



# TIBETAN BULLETIN

THE OFFICIAL JOURNAL OF THE CENTRAL TIBETAN ADMINISTRATION

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JULY - AUGUST 2021

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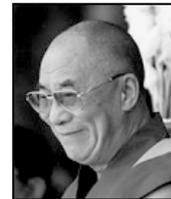
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In the history of Sino-Tibetan relations, two treaties stand out for their significance. The first was signed in 821-22 CE between Tibetan emperor Ralpachan and the Tang emperor Muzong. This treaty demarcated the borders between the two countries and demonstrated Tibet's military strength and independence. The other was signed by Tibetan delegates under duress with Chinese Communist representatives on 23 May 1951. This treaty signified Tibet's loss of independence, and for the first time in its history, Tibet was forced to accept China's sovereignty over it. These two treaties illustrate two distinctly different eras and outcomes for Tibet: one of independence and the other of invasion. China now claims that Tibet has been a part of China since antiquity and that the seventeen point agreement signified Tibet's return to the motherland. However, the fact remains that Tibet had effectively been an independent state for the entirety of its long and glorious history.

Following the birth of the PRC in 1949, it has been China's nation-building strategy to incorporate territories that it claimed it inherited from the previous Qing and Nationalist governments. Since Tibet wasn't under either the Qing or the Nationalist regime, Tibet proved a dilemma for China's nation-builders as Tibetans have its own conception of history and identity. For that reason, although China won a decisive victory over the Tibetan army in the battle of Chamdo, it adopted a functionalist approach to facilitate Tibet's integration. Notably, this approach in the form of the seventeen point agreement was the only treaty that China signed with an ethnic group that it claimed sovereignty over. Given the authoritarian streak of the Communist party, this agreement has struck a few conciliatory notes as evidenced from the points stipulated in the agreement such as regional autonomy, greater respect to Tibet's unique traditions and forms of governance, etc. Such conciliations were unheard of and unprecedented at the time in any other part of China. However, for China, the most significant

objective of the agreement was to make the Tibetans accept for the first time in its long history that Tibet had effectively become a part of China in an official document. It was hoped that with this conciliatory approach, China could gradually build trust among the Tibetan elites, nurture patriotism among the masses for China and eventually facilitate complete integration of Tibet into the Chinese nation. As a believer in peace and non-violence, the Tibetan government of the time led by His Holiness the 14th Dalai Lama also made earnest efforts to co-exist harmoniously with the Chinese in abidance with the agreement. However, it was not to be so.

In March 1959, China violently attacked Tibet to quell a peaceful uprising against the Chinese military's increasing brutality. With this attack, the seventeen point agreement was effectively killed as China violated the points stipulated in the agreement. The agreement died again when Tibetans led by His Holiness the Dalai Lama repudiated the agreement as invalid from exile in India. From that perspective, China's glorification and revival of a dead agreement as liberation and formal integration of Tibet into China is not only misleading but also misrepresents the trajectory of modern Tibetan history.

This year's 70th anniversary celebration of the agreement was also accompanied by China's usual propaganda rhetoric such as rapid economic development and social harmony. The reality however is far from the truth. China's so-called development in Tibet in the last 70 years is not even a fraction of the development that other parts of China has seen. There exists a huge economic divide between China's western frontiers and its eastern coastal regions. Moreover, the beneficiaries of the state-led development programs have disproportionately been Chinese migrants rather than Tibetans. Instead of social harmony, the forced integration of Tibet have only resulted in stiff and enduring resistance from the people against Chinese rule. Decades have gone by and Tibet still remains one of the hotbeds of active resistance

against Chinese rule. The 155 Tibetan self-immolation protests and the deep seated resentment against the Chinese government is a testament to the fact that China's policies in Tibet have been a screaming disaster. The little development and economic aid that China has brought in Tibet, it has been offset by the brutal policies that China has practiced in Tibet to annihilate Tibetan religion, culture, identity, and freedom. Whatever China gave with one hand, it took it away with the other hand which only led to growing disenchantment among the Tibetan public with the Chinese leadership.

Despite Tibet's right to complete statehood given its historical independence and the invalidity of the seventeen point agreement, the Tibetan people now pursues a Middle Way Approach envisioned by His Holiness the Dalai Lama and proposed by the Central Tibetan Administration. It seeks genuine autonomy for all three provinces of Tibet under a single Tibetan administration within the Chinese state. However, China has labelled Tibetans seeking genuine autonomy as 'splittists' and arrested them irrespective of the fact that Middle Way Approach doesn't challenge China's territorial integrity.

These prove that China's claims of Tibet's harmonious integration into the Chinese motherland is nothing but a sham political rhetoric. It only wants to control Tibet in pursuit of its narrow geopolitical and security interests without addressing the genuine aspirations of the Tibetan people. China should stop blowing hot air into its so-called liberation of Tibet but rather make fervent efforts to resume the stalled Sino-Tibetan dialogue with Tibetan representatives. The only way forward in the resolution of the Sino-Tibetan conflict is through resumption of the stalled dialogue process.

Jamphel Shonu  
Editor

## Sikyong Urges China to Invite His Holiness the Dalai Lama to Tibet and China on Pilgrimage

Sikyong Penpa Tsering of the Central Tibetan Administration expressed the Tibetan administration's greetings and paid rich tributes to His Holiness the Dalai Lama for his visionary leadership of Tibet at the official 86th birthday ceremony of His Holiness the Dalai Lama at Gangchen Kyishong. The ceremony was attended by the Chief Justice Commissioner Sonam Norbu Dagpo along with two justice commissioners, chairman of the autonomous bodies, and senior officials of the Tibetan administration under Covid-19 safety regulations.



*Sikyong Penpa Tsering offering a ceremonial Tibetan scarf to a portrait of His Holiness the Dalai Lama at the official 86th birthday celebration of His Holiness the Dalai Lama at Gangchen Kyishong, 6 July 2021. Photo/Tenzin Phende/DIIR*

Delivering the statement of the Kashag, Sikyong reaffirmed his firm commitment to the Tibetan charter and pledged to strengthen Tibetan unity by resolving the minor differences within the Tibetan community by engaging in constructive discussion.

“When it comes to our struggle, we must recognize our common opponent and work towards resolving our differences by engaging in constructive discussion. Our consolidated efforts should be directed towards fulfilling our common goals which is the mandatory and historic responsibility of the exile Tibetan people,” he said.

Sikyong Penpa Tsering also called on China to recognize His Holiness the Dalai Lama as the key to resolving the Sino-Tibetan conflict and earnestly invite His Holiness the Dalai Lama to Tibet and China on pilgrimage without any preconditions.

“His Holiness the Dalai Lama is one of the foremost guides of our time and is one of the few individuals who can reorient Sino-Tibetan history toward a positive direction. The Chinese government should therefore recognize that His Holiness the Dalai Lama is the key to resolving the Sino-Tibetan conflict.”

“It should utilize the opportunity offered by the mutually beneficial Middle Way Approach to foster a harmonious environment where Tibetans and Chinese can co-exist amicably. Therefore, we appeal to the Chinese government to earnestly invite His Holiness the Dalai Lama to Tibet and China on pilgrimage without any precondition,” he stated.

The ceremony also included video greetings from the leaders of the various Tibetan spiritual traditions for His Holiness the Dalai Lama on his 86th birthday.

As part of the ceremony, the Tibetan Public Service Commission felicitated six senior Tibetan civil servants who have served for more than 25 years in the Tibetan administration. It also presented awards to two distinctive staff for excellence in service.

The ceremony also saw video presentations of special birthday songs composed and performed by Tibetan Institute of Performing Arts (TIPA).



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

## Report: Four Tibetan Monks Given “Extraordinarily Harsh Sentences” Following China’s Crackdown on Tengdro Monastery



*Tengdro monks unjustly sentenced*

The Human Rights Watch (HRW) has released a report revealing the Chinese authorities’ ever-increasing ruthless crackdowns and groundless persecutions aimed at intimidating Tibetans from communicating with Tibetans in exile and for showing any signs of loyalty to His Holiness the Dalai Lama.

According to the report, Chinese authorities last year had sentenced four Tibetan monks from Tengdro Monastery in Dingri (Tingri) county to long prison terms after a violent raid on their monastery in the “Tibet Autonomous Region” (TAR). The raid came after the discovery of a cell phone in September 2019, mistakenly left at a café in Lhasa by a monk named Choegyel Wangpo, that contained messages deemed “illegal” by the Lhasa authorities after they searched the device.

The messages showed that Choegyel Wangpo, a 46-year-old monk and leader of Tengdro Monastery, had sent monetary relief for Tibetans living in Nepal, who were originally from Dingri, as a compensation for the loss suffered in the aftermath of the 2015 earthquake. Lhasa police immediately detained Choegyel Wangpo, reportedly beat him, and interrogated him.

The detention prompted security forces from Lhasa to travel to Wangpo’s home village of Dranak, and raided the village

and the adjoining monastery of Tengdro. The raid resulted in the arrest of 20 Tibetans in the area on the suspicion of having contacted Tibetans living abroad, of having contributed to the earthquake relief sent to the Tibetans in Nepal, or having possessed photographs related to the Dalai Lama. Later on, the Chinese officials immediately commenced daily political education sessions with monks from the monastery and village residents.

Three days after the police raid, a monk named Lobsang Zoepa, a monk at Tengdro monastery and a resident of Dranak, committed suicide in an apparent protest against the authorities' treatment of his family and community. Shortly after the incident, internet connections to the village were cut off.

According to the HRW report, other monks held without trials were released after several months after pledging not to carry out any political acts, but they were not allowed to rejoin the monastery.

Four monks including Choegyial Wangpo were later tried by the Shigatse Intermediate People's Court in secret on unknown charges in September 2020 and were given extraordinarily harsh sentences. Choegyial Wangpo was sentenced to 20 years; Lobsang Jinpa, 43, to 19 years; Norbu Dondrub, 64, who sustained critical injuries from police beatings, was sentenced to 17 years; and Ngawang Yeshe, 36, was sentenced to 5 years in prison.

"The information available about the Tengdro case strongly suggests that the defendants had not taken part in any significant criminal activity, even as defined within Chinese law," HRW said.

"While Tibetans in Tibet often avoid making politically sensitive remarks, they routinely communicate with people in other countries by phone or text message, and no Chinese laws currently forbid this. Sending funds abroad, also present in this case, is likely to be monitored but is not illegal in China unless it includes a specific offense such as fraud, contact with an illegal organization, encouraging separatism,

or espionage, none of which appear to have been involved in this case", added the rights group.

## Tibetan Writer Continues to Remain in Chinese Prison for Two Years Without Trial

Konmay, a 45-year-old monk of Trotsik Monastery in Ngaba County, northeastern Tibet (incorporated into China's Sichuan Province) was arrested by Chinese authorities on 20 July, according to Dharamshala-based Kirti monks Lobsang Yeshe and Kanyag Tsering on 3 August.



*Konmay (left) from Trotsik Monastery and Lobsang Tenzin from Kirti Monastery.*

The reason for Konmay's arrest and other details are currently unknown. Konmay was the disciplinarian monk (དགེ་བསྐྱོན་) of Trotsik Monastery and hails from Trotsik village in Ngaba. He joined the monastery at a young age.

**Kirti Monk Lobsang Tenzin Released after more than ten years**

In other news, Kirti monk Lobsang Tenzin was released from prison a few days ago after serving more than 10 years, but news of his state of health has not emerged. Lobsang Tenzin was falsely accused of involvement in the death of Lobsang Phuntsok, who committed self-immolation in protest against Chinese rule on 16 March 2011. He was arrested on 23 March and on 28 August, he was sentenced to 13 years in prison by the Ngaba Prefecture Intermediate Peoples Court. He has been released before completing his sentence and returned home.

Another monk by the same name who was convicted in the same case and sentenced to ten years was released in 2018.

## Tibetan Monastery in Gansu Forced to Close Down; Monks and Nuns Ordered to Disrobe

Recent video footage showed local authorities in Gansu Province forcibly removing its monks and nuns, making them renounce their monastic life to shut down a Tibetan monastery called Kharmar (Ch: Hongcheng) Monastery.

According to a Chinese media outlet Mingde, the forced eviction and shutting down of Kharmar Monastery began when, on 31 July 2021, the Yongjing County government sent large numbers of police to carry out the eviction of the monks and nuns from the monastery. It took place within several days after Xi Jinping's visit to Tibet on 21 and 22 July.

Videos of the incidents were being shared on various social media platforms. In one such clip, nuns are seen praying while staging a sit-in protest in front of the monastery under a huge banner. The banner hung by the nuns reads, "Forceful eviction of the monastic community is not tolerable by national law".

Another clip shows scores of nuns being forcefully dragged by plain-clothes detectives outside the temple while other nuns were seen exiting the monastery's assembly hall. In another clip, nuns were seen crying while an elderly lama walked past consoling the grieving nuns. In yet another shocking clip, a monk was seen standing on the edge of the monastery's roof threatening to jump off it if the officials did not "go away".

The actual reasons for the monastery's unexpected shutdown is not officially known as attempts made by Radio Free Asia to seek information from the officials of Yongjing County were met with denials and refusals to comment on the case. According to Mingde, the

monastery has raised and donated over 300,000 yuans for the Covid-19 relief fund. This caught the local government's attention who then demanded that the



Local Chinese Authorities forcibly evicting monks and nuns from Kharmar monastery. Image: Screengrab

monastery share its wealth equally with the government. When the monastic community refused to oblige, the local authorities arrived in plainclothes to seal off the monastery.

According to the International Campaign for Tibet, Kharmar, which literally means "red fort" in Tibetan, is located in the Linxia Hui Autonomous Prefecture, which directly borders the Kanlho Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture. The area was known as Gachu in Tibetan when it used to be part of the Tibetan Empire in history.

During the Mongol Empire, under the edict of Kublai Khan in the 13th century, a pagoda was established on that site to honor Drogon Chogyal Phagpa, the fifth leader of the Sakya school of Tibetan Buddhism. Kharmar Monastery was later built at the site of the pagoda. Both the pagoda and the monastery were destroyed during Mao Zedong's Cultural Revolution. It was later reconstructed in 2011. The monastery follows the Sakya school, one of the four schools of Tibetan Buddhism.



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## Imprisoned High-profile Tibetan Businessman in Serious Health

One of Tibet's wealthiest businessmen, serving life imprisonment in Lhasa's Drapchi Prison falsely accused for donation to the exile Tibetan community, is reportedly in serious health condition.

Dorje Tashi, the owner of the famous Yak Hotel in Lhasa, was detained after the 2008 protests on suspicion of providing covert support to Tibetan protestors and for making donations to the Tibetan community in exile. In 2010, he was tried in secret by the Lhasa People's Intermediate Court as his family members were denied permission to attend the trial. He was allegedly charged for "loan fraud". The Chinese media never reported on Dorjee Tashi's sentence, who was named one of the "10 outstanding youth of Tibet" by the Chinese government.



Dorje Tashi

According to exile reports, prolonged torture suffered in prison for the past years has left him with a severe heart condition, bruised body, and haemorrhoids. The Chinese officials rejected an appeal made by his family members and lawyer to meet him.

The first appeal made to the Lhasa court by his lawyer in 2013 was left unresponded for 6 years, only to be rejected in November 2019. The following month, a second appeal was filed, which saw the meeting of Dorje Tashi's lawyer Wang Fei with his client in Lhasa prison on 6 January 2020, reported Tibetan Centre for Human Rights and Democracy last year.

Dorjee Tashi is one of the most successful Tibetan businessmen and a member of the ruling Communist Party since 2003. He met the former Chinese president, Hu Jintao, and the former premier, Wen Jiabao, in 2005. With more than 10 companies to his name, he is known as one of the richest Tibetans. TCHRD reported that after his sentencing, Chinese authorities seized Dorje Tashi's properties, including 530 million yuan, and took over the famous Yak Hotel and another hotel he owned in Shigatse.

## Representative Ngodup Dongchung Meets US CdA Ambassador Atul Keshap

Representative Ngodup Dongchung from the Bureau of His Holiness the Dalai Lama based in New Delhi met US Charge d'Affaires Ambassador Atul Keshap on 10 August.

In a tweet shared by the US Charge d'Affaires on his official Twitter handle, he wrote: Enjoyed meeting with Ngodup Dongchung, Representative of His Holiness the Dalai Lama. The U.S. supports the religious freedom and the preservation of Tibetans' unique cultural and linguistic identities, and respects the @DalaiLama's vision for the equal rights of all people.

*Enjoyed meeting with Ngodup Dongchung, Representative of His Holiness the Dalai Lama. The U.S. supports the religious freedom and the preservation of Tibetans' unique cultural and linguistic identities, and respects the @DalaiLama's vision for the equal rights of all people. pic.twitter.com/zQoiMGAbLy*

— CdA Amb Atul Keshap (@USAmbIndia) August 10, 2021

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

## Kashag Forms New Permanent Strategy Committee



In a circular issued in Tibetan by the Kashag Secretariat of the Central Tibetan Administration on 13 August, the Task Force on Sino-Tibetan Negotiations established in 1998 has now been dissolved and in its place, a new Permanent Strategy Committee has been constituted.

The circular states:

Ever since the Task Force on Sino-Tibetan Negotiations was established in 1998, the successive Kashags have added new members with the committee reaching a membership of 16. Most of the members were foreign residents or residing in diverse places holding various public and private responsibilities. Those residing in Dharamshala were also holding a variety of portfolios and responsibilities. For these reasons, a reorganisation of the committee was deemed necessary. Therefore, effective 13 August 2021, the current Task Force on Sino-Tibetan Negotiations is officially withdrawn and a new Permanent Strategy Committee composed of relevant senior CTA officials is formed. This committee will apprise the Sikyong on Tibet and Tibet-related issues and will also advise the Sikyong on advocacy and strategy planning.

## One Tibetan Believed Dead after Chinese Police Pushed Him Off Into River, Another Shot

In what appears as a fresh re-intensification of restrictions on online communications in Tibet, especially with those in exile, Chinese officials are making random inspections of cellphones and vehicles owned by Tibetans. Some of these inspections have led to the arrest of Tibetans on the spot.

One such police check led to the arrest of three Tibetans in Kyegudo (Ch: Jiegu), Yushu Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture on 4 August for sharing pictures on social media, according to reports last week. Another incident on 15 August reported the death of a Tibetan man who was pushed off a steep roadside into Drichu (Yangtze) river by Chinese police after he asked them to produce their police identity card. His friend was shot when he rushed out of the car to confront the police.

The two men identified as Sherab Gyatso and Rigdak were travelling from Kyegudo to Domda when they were stopped by police conducting random inspections on the road, reported the Tibet Times. They were assaulted in a confrontation that followed after they claimed that their vehicle had no prohibited items that needed checking.



According to the report, the incident took place on 15 August, at around 3 pm local time, at a security check on a highway, 60 kms from Drubgyue Township. Several plain-clothes policemen without any IDs and badges approached Sherab

Gyatso's vehicle. His companion, Rigdak, got out of the car, stepped in front of the Chinese police and asked "Why are you inspecting our vehicle? Which department do you belong to?" This angered the police who told Rigdak to "shut your mouth" and shoved him off into the nearby Drichu river. And when Sherab Gyatso angrily confronted the Chinese officials, one of them shot and injured him.

Bystanders and witnesses intervened and rushed Sherab to a hospital in time, and he is reportedly safe from serious injuries. However, Rigdak is feared dead when no trace of his body could be found after hours of searching in the river.

Rigdak, around 50, hails from Tridu (Ch: Chengduo) County and lives with his wife, Sangmo and has two daughters. Sherab Gyatso, 26, is the son of Karma and Tselha and belongs to a family of five. He is from Domda town.

The incident happened in the backdrop of the recent crackdown in Kyegudo which started with the forced celebration of the so-called 70th anniversary of the founding of Yushu TAP on 4 August.

Three arrested for "sharing pictures" on WeChat

On 4 August, Rinchen Dorjee and Kelsang Nyima, from Domda village in Yulshul (Ch: Yushu), and Lhundup from Dza Sershul (ch: Shiqu) County in Karze (Ch: Ganzi) TAP were arrested on suspicion of sharing contents deemed "illegal" in a WeChat group.

According to RFA, the three men are part of a WeChat group which has around 200 members from both inside and outside Tibet. They have shared in the group pictures of the "celebration" of the so-called 70th anniversary of the founding of Yulshul Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, with local attendees subjected to tight scrutiny at all times. However, similar pictures of CCP events were seen on official accounts for propaganda purposes.

"During one of the random police checks, the police handcuffed the three

men and took them away in a police vehicle without explanation. There is a possibility that they were arrested in relation to their WeChat posts”, reported the source.

Other sources reported an unconventional increase in the number of Chinese officials around the time of the 70th anniversary celebration. In Kyegudo town’s market square, a new police check post has reportedly been constructed and the number of security cameras increased in the region.

## Karnataka Minister Approves 300 Lac for Road Development Project in Mundgod Settlement

Shri Arbail Hebbar Shivram, Minister of Labour Department in the Government of Karnataka State, has approved 300 Lac Rupees for road development in Doeguling Tibetan settlement, Mundgod.



Tibetan settlement officer Lhakpa Tsering with Shri Arbail Hebbar Shivram, Minister of Karnataka State.

On behalf of the Central Tibetan Administration and the Tibetan people, Lhakpa Tsering, the Tibetan settlement officer of Mundgod, thanked the minister and the state government of Karnataka state for its kind support. He offered a ceremonial Tibetan scarf and shawl to express the gratitude of the Tibetan people.

Karnataka state is home to five of the largest Tibetan agricultural settlements and several large Tibetan monasteries. It is also home to the largest Tibetan community in exile.

## TPI Holds Conference on Tibet and Kinnaur Relations on Raja Virbhadra Singh’s 49th Day of Demise



The prayer service to mark former Chief Minister Raja Virbhadra Singh’s 49th day of demise at Sikyong hall in Gangchen Kyishong, 26 August 2021. Photo/Tenzin Phende/CTA

To mark the 49th day of Raja Virbhadra Singh’s demise, the Tibet Policy Institute (TPI) of the Central Tibetan Administration held a prayer service and a daylong conference on Tibet and the erstwhile Bushahr (Kinnaur) kingdom’s historic relations.

Raja Virbhadra Singh is a former Chief Minister of Himachal Pradesh and the hereditary king of the erstwhile princely state of Bushahr (today’s Kinnaur Region) which is contiguous to Tibet before it was occupied by China. Raja Virbhadra Singh passed away on 8 July.

In his introductory remarks, Dawa Tsering, Director of Tibet Policy Institute, hailed Raja Virbhadra Singh as a lifelong friend and supporter of the Tibetan movement. He also spoke about the rich historical bond shared by Tibet especially the Guge Kingdom of Ngari and the princely state of Bushahr in present day India’s Kinnaur region.

“For the past sixty years, late Raja Virbhadra Singh has been instrumental in sustaining and strengthening the historic bond shared by the two peoples of Tibet and Kinnaur. He was also close to His Holiness the Dalai Lama and has been steadfast in providing support to the Tibetan refugees. This affinity is based on a treaty signed between the two peoples in the past. We remain grateful to him and therefore we are organising this prayer service in his memory,” Director Dawa Tsering said.

“Along with this prayer service, we are also organising a daylong session on the rich historical bond shared by Tibet and Kinnaur in the form of religion, language, people, medicine, etc. As advised by the Sikyong, we have invited various scholars, professors, and Lamas from Kinnaur region to address today’s session in the hope that the future generation can appreciate our shared history,” he added.

Speaking briefly about the Kinnaur region popularly known as Khunu in Tibetan, Director Dawa Tsering said: “The Kinnaur region lies downstream of the Satluj river originating in Tibet’s Ngari region. In the 17th century, Tibetan military general Gaden Tsewang and Raja Kehri Singh of Kinnaur signed a treaty of friendship between the two countries. The treaty declared that the friendship between the two countries will endure until the crow turns white, Mansarovar lake turns dry or the snow on Mount Kailash melts,” he explained.

“Since that time, the bond between the two regions have grown even stronger. The bond is also reflected in Tibetan Buddhism as Kinnaur is home to a number of reputed Tibetan Buddhist scholars and Rinpoches. Khunu Lama Tenzin Gyaltzen, one of His Holiness the Dalai Lama’s spiritual teachers, is also from Kinnaur. Tibet Mirror, the first Tibetan language newspaper was brought out by a person of Kinnauri origin. The Khunu Almanac is also widely used in Tibet and was perhaps published earlier than the one brought out by Mentseekhang,” he remarked.

Tempa Gyaltzen Zamlha, Deputy Director of Tibet Policy Institute, moderated the introductory session and also delivered the vote of thanks.

The daylong session include topic on various subject.

## Statement of the Kashag on the 86th Birth Anniversary of His Holiness the Dalai Lama

His Holiness the Great 14th Dalai Lama, was born at Taktser, a small hamlet in Amdo Province's Kumbum region on 6 July 1935 to Choekyong Tsering and Dickyi Tsering. Raised under the protection of Palden Lhamo, Lhamo Dhondub was recognized as the undisputed reincarnation of the Great 13th Dalai Lama and brought to Lhasa at the age of five to be enthroned in the Potala Palace. While undergoing his monastic studies, the Chinese government began illegally invading Tibet's Kham and Amdo regions. In 1950, the Tibetan troops stationed at Chamdo suffered defeat under the marauding Chinese army. As a result of the invasion, the Tibetan political administration, economy, and the general Tibetan society underwent a severe crisis, like an oil-exhausted lamp flickering in its last dying flame. At such a critical period in Tibet's history, His Holiness the Dalai Lama, at the tender age of sixteen, was compelled by circumstances to shoulder the spiritual and temporal leadership of Tibet.

In 1951, under threats of further Chinese military invasion, the seventeen-point agreement was thrust upon the Tibetan people. However, His Holiness the Dalai Lama's efforts to initiate reforms in Tibet was curtailed by the Chinese government.

Barely a few years after taking the political responsibility of Tibet, His Holiness the Dalai Lama embarked on an official visit to China and India in 1954 and 1956 respectively and met the leaders of the two Asian giants. Based on his experiences and observations of the two different forms of political systems in Democratic India and Communist China, His Holiness the Dalai Lama made earnest efforts to co-exist harmoniously with the Chinese in abidance with the seventeen-point agreement for eight long years. However, in March 1959, sensing an inevitable threat to the life of His Holiness from the Chinese troops stationed in Lhasa,



*Sikyong Penpa Tsering delivering the official statement of the Kashag on the 86th birthday of His Holiness the Dalai Lama. Photo/Tenzin Phende/DIIR*

His Holiness the Dalai Lama, followed by about 80,000 Tibetans, escaped into exile in India, Nepal and Bhutan.

After coming into exile, most Tibetans initially worked as road construction laborers in India. Despite the enormous hardships of food, clothing and shelter in the early days of exile, under the vision and guidance of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, gradually established Tibetan settlements, schools and monasteries on the land leased by the Indian government. These institutions now serve as the custodian of Tibetan national identity. In 1960, His Holiness the Dalai Lama brought about major democratic reform in the Gaden Phodrang government by instituting the first Tibetan parliament composed of representatives from all three provinces and religious schools of Tibet. This laid the foundation of the nascent Tibetan democracy in exile, and it was done with the foresight to empower the Tibetan public to perform its own political and administrative functions in the long run.

In 1959, 1961 and 1965, consequent to emphatic international lobbying on Tibet, the United Nations General Assembly passed three resolutions on Tibet. In 1963, His Holiness made

a proclamation of the Constitution for a Future Tibet. In 1967, in the heat of China's devastating Cultural Revolution, His Holiness embarked on his first international visit from exile to Thailand and Japan. In 1974, following a visit to Europe in 1973, His Holiness discussed with the then exiled Tibetan leadership to explore ways to resolve the Sino-Tibetan conflict through dialogue based on the Middle Way Approach. In 1979, while His Holiness was on a visit to the US, China was going through a brief respite from the political turmoil of the past due to a series of liberal reforms. Coinciding with these liberal reforms, Deng Xiaoping expressed a desire to negotiate and the first Sino-Tibetan contact was established after a gap of twenty years. This renewed Sino-Tibetan contact led to several exploratory talks and fact-finding missions to Tibet. It also allowed the reunion of Tibetans inside and outside Tibet which enhanced the restoration of Tibetan monasteries and reinvigoration of the monastic community which had been undermined by the Cultural Revolution. It also led to a brief period of the revival of Tibetan Buddhism, Tibetan language education, and Tibetan arts, culture and tradition. All these are a clear outcome of the passionate efforts initiated by the 10th

Panchen Lama Choekyi Gyaltzen as well as other Tibetan spiritual leaders, scholars, and the general Tibetan public.

As a result of the Five Point Peace Plan and the Strasbourg Proposal made by His Holiness the Dalai Lama at the US Congress in 1987 and the European Parliament in 1988 respectively, and his firm commitment to resolve the Tibet issue through the mutually beneficial Middle Way Approach, His Holiness garnered immense international respect and recognition. For these efforts, His Holiness the Dalai Lama was also awarded the Nobel Peace Prize which heralded an upsurge in international support for Tibet. The year 1991 was also marked as the International Year of Tibet, and in 1997 a special coordinator for Tibetan issues was appointed in the US state department. In 2002, the Tibetan Policy Act was adopted by the US government. Two years earlier, a resolution on the Sino-Tibetan dialogue was passed in the European Parliament on the birthday of His Holiness the Dalai Lama. Various other democratic nations along with their government and public have expressed strong support and solidarity with the Tibet issue. The singular reason that the Tibet issue has been able to stay alive throughout the world is because of His Holiness the Dalai Lama's deep commitment and promotion of universal moral values.

His Holiness the Dalai Lama is an international advocate of world peace, and a stalwart of morality, and inter-faith harmony. His Holiness is also deeply committed to the Tibet issue particularly the preservation of Tibetan culture and religion and conservation of Tibet's environment. As part of his four main commitments in life including the revival of ancient Indian knowledge such as epistemology, philosophy, meditation and secular ethics, His Holiness has travelled across 60 countries on 300 different occasions and have met over 490 world leaders including presidents, prime ministers, chief ministers, judges, leaders of political parties, and spiritual leaders of different religious traditions. His Holiness has also delivered speeches at over 60 renowned universities and research institutes and has received

over 140 awards including 50 honorary degrees in the US alone. His Holiness the Dalai Lama is also the recipient of over 150 global awards including the Nobel Peace Prize, UN Environment Award, US Congressional Gold Medal, John Templeton Award, etc.

As part of his equitable care to all Tibetan Buddhist monasteries and his efforts to revive the Nalanda Tradition, His Holiness made annual visits to Bodh Gaya and other Tibetan Buddhist monasteries to impart sacred teachings. His Holiness has also conferred 34 Kalachakra teachings and has recognized at least 1337 reincarnations from all the schools of Tibetan Buddhism between 1960 and 2020. His Holiness has also administered at least 4,203 novice vows and 16,126 full ordination vows to Tibetan Buddhist monks. In order to make Tibetan Buddhism compatible with modern science, His Holiness the Dalai Lama has engaged in discussion with numerous scientists and philosophers for the benefit of the entire sentient beings. His Holiness has also initiated interfaith dialogues and has advised the need to inculcate science education in Tibetan monastic schools which is being practiced by Tibetan monasteries now. His Holiness is also highly revered by the people in the Himalayan regions who share a common Tibetan Buddhist culture, as well as by Buddhists in Southeast Asia and Mongolia.

The deep-rooted harmony and unity between spiritual leaders of the various schools of Tibetan Buddhism, and the strong belief in Tibetan national identity among the Tibetan people is also unprecedented since the disintegration of the Tibetan empire. This is a testament to His Holiness the Dalai Lama's visionary leadership of Tibet.

In the exile Tibetan community, there is almost no one who has not received teachings from His Holiness the Dalai Lama. His Holiness the Dalai Lama is the root guru for almost every Tibetan and as disciples, we need to understand and implement the essence of his teachings and abide by the guidance and blessings offered by His Holiness the Dalai Lama.

The level of education and economic condition of the exile Tibetan community has also improved considerably since the early days of exile. Tibetans are now relatively self-sufficient. This is also a fruit of His Holiness the Dalai Lama's 60 years of hard work and fund-raising efforts that was done either directly or through the Central Tibetan Administration with countries like India and the US as well as with international aid groups. The Tibetan people must not only realize but also remember the benevolence of His Holiness the Dalai Lama. However, a few misguided individuals, instead of expressing gratitude, resorts to the baseless denigration of His Holiness the Dalai Lama. As expressed many times earlier, we shall resolutely face these challenges firmly and effectively. Fervent prayers will also be offered to the two-state oracles and the virtuous Tibetan protector deities to peacefully combat these bad deeds and aspirations.

His Holiness the Dalai Lama is one of the foremost guides of our time and is one of the few individuals who can reorient Sino-Tibetan history toward a positive direction. The Chinese government should therefore recognize that His Holiness the Dalai Lama is the key to resolving the Sino-Tibetan conflict. It should utilize the opportunity offered by the mutually beneficial Middle Way Approach to foster a harmonious environment where Tibetans and Chinese can co-exist amicably. Therefore, we appeal to the Chinese government to earnestly invite His Holiness the Dalai Lama to Tibet and China on pilgrimage without any preconditions.

For over 60 years, His Holiness the Dalai Lama has made tireless efforts through the four phases of democratic evolution to establish the Administration, represented by members of the three provinces and the different Tibetan religious traditions. Since this administration is for the benefit of all the provinces and religious traditions, for an effective and efficient administration, we need a system of governance that is based on rule of law rather than the individual. Rule of law is the first prerequisite to foster a just and equitable society. Deviating

from this commitment by delaying or compromising will not only go against the basic tenets of democracy but also against meaningful democracy. When we face disagreements on political positions and ideas, we should find solutions from the provisions of the Tibetan Charter. The Tibetan charter is the lifeline of Tibetan democracy without which there cannot be equality and justice, neither can such a democracy sustain itself in the long run. Therefore, I urge everyone to pay serious attention to these issues.

When it comes to our struggle, we must recognize our common opponent and work towards resolving our differences by engaging in constructive discussion. Our consolidated efforts should be directed towards fulfilling our common goals which is the mandatory and historic responsibility of the exile Tibetan people. The exile Tibetan community is an outcome of political circumstances and not economic conditions. We are a people with the responsibility to fight for our cause and not merely to make a living. Consolidating our united effort

is the fundamental basis to strengthen the Tibetan political movement. Under whatever circumstances or conditions, we cannot remain entangled in past mistakes and should move forward and not backwards, based on legal provisions.

The Kashag, on its part, will perform its functions of fulfilling its objectives with deep-rooted conviction and faith in the Tibetan charter and the principle of check and balance amongst the three pillars of democracy.

His Holiness the Dalai Lama has dedicated his entire life to the welfare and upliftment of the sentient beings in general and the welfare of the Tibetans in particular. Therefore, the Tibetan people also should study and practise the profound teachings of His Holiness the Dalai Lama and refrain from engaging in any activities that will cause concern to His Holiness the Dalai Lama. We should also abstain from partaking in unnecessary squabbles on social media and narrow partisan strife.

The current global political climate offers a golden opportunity to highlight the Tibet issue. We should therefore duly proceed with His Holiness the Dalai Lama's blessings in our hearts to strengthen Tibetan unity. That will be our greatest gift to His Holiness the Dalai Lama on this birthday and I urge everyone to do the same.

In conclusion, may His Holiness live for aeons. As per the aspirations of the living and will of the dying, may His Holiness the Dalai Lama be able to visit Tibet as soon as possible. May the Sino-Tibet conflict be resolved as early as possible, which will pave the way for the Tibetans inside and outside Tibet to reunite at the earliest.

Kashag

6 July 2021

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## His Holiness the Dalai Lama Condoles the Demise of Shri Virbhadra Singh



“Historically there have long been close ties between the people of the erstwhile princely state of Bushahr, to which ‘Raja Sahib’ belonged, and their neighbours in western Tibet.

“Here in Himachal Pradesh, Shri Virbhadra Singh, our longest serving Chief Minister, will be sorely missed.”

His Holiness concluded his letter, “With my prayers.”

On receiving the news this morning that former Chief Minister of Himachal Pradesh, Shri Virbhadra Singh, had passed away, His Holiness the Dalai Lama wrote to his widow, Smt Pratibha Singh, to offer his condolences.

“Dedicating himself to the service of others,” His Holiness wrote, “Virbhadra Singh led a long and meaningful life. I admired the way he listened to people’s needs with deep affection and compassion. I am personally grateful for the warm friendship he showed me over the many years we knew each other.



## The Great 14th Dalai Lama of Tibet, a constant hope for humanity

*“So long as space remains,  
So long as sentient beings suffer and remain,  
I will remain in order to serve.”*

By-Novanita Sharma

One of the most beloved and revered Spiritual leaders of the modern time, the 14th Dalai Lama of Tibet, Tenzin Gyatso has a unique story. He was born as the 8th child in a peasant family on 6th July 1935, in a small hamlet located in Takste, Amdo in the Northeastern Tibet. At the age of two, the child who was named as Lhamo Dhondup by his family was recognized as the reincarnation of the 13th Dalai Lama, Thubten Gyatso. He was soon to follow a life extraordinaire as the 14th Dalai Lama of Tibet as per the religious and cultural tradition of Tibet. He left Amdo, his birth place to join the rigorous monastic training in Lhasa, the capital city of Tibet at the tender age of 6. He was enthroned as the 14th Dalai Lama of Tibet in 1940. The Dalai Lamas are believed to be manifestation of Avalokiteshvara or Chenrezig, the Bodhisattva of compassion and patron saint of Tibet. According to the Mahayani Buddhist philosophy, Bodhisattvas are enlightened beings who have postponed their own nirvana and chosen to take rebirth in order to serve humanity. The present 14th Dalai Lama is an embodiment of this lineage. He grew up amidst a period of intense political upheaval not only in Tibet but the world at large. The world witnessed the second world war from 1939-1945, Tibet remained a neutral ground and refused permission for the Americans or the Chinese nationalists to transport military supplies through Tibetan territory. Later in the year 1949 the world saw the rise of the People's Republic of China, the surge communism in Asia; the self-styled Chinese communist supremo, Mao Zedong immediately announced his intention to 'liberate Tibet from foreign imperialists'. The 14th Dalai Lama, then 15 years old was compelled to take charge as the political leader of Tibet in 1950. The same year, the Chinese crossed the Yangtse River into the Central Tibet without any provocation and claimed that Tibet has always been Chinese territory.

The People's Republic of China didn't hesitate in showing their overt intentions of aggressive expansionist ideology. The Chinese hegemony continued in the polity and social life of Tibet. The following years were marked by well-conceived coercive political ploys by the invading communist Chinese government and violent repression of Tibetans in all across Tibet. The growing angst amongst the Tibetan people led to revolts; the revolts grew in the Eastern Tibet when the Chinese begin destroying monasteries and imposition of collectivization. The violent repression of the Tibetans by the communist Chinese government and the palpable threat to their culture and religion brought thousands of Tibetans to the streets of Lhasa on 10th March 1959 in the biggest uprising for the freedom of Tibet. The 23 years old 14th Dalai Lama was forced to escape to India on 17th march 1959 amidst brutal suppression of the Tibetan national uprising by Chinese troops. His Holiness and thousands of Tibetan refugees found asylum in India after a grueling ordeal of physical and emotional trauma. His Holiness reached NEFA (now Arunachal Pradesh) after crossing the treacherous Himalayan range on foot for 15 days. Since then he has been living in exile in India for the past 62years, continuing his struggle to give justice to 6 million Tibetans who lost their freedom and human rights under the forceful occupation of Tibet by the racist, draconian regime of communist China from 1959 to the present date. The 14th Dalai Lama was followed by 80,000 Tibetan refugees into a life of exile in India in 1959. Many more thousands followed his route in the coming decades. At present India his home to more than 1 lakh Tibetan refugees. This exodus continues till date.

Nestled amidst the snow clad ranges of Himalayas, Dharamsala, a remote hill station in the Kangra district of Himachal Pradesh, India became the

permanent seat of His Holiness the 14th Dalai Lama and the Tibetan government in exile for the past 62 years. This small hill station in India undeniably became the nerve center for the non-violent Tibetan movement for freedom and human rights. His Holiness upheld the highest practice of tolerance and non-violence in his 6 decades long peaceful struggle to give justice to the 6 million Tibetans who bestowed upon him their trust and leadership in one of the most difficult time in the history of Tibet. His message of universal responsibility, oneness of humankind, religious harmony and dialogue connected our diverse worlds from East to West in a rather unusual human kinship. Dalai Lama calls himself a simple Buddhist monk, who carries the golden words and philosophy of Lord Buddha to the 7 billion human brothers and sisters. True to his words, the 14th Dalai Lama has remained a stringent adherent and advocate of non-violence and peace all through these years of consistent struggle and trials. There can't be any denying to his merits in spreading the golden words of peace, compassion and kindness of Buddha Dharma across the globe. An embodiment of Buddha of compassion, the 14th Dalai Lama has enabled the world warm up to the true spirit of humanity through his exemplary service towards the benefit of mankind based on his firm commitment to promote peace and compassion amongst all. Through his words he awakened the slumbering conscience of humanity towards the significance of altruism. According to him, the basic human nature is compassionate; we are all the same in fundamental level. We have the similar need of love and all of us want to overcome pain and suffering in our life. In our mental state, we all stand united. We all experience similar feelings and emotions, the human emotions; our minds work in the same way. This fundamental unity of human beings has been most convincingly conveyed to the entire

world through the words and actions of His Holiness. His exemplary practice of tolerance against his adversary and his unwavering commitment to solve the world problems through dialogue steers the future generations on the path to hope and peace. His present lifetime testifies the strength of his Dharma of peace and non-violence to those who were in doubts; his determination to counter the ruthless oppression of Tibet by the communist Chinese regime through non-violence and compassion is the biggest victory of Tibetan culture and civilization. His Holiness received worldwide recognition for his outstanding humanitarian service; he was awarded with the Nobel Peace Prize in 1989. The 14th Dalai Lama is one of the most prominent flag bearers of peace in the modern human world. The Nobel Peace Prize Committee called the vision of His Holiness as the 'philosophy of peace', this embraces the whole drama of human world, it encompasses interfaith harmony, universal responsibility, peace and reconciliation, human rights, protection of environment, education and science. The Dalai Lama has played an unequivocal role in showing the world population the most dignified and amicable way of living through every aspect of his life. He renounced his political leadership as the political head of Tibet in 2011, making way for a democratically elected political leadership for the Tibetan people. He set his journey ahead as the spiritual leader of Tibet after setting a firm precedence of dialogue and non-violence to follow its course in finding a permanent solution to the Tibetan cause in future. His able leadership during the time of worst political, cultural and humanitarian crisis of Tibet saved the Tibetan culture, language and heritage in its best preserved form in India. The Tibetan diaspora, living as refugees in different countries across the world, command respect and honor from the host Nations because of their cultural integrity and resilience.

His Holiness never fails to reiterate about the significance of ancient Indian traditions of Ahimsa, Karuna and Maityree. He proudly calls himself as the disciple of ancient Indian

philosophy; he carried the essence of this ancient tradition all across the world. The roots of Tibetan Buddhism are deeply engraved in India, several renowned Indian Buddhist scholars and philosophers nourished the growth and establishment of Buddha Dharma in Tibet. In similar footings with his predecessors of the great Nalanda lineage of Buddhist philosophy, His Holiness very eloquently delivered, and to a great extent bolstered the core values and philosophy of Buddha Dharma as taught by Lord Buddha two thousand years ago in India. He himself is a practitioner of Tibetan Buddhism, Gelugpa Sect; but His Holiness never fails to draw inspiration from the human values taught by other religions of the world. He successfully drew world attention to the unifying ethical ground of the major world religions to the forefront. When it comes to cultivating love, compassion, patience, contentment or the observance of self-discipline and ethical principles, most spiritual traditions are more or less the same. The underlying fundamental differences bring to us the wide range of metaphysical views and philosophies which is very important for the diversity of human civilizations and cultures. This pluralistic human existence is but held in unison through the oneness of our minds and according to His Holiness all the major spiritual traditions possess the same potential to train our minds to act with love and compassion. Our paths may differ but the goal is the same. The path towards our own improvement lie in our choices, it is possible through the practice of compassionate thoughts and actions. The 14th Dalai Lama succeeded in translating about the mysterious phenomena called 'mind' to the western world and along with it he brought to them a plausible understanding of the feeling of 'compassion' and the relevance of its practice in the modern world. The ancient wisdom from the East once again pervaded through all sectarian, political and geographical boundaries through the golden words of His Holiness the 14th Dalai Lama. He is a world leader in true sense, a leader who encourages warm heartedness amongst the 7 billion human beings.

His Holiness considers it his number

one commitment to encourage people to be happy – he is concerned with educating people to realize the real cause of happiness. His genuine warmth and compassionate actions truly showed the world the true essence of happiness; it all lies in our mind. Inner peace and happiness resides in a trained compassionate mind, material comforts can't give us happiness. A disturbed mind could never be at peace, a disturbed mind with physical comforts could never be happy. On the other hand, if the mind is at peace, even physical pain is bearable. So, our happiness depends on the state of our mind. His Holiness advocates the cultivation of warm heartedness amongst all. He says "our work is to educate people that the ultimate source of the happy individual, happy family, happy community; and finally happy humanity – even happy world- ultimately depends on warm-heartedness". He encourages human values like forgiveness, compassion, contentment, tolerance and self-discipline amongst all. According to him all human beings are same in wanting to be happy and do not want suffering. Hence, the purpose of our life is to be happy, but we ought not to confuse it with material gains. His Holiness often insists in his public talks, his popular writing that humankind must engage in inner disarmament, we ought to replace our negative emotions with warm hearted compassion in order to lead a more healthy and happy life. According to His Holiness, the problems and violence of 21st century are not only man-made, but many a times are made by educated people. This reflects the lack of moral principles in our existing education system. The present education system is more focused on material progress, not much importance been given on inner values. This need to change, the 21st century education system must teach the future generations about the inner values, our academic curriculum must include this heart-education to create a happier and more resilient world in future. His vision of making the inner values an academic subject is beautifully captured in his words, "just as we take for granted the need to acquire proficiency in the basic academic subjects, I am hopeful that a time will come when we

can take it for granted that children will learn, as part of their school curriculum, the indispensability of inner values such as love, compassion, justice and forgiveness”.

This tradition of love, compassion, altruism and wisdom based on logic, which His Holiness the 14th Dalai Lama carried forward in his teachings and actions is priceless treasure for mankind. His Holiness gave hope to the entire world and inspired countless others through his lifelong sadhana of steadfast peaceful endeavor to find permanent solutions to age old conflicts and problems ailing the human world. The future of our planet, the fate of the millions of other life forms which co-habit this planet with us pins hope in this philosophy for a peaceful co-existence in future. His vision of oneness of the human world, a world based on human values, religious harmony and universal responsibility is answer to all our problems, his philosophy of compassion and warm heartedness is the elixir for a happier life in this world and beyond. The world media is throng with the dilemma over the future of the ‘Dalai Lama’ institution. His Holiness himself stated that the decision to continue or discontinue the institution of Dalai Lama solely lies with the people of Tibet and the followers of this institution in the Himalayan region and Mongolia. However, His Holiness the 14th Dalai Lama never practiced any disparity in spreading his radiant wisdom amongst his brothers and sisters from across the length and breadth of the globe. The essence of his wisdom enriched the entire world, this ancient institution of ‘Dalai Lama’ connects the 7 billion human beings to a tradition of resilience

and hope. The fate of 7 billion human beings and the entire planet won’t be the same in its absence. Let our future generations also find direction in their lives from the guiding light of the ‘Dalai Lama’ institution, let this planet and the entire universe continue to benefit from the rich knowledge and wisdom of this ancient tradition of Buddha Dharma. The outstanding repository of knowledge and wisdom represented by His Holiness the 14th Dalai Lama is an indispensable asset for entire mankind, it must continue in its full glory till this universe remains. The 14th Dalai Lama of Tibet very ably enhanced the spiritual and humanitarian role of the ‘Dalai Lama’ institution apart from its political significance. For the world, the institution of ‘Dalai Lama’ literally epitomizes its meaning, ‘ocean of wisdom’.

His Holiness is considered as the Buddha of compassion by his followers; he who has chosen to halt his own enlightenment and have pledged to take rebirths into the samsara till all sentient beings are free of suffering. Such is his commitment to the cause of spreading this message of compassion and kindness amongst all. The 14th Dalai Lama has indeed been successful in his resolute purpose of bringing people closer to lead meaningful lives of altruistic actions and warm hearted compassion. As he says, the world is getting better; the world leaders are talking about education and global economy instead of war and nuclear warfare. 21st century is dedicated to dialogue. More and more people are drawn towards voluntary work, creativity is more focused to benefit mankind, and more people are getting access to education and health facilities. There is no denying that a

lot is yet to be done, many more of us are yet to join this revolution but the change is definitely happening. This is the change driven by the spirituality of mind; this is essentially the change of our thoughts, feelings, emotions which finds its expression in altruistic actions. This trend was set thousands of years ago by Shakyamuni Buddha, its reflection evident in India and many other countries in the rich Buddhist cultures. His Holiness has done wonder to all of us by reviving this tradition yet again for the benefit of not only his followers but for the sake of entire mankind. As a mark of respect and deep gratitude to his exemplary service towards the benefit of mankind, the 14th Dalai Lama of Tibet, we owe our whole hearted participation in his mission to bring happiness to every living being. As per his words, let’s empower our minds towards Bodhichitta, the one who seeks enlightenment through the motivation of compassion to benefit others. In other words, let’s rise towards our happier realms through warm hearted actions to benefit others through compassion and kindness. Make your days meaningful by helping someone every day. Our compassionate actions will be the greatest celebration of his 86th birth anniversary, 6th July 2021. I bow to His Holiness the 14th Dalai Lama of Tibet on this special occasion to celebrate his 86th birthday all across the world. Let this celebration be meaningful, let this celebration be a commitment to his values and his teachings.

“Be kind whenever possible, it is always possible.”

His Holiness The 14th Dalai Lama



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## His Holiness the Dalai Lama Talks About Compassion in Healthcare

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*GV Prasad, Co-Chairman and Managing Director of Dr Reddy's Laboratories Ltd opening the program with His Holiness the Dalai Lama online from his residence in Dharamsala, HP, India on July 7, 2021. Photo by Ven Tenzin Jamphel*

His Holiness the Dalai Lama was invited to speak about Compassion in Healthcare by Dr Reddy's Foundation, a not-for-profit organization established by Dr K Anji Reddy. GV Prasad, Co-Chairman and Managing Director of Dr Reddy's Laboratories Ltd opened the occasion by giving a short introduction to His Holiness. He ended by congratulating His Holiness on celebrating his 86th birthday yesterday.

"Namasté, Tashi Delek, good morning," His Holiness greeted the audience. "I really appreciate your giving me this opportunity. I was born in Tibet, but I have spent the major part of my life in this pleasant and peaceful country. Here there is religious harmony and freedom of the press. I am able to express my thoughts freely and they can reach out to different parts of the world. I'm happy to be here.

"As far as my birthday, yesterday, is concerned, many old friends and well-wishers sent me their good wishes. Among them were the Indian Prime Minister, Ministers of the Union Cabinet and Chief Ministers. From abroad too I heard from friends including the

Speaker of the United States House of Representatives, Nancy Pelosi. Her support has extended beyond kind words. She has actually visited Tibet, spoken to Tibetan and Chinese leaders, as well as coming here to Dharamsala. I want to thank all of them for their generous thoughts.

"Signs in my dreams and other indications have suggested that I may live to be 110 or even 113 years old. I felt the friendly messages I received yesterday were sincere and whole-hearted, not just diplomatic gestures. They encourage me to live as long as I can.

"My daily practice, which includes several hours of meditation, derives from the Nalanda Tradition. In the 8th century, the Tibetan King invited a great scholar, Shantarakshita, to Tibet. He introduced the Nalanda Tradition that is the source of all my knowledge. I consider myself a student, perhaps a scholar, of that tradition, although a local DSP referred to me jokingly as the Nalanda Chancellor. Everything I learned in my training came from India and it is all based on reasoning.

"In recent decades I've met with several modern scientists and we've been able to enter easily into discussions because they and I take a reasoned approach. Modern scientists mostly concern themselves with the brain and physical health, with little regard for inner peace. However, many of them today appreciate what we have to say about tackling our disturbing emotions and achieving peace of mind.

"My main practices involve karuna (compassion) and ahimsa (non-violence). These are qualities we need more than ever today. Many of the problems we face are of our own creation. They come about because of a lack of compassion. That's why I'm dedicated to promoting both compassion and non-violence in a secular context grounded in reason.

"Compassion is the core message of all religions, which is why, despite philosophical differences, it's possible to respect them all.

"My latest commitment is to reviving ancient Indian thought on a secular basis. Modern education is useful in many ways, but for it to be more complete we must combine it with ancient Indian knowledge, karuna and ahimsa, and also with an understanding of the workings of the mind derived from 'shamatha' and 'vipashyana'—a calmly abiding mind and insight.

"In the last century, Mahatma Gandhi demonstrated non-violence through his own example. He inspired followers in Africa and America like Archbishop Tutu and Martin Luther King Jr. Today, in a world where bullying and killing still take place, we need compassion and non-violence. And I'm committed to finding ways to combine these ideals with modern education. When restrictions related to the covid pandemic allow, I'm looking forward to discussing with educationists how this can be done.

"As for the role of compassion in

healthcare, naturally, when our mind is disturbed it has a negative effect on our physical health. Our blood pressure rises and we find ourselves unable to sleep. I think it's because I have peace of mind that I'm able to sleep soundly for nine hours, no matter what's going on around me.

“Everyone wants to take care of their health, but we need to acknowledge the effect peace of mind can have on our physical well-being. Meditating on karuna and ahimsa can contribute constructively to this, which is why I'm interested in introducing these qualities and combining them with modern education.”

In answering questions from the virtual audience His Holiness advised that even under pressure of time, doctors should think of their work as something sacred, as akin to spiritual service. He mentioned that in his own experience a smiling doctor puts you at ease, whereas a stern-faced physician is a source of anxiety.



*His Holiness the Dalai Lama answering questions from the virtual audience during his talk on Compassion in Healthcare online from his residence in Dharamsala, HP, India on July 7, 2021. Photo by Ven Tenzin Jamphel*

Even when doctors and nurses know the patient in their care is unlikely to survive, it's important to be kind and compassionate towards them. Here in India we believe we live life after life and that at the time of death it's important to be at peace not angry or fearful. At the start of our lives we encounter compassion in our mother's affection, and as our lives come to an end we need compassion again.

As for controlling our negative emotions, attachment and anger are part

of our lives, but there are also antidotes to them. We need to reflect not only on the damage anger and fear can bring, but also on the benefits to be found in cultivating karuna and ahimsa and find a balance between them. One of the masters of ancient India, Shantideva, has written exhaustively about the drawbacks of anger and hatred and the advantages inherent in compassion and forgiveness.

A question was raised about the universal message to be drawn from among the diversity of faiths. His Holiness responded that India is unique in that all the world's major religions flourish here and live together in mutual respect. He mentioned that although there is sometimes discord between followers of the Sunni and Shia traditions elsewhere, he's not heard of any such conflict in India. His Holiness emphasized that whatever the faith, the common message is compassion for others. And it's on such a basis that religious harmony thrives.

His Holiness was asked how, at a time when medical treatment has become allied with business, it can continue to be practised with empathy and compassion. He answered that every human activity should be infused with affection. Today, he said, all seven billion human beings have to live together, so a sense of the oneness of humanity is more necessary than ever before. When people are motivated by compassion, honesty and truthfulness naturally come about. The work of doctors and nurses is to help others, so compassion is certainly relevant.

He clarified, however, that generosity must also be tempered with intelligence. If you offer money to someone who drinks too much or is addicted to drugs you help them do themselves and their families harm. This is an example of needing to be discerning and realistic, as well as open-handed.

In a world facing challenges of a global dimension, a narrow national approach is inappropriate. Human beings are social animals who have to live together.



*His Holiness the Dalai Lama taking questions from health care professionals audience during his talk on Compassion in Healthcare online from his residence in Dharamsala, HP, India on July 7, 2021. Photo by Ven Tenzin Jamphel*

We are dependent on each other. During this covid pandemic peoples and nations have a common responsibility to tackle the problems that have arisen. We have to consider the welfare of all human beings. India, where an array of people with different cultures and different languages live together as Indians sets an example of unity within diversity.

His Holiness recommended that in order to avoid mistakes in diagnosis or treatment of serious cases, doctors should discuss patients' needs as a team. He added that it is important to encourage patients to feel that a hospital and its staff are there to help and protect them. At the same time, it is important that doctors and nurses feel proud of the work they do for it is of real and practical service to others.

He went on to say that on those sad occasions when medical personnel lose their own lives in the care of others, their family and friends should feel proud of them. Observing that it is right and proper to admire such sacrifice, but also to pray for the welfare of those who have died, His Holiness remarked that he prays for those medical professionals who have given their lives in the course of their work.

G.V. Prasad brought the event to a close, telling His Holiness how happy members of the audience had been to listen to him and how proud they feel that he refers to himself as a 'son of India'. “Thank you and namasté,” he concluded. His Holiness responded, “Thank you, see you again.”

## His Holiness the Dalai Lama in Conversation on Creating a Happier World

Lord Richard Layard, Professor at the London School of Economics and founder of 'Action for Happiness', welcomed His Holiness the Dalai Lama to a conversation this morning about 'Creating a Happier World'. He told him that today marks the tenth anniversary of the start of 'Action for Happiness', an organization he said His Holiness had joined before it was formed. He reminded His Holiness that they had shared a platform in Zurich discussing secular ethics when he explained his plans for 'Action for Happiness' and His Holiness told him, "I want to join".

Later, he said, in the Lyceum Theatre in London, His Holiness launched Action for Happiness's course, 'Exploring What Matters'. Trials have been held to assess what difference attending the course had made for participants, and positive results, an increase in basic happiness, have been significant. "I remember that as that event in London came to an end, a BBC correspondent backstage asked you what single thing would make people happier and you immediately replied, 'Warm-heartedness'. It brought tears to my eyes."

Layard opened the conversation by asking His Holiness how we can make our hearts warmer.

"We are well-equipped from birth to be warm-hearted and to take care of others," he replied. "Our very survival depends on other members of our community. From the moment we are born we depend on our mother's affection. Becoming familiar with being taken care of when we are young prepares us to look after others when are able to. Being warm-hearted and taking care of each other is a natural thing to do."

"The problem is that our existing education system is oriented towards materialistic goals, but doesn't take account of our need to maintain a healthy mind as well as a healthy body. However, school-children recognise that they enjoy classes taught by teachers



*Lord Richard Layard, Professor at the London School of Economics and founder of 'Action for Happiness', welcoming His Holiness the Dalai Lama to an online conversation on 'Creating a Happier World' on July 28, 2021. Photo by Ven Tenzin Jamphel*

who smile happily more than those taught by teachers whose expression is stern and grim. Even animals respond if we are warm-hearted towards them. Dogs wag their tails and I've seen birds eat out of the hands of people who are warm and peaceful towards them.

"Warm-heartedness is the key factor in creating a joyful community and a happier world. It leads to a sense of brotherhood and sisterhood. I'm determined to contribute to creating a community with a sense of the oneness of humanity, a community in which faith or colour are secondary to the fact that we are all the same as human beings."

Layard remarked that some people seem to be cold-hearted as a result of experiences they've had. He asked His Holiness how he had retained his inner radiance and loving smile in the face of many difficulties.

"The whole of Tibetan culture is focussed on not doing harm," he told him, "even towards insects. If a child catches a flying insect, someone else in the family will say, 'Don't kill it'. We are Buddhists, but we share with other religious people the idea of kindness to other creatures."

"My mother was very kind. I learned

about compassion from her. I was chosen as the reincarnation of the Dalai Lama and taken to Lhasa where what I learned about compassion and Buddhist philosophy I found to be very useful.

"Later I came as a refugee to India, a free and democratic country where members of all the world's great religions lived together in peace and harmony. I'm a guest of the Government of India, and as a result I'm safe and happy. And I consider it to be my responsibility to share what I've learned about inner peace with others."

"In recent decades, I've engaged in discussions with scientists who have come to appreciate the importance of finding peace of mind. They recognise, for example, the contribution peace of mind has to make to better physical health and well-being."

"I've met many different kinds of people, but meeting them doesn't make me more conscious that I'm Tibetan or Buddhist, it makes me realize that we are all the same in being human."

Lord Layard wanted to know the secret of making good relationships.

"I believe that all seven billion human beings alive today are essentially brothers

and sisters,” His Holiness replied. “To think only of ‘my nation’, ‘my people’, ‘my group or community’ is out of date. This narrow thinking too easily leads to conflict. In our interdependent world we have to think instead of the oneness of humanity. We have to consider the wider community because we have to live together with each other. This is why we have to try to educate others to appreciate that humanity is one family.

“In addition to our interdependence, we face the serious challenges of climate change and global warming that we can only meet if we act together and help each other.

“We are social animals. If someone is angry with you, it’s important to remain warm-hearted towards them. Today’s enemy may become tomorrow’s friend. If they behave negatively towards you and you are hostile in return there’ll be no end to the trouble between you.”

Lord Layard recalled His Holiness telling him that founding an organization to promote greater happiness was not his job. However, he agreed to be the Patron of Action for Happiness. Layard asked if he had a message for the movement’s members. His Holiness laughed and told him:

“Your organization is based on cultivating a peaceful, warm-hearted attitude towards others. It’s wonderful and so practical. It shows there is hope for the future. We can create a happier world and a happier humanity. It’s wonderful. And I think your members have already discovered that we are much happier when we’re helping each other.”

Professor Layard handed over to Dr Mark Williamson, the Director of Action for Happiness, who was to coordinate questions for His Holiness from members of the organization. “It’s a pleasure to see you again,” Williamson began, “I have very happy memories of our time together in London in 2015.” He introduced the first questioner who asked what can be done for children who have become depressed due to the ramifications of the covid pandemic.



*Dr Mark Williamson, the Director of Action for Happiness, introducing the question and answer session with members of the virtual audience during His Holiness the Dalai Lama’s online conversation on ‘Creating a Happier World’ from his residence in Dharamsala, HP, India on July 28, 2021. Photo by Ven Tenzin Jamphel*

His Holiness acknowledged that the pandemic has been very serious across the world. Crucial medical research is going on. But as far as children are concerned, the most important thing is to reassure them with care and affection. That reassurance will bring them peace of mind and make it easier for them to be hopeful and optimistic.

He told a woman grieving over the death of her husband that although she’d lost him, she still had the support of the rest of the community and that maybe in time she’d find another husband.

His Holiness advised a young man concerned about how to remain compassionate and hopeful in the face of threats such as racism and climate change that it is human nature to be warm-hearted. However, besides warm-heartedness we also have to use our human intelligence. Recognising the brotherhood and sisterhood between us is the basis for maintaining a happy community.

“As we’ve seen recently in the floods in Germany, Belgium and other parts of Europe,” His Holiness remarked, “it’s wonderful that when things are difficult, people help each other. Acting on the basis of warm-heartedness and intelligence is the way to create a safer, happier world.

A woman in South Africa asked His Holiness how to cultivate friendships with others like his with Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

“The key factor,” he replied, “is trust and mutual respect. We belong to different traditions, but we are both human beings who practice loving kindness and forgiveness. The differences between us are secondary. I really love Bishop Tutu. There was an occasion when he’d been singing my praises and he ended by saying with a smile, “Unfortunately this person is not a Christian.” The important thing is that we consider ourselves brothers because we’re both human.

“I think of myself as just another human being and on that basis, I regard the many people I meet as trusted friends. Emphasizing that I’m Buddhist or Tibetan only serves to isolate me from other people. The crucial factor is that I’m just a human being. When I visit different places and meet people with different backgrounds I smile and they respond. This is a deep source of happiness. Warm-heartedness brings me benefit and I try to share that experience with others.



*His Holiness the Dalai Lama speaking during his conversation on ‘Creating a Happier World’ online from his residence in Dharamsala, HP, India on July 28, 2021. Photo by Ven Tenzin Jamphel*

“We Tibetans have suffered in all sorts of ways, but we don’t regard the Chinese fundamentally as enemies because they are human beings just as we are.”

His Holiness was asked what can be done to help healthcare workers who are overstretched and exhausted. He acknowledged that people who dedicate themselves to the service of others can become tired and discouraged. They need to be realistic, he said. To really be of help to others they need to rest in order to be physically and mentally fresh. Looking after themselves contributes to their being able to be of help to those in their care.

A woman who recently lost her father to covid wanted advice about dealing with grief. His Holiness told her he understood her distress and mentioned the advice of an ancient Indian master who recommended thinking about the suffering you face and examining whether there is anything you can do to overcome it. If there is, that's what to do. There's no need to lament. On the other hand, if there's nothing to be done, being sad won't help.

“When my mother passed away,” His Holiness recalled, “I was sad, but instead of getting upset, I made prayers for her well-being. It would be good to think about what your father would have wished you to do and do that.”

Finally, with regard to how to lead a happier life His Holiness reiterated that in the past people had less understanding of the importance of peace of mind or how to achieve it. Now this knowledge is growing. The key factor for the future generation, those who are children today, to appreciate is the importance of warm-heartedness coupled with an awareness of the oneness of humanity. Narrow-minded thinking only of people like us is out of date. The whole of humanity has to learn to live and act as a single community.

Mark Williamson thanked those who had asked questions as well as thanking His Holiness for answering them.

“This has been an amazing event,” Lord Layard declared. “You have been our inspiration over the years. Thank you for being with us today. I'd like to thank the Office of Tibet in London for coordinating the occasion and members of the audience for being with us.

“We have a new motto—Happier, kinder, together. You've helped us with that. Thank you.”

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

## Department of Education, CTA Scholarship for NEET/JEE Gap Year Study 2021

The Department of Education, CTA is pleased to announce a Scholarship for ten Students who wish to take a gap year to prepare for next year NEET (MBBS) & JEE (Engineering) exams. The Scholarship holder must undergo coaching from the reputed coaching institute in India. Interested candidates must apply online using the link here.

### Application Procedure & Eligibility

Application Form A (to be completed by Student & attested by Tibetan Settlement officer)

Copy of Class XII Result and NEET/JEE Result. (optional)

Applicant must have scored a minimum of 60% in PCM or PCB.

Applicant must have studied the Tibetan language till class X or must have passing marks in TLPT (Tibetan Language Proficiency Test).

Preference will be given to those students who have graduated/passed in 2021.

Anyone who discontinues the program without any valid reason is liable to refund the Scholarship costs to the Department of Education, CTA.

**Application Deadline – Wednesday, October 13, 2021 (11.55 Pm)**

**Scholarship Amount – Tuition Fee Ceiling to one lakh**

For inquiry, please contact:

Mrs Sonam Sangmo or Ms Tenzin Tashi

Email: [doe.lobyon@tibet.net](mailto:doe.lobyon@tibet.net)

[scholarship@tibet.net](mailto:scholarship@tibet.net)

Phone: +91-1892 -222572, 222721

Web: [www.sherig.org/en/](http://www.sherig.org/en/)

FB: [www.facebook.com/doe.lobyon/](https://www.facebook.com/doe.lobyon/)

## His Holiness the Dalai Lama in Conversation with Indonesian Students

Mrs Dewi Lestari, an Indonesian writer and singer, welcomed His Holiness the Dalai Lama to a conversation with more than 1000 Indonesian students. The theme of the conversation was the Jataka Tales or stories of the Buddha's previous lives, which are recorded in the book the 'Jatakamala', or 'Garland of Birth Stories', and are depicted on the Borobodur Stupa. The event was to launch the Nusantara Dharma Book Festival which is taking place in collaboration with the Indonesian Kadam Chöling community.

His Holiness began by thanking an Indonesian actor who had made a traditional mandala offering and wished his listeners "Good morning".

"Today," he continued, "I'm looking forward to holding discussions with young Indonesians, some of whom have an interest in Buddhism. I'm a Buddhist practitioner, and one of my commitments is to promoting inter-religious harmony. All our different religious traditions, whether we're talking about Hinduism, Christianity, Judaism, Islam, or Buddhism carry a common message about the importance of loving kindness. They each employ different philosophical views to strengthen a sense of altruism, a concern for others. Some say there is a God, others focus on the law of causality. The real aim of them all is to help their followers become kinder, more compassionate people.

"With regard to a creator God, Christianity describes him as a being of infinite love. Islam speaks of God the compassionate and merciful. Judaism refers to God the just. Jainism and Buddhism on the other hand have no concept of a creator God, but they still aim to train genuinely compassionate human beings.

"In India where I live, all the world's major religions are present. And they have lived side by side in harmony for more than a thousand years.



*A member of the virtual audience making a traditional mandala offering at the start of His Holiness the Dalai Lama's online conversation with Indonesian students from his residence in Dharamsala, HP, India on August 11, 2021. Photo by Ven Tenzin Jamphel*

"Today, I'm happy to meet brothers and sisters from the world's most populous Muslim nation. Whether we accept religion or not is a matter of personal choice. We are all human beings. We benefited from our mother's compassion and care from birth. Indeed, without her affection and loving kindness we would not have survived.

"In today's world, we face problems and conflicts because we lack a proper sense of brotherhood and sisterhood. We neglect our basic human values. We try to resolve disputes and differences of opinion by the use of force. However, I believe most human beings are fed up with violence and war. As a consequence, our religious communities have a responsibility to promote loving-kindness. We have to live together on this one planet, so we have to work to make this a more peaceful world.

His Holiness acknowledged the special interest some Indonesians have in the 34 Jataka Tales that recount previous lives of the Buddha. The author, Aryashura, was originally not a Buddhist, but an astute scholar of another tradition. At the time, the scholars of Nalanda University were nervous that he might defeat them in debate so they called on Nagarjuna for help. He sent one of his

most skilled disciples, Aryadeva, who convinced Aryashura of the validity of the Buddha's teaching. Subsequently, at the end of his life, Aryashura, who was also a renowned poet, composed this 'Garland of Birth Stories' in mellifluous Sanskrit.

His Holiness remarked that the stories are beautiful to read, but he sometimes feels they are somewhat over-embellished. The important point to note is the moral of the story, which of the perfections, generosity, ethics, and patience, the Bodhisattva was exemplifying. Underlying all the stories are the ancient Indian concepts of 'karuna' and 'ahimsa'—compassion and doing no harm. These themes, he noted, are common to most religions, but whether we follow a religious tradition or not, we all need to be warm-hearted and compassionate if we want to be happy.

In answering questions from the audience, His Holiness explained that sacrificing your life for the sake of others, as the Bodhisattva does in several of the stories, is worthwhile if real benefit results. He added that it takes intelligence and a clear mind to assess what that benefit will be.

With regard to the critical difficulties the world is facing today, the corona virus pandemic and global heating, there are steps we can take to reduce their gravity. But we need to be brave and determined. We cannot give up hope or abandon taking action.

His Holiness recalled that he has visited Borobodur. He described the stupa as a wonderful temple, but declared that even more important is the inner temple of our heart where we cultivate compassion and loving-kindness. If we combine that with our marvellous human intelligence we can create a happier world, not just by saying prayers, but by engaging in practical action.

He was asked how to deal with negativity and advised holding to the moral principles of honesty and compassion. He mentioned the difficulties he has faced in his own life, in Tibet and later as a refugee, but disclosed that he has kept up his practice according to the Nalanda Tradition that Shantarakshita introduced in Tibet.



His Holiness the Dalai Lama addressing the virtual audience during his online conversation with Indonesian students from his residence in Dharamsala, HP, India on August 11, 2021. Photo by Ven Tenzin Jamphel

“We Tibetans are determined, courageous people,” he declared, “but that doesn’t mean we resort to violence. Our Tibetan spirit is firm and compassionate, qualities that have attracted admiration even among some Chinese.”

One young man asked his question about the relationship between Indonesia and Tibet in Tibetan. His Holiness replied that the Indian master Dipankara Atisha sailed from India to Sumatra to learn about bodhichitta with a master called Dharmakirti. In due course, Atisha

accepted an invitation to visit Tibet where he spent the remaining years of his life. Dharmakirti is remembered by Tibetans today as Lama Serlingpa, Master of the Golden Isle. His Holiness commented that in the light of Atisha’s extensive travels, it is today much easier to exchange views and share knowledge with each other.

His Holiness declined to say which of the ‘Jataka Tales’ he thinks is the most inspiring. The key point, he stressed, is to acknowledge the oneness of humanity; to recognise that we are all the same in being human. From a practical point of view, we are all dependent on each other and we can serve one another on that basis.

“I’m a Tibetan, who lives in India. I consider every human being I meet is like a brother or sister to me. Fighting is useless and self-defeating. We must find ways to co-exist and live together in peace.”

Invited to comment on how a minority community might conduct itself in the face of extremism His Holiness accepted that among isolated peoples in the past it might have felt appropriate to speak of one truth and one religion. Today, however, the situation has changed and we are all aware of a variety of religious traditions as well as many aspects of the truth.

One of the qualities of Buddhism is that it takes a scientific view of our minds and emotions and is able to explain ways to achieve peace of mind. The Nalanda Tradition includes methods to reduce negative emotions and increase those that are positive. Buddhist psychology can be useful to anyone interested in exploring it without having to make any religious commitment. This, His Holiness averred, is one of the ways Buddhism can contribute to creating a more peaceful world.

Responding to the observation that it seemed to be easier to attain realization at the time of the Buddha, His Holiness maintained that he does not believe that anyone became spontaneously enlightened as they listened to the

Buddha. He pointed out that the Buddha himself had spent six years in rigorous meditation before achieving Buddhahood. He suggested that people listened to what the Buddha had to say and reflecting on it improved their understanding. Then they meditated on what they had understood, applying concentration and insight, which enabled them to make an inner transformation.

His Holiness suggested that the Middle Way (Madhyamaka) is a powerful way of reducing wrong views. Think about how we think of ‘my body’, ‘my speech’ and ‘my mind’, he said, and then ask yourself where is the ‘I’ that possesses these features. His Holiness affirmed that he asks himself where is the ‘I’ every day and is unable to find an independent, inherently existent self. This has the powerful effect of reducing his anger and attachment. He quoted three verses from Chandrakirti’s ‘Entering into the Middle Way’ that give him encouragement that he’s on the right track.

*Thus, illuminated by the rays of wisdom’s light,  
the bodhisattva sees as clearly as a  
gooseberry on his open palm  
that the three realms in their entirety are  
unborn from their very start,  
and through the force of conventional  
truth, he journeys to cessation. 6.224*

*Though his mind may rest continuously  
in cessation,  
he also generates compassion for beings  
bereft of protection.  
Advancing further, he will also outshine  
through his wisdom  
all those born from the Buddha’s speech  
and the middle buddhas. 6.225*

*And like a king of swans soaring ahead  
of other accomplished swans,  
with white wings of conventional and  
ultimate truths spread wide,  
propelled by the powerful winds of  
virtue, the bodhisattva would cruise  
to the excellent far shore, the oceanic  
qualities of the conquerors. 6.226*

Asked how to respond to people who fail to meet our expectations His Holiness revealed that the Buddha explained that all sentient beings have Buddha nature.

The body is less important, he said, it's the mind that is essential. Within the mind are different levels of consciousness. It's because everyone has Buddha nature that ultimately it's possible for everyone to achieve Buddhahood.



A member of the virtual audience asking His Holiness the Dalai Lama a question during his online conversation with Indonesian students from his residence in Dharamsala, HP, India on August 11, 2021. Photo by Ven Tenzin Jamphel

Dewi Lestari wanted to know what we can do to remain fresh and sharp like His Holiness. He replied that we spend a lot of time distracted by sensory input, however, it is also possible to pay attention to our mental consciousness and gain experience of the nature of the mind. As we develop tranquillity and concentration it becomes easier to apply the mind to analysing where is the 'I' and what are the negative emotions. As we develop inner strength, we achieve

a firmer peace of mind. And as we gain deeper experience of the mind and its subtler levels, the mind of clear light will manifest. It's that subtle mind of Buddha nature that ultimately becomes the mind of the Buddha.

Invited to offer some final words of advice, His Holiness highlighted the special opportunity his listeners have to share the idea of loving-kindness, which is something we all need. Similarly, we all need compassion and forgiveness and by encouraging the development of these qualities we can contribute to creating a more harmonious, compassionate society. The potential for compassion is something all human beings have in common. It's the basis for mutual respect and being able to learn from one another.

Dewi Lestari offered thanks to His Holiness who spontaneously asked everyone in the audience to join him in a minute's meditation on compassion. Following that he extolled the virtues of the awakening mind of bodhichitta and its incredible benefits. We need compassion to be able to help others, he said. We need compassion to purify our negativities and accumulated positive energy. All the altruistic deeds

described in the 'Jataka Tales' are rooted in bodhichitta, the aspiration to achieve Buddhahood to help others.

His Holiness quoted verses from Shantideva's 'Entering into the Way of a Bodhisattva' that praise the practice of equalizing and exchanging self and others.

*For those who fail to exchange their own happiness for the suffering of others, Buddhahood is certainly impossible - how could there even be happiness in cyclic existence? 8/131*

*Proceeding in this way from happiness to happiness, what thinking person would despair; after mounting the carriage, the awakening mind, which carries away all weariness and effort? 7/30*

He added that when you are determined to be of service to others, you'll be able to follow Shantideva's great aspiration:

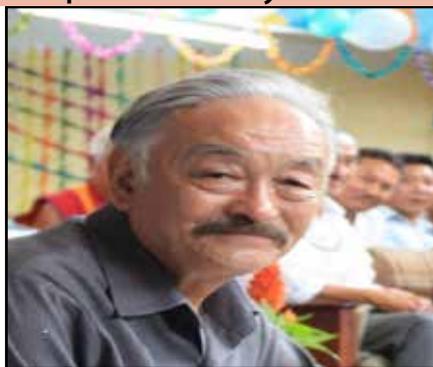
*As long as space endures,  
And as long as sentient beings remain,  
Until then, may I too remain  
To help dispel the misery of the world.  
10/55*

## Obituary: Tamdin Dorje Tuladhar, former coordinator for Tibetans in Nepal passes away at 75

The Central Tibetan Administration (CTA) mourns the demise of Mr Tamdin Dorje Tuladhar, former coordinator for Tibetans in Nepal who passed away on Tuesday in Kathmandu, Nepal at the age of 75.

The CTA expresses its heartfelt condolences to the bereaved family and friends of Mr Tamdin Dorje and sends prayers for his smooth and swift rebirth.

Born in Lhasa, Tibet on March 3, 1946, Mr Tamdin Dorje escaped to India following the Chinese invasion promising his mother Dolma Yangzom that he would only return to Tibet with



Mr Tamdin Dorje Tuladhar, former coordinator for Tibetans in Nepal

H.H the Dalai Lama. He achieved his mother's wish by serving the Tibetan cause and dedicating work in many

capacities at Tibetan Freedom Movement Association, Markham Association, local Tibetan Assembly and others.

Mr Tamdin was also the executive member of the Human Rights Organization in Nepal (HURON) from 2000 to 2002. In 2012, he was appointed as the Coordinator of Tibetan Refugee Welfare Office, Kathmandu, Nepal from July 1, 2012, and served for 5 years until June 2017. He was also a successful entrepreneur and shared a passion for tourism and Tibetan arts and antiques.

Mr Tamdin Dorje Tuladhar is survived by his wife, a daughter and a son.

## His Holiness the Dalai Lama talks about Compassion and Non-violence



*His Holiness the Dalai Lama waving to the virtual audience from Korea as he arrives for his online teaching at his residence in Dharamsala, HP, India on August 18, 2021. Photo by Ven Tenzin Jamphel*

Jo Young Ok introduced the occasion on behalf of the Labsum Shedup Ling Dharma Centre in South Korea and requested His Holiness the Dalai Lama to address the virtual audience. In response he declared that he was honoured to have the opportunity to explain the Buddhadharmā to them.

“Buddhism as it spread in Tibet was established by Shantarakshita on the basis of the Nalanda Tradition. We study the canonical treatises from India and engage in the practice of the three trainings. This is the process that I, as a monk, also followed. I studied the texts, reflected on what I’d understood and gained experience of it in meditation. And what I’m going to explain today is based on that experience.

“I respect all religious traditions. We have different ideas and philosophical approaches suited to the aptitude of different followers. The Buddha also gave different explanations in accordance with his listeners’ needs. However, all these different traditions emphasize the importance of cultivating love, compassion and non-violence. Historically some people have fought and even killed in the name of religion, but that kind of behaviour should now be left in the past.

“All the world’s great religious traditions have flourished in India and have customarily regarded each other with the utmost respect. This is an attitude that could well be adopted in other parts of the world.

“The Buddhas do not wash unwholesome deeds away with water,” His Holiness declared, “Nor do they remove the sufferings of beings with their hands, neither do they transplant their own realization into others. It is by teaching the truth of suchness that they liberate (beings).

“The Buddhas first generate the awakening mind of bodhichitta. Having accumulated the two collections (of merit and wisdom), they attain enlightenment and then share their experience with sentient beings. It’s on this basis that the Buddha stated, ‘You are your own master.’ Whether or not you choose to engage in the practice of Dharma is in your hands.

“The root of suffering is the unruly mind, so the practice of Dharma is to transform the mind. The Buddha has said that the compassionate ones lead beings through multiple means. Since beings are ignorant of the nature of things, he taught emptiness, which is peaceful and unborn. Over the decades that I have

studied the Dharma and applied what I understood, I’ve seen a transformation in myself.

“It is possible to overcome adversity by training the mind. We develop concentration on the basis of the practice of ethics and then employ the single-pointed mind to examine how things exist. Developing insight as a result, we make progress on the path.

“The Four Noble Truths are the foundation of the Buddhadharmā. The Buddha taught about suffering and its cause, but he also showed that suffering and its cause can be overcome; cessation can be attained. He taught about emptiness, as affirmed in the ‘Heart Sutra’, ‘Form is empty; emptiness is form. Emptiness is not other than form; form also is not other than emptiness.’

“The practice of Dharma entails the use of our mental consciousness and the threefold process of study, reflection and meditation. This is how to bring about change within yourself. If you develop bodhichitta, even adverse circumstances can be turned to advantage. Similarly, someone you view today as an enemy, can tomorrow become your friend.

“Every day, when I wake up, I invoke bodhichitta and reaffirm my understanding of emptiness. In that connection, I take great reassurance from the following three verses from Chandrakirti’s ‘Entering into the Middle Way’:

*“Thus, illuminated by the rays of wisdom’s light,  
the bodhisattva sees as clearly as a gooseberry on his open palm  
that the three realms in their entirety are unborn from their very start,  
and through the force of conventional truth, he journeys to cessation. 6.224*

*“Though his mind may rest continuously in cessation,  
he also generates compassion for beings bereft of protection.*

*Advancing further, he will also outshine through his wisdom all those born from the Buddha's speech and the middle buddhas. 6.225*

*"And like a king of swans soaring ahead of other accomplished swans, with white wings of conventional and ultimate truths spread wide, propelled by the powerful winds of virtue, the bodhisattva would cruise to the excellent far shore, the oceanic qualities of the conquerors. 6.226"*

In briefly clarifying emptiness His Holiness alluded to three key verses (6.34-6) of 'Entering into the Middle Way' in which Chandrakirti outlines the four logical fallacies that would occur if things possessed objective existence; if they had an essential core in and of themselves. These are that an Arya being's meditative absorption on emptiness would be the destroyer of phenomena; that it would be wrong to teach that things lack ultimate existence; that the conventional existence of things would be able to withstand ultimate analysis into the nature of things, and that it would be untenable to state, as the Buddha does, that things are empty in and of themselves.

He mentioned two further verses from Nagarjuna's 'Root Wisdom of the Middle Way':

*That which is dependently arisen is explained to be emptiness. That, being a dependent designation, is itself the middle way. 24.18*

*There does not exist anything that is not dependently arisen. Therefore, there does not exist anything that is not empty. 24.19*

"When you gain some conviction about this," His Holiness declared, "you'll see some transformation within yourself. Buddhism is not just concerned with reciting prayers or sitting in thoughtless meditation, it is founded on compassion. This is why Chandrakirti opens his 'Entering into the Middle Way' with a eulogy to compassion:

*Buddhas are born from bodhisattvas.*

*The compassionate mind and non-dual cognition as well the awakening mind: these are causes of bodhisattvas. 1.1*

*As compassion alone is accepted to be the seed of the perfect harvest of Buddhahood, the water that nourishes it, and the fruit that is long a source of enjoyment, I will praise compassion at the start of all. 1.2*

His Holiness clarified that enlightenment is won through a combination of compassion and wisdom. All mental defilements, mental afflictions and cognitive obscurations, are eliminated by employing them both.



*His Holiness the Dalai Lama answering a question from a member of the virtual audience during his online teaching at his residence in Dharamsala, HP, India on August 18, 2021. Photo by Ven Tenzin Jamphel*

In responding to a series of questions from members of the audience His Holiness agreed that humanity is facing a number of crises including the Covid pandemic and climate change. Nevertheless, as human beings, he said, we must use our unique intelligence to make our lives meaningful. He noted that the variety of difficulties he's faced since leaving Tibet and becoming a refugee have actually contributed constructively to his practice of the Dharma.

Asked how to prepare ourselves for coming face to face with death, His Holiness described the dissolution of the elements and the occurrence of the three visions: whitish appearance, reddish increase and black near-attainment culminating in the manifestation of the mind of clear light. He recommended that we familiarize ourselves with these stages of dissolution. In tantra there are references to transforming the three

states of death, intermediate state and rebirth into the three bodies of a Buddha.

His Holiness mentioned the phenomenon known as 'thukdam' that takes place when an accomplished meditator dies. Although their bodies are recognised to be clinically dead, they remain fresh and don't decay. He recalled that his tutor Ling Rinpoché remained in this state for 13 days and that recently a monk at Gyutö Tantric College maintained his meditation on the clear light of death for 32 days. His Holiness noted that people with experience of the stages of dissolution at death can recognise them as they occur. Then, the dawning of the clear light of death provides an opportunity for profound meditation on emptiness.

His Holiness answered a question about how children should cope with feeling angry with their parents with the advice to consult Shantideva's 'Entering into the Way of a Bodhisattva'. Chapter six, he pointed out, gives explicit guidance about the disadvantages of anger and learning to deal with it, while chapter eight extols the advantages of cultivating an altruistic attitude. The goal is to cultivate a relaxed state of mind. Learning to tackle anger and develop kindness are part of the practice of emotional hygiene.

His Holiness told a woman who asked about the meaning of emptiness in ordinary life that a summary of the quantum mechanics view can be helpful. Quantum physicists state that things appear to have an objective existence from their own side, but under examination they are found not to exist in that way. In the Buddhist account things are empty of inherent existence. That this profound view is difficult to accept is indicated by Chandrakirti's rebuke of Vasubandhu, Dignaga and Dharmakirti, masters celebrated for their accomplishments in other areas, because they rejected Nagarjuna's position. Another question about anger prompted the same response as before. Read Shantideva's 'Entering into the Way of a Bodhisattva', especially chapters six and eight. His Holiness commended reflecting on the virtues of love and

compassion, the shortcomings of anger and the advantages of patience. He quoted Shantideva:

*For those who fail to exchange their own happiness for the suffering of others, Buddhahood is certainly impossible - how could there even be happiness in cyclic existence? 8/131*

*Proceeding in this way from happiness to happiness, what thinking person would despair; after mounting the carriage, the Awakening Mind, which carries away all weariness and effort? 7/30*

A young woman described feeling fearful when she tries to practise ‘giving and taking’ and generating the bodhisattva vow. His Holiness explained that we are so used to being guided by a self-cherishing attitude that trying to take on the unwholesome deeds of others or giving them our virtue feels dauntingly unfamiliar. He compared it to beginning to learn to read at school. To start with it feels difficult, but the more you become familiar with it, the easier it becomes.

His Holiness told a young man, who was concerned about engaging in analysis and coming to a different conclusion from his teacher, that so long as it didn’t involve a decline in respect for the teacher, disagreeing with him was fine. His Holiness suggested that discussing your conclusions with your friends can be very instructive.

Asked why students are encouraged to study the great Indian Buddhist classics and ‘Collected Topics’, His Holiness reminded his listeners that during the Buddha’s first round of teachings he laid out the Four Noble Truths and the Vinaya without any recourse to reason. During the second round he taught the profound view of emptiness and the extensive conduct of a bodhisattva, both of which rely firmly on reason.

Studying Madhyamaka texts such as the ‘400 Verses’ and ‘Entering into the Middle Way’, as well as ‘Collected Topics’, makes for an incredibly powerfully system of education. It was maintained for more than a thousand years in Tibet and has been replicated

and enhanced in the centres of learning in monasteries re-established in South India. In Tibet, students would study for forty years before they were considered fully qualified. Today, many students qualify in twenty years, but the curriculum remains rigorous.

Questioned about how to keep good family relations in the context of different religious traditions, His Holiness declared unequivocally that we are all the same in being human. What is most important is to cultivate a warm heart, maintain close contact and help one another.

In connection with cultivating the awakening mind of bodhichitta His Holiness quoted a verse from Nagarjuna’s ‘Precious Garland’:



*His Holiness the Dalai Lama during his online teaching requested by Korean Buddhists at his residence in Dharamsala, HP, India on August 18, 2021. Photo by Ven Tenzin Jamphel*

*May I always be an object of enjoyment  
For all sentient beings according to  
their wish  
And without interference, as are the  
earth,  
Water, fire, wind, herbs, and wild forests.  
483*

The Abbot of Labsum Shedup Ling, Geshé Tenzin Namkhar, thanked His Holiness for the profound teachings he had given. He assured him that the students who made up the virtual audience will do their best to put what they had understood into effect. He informed His Holiness that the first volume of the series ‘Science and Philosophy in the Indian Buddhist Classics’ had been translated into Korean and is currently at the printers. He ended with a wish that His Holiness visit Korea.

His Holiness replied that when he gave the centre the name Labsum Shedup Ling he hoped that members would be able to support their practice through study, reflection and meditation to engage in the three higher trainings. The purpose is to make progress on the path to enlightenment and His Holiness told his listeners that he continued to pray that they will be able to do this. Finally, he mentioned that he is confident that those who have made a connection with him in this life will be able to renew that connection in the future.

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### Important Notice Regarding Eligibility for Tibetan Scholarship Program (TSP)



The Department of Education, with utmost importance, would like to once again, bring the attention of all future prospective candidates for the Tibetan Scholarship Program to a new TSP eligibility criteria as required by the US State Department’s Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs.

Beginning from the TSP 2023 batch, all TSP prospective candidates must have an IC valid for a minimum of three years from the commencement of the program. This is a mandatory requirement and we urge all the applicants to prepare well in advance to avoid disqualification.

Department of Education,  
Central Tibetan Administration

## China Must Recognise Dalai Lama Key To Resolving Conflict: Tibet's President-In-Exile

By NDTV

The Chinese government should recognise that the Dalai Lama is the key to resolving the Sino-Tibetan conflict and should invite him to “Tibet and China on pilgrimage without any precondition”, the president of the Tibetan government-in-exile Penpa Tsering said today.

He was speaking at a ceremony to mark the birthday of the Tibetan spiritual leader, who turned 86.

Prime Minister Narendra Modi has conveyed their greetings to the Dalai Lama on his birthday.

“Spoke on phone to His Holiness the @DalaiLama to convey greetings on his 86th birthday. We wish him a long and healthy life,” Prime Minister Modi tweeted.

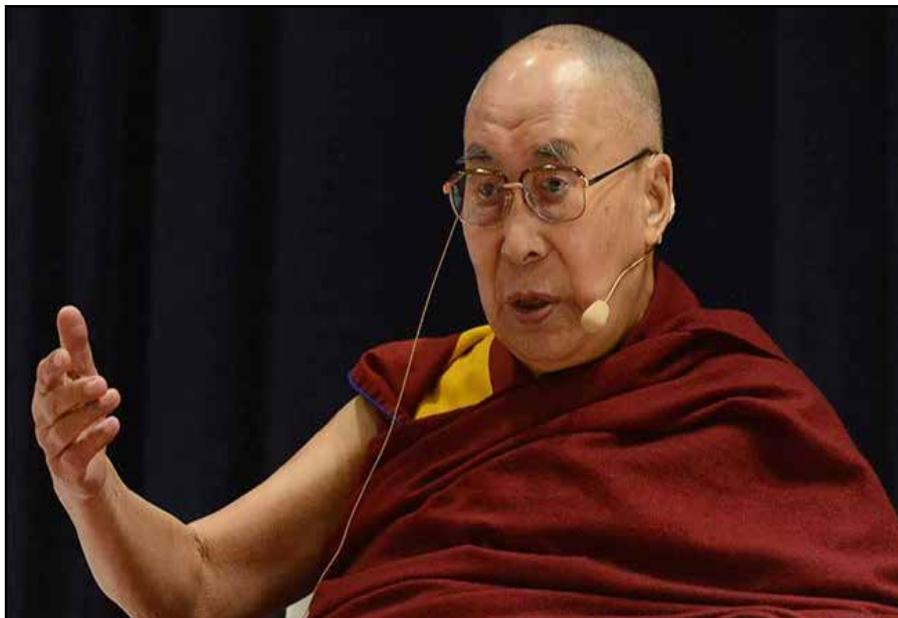
The 14th Dalai Lama has made India his home since fleeing China in 1959.

“His Holiness the Dalai Lama is one of the foremost guides of our time and is one of the few individuals who can reorient Sino-Tibetan history toward a positive direction.

“The Chinese government should, therefore, recognise that His Holiness the Dalai Lama is the key to resolving the Sino-Tibetan conflict,” Penpa Tsering, who was elected as the president or Sikyong of the Central Tibetan Administration (CTA) in May, said.

He asked China to utilise the opportunity offered by the “mutually beneficial Middle Way Approach” to foster a harmonious environment where Tibetans and Chinese can co-exist amicably.

“Therefore, we appeal to the Chinese government to earnestly invite His Holiness the Dalai Lama to Tibet and China on pilgrimage without any precondition,” Penpa Tsering said. At the ceremony, he paid rich tributes to the Dalai Lama for his “visionary leadership” and pledged to strengthen



Tibetan unity by resolving the minor differences within through constructive discussion.

“When it comes to our struggle, we must recognise our common opponent and work towards resolving our differences by engaging in constructive discussion.

“Our consolidated efforts should be directed towards fulfilling our common goals which is the mandatory and historic responsibility of the exiled Tibetan people,” said the Sikyong.

The Chinese government officials and the Dalai Lama or his representatives have not met in formal negotiations since 2010.

Beijing has in the past accused the Dalai Lama of indulging in “separatist” activities, however, the Tibetan spiritual leader has insisted that he is not seeking independence but “genuine autonomy for all Tibetans living in the three traditional provinces of Tibet” under the “Middle-Way approach”.

In a virtual address from his residence in Dharamshala, the Dalai Lama said he has taken full advantage of India’s freedom and religious harmony and is

committed to reviving ancient Indian knowledge.

He thanked people from across the globe who greeted him on his birthday and said he would continue to serve humanity and combat climate change.

“Since I became a refugee and settled in India, I have taken full advantage of India’s freedom and religious harmony. I want to assure you that for the rest of my life I am committed to reviving ancient Indian knowledge,” said the Dalai Lama, whose real name is Tenzin Gyatso.

“I really appreciate the Indian concept of secular values, not dependent on religion, such as honesty, karuna (compassion) and ahimsa (non-violence),” he added. China had asserted in May that any successor to the present Dalai Lama should be approved by it, ruling out recognition to any heir nominated by the India-based Tibetan spiritual leader or by his followers.

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## Xi is the problem, not the people of China

By Savio Rodrigues, Sunday Guardian

With each passing day and with the added strain of the impact of the Covid-19 pandemic, more and more nations are reassessing their relationship with China.

It appears that China is no longer the favoured partner to tango with on the global political stage. In fact, China's missteps could lead to a fall of nations dancing with this hidden dragon.

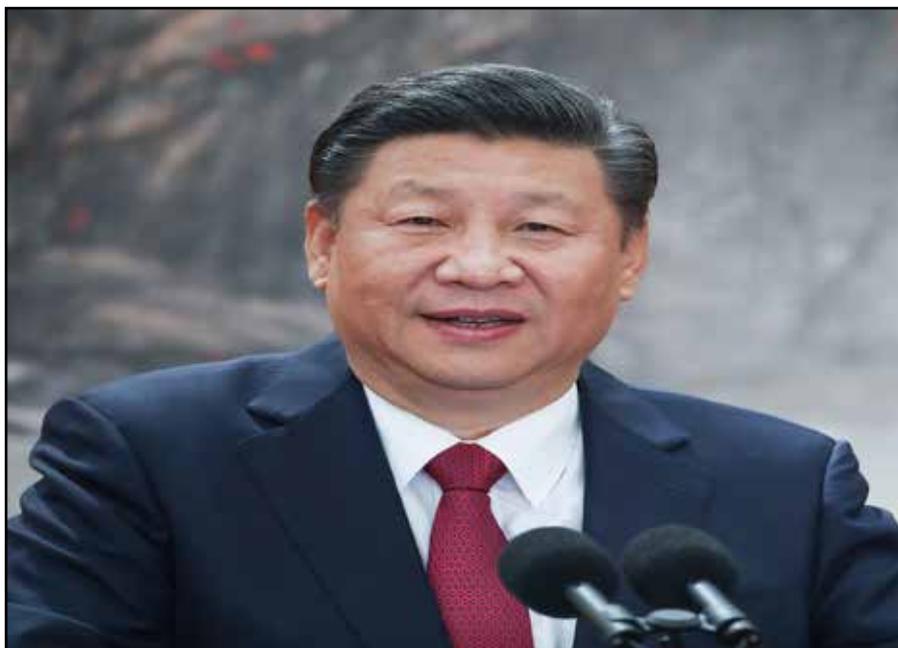
I remember in 2019 analysing the Pew Research Centre Survey on China. The study was titled "Attitude Towards China". The research revealed that around the world people were divided in their opinions on China.

Reportedly in the survey, a median of 40% across 34 countries surveyed had a favourable view of China, while a median of 41% had an unfavourable view of China. However, China got the most positive views from Russia, Nigeria and Lebanon, while it got the most negative views from Japan, Sweden and Canada.

The most intriguing data was that it was noticed that the higher a country's perceived level of corruption, as designated by Transparency International, the more favourably that nation tends to view China.

Interestingly, investment from China is only weakly related to views on China across the countries included in the survey. Despite pouring hundreds of dollars into the Belt and Road Initiative, especially in emerging economies, the side of capital investment or construction contracts funded by China in a country is only weakly related to that country's overall views of China. Indonesia, for example, had received more than \$47 billion for capital investments and projects from China since 2005, but attitudes towards China are split evenly, with 36% favourable and 36% unfavourable.

Post Covid-19, most global nations are



no longer favouring China, they are merely tolerating it.

The Pew Research Centre Survey on "Attitude Towards China" conducted across 14 nations in 2020 pointed out that views on China have grown more negative in recent years across many advanced economies, and unfavourable opinion has soared over the past year. Today, a majority in each of the surveyed countries have an unfavourable opinion of China. And in Australia, the United Kingdom, Germany, the Netherlands, Sweden, the United States, South Korea, Spain and Canada, negative views have reached their highest point.

The Pew report elucidated that the negative views on China increased most in Australia, where 81% now say they see the country unfavourably, up 24 percentage points since last year. In the UK, around three-quarters now see the country in a negative light—up 19 points. And in the US, negative views of China have increased nearly 20 percentage points since President Donald Trump took office, rising 13 points since just last year.

The survey further revealed that the rise

in unfavourable view was on account of the widespread criticism over how China had handled the Covid-19 pandemic. A median of 61% of nations surveyed opined that China had done a bad job in dealing with the pandemic outbreak.

The disapproval of how China handled the Covid-19 pandemic also raised questions on the people's confidence in Chinese President Xi Jinping. A median of 78% in the survey said that they have not too much or no confidence in Jinping to do the right thing regarding world affairs, including at least seven-in-ten in every country surveyed. The survey also highlighted that the lack of confidence in Xi Jinping was at a historic high in every country for which trend data was available during the conducting of the survey. In most countries, the percentage saying they have not too much or no confidence in him has grown by double digits since last year. For example, in the Netherlands, whereas around half distrusted Xi last year, today 70% say the same—up 17 percentage points.

But China is not out of the race completely at least in comparison to the US. Like I said, they are not favoured but tolerated.

The Pew survey reveals that the perception of how China had handled the coronavirus pandemic colours people's overall views on China. The report further revealed that those who think China had done a bad job dealing with Covid-19 are much more likely to have an unfavourable view of the country—and the difference is at least 20 percentage points in every country surveyed. For example, in Italy, those who say China has done a bad job handling the coronavirus pandemic are twice as likely to report an unfavourable view of China—82% vs 41%, respectively. In Europe, more see China as the world's top economic power than the US.

So while the world economies brace for a contraction in the year ahead, amid the Covid-19 pandemic, including those of the US, Japan and the European nations, the Chinese economy is expected to achieve positive growth. Most nations surveyed identified China as the world's leading economic power. The US came second to China.

The problem for China is not China, but China under the leadership of President Xi Jinping.

Distrust in President Xi has reached unprecedented highs in all countries. The increase in distrust has been especially sharp in the last year; nine of the 12 countries surveyed by Pew Research Centre have seen a double-digit increase in the share of who say they have no confidence in Xi. In Australia, for example, 54% had little or no confidence in Xi in 2019, and now 79% say the same, a 25 percentage point increase.

While 2019 and 2020 Pew Research Centre surveys focused on China's relationship with other global nations, the recent survey conducted by Pew

Research Centre and released in June 2021, revealed that across advanced economies in Europe, North America and the Asia-Pacific region, few people think the Chinese government respects the personal freedoms of its people. In 15 of the 17 public surveyed by Pew Research Center, eight-in-ten or more hold this view. This sense is also at or near historic highs in nearly every place surveyed, having risen significantly in countries like Italy, South Korea, Greece, Australia, Canada and the United Kingdom since 2018. The 2021 Pew Research Centre survey revealed that:

\* Few have confidence in Chinese President Xi Jinping to do the right thing in world affairs. These negative evaluations of him are at or near historic highs in most places surveyed.

\* Across the Asia-Pacific region, opinions are mixed about whether it is more important to try to promote human rights in China, even if it harms economic relations with China, or whether it's more important to prioritize strengthening economic relations with China, even if it means not addressing human rights issues. While a majority in New Zealand (80%), Australia (78%) and Japan (54%) prioritize promoting human rights, as well as a plurality in Taiwan (45%), majorities in South Korea and Singapore prioritize strengthening economic relations. Those who prioritize economic relations with the US over China tend to be much more likely to support promoting human rights.

\* Europeans approve of China's handling of Covid-19 much more than those in the Asia-Pacific. Europeans also overwhelmingly consider strong economic ties with the US as more important than strong ties with China, while Asian-Pacific publics are more divided.

\* In both Taiwan and Singapore, ethnic and national identity plays a role in attitudes. In Taiwan, those who identify as Chinese and Taiwanese (rather than as only Taiwanese) tend to prioritize economic relations with China over the US and to have more favourable views of the superpower, among other differences. In Singapore, similar differences emerge between ethnic Chinese and ethnic Malay or Indians.

\* Older adults are often more critical of China than younger ones—whether it comes to favourability of China, assessments of President Xi, evaluations of how well China has handled the Covid-19 pandemic or opinions about whether China respects the personal freedoms of its people. Older adults also tend to prefer economic ties with the US over China more than younger adults. Patterns are sometimes reversed in South Korea, Taiwan and Singapore, however, with older adults offering more positive evaluations of China on some questions.

Xi Jinping, recently in a meeting with Chinese officials, said it was important for China to tell its story in a positive way. "It is necessary to make friends, unite and win over the majority, and constantly expand the circle of friends, when it comes to international public opinion."

He further elucidated that China must be open and confident, but also modest and humble in its communication with the world. "China wants nothing but the Chinese people's happiness and good fortune."

Xi Jinping's popularity is diminishing globally. China however, people still favour, because of its economic strengths, though with a bit of scepticism.

The people of China are not the problem for nations globally. Xi Jinping and his dictatorial agenda in China and outside of China is the grave concern.



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## What Beijing wants to tell the rest of the world

By Vijay Gokhale, The Indian Express



Yan Xuetong and Wang Jisi, considered to be two of the high priests of the Chinese foreign policy community, have written recent pieces in the Foreign Affairs. It is no coincidence these were timed to dovetail with Xi Jinping's speech for the 100th anniversary of the founding of the Chinese Communist Party (CPC), on July 1, 2021. Their task is to interpret for the outside world what Xi Jinping means when he says that "the Chinese people have stood up and the era of suffering bullying has gone, never to return." Given the elevated status of these two gentlemen, it is well worth reading their pieces in full.

Wang and Yan start by acknowledging that recent changes in US policy mean that relations are unlikely to grow any less tense or competitive. Wang holds America responsible for this adversarial environment. According to him, the US-China relationship has always revolved around two ideas: The idea that the US will respect and not de-stabilise China's internal order and the idea that the Chinese will not intentionally weaken the US-led international order. This implicit understanding, Wang holds, is now unravelling and the Americans are

to blame. Wang wants us to believe that this situation has come to pass because the US is seeking a regime change. China, according to both, is not to blame in any way, and is simply responding to American provocation. Wang's advice to Washington is to return to the earlier implicit consensus.

Both scholars wish to persuade readers (and nations) that if this is not the case, then unbridled competition can only end one way — badly for America. America is plagued by political dysfunction, socio-economic inequality, ethnic and racial divisions and economic stagnation. Wang, in particular, stretches the argument by describing gun violence and urban unrest in America as "a degree of chaos and violence without parallel in China" and by drawing comparisons between the political chaos of the 2020 presidential election "especially compared with the order and predictability of the Chinese system." He says that Washington must accept that "CPC enjoys immense popularity among the Chinese people; its grip on power is unshakeable." The strained effort almost looks like a justification to the Chinese people about the benefits and resilience

of the Communist dictatorship.

Yan uses US "ill-intention" towards China to justify the "paradigm shift" to a more assertive foreign policy. For over a decade, China has been attacking American unipolarity and the "Cold-War type alliance". The new challenge for Beijing is how to be seen to be championing the cause of multipolarity while actually striving for a duopoly with the US or, as Yan cleverly phrases it, "a multipolar order with US-Chinese relations at its core." To build a justification for these contradictory objectives, Yan advances several arguments. He refers to China's "dual identity", claiming that there is no contradiction between China seeking global co-hegemony and, at the same time, continuing to be a "developing country", as a demonstration of its geo-political alignment. Yan also talks up "inclusive multilateralism", which is apparently what Beijing's frenzied efforts at building plurilateral platforms, including in South Asia, are all about. Is this not the "alliance-building" that China accuses America of? Apparently not, because America is engaged in "exclusive multilateralism". The rather specious argument that Yan makes to differentiate between the two is that China's coalitions are open and non-threatening but the American ones are "issue-based coalitions in opposition to China."

In case the rest of the world is still confused about what China might be doing differently from America, Yan helpfully adds that America exports its value system (democracy) as part of its foreign policy, while China does not. According to Yan, that is because China is a developing country with "Chinese characteristics", which, somehow, implies that its political system and governance model cannot merely be exported to other countries. The argument is unconvincing when President Xi has, on more than one

occasion, referred to the Chinese model as an alternative for developing countries who wish to be independent.

Their main message to the Americans is to give up on pressuring China to change its political system as this will be futile, and to return to accommodating the Chinese Communist Party as a legitimate global player. The Chinese message to the rest is to bend to China's inevitable hegemony. At the conclusion of both essays, readers might be left wondering why China wants to return to the old consensus when China's rise and American decline are both assured. Is it because they still need a few years more of co-habitation before they have the power to topple America from its global perch? Or, is it the deep sense of vulnerability that the party feels despite the claim that time and momentum are on China's side? How does one explain the stepped-up campaigns for "political education" among cadres and the restrictions on "politically incorrect" information its citizens can access if, according to Wang, the leadership is immensely popular?

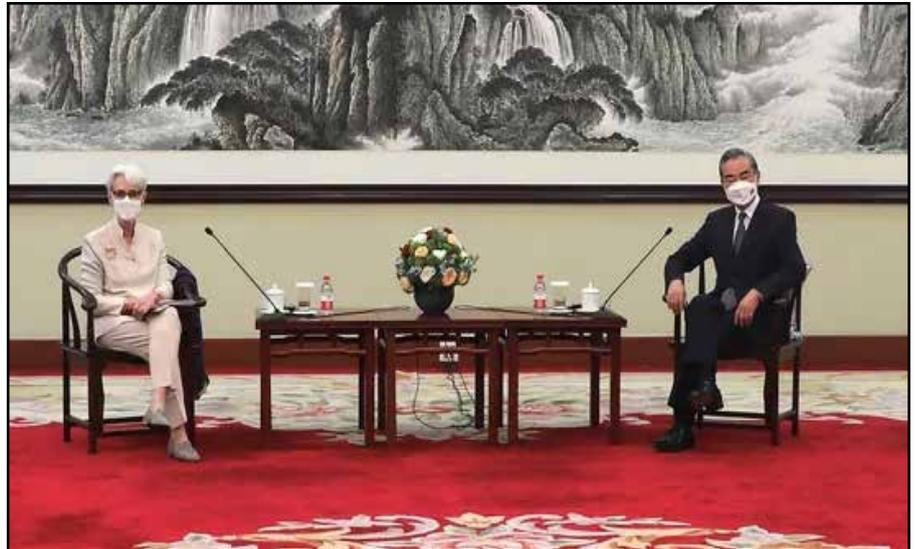
From India's perspective, three points might deserve attention. First, the statement that there is a paradigm shift in post-Covid Chinese foreign policy. Second, Yan's forthright statement that Beijing views America's so-called "issue-based coalitions" (he presumably includes the Quad) as the most serious external threat to its political security and the biggest obstacle to national rejuvenation. Finally, that China is still offering accommodation if Washington just respects Beijing's internal order and acknowledges China's regional dominance.

The writer is a former foreign secretary and author of *The Long Game: How Chinese Negotiate with India*



## US red cards China over Xinjiang, Tibet and repression in Hong Kong

By Shishir Gupta, Hindustan Times



US Deputy Secretary of State Wendy Sherman and Chinese Foreign Minister Wang Yi sit together in Tianjin, China on Monday. (AP Photo)

United States Deputy secretary of state Wendy Sherman and Chinese foreign minister Wang Yi talked past each other with US raising all the red flag issues with China.

Wendy Sherman, according to State Department spokesperson, raised the issue of genocide in Xinjian, human right abuse in Tibet and Beijing's anti-democratic crackdown in Hong Kong.

Sherman conveyed Washington's concerns about People Republic of China's unwillingness to cooperate with the World Health Organization (WHO) on a second phase investigation of the origins of the coronavirus disease (Covid-19).

The US senior official conveyed her concerns over Covid-19 origin at a time when US intelligence agencies are expected to come up with a report into the origins of the pandemic and the role of Wuhan Institute of Virology in spreading the disease.

While Sherman visited China, US secretary of state is coming to India on Tuesday evening to deepen bilateral ties with New Delhi. This includes stabilisation of Afghanistan, Chinese aggression in Indo-Pacific, counter-

terrorism and cementing of defence cooperation.

"The Deputy Secretary also raised the cases of American and Canadian citizens detained in the PRC (People's Republic of China) or under exit bans and reminded PRC officials that people are not bargaining chips," State Department spokesperson Ned Price said about the talks which were held in Tianjin, a city some 100km from capital Beijing, adding that the discussions were "frank and open".

The number 2 US diplomat also affirmed the importance of cooperation in areas of global interest, such as the climate crisis, counter-narcotics, non-proliferation, and regional concerns including around the Korean peninsula, Iran, Afghanistan, and Burma, the State Department said.

The two leaders also discussed ways to set terms for responsible management of the US-China relationship, it added.

Sherman was in China on a two-day visit, during which she also met key officials. She expressed the United States' sincere condolences for the lives lost in the devastating floods in Henan province this week.

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## QUOTES

*“In the last century, Mahatma Gandhi demonstrated non-violence through his own example. He inspired followers in Africa and America like Archbishop Tutu and Martin Luther King Jr. Today, in a world where bullying and killing still take place, we need compassion and non-violence. And I’m committed to finding ways to combine these ideals with modern education.” His Holiness the Dalai Lama during Talk About Compassion in Healthcare on 7 July 2021.*

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*“Warm-heartedness is the key factor in creating a joyful community and a happier world. It leads to a sense of brotherhood and sisterhood. I’m determined to contribute to creating a community with a sense of the oneness of humanity, a community in which faith or colour are secondary to the fact that we are all the same as human beings.” His Holiness the Dalai Lama during in Conversation on Creating a Happier World on 28 July 2021.*

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*“In today’s world, we face problems and conflicts because we lack a proper sense of brotherhood and sisterhood. We neglect our basic human values. We try to resolve disputes and differences of opinion by the use of force. However, I believe most human beings are fed up with violence and war. As a consequence, our religious communities have a responsibility to promote loving-kindness. We have to live together on this one planet, so we have to work to make this a more peaceful world.” His Holiness the Dalai Lama during in Conversation with Indonesian students on 28 May 2021*

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*“When it comes to our struggle, we must recognize our common opponent and work towards resolving our differences by engaging in constructive discussion. Our consolidated efforts should be directed towards fulfilling our common goals which is the mandatory and historic responsibility of the exile Tibetan people.” Sikyong Penpa Tsering Statement of the Kashag on the 86th Birth Anniversary of His Holiness the Dalai Lama on 6 July 2021*

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