultivating virtue leaves positive imprints on the mind. At the time of death, only the wholesome practice we’ve done will be of any help.

“Seek and rely on a properly qualified spiritual master, someone compassionate who has insight into reality, who is eloquent and knowledgeable. Jé Tsongkhapa advised relying on someone who observes ethics, concentration and wisdom. Recall death and impermanence—who knows which will come first, tomorrow or the next life? Reflecting on the value of this human life and the ease of losing it spurs us on to practice.”

His Holiness mentioned that making incense offerings to deities is acceptable so long as we don’t regard the deity as an object of refuge. To do that would be to contradict refuge in the Three Jewels of Refuge—the Dharma, practice of which is the real refuge; the Buddha who is our teacher and the Sangha who are our companions. The Buddhas uproot ignorance and lead beings to liberation. They don’t wash away wrongdoing with water, nor do they remove suffering with their hands. They teach about reality. The Sangha comprises individuals who have direct experience of emptiness.

His Holiness told a story about Trehor Kyorpön Rinpoché, an accomplished scholar and adept, who stopped somewhere to rest after escaping from Lhasa. In that place was someone who went into trance. He declared that he was Shukden, so Trehor Kyorpön Rinpoché put a difficult question to the spirit which he failed to answer, so Rinpoché told him just to go away.

Nagarjuna and his followers used their intelligence; we can do that too.

Verse 8, which states, ‘Never do wrong’, completes the practices for achieving happiness in the next life. ‘Aspire to the never-changing supreme state of liberation’ in verse 9 refers to the practice of someone of medium capacity. The verses that follow deal with the path of those of great capacity, who ‘free limitless living beings and develop the altruistic intention’.

His Holiness remarked that since he had already explained the altruistic intention quite thoroughly he was not

going to do so again, but would read the verses. Verse 11 advises, ‘exchange your own happiness for the suffering of others’. Verse 18 counsels, ‘Without discouragement take on the misdeeds and the pain of all living beings’. Verse 22 refers to ultimate bodhichitta. From verse 25 the practice of the six perfections are outlined. Verse 31 points out that ‘You may look like a practitioner but not act as one if you don’t examine your own errors’, therefore, ‘examining your own errors, rid yourself of them’.

After completing his reading of the text, His Holiness encouraged his listeners to read it again themselves whenever they have time. He assured them it would be beneficial to do so.

“Today, we’ve completed this series of teachings. With regard to yesterday’s empowerment, first visualise Lokeshvara in front of you as he was depicted in the thangka. Then, imagining he dissolves into you, recite the six-syllable mantra for ten rounds of your ‘mala’. Not that this will be much help if your mind remains unruly. Instead of ridding yourself of afflictive emotions, you’ll just wear out the nails on your fingers. Try not to think only of yourself, but of all sentient beings.”

His Holiness gave transmission of the mantras of the Buddha, Avalokiteshvara, Manjushri and Arya Tara. He declared that he was happy to have been able to teach and that he was grateful to the interpreters who had rendered what he said into Hindi, English and Chinese so he could be readily understood.

“Whether the Dharma is effective or not depends on whether you manage to transform your mind. Having heard the teachings from me, it’s up to you to effect that transformation. Your neighbours should be able to see a difference in you, if you practise well. Pray that Avalokiteshvara will care for you in life after life. Until we meet again.”

A representative of the organizers made a financial statement.

## His Holiness the Dalai Lama speaks at the 52nd National Convention of the All India Association of Catholic Schools

After arriving in the port city of Mangaluru. His Holiness the Dalai Lama's first meeting was with a group of about 250 young Tibetans studying and training here. His Holiness recalled hearing about claims that Tibet had long been part of China made in an exhibition in Beijing in the '70s. These included Songtsen Gampo's marriage to a Chinese princess and Genghis Khan's giving Drogön Chögyal Phagpa control over Tibet. In the context of the Great Wall of China that attracts so many tourists today, according to which land on one side was China and on the other was not, these claims have no weight. His Holiness remarked that he has also been told there are no historical documents from the time of the Tang Dynasty that refer to Tibet as part of China.

"The Chinese princess who married King Songtsen Gampo," he observed, "brought an important image of the Buddha with her as a gift. When I visited Xi'an, a former capital of China, I was shown the empty niche where it used to sit. Relations between Tibet and China were good. Nevertheless, Songtsen Gampo chose not to emulate the Chinese style of writing and instead had a Tibetan alphabet modelled on the Indian Devanagari script.



*His Holiness the Dalai Lama receiving a traditional welcome on his arrival at the Father Muller Convention Centre to attend the 52nd National Convention of the All India Association of Catholic Schools in Mangaluru, Karnataka, India on August 30, 2019. Photo/Tenzin Choejor/OHHDL*

"Later, although King Trisong Detsen's mother was Chinese, he again opted to invite first Shantarakshita and then Guru

Padmasambhava to Tibet from India. These three, the King, Abbot and Adept, established Buddhism in Tibet. There were many Chinese monks in Tibet, whose focus was on meditation rather than study, but it seems that the image of the Buddha inspired the kings to look to India as the origin of Buddhist teaching.

"Shantarakshita was very learned and the approach he introduced of study, reflection and meditation we still uphold today. We learn on the basis of reason not just faith. Rather than merely accepting what we're told, we investigate.

"The Buddha's first round of teachings, which dealt with the Four Noble Truths were given openly in Varanasi. The second round, given in Rajgir, included the 'Heart Sutra' that you probably all know—and is founded on reasoning. I once asked a group of Thai scholars who uphold the Pali Tradition whether they explained the Four Noble Truths on the basis of scriptural authority or reason and they told me that they cited the authority of the scriptures. I reflected how fortunate we are to have the works of Dignaga and Dharmakirti that elucidate the use of logic and reason."

Despite having highlighted this difference in their approach to understanding between the Pali and Sanskrit traditions, His Holiness went on to emphasise that they both have the Vinaya, monastic discipline in common. He told the story of two Burmese monks coming to see him at a gathering of the World Parliament of Religions in Melbourne, Australia. They expressed surprise to find that Tibetan monks observe the Vinaya precepts just as they do.

His Holiness explained to the Tibetan students that some years ago he launched a project to reclassify the contents of the Kangyur and Tengyur under headings of science, philosophy and religion, and to compile books accordingly. Scholars have completed the volumes concerning



*His Holiness the Dalai Lama answering a question from a member of the audience during his talk at the 52nd National Convention of the All India Association of Catholic Schools in Mangaluru, Karnataka, India on August 30, 2019. Photo/Tenzin Choejor/OHHDL*

Buddhist science, which mostly deals with the study of the mind. They have been translated into Chinese, Russian, Hindi, English, Japanese, Mongolian and so forth. He mentioned that he has been informed that people working in universities in China can access these materials even though they are not available to the general public.

Referring to the way our habitual self-centredness makes us suspicious of others, His Holiness noted that we can counter this by cultivating bodhichitta, the altruistic awakening mind. Another problem we have is seeing things as having a solid independent existence. We can counter this by investigating Nagarjuna's instruction that things do not exist the way they appear.

"If you have a sense of bodhichitta, you'll be happy," he told the young Tibetans. "Remember that Tibet is the land of Avalokiteshvara; he is the patron deity of the Land of Snows. China has tried to eliminate Tibetan tradition and failed. The Chinese depend on the power of the gun, but we depend on the power of truth. In China things are changing and the Party is afraid of losing control. Our strength lies not in seeking independence, but in keeping our cultural traditions alive."

The students gathered around His Holiness to have their photographs taken with him. Shortly afterwards

he met with local Indian political representatives, to whom he extolled the qualities of ancient Indian knowledge, asserting that the world urgently needs 'ahimsa' and 'karuna'—non-violence and compassion.

A short drive across Mangaluru brought His Holiness to the Father Muller Convention Centre where Dr. Bro. Thomas Thanickal and Fr. Jimmy James welcomed him to the 52nd National Convention of the All India Association of Catholic Schools (AINACS). In the lobby Christian nuns offered him 'aarti' and he teased them in return by scattering rose petals over them. A brass band played a welcoming fanfare. Inside the auditorium he lit a lamp to inaugurate the meeting and took his seat on the stage. The brass band played 'When the Saints Go Marching in' and were followed by a choir of nuns and a group of students who sang songs of welcome.

Sister Molly Cherian, Principal of the Sacred Heart School, Sidhpur in Dharamsala, introduced His Holiness to the gathering. She quoted him as saying, "True joy is in serving others". She noted his commitment to promoting human values and encouraging inter-religious harmony. She ended with a request to the two Catholic priests to honour him with the gift of a shawl and a bouquet of flowers.

Invited to address the 1000 strong audience that included 150 students from the Himalayan Region as well as Catholic educationists, His Holiness greeted them as respected spiritual brothers and sisters and younger brothers and sisters.

"I'm very happy to be with you today," he continued. "When I meet older people I wonder which of us will go first, but when I meet younger people, I feel younger myself. In fact, I belong to the 20th century generation, while many of you belong to the 21st century. What's past is past, we can't change it, but we can learn from it. What is clear is that the future of humanity is in our hands. Look at the world today and the problems we face. There is the growing

gap between rich and poor, and even in wealthier countries people are mentally unsettled.

"Scientists observe that basic human nature is compassionate, which is understandable since we are social creatures. Individuals' survival and simple happiness depends on the community. If we watch young children, they don't care about differences of faith or nationality, they respond to each other in an open human way. After our birth, we survive due to our mother's affection, which gives us a sense of security that lasts throughout our lives.

"The future of people here in Mangaluru depends on the rest of India. India's future depends on the rest of Asia. The reality is that all seven billion human beings alive today are one community. If we appreciated that there'd be no room for war and killing each other. However, these days there's too much stress on 'us' and 'them'; that's a source of conflict. Because of this, many of the problems we face are our own creation. We neglect the basic human qualities



*His Holiness the Dalai Lama enjoys a moment of laughter at the session of the 52nd National Convention of the All India Association of Catholic Schools in Mangaluru, Karnataka, India on August 30, 2019. Photo/Tenzin Choejor/OHHDL*

of kindness and compassion. Education focused on material values gives rise to this.

"It's only after they start going to school that children learn to discriminate about faith, caste and nationality, which again leads to a sense of 'us' and 'them'. Education shouldn't only be about cultivating our brains; we need warm-heartedness too.

"All our major religions convey a message of love and compassion.

They adopt different philosophical approaches and different ways of life, but they all encourage love, tolerance and contentment.

"As a human being I am committed to trying to share with others that we are social creatures, because of which, whether we are religious believers or not, we need a sense of concern for others' well-being. I'm also committed to promoting harmony among religions. You Christian brothers and sisters believe in God the creator—that's wonderful. If you see all human beings as children of God, how can you do them harm? Those of us who belong to non-theistic traditions, like Jains, Buddhists and some Samkhyas, believe instead in the power of our own actions. If you do good, happiness results.

"Whatever our personal belief, India is an example that harmony among religions is possible. All the major religions flourish here. They respect each other and learn from each other. Many years ago in Thailand, I met the Sangharaja, the leader of the monastic community. I mentioned to him that our Christian brothers and sisters were widely active in promoting health and education. I told him I felt we Buddhists should follow this example. He replied that it's more proper for Buddhist monks to remain in isolation."

His Holiness ended his talk with the observation that just as Mahatma Gandhi had set an example of the effectiveness of 'ahimsa', non-violence, in the 20th century, today, India could again serve humanity by demonstrating how to achieve peace of mind. He mentioned the ancient practices for cultivating tranquillity and insight, 'shamatha' and 'vipashyana', as proven paths for transforming the mind. He added that it is individuals with healthy minds who constitute a healthy society.

Among questions from the audience were two about vegetarianism. His Holiness felt that the prospect of vegetarian tigers was unlikely, but that human beings could be encouraged to understand that a vegetarian diet is good for our health. He observed that those

who kill in the name of religion cannot be counted as sincere followers of their faith. He reiterated that the primary purpose of religion is to develop loving-kindness in its adherents.

Reminded of his friendship with Bishop Desmond Tutu, he remarked that Tutu calls him a mischievous Dalai Lama, while he in turn refers to Tutu as a mischievous bishop. He recalled with a chuckle Tutu's once pointing out to him that as a Christian he was ready to go to heaven, but the Dalai Lama will go somewhere else.

Challenged to say whether Tibet will be free in his lifetime, His Holiness asserted that China's authoritarian regime will change. He noted that he is not seeking independence for Tibet, but admires the spirit of the European Union according to which old foes have promoted the common good over conflict.

A student whose father is Buddhist, but whose mother is Catholic wanted to know which is more important, compassion or truth. His Holiness told him that compassion is what's important and that you don't have to be Buddhist or Catholic to practise it. He stressed this again when he emphasised that practising compassion here and now—living a meaningful life—is what is most important.

After formal words of thanks and the presentation of a memento of the occasion to His Holiness, he came to the front of the stage to wave goodbye. Many in the audience waved back. Before returning to his hotel, His Holiness shared lunch with members of the AINACS organization.



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## Tibetans fume at Chinese move to interfere in Dalai Lama reincarnation process

By Rohin Kumar, CNBCTV18.com

As the fourteenth Dalai Lama, the spiritual leader of Tibet, turned 84 last month, China has started pushing its agenda by claiming rights in the selection process of the next Dalai Lama.

The recent controversy involving Tibet and China is related to the reincarnation of the Dalai Lama. According to the Buddhist tradition in Tibet, scholar-adepts are recognised, which are considered to be of immense help to both Dharma and sentient beings and in particular to the monastic community. Perhaps, the reincarnation of the Dalai Lama is being explored in light of the tradition.

The Central Tibet Administration, the Tibetan government-in-exile, expects India should follow the US and tell China not to interfere in the reincarnation process. "India should urge China not to interfere in this Tibetan religious and cultural matter. Like the US Congress, it should also make it clear that China-appointed Dalai Lama will not be accepted by the International Community," Tsewang Gyalpo Arya, Secretary, Department of Information and International Relations of Central Tibet Administration, said.

In April 2019, US Senator Cory Gardner said at a hearing of the Senate Foreign Relations Asia Subcommittee that the Congress would not recognise a Dalai Lama chosen by the Chinese government.

In an email response to this correspondent, TG Arya, said, "It [Chinese attempt to reincarnate the 15th Dalai Lama] is a gross interference in Tibetan Buddhist spiritual affairs."

He also blamed Chinese communist party leadership for dismantling Tibetan monasteries and repression of religion on behalf of China continues in Tibet. "They [Chinese] don't believe in religion and reincarnation, so their

move to interfere in reincarnation matter is to destroy the foundation of Tibetan spiritualism to serve their political agenda. Tibetans and the International [community] will not tolerate this."

When asked if it is an attempt by China to dismantle Tibet's strive for autonomy, Arya responded, "Yes, it is. They want to dismantle every aspect of Tibetan political, religious and cultural identity and Sinicise the region."

The Dalai Lama and CTA have also hinted at the possibility of the spiritual leader's incarnation being found in India, the country where he has spent around 60 years in exile. In the meantime, both these Tibetan authorities have strictly warned that "any other successor named by China would not be respected."

The 14th Dalai Lama clearly rejects the role of China in the reincarnation process. But the People's Republic of China presses its claim over the issue. At a media briefing in March 2019, Chinese foreign ministry spokesperson Geng Shuang said the 14th Dalai Lama himself was chosen by ancient religious rituals, therefore, "...reincarnations including that of the Dalai Lama, should observe the country's laws and regulations," reported Hindu Business Line.

### Tibet, an international issue

Tibet's history and its relations with China have been variedly interpreted. While China claims Tibet to be a part of it since the Yuan Dynasty, pieces of evidence suggest that China's propagation is a 20th-century construction. At times, Tibet has also become a bone of contention between India and China. China maintains that Tibet is an internal issue of China and not a bilateral one. Whereas, the fact of the matter is, Tibet is an issue which plays a crucial role in China's relation with countries such as India, Bhutan, and Nepal.



*His Holiness the Dalai Lama. File Image*

Things turned ugly when Tibetans sensed a trap by the Chinese government to capture the 14th Dalai Lama, Tenzin Gyatso. He was asked by a Chinese general to come to Chinese military headquarters without his security men if he wished to watch a performance by a Chinese dance troupe, wrote Dalai Lama in his official biography. Tibetans surrounded their spiritual leader to escape his speculated abduction and on March 17, 1959, Tibet's spiritual leader, then 23, had to flee to India to save his life. Back home, thousands of protesters were brutally killed by Chinese forces. Since then the 14th Dalai Lama has been in exile.

### Tradition of reincarnation

The 14th Dalai Lama in his biography mentions that "Reincarnation is a phenomenon which should take place either through the voluntary choice of the concerned person or at least on the strength of his or her karma, merit and prayers. Therefore, the person who reincarnates has sole legitimate authority over where and how he or she takes rebirth and how that reincarnation is to be recognised." But, the 14th Dalai Lama throws the issue of reincarnation back to followers of Tibetan Buddhism, he writes, "When I am about ninety, I will consult the high Lamas of the Tibetan Buddhist traditions, the Tibetan public, and other concerned people

who follow Tibetan Buddhism, and re-evaluate whether the institution of the Dalai Lama should continue or not. On that basis, we will take a decision. If it is decided that the reincarnation of the Dalai Lama should continue and there is a need for the Fifteenth Dalai Lama to be recognised, responsibility for doing so will primarily rest on the concerned officers of the Dalai Lama's Gaden Phodrang Trust."

On the procedures of who and how should the reincarnation process follow, the spiritual leader in his biography writes, "I shall leave clear written instructions about this [reincarnation]. Bear in mind that, apart from the reincarnation recognised through such legitimate methods, no recognition or acceptance should be given to a candidate chosen for political ends by anyone, including those in the People's Republic of China."

The spiritual leader, earlier this year, in an interview to Reuters, anticipated China's interference in foisting his successor. "In future, in case you see two Dalai Lamas, one from here [India], a free country, [and] one chosen by Chinese, then nobody will trust, nobody will respect [the one chosen by China]. So that's an additional problem for the Chinese! It's possible, it can happen," the 14th Dalai Lama was quoted as saying by Reuters.

### Reiteration of claims

On August 7, President of the Tibetan government-in-exile Lobsang Sangay outrightly rejected the Chinese attempts to induct successor of the 14th Dalai Lama. Sangay took China head-on saying, "Look at the track record of the Chinese government, which has always vilified the present Dalai Lama." He further asked, "Who will accept Chinese claims? How many Tibetans would follow a Chinese Dalai Lama?"

Sangay invoked the case of 11th Panchen Lama Gedhun Choekyi Nyima, saying, "If China plans to have two Dalai Lamas then he will be treated by Tibetans in the same way they treated Panchen Lama."

Panchen Lama is considered to be a second-highest spiritual authority in Tibetan Buddhism after the Dalai Lama. On April 25, 1995, Gedhun C Nyima turned six and he was allegedly abducted by the Chinese government. Six months later to Gedhun's abduction, China announced that it had found the 'real' reincarnation of Panchen Lama. A Tibetan boy Gyaltzen Norbu was declared as the 11th Panchen Lama. Norbu is a member of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC), a top advisory body to China's government. However, most of the Tibetans do not consider him to be the Panchen Lama and refer to him as 'Panchen Zuma' or 'fake Panchen'.



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## How China Is Bullying and Blocking the UN Human Rights Mechanisms

By Marco Respinti, Bitter Winter.

A detailed UNPO report documents how Beijing (and other illiberal regimes) is preventing – legally and illegally – the voice of the persecuted from being heard internationally.

What if the UN Commission on Human Rights becomes the worst enemy of the UN Commission on Human Rights? A significant report, *Compromised Space: Bullying and blocking at the UN Human Rights Mechanisms*, released by the Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization (UNPO), in collaboration with the University of Oxford and the Tibet Justice Centre (an American legal association based in Oakland, California, founded in 1989, that advocates for human rights and self-determination for the Tibetan people), supported by the UK's Economic and Social Research Council, documents how illiberal regimes are manipulating the whole United Nations human rights system to undermine all efforts to hold them accountable for crimes against humanity and the violation of human dignity.

In the report, launched during the Ministerial to Advance Religious Freedom, three countries are the source of major concern: Iran, Russia, and, of course, China. The data it contains are the result of a three-year study and are based on interviews and testimonies from 77 human rights defenders of different ethnic groups.

Basically, tyrannical countries try to block minorities from getting to the Commission. For example, they prevent civil society groups from participating in the UN meetings by making sure that they are denied the consultative status to the United Nations Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) – the highest rank given to non-governmental organizations by the UN – through trickery or acts bordering on it. Or they block civil society representatives' access to UN headquarters through mobilizing people from government-sponsored organizations who harass and intimidate activists and their families, whether at home or abroad. This is reminiscent of a technique that the CCP consistently uses,



even if with no results at all or sometimes even to its disadvantage, as in South Korea through local anti-“cult” activist and fellow traveler Ms. O Myung-ok.

As Mr Ralph J. Bunche III, UNPO General Secretary, explained to Bitter Winter, “Iran, Russia, and China use a double approach to this. They both use existing UN procedures and they positively manipulate the legal system. It is a combination of both legality and illegality.” Specifically, China, adds Mr Bunche, “has imprisoned activists from Southern Mongolian, Uyghur, and Tibetan communities who have sought to travel to the UN. And so, no Tibetan from Tibet who is acting independently of the Chinese government has ever managed to leave Chinese-occupied Tibet to testify at the UN in Geneva or New York, and then return safely.”

Another clamorous example is that of Mr Dolkun Isa, now president of the Munich (Germany)-based World Uyghur Congress, who also serves as the Vice President of the UNPO. “He has regularly been denied ECOSOC status at the United Nations by Chinese pressure demands,” says Mr Bunche. “Even more: he and his supporters have been followed and harassed within the UN building itself, and Mr Isa was targeted as a ‘terrorist’ for years thanks to Beijing influence even if there has never been evidence of his involvement with any terrorist group.”

UNPO is an international non-governmental membership organization.

“It was founded in 1991 in The Netherlands,” recounts his General Secretary, “for the needs of and with exiles from communist regimes to give voice to people not represented at international level.” It has an office in Brussels, Belgium, strategically where the European Parliament is located, to which an American office and another one in Geneva, Switzerland, the city where the second-largest UN Office is based, will be added shortly. “It represents 46 nations and peoples,” counts Mr Bluche, “for a total of 250 million persons.” Most of the situations that these people face are dramatic, many are tragic; that of the Uyghurs in China is astounding and amounting to cultural genocide.

Why are Uyghurs so bitterly repressed there? “It is the result of two attitudes,” Mr. Bluche interprets. “First of all, the Chinese regime wants to get rid of diversity as such. Uyghurs are not Han, and so they must simply disappear. Second, they, unfortunately, lay at the very centre of the Belt and Road Initiative attempt. They are a physical obstacle, and they should be broken and removed.” Anyone who wishes to help alleviate their suffering “should demand China to stop and eliminate the concentration camps that now detain millions of people in the region. This also means that China cannot be treated as strategically until this situation perdures: working with China will not soften the situation.” And the Uyghurs’ situation in Xinjiang, concludes the UNPO leader, is “indicative of what is happening in the world today.”

## China has no historical, religious and political rights to interfere in Dalai Lama's reincarnation issues

By Tsewang Gyalpo Arya \*

Oblivious to the international uproar over the growing repression in Tibet and Uighur region, and Hong Kong unrest, China invited journalists from India this month and condescendingly warned India on the Dalai Lama and Arunachal Pradesh issues. They explicitly conveyed in no less intimidating terms that China will select the 15th Dalai Lama within the country and any interference by India on the issue will not be tolerated!

The inspiration behind the move seems to be from the two dictums in the Sun Tzu's Art of War tactics. The first, "The further you penetrate into a (enemy's) country, the greater will be the solidarity of your troops, thus the defenders will not prevail against you." The second, "Reduce the hostile chiefs by inflicting damage on them; make trouble for them, and keep them constantly engaged; hold specious allurements, and make them rush to any given point."

Wang Neng Shang, a Vice Minister in TAR and Director General of people's government information office; Zha Luo, the director of China Tibetology Research Center, the premier Chinese government Tibet policy think tank; and Xiao Jie, assistant fellow at the Institute of Commentary Studies were the three main Chinese officials who interacted and briefed the visiting journalists.

The Chinese officials pointed out two things as important historical criteria for the selection of the Dalai Lama's reincarnation. First, the selection should be within China based on the 200-year old historical process. Second, it should have the approval of the Chinese Central government. Wang and Xiao further went on to explain that the incumbent 14th Dalai Lama is Dalai Lama because of the Chinese Central government's recognition.

With due respect to the three learned Chinese officials, we beg to differ, because the fact is otherwise. This is a



*His Holiness the 14th Dalai Lama at his enthronement ceremony, February 22, 1940, in Lhasa, Tibet. Photo courtesy of Tibet Museum*

blatant deliberate attempt by the Chinese leadership to distort historical and religious fact.

When they said "200-year old historical process", it should be around 1819 AD during the reign of the Qing emperor Jiaqing [r.1796-1820]. However, the history and Institution of the Dalai Lama dates back to more than 500-year, when the first Dalai Lama was born in 1391. It existed much before the emergence of the Qing dynasty [1644-1911] in China. Therefore, the purported indirect assertion that the Qing emperor's decree governed the reincarnation of the Dalai Lamas is unfounded and baseless. Now, let us have a glimpse of the history of the Dalai Lamas' reincarnation.

The first Dalai Lama, Gedun Drupa was born in 1391 and his reincarnation, the second Dalai Lama, Gedun Gyatso was born in 1475. The third Dalai Lama, Sonam Gyatso was born in 1543, it was during his time that the Mongolian King Altan Khan conferred the title of Dalai Lama on him as a mark of respect. The fourth Dalai Lama, Yonten Gyatso was born in 1589 in Mongolia. The fifth reincarnation, Lobsang Gyatso [1617-1682], became the spiritual and temporal

head of Tibet with the help of Mongolian King Gushri Khan. Then came the sixth in 1682, the seventh in 1708, the eighth Dalai Lama in 1758 and the ninth Dalai Lama in 1805. All the reincarnation selections had been done as per Tibetan religious tradition.

In 1792, during the reign of Manchu emperor Qianlong [r.1736-1795], Tibet requested Manchu's help to fight the invading Gurkha force. As this was the fourth time the Tibetans asked for the Manchu's help, the Manchu officials suggested 29-point regulation for the effective administration of Tibet. This was based on the Priest-patron relationship; it has no ruler-subject context. One of the points was to use the Golden Urn method to select reincarnation of Dalai lamas and Panchen Lamas. But except for the selection of the 11th Dalai Lama, this method was never used. For the 10th Dalai Lama, Tsultrim Gyatso, the selection was already done, but to humor the Manchus, it was announced that the Golden Urn was used. For the 12th Dalai Lama also, Golden Urn was used as a formality only, as the selection was already confirmed as per Tibetan religious tradition.

So, the Tibetan age-old religious tradition was followed to select the Dalai Lamas. The 13th and the 14th Dalai Lamas' reincarnations were also selected as per Tibetan religious tradition. Representatives from the neighboring nations including China came during the enthronement ceremony of the 14th Dalai Lama in 1940. No approval or recognition of any kind from any central government was sought. Wang and Xiao's assertion, "It was with the central government's recognition that the Dalai Lama became the 14th Dalai Lama." is misleading and deplorable.

Therefore, the three Chinese government officials' statement emphasizing the method of Golden Urn and approval of Chinese central government as mandatory criteria for the recognition of reincarnation of the Dalai Lama is not true and baseless. It is an aggressive and ignominious attempt on the part of the Chinese leadership to distort the ancient religious tradition of Tibet to serve its current political agenda.

To make the historical record straight, it was the Manchu Qing dynasty with whom the Tibetans had been dealing with, China was only a part of the dynasty at that time. If China's claim on Tibet is based on the Manchu's relationship with the Tibetans, then Mongols have a better reason to make claim over Tibet.

Sun Yatsen, the father of Chinese republic has stated that the Chinese nation had fallen twice under foreign rule: the first time under the Mongol Yuan dynasty [1271-1368] and the second time under the Manchu Qing dynasty [1644-1911]. So, where is China? What central government are Wang and Xiao talking about? The People's Republic of China of Communist China came only in October 1949.

His Holiness the Dalai Lama has on numerous occasions explained his stance clearly on the reincarnation. Here is what he has said in September 2011, it is on the official website:

"As I mentioned earlier, reincarnation is a phenomenon which should take place either through the voluntary choice

of the concerned person or at least on the strength of his or her karma, merit and prayers. Therefore, the person who reincarnates has sole legitimate authority over where and how he or she takes rebirth and how that reincarnation is to be recognized. It is a reality that no one else can force the person concerned, or manipulate him or her. It is particularly inappropriate for Chinese communists, who explicitly reject even the idea of past and future lives, let alone the concept of reincarnate Tulkus, to meddle in the system of reincarnation and especially the reincarnations of the Dalai Lamas and Panchen Lamas. Such brazen meddling contradicts their own political ideology and reveals their double standards. Should this situation continue in the future, it will be impossible for Tibetans and those who follow the Tibetan Buddhist tradition to acknowledge or accept it.

When I am about ninety I will consult the high Lamas of the Tibetan Buddhist traditions, the Tibetan public, and other concerned people who follow Tibetan Buddhism, and re-evaluate whether the institution of the Dalai Lama should continue or not. On that basis we will take a decision. If it is decided that the reincarnation of the Dalai Lama should continue and there is a need for the Fifteenth Dalai Lama to be recognized, responsibility for doing so will primarily rest on the concerned officers of the Dalai Lama's Gaden Phodrang Trust. They should consult the various heads of the Tibetan Buddhist traditions and the reliable oath-bound Dharma Protectors who are linked inseparably to the lineage of the Dalai Lamas. They should seek advice and direction from these concerned beings and carry out the procedures of search and recognition in accordance with past tradition. I shall leave clear written instructions about this. Bear in mind that, apart from the reincarnation recognized through such legitimate methods, no recognition or acceptance should be given to a candidate chosen for political ends by anyone, including those in the People's Republic of China."

While the international community respects His Holiness the Dalai Lama

as a great spiritual master and accorded Nobel Peace Prize for his contribution in promoting peace and non-violence, the Chinese leadership has condemned him as a devil, a terrorist, a separatist, and a wolf in a sheep's skin. The important question here is: then why are they so desperate to have the devil, terrorist, separatist and the wolf to be reborn?

The concept of reincarnation is based on the Buddhist and Hindu belief of existence of past and future lives. Chinese communist leadership should first learn and accept the existence of past and future lives before meddling in the reincarnation of Tibetan lamas. China's State Religious Affairs Bureau Order No. 5 should be withdrawn. Buddhists and devotees around the world including those in China will not tolerate this communist blasphemy!

Therefore, the leaders of the free world and the advocates of freedom, justice and democracy around the globe should uphold the words of His Holiness the Dalai Lama as final in his reincarnation issue, and collectively urge the Chinese leadership to refrain from any act of sacrilege against the highest order of Tibetan Buddhism. The fact is that communist China has no historical, religious and political rights to select the Dalai Lamas.

*\*Tsewang Gyalpo Arya is the Information Secretary of Department of Information and International Relations (DIIR), Central Tibetan Administration. Views expressed above are the author's own.*



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## QUOTES

*“Scientists observe that basic human nature is compassionate, which is understandable since we are social creatures. Individuals’ survival and simple happiness depends on the community. If we watch young children, they don’t care about differences of faith or nationality, they respond to each other in an open human way. After our birth, we survive due to our mother’s affection, which gives us a sense of security that lasts throughout our lives.” His Holiness the Dalai Lama during 52nd National Convention of the All India Association of Catholic Schools.*

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*“Modern education evolved in the West with the emergence of the industrial revolution and a greater need for people to understand maths and science. Its goals tend to be materialistic, with little concern for peace of mind. Students are not taught how to tackle their anger, fear or anxiety. In the absence of any other solution, they turn to drugs and alcohol for relief. We teach physical hygiene from an early age. There seems to be a need for a corresponding sense of emotional hygiene. You can make a simple beginning by asking children if they prefer to see smiles or frowns.” His Holiness the Dalai Lama at a meeting with Educators Discussing ‘Human Education in the 3rd Millennium.*

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*“Today, 60 years into exile, Tibetan cultural identity has been revived and preserved, a full-fledged democratic Central Tibetan Administration has been established, and the spirit of Tibetans inside and outside Tibet remain strong and united. Tibet cause found its voice and support throughout the globe and the Middle Way Approach in resolving the Tibet issue through dialogue continues to be widely supported by many countries” President Dr Lob-sang Sangay at the 84th Birthday of His Holiness the 14th Dalai Lama.*

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*We are indebted to His Holiness the Dalai Lama for all that he has done for the Tibetan people including his steadfast commitment to resolving the issue of Tibet through dialogue based on a mutually beneficial middle way approach. The dictatorial Chinese leadership has not only turned a blind eye to it but also continues to vilify His Holiness the Dalai Lama.” Speaker Pema Jugney of Tibetan Parliament-in-Exile at the 84th Birthday of His Holiness the 14th Dalai Lama*