



TIBETAN BULLETIN

THE OFFICIAL JOURNAL OF THE CENTRAL TIBETAN ADMINISTRATION

VOLUME 16, ISSUE 3

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NewsTibet
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Tibetan Freedom (Official Tibetan weekly)
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Email: tibfreedom@tibet.net
Web: www.bod.asia

Tibet Bulletin (Official Chinese bi-monthly)
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Address: _____

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POSTAL ADDRESS:

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

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www.tibet.net/en/tibbul

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TIBETAN BULLETIN

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



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

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

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Tibetan Bulletin is published by:
Department of Information and International Relations,
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Dharamshala- 176 215 H.P. India
Tel: +91-1892-222510 / 222457

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His Holiness the Dalai Lama Awarded Honorary Doctorates in Connecticut and New York



His Holiness the Dalai Lama is presented with an honorary doctorate in liberal humanities from Western Connecticut State University in Danbury, CT, on October 19, 2012.

His Holiness the Dalai Lama is presented with an honorary doctorate in liberal humanities from Western Connecticut State University in Danbury, Connecticut, USA, on October 19, 2012. University President James Schmotter presented His Holiness with an honorary doctorate for his work in spreading peace and compassion in the world.

Later in the day, in the Hunter College Assembly Hall, President Jennifer Raab awarded His Holiness another honorary doctorate. His Holiness remarked while accepting the honour.

"I appreciate receiving this degree, not because I attach any importance to myself, but because it is recognition of my small contribution to humanity, which gives me encouragement. Thank you. I assure you that for the next 20 or 30 years, my body, speech and mind will continue to be dedicated to the well-being of others. I will continue to try to spread awareness that warm-heartedness is important for peace; a secular approach based on common sense and scientific findings."

Two Local Justice Commissioners Sworn In

Mr Tenzin Khenrab and Mr Lobsang Tsethar were sworn in as Justice Commissioners for new Local Tibetan Justice Commissions at Sonamling Tibetan Settlement, Ladakh, and Kunphenling Tibetan Settlement at Rawangla for eastern region respectively.

They became the first directly-appointed Justice Commissioners through entrance exam conducted by the Tibetan Supreme Justice Commission.

They took the oath of office from the Tibetan Supreme Justice Commissioner Ngawang Phelgyal Gyechen at a ceremony held on 13 August 2012.

The Tibetan Local Justice Commission (TLJC) for Northern Region at Dekyiling Tibetan Settlement in Dehra Dun, Uttarakhand, and (TLJC) for Southern Region at the Tibetan Settlement in Bylakuppe, Karnataka were established on 9th November 2001 and 1 May 2002 respectively.

Self-immolation continues in Tibet

Fiery protest of self-immolation continues in Tibet as 18 Tibetans set themselves on fire in the span of three months (6 August-26 October 2012) alone, taking the total cases of self-immolation to staggering 62. A week from 20-26 October alone witnessed seven cases of self-immolation of Tibetans, with twin self-immolation on 25 October. The self-immolators reiterated the demands of all other previous self-immolators; asking for the return of His Holiness the Dalai Lama to Tibet and freedom for Tibetans, and calling for unity among Tibetans. Of 62 immolators, 51 have died so far, while most of others' conditions and whereabouts are unknown.

Monk official disappeared since arrested by police in Ngaba

Lobsang Rabten 33, an official of Kirti Tsodun monastery in north-eastern Tibet's Ngaba region disappeared since he was picked up by police on the night of 19 August 2012.

The whereabouts of two monks of Kirti monastery- Lobsang Sangay 30 and Lobsang Kunchok 40 also remains unknown since they were arrested by Police in Ngaba on 14 and 17 August 2012 respectively.

Education Department Opens Centre for Teacher Education at Bhuntar

The Department of Education, CTA has established a Centre for Teacher Education at Bhuntar in Kullu district of Himachal Pradesh. Beginning April 2012, necessary infrastructural facilities have been provided to start the First Semester on 1st September 2012.

On the request of DOE, the Central University of Tibetan Studies, Sarnath agreed to establish an off-campus branch at Bhuntar to provide innovative courses on 4-year integrated B.Sc.B.Ed./B.A. B.Ed and one-Year B.Ed. The curriculum for innovative integrated courses has already been approved by the National Council for Teacher Education (NCTE), Delhi. The integrated course is to prepare competent and committed teachers who would be able to function effectively at school level.

Presently there are 22 students for B.Sc. B.Ed. and 31 students for B.A. B.Ed., with a total enrolment of 53 students selected on merit basis.

Two Teenagers among four Tibetans get Lengthy Jail Terms in Ngaba



Lobsang Tsultrim (L) and Lobsang Tashi (R)

In early September, Lobsang Tsultrim 19 and Lobsang Jangchup 17 were sentenced to 11 and 8 years in prison respectively, by the Chinese authorities. They were arrested in March this year for their alleged role in the self-immolation of Gepey on 10 March. The location of the court proceedings and the charges under which the Chinese authorities have handed down the lengthy prison sentences remain unknown.

In another case, Lobsang Tashi 22, a monk of Kirti monastery and Thubdor,

a 25 year old layman, were sentenced to seven years in prison by the Intermediate People's Court in Barkham on 18 September 2012. They were arrested and subsequently given the prison term for their alleged role in contacting with and sending information about the situation in Tibet to the outside world.

Delhi Court Order Brings Relief to Tibetans

The Tibetan community based in Majnu Ka Tilla in Delhi, which has been facing eviction from the locality, got a major relief from a new court order of 8 September 2012 to regularise their stay.

In a letter to Delhi Chief Minister Sheila Dikshit and Mr Parlad Singh Sawhney, member of legislative assembly, Kalon for the Central Tibetan Administration's Department of Home, Mrs Dolma Gyari, thanked them for giving special consideration to help Tibetans in the case.

Kalon Dolma Gyari also sought their support for the regularisation of Tibetan community at Ladakh Buddhist Vihar located near Majnu Ka Tilla, as the case is pending in the court.

Tibetan Parliament Amends Kalon Tripa to Sikyong

On 20 September 2012, the 15th Tibetan Parliament-in-Exile amended the title of Kalon Tripa to Sikyong (Tibetan Political Leader) in Article 19 of the Charter of the Tibetans in exile and relevant Articles.

The landmark charter amendment motion was unanimously approved by members of the Parliament.

Following the devolution of his political authority to the democratically-elected Tibetan leadership, His Holiness the Dalai Lama said on 8 August 2011 that he was handing over the political leadership that he inherited from Tagdra Rinpoche to Dr Lobsang Sangay, the first democratically-elected Sikyong or Tibetan political leader.

EU Voices Concern on Tibet over Meeting with Chinese PM

The EU expressed its concern over restrictions of freedom of expression and the situation in Tibet during the 15th EU-China summit in Brussels on 20 September 2012.

The President of the European Council Herman Van Rompuy and President of the European Commission José Manuel Barroso said: "On human rights we recalled that public opinion in Europe follows closely the situation in China as in other parts of the world, and, of course, in Europe itself."

"We told Premier Wen that the Human Rights Dialogue with China forms an essential part of our relationship...The EU attaches great importance to the respect for fundamental freedoms in China as in other parts of the world. We recognize the tremendous progress achieved in China by lifting hundreds of millions of people out of poverty. But there are also concerns, in particular regarding restrictions of freedom of expression and the situation in Tibet," the two top officials said.

US Ambassador Visited Ngaba

The US State Department on 16 October 2012 said that the US ambassador to China visited Ngaba in north-eastern Tibet in September where most of the self-immolations by Tibetans in protest against the Chinese government's repressive policies have taken place.

Department Spokesperson Victoria Nuland said that the Ambassador Gary Locke met with government officials and residents during a stop in Ngaba county in September. Ambassador Locke visited villages and monasteries to learn more about how ethnic Tibetan people live and work and to have a chance to talk to them.

Tibetan Leaders Meet with Deans of America's Best Colleges and Universities

As part of the CTA's effort to recruit and

support more Tibetan students to top universities and graduate schools, His Holiness the Dalai Lama, Sikyong Dr Lobsang Sangay, and Education Secretary Ngodup Tsering met with the Deans and Admissions Officers from 30+ top American universities and schools on 14 October 2012 at Massachusetts Institute of Technology, USA. The group included admissions representatives from top universities in the USA including from Ivy League (Harvard, Stanford, MIT, Caltech, Princeton, and Yale). An additional 20 highly selective universities will review top Tibetan students for potential admission to university.

The Deans also had a chance to ask His Holiness questions and engage in a dialogue on wide-ranging topics. The visit with His Holiness was followed by an hour-long private dialogue with Sikyong Dr Lobsang Sangay.

Flame of Truth relay continues across the world



Candle light vigil in Bhopal

With the completion of Flame of Truth relay in Bhopal, Madhya Pradesh, on 21 October 2012, the India leg of relay was concluded successfully. For the past three and half months, three different Flame of Truth torches have travelled to over 120 regions in 27 states of India. Seven similar torches travelling in 5 continents will cover over 30 countries by first week of November and all the collected signatures will reach the Committee on Flame of Truth relay by 15 November 2012. Five month long relay will end with submission of collected signatures and one torch each to UN Headquarters in New York, UN Human Rights Council in Geneva and UN Information Centre in New Delhi on the Universal Human Rights day (December 10).

His Holiness's Contribution Toward Reform and Democracy will be Fully Appreciated by Generations of Tibetans to come

Following is the full text of Kashag's statement on the 52nd anniversary of Tibetan Democracy Day

On the 52nd anniversary of Tibetan Democracy Day, I would like to pay the Kashag's and my personal obeisance to His Holiness the Dalai Lama and extend heartfelt greetings to fellow Tibetans in Tibet and in exile.

Today is a proud day for all Tibetans. It is the day when Tibetan exiles have



fully realized His Holiness the Dalai Lama's cherished wish to transform the Tibetan polity into a vibrant democracy. Since the age of 16, His Holiness the Dalai Lama has taken steps to introduce and consolidate Tibetan democracy. This precious gift of democracy will be treasured by all Tibetans in the same way we have treasured and embraced Buddhism for over 1300 years. As Buddhism offers liberation from suffering, democracy will provide the Tibetan people the means to attain freedom from injustice.

We can take pride in the fact that Tibetans in exile have proven that Buddhism is compatible with democracy. It is also established that all the major religious traditions, from Hinduism to Judaism, from Christianity to Shintoism are compatible with democracy. The Arab Spring has shown that Islam

and democracy are not in conflict. The question arises whether Confucianism too can embrace democracy. Vibrant democracies of Taiwan and South Korea for instance prove that Confucianism and democracy are also compatible. Democracy therefore is neither cultural specific nor developmental specific but universal.

In 1950, at the tender age of 16, His Holiness the Dalai Lama was compelled to assume leadership of the Tibetan people

at a critical period in Tibet's history. Four years later, in 1954, His Holiness the Dalai Lama constituted a Reform Committee, which held as one of its objectives the exemption of poor farmers and indigent Tibetans from heavy taxation. In 1954, His Holiness the Dalai Lama visited China, and two years later, in 1956, he visited India. Comparing the two governments, he was far more impressed with the robust discourse in the Indian parliament than the Chinese political system under communism.

Soon after coming into exile in 1959, His Holiness the Dalai Lama called for Tibetan parliamentary elections. It was on this day in September 1960, that the first Tibetan Parliament was inaugurated. As early as 1963, our leaders adopted the first democratic constitution of Tibet, which even included a provision allowing for the impeachment of

His Holiness the Dalai Lama. Women's representation was included as early as 1963, and representation of the Bon religious tradition in 1977.

In 1991, the Charter of the Tibetans in Exile was adopted and the Parliament expanded and constitutionally empowered to elect the Kashag. The Tibetan Supreme Justice Commission, formed in 1992, completed the creation of three separate pillars of democracy. In 2001, when the first-ever direct election of the Kalon Tripa took place, His Holiness the Dalai Lama declared himself as semi-retired. Then in March of last year, despite persistent appeal by Tibetans from around the world, His Holiness the Dalai Lama devolved all his political authority to the elected leader, declaring the fulfillment of his "long-cherished goal" of bringing democracy to the Tibetan people.

Despite resistance at every stage in the democratization of the Tibetan polity, His Holiness the Dalai Lama persisted in guiding his people to full democracy. From this it is clear that His Holiness the Dalai Lama has single-handedly built Tibetan democracy. Now recognized and applauded by leaders around the world, His Holiness the Dalai Lama's 60 years of total dedication, sincere motivation and visionary leadership has established him as the true democrat in the Tibetan world. The preciousness of His Holiness the Dalai Lama's contribution towards reform and democracy will be fully appreciated by generations of Tibetans to come. In appreciation of these efforts, the Tibetan people will offer a long-life prayer to His Holiness the Dalai Lama at the conclusion of the Second Special General Meeting of Tibetans in September.

Leaders around the world recognize the accomplishment of the Tibetan exiles as we institute a fully representative form of governance. In my travels as Kalon Tripa, I have had the privilege

of meeting with Nobel laureates, former presidents and prime ministers, speakers of the U.S. Congress and the Australian Parliament, and other leaders of more than a dozen countries. In the international media, as well as Indian and overseas Chinese media, the 2011 Tibetan election was recognized as genuine, credible, and reflective of the universality of democracy.

The recognition given by both global leaders and the media has enhanced the legitimacy of the elected leader of the Central Tibetan Administration. Equally important, it has strengthened the ability of the Tibetan people to carry on their struggle until justice is done and freedom restored.

As we commemorate this important anniversary, our thoughts remain with our brothers and sisters in Tibet aspiring for freedom and the return of His Holiness the Dalai Lama to his homeland. Under the continued occupation and oppressive policies of the Chinese government, 51 Tibetans have set themselves on fire. Sadly, 41 have died. The Kashag and the Tibetan Parliament will be convening the Second Special General Meeting of Tibetans in Dharamsala from September 25–28. Its primary agenda will be to discuss ways and means to address the urgent and critical situation in Tibet.

To understand the self-immolations, it is crucial to know that no space exists in Tibet for freedom of speech and other conventional forms of protest. A participant in a simple demonstration could face arrest, torture and even death. These conditions help explain the terribly high number of self-immolations in Tibet. It is a tragic irony that His Holiness the Dalai Lama is accessible to millions of people around the world, but not to his own people calling out for him in Tibet.

The Central Tibetan Administration has made consistent and repeated appeals to refrain from the drastic acts of self-immolation. Still Tibetans continue to commit this form of protest – and we in the Tibetan Administration recognize

our sacred duty to make the protesters' cries heard around the globe to all who believe in justice. Tibetans around the world offer our prayers to those Tibetans who have succumbed to self-immolation and express solidarity with the arrested, tortured and imprisoned, including all the Tibetans in Tibet who live under repressive rule.

The Kashag welcomes statements of concern from the international community. Parliamentarians from around the world, including the U.S., South Africa, Great Britain, Japan, Australia and various countries of Europe, have expressed support. We welcome the recent letter by two U.S. Congressmen urging the current U.S. Administration to undertake stronger, more coordinated and visible international diplomatic efforts to address the crisis in Tibet. Specifically, they encouraged the U.S. to host an international conference on the issue of Tibet, and establish a Contact Group among U.S. partner nations at the United Nations as an effective means of expressing support to Tibet.

We commend the European Union's first-time appointment of a EU Special Representative for Human Rights. This is a significant step to advance human rights and address the human rights violations in Tibet.

The Kashag also welcomes the work of Chinese writers and analysts within China and outside, expressing their support for the Middle-Way Policy. Since the 2008 protests in Tibet, they have published thousands of articles that urge the Chinese Communist leadership to resolve the Tibetan issue through dialogue. Many Chinese writers and intellectuals point to the Chinese government and its policies as the cause of the self-immolations and the growing resentment of the Tibetan people. As world famous artist Ai Weiwei recently said, "Tibetan people are burning themselves to death. Already over 40 of them in the past two years, and nobody's talking about it. I would feel ashamed to go to Lhasa (Capital city of Tibet)."

While we appreciate the statement of concerns and other steps being taken by various governments and the international community, we believe that concrete action is needed to help stop the tragedy in Tibet.

Today, I would like to take this occasion to reiterate the Kashag's firm commitment to the Middle-Way Policy and to dialogue to peacefully resolve the issue of Tibet. For Dharamsala and Beijing, this is a win-win proposition. Here we also welcome the U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton's recent call on the Chinese government to resume serious dialogue with the Tibetan leadership. To continue the dialogue process, the Tibetan Task Force on Negotiations will meet in December 2012 after the new Chinese leadership has assumed office.

The Tibetan spirit and their quest for freedom cannot be crushed by China's military might. In a recent interview, His Holiness the Dalai Lama said "using force for 60 years completely failed" and its revolutionary leader Mao Zedong's idea that power came from the barrel of a gun was "outdated". If China seeks to become a global power, then the rights of the Tibetans must be respected. China must also respect the aspiration of its own people and release all political prisoners, including Nobel Peace Prize winner and author of Charter 08, Mr. Liu Xiaobo.

Today, on this 52nd anniversary of Tibetan Democracy, the Kashag would also like to express its gratitude to the government and people of India for many years of generosity and hospitality.

We extend our deep appreciation to friends around the world for their support and active participation in highlighting and advancing the cause of Tibet. In November, International Tibet Support Groups will be organising a special meeting to discuss the critical situation in Tibet and further enhance the international support for the Tibetan cause.

Finally, to my fellow Tibetans, this is the time for unity and solidarity as ex-

pressed through the prayers, songs and last wishes of the self-immolators. We must remain vigilant to counter the hard line Chinese leaders' efforts to undermine the Tibetan cause. We have laid a solid foundation that will only grow stronger if we follow the three guid-

ing principles of unity, innovation and self-reliance. Tibetans are fortunate to be the beneficiary of His Holiness the Dalai Lama's vision of a democratic Tibetan polity. His unceasing efforts to bring us to this moment have helped to unleash Tibetans' dynamic energy and

empowered them to determine their own future.

We pray for the long and healthy life of His Holiness the Dalai Lama. May the aspirations of all Tibetans within and outside Tibet, be fulfilled.

Tibetan Administration will remain rock stable for as long as the cause of the Tibetan people remains to be resolved

Following is the full text of Tibetan Parliament-in-Exile's statement on the 52nd anniversary of Tibetan Democracy Day

We are today observing a particularly important occasion, namely the day marking the 52nd anniversary of our democracy. In this vast world there are many countries with diverse races of people, with their own different customs, traditions, histories, cultures and so on. Each of them have evolved different systems and ideologies of governance in accordance with their own unique situations and on the basis of the evolutions of their particular societies. However, it is democracy which is the system most loved by all the people. It is for the cause of democracy that generations after generations of people have sacrificed their lives in an unceasing quest to realize the benefits of it. The history behind it all is very obvious to us all. However, the benefits of democracy that we the Tibetan people have come to enjoy did not evolve in that way. Rather, genuine democracy, with all its beneficial implications, has been personally handed down to us as a gift by His Holiness the Dalai Lama with a great sense of elation and love borne of His infinitely compassionate realization that this was in the best possible current, future and longer term interests of the Tibetan people whose spiritual guardian he remains. And so, this is a unique day of great gratitude for a globally unprecedented deed of wondrous cause for adulation which we owe to His Holiness the Dalai Lama.

From the day He assumed the temporal and spiritual leadership of Tibet, His Holiness the Dalai Lama set out on a quest to introduce democratic reforms designed to modernize the political and government systems of the country. For that

purpose He tried to initiate a number of measures, including with the setting up for the first time of a reform commission, for the purpose of gradually setting Tibet on a course towards democracy based on freedom. Unfortunately, because of the Chinese invasion and oppressive pressures of various kinds exerted by the Chinese government during that period, there was no opportunity for Him to be able to fulfil His noble wishes. And so, immediately after arriving in exile in India, when Tibetans who had followed him after his escape gathered on the sacred ground of Bodh Gaya from across the country and sought to swear a solemn oath of utmost sanctity to follow his absolute leadership, His Holiness went ahead to press His wish that the Tibetan people vote to elect their own representatives. Accordingly, on 2 September 1960, the members of the first Tibetan Parliament-in-Exile took their oath of office before His Holiness the Dalai Lama. The great path of Tibetan democracy was thereby laid. Thereafter through successive courses of events, a draft constitution for a future, free Tibet was proclaimed. And after many years of experiences gained from taking successive steps and making progress through progressive stages, His Holiness the Dalai Lama in 1991 increased the number of deputies representing the different constituencies in the 11th Tibetan Parliament-in-Exile. Along with it, and with a view to set a new course in an effort to ensure the establishment of a meaningful democratic system in all its aspects, He finalized a new Charter of Tibetans in Exile and a requisite set of rules and regulations along with it. He changed the manner in which the Kalons had hitherto been appointed. The Tibetan Parliament-in-Exile was transformed into a true lawmaking body. From 2001, the system by which

the Kalon Tripa was directly elected by the Tibetan people was established. In particular, in 2011, His Holiness devolved all his political and administrative powers to the leaders directly elected by the Tibetan people. These are unprecedented and unimaginable deeds worthy of great admiration carried out by His Holiness the Dalai Lama for the immediate, future and longer term good of the Tibetan people and nation.

It has been a little more than a year ago that His Holiness the Dalai Lama devolved all his political and administrative powers to the leadership directly elected by the Tibetan people. During that period, efforts have been made to carry on the work of the Central Tibetan Administration and its affiliate units with ever greater success than in the past, as desired by His Holiness the Dalai Lama; and our efforts in that direction still continues. Our success in these endeavours is not only a source of great happiness to the Tibetan people but also an emphatic rebuff and cause for dismay to communist China whose successive leaders have never ceased to entertain a vicious hope for the disintegration of the Tibetan community in exile as a united people. Nevertheless, as His Holiness the Dalai Lama counsels us constantly, we should hope for the best but be prepared for the worst. We, therefore, take this opportunity to appeal to the Tibetan people as a whole that they all should assume greater responsibility for the collective cause.

Last year, after His Holiness the Dalai Lama devolved all his political and administrative powers to the elected leadership of the Tibetan people, the relevant provisions of the Charter of Tibetans in Exile as well as the rules and regula-

tions governing the Tibetan Administration in Exile were suitably amended. It was thereby ensured that the status of the Central Tibetan Administration that was established in its wake continued to be the same as that of the erstwhile set up in terms of its being recognized by the Tibetan people. This fully democratically established Central Tibetan Administration will remain rock stable for as long as the just cause of the Tibetan people remains to be resolved, with the political leadership elected by them remaining firm in pursuing a free and democratic path towards it, and continuing to represent the Tibetan people both in Tibet and in exile.

Since militarily annexing Tibet in 1959, the armed forces of communist China launched campaigns in the name of Democratic Reform and Cultural Revolution to completely destroy all the monasteries and other places of worship in the occupied territory. This was followed by ushering in of policies called reform and opening up, liberalization, freedom of religious belief and so on. But these policies were like allowing a community of fish to nurture and flourish in the gaping mouth of an alligator. The policy did allow a modicum of opportunity to rebuild some of the destroyed monasteries. However, through successive campaigns in the name of socialism, education in patriotic thinking, stability of the motherland and building a harmonious society, and so on, all sorts of restrictions and controls, including age limits and other conditions, were imposed on monks and nuns. Besides, through use of various terms, the Chinese government has set out to obliterate the religious practices and canonical commitments of the monks and nuns by forcing them to accept television sets and making them watch programmes that falsely depict the policies of the communist party of China as excellent. The religious teachers, students and practitioners were thereby deprived of the opportunities of “hearing and thinking”, “preaching and learning” and “teaching, practising and observing the vows” which are the hallmarks of the practice of the Buddhist faith. The policy design behind such a course of depriving Tibet’s monastic community of the opportunities for genu-

ine practice of their faith could only be to destroy the religion. Even hermitages built in remote places and temples have been converted into market commodities as exhibition centres to serve the tourism industry, thereby making them into one more source for generating income for the government of China. Likewise, through the implementation of projects of various kinds designed to destroy Tibet’s environment in general terms and its wild lives and so on in particular, China continues to cause very serious damages to the land. Through employment of bullying tactics and imposition of occupational reforms, Tibet’s vast community of nomads is being subjected to all sorts of objections and difficulties in their continued pursue of their centuries-old traditional way of life. Likewise, using the pretexts of celebrating the anniversaries and other events of various kinds at the levels of the Tibet Autonomous Region, the Prefectures and the Counties, the government of China carries out military exercises of various kinds across the land both in air and on land as well as armed forces deployments. Through such intimidating manoeuvres, the Tibetan people are being made to sing, dance and engage in other kinds of celebration activities to praise the Communist Party of China. Pictures are taken of such events and shown both in China and to the outside world, with the false and exaggerated explanation that earthshaking progress had taken place in Tibet under Chinese rule. In particular, Tibetans are not being allowed to display even pictures of His Holiness the Dalai Lama whom they hold as more precious than their lives and their hearts. And the whereabouts of the Panchen Lama Gedhun Choekyi Nyima recognized by His Holiness the Dalai Lama still remains unknown. To make it brief, the people of Tibet under Chinese rule continue to suffer hell on earth through endless days and nights of strike-hard campaigns of various kinds which deprive them of the right to peaceful enjoyment of all their rights and freedoms, including in the areas of their religious faith, culture, language and script, and the environment.

Nevertheless, Tibetans both in Tibet and in exile have not lost their sense of Tibetan identity and heritage. Rather, through

successive generations they have, with determination and indomitable courage, stood like an unshakeable mountain in their sense of selfless loyalty to their people and nation, and for the sake of their nation’s spiritual and political causes. In that spirit, countless number of Tibetan men and women, whether from the communities of the laity or of the clergy, have carried out successive movements to oppose and protest against the wrong policies of the Chinese government. In particular, from 2009 to 27 August 2012, according to reliable, proven information, a total of 51 Tibetans belonging to the communities of both the laity and the clergy have immolated themselves, and of them 41 have died. In these entirely non-violent protest actions in Tibet, as well as in the campaigns carried out in the outside world, the Tibetan people have raised demands that highlighted the just cause of the Tibetan people in general terms and in particular called for His Holiness the Dalai Lama to be invited back to Tibet, for the Tibetan people to be granted their rights and freedoms, for the policies designed to destroy the religious and cultural traditions of the Tibetan people to be halted, and so on. However, the Chinese government unleashed its paramilitary People’s Armed Police troops on the Tibetan protesters to suppress them. Their indiscriminate use of unrestrained violence have resulted in many precious Tibetan lives being lost and even more number of Tibetans being detained, arrested or rendered disappeared. By holding high above our heads the deeds of courage shown by the heroic Tibetans in Tibet who endure endless streams of oppression and torture, with a feeling of empathy and oneness with them through good and bad times, and with a view to seek the realization of all their aspirations, we continue to carry out substantial measures of non-violent campaign actions. And, of course, we intend to continue to carrying out such actions till the very end so long as we do not achieve our goal. For the purpose of working out a response to the current tragic situation in Tibet, it has been decided that a second Special General Meeting of Tibetans in accordance with the provisions of Article 51 of the Charter of Tibetans in Exile will be held from September 25 to 28 this year.

The Tibetan Parliament-in-Exile on July 6 this year led the launch of a Flame of Truth rally from three places in India and this rally is still continuing. And from today, the 2nd day of September, this campaign is planned to be launched gradually in more than 30 other countries, excluding India, Nepal and Bhutan. We appeal to all the Tibet Support Groups and fellow-Tibetans living in these countries to extend their support to the rally as well as to participate in it.

His Holiness the Dalai Lama has on successive occasions emphasized that while the Tibetan people do not lack in terms of our unique culture, customs, traditions, and so on, we must also take to the path of improving and progressing in our modern knowledge. All fraternal Tibetans must be clear in our understanding of the fact that ever since the time when human beings evolved on this earth, we have been of the same flesh, blood and bones in our ancestry and that the profound and vast spiritual and cultural heritage that we have inherited is our common national wealth to be treasured. We should not only preserve it but also pursue our education so as to gain mastery in every field of the modern world knowledge. To be thereby able to gain equality with and walk shoulder to shoulder with the rest of the world is the common duty of all the tsampa-eating Tibetans. In particular, it is important to understand that the youths of today are the masters of future Tibet. Efforts should therefore be made by every available means, by everyone concerned, and with ever greater vigour that without suffering any degeneration in their unique Tibetan characteristics marked by truthfulness, moral uprightness, and kindness, they should all be able take off by flapping their wings in a synchrony of both traditional and modern educational up-bringsings.

Taking the opportunity of today's occasion, we have a message for the leaders of the People's Republic of China as well. At this moment China is nationally preoccupied with a flurry of urgent activities, including especially over the upcoming leadership changes. Nevertheless, we would like to call on them not to ignore and scorn the issue of Tibet even while

knowing fully well that it has been continuously gaining ever greater urgency internationally. We urge them to have a serious sense of responsibility on the situation in Tibet and review all the policies that they have adopted on it thus far. And we would like to remind them with urgency to make efforts to hold peaceful negotiations so as to find a way to accommodate and fulfil in a meaningful manner the genuine aspirations of the Tibetan people.

It is inherent in the nature of the world today that the countries in it are interdependent, including in the field of economy. Nevertheless, we appeal to all the nations and peoples of this world who love freedom and justice not to be obsessed with the primacy of their temporary economic interests alone. Rather, we appeal to them to truthfully support the Tibetan people in both words and deeds on the basis of understanding the justness of the Tibetan cause. Once the Sino-Tibetan dispute, which is centered in the centre of middle-east Asia, is fully solved, not only will the troubles simmering between the world's two most populous countries be resolved but also it bears no mention that the whole world will reap the greatest possible amounts of peace and other dividends and benefits. Today, parliaments of many countries of the world and other bodies have adopted resolutions and so on to express support for the just cause of the Tibetan people while various other forms of support also continues. We would like to reiterate our appeal to them to continue doing so with ever greater vigour, given the fact that the situation in Tibet continues to deteriorate with a constantly rising seriousness.

Today, the government of China, having abandoned all sense of shame, makes a show of flaunting its vicious, hardline policies. On that basis, it invariably ignores and tramples upon all international expressions of support for the just cause of the Tibetan people, with there being no question whatsoever of it acknowledging, much less considering implementing, even a tiny part of such criticisms or calls to redress the situation in Tibet. More than that, China withdrew and brought to an end the series of talks between the two sides that was in fact initiated by itself in

the first place. At the same time, China greatly strengthened the state of repression and brutality in Tibet with greater intensity than in the past. And because such repression and persecution continues unabated, we would like to call with emphatic stress on the UN and many of its member countries, as well as on governments, peoples, organizations of various kinds, prominent public figures, journalists, and so on who support freedom and justice to carry out thorough investigations to find out the truth about the aspirations of the Tibetan people, the brutally inhuman policies being pursued by the government of China in Tibet, and on the truly voluminous streams of misrepresentations, lies and distortions of facts that China continues to bring out. They should stress to the Chinese government that it is high time that it should find a way to try to resolve with speediness, and in whatever way it can, the troubled situation in Tibet in general terms and especially the very serious crisis that continues there today.

Also, on this momentous celebratory occasion, we would like to express heartfelt gratitude to the central and state governments and to all the people of India for having extended immense facilities of livelihood, education and so on to the Tibetan refugees over the last more than 50 years, undeterred by difficulties and obstacles. Likewise, we would also like to express our gratitude to the many governments of the world, leaders, the Tibet support group community, and the private individuals who support and have been supporting the Tibetan cause.

Finally, we pray that His Holiness the Dalai Lama live a long, long life, that all his wishes be fulfilled in a spontaneous manner, and that the just cause of the Tibetan people be definitely realised expeditiously.

Tibetan Parliament-in-Exile,
Dharamsala
2 September 2012

Report adopted at the Second Special General Meeting of the Tibetan People held in 2012 under Article 59 of the Charter of Tibetans in Exile

Friday, 28 September 2012

All the delegates who have been taking part in the Second Special General Meeting of the Tibetan People, being held in 2012 in accordance with the Provisions of Article 59 of the Charter of Tibetans in Exile, are unanimous in their view that a special resolution should be adopted beseeching that His Holiness the Dalai Lama condescend to grant divine absolution for the cause for upset that recently disturbed His sacred mental serenity and for the purpose of ensuring that the Tibetan citizens – his followers – may have a sense of standard to be adhered to in any course of their acts of commission and omission.

Preface

His Holiness the Fourteenth Dalai Lama, the undisputed divine protector of all sentient beings, including the gods in heaven; the human manifestation of the designated protector-deity of Tibet Chenresig; a great champion of world peace and the master on this earth of all the teachings of the Buddha always has in His mind the well being of the Tibetan people in general. In particular, He assumed charge as the spiritual leader and temporal head of Tibet at 16 years of age. In that role, He, with His clairvoyant view of the future, pointed the way to a mutually beneficial strategy in the form of the Middle Way policy for resolving the Sino-Tibetan dispute. And to the Tibetan people he provides compassionate care of such immense degree for current, future and longer term benefits in the fields of religion, culture, economy and so on that it would be hard to repay the gratitude He has showered upon us all. And it bears no utterance that the boundless expanse of gratitude we the entire people of Tibet owe to His Holiness could never be forgotten.

Nevertheless, on account of the activities of a miniscule section within the Ti-

betan public in the recent past, betraying a lack of a sense of gratitude, His Holiness had to make certain emphatic comments of a feeling of hurt during His talks in Italy and Ladakh. In view of this development, We the entirety of the delegates from both the Central Tibetan Administration and the Tibetan



public attending this Second Special General Meeting of the Tibetan People in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter of Tibetans in Exile, being weighed down by a sense of immense concern, consider it important to pray for absolution from His Holiness for this infraction and to set out at this special general meeting a course of a standard of conduct by all Tibetans – his followers – for their acts of commission and omission and so on.

Resolution

1) With regard to the standard of conduct to be maintained by all Tibetan followers in the backdrop of the cause for a feeling of hurt which had visited upon His Holiness the Dalai Lama recently, it shall be ensured that Resolution No. 105 adopted by the 15th Tibetan Parliament-in-Exile at its 4th session is implemented in every place where Tibetans are settled with the ensuring of the attainment of its intended results.

2) Led principally by the Kashag and the Tibetan Parliament-in-Exile, all the delegates participating in this Special General Meeting of the Tibetan People would like to appeal to all the Tibetans in exile, whether they act in any official capacity or as private individuals, not to spoil the rare opportunity that they have

today and to be extra-cautious in their acts of commission and omission; that as and when such incidents recur in future, we shall, without any hesitation, assume resolute responsibility to deal with the situation in an appropriate and timely manner, including with provisions of explanations and clarifications to refute any kind of false claims.

3) All the delegates taking part in the current Special General Meeting of the Tibetan People are of one voice, acting on behalf of all Tibetans in Tibet and in exile, in praying with a hundred-fold repetitiveness and with a single-minded focus in devotion that His Holiness condescend to overlook His feeling of hurt over the cause for offence that has recently perturbed the otherwise tranquil bearing of his sacred mind; that His Holiness live for a hundred aeons and in that milieu continue to hold us, the sentient beings of the Land of Snows, with a feeling of fondness and a sense of trustworthiness.

Adopted unanimously by the participants in the Second Special General Meeting of the Tibetan People held in accordance with the provisions of the Charter of Tibetans in Exile on this the 28th day of September 2012, in the cor-

respondent Tibetan Royal Year 2139.

Penpa Tsering,
Speaker,
Tibetan Parliament-in-Exile

Khenpo Sonam Tenphel,
Deputy Speaker,
Tibetan Parliament-in-Exile

REPORT

With the objective of discussing the question what actions the Tibetan people and the Tibetan administration in exile should adopt in response to the tragic situation in Tibet today, the Tibetan Parliament-in-Exile and the Kashag of the Central Tibetan Administration have jointly organized at Dharamsala the Second Special General Meeting of the Tibetan People in accordance with the provisions of Article 59 of the Charter of Tibetans in Exile, with the meeting being held over a period of four days from 25 to 28 September 2012. Pursuant to this, a total of 432 delegates from 26 countries arrived to take part in the meeting. After the meeting's inaugural ceremony was concluded in the morning of 25 September, the delegates were divided equally among ten committees. Extensive discussions were held at the meetings of these committees until 11:00 AM on 27 September. The reports of each of these committees were then presented one by one at a plenary meeting of all the delegates. On the following day, which was 28 September, the core contents of the suggestions contained in each report had already been compiled and summarized. However, it was felt that recording all the different suggested courses of campaign actions in all their details would result in an unwieldy stack of papers. However, because implementing the adopted planned courses of campaign actions would have to be based on the relevant background information, the reports of all the committees have been appended to this final report. The following are the summarized items of the courses of campaign actions finalized on the basis of a point-by-point presentation and adoption of each of them:

Subject Matter One

Courses of campaign activities to be carried out within the Tibetan community in exile by the Tibetan people and the Tibetan administration in exile by

way of their responses to the tragic situation in Tibet today

1) The government of China is employing subversion and conspiracy in its active pursuit by every possible direct and indirect means to try to create disaffection between the Tibetan people and their administration in exile. In particular, given the high possibility of incidents like physical harm being brought by it upon the person of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, it is all the more important that both the host government of India and the Central Tibetan Administration treat the matter with ever greater attention and due diligence.

2) It should be ensured that whatever campaign action is pursued for the furtherance of the Tibetan cause is in conformity with the wishes of His Holiness the Dalai Lama and, on that basis, reflects collective efforts of the Tibetan people and their administration in exile and their capability to swiftly carry forward the struggle with steadfastness of adherence to their resolute position.

3) The 'Middle Way' policy which is mutually beneficial to the peoples of both China and Tibet is in accordance with the wishes of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, is accepted by the Tibetan people both in Tibet and in exile, and has been unanimously supported on successive occasions by the Tibetan Parliament-in-Exile. In keeping with these developments, further steps were taken, resulting in a number of rounds of talks so far between the Chinese government and the Tibetan side. However, because of lack of any positive response from the Chinese government, which resorted to exaggerations and distortions of the Tibetan position, the Special envoys from the Tibetan side felt themselves to be left with no option but to submit their resignations recently. In order to revive the stalled process of dialogue with representatives of the Chinese gov-

ernment and resume the contacts, efforts should be continued to seek support from as many countries as possible, including India, the United States of America and Europe. From the Kashag's side, the issue of working out a course of restarting the contacts as soon as possible should be given high priority. With regard to this matter, it is also important for the Kashag to make efforts to enhance the extent and level of understanding of the principles and objectives underlying the mutually beneficial Middle Way policy both in and outside Tibet but especially among the Chinese people.

4) In order to express our admiration and to memorialize the resoluteness with which a total of 56 patriotic and heroic Tibetan men and women in and outside Tibet have sacrificed their lives by setting themselves on fire for the cause of the Tibetan religion, nation and people, a memorial hall should be especially built, with displays of the pictures and the personal stories of each such martyr. In particular, a large-scale dedication prayer service and religious offering should be held for them at the major sacred Buddhist sites. And for the purposes of conveying condolences, holding mourning and expressing empathy with the self-immolators' surviving family members, close relatives and so on, the entire Tibetan community in exile – the Central Tibetan Administration as well as the Tibetan public – should hold a major large scale activity all at once.

5) Efforts should be made to fulfil the wishes expressed by such heroic Tibetan men and women in the last testaments left behind by them. These testaments should also be translated into different languages and publicized widely. Besides, efforts should be made to preserve them as historical records for the future by archiving them.

6) For the purpose of commemorating the

blood sacrifices made by Tibetan men and women in and outside Tibet, a day should be finalized for the purpose of observing it each year as the Martyr's Day.

7) Efforts should be strengthened more than ever before to try to fulfil one of the main wishes of the heroic Tibetan men and women who have sacrificed their lives by setting themselves on fire, as well as of all the other Tibetans in Tibet and in exile, namely, to have His Holiness the Dalai Lama invited back to Tibet.

8) The ethnic Tibetan population is a particularly small one; it therefore bears no mention that even if just one Tibetan loses his or her life under the current especially tragic situation in Tibet, the loss to the Tibetan race would be immense. We would therefore like to convey through this Special General Meeting our great concern over the ongoing self-immolation actions and appeal to the Tibetan people that henceforth they preserve their life with a sense of preciousness. On the side of the government of China, we insist that there be a fair and just investigation of the real causes underlying the current tragic situation in Tibet. Besides, China should understand that the degree of pains that the entirely baseless and indiscriminate name calling and blasphemy it keeps uttering against His Holiness the Dalai Lama are to the Tibetan people both in Tibet and in exile like that of being stabbed repeatedly in our hearts with a knife. If the government of China still does not change its hardline policy, there is every possibility that the tragic situation in Tibet today will worsen even further and it should bear the entire responsibility for the imminent future consequences flowing from it.

9) With regard to the nature of the nationally inspired ongoing self-immolation actions being carried out in Tibet, they are to be recognized as being among the highest form of non-violent campaign action being carried out in this world.

10) It is very important that in order to bring about a situation of peace in the tragedy wrecked Tibet of today, and for the purpose of realizing the just cause of the Tibetan people, as many campaign activities as possible need to be carried out on a continuous basis. For all this and re-

lated purposes, a strong financial support would be extremely crucial. Hence an emergency voluntary endowment fund, including through contributions from the Tibetan public, should be raised and there should also be an increase in the amount of the voluntary tax contributions from the Tibetan public.

11) An emergency committee consisting of members from both the Central Tibetan Administration and the Tibetan public should be newly constituted and campaign actions carried out through the pooling of the capabilities of both the administration in exile and the Tibetan civil society groups.

12) With regard to all types of propaganda distortions being carried out by the communist Chinese government on His Holiness the Dalai Lama, on the history of Tibet, and on the struggle for the fundamental Tibetan cause, timely responses should be provided as and when they occur.

13) The Central Tibetan Administration and the various types of Tibetan non-governmental organizations should carry out as many campaign actions as possible, guided by the directive from the Kashag and the Tibetan Parliament-in-Exile that the campaigns be non-violent, in conformity with the laws of the concerned host countries, and dignified.

14) In an effort to win over the Tibetan people to its side, the Chinese government is today employing both material and human resources more than ever before in its relentless efforts to create disaffection within the Tibetan community in exile as well as between the exile Tibetan community and their local host communities through vicious machinations of sowing seeds of enmity between them and spreading false rumours. Therefore at this critical moment, the need of the hour is for the Tibetan people to enhance their internal harmony and overall solidarity.

15) Under the coercive pressure of the Chinese government, the Tibetan religious, cultural, linguistic and customary traditions and so on are being destroyed in Tibet. In view of this tragic development, Tibetans living in exile in free countries should preserve and perpetuate their reli-

gion, culture and language through efforts in education. Campaigns like the Lhakar should be extended and carried out throughout the Tibetan settled localities.

16) That there is a real problem of the Tibetan population being too small for the purposes of carrying on the struggle both from the current and from the long term perspectives is an obvious fact. There is therefore a need to increase the birth and nurturing of Tibetan children and the Central Tibetan Administration should give special consideration to caring for families having three or more children.

17) As per the desire of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, the Central Tibetan Administration and the Tibetan public should work in a coordinated manner in upholding the continued stability of our system of administration which is in keeping with the requirements of a genuine democracy in all its aspects.

Subject Matter Two

Courses of campaign activities to be carried out internationally

1) On the occasion of this Special General Meeting of the Tibetan People, the people of Tibet expresses tremendous gratitude to the governments, parliaments, and the non-governmental bodies across the world which have extended their support to the Tibetan cause. Campaign work must be continued in an effort to win support for the Tibetan cause by increasing contacts with them. In particular, campaign activities must be continued to win support for the Tibet issue from the United Nations and the European Union. Besides, timely efforts should be made on a continuous basis to appeal to the international community to bring pressure on the government of China with a view to bring to an end its brutal policies in Tibet. For this purpose efforts should be made to spread awareness about the tragedy of the situation in Tibet, especially with regard to the state of religious freedom, human rights, the natural environment and education, as well as China's policy of forced relocation and settling down of the Tibetan nomadic population with the clarity of factual evidences. On this basis, Offices of Tibet should be set up in countries where they do not exist yet or efforts should be

made to set up Tibet support groups in such countries.

2) In order to find out about the actual tragic situation in Tibet, it is important that efforts should be made to enable an independent international investigation team to undertake a visit there at the earliest possible moment; in order to bring this about, numerous types of campaign activities should be carried out.

3) With regard to the factual tragic accounts about the ongoing torture and repression in Tibet being carried out by the government of China without any sort of restraint, research should be undertaken by Tibetan legal scholars in exile. By this means, the evidences should be compiled and the involvement of the concerned Chinese leaders and officials during their occurrences should be exposed. Charges should then be brought against such named Chinese officials before the relevant international criminal courts.

4) Interaction should be made with internationally acclaimed singers, both men and women, and a campaign to publicize and garner support for the Tibetan cause through artistic means should be initiated thereby.

5) Efforts should be strengthened to further improve the Central Tibetan Administration's Tibet.net website and its Tibet-Online.tv web TV in order to make them multilingual, including in Chinese and English, and by that means greater publicity to the Tibet issue should be pushed in every corner of the world.

6) There are so many Tibetan Buddhist centres in countries across the world, including especially in countries that are the world's major powers. By enhancing their level of focus on the issue, the administrative heads and the resident lamas, tulkus and other types of religious teachers of these centres should use the opportunities both after their religious teaching sessions and at every other possible opportune moment to bring about interest in their students to support the issue of Tibet and its history. For this purpose, the Central Tibetan Administration should at once establish contact with the various Tibetan Buddhist centres in those countries.

7) Efforts should be made to get the European Union, as well as individual governments and parliaments, to set up their own special coordinators on the issue of Tibet, as has been done by the government of the United States of America with the appointment of a Special Coordinator on Tibetan issues.

Subject Matter Three

Courses of campaign activities to be carried out in Asian countries

1) It is important to strengthen our contacts with the Indian government leaders both at the centre and in the states. In addition, efforts should be made to undertake extensive courses of activities such as holding discussions and exchanges of knowledge between students in Indian and Tibetan educational institutions at all levels as well as in organizing cultural exhibitions and artistic performances and so on from both the sides.

2) With Taiwan in the main, many Southeast Asian countries are visited by a large number of tourists, students and others from mainland China; in view of this fact, efforts should be made to establish new links with the relevant organizations and educational institutions in these countries.

3) There are also many Tibetan Buddhist centres in the Southeast Asian countries and the Department of Religion and Culture of the Central Tibetan Administration should strive to stimulate interest in them to understand that the religious traditions and the culture of Tibet remain in grave peril and in dire need of support and help from them for their survival.

4) Apart from India, all the countries of Southeast Asia should be brought under focus for the purposes of raising awareness about the religion, language, culture, and national traditions and habits, the natural environment and so on of Tibet. In addition, it is important to embark on a quest to seek support for the Tibetan issue in the countries of Southeast Asia by raising awareness about the high degree of connection between such support and the livelihood, economic productivity, natural environment, climate conditions and so on in these countries. Efforts should also

be made to seek support for the just cause of Tibet from the various leaders in these countries.

5) There is an ever growing publicity about the issue of Tibet in most countries of the world these days; however, it is important to increase even further the publicizing of the Tibet issue in the Arab countries, such as Jordan, in Asia's middle-east region.

6) Members of the Tibetan Muslim community should make the main effort, using the links inherent in the commonality of their religious faith, to win support for the just cause of Tibet from the Muslim countries with regard to the ongoing repression and torture beyond any kind of limit being carried out in Tibet by the Chinese government.

7) Religious leaders in the Buddhist countries of Southeast Asia should be invited to the Tibetan community in exile. And along with holding of discussions about Buddhism with them, attempts should be made to win support from them for the just Tibetan cause.

8) This Special General Meeting of the Tibetan People expresses immense gratitude to the central and local governments and peoples of the countries where Tibetans reside for having extended to them their support and hospitality thus far.

All the delegates to the Second Special General Meeting of the Tibetan People held under Article 59 of the Charter of Tibetans in Exile on 28 September 2012, in the corresponding Tibetan Royal Year 2139

Penpa Tsering
Speaker
Tibetan Parliament-in-Exile

Khenpo Sonam Tenphel
Deputy Speaker
Tibetan Parliament-in-Exile

14TH KASHAG COMPLETES ONE YEAR IN OFFICE



A LETTER FROM KALON TRIPA (Now Sikyong)

8 August 2012

Dear Friends,

Today, on this auspicious Wednesday, the 14th Kashag observes the one-year completion of its Administration. I would like to take this opportunity to reflect on and highlight a few accomplishments and developments, and share with you some thoughts as we move forward.

The Kalon Tripa was entrusted with the monumental responsibility of ensuring a smooth transition in the wake of His Holiness the Dalai Lama's historic decision to devolve political power to an elected leadership in March 2011. This is a responsibility that we have handled reasonably well so far, thanks to the unity, solidarity and support from Tibetans in and outside Tibet, and our friends.

The leadership transition coincided with a tumultuous period marked by an unprecedented wave of Tibetans self-immolating – the paramount form of protests against China's occupation of Tibet. A total of 46 known incidents of

self-immolations have occurred in Tibet with all but one occurring since March 2011. While we urge Tibetans to refrain from such drastic form of protest, we hold the repressive policies of the Chinese government solely responsible for this tragic turn of events.

On a more positive note, I am pleased to let you know that the past year was productive as we made some progress on a few fronts.

Keeping the spotlight on Tibet: The 14th Kashag's efforts to sustain attention on Tibet and enhance the profile of the Tibetan political leadership attained some levels of momentum fueled by an energetic outreach effort. My colleagues in the Kashag have been traveling to various countries and my travels have taken me to seventeen different cities on four continents. I have met with senior government officials, prominent lawmakers, including the Speaker of the U.S. Congress, well-known media organizations, and other notable world citizens like Nobel Peace Laureates with whom I have highlighted the dire situation in Tibet and sought their support. Important resolutions supporting Tibet and Tibetans were passed in the U.S. Senate and the European Parliament and around 100 Japanese parliamentarians issued a public appeal

supporting Tibet. International media appear to be giving more attention to the Tibetan situation. Many new friends and important contacts were made.

New Initiatives: Several initiatives were launched in the areas of the Central Tibetan Administration (CTA) staff reform, strengthening policy research, development capacity, mobilizing human resources, and health. The five that I would like to highlight are: CTA Recruitment Training Program, Tibet Policy Institute, Tibet Corps, launching of the Tibetan Medicare System and establishment of a process to award Geshema degree for nuns. The underlying principles guiding these initiatives were unity, innovation and self-reliance.

Transforming CTA: In order to make the CTA and its thousand plus civil servants a professional organization and workforce, we took steps to integrate the use of technology, streamline staff transfer policies, and identify ways to better match staff ability with positions. In the area of technology, the CTA website was completely redesigned (www.tibet.net) and internet bandwidth was quadrupled. About one-third of computers in the CTA have been replaced with new ones. Email and online communication and collaboration were

Fact Sheet on Self-Immolation Incidents in T

	Name	Affiliation	Location of Incident	Age	Father's Name	Mother's Name	Date of Self Immolation	Current Status
1	Tapey	Kirti Monastery	Ngaba town	20s			27/2/2009	Unknown
2	Phuntsok	Kirti Monastery	Ngaba town	21	Tsering Tashi	Dzongkar	16/3/2011	Died on 17/3/2011
3	Tsewang Norbu/Norko	Nyitso Monastery, Tawo County	Main street, Tawu townnpa	29	Tsokye	Choklek	15/8/2011	Died on 17/3/2011
4	Lobsang Kelsang	Kirti Monastery	Ngaba town	18/19	Tsering Tashi		26/9/2011	Legs amputated, Unknown
5	Lobsang Kunchok	Kirti Monastery	Ngaba town,	18/19			26/9/2011	Serious condition after legs amputation
6	Kelsang Wangchuk	Kirti Monastery	Ngaba town,	17	Tsurdri	Dechok	3/10/2011	Permanently paralysed after spinal injury
7	Choephel	Former Kirti monk	Ngaba town	19			7/10/2011	Died 11/10/2011
8	Khaying/Lhungyang	Former Kirti monk	Ngaba town	18			7/10/2011	Died 08/10/2011
9	Norbu Dramdul	Former Kirti monk	Ngaba town	19			15/10/2011	Died on 05/1/2012
10	Tenzin Wangmo	Mamae Dechen Choekhorling Nunnery	Near nunnery, Ngaba	20	Nyitse		17/10/2011	Died on 17/10/2011
11	Dawa Tsering	Karze Monastery	Karze Monastery	38	Delek	Dontso	25/10/2011	Unknown
12	Palden Choetsang/Choesang	Gaden Choeling Nunnery, Tawu	Tawu Namgyal Stupa	35	Joney	Kolen	3/11/2011	Died on 3/11/2011
13	Tenzin Phuntsok	Former monk Karma Monastery, Chamdo	Near Karma Monastery	40s			1/12/2011	Died on 6/12/2011
14	Tsultrim	Former Kirti Monk	Near Kirti Monastery	20s			6/1/2012	Died on 7/1/2012
15	Tennyi	Former Kirti monk	Near Kirti Monastery	20s			6/1/2012	Died on 6/1/2012
16	Sonam Wangyal	Tulku, Darlag Monastery	Golog	40s			8/1/2012	Died on 8/1/2012
17	Lobsang Jamyang	Ngaba Town	Ngaba	22	Gyatso	Lhachung	14/1/2012	Died on 16/1/2012
18	Rigzin Dorjee	Meruma Town	No 2 Primary school Ngaba	19	Garpa Tsongkho	Dhunkar	8/2/2012	Died on 21/2/2012
19	Sonam Rabyang	Lab Monastery, Kyegudo	Triwang town	42			8/2/2012	Unknown
20	Tenzin Chodron	Mamae Dechen Choekhorling Nunnery	Near nunnery, Ngaba	18	Lopay	Tsepo	8/2/2012	Died on 08/2/2012
21	Lobsang Gyatso	Kirti Monastery	Ngaba,	19	Badzri	Pekar	13/2/2012	Unknown
22	Dhamchoe Sangpo	Bongthak Mnstery	Bongthak Monastery	30s	Takilha		17/2/2012	Died on 17/2/2012
23	Nangdrol		Zamthang	18	Chensig	Nyingmo	19/2/2012	Died on 19/2/2012
24	Tsering Kyi	Tibetan Middle School, Machu	Main market, Machu	20			3/3/2012	Died on 03/3/2012
25	Rinchen	Ngaba	Kirti Gonpa	32	Rana	Lhakho	4/3/2012	Died on 04/3/2012
26	Dorjee	Cha Ruwa, Ngaba	Cha town	18	Chacha		5/3/2012	Died on 05/3/2012
27	Gepey	Kirti Monastery	Ngaba	18	Chakdor	Chako	10/3/2012	Died on 10/3/2012
28	Jamyang Palden	Rongpo Monastery, Rebkong	Dolma square, Rebkong	34	Kunchok Kyab	Chakmo	14/3/2012	Serious condition
29	Lobsang Tsultrim	Kitti Monastery	Ngaba town	20	Yeshe	Tsedron	16/3/2012	Died on 19/3/2012

Tibet (27 February 2009 to 26 October 2012)

30	Sonam Dhar-gyal	Rebgong	Rebgong	44	Shamo	C h a k m o Gyal	17/3/2012	Died on 17/3/2012
31	Lobsang Sher-ab	Cha Town	Ngaba town	20			28/3/2012	Died on 28/3/2012
32	Tempa Dargey	Tsodun, Bharkham	Bharkham	22	Kalden	Paltso	30/3/2012	Died on 7/4/2012
33	Chimey Palden	Tsodun, Bharkham	Bharkham	21	Rabgye	Machiktso	30/3/2012	Died on 30/3/2012
34	Sonam	Dzamthang,Ngaba	Ngaba town	20s		Samkye	19/4/2012	Died on 19/4/2012
35	Choepak Kyab	Dzamthang,Ngaba	Ngaba town	20s	Sungthar	Penay	19/04/2012	Died on 19/4/2012
36	Doejee Tseten	Sangchu, Labrang	Infront of Jokhang	19			27/5/2012	Died on 27/5/2012
37	Dhargye	Ngaba	Jokhang	20s			27/5/2012	Unknown
38	Rikyo	Dzamthang, Ngaba	Dzamthang Mon-astery	36	Chuklo	Rinlha	30/5/2012	Died on 30/5/2012
39	Tamding Thar	Infront of Local Po-lice station	Infront of Police station	64			15/6/2012	Died on 15/6/2012
40	N g a w a n g Norphel	Chentsa, Amdo	Tridu, Yushul	22	L h a k p a Dhondup	T s e r i n g Yangchen	20/6/2012	Died on 30/7/2012
41	Tenzin Khedup	Ngaba, Amdo	Tridu, Yushul	24	Lhakdup	Kyizom	20/6/2012	Died on 20/6/2012
42	Dekyi Cho-ezom	Tridu, Yushul	Yushul, Amdo	40s			27/6/2012	Unknown
43	Tsewang Dor-gee	Damshung, near Lhasa	Damshung, TAR	22			7/7/2012	Died on 10/7/2012
44	Lobsang Lozin	Bharkham, Ngaba	Tsodun, Kirti		Jorgye	Tsepopo	17/7/2012	Died on 17/7/2012
45	Lobsang Tsul-trim	Kirti Monastery	Ngaba, Amdo	21	Tsewang	Donkar Kyi	6/8/2012	Died 6/8/2012
46	Dolkar Tso	Tsoe Tasar, Amdo	Near Tsoe Mon-astery	26	Druk Gy-alkhar	Sangye Tso	7/8/2012	Died 7/8/2012
47	Choepa`	Meuruma, Ngaba	Meuruma, Ngaba	24	Palho	Madon	10/8/2012	Died 10/8/2012
48	Lungtok	Kirti Monastery	Ngaba	20	Richung	Lumo	13/8/2012	Died
49	Tashi	Former Kirti monk	Ngaba	21		Ngapo	13/8/2012	Died 14/8/2012
50	Lobsang Kal-sang	Kirti Monastery	Kirti M, Ngaba	18	Tsekho Dor-gee	Sangaydon	27/8/2012	Died 27/8/2012
51	Dhamchoe	Ngaba	Kirti M, Ngaba	17	Doshi Lobe	Tsepo	27/8/2012	Died 27/8/2012
52	Yungdrung	Chamdo, Kham	Zatoe town, Yushul	27			29/9/2012	Unknown
53	Gudrup	Driru, Nagchu	Driru, Nagchu	43			4/10/2012	Died 4/10/2012
54	Sangay Gyatso	Tsoe, Kanlho	Tsoe, Kanlho	27	Gompo	Gompo Tso	6/10/2012	Died 6/10/2012
55	Tamdin Dorjee	Tsoe, Kanlho	Tsoe, Kanlho	52			13/10/2012	13/10/2012
56	Lhamo Kyab	Bhora, Kanlho	Bhora, Kanlho	27			20/10/2012	Died 20/10/2012
57	Dhondup	Sangchu, Amdo	Near Labrang, Sangchu				22/10/2012	Died 22/10/2012
58	Dorjee Rinchen	Labrang Zayul, Amdo	Infont of the lo-cal police station, Sangchu, Kanlho	57			23/10/2012	Died 23/10/2012
59	Lhamo Tseten	Amchok, Sangchu, Amdo	Infomt of local court & military base, Amchok	24	N a m c h u k Tsering	S u n g d u e Tso	26/10/2012	Died 26/10/2012
60	T h u b w a n g Kyab	Ruming Village, Labrang, Sangchu	Sangkhog	23		Lumo Jam	26/10/2012	Died 26/10/2012
61	Tsepo	Nagro Phampa, Driru, Nagchu, TAR	Nagro Phampa, Driru, Nagchu, TAR	20	Bhuchung	Gaga	25/10/2012	Died 25/10/2012
62	Tenzin	Nagro Phampa, Driru, Nagchu, TAR	Nagro Pham-pa, Driru, Nagchu, TAR	25	Nyima	Lugge	25/10/2012	Whereabouts un-known

moved to a newer and more secure platform (Google Apps). With regards to staff transfer, a new unit was created and tasked with managing the placement and transfer process. A well-established system is in place to ensure the smooth functioning of the Kashag even while the Kalon Tripa travels outside Dharamsala.

Deepening Community Connection:

The 14th Kashag's foreign travels were complemented by a robust domestic travel schedule to hear first-hand the issues and concerns of the people. Towards this end, my colleagues in the Kashag and I visited most of the Tibetan settlements in India, including Jangthang area in Ladakh.

Education: One of the priority areas of the current Administration is education. Some progress in the first year include:

- Exclusive meetings that brought together Tibetan school principals and administrators where discussion topics included strengthening administration, bringing innovation and improving academic standards;
- taking significant steps to realize the previous administration's plan to launch a four-year integrated teachers' training institute in Buntar, Himachal Pradesh;
- securing a US\$2 million education grant from the U.S. Government;

Kalon Pema Chhinjor: Department of Religion and Culture

The Department of Religion and Culture has formulated a five-year plan in accordance with the three guiding principles of Kalon Tripa Dr Lobsang Sangay, unity, innovation and self-reliance.

Firstly, during this year's annual conference of heads of four schools of Tibetan Buddhism and Bon religion, we had put forward and deliberated on the department's plans for the next 2-3 years, putting a special focus on the plans that we are currently pursuing. One of the proposals was regarding the conferment of

• forwarding a detailed proposal to the Indian authority to transfer the management of Central Schools for Tibetans (CST).

Relief for Tibetans: The Indian authorities kindly agreed to extend the validity of the Registration Certificate (RC) for Tibetans born in India as well as those who have held RC for twenty years or more. Tibetans may now renew their RC once every five years as opposed to the current requirement of every six months to a year.

The resettlement project of Tibetan from Arunachal Pradesh to Canada has been launched and the concerned authorities are taking steps in this project.

For the new arrivals from Tibet, during their stay in India, considerations are made with the initiatives to provide vocational skills, further education and other opportunities.

Dialogue with China: We are committed to the Middle-Way Approach and the dialogue process to resolve the Tibet issue on the basis of mutual benefit. The Tibetan Task Force on Negotiations has met twice in the last eight months and will meet again in December to continue the dialogue process with the new Chinese leadership. Prominent leaders, including the U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, called on the Chinese government to continue a serious dialogue on the issue of Tibet.

Looking ahead, the Kashag and the Tibetan Parliament will be convening the 2nd Special General Meeting of Tibetans in Dharamsala from September 25-28, 2012. The primary agenda will be to discuss ways and means to deal with the urgent and critical situation in Tibet. Another important upcoming gathering is the Special International Tibet Support Groups Meeting.

In addition to strengthening some of the initiatives and areas already outlined, the current administration plans to further upgrade the CTA's capacity on some fronts, including internet security, TibetOnline.tv, entrepreneurship, and revitalization of the Tibetan settlements.

Lastly, I would like to express my deepest appreciation to the governments and people across the world, particularly our kind host, India, for their support. I pray for the long life of His Holiness the Dalai Lama. We are profoundly grateful for his continued presence and guidance. Finally, to my fellow Tibetans in and outside Tibet, I want to reiterate the current Kashag's commitment to fulfill our cherished goal of freedom for the Tibetan people, and return of His Holiness the Dalai Lama to Tibet.

Tashi Delek!

Warmest regards,
Dr. Lobsang Sangay

Reflection on one year in Office

Geshema degrees to Tibetan nuns. We invited some senior nuns and teachers from six different nunneries and held a thorough discussion in the presence of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, Kalon Trisur Prof Samdhong Rinpoche and His Eminence the Gaden Tripa during an annual Buddhist conference in Dharamsala from 12-13 May 2011. It was decided that the nuns who passes the final examination after completing 21 years of studies will be conferred with a Geshema degree.

Similarly, there is another issue regarding the revival of the Gelongma title. But since this is not something we can decide

suddenly, we have sent letters to all the heads of the different sects of Tibetan Buddhism, asking them to send two representatives to discuss on the matter at a conference at the College for Higher Tibetan Studies, Sarah, from 1 August. There will be discussion on how to revive the Gelongma title and whether it is possible to revive it at all.

Secondly, during the 32nd Kalachakra Initiation by His Holiness the Dalai Lama at Bodh Gaya this year, the department of religion and culture has conducted many services. Our services include organising introductory teachings about the Kalachakra for the general public,

decoration of the statue of Buddha etc.

Thirdly, I visited different monastic institutions in and around Dharamshala from 5-9 May. I also visited monastic institutions in Dehradun and south India monasteries from 2-9 June. One the major development occurred during my visit to South Korea for the World Buddhist Conference from 9-15 June. We have achieved something that we have never achieved before during the conference. And more recently, from 2-18 July, I visited Europe to celebrate the birthday of His Holiness the Dalai Lama with the Tibetan community. I visited five different European countries that time and met the local Tibetan community as well as many Tibet support groups.

Fourthly, the Department of Religion and Culture organised a long life offering to His Eminence Kyabje Tsetrul Rinpoche, head of the Nyingma school of Tibetan Buddhism, in Shimla on 26 July. Similarly, we are planning to organise tenshug offerings to all the heads of the four schools of Tibetan Buddhism and Bon faith.

Fifthly, a new research conducted by the Department of Religion and Culture found out that there are about 1,700 Tibetan Buddhist centres or learning institutes in Europe, Asia and North America. We are making special efforts to keep daily contacts with them to strengthen our effort towards the preservation and promotion of Tibet's rich Buddhist culture for the well-being of the entire humanity.

Kalon Dolma Gyari: Department of Home

It has been one year since the new Kashag took office under the leadership of the democratically elected Kalon Tripa, Dr Lobsang Sangay. On this occasion, I would like to extend my heartiest greetings to the Tibetan public on behalf of the Department of Home, Central Tibetan Administration.

The Central Tibetan Administration is the legitimate representative of the Tibetan people, both politically and his-

torically. And particularly at this critical time in history, the responsibility of the Central Tibetan Administration is much more than even a government of an independent country. And therefore, the departments under the Central Tibetan Administration, has an equally important role and responsibility to perform and fulfil.

Speaking about the Department of Home, since the arrival of the Tibetan refugees in 1959, the Department of Home has been working tirelessly to rehabilitate the Tibetan refugees. And under the leadership of His Holiness and the support of the Indian government and other aid groups, it was decided that the Tibetans should protect their distinct culture and identity while in exile. Particularly, in a big country like India with its huge population, there was a risk of disintegration of the small number of Tibetan populace. Hence, His Holiness the Dalai Lama with the help of the state and central government, established separate settlements for the Tibetan refugees in Nepal, Bhutan and India.

The Tibetan settlements in these countries have the right to pursue any profession, religious freedom and separate Tibetan schools. All these have been made possible due to the hard work of the former and present staff of the Tibetan settlements.

And since this is the first Kashag vested with full political authority, it has an enormous responsibility to fulfil. Sustaining the progress the CTA has made in the last 50 years and continuing the development of Tibetan settlements are the main concern of the home department.

We are very grateful to our host countries India, Bhutan and Nepal. And today, I would like to thank the people and the government of these countries for their gracious hospitality. Sometimes, it so happens that, due to sudden changes in political conditions of these countries, Tibetans had to face many hardships.

The department of home has initiated many programmes for the re-vitalisation and stability of the Tibetan settlements. Moreover, we consider it important to

keep friendly and harmonious relationship with the local Indian people. I can't say we have made so much progress in that field in one year, but we have devised many strategies and the settlement offices as well as the central administration must work together to achieve the desired results.

The economic conditions of the Tibetans living in Nepal, Bhutan and India are very different. The poor are very poor and we are doing what we could to help them. We don't want to give them just financial aids but more importantly, we are trying to lift them up from poverty. And looking at the efforts the Central Tibetan Administration has put in the last 50 years, the results have been quite impressive.

The Central Tibetan Administration treats every Tibetan equally. Some Tibetans in the settlements are really poor, particularly some newly arrived Tibetans who face huge problems in India. We are doing what we could to solve all these problems. It would be a falsehood, if I say, we will be able to solve all these problems within a short span of time. But after five years, we hope to bring some positive changes that you all will be able to see.

Moreover, I also want to send this message across to the general public that, for the policies of the CTA to succeed, co-operation is very important. The work being done by the local settlement officers is crucial to the development of our settlements. We all should extend our full co-operation to them. But if there is any genuine grievances against the settlement officers, the people shouldn't hesitate to contact us. You can send us a letter or talk to us directly about the matter. That way, we will be able to develop our settlements efficiently.

Lastly, I pray for the sufferings of the Tibetan people to end and may Tibetans, both inside and outside, reunite in Tibet soon. Long live His Holiness the Dalai Lama!

Kalon Tsering Dhondup: Department of Finance

Among the many works of the Department of Finance, the most important is to formulate and present the annual budget of the Central Tibetan Administration and seek approval for it in the budget session of the Tibetan Parliament-in-Exile.

The 14th Kashag led by Kalon Tripa Dr Lobsang Sangay is completing its first year in office today, 8 August. In that one year, the Kashag has introduced many policies for the socio-economic welfare of the Tibetan people, particularly keeping in view its three guiding principles of unity, innovation and self-reliance.

And among the many new policies of the Kashag, two of them comes under the direct purview of the Department of Finance. The first one is to encourage budding professionals in our community. We plan to set up a fund to provide educational loans to students who are willing and capable of pursuing professional studies.

And the second one is to encourage entrepreneurship in our Tibetan community. The best way to create a self-reliant society is by encouraging new entrepreneurs. We provide support to young entrepreneurs to start new enterprises and businesses which will eventually create job opportunities for others as well.

And for these policies to work out successfully, we are currently doing a research on it.

At the same time, we are also doing our best to retain the progress of our previous policies of bringing economic development in our community. And as stated in the Kashag's statement on 6 July, we have maintained the good work of the administration. This has been possible because of the blessings of His Holiness the Dalai Lama and the co-operation of the general Tibetan public as well as the hard work of the CTA staff.

Sikyong Lobsang Sangay: Department of Education

I would like to spell out some new initiatives that the Department of Education carried out during the last one year. It is now a common knowledge that education of Tibetans is the top priority of the present Kashag. In order to improve the education of Tibetans, we have been carrying out a comprehensive review of the present system from the primary school to the senior secondary level. Similarly, deliberations are on to formulate plans to make further progress in our endeavour. Since financial support is needed to realise our goals, the US government consented to give some support as we requested. We hope the fundings will help in the implementation of our new developmental plans in the coming year.

Education is like our five fingers which need to work together as – (1) The administration and education department will provide the facilities, but it is responsibility of the school administration to make proper and best use of these facilities. (2) The administration should sustain and work efficiently. (3) The teachers should implement their best teaching methodologies (4) It is very important for the students to put their best efforts in their studies (5) Our education standard will definitely improve if the parents and relatives take their responsibility and make efforts towards creating a conducive atmosphere for educational development. There is no other way for progress. So everyone should keep these factors in mind and put their shoulder on the wheel. We also urge everyone to make continuous efforts.

I also want to point out that the standard of written and spoken Tibetan at the primary and middle schools is not up to the mark. The standard is particularly poor in science, mathematics and English. We are deliberating and exploring ways to make an all-round improvement in these subjects. We will formulate plans for implementation only after considerable deliberations and reviews. Till now, we have convened exclusive meetings of school principles and directors.

Similarly, we have also invited eminent

academicians and scholars to gain their knowledge and expertise. It will become gradually clear how we could use their thoughts and recommendations.

Concerning suggestions for the need of better teachers, a separate teacher training centre for Tibetan schools has been started in Bhuntar in Himachal Pradesh. It has generated a great deal of interest among the Tibetans, as over 150 candidates have applied for the training as against 50 seats announced. We hope that those who completes the four year teacher training could fulfil the criterion of a teacher that our schools need. The Central University of Tibetan Studies in Varansi has offered great support for this project. We are making all possible efforts to produce as many quality teachers as possible from this training centre.

There is still progress to be made in all over educational facilities including scholarships and the entire staff at the education department are working collectively to achieve this goal.

It is very important that the general public should be aware of and recognise the sincere service of the CTA civil servants. It is also important for the public to know and keep in mind that the civil servants have chosen to serve the CTA, including the department of education, rather than going after better perks and salaries outside.

As the Kalon for education I reiterate that we are making every possible effort to reach our goals and we hope that we will definitely make progress.

Kalon Ngodup Dongchung: Department of Security

The 14th Kashag led by Kalon Tripa Dr Lobsang Sangay following the devolution of His Holiness the Dalai Lama's political authority to the elected Tibetan leadership is completes its first year in office on 8 August.

The main task of the Department of Security is to maintain the security of His Holiness the Dalai Lama. And I want to assure you all, that the state and the

central government of India as well as the officials of the Central Tibetan Administration, are working harder than ever before to ensure the security of His Holiness.

The department has been able to address the problems of newly arrived Tibetan refugees in obtaining registration certificates with the help of the Indian government. We are still pursuing some pending cases.

One of the major developments under the present leadership is the five year extension of RC for those Tibetans who are born in India and those living in India for more than 20 years. This was the result of continuation of efforts made by Kalon Tripa Dr Lobsang Sangay and the Bureau of His Holiness the Dalai Lama in New Delhi.

The devolution of political authority by His Holiness is a historical change in the Tibetan polity. More than four centuries old tradition has been dissolved and our main concern is to maintain peace and harmony in our community. But under the blessings of His Holiness and his visionary guidance, the historic transition was carried forward peacefully and successfully.

Since the security department's primary responsibility is to look after the security of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, I would like to request all the concerned to extend their full co-operation with us. So far, we have received every possible help from the general public and we hope this support will continue in the future too. Some individuals have also put their lives at risk to provide us information and I want to take this opportunity to thank each and everyone for their co-operation and assistance.

We have also provided various training and workshops to our staff to carry out our work efficiently.

We do have a plan to set up a professional security agency in the future but there hasn't been a drastic need for such till now.

Kalon Dicki Chhoyang:

Department of Information and International Relations

First of all I would like to extend my warm Tashi Delek to you all on the occasion of the 1st anniversary of the new Kashag. Taking this opportunity I want to speak a few words on the Department of Information and International Relations, and its activities.

The most important work of the DIIR is to create awareness about the situation inside and outside Tibet and garner as much support from the world community for the issue of Tibet. And especially considering the urgent situation prevailing inside Tibet, our work has become even more important. And to fulfill these objectives, we have various sections in our department. The sections are Audio/Visual section, Media Desk (English/Tibetan/Chinese), Tibetan Computer Resource Centre (TCRC), Environment and Development Desk (EDD), Tibet Museum, Tibet Support Groups Desk, UN, EU and Human Rights Desk, Narthang printing press etc. All these sections carry out their day to day work to the best of their abilities.

Speaking a few words on international relations, due to the critical situation prevailing inside Tibet, many countries have passed resolutions in their parliaments on Tibet. All these resolutions are available on our official website for all to see. Especially the resolutions passed in the European Parliament and the Upper House (senate) of the US Congress has been significant for our cause. For instance, we have been able to pass two resolutions on Tibet in one year in the European Parliament. The first one was passed in late 2011 and the second one in early 2012.

One of the most important ways through which we keep touch with the governments of other countries is through the Office of Tibet located around the globe. The Office of Tibet keeps in regular touch with the governmental and non-governmental organisations as well as the Tibet support groups from that country. The Tibet support groups are very important for our movement. Currently,

we have Tibet support groups in over 55 different countries. And I was able to attend the TSG conference of Asia and Europe this year. And similarly, we have another TSG conference in early December this year.

The UN, EU and Human Rights desk in our department, in collaboration with the offices of Tibet in Geneva, takes charge of raising the issue of human rights situation in Tibet at UN and EU. Since human rights conferences are held thrice every year, our HR desk and the Geneva office works to bring out the issue of human rights violations in Tibet during those conferences.

Similarly, our media sections are very important. The press officer provide whatever help we could towards the media. And we, on our part, also contact them on a regular basis. For example, during the inauguration of Kalon Tripa Dr Lobsang Sangay last year, more than 95 media persons came to cover the event. And during the Kalachakra in January this year, more than 365 reporters from 22 different countries came to cover the event. We have provided whatever help we could to them during all these occasions.

As we all know, the English section of our media desk is very important. But at the same time, the Tibetan and Chinese desk are equally important. The Tibetan desk publishes Sheja magazine, Tibetan freedom newspaper and maintains a website on which they post as much news as possible. Moreover, the Tibetan desk is one of the main source of news about the situation inside Tibet for the various news organisations in Dharamshala.

The China desk also performs a very important role. In order to solve the issue of Tibet, we need to regularly contact the Chinese public. Therefore, we have three Chinese liaison offices in Australia, New York and Europe, as well as the office of Tibet in Taiwan, which regularly tries to inform the Chinese public about Tibet. We use all sorts of mediums like videos, books, pamphlets or even the world wide web to inform the Chinese public about the situation in Tibet. With that aim in mind, we have recently released

some videos in Chinese language about the CTA and the devolution of political authority by His Holiness. Similarly, Tibetonline is also a very important media outlet of our department. The number of visitors to the website keep on increasing especially from India and north America. We provide daily updates not just about Dharamshala but also about the urgent situation in Tibet. We have already released three videos about the situation in Tibet and are in the process of releasing a fourth one soon.

Moreover, unlike before, this time we are trying to bring out the speeches of the Kalon Tripa both in videos as well as the texts. Similarly, during the Kalachakra, we have shown live telecast of the teachings to the public with the collaboration of Janta TV.

The urgent situation in Tibet is not just about human rights. The environmental issues facing Tibet is also one of the main concerns requiring immediate intervention. Therefore, our Environment and Development Desk (EDD) which researches on Tibet's environment works hard to raise the issue in various environmental conferences across the world. For example, our staff attended the Rio2012 in Brazil as well as the Copenhagen summit. The EDD also works to create awareness about environment within the Tibetan community in exile.

The Tibetan Computer Resource Centre (TCRC) worked on upgrading our official website with new features. Modern social media tools like facebook, twitter, flicker has been added in order to reach a wider section of the society. It was launched by Kalon Tripa Dr Sangay in late last year.

We also making efforts towards raising awareness about Tibet through pictorial exhibitions carried out by the Tibet Museum. We have a permanent exhibition at the Tibet Museum, Dharamshala and a traveling exhibition.

And speaking as the Kalon for the DIIR, I traveled to five different countries such as Canada, Belgium, South Korea, Japan, and Taiwan in the last one year. During my visit, I met with a lot of government

officials and the local Tibetan community as well as the local Tibet support Groups and the press, and discussed with them about the urgent situation inside Tibet. I also expressed my gratitude to them for their support and urged them to continue their support. And I hope to visit other countries in the future.

And personally speaking, since it is my first time serving the CTA, I consider it important to study the work of each and every section of the department before starting my work. And under the visionary leadership of our His Holiness, the foundation of our movement is very strong. And we should utilise the foundation to strengthen our movement especially in view of the grim situation in Tibet.

Kalon Tsering Wangchuk: Department of Health

Tashi Delek !

One of the foremost initiatives of the Department of Health this year was the introduction of the Tibetan Medicare system on 1 April 2012. This new programme is progressing well in the Tibetan settlements, as more than 8,000 people are availing this service and till now, about 67 people have already claimed the benefits of it. We have also started issuing smart cards for those who have subscribed this healthcare service. We have finished issuing the smart cards in Bylakuppe settlement and the work is underway for the rest of the settlements.

Our second initiative was the appointment of a Health Information system Manager of the department who is a Medical Doctor as well as Public Health expert. We hope that Health data will improve well in future.

One of the challenges facing the health department is the lack of medical doctors in our community. We had revised MBBS bond with the support of the Kashag and in cooperation with Department of education. Three students who have got MBBS reserved seats under the CTA had signed this revised MBBS bond to serve in the Tibetan community

after completion of their study. We are now signing this bond with all existing Tibetan medical students and interns. We are also working on to increase their salary and improve their quarter and other facilities to encourage more doctors to serve within our community.

One of our priorities is to create more awareness about the importance of health in our settlements. From this year, we will try our best to commemorate officially all health related events of a year recommended by W.H.O in our community.

Recently on 28 July, we have officially marked the World Hepatitis Day for the first time. Similarly, we will be trying to create more awareness about communicable as well as non communicable diseases in our society.

This year, we had inaugurated a new hospital and new quarter for Medical officer and hospital administrator in Tibetan settlement, Kollegal . And we are also building a new hospital in Ladakh which will be finished soon. I am going to visit Ladakh at the end of this month to inaugurate a hospital.

Moreover, the health departments in collaboration with the Delek hospital have already conducted the 1st phase of our project China powerless to prevent rising tide of Tibetan China powerless to prevent rising tide of Tibetan self-immolations self-immolations called (TB REACH). We went to various schools and monasteries in Himachal, Mundgod and Bylakuppe and conducted free TB checkups. Under this TB reach project, we provided a new Ambulance to our unit hospital Hunsur. We have also provided a latest Diagnostic machine called GENE XPERT to detect Multi drug resistant TB to our hospital in Mundgod and Bylakuppe.

Regarding my official visits abroad, I visited Taiwan in April this year during which I met with Taiwanese minister of health and the former minister of health. I also met with the Taiwan Dental Association as well as various Buddhist groups and other important health and medical professionals from Taiwan.

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Congressional-Executive Commission on China Special Report: Tibetan Self-Immolation Rising Frequency, Wider Spread, Greater Diversity

August 22, 2012

The frequency, geographic spread, and diversity of Tibetans who reportedly have committed self-immolation as they called for Tibetan freedom and the Dalai Lama's return has increased since a December 2011 Commission report. The December report covered 13 self-immolations (8 reported fatal) that occurred from February 2009 to December 2011. All 13 of those self-immolations involved current or former monks or nuns; 12 took place in Sichuan province. Since then, as of August 10, 2012, an additional 33 Tibetans reportedly have committed similar self-immolation protests (29 reported fatal). Of these 33 self-immolations, 13 took place outside Sichuan province and 14 were persons who did not have a monastic background (i.e., laypersons).

The wave of self-immolations is concurrent with increasing Chinese Communist Party and government use of legal measures to repress and control core elements of Tibetan culture, and with the failure of the China-Dalai Lama dialogue process to achieve any sign of progress. The Party and government have also not indicated any willingness to consider Tibetan grievances in a more constructive manner and to hold themselves accountable for Tibetan rejection of Chinese policies. The Party and government have handled the crisis as a threat to state security and social stability instead of a policy failure.

Note: This report covers the period up to August 10, 2012.

As Self-Immolations Spread and Involve Laypersons, Kirti Monks Less Prevalent

As of August 10, 2012, the total number of reported incidents of Tibetans committing self-immolation since February 2009 in protests focusing on political and religious issues—e.g., Tibetan freedom and the Dalai Lama's return to Tibet—increased to 46 (37 reported fatal) from the 13 incidents (7 reported fatal) listed in a December 2011 Commission report. This report does not characterize the reported June 27, 2012, Tibetan self-immolation of Dekyi Choezom in Yushu (Yushul) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture (TAP), Qinghai province, as political or religious because she committed self-immolation in protest against government expropriation of her family's property, according to international media and advocacy group reports.

Self-immolation frequency has increased

Of the 13 Tibetan self-immolation protests that took place from February 2009 to December 2011, 12 of them (8 reported fatal) occurred during the 10-month period March to December 2011. In comparison, 33 self-immolations (29 reported fatal) took place in 2012 as of August 10.

Self-immolations have spread

The first 12 of the 13 self-immolations that took place from February 2009 to December 2011 occurred in Sichuan province; 1 self-immolation, in December 2011, took place in the Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR). In comparison, of the 33 self-immolations that took place in 2012 as of August 10, 20 took place in Sichuan and 13 took place in other provincial-level areas. The following summary provides provincial-, prefectural-, and county-level location information for the 33 self-immolations that took place in 2012 as of August 10.

- **Sichuan province.** A total of 20 self-immolations took place in one prefectural-level area: Aba (Ngaba) Tibetan and Qiang Autonomous Prefecture. Thirteen of the 20 self-immolations took place in Aba county; 4 were in Rangtang (Dzamthang) county; and 3 were in Ma'erkang (Barkham) county, the prefectural capital.

- **Qinghai province.** A total of eight self-immolations took place in a total of four prefectural-level areas. Three self-immolations took place in Huangnan (Malho) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture (TAP): two took place in Tongren (Rebgong) county, the prefectural capital, and one was in Jianzha (Chentsa) county. Three self-immola-

tions (excluding the property-related protest of self-immolator Dekyi Choezom mentioned above) took place in Yushu (Yulshul) TAP: all three took place in Chenduo (Tridu) county. One self-immolation took place in Dari (Darlag) county, Guoluo (Golog) TAP. One self-immolation reportedly took place in Tianjun (Themchen) county, Haixi (Tsonub) Mongol and Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture⁵—a reliable Tibetan-language map, however, indicates that Bongtag Monastery, the reported location of the self-immolation, is in neighboring Wulan county.

- **Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR).**

A total of three self-immolations took place in one prefectural-level area: Lhasa municipality. Two took place in Lhasa city, the TAR capital, and one was in Dangxiong (Damshung county).

- **Gansu province.** A total of two self-immolations took place in one prefectural-level area: Gannan (Kanlho) TAP. One took place in Hezuo (Tsoe) city, the prefectural capital, and one was in Maqu (Machu) county.

Kirti prevalence has declined

As the frequency of self-immolations increased and spread geographically, the prevalence of Kirti Monastery monks among self-immolators has de-

creased. If the total of 46 self-immolations as of August 10, 2012, is divided into halves, then current or former Kirti monks made up 12 of the first 23 self-immolations (February 27, 2009, to February 19, 2012). In comparison, current or former Kirti monks account for 5 of the last 23 self-immolators (March 3 to August 10, 2012).

Laypersons dominate recent self-immolation.

As self-immolation increased and spread geographically, laypersons have taken on a greater role. Once again comparing halves of the 46 total self-immolations as of August 10, 2012, all but 1 of the first 23 self-immolators (February 2009 to February 19, 2012) were current or former monks or nuns—the 23rd self-immolation was the first by a layperson. In comparison, 13 of the last 23 self-immolations (March 3, 2012, to August 10, 2012) were laypersons. Nine of the 13 self-immolations that took place during the period April through August 10, 2012, were laypersons. Self-immolations involving laypersons since April have taken place in Sichuan, Qinghai, Gansu, and the TAR.

Officials Blame Self-Immolations on “the Dalai Clique,” Disparage Self-Immolators

Chinese government and Party officials have not acknowledged the role of Party policy and government legal measures in Tibetan decisions to commit self-immolation. Officials have blamed self-immolations on the Dalai Lama and organizations and individuals the Party associates with him (“the Dalai Clique”). On January 12, 2012, a Ministry of Foreign Affairs spokesman asserted that the self-immolations “were organized, premeditated and instigated by overseas groups and people.” Speaking to European Union officials on December 29, 2011, Zhu Weiqun, Executive Deputy Head of the Communist Party’s United Front Work Department (UFWD) and Director of the Party’s General Office of the Central Coordinating Group for Tibet Affairs blamed the Dalai Lama directly for the self-immolations and told the

EU officials to expect no change in Chinese government policies on Tibetan issues:

The Dalai Lama wants to turn Tibetan Buddhism into a religion of suiciders and self-immolators in order to serve his own political purpose. . . . I want to frankly tell all my friends here that if these incidents continue to occur the Chinese government will not change its policies and principles for the work in Tibet or its attitude toward combatting the Dalai clique.

Chinese officials and media have attempted to discredit some of the self-immolators—and by extension, the basis for their suicides—by describing them or their deaths in pejorative terms including terrorist, criminal, and copycat. A November 2011 Xinhua article described self-immolations as “brutal and terrorist acts in disguise,” and a March 2012 Xinhua report asserted that by “instigating” Tibetans to commit self-immolation, “the Dalai Lama clique” showed willingness to “use terrorism to reach their objectives.” The same March report alleged that “a number of the self-immolators were “secularized monks with criminal records.” In June 2012, for example, Xinhua reported on two former monks who attempted self-immolation: one allegedly had stolen a “golden Buddha statute [sic]” from a monastery and the other allegedly had stolen money from a relative. The same Xinhua report featured a psychologist stating, “Teenagers aged 18–22 and the stressed are the most prone to copycat suicides as they are impulsive and lack self-control.”

Policies, Legal Measures, Stalled Dialogue May Influence Self-Immolators’ Decisions

International media and advocacy groups continued to report that as self-immolators burned they shouted anti-government slogans and called for Tibetan freedom (or independence) and the Dalai Lama’s return. The consistency of the reports, if they are accurate, indicates that Tibetan self-immolators rejected the outlook for the Tibetan culture under Party policy and

government legal measures. Based on Commission analysis, several factors and trends that developed or worsened following Tibetan political protests that began in March 2008 may have contributed to the environment that influences Tibetan decisions to self-immolate. Examples of such factors and trends include:

- **Government failure to implement the PRC Regional Ethnic Autonomy Law (REAL)** in a manner that provides local ethnic autonomous governments the “right to administer their internal affairs”—as guaranteed in the REAL’s Preamble;

- **Erosion or elimination of future potential for ethnic autonomy** as the Party and government promote demographic transformation [see Box on Zhu Weiqun below];

- **Deteriorating outlook for the Tibetan culture, language, and environment** as the government continues to prioritize development initiatives that accelerate infrastructure construction and resource exploitation;

- **Steepening decline since 2007 in the status of religious freedom for Tibetan Buddhists** resulting from national-, provincial-, and prefectural-level government regulation of the religion;

- **Ongoing security crackdowns and enforced “education” campaigns** that pressure Tibetans to accept policies and regulations that Tibetans resent, but officials say “uphold [the] normal order of Tibetan Buddhism,” safeguard “social stability,” and foster a “harmonious society;” and

- **Lack of hope that Party officials will resume dialogue with the Dalai Lama’s envoys** and engage in substantive discussions.

Zhu Weiqun, in his capacity as UFWD Executive Deputy Head (or Deputy Head prior to 2006), served as a principal interlocutor in the dialogue between Party officials and the Dalai Lama’s representatives starting in

the 2003 second round through the ninth and most recent round in January 2010. The period of time since the ninth round—more than two-and-one-half years—is the longest without a formal meeting since dialogue resumed in 2002. On June 1, 2012, the Dalai Lama's envoys, Lodi Gyari and Kelsang Gyaltzen, reportedly resigned their positions as Special Envoy and Envoy respectively and noted “the deteriorating situation inside Tibet since 2008 leading to the increasing cases of self-immolations by Tibetans.”

Zhu Weiqun: Retirement of A Tibet Policy Hardliner, Not Necessarily of the Hard Line

According to a Hong Kong newspaper, Zhu Weiqun is retiring—an expected development based on his age (he turns 65 in 2012), his membership in the 16th and 17th Communist Party Central Committees (2002-2012), and the approach of the 18th Party Congress that will select a new Central Committee. Zhu was a Central Committee member during all of the rounds of dialogue in which he participated from 2003–2010. Zhu's prominence as an exponent of harsh Party policies toward Tibetan political, religious, and ethnic aspirations has been more apparent after the 2008 Tibetan protests, when the Party leadership strengthened its capacity throughout Tibetan autonomous areas to coordinate and implement policy. For example, when China Directory 2009 (published November 2008) included for the first time a list of members of the Central Committee's Central Coordinating Group for Tibet Affairs (CCGTA), it did not list Zhu Weiqun as a member. China Directory 2010 (published November 2009), however, recorded for the first time a CCGTA General Office and listed Zhu Weiqun as Director. China Directory 2010 also showed that the number of CCGTA members ranked as a deputy head increased from one to three.

The Dalai Lama's envoys arrived in China in January 2010 for the ninth and most recent round of dialogue—with Zhu as their main interlocutor—less than a week after the Party's Fifth Tibet Work Forum (Fifth Forum). With

the entire Standing Committee of the Political Bureau in attendance, the Fifth Forum for the first time expanded the Party's Tibetan policy purview beyond the administrative boundaries of the TAR to include the Tibetan autonomous prefectures and counties located in Qinghai, Gansu, Sichuan, and Yunnan provinces, and applied the highest imprimatur of political power to achieving sweeping policy objectives throughout the Tibetan areas of China by 2020.

Zhu's statements since the Fifth Forum on issues such as the China-Dalai Lama dialogue, Tibetan Buddhist monastic affairs, and ethnic minority rights—likely made with some level of acceptance from CCGTA leaders and members—underscore Party resolve to transform core elements of Tibetan culture to conform with Party objectives.

In a February 13, 2012, Study Times article, Zhu advocated for ethnic “amalgamation” and advised that development initiatives should promote and make “irreversible” the trend toward “mixed habitation” of ethnic groups. Zhu described himself as “personally predisposed” to removing ethnic information from household registration (hukou) cards, “desegregating” education (i.e., assimilating ethnic minority students into Chinese-language educational programs and ending minority-language education programs), and not establishing any additional areas with ethnic autonomous status.

On February 23, the Chinese Association of Ethnic Theory Research convened a symposium under the auspices of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS) to discuss “current hot-button ethnic theoretical and practical issues.” The group posted on the CASS Web site a summary of symposium views. Referring to a “leading cadre”—likely directed at Zhu Weiqun—the summary warned that turning away from “the basic [ethnic autonomy] system and policy” could “easily lead to ideological chaos and thereby cause a negative impact on so-

ciety.” The article warned of increasing risks posed by the declining status of ethnic minority affairs:

The blind spot in knowledge, the erroneous zone in education, and the deficiency in mutual trust, which can be seen everywhere across the ethnic spectrum in today's China, are turning gradually into a social governance tragedy.

Based on Commission analysis, the 46 Tibetan self-immolation protests (37 reported fatal) known or believed to focus on political and religious issues as of August 10, 2012, demonstrate an unprecedented level of intensity in Tibetan rejection of Chinese governance.

...Continued from Page 22

We discussed bringing about more collaboration in health and medicine between the Taiwan and Tibetan Voluntary Health Association.

I also went to Poland and attended an international conference at Warsaw Medical University in Warsaw, Poland. In the mean time, I also met with officials from Polish ministry of health and education, and we discussed ways through which Poland can help the Tibetan community in exile in the field of health.

The department of health has also tried to introduce healthcare services in the remote and distant Tibetan settlements in India through Tele-medicine. But due to the lack of proper internet and phone connectivity in north-east India, we were not able to introduce the programme till now. But we are doing what we could to introduce this system in the Tibetan settlements in Orissa and Mainpat.

In conclusion, I would like to say that the officials and staff of the Department of Health are all doing possible efforts to create a healthy Tibetan community. And at the same time, I want to appeal to the local heads of the Tibetan camps as well as monasteries and schools to continue their good work by encouraging the people to be more health conscious.

For the Tibetans

Trevor Thomas

Look at the tyrants, using mustard gas
Bayonets, live ammunition

On fearless citizens who speak up in defiance
And are beaten to death!

Others will rise

Look at the treacherous generals
Wearing fake military uniforms,
The stench of fascism drips off their
Counterfeit medals

Like vultures, like jackals, they
Devastate another monastery,
Another village, a precious human life,
In Burma, in Tibet, in Africa.

Others will rise

These gunpowder assassins, order their
Criminal lackeys
To exterminate
Sacred human rights

With snipers on rooftops, secret
Police, lusting after blood,
Torturing monks, women & children, with
Razor wire & shotguns

Every time you kill one of us

Others will rise

There is an unstoppable energy
Guaranteed with our birth right
By mother earth,
So overwhelming it makes dictators sob!
Like the cowards they are

And tomorrow..at sunrise..they will hear it
Thunderclap from the Himalayas

FREEDOM TO SPEAK!

Even if they kill all of us

Others will rise

Trevor Thomas is a Tibet supporter from Australia

China powerless to prevent rising tide of Tibetan self-immolations

This article by Simon Denyer was published in The Washington Post on 30 October 2012

As China's Communist Party prepares for its leadership transition, a wave of self-immolations has spread and ac-

Last week alone, seven people doused themselves in gasoline and set themselves on fire in eastern Tibet, including two cousins in their 20s who called for "freedom for Tibet" before setting themselves ablaze in front of a government building. At least 62 people have

shameful and should be condemned," Foreign Ministry spokesman Hong Lei told a news conference last week.

But many Tibetans appear to view the protesters as heroes, sometimes trying to prevent the removal of their bodies by Chinese police, laying ceremonial scarves at protest sites or paying tribute to their families.

"Tibetans are responding to China's repressive policies, to seeing their neighbors, friends and families attacked, harassed, beaten and jailed," said Lhadon Tethong, director of the Tibet Action Institute. "The self-immolations are a response to escalating repression, which the Chinese meet with more repression, and we are in this vicious cycle."

In the run-up to the 2008 Beijing Olympics, Tibet was engulfed in protests and riots that saw hundreds killed and thousands arrested. Since then, China has tightened its grip on the high plateau, in what many Tibetans have described as an attack on their language, religion and culture.

The self-immolations spread from an important monastery in the town of Aba, on the eastern edge of the Tibetan plateau, taking off as a form of protest in March of last year. Most of the initial protesters were monks or former monks, but most of the latest are laypeople, including farmers, students and a writer.

The protests have spread across eastern Tibet and even to Lhasa, the region's main city, prompting a renewed crackdown there, activists say. Foreign tourists are already banned from visiting Tibet, but now Tibetans from outside the city are unable to travel there without a residence document, in an attempt to stop further incidents, activists say.

In other areas where self-immolations have taken place, Internet access and telephone service have been cut off, sometimes for months, activists say.



An exile Tibetan prostrates and drags a coffin to show solidarity to those who self-immolated in Tibet during a protest in New Delhi, India, on Oct. 17, 2012.

celerated across Tibet, in the most sustained protests against Beijing's rule there in five decades.

Most of those who have set themselves afire are in their late teens or early 20s, activists said. Exiled Tibetan political leaders and scholars described the actions as an emphatic rejection of the economic development and material gains that China is offering the Tibetan people and an anguished call for independence and the return of the region's religious leader, the Dalai Lama.

"Almost all of them were born after the Chinese occupation of Tibet and the Cultural Revolution," Lobsang Sangay, the political leader of the refugee community's India-based government-in-exile, said of the protesters. "They have grown up in the Chinese system, received Chinese education. They are the primary beneficiaries of whatever the Chinese government gave them. They are saying, 'This is not what we want.'"

set themselves on fire in Tibet since February 2009, and all but nine are known to have died, the Free Tibet group says.

It is not certain whether the latest acceleration of the protests is timed to send a signal to the Chinese Communist Party Congress, which will meet beginning Nov. 8 to install a new leadership in Beijing.

Nevertheless, the protests appear to have embarrassed the Chinese leadership, which has responded by intensifying its crackdown, activists and scholars say.

China says it rescued the Tibetan people from medieval serfdom under the Dalai Lama's theocratic rule when it took over in 1950, and in recent years it has poured money into the region for roads, a high-speed railway and projects such as rural electrification.

It blames the self-immolations on what it says are the previous leadership's attempts to split the country. "This is

Police in one region recently issued fliers offering rewards of nearly \$8,000 for tips about planned self-immolations and up to \$30,000 for information about the “black hands” who supposedly organized four such acts in the area.

“Local authorities are under pressure from the central government to put an end to this,” said Elliot Sperling, a Tibet expert at Indiana University. “But this is a form of protest that doesn’t need a conspiracy, it just needs a person. These fliers seem to me to be somewhat desperate.”

The protests have spread because the “tactic is resonating,” said Sperling, although some activists said the recent spurt could be linked to the imminent party congress.

One of the men who set himself ablaze

last week had called a friend the day before and asked when the congress was taking place, said Kate Saunders of the International Campaign for Tibet, adding that the man had complained that the Chinese government was doing nothing to improve conditions in Tibet.

“This is the first direct evidence we’ve had that Tibetans are factoring this into the decision to self-immolate so close to party congress time,” she said.

While Sangay renewed his appeal for Tibetans not to take such “drastic action,” the Dalai Lama has taken a more neutral line on what he said was a “very, very delicate political issue.”

“Now, the reality is that if I say something positive, then the Chinese immediately blame me,” he told India’s Hindu newspaper in July. “If I say something negative, then the family members of

those people feel very sad. They sacrificed their own life. It is not easy. So I do not want to create some kind of impression that this is wrong.”

In September, U.S. Ambassador to China Gary Locke paid a rare visit to Aba, the restive area where many of the self-immolations have taken place, and visited monasteries. He called the incidents “very deplorable.”

“We implore the Chinese to really meet with the representatives of the Tibetan people to address and reexamine some of the policies that have led to some of the restrictions and the violence and the self-immolations,” Locke told an online forum Monday. “We very much believe there should be respect for the culture and religion of the Tibetan people, as well as the language of the Tibetan people.”

As China Readies for Transition, 7 Tibetan Self-Immolations in 7 Days

This article by Hannah Beech was published in TIME on 29 October 2012

Last week, seven Tibetans set themselves on fire in as many days, bringing the total of self-immolations on the troubled high plateau to more than 60 people since March 2011, according to Tibetan exile groups. Most of the protestors have been young Buddhist monks or former clerics,

who called for the return of Tibet’s exiled spiritual leader, the Dalai Lama, as flames besieged their bodies. But an increasing number are regular villagers—farmers, herdsmen and students, among others—motivated by their despair over China’s repressive rule over Tibetan regions. The seven who burned themselves from Oct. 20-25, for instance, all appear to be laypeople, including a pair of twentysomething

cousins, a young father and a 58-year-old farmer who set himself on fire in front of the Public Security Bureau in the Tibetan holy town of Labrang (or Xiahe in Mandarin) in the Chinese province of Gansu. Six of the seven protestors are believed to have died. All areas where this month’s fiery protests have occurred are reported to be under security lockdown, with Internet and phone lines often severed.



Tibetan exiles mourning the death of Sangay Gyatso, who set himself on fire in Tibet’s Amdo region, stage a protest in McLeod Ganj, near Dharamsala, India, on Oct. 6, 2012

The seven self-immolations in a week rank as the deadliest spate of such protests since the extreme actions began piling up two years ago. (There was one self-immolation recorded in Feb. 2009 but all others have occurred since March 2011.) The Chinese government blames the Dalai Lama, who escaped Tibet after a foiled uprising in 1959, for orchestrating the self-immolations. “In order to achieve their separatist goal, the Dalai clique has showed no hesitation in inciting self-immolations,” said Foreign Ministry spokesman Hong Lei last Wednesday. “This is despicable and deserves people’s condemnation.” In Gansu’s Gannan prefecture (or Kanlho in Tibetan), where the famous Labrang monastery is located, local authorities offered more than \$30,000 in reward money for information on those who planned the

self-immolations there.

But the Dalai Lama and the Tibetan government in exile, which is based in the Indian hill town of Dharamsala, say these are individual protests with no coordination from abroad. “The Central Tibetan Administration has consistently appealed to Tibetans to not to resort to drastic actions such as self-immolation,” said a statement from the Tibetan government in exile. “Current Chinese efforts to offer financial incentives fail to constructively address the causes behind the self-immolations. This reflects the authorities’ lack of understanding of the situation in Tibet.” Last Wednesday, the Tibetan parliament in exile released its own statement, blaming the self-immolations on the Chinese government’s destruction of Tibetan culture and describing the self-immolations as the Tibetans’ “highest form of nonviolent protest against the Chinese government’s systematic repression of their freedom of religion and human rights.”

The self-immolations have been all but ignored in the state-controlled Chinese press. China’s social-media sites, which face censorship but can still provide a useful gauge of the topics that interest China’s wired population, have been more preoccupied by China’s once-a-decade leadership transition, which is set to take place next month. China’s new leaders, including heir apparent Xi Jinping, must tackle a variety of pressing issues, from slowing economic growth to burgeoning corruption and disparate protests by dissatisfied citizens. Rarely listed among the

government’s biggest challenges is the country’s ethnic situation, which encompasses grievances from Tibetans, Muslim Uighurs in China’s northwestern Xinjiang region and Mongolians in the north of the country. After all, there are enough pressing issues among China’s Han majority to keep the new rulers plenty busy.

Yet a few Chinese scholars are highlighting the need to mend the country’s frayed ethnic fabric. Can China continue to deal with ethnic dissatisfaction by pouring in soldiers and frightening locals into quietude? Could there be any merit in complaints from ethnic minorities that their cultures are being deluged by Han chauvinism? “The biggest issue facing China is not corruption but the nationalities [or ethnic minority] policy and religious policy,” says Zhang Yihe, a well-connected writer in Beijing whose books are banned in China. “I think for Tibet and Xinjiang, we should let them decide whether they want to be part of China. But a lot of intellectuals disagree with me.”

In 2008, deadly ethnic riots broke out in Tibet, triggering a massive security crackdown that lingers today. A year later, the same happened in Xinjiang. Less widespread protests have occurred in Inner Mongolia, where the population balance has tipped from once being considerably Mongolian to now turning principally Han. (In one notorious case, Hada, a Mongolian activist who was sentenced to 15 years in jail for espionage and separatism and released in late 2010, has been

under illegal secret detention ever since, according to watchdog Human Rights in China.) In these vast ethnic borderlands, the Chinese government contends that the Communist Party has helped raise the standard of living for grateful locals. The wife of China’s heir apparent Xi is Peng Liyuan, a famous folk singer with the People’s Liberation Army whose specialty is rousing propaganda anthems. One of the ditties she warbled five years ago on Chinese television featured Tibetans thanking the Chinese military for liberating them—and, rather less dramatically, for helping them wash their clothes.

But some Tibetans, Uighurs and Mongolians believe that Beijing is intent less on helping them and more focused on erasing their culture and aspirations for autonomy or even independence. As the self-immolations racked up last week, Xinhua, the Chinese state news agency, reserved most of its Tibet coverage for cheerful stories on government buildings being rebuilt in an earthquake-hit part of the high plateau and four young Tibetans who received donated cornea transplants. On Oct. 26, the official Chinese newswire ran a story on the world’s highest altitude national park opening in southwestern Tibet. “The parks are part of Tibetan efforts to turn the region into ‘an important world destination,’ which is also a target of central government,” said the article. One Tibet is on fire. Another aims to become “an important world destination.” The gulf between the Tibetans and the Chinese government begins right there.

A Middle Way on Tibet

Leader of government in exile seeks dialogue with China

This article featured in Harvard Gazette on 12 October 2012

It is not unusual for Harvard to host a head of state. During one recent week, there were five on campus in five days.

But it is unusual for Harvard to host the leader of a government in exile, as in Tuesday’s tightly guarded Tsai Auditorium lecture by Lobsang Sangay, LL.M. ’95, S.J.D. ’04. The 44-year-old Harvard Law School graduate is sikyong, or prime minister, of the Central Tibetan Adminis-

tration, the government in exile’s top political official.

The late afternoon talk was his first in the United States as a head of government and his first in a university setting. “It feels more like a reunion,” he said, “than giving any formal kind of speech.”

Before the election in April 2011, Sangay worked at Harvard Law School’s East Asian Legal Studies Program. He was the first Tibetan — there are 6 million — to earn the doctor of juridical science

(S.J.D.) degree, the Law School’s most advanced degree. After the election, he became the first Tibetan prime minister to hold primary political authority. In May 2011, the 14th Dalai Lama officially transferred such authority to the elected leaders of the Central Tibetan Administration.

To set up a democratic government in exile “has been his long-cherished goal,” said Sangay of Tibet’s revered Buddhist leader. After the transfer, Sangay added, the Dalai Lama enjoyed nine hours of dreamless sleep.

“It is striking to imagine” such a structure, said Sangay’s Law School mentor Henry J. Steiner: a government in exile that was a theocracy and that now embraces the ideal of a secular, democratic state. Steiner, an authority on human rights and international law, is the Jeremiah Smith Jr. Professor of Law Emeritus. He was Sangay’s dissertation adviser.

The government in exile is in Dharamshala, a mountainous city in northern India. Thousands of refugees settled there after the failed uprising by Tibetans against China in 1959 — so many that the city is called “Little Lhasa,” named after Tibet’s traditional capital.

“It runs like any government,” said Sangay of his administration, which has a parliament, a court system, and seven cabinetlike departments. It employs 1,000 civil servants, runs more than 60 schools, and oversees a diaspora of about 1.8 million in 70 settlements throughout India, Nepal, and Bhutan. The government in exile has foreign missions too, though it is not formally recognized by any nation.

A sturdy, handsome man, Sangay displayed a knack for incisive, fine-tuned arguments during his talk. But he started by inviting everyone in the audience to Dharamshala, with its clean streets and pure mountain air. He included a warning though. The city on the threshold of the Himalayas is so cold in the winter that it can be warmer outside a house than inside.

Sangay’s main task is to warm the Chinese government to the idea of resuming talks on the future of Tibet. In the past decade, the government in exile had nine rounds of talks with Chinese officials. The last round came in January 2010. The stalled talks became so frustrating that two main envoys resigned this May.

At issue is the status of the Tibet Autonomous Region of China, a place so heavily guarded and constrained politically, said Sangay, that there are “more surveillance cameras than windows.” He said there are no foreign journalists allowed in, there are police checkpoints at every 20 meters, and protest is often met with arrest, torture, and disappearances. Since March 2011, he said, 54 protesters have

set themselves afire, and 43 have died. All this, he said, “reflects how desperate Tibetans are.”

The desperation has an economic side too, said Sangay. Seventy percent of private enterprise in Tibet is owned or managed by the Chinese; half of Communist Party members are Chinese; 40 percent of educated Tibetans are unemployed. There is a toll on the environment too, he said, including excessive damming projects. There is also a cultural cost to Tibetans, said Sangay, including in schools, where he said the required “medium of instruction” is Chinese.

Officially, Tibet’s government in exile does not support any form of protest inside Tibet. “But once it takes place,” said Sangay, “it becomes our sacred duty to support the aspirations” that protesters have. There are two main aspirations, he said: the return of the Dalai Lama to his homeland and freedom for Tibet.

“It’s quite difficult at the moment,” said Sangay of conditions within Tibet and of the rising pressure since talks stalled. But he still hopes that his government will win China over with its “Middle-Way Approach,” which includes dialogue backed by a promise of nonviolence. “We can solve this problem through dialogue,” said Sangay.

His government has no ambitions beyond being a peaceful enclave within a larger nation, he added, using the French-speaking province of Quebec in Canada as an example. “If genuine autonomy is granted, then people choose to remain within.”

It’s not as if Tibet is a military threat, said Sangay, who imagined how well a nation of 6 million would fare against mighty China, with 1.3 billion people and a huge standing army.

Reopening talks would be to China’s advantage, Sangay argued. “We all know China is rising” and spending billions on soft-power initiatives to create a narrative of a regime focused on peace and prosperity. “The counter-narrative is Tibet,” a flashpoint of violence and friction that he said tarnishes China’s reputation. “You would like to be seen as good human be-

ings,” said Sangay in a rhetorical address to the Chinese. “But what is happening in Tibet negates all that.”

There are precedents for what the government in exile wants, he said. China has made political concessions in Hong Kong, Macau, and even Taiwan. “They have the political will,” said Sangay of Chinese leaders, so why not for Tibet as well?

There are no constitutional, political, or cultural impediments to solving the issue, he said, but there may be “an ethnic or racial factor” impeding progress.

Part of the answer to the deadlock may come in November, said Sangay, when the 18th National Congress of the Communist Party of China meets in Beijing. Seven out of its top nine leaders will retire, and younger leaders will emerge. “I remain hopeful that this new Chinese leadership will bring new perspective,” said Sangay, and that by next year serious talks can begin.

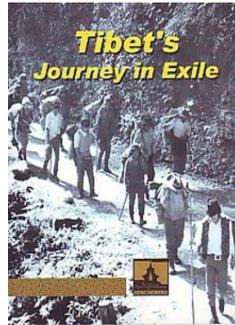
After the lecture, there was nearly an hour for questions, all of them polite and some of them pointed, about territorial boundaries, protest, Indian sponsorship, Hong Kong parallels, Chinese tourism in Tibet, and economic advances in Tibet since 1959.

Sangay conceded that there were more roads in Tibet, more electrical power, and new housing, but he said the Chinese benefit more than Tibetans do.

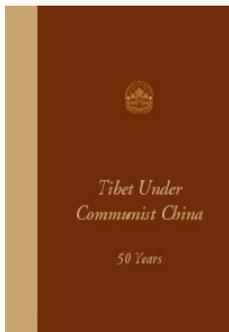
Besides, there is a more fundamental issue than infrastructure, he said. “You don’t exchange power, roads, and toilets for freedom.” There is the issue of a fundamental attitude as well. “Tibetan people’s will is very strong,” said Sangay, and has lasted three generations to become “stronger than before. ... The Tibetan issue will not fade away.”

In the end, resolving conflict in Tibet is up to the Chinese, said Sangay. “It’s a simple issue, if they want to solve it.”

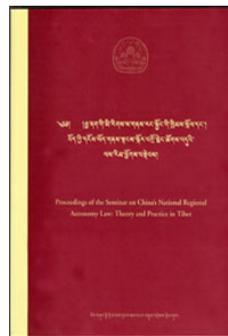
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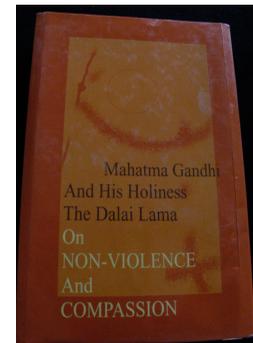
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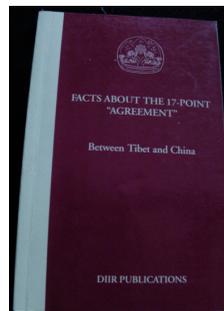
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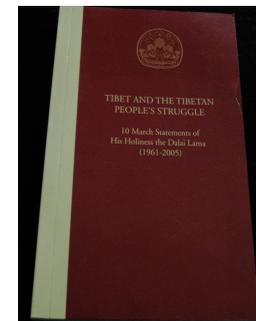
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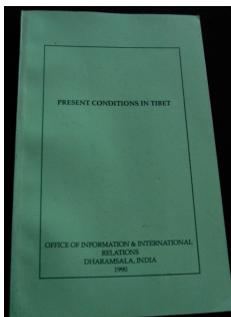
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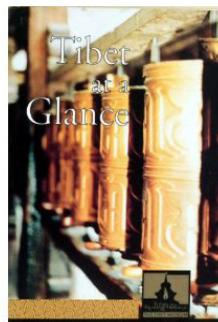
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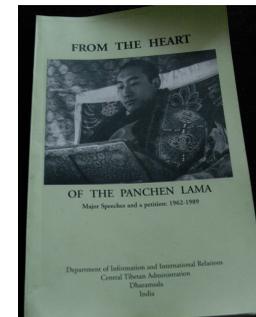
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PERSPECTIVES

“The Chinese authorities’ attempt to offer cash rewards to informants for information on possible self-immolations by Tibetans reflects their lack of understanding about the real situation in Tibet and the aspirations of the Tibetan people.”

*-Tibetan Parliament
in Exile on 29 October 2012*

“Just because you have solar power, water, and toilets, should you exchange that for freedom? That is the fundamental question?”

-Sikyong Dr. Lobsang Sangay was quoted as answering to the question from the audience that Chinese occupation has improved the life of many Tibetans, at Harvard University in October 2012

“It is a tragic irony that His Holiness the Dalai Lama is accessible to millions of people around the world, but not to his own people calling out for him in Tibet.”

*-Kashag’s statement
on 52nd Tibetan Democracy Day*

“We respect the Han people; we respect your rich and ancient culture. But we are not barbarians. We too have a culture and history. We have our own written and spoken language. We are looking for a solution that is mutually acceptable.

-His Holiness the Dalai Lama was quoted as saying during a meeting with a group of students at the College of William & Mary in Virginia, USA, on 10 October 2012

“China spends billions of dollars on spectacles such as the 2008 Beijing Olympics to impress the world, but allowing the return of the His Holiness the Dalai Lama to Tibet, the holiest Tibetan Buddhist spiritual leader, would do more than all China’s other efforts”

-Sikyong Dr. Lobsang Sangay was quoted as saying to the reporters during the Foreign Correspondents’ Club of South Asia in New Delhi on 20 August 2012