



TIBETAN BULLETIN

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FROM THE EDITOR

Dear Readers,



October has been a busy month for China. The month began with Chinese authorities working overtime to tighten censorship ahead of the 19th national congress of the Chinese communist party, which began on 17 October. Text messages, voice calls and video calls on social media were heavily policed, a usual sign of government surveillance ahead of major events in China.

However, the highlight of the month was the 19th plenum of the Chinese communist party, an event that established President Xi Jinping as the most powerful Chinese leader since Mao Zedong. Having solidified his power, President Xi then proclaimed a new era of Chinese preeminence in all spheres of global politics including economics, military and diplomacy.

The new ‘Chinese era’ proclaimed by President Xi Jinping is seen as a sign of China turning outward, breaking away from its centuries-old tradition of focusing inward. China’s new confidence in its foreign policy is evidenced by its increased global initiatives including the multi-trillion dollar Belt and Road Initiative, the establishment of the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB), its aggressive posturing in the South and East China Seas, a sharp surge in trade deals with African countries and a determined focus to attract the world’s cutting-edge scientists and innovators to China. So much so that today, practically no corners of the world have remained unfazed by China’s towering ambitions.

In contrast, the reluctance of the traditional global super powers such as the United States and Europe to take an active lead in persistent global issues such as climate change and green energy have made the timing opportune for China. Moreover, growth in nationalistic fervor in these countries has led the west to turn decisively inward.

Hence, as the New York Times recently pointed out, all these developments position China to become, in President Xi’s words, “a new choice for other countries” and the principal arbiter, something long associated with the United States in the international order.

But, if China wants to enjoy the status of the new global leader in the twenty-first century, it will have to prove itself ready to accept the responsibilities of leadership.

Global leadership begins with genuine, internal leadership in one’s own country. China’s own domestic governance system doesn’t show any signs of improvement from the days of the Cultural Revolution and needs to be improved in many areas including transparency and fairness. Ordinary Chinese citizens continue to face human rights violations and denial of fundamental rights.

China is also one of the few countries in the world that doesn’t observe international law in many areas. To be the preeminent leader of the world, China should abide by the over 25 international treaties that it is signatory to and be a responsible global player, and actively contribute toward maintaining global peace and stability.

While President Xi Jinping’s ambitions to see China become the new global leader is a welcome step, it has become evidently clear that the way China treat its own citizens particularly those ‘ethnic minorities’ like Tibet and Xinjiang will be the blueprint of how China will fare as the aspiring leader of the new international order. Therefore, China’s new era of global leadership should begin with Tibet as a reference point.

Jamphel Shonu
Editor

Tibet National Football Team Qualifies for CONIFA World Football Cup 2018



Players of the Tibet National Football team

The Tibet National Football team is all set to participate in the World Football Cup 2018 in London next summer.

The world football cup is organised by Confederation of Independent Football Associations (CONIFA), the international governing body for Non-FIFA affiliated Associations for football.

At least 16 teams from 4 continents will be participating in the 2018 edition making it the biggest tournament ever played outside of FIFA. Teams include one from Oceania, one from North America, two each from Africa and Asia, and five from Europe. The rest are automatically qualified as host teams and reigning champions.

The Tibet National Football Team is officially qualified for the World Football Cup 2018 through a wild card ticket granted by CONIFA.

The CONIFA World Football Cup is the biggest and best-known football tournament of national football teams that do not enjoy FIFA membership.

The tournament will officially begin on 31 May 2018 and the final match is scheduled for 9 June 2018.

For detailed news visit:
www.tibet.net

CTA President Dr Lobsang Sangay Lauds the Hard Work of Tibet Support Groups

The American Regional Meeting of Tibet Groups was held in Mexico, from 1 to 3 September, 2017, in the heart of Mexico City organised by International Tibet Network. There were 43 participants in total, collectively from the United States, Canada and Latin America namely Chile, Brazil and Mexico.

President of the Central Tibetan Administration, Dr Lobsang Sangay, arrived at Mexico City on 2 September. Representative of His Holiness the Dalai Lama to Latin America, Tsewang Phuntsok and President of the Casa Tibet Mexico, Tony Karam along with the Airport Protocol Officers offered their warm welcome and greetings to President Sangay.

President of Central Tibetan Administration, Dr Lobsang Sangay delivered the keynote address on the final day of the meeting which was later followed by a Q&A session with the participants.



President Dr Lobsang Sangay delivering the keynote address on the final day of the ITN American Regional Meeting at Mexico on 3 September 2017.

President Sangay in his key-note address, applauded the hard work and dedication of the Tibet supporters and said, “it was through hard work of many including the Tibet supporters that the Tibet issue is well recognised around the globe.”

He mentioned that even though Beijing enjoys good relations with governments across the globe, the people and media are, however, still skeptical about Beijing’s approach.

Keeping this in mind, he said that the Tibetans and Tibet supporters have the responsibility to make the Tibet issue relevant in the global context and to make it a referral point.

President Sangay spoke at length, informing the participants of the meeting, about the policy of the Central Tibetan Administration, in declaring the year 2017 as a ‘campaign year’ and 2018 as the ‘gratitude year’.

With this in mind, he requested the Tibet supporters to work towards strengthening Tibetan activism and campaigns around the globe. He also mentioned that the CTA would be ready to facilitate the Tibet supporters in whatever way it can, in this regard.

President Sangay also briefed the participants of the meeting about the Five Fifty policy of the Central Tibetan Administration and reminded the participants, about Beijing’s “One Belt and One Road” project, which is going to be a core policy of China in its foreign affairs, economic and trade relations, security and military build up in the coming years.

The meeting was organised by International Tibet Network, with the sole purpose being, to explore new campaigns and invite new audiences that will invigorate the Tibetan Movement, agreeing to steps of action for immediate priorities and also to find motivation through unity and build capacity of the Tibet groups through networking, sharing and training.

Representative of Latin American countries, Tsewang Phuntso, spoke on the status of the Tibetan movement in the Latin American countries and on CTA’s priorities in those regions. Sonam Sangmo, TSG Liaison Officer of DIIR led a session reviewing the Action Plans which were adopted during the Seventh International TSG conference held in Brussels. She also emphasized on the

need for active involvement of Tibet Groups in the CTA's Year of Campaign – 2017.

Some of the keynote speakers of the meeting were Alan Cantos, who spoke on the universal jurisdiction in the case of Spanish Law suit and how it could be reciprocated in one's own country, Professor Michael C. Davis, Professor of Law and International Affair of the University of Hong Kong and Jindal Global University spoke on parallels with Hong Kong and current context.

The two and half day meeting ended successfully with renewed spirits among the participants, spirit that is necessary in working for the Tibetan movement with more commitment and motivation.

CTA President Talks Tibet at Tech Monterrey University and Casa Tibet in Mexico City

President Dr Lobsang Sangay of the Central Tibetan Administration addressed a packed auditorium at the Santa Fe campus of the Monterrey Institute of Technology and Higher Studies on Monday, 4 September 2017.

In his address, Dr Sangay drew the attention of the audience towards the disastrous impact of the massive resource extraction operations of the Chinese government on the Tibetan plateau and the resulting recession of glaciers on the roof of the world.

He said that since the Tibetan plateau serves as one of the largest reservoirs of fresh water in the world feeding billions of people in Asia, the rapid recession of the glaciers does have a dramatic impact on the global climate. Dr Sangay pointed out that some of the most renowned geo-political strategists fear that the coming war in the world will, most likely, be on water.

Expanding the issue, Dr Sangay also touched on the Chinese government's current strategic trade and foreign

policy of "One Belt, One Road" and that the world community should not fail to learn about the impact of the policy by studying the Tibetan case. Dr Sangay further spoke on the Tibetan Buddhist civilisation and its contribution to the global community.



Audience at CTA President Dr Lobsang Sangay's talk.

"The Tibetan people have, for over a thousand year, kept intact the the rich knowledge of the Buddha's teachings sharpened by the great scholars of the Nalanda Buddhist university from 5th to 12th century. This initiative now facilitates interested people around the world, including 300-400 million Buddhists in China, to study the profound teachings of the Buddha," he said.

Dr Sangay also spoke on the Chinese government's continuous suppression of Tibetan culture and basic rights of the Tibetan people, which has forced 149 Tibetans to self-immolate in protest since 2009 to protest the repressive policy.

He also informed the audience on the Tibetan administration's policy of "Middle Way Approach" in resolving the issue of Tibet seeking genuine autonomy for the Tibetan people.

Dr Sangay's 45-minute talk was followed by a question-and-answer session which was participated by around 30 students making the session very interactive and educating.

In the evening, Dr Sangay gave another engaging talk at the Casa Tibet Mexico which was attended by around 200 people.

In his talk at the Casa Tibet Mexico, Dr Sangay covered a wide range of subjects

on Tibet, including the way the Tibetan administration is run and the Tibetan experience of Buddhist democracy.

CTA President Reiterates the Tibet Narrative at the National Autonomous University of Mexico

President of the Central Tibetan Administration, Dr Lobsang Sangay on the morning of 5 September, visited the National Autonomous University of Mexico (UNAM) and spoke at the Faculty of Philosophy.

Before the start of the talk, President Sangay was taken on a brief tour of the Library and Theatre at the Faculty of Philosophy.

Speaking at the Faculty of Philosophy, President Sangay highlighted the historical status of Tibet and said that Tibet had been an independent country until the Chinese invasion in 1949, despite unsustainable Chinese claims that it had been a part of China since the Yuan dynasty.



President of the Central Tibetan Administration, Dr Lobsang Sangay addressing the students of the university.

President Dr Sangay said that even after the Chinese occupation of Tibet and the recruitment of the Tibetans as members of the Communist Party of China, Beijing failed to trust the Tibetans. With such distrust, all the decision making power, at the local and regional levels in the Tibetan areas, have always remained in the hands of the Chinese cadres.

He said that not only the mainstream Tibetans in Tibet suffer from discrimination, but also the Tibetan

Communist Party members. “Even in the field of education, the Tibetans are compelled to study the Chinese language, as a medium of instruction. At the Lhasa University, subjects such as Tibetan astrology, medicine and Buddhist philosophy are being taught in Chinese and not in the Tibetan language”

Talking about the political repressions in Tibet, President Dr Sangay also mentioned that the 2016 Freedom House Report designated Tibet as the least free among countries or territories. Despite the continuous repression, President Dr Sangay notified that the Tibetan non-violent resistance remains strong and steadfast in Tibet.

Later in the day, President Dr Sangay engaged in exclusive interviews with Adriana Amezcua, editor of the *Newsweek*, in Spanish, based in Mexico and with a senior reporter of *Reforma*, the largest circulated newspaper of Mexico. He also took part in a radio interview with *La Red de Radio Red*.

CTA President Speaks on Tibet’s Environment at Iberoamericana University, Mexico City

On the final day of his four-day visit to Mexico City, President of the Central Tibetan Administration, Dr Lobsang Sangay made an appearance in the Prime Time Morning News of the *Televisa* TV network with senior anchor Carlos Loret de Mola.

In the TV interview, Dr Sangay highlighted the religious repression in Tibet, citing the case of Larung Gar and Yarchen Gar. He also touched upon CTA’s basic policy of resolving the Tibet issue—by seeking a meaningful autonomy—rather than separation from China. In this regard, Dr Sangay urged the support of the Mexican government.

Following the TV interview, Dr Sangay visited the University of Iberoamericana,



President Dr Lobsang Sangay presenting a souvenir to Vice Rector of Alejandro Guevara of Iberoamericana University.

a Society of Jesus funded one of the most prestigious universities in Mexico, located in Santa Fe neighbourhood in Mexico City.

At the university campus, Dr Sangay was cordially received by Vice-Rector Academic Dr. Alejandro Guevara Sanginés. He was then hosted at the office of the Rector David Fernández Dávalo.

Addressing the students of the university, Dr Lobsang Sangay initially introduced them to the geographical landscape of Tibet and its unique features – the highest plateau on the earth; water tower of the Asian continent; and an air cooler of the whole planet by taking out the carbon dioxide out of the atmosphere.

However, Dr Sangay said this has been changing over the past years with the melting of glaciers at rapid rate, primarily affected by relentless Chinese mining operations on the roof of the world. He said that the temperature on the Tibetan plateau is rising much faster than the rest of the world.

“Since the Beijing is not a signatory to the International water sharing agreements, geopolitical strategists fear that the coming war will be on water,” he said.

President Dr Sangay also spoke on the religious repressions in Tibet, particularly at the world biggest Buddhist academy of Larung Gar and also that of Yarchen Gar. He said that in both centres, the Chinese government has recently demolished the residential

quarters of monks and nuns and expelled the nuns and monks with warnings of not to return back in future.

With the continued suppression of the religion, culture and Tibetan languages by the Chinese authorities, the President said that more and more Tibetans are anguished and compelled to undertake the drastic action of self-immolating themselves to protest against the repressive policies.

Dr Sangay said that although the situation in Tibet is depressing, it doesn’t draw the attention of the international media like that of the situation of Syria, North Korea, Afghanistan because the media always go after sensational news.

Despite all the challenges, Dr Sangay



President Dr Lobsang Sangay at the *Televisa News*, interviewed by Journalist Carlos Loret de Mola.

said that the Tibetan wants to prove that non-violence is right; that truth is right, and prove that human rights and democracy are right.

After the talk, a considerable amount of time was devoted on questions and answers and many students and faculty members came forward with interesting questions.

Dr Sangay also gave a brief radio interview to the university’s radio Ibero 90.9 following his talk at the university.

Before leaving the university campus, Vice rector Dr. Alejandro Guevara offered a luncheon reception in honor of CTA President Dr Sangay. The luncheon was joined by members of the faculty.

President Dr Lobsang Sangay left Mexico City this morning, September 7, for Washington DC after successfully concluding the Mexico leg of his visit.

CTA President Featured on the Cover of Newsweek Spanish Magazine

The President of Central Tibetan Administration Dr Lobsang Sangay has been featured on the cover of Newsweek En Espanol (Spanish). The September 11 issue of the Newsweek featuring the cover story titled ‘Tibet Is Vital For the Rest of the World: Lobsang Sangay,’ hit the news stands today.



CTA President Featured on the Cover of Newsweek Spanish Magazine

According to Tsewang Phuntso, Representative of His Holiness the Dalai Lama to Latin America, “this is only the second time a Tibet issue or a Tibetan personality has been featured on the cover following the October 2013 edition which featured His Holiness the Dalai Lama during his visit to Mexico.”

Tony Karam, Founding Director of Casa Tibet Mexico said the fact that the Dr Lobsang Sangay, President of Central Tibetan Administration graced the cover of September 11-15 issue of Newsweek Spanish is both an honor and a privilege.

“This is the week during which the Mexican President visited China and when Mexico was hit by a massive earthquake, yet to make it the cover of largest selling newsmagazine in Spanish speaking regions attest to the vital importance of Tibet, His Holiness and the political leadership of CTA,” affirms Tony.

Terming Dr Sangay as the ‘political successor of the XIV Dalai Lama, Tenzin Gyatso,’ Adriana Amezcua, the International editor for Newsweek Mexico discusses with the CTA President a wide range of issues from resolving

political differences as an indispensable instrument for harmonious relations between nations to the significance of Tibet as the earth’s Third Pole and its impact on Asia and rest of the planet earth.

Dr Sangay calls on Latin America and in particular Mexico to review and understand the history of what is now considered the second least free nation in the world, which continues its peaceful struggle to achieve genuine autonomy under the framework of People’s Republic of China through the Middle Way Approach based on the principles of non-violence and dialogue.

Lauding the vital underpinnings of the cover story, Tsewang Phuntso said the interview covers almost all the vital issues the Office of Tibet and Casa Tibet Mexico have been advocating for in the Latin American region.

President Dr Sangay’s maiden visit to Mexico garnered widespread media coverage and commentary: interview with Noticias Televisa – Carlos Lorette de Mola, the largest TV Network in the Spanish speaking world, three radio programs including La Red de Radio Red – Sergio Sarmiento, one of Mexico’s top three morning radio news. ‘Reforma,’ the most influential newspaper in Mexico published an interview with Dr Sangay conducted by Guadalupe Loaza, one of the most influential novelists and political critics in Mexico.

In addition, Dr Sangay gave a lecture at Casa Tibet Mexico and at the three most important universities in Mexico, Universidad Iberoamericana, The Tecnológico Autónomo de Monterrey and the National Autonomous University in Mexico. All in all he was able to reach more than a 800 students.

Newsweek has four English language editions and twelve editions in regional languages. The Spanish edition covers 18 Spanish speaking countries including the US with a wide circulation and a reach to millions in North and South American continent.

UN High Commissioner for Human Rights Raises Tibet at the 36th Session of the Human Rights Council

Prince Zeid Ra’ad Al Hussein, the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, raised the issue of Tibet and the cases of Late Tulku Tenzin Delek Rinpoche and Tibetan language advocate Tashi Wangchuk in the opening statement at the 36th session of the Human Rights Council that convened yesterday.

In his written statement, the UN High Commissioner painted a grim picture of the human rights situation in the world and explained, “the world has grown darker and dangerous.” As a result, he called on governments across the world to uphold and promote human rights ever more than before.

The high commissioner also highlighted the cases of deaths in detention, including prominent Tibetan religious leader Tenzin Delek Rinpoche (2015), Nobel Peace Prize laureate Liu Xiaobo



(2017) and activist Cao Shunli (2014). He also aired concerns for those who “are in various forms of deprivation of liberty on questionable grounds, without any independent oversight mechanism”, mentioning Tibetan language rights activist Tashi Wangchuk along with other human rights defenders.

The UN High Commissioner for human rights further questioned “Governments who engage in intimidation and bullying, and commit reprisals against human rights defenders and NGOs which work with the UN human rights mechanism”

on oppression and injustice exercise by States in their countries, calling it a “theft of their peoples’ inalienable rights.”

Earlier this month, Human Right Watch (HRW) released a report titled “The Cost of International Advocacy” that exposed China’s efforts to undermine the UN human rights protection mechanisms. The report further noted China’s interference with the UN’s efforts in curbing human rights violations through “aggressively silencing criticism and eroding access for activists who work on China.”

Earlier last month, the US State Department released annual report on International Religious Freedom, which highlighted Chinese interference in religious practices in monasteries and nunneries in Tibet.

The apprehensive voice raised by the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights as well as HRW’s report further reiterates the Central Tibetan Administration’s call for an independent investigation into the deteriorating human rights situation in Tibet.

CTA President Iterates Kashag’s Position on Tibetans Applying for Indian Citizenship



Members of the 15th Kashag led by President Dr Lobsang Sangay during the 4th session of the 16th Tibetan Parliament. Photo/Tenzin Phende/ DIIR

Responding to questions raised during the fourth session of the 16th Tibetan Parliament, on the issue of Tibetans opting for Indian citizenship CTA President Dr Lobsang Sangay clarified that the Kashag follows the directive issued by the Indian government.

“The decision to apply for Indian or any other country’s citizenship is a personal choice. If you are eligible, you can apply. The Tibetan administration has no right nor does it intend to interfere in a person’s fundamental rights,” President Dr Sangay said.

However, he clarified, that the Indian government has set a few conditions for Tibetans aspiring to apply for Indian citizenship.

“As per directive of the Indian government, those seeking an Indian passport will need to cancel their registration certificate (RC) and identity certificate (IC). Moreover, the applicant should not be staying in designated Tibetan refugee settlements and forfeit all privileges and benefits from the Central Tibetan Administration,” he explained.

“These conditions are set by the Indian government. As we are based in India, it is our duty to follow any directive issued by the Indian government. India has done more than any other country for the Tibetan people and we should remain eternally grateful to this great nation,” he said.

Dr Sangay further clarified the distinction between the terms ‘Tibetan origin’ and ‘Tibetan refugee’, explaining how it should be interpreted.

“Tibetans holding passports of other countries (including India) are considered people of Tibetan origin. We don’t deny their passion for the Tibet cause. For that reason, we issue the Tibetan green book to them, giving them the right to cast votes during Tibetan elections and participate in the Tibetan freedom struggle,” he said.

“However, these Tibetans cannot be called Tibetan refugees and cannot avail the benefits provided by the Central Tibetan Administration such as scholarship, jobs, etc.” he explained.

The Kashag has made it explicitly clear, since 2012, that the CTA neither deters any Tibetan from applying for Indian citizenship nor does it encourage

Tibetans to apply for Indian citizenship.

India is home to an estimated one Lakh Tibetans, most of who live in 35 settlements across the country in 12 Indian states.

Team Lugsum Bags the Winner’s Trophy of ‘Stop TB’ Basketball Tournament

Lugsum Team from Bylakuppe defeated Tibetan Dicky Larsoe (TDL), to win the first ‘Stop TB basketball tournament’ organised by the Department of Health in collaboration with Tibetan National Sports Association and Tibetan Youth Congress at Gangchen Kyishong.



CTA President Dr Lobsang Sangay with Team Lugsum, the winner of the basketball tournament. Photo/ Tenzin Jigme/DIIR

CTA President Dr Lobsang Sangay, Security Kalon, Education Kalon, Health Kalon, members of Tibetan Parliament and the general Tibetan public residing in Dharamshala attended the final match.

In his address, President Dr Lobsang Sangay spoke about the Central Tibetan Administration’s commitment to eradicate TB from the community by 2022. He called TB a curse that has been afflicting the Tibetan community since the early years of Tibetan exile and expressed the Kashag’s determination to boost health and fitness of the Tibetan people by encouraging sports and an active lifestyle.

The United Nations has called for eradication of TB by 2030 while the Indian government and the Himachal State government has set 2025 and 2021 respectively.

Lugsum scored 47 against 35 scored

by TDL. The winner got fifty thousand Rupees while runners up got thirty thousand Rupees. Team Sarah was conferred the fair play team of the tournament and awarded five thousand Rupees.

Twelve Tibetan teams from India and Nepal participated in the tournament. The teams include Mundgod, Lugsum from Bylakuppe, TDL from Bylakuppe, Northeast Yak, Bir, Sarah (Dharamshala), Pohkra (Nepal), Delhi, Ladakh, Clement town, All star (Dharamshala) and Drogba (Dharamshala).

CTA President Lauds Tibetan Nuns Project for Empowering Women through Scholarship and Education

The 30th anniversary of the Tibetan Nuns Project marks the ground-breaking era of empowering Tibetan women through scholarship and education, President Dr Lobsang Sangay of Central Tibetan Administration, said today at the occasion of the 30th founding anniversary of the Tibetan Nuns Project at Dolma ling Nunnery.

Speaking at the ceremony, the President declared that the occasion was symbolic for many reasons.



President Dr Lobsang Sangay speaking at the 30th founding anniversary of the Tibetan Nuns Project at Dolma ling Nunnery, 2 October 2017. Photo/Tenzin Jigme/DIIR

“Accomplishments of the Tibetan Nuns Project over the years including the re-establishment of one of the most illustrious Tibetan Nunneries in Tibet

and laying of the groundwork for highest Buddhist education for Tibetan nuns have made significant contributions to the revival of Tibetan Buddhism in exile.”

He expressed his gratitude to His Holiness the Dalai Lama for inspiring the successful revival of Tibetan culture and resilience of the people in the most challenging times.

“Due to the vision and grace of His Holiness, exile establishments: the Tibetan Medical Institute; the Institute of Performing Arts; Tibetan Monastic Institute and the Tibetan Nunneries that were destroyed in Tibet continue to flourish in exile.

“That is the spirit of the Tibetan people. We have a will and determination as strong as mountains. No matter how much you destroy us, we will rise up again and again,” he said.

He reiterated the wholehearted support of the Central Tibetan Administration towards the Tibetan Nuns Project and congratulated the nuns for successfully embracing unity, innovation and self reliance as their guiding principles as it is of the 14th Kashag.

Director of the Tibetan Nuns Project, Rinchen Khando spoke on the history of TNP, its inception in 1987 and remarkable achievements of educating more than 800 Tibetan nuns with establishment of its non-sectarian nunnery, annual inter-nunnery debate and the historic awarding of the first Geshema degree.

She said, during these 30 years, the Tibetan Nuns Project was faced with extraordinary challenges, but succeeded through the remarkable effort of the board, staff and the support of the donors and long time friends.

“Our 30th anniversary is an opportunity to thank our supporters and to take stock of the many historic milestones that would not have been possible without your compassion for the nuns. You and your support will be remembered in the history of Tibet and for future Tibetan Buddhist nuns,” The director said.

Also gracing the occasion were the Education Kalon, Ngodup Tsering, Members of the standing committee of the Tibetan parliament, Joint Secretary of the Department of Religion and Culture, other representatives and also the first ever batch of Tibetan Geshema holders and 15 Tibetan nun lopons.

Gyalo Thondup, Former Kalon Tripa and Elder Brother of His Holiness the Dalai Lama visits Kashag

Gyalo Thondup, former Kalon Tripa and the elder brother of His Holiness the Dalai Lama visited the Kashag secretariat on Tuesday, 3 October. He met with CTA President Dr Lobsang Sangay and other members of the 15th Kashag.



Gyalo Thondup, former Kalon Tripa and elder brother of His Holiness the Dalai Lama with President Dr Lobsang Sangay and members of the 15th Kashag. Photo/Tenzin Phende/DIIR

The CTA President Dr Sangay expressed his joy over the audience with Gyalo Thondup. Acknowledging his unfaltering effort and service to His Holiness the Dalai Lama and to the Tibet cause, Dr Sangay conveyed his heartfelt gratitude to Gyalo Thondup and added that his contributions will echo throughout the history of Tibet.

Gyalo Thondup has played a crucial role as a liaison to China and also is a key scholarly figure in the Tibetan diaspora particularly in relations to understanding China and its policies on Tibet.

Addressing the members of the Kashag, Gyalo Thondup iterated the untiring efforts of His Holiness the Dalai Lama and voiced the significance of the CTA to work in accordance with the aspirations of His Holiness.

It is crucial, he said, to work towards sustaining the Tibet cause amidst the mounting discords in the world taking the center stage.

Speaking about Sino-India relations vis-à-vis Tibet, Gyalo Thondup highlighted the importance and the need to strengthen the relationship with India and to strive towards gaining India's understanding and trust. He further added that through a thorough research and internal discussion, it is necessary to consider the global changes taking place in relation to China and to ponder on how to communicate with China. Citing his 36 years of effort to study China, Gyalo Thondup humbly explained he still continue to do so.

With an unwavering determination to contribute to the Tibet cause, Gyalo Thondup at 89 asked the Kashag how could he be of service to the Kashag, the Tibet cause and to his people.

CTA President Dr Lobsang Sangay Conferred with Takasu Award

The President of Central Tibetan Administration Dr. Lobsang Sangay was honoured with the Takasu Award today in recognition of his notable contribution towards the welfare, education and resilience of the Tibetan people at a ceremony held at Gangchen Kyishong.



President Dr Lobsang Sangay delivering his acceptance remarks at the conferment ceremony. Photo/Tenzin Phende/ DIIR

The prize was conferred by Takasu foundation, an aid group based in Japan. The foundation was established by Dr. Katsuya Takasu, a renowned plastic surgeon and philanthropist who flew

in all the way from Japan specially to present the award.



Dr Katsuya Takasu presenting the Takasu Prize to President Dr Lobsang Sangay of the Central Tibetan Administration. Photo/Tenzin Phende/ DIIR

Presenting the award to Dr. Sangay, Dr Katsuya Takasu expressed his deep admiration and respect for the Central Tibetan Administration led by Dr Lobsang Sangay. The prizes include a medal and an amount of 100,000 USD. President Dr Lobsang Sangay decided to allocate the prize money of \$100,000 to the Department of Education.

Empathising with the challenges facing Tibetan people, Dr Takasu iterated the importance of continuance of the Tibet cause through non-violence. He assured his continued support to the Tibet issue and promised to contribute towards the welfare and developmental activities of the Tibetan administration.

Dr Takasu highlighted the importance of good education and a righteous upbringing of the children for an abled generation, a generation in which we can place our hope.

Lauding Dr Sangay as an able leader, Dr Takasu encouraged the new generation of Tibetans to become like Dr Sangay. "You are all lucky to be blessed with a leader like Lobsang Sangay," said Dr Takasu.

CTA president Dr. Sangay, in his acceptance remarks, dedicated the award to the hard work and determination of CTA workforce: the three pillars of democracy and the staff of the Central Tibetan Administration.

"I am just one person. One person alone cannot achieve much. It is with the support of my colleagues in the Kashag and the full strength of the CTA structure that we can make a difference in our work. Therefore, I believe this prize is a recognition of our collective effort and contribution," he said.

"The success of the Central Tibetan Administration is due to its deep commitment to its democratic principles, represented in the harmony of the three pillars of judiciary, legislature and executive and the blessings of His Holiness the Dalai Lama."

Citing his meeting with Dr. Takasu during his past visits to Japan, Dr. Sangay elucidated and admired Dr. Takasu's reverence to His Holiness the Dalai Lama and support to the Tibet cause in particular to the educational endeavours of the CTA.

The ceremony was attended by Chief Justice commissioner Kargyu Dhondup, Speaker of TPiE Ven Khenpo Sonam Tenphel, members of the Kashag, members of the standing committee of Tibetan Parliament and the entire staff and officials of the Central Tibetan Administration.

Lets embrace our Commonality, not our Differences: CTA President tells Tibetans of Mixed Heritage



CTA President with the participants of the Mixed Tibetan heritage conference. Photo/Tenzin Phende/ DIIR

President of the Central Tibetan Administration Dr Lobsang Sangay today met with Tibetans of Mixed Heritage at DIIR's Lhakpa Tsering memorial hall.

President Dr Sangay welcomed them to the Central Tibetan Administration and told them that they are equally Tibetans as anyone else.

“The fact that you are hosting the gathering in Dharamshala is significant as it is the seat of His Holiness the Dalai Lama and the Central Tibetan Administration. So, I heartily welcome you all here,” he said.

“As far as the Central Tibetan Administration is concerned, you are all Tibetans as much as any other Tibetan. You are not mixed or half-Tibetans, you are complete Tibetans. We should embrace our commonality, not our differences,” he said.

President Dr Sangay also welcomed them to serve CTA through the CTA’s Tibet Corps programme.

“As President of the Central Tibetan Administration, I am always looking to expand our talent pool. Therefore, if you have a certain skillset and want to extend your services, you are free to be a part of this administration,” he said.

Dr Sangay further attributed the success of the democratic structure of the Central Tibetan Administration to the efforts of the elder generation of Tibetans under the blessings of His Holiness the Dalai Lama. “I can attest to the fact that it is the best and the most effective exile administration anywhere in the world,” he said.

Responding to a question about the CTA’s future policies on key issues, the President explained the CTA would move forward with the Five-Fifty Vision and what it sets to achieve.

“We will put our efforts to resolve the issue of Tibet based on the Middle Way Approach during the five year tenure of political leadership. At the same time, we will formulate policies that will secure the sustenance and welfare of Tibetans over the next 50 years if the need be,” he said.

The gathering of Tibetans of Mixed Heritage in Dharamshala began with a special audience for the participants

with His Holiness the Dalai Lama on 9 October.

Fourteen Tibetans of mixed heritage from eight different countries ranging from 14 – 41 years of age are taking part in the gathering, the third in series. The 14 participants are from India, Italy, Netherlands, France, UK, New Zealand, Canada and the USA.

According to the organisers, the aim of the gathering is to provide participants with a space to meet together, share experiences and engage in conversation about identity, history, politics and culture.

Tibet Exposition at Festival of Democracy in Prague



Visitors at the Tibet Museum exhibition at Prague.

A Photo Exhibition detailing the life and legacies of His Holiness the Dalai Lama was unveiled at Vaclav Havel Square in Prague, Czech Republic from October 9 to 12, 2017. Through photographs and textual descriptions, the exhibition elucidated the contributions and achievements of His Holiness the Dalai Lama towards world peace, inter-religious harmony and the Tibet cause.

The exhibition showcased at the Festival of Democracy was organised by the Tibet Museum of the Department of Information and International Relations, Central Tibetan Administration in collaboration with Forum 2000, Linhart Foundation, Tibet Open House, National Gallery and Vaclav Havel Library. The Festival of Democracy is the associated program of the Forum 2000 Conference.

In his speech at the opening of the exhibition, Mr Tashi Phuntsok, the director of the Tibet Museum said, “We Tibetan people have special relations

with the people of Czech Republic. Your country has suffered under the totalitarian communist regime for 40 years and we Tibetans are still suffering under the repressive and totalitarian regime of the People’s Republic of China since 1959.”

Mr. Phuntsok also spoke about the special bond that His Holiness the Dalai Lama and Vaclav Havel, the late president of Czech Republic shared. He added that, “We Tibetans shall always be grateful to former President Vaclav Havel and people of Czech for inviting His Holiness the Dalai Lama to their country in 1990, the first public figure to be invited to visit the country after independence. And since then, His Holiness has made around 11 visits to the Czech Republic including numerous presences at Forum 2000. With the passing of former President in 2011, we Tibetan have lost a true friend and all weather supporter.”

He also informed the gathering about the contributions and achievements of His Holiness the Dalai Lama in the democratization of exile Tibetan polity, which unlike many of the democracies of the 20th Century, was not imposed by a foreign power or gained through a popular uprising rather it was strongly promoted by His Holiness the Dalai Lama and voluntarily established by the Tibetan people at his insistence.

Later, Mr. Phuntsok held series of meeting with Mr. Michael Zantovsky; Executive Director of the Vaclav Havel Library, Dr. Eva Dittertova; Director of the Naprstkovo Museum and Dr. Jiri Fajt; General Director of National Gallery, to discuss about future collaboration and exhibition programme. All the meetings were facilitated by the Tibet Open House and Linhart Foundation.



Five-Fifty Forum to Discuss the Shaping of Tibet's Political Future

The Department of Information and International Relations (DIIR) of the Central Tibetan Administration (CTA) organises a three-day forum titled 'Five-Fifty Forum: Shaping Tibet's Political Future' at Hotel Pavilion from 6 – 8 October 2017.

Addressing the press conference today, Dr Lobsang Sangay, President of the Central Tibetan Administration explained the five-fifty vision as being premised on His Holiness the Dalai Lama's advice to 'hope for the best and prepare for the worst.'

Elucidating on the changes in the global political environment, Dr. Sangay voiced the importance of sustaining and advocating the Tibet cause, Tibetan identity and empowering the Tibetans through education and preserving the unity among Tibetans in Tibet and exile. This, he said, is what the Fifty Vision strives for: a strategy that would assist in carrying out the Five-year Vision focusing on the aspiration of Tibetans in Tibet and to ensure the return of His

Holiness Dalai Lama to Tibet.

"Experts, scholars, strategists and old friends of Tibet will attend the three-day forum. They will deliberate on how best to amicably resolve the issue of Tibet based on the Middle way Approach within the next five years, while securing the future of the Tibetan people in the next 50 years," he said.

Dr Sangay further said that "there have been numerous internal discussions on how best to resolve the Tibet issue. Sometimes, the problem with internal discussions is that we tend to get stuck in tunnel vision. So to overcome this obstacle, we are holding this forum for some out of the box thinking on our future course of action," he said.

Dr. Sangay released the promotional video of the Five-Fifty Vision at the press conference.

DIIR Secretary Sonam Norbu Dagpo briefed the press about the themes and agendas of the forum. He iterated that

the forum would be held under the Chatham House Rule to facilitate free-flowing discussions and also to ensure confidentiality.

Dhardon Sharling, DIIR Secretary Equivalent explained the symbolism of the Five-Fifty logo capturing the essence of the unity of the three provinces of Tibet and explained that the unbinding spirit of the Tibetan people will propel the Tibetan cause into greater heights and successes into the future.

She also explained that the forum will not invite non-CTA media and certain components of the forum will be covered by CTA media only.

The Five-Fifty Forum: Shaping Tibet's Political Future organized by the Department of Information and International Relations (DIIR) of CTA will begin tomorrow and will conclude on 8 October 2017. Over 185 participants from 21 countries have converged in Dharamsala for the three-day forum.

The Fruits of the Forum will be Borne by Younger Generation of the Tibetan people in Future: Former Kalon Tripa Prof Samdhong Rinpoche at Five-Fifty Forum

Former Kalon Tripa Prof Samdhong Rinpoche addressed the participants of the five-fifty forum at a welcome dinner organised at Hotel Pavilion. The forum begins on 6 October.

In his address, Prof Samdhong Rinpoche shared his views on the current status of Tibet and the prospects for change in the future. He said the issue of Tibet is multifaceted and can be interpreted in many different ways. However, he explained that to understand the status of Tibet, one has to understand Tibet's culture, religion, wisdom and the political reality of Tibet and its people.

Outlining the prospects of change for Tibet in the future, Prof Samdhong Rinpoche said that positive changes would not come about automatically but that we have to work for it. He further divided contemporary Tibetan politics

into three different phases: Five-Fifty of the 20th century, Six-Sixty of the 21st century and Five-Fifty of the future.

"Five-Fifty of the 20th century (1904 – 1954) was the period during which Tibet made some of its biggest blunders. In the first five years of the era, Tibet was caught in the trade treaties of China and British India, and was attacked by a British trade delegation in 1904. In the fifty years since then, Tibet was forcibly occupied by Communist China and was colonised," he said.

"At the same time, this period also provided great opportunities for Tibet to attain recognition and standing in the world. It was in this period that India got its independence and was open to dealing with Tibet as an independent nation. However, the Tibetan leadership at that time was completely ignorant of the



Former Kalon Tripa Prof Samdhong Rinpoche addressing the participants of the five-fifty forum. Photo/Tenzin Phende/ DIIR

world and we lost the opportunity," he said, adding that if we only understood the world situation, we could have asserted our sovereignty.

"In fact, the Indian leadership reached out to Tibet at that time to discuss the continuation of the trade treaties that Tibet shared with British India. However, Tibet didn't respond, thereby compelling

India to talk to China instead,” he explained.

Speaking on the Six-Sixty (1957 – 2017) of the 21st century, Rinpoche said that this was a period of mixed emotions. Rinpoche explained that the first five years of this period was traumatic for Tibetans but the later part of the sixty years brought some relief in the form of cultural and religious revival.

“It was during this period that His Holiness was forced to go into exile and thousands of Tibetans were rendered homeless. At the same time, it was this period that brought Tibet and His Holiness the Dalai Lama to the world’s attention. This attention helped garner support for Tibet from world leaders and revive Tibetan culture in exile,” he said.

Rinpoche elucidated His Holiness the Dalai Lama for his exemplary leadership and for galvanising a compassionate revolution in the world.

“It is the charisma of His Holiness the Dalai Lama and his futuristic vision for Tibet that ensured the strength and

security of the Tibetan people till now,” Rinpoche said.

Rinpoche particularly specified non-violence and democracy, the two key components of His Holiness the Dalai Lama’s leadership that will keep the Tibet movement thriving and headed in the right direction for a long period of time.

Rinpoche also expressed concern and apprehension of a situation wherein the blessings of His Holiness are not with the Tibetan people anymore. “His Holiness the Dalai Lama will live for a long period of time, as he has promised to the Tibetan people. However, there is a limit. In the absence of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, Tibetans could be on the verge of its darkest days. In such a scenario, only the democratic administration established by His Holiness would be able to steer the Tibetan people,” he said.

Rinpoche further opined that Tibetan language is being annihilated with a dangerous policy set in place by the Chinese government. He called for renewed energy in the restoration of

Tibetan language, particularly in exile where Tibetans have the freedom to study and preserve its linguistic heritage.

Expressing his best wishes to the participants of the forum, Rinpoche urged them to deliberate wholeheartedly in the next three days and said that the fruits of their deliberations will be enjoyed by the younger generation of the Tibetan people in the near future.

DIIR Secretary equivalent Dhardon Sharling was the master of the ceremony and thanked Rinpoche for his deep and philosophical reflections of the Five-Fifty vision. CTA President Dr Lobsang Sangay delivered the introductory remarks at the dinner reception. He said there is no other person better than Prof Samdhong Rinpoche to explain the Tibet issue given his profound wisdom and lifelong experience in the Tibetan administration.

Secretary Sonam Norbu Dagpo delivered the thank you remarks of the reception. He thanked Rinpoche for succinctly summarising the Tibet issue and its contemporary politics.

CTA President Opens Three-day Five Fifty Forum: Shaping Tibet’s Political Future



*President Dr Lobsang Sangay speaking at the inaugural function of Five-fifty forum.
Photo/Tenzin Phende/DIIR*

The three-day five-fifty forum organised by the Department of Information and International Relations begins at Hotel Pavilion.

Over 185 participants from 21 countries have converged in Dharamshala for the three-day forum. The participants include some of the top political strategists, politicians, communication experts, activists, bloggers and writers.

Addressing the inaugural session, President Dr Lobsang Sangay described the three-day forum as an opportunity to express unvarnished opinions, suggestions, and recommendations to re-energise the Tibet movement in the next five to fifty years.

“I welcome all of you here,” President Dr Sangay said. “We have chosen each one of you individually by looking into your longstanding contribution towards the Tibet cause, or for your expertise and experience in the field of international relations.”

“After the forum, we will formulate our future course of action by taking into account your inputs. Therefore, we would want you to advise us just as you would advise your respective governments, MNCs or organisations that you work for,” he said.

He further spoke about the current political backdrop of the world, illustrating the rise in nationalist and extremist sentiments, and the decline of liberalism and Internationalism.

He explained the increased global attention on Tibet riding on the wave of liberalism in the early 90s and late 80s, and expressed concern at the repercussions of the rise of nationalistic global politics on the Tibet cause.

He also spoke about the depressing political situation prevailing inside Tibet and called for redefining the Tibet narrative to create an increased discussion on Tibet in the global political discourse.

President Dr Sangay also spoke about His Holiness the Dalai Lama’s immense contribution in the form of his visionary

leadership of the Tibet movement and attributed the success of the Tibetan exile community on his charismatic guidance.

Other speakers at the inaugural session include Noted Indian academic Dr Meenakshi Gopinath, Political strategist Jamie Metz, German politician Dr Schwartz Schilling and Taiwanese parliamentarian Freddy Lim.

The session was moderated by Information Secretary (Equivalent) Tenzin Dhardon Sharling and the vote of thanks was delivered by Secretary Sonam Norbu Dagpo.

Obituary: DIIR Under Secretary Phurbu Tsering Passes Away



The Central Tibetan Administration today held a prayer service to mourn the sudden and untimely demise of Under Secretary Phurbu Tsering who has been working as the storekeeper of DIIR's CTA information center in McLeod Ganj. He passed away after a prolonged illness at Dayanand Medical College & Hospital in Ludhiana where he was undergoing treatment on 24 September 2017 at 5:10 pm.

Secretary of the Kashag Secretariat Topgyal Tsering delivered the condolence remarks for the deceased during the prayer service.

Undersecretary Phurbu Tsering was born on 7 December 1963 at Paonta Cholsum Tibetan settlement in Himachal Pradesh.

Late Phurbu Tsering has dedicated over 21 years of his life towards the Central Tibetan Administration and has served with sincerity and determination till his untimely demise on 24 September 2017.

Three-Day Five-Fifty Forum Concludes with Pledges to Revitalise the Tibetan Movement



CTA president delivering the concluding remarks of the five-fifty forum on 8 October 2017. Photo/Tenzin Phende/DIIR

The Five-Fifty Forum organised by the Department of Information and International Relations (DIIR) came to a close after three days of intensive discussions on the future course of the Tibetan movement.

Participants of the forum deliberated on four main agendas namely, seeking constructive dialogue and negotiations with PRC; Tibet's core relationship with a rising India and Asia; CTA's International relations and advocacy; and CTA's leadership.

In his concluding remarks, President Dr Lobsang Sangay thanked the participants for their wholehearted participation and candid suggestions on strengthening and revitalising the Tibetan movement.

He said the Tibetan administration would look into all the recommendations, and try to formulate policies based on the recommendations.

Dr Sangay also spoke about CTA's position on the Rangzen vs Umaylam discourse and clarified that the Tibetan administration is not against Rangzen advocates per se.

"Rangzen is a historical fact of Tibet. However, some fringe elements criticising His Holiness the Dalai Lama on the pretext of advocating Rangzen is unacceptable. We respect rangzen groups for their passion and dedication to the Tibet cause but they should make the distinction between these two things. We should keep in mind that there is no

one who has done more for the Tibetan people and Tibet cause than His Holiness the Dalai Lama," he said.

President Dr Sangay also spoke about the Middle Way Approach as more realistic and practical than complete independence, which is more confrontational. "Not only is the Middle Way more moderate and relevant, it also helps create spaces for engagement with governments and international bodies. An ideology based on confrontation will have few backers," he said.

He also attributed the goodwill of the Tibetan movement to the ethos of non-violence that Tibet represents. "As one participant rightly said in the forum, there is no negative connotation associated with the Tibet movement. Most other international movements, irrespective of their causes, tend to have some negative connotations. However, if you support the Tibet movement, there is no reason to be guilty as it is purely unblemished," he explained.

President Dr Sangay further thanked the international community for their continued support on the Tibet issue. He said the Tibetan administration is organising a year of gratitude next year in 2018 to express its sincere appreciation for supporting Tibet.

"Next year it will be exactly 60 years since His Holiness the Dalai Lama left Tibet for exile in India. Therefore, we are going to mark the year as 'thank you year' to all our friends and supporters especially India. India is our greatest and most loyal supporter and we are deeply grateful to this great nation," he said.

The participants also expressed appreciation at the smooth and efficient management of the discussions, and careful selection of the speakers, moderators and the facilitators of the forum. They called for more such forums to be organised to exchange ideas, and revitalise the Tibetan movement over time.

The Tibetan Spirit is Indomitable Despite Chinese Repression: His Holiness the Dalai Lama at Five-Fifty Forum



His Holiness the Dalai Lama addressing the five-fifty forum participants. Photo/Tenzin Phende/DIIR

His Holiness the Dalai Lama graced the second day of the Five-Fifty Forum organised by the Department of Information and International Relations (DIIR) of the Central Tibetan Administration (CTA) on 7 October at Hotel Pavilion in Dharamsala.

In his address, His Holiness the Dalai Lama shared his views on the degeneration of Tibet as a nation after the fall of the Tibetan empire, and the shortsighted leadership of the Tibetan administration in the late 19th and early 20th century.

“Historically, Tibet used to be a great nation comparable to the Chinese and Mongolian empires. However, after the disintegration of the Tibetan empire, the Tibetan nation gradually lost its sheen, compelling its spiritual leaders to focus only on religion,” His Holiness said.

“Even then, despite the political uncertainties, the three traditional provinces of Tibet were able to maintain a unified Tibetan identity due to the strength of the Tibetan language,” His Holiness explained.

“Tibetans are undergoing great turmoil and suffering imposed by China even now. However, we can take heart from the fact that we have a thousand millennium old cultural heritage. And despite China’s repression, Tibetans inside Tibet has shown great valour and courage in preserving the indomitable Tibetan spirit ” His Holiness said.

His Holiness also recalled China’s attempts to annihilate Tibetan religion and culture during the Cultural Revolution. “China tried to eliminate Tibet’s cultural identity through brainwashing, bribes and even force. But it failed. Chinese leaders never expected Tibet issue to remain alive even after 50 years. But it is alive and growing stronger,” he said.

His Holiness further urged Tibetans around the world to remember their roots and urged them to work for the Tibet cause in whatever capacity they can.

Addressing the participants of the forum, His Holiness told them that supporting Tibet is not just about being pro-Tibet but also about being pro-justice. “There are many communities fighting for freedom around the world. However, most of them employ violence to achieve their goals. Tibetans on the other hand have always been committed to the methods of peace and non-violence despite the hardships that we have faced,” His Holiness said.

His Holiness the Dalai Lama also spoke about his three main commitments in life i.e. promotion of human values, promotion of religious harmony and



His Holiness the Dalai Lama posing for a group photo with the participants. Photo/Tenzin Phende/DIIR

safeguarding Tibet’s environment, culture and language.

His Holiness the Dalai Lama also encouraged the inclusion of secular education in academic curriculum and said modern education is insufficient to create holistic happiness as it focuses

more on material development.

“Despite the massive advances that modern education has made, it has remained vastly insufficient in the understanding of the human brain. To inculcate emotional hygiene along with physical hygiene in our brains, we need to start incorporating the knowledge of ancient India in the form of secular education in school syllabuses,” His Holiness said.

His Holiness also spoke about the futility of destructive emotions such as anger and jealousy.

Extolling the founding concept of the European Union, His Holiness said that nations should understand the concept of interdependence. “Nations should come together to tackle global issues such as climate change and environmental conservation. Issues such as global warming are not constrained by artificial national boundaries. It will affect all and therefore, we need a collective effort to resolve these issues,” His Holiness said.

His Holiness also lauded India for being a beacon of harmonious coexistence in the world. “If India, a country of such huge population with different religious backgrounds can maintain religious harmony, why not the rest of the world,” His Holiness asked, and said religion should be a source of joy and brotherhood.

Regarding the five-fifty forum, His Holiness said that this kind of intensive discussion on Tibet and its future would help energise a renewed international voice on Tibet that would help the Tibet cause.

The session was moderated by Micheal Van Walt Van Praag, facilitated by President Dr Lobsang Sangay, with comments from Former Canadian minister Hon Stockwell Day and Shri Nalin Kohli.

Kashag's Statement on 57th Anniversary of Tibetan Democracy Day

On this special occasion of the 57th anniversary of Tibetan Democracy Day, the Kashag pays its highest obeisance and bow in deep gratitude to Tibet's supreme leader and the pioneer of Tibetan democracy, His Holiness the Great 14th Dalai Lama. The Kashag extends its warmest greetings to all Tibetans, and to our friends around the world.

In accordance with His Holiness the Dalai Lama's great vision, Tibetan democracy came to light on this day, 57 years ago. Before the Chinese occupation of Tibet, even at a young age, His Holiness the 14th Dalai Lama set up a Reform Committee in an attempt to bring reform in the Tibetan social system. However, with the worsening situation, His Holiness had to take refuge in India and soon after his arrival in India, His Holiness followed his vision by making the political system of exile Tibetans into a democratic institution.

In exile, His Holiness the Dalai Lama made groundbreaking efforts in preserving Tibet's unique religion, culture, language and identity. Hence, in India, the base of Tibetan Administration was established; schools, settlements, health centres, monasteries, and institutes of learning and culture were also built. His Holiness the Dalai Lama has over the years overcome many trials and tribulations and has through his visionary leadership continued to steer the Tibetans through the right trajectory.

His Holiness established and steered the democratic system of Tibetans in exile through timely administrative and legislative reforms. Tibetan democracy was greatly strengthened with the election of deputies representing all the provinces of Tibet and religious schools in the Tibetan parliament. In an effort towards ensuring equal gender representation, seats for women were reserved in the parliament. Taking stock of the increasing number of Tibetans in diaspora, reserved seats were provided to represent Tibetans in almost 40 different



countries. The Tibetan Parliament-in-Exile is now a full-fledged and a vibrant legislative body both in terms of representation as well as its constitution.

Similarly, the Kashag was re-established in exile and procedures of appointing the Kalons were improved. In 2001, His Holiness announced his status as semi-retired and called for the first direct election of the Kalon Tripa, the executive head of Central Tibetan Administration. A decade later His Holiness made a historic change with the announcement of devolution of his political responsibilities to the elected leader. His Holiness declared on August 08, 2011 at the swearing-in-ceremony of Kalon Tripa that he has fulfilled his 'long cherished goal' of bringing democracy to the Tibetan people. An amendment to the charter in 2012 changed the title to Sikyong which is now referred as the President of Central Tibetan Administration in English.

Despite the many hardships faced by an exile community including an increasingly scattered Tibetan population, the Tibetan community has over the last five decades successfully transformed into a fully functioning democracy that is lauded by many and has become a paragon of virtue for other exile communities. His Holiness' farsighted and visionary leadership made this possible. We therefore take this opportunity to express our deepest

gratitude to our most esteemed leader.

The establishment of a full-fledged democratic polity in exile and the foundations of the freedom struggle, which is based on the principles of non-violence, have won many supporters and allies, in particular that of many Chinese intellectuals and democracy activists. The pinnacle of unity among Tibetans that was once pertinent during the reign of the three great kings of Tibet has once again been revived under the leadership of His Holiness the Dalai Lama.

However, unfortunate incidents of internal bickering and regional discord have in recent past negatively impacted Tibetan unity. It is incumbent upon a democratic polity to champion the cause of diversity of opinion but when infested with vested interests, it not only weakens the fabric of the community but also sows the seeds of discord and disharmony. Therefore, we once again urge every Tibetan to keep in their heart the wise counsel of His Holiness the Dalai Lama calling on Tibetans to be united for the common cause of Tibet.

Since the invasion of Tibet by communist China in 1949, over a million lives have been lost. The Chinese government continues to deny basic freedom for Tibetans and their failed policies in Tibet have exacerbated the human rights situation in Tibet. Consequently, 149 Tibetans have self-immolated in protest

since 2009. They have clearly expressed the aspirations of the Tibetans—restoration of freedom for Tibetans and the return of His Holiness the Dalai Lama to Tibet.

The Chinese government, instead of addressing the legitimate aspiration of the Tibetan people has resorted to greater repression and in worse case, the criminalization of self-immolation. This is an abject disregard for basic human rights and a violation of the basic principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

In recent months we have also witnessed two cases of self-immolations in exile. While the Kashag empathizes with the intention of the self-immolators, but we believe that the life of every Tibetan is precious and that we must be alive to fight for our cause. Therefore, the Kashag appeals to every Tibetan inside and outside Tibet to refrain from resorting to drastic actions such as self-immolation. Specifically, the Kashag not only discourages self-immolation protests in exile but we urge the exile Tibetans to pursue more powerful means by honing one's educational, professional and personal competency to substantially contribute to the Tibetan cause.

Although the Constitution of PRC as well as the National Regional Autonomy Law provides for the right to preserve and promote one's language and religion, however reality suggest otherwise. Tibetans in Tibet are denied this right and face impediments in practicing their language and religious faith. The systematic clampdown on religious institutes and members of the monastic community are akin to the days of the Cultural Revolution. Since last month, demolition and eviction of residents at Yachen Gar have begun. The large scale

demolition and forced eviction of monks and nuns at Larung Gar that began in July last year evinces the attempt of Chinese Government to control Tibetan culture and religious life and is an act of trampling on the basic religious freedom and fundamental rights of the people in Tibet.

Another example is the case of Sabriye Tenberken, a German lady's school for the blinds established 19 years ago in Lhasa. The Chinese government lauded her accomplishments and even gave awards to her several times. However, the Chinese government recently ordered the closure of the school on the pretext of the school being under western influence. This school had hugely benefitted Tibetan students. This action by the Chinese government has shocked many especially those concerned with children's education.

Starting from March of this year in the so-called Tibet Autonomous Region, a propaganda campaign called the "Four emphases and four love" was started. Under the banner of "Love the motherland by emphasising unity" fight against separatism and defamation of His Holiness the Dalai Lama has been amplified. We call upon the Chinese government to immediately cease defaming His Holiness the Dalai Lama. If the Chinese government is genuine in their approach to resolving the long-standing issue of Tibet, it is expected of them of refrain from shifting the blame on His Holiness and instead benefit from His Holiness' wise leadership.

As recognized by many intellectuals and world leaders alike, the Chinese government should accept the fact that His Holiness the Dalai Lama presents the best opportunity and solution to resolving the issue of Tibet. While we

remain committed to constructively engage with the Chinese leadership, we call on them to resume dialogue with the representatives of His Holiness the Dalai Lama.

In autumn this year, we will witness an important change in the composition of the Chinese leadership during the 19th Party Plenum. With this change in leadership, we hope for a lasting resolution to the issue of Tibet through the Middle Way Approach. The Kashag reaffirms its commitment to the Middle Way Approach as envisioned by His Holiness the Dalai Lama in gaining genuine autonomy for the Tibetan people within the framework of the constitution of the People's Republic of China.

On this special occasion, we extend our deepest gratitude to the citizens and successive Government of India for their continued hospitality and steadfast support for the Tibetan people for the past 58 years in exile. We also express our sincere thanks to all the friends of Tibet and freedom loving people across the globe who have continued to champion the cause of Tibet.

His Holiness the Dalai Lama's visit to Botswana had to be called off last month solely due to exhaustion following a series of travel and public engagements. He has been advised rest. We would like to reassure everyone that His Holiness is in good health.

Lastly, we pray for the long life of His Holiness the Great 14th Dalai Lama of Tibet. May all his wishes be fulfilled and may the non-violent cause of Tibet prevail.

KASHAG

2 September 2017

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Statement of Tibetan Parliament-in-Exile on the occasion of 57th Tibetan Democracy Day

Today is a day of unique importance when we mark the completion of 57 years since the establishment of the democratic path in the running of the Tibetan people's political system. His Holiness the Dalai Lama, the most exalted Bodhisattva of the Lotus-Holding Manifestation and the champion of world peace, had, though of a tender young age, assumed the supreme temporal and spiritual leadership of the Snow land of Tibet. And not long after having done so, His Holiness undertook visits to the neighboring countries of China and India. And having been greatly inspired by the democratic system prevailing in India, His Holiness sought to reform the political system of Tibet, so that, it too will conform to the requirements of such a system. Unfortunately it became impossible for him to carry out his noble wishes because Tibet was invaded by the armed forces of the communist Chinese government. In addition, the ever-worsening situation in Tibet became such that His Holiness the Dalai Lama himself was left with no choice but to escape his homeland in 1959. More than 80,000 Tibetan people followed in his footsteps to flee into exile. Immediately after stepping foot on Indian soil, His Holiness the Dalai Lama established a newly central Tibetan administration and, along with it, a Tibetan parliament in exile with its members constituted from Tibet's different religious traditions and the three historical provinces of Tibet. And so, on the 2nd of September 1960, the first Tibetan Parliament in Exile was inaugurated with its members formally taking their oaths. The event also marked the establishment of the noble path of democracy for the Tibetan people and is rightly recognized as a historic day.

In the year 1961, a gist of the constitution for a future free Tibet was published and in 1963 the democratic constitution of Tibet was proclaimed. Later, in the year 1991, the number of members of the Tibetan Parliament in Exile was increased; along with it the parliament was made a true lawmaking body. During that year, the members of the 11th Tibetan

Parliament in Exile debated and adopted the Charter of the Tibetans in Exile, to which His Holiness the Dalai Lama duly granted his assent. Since becoming a true lawmaking body that year, the Tibetan Parliament in Exile has discussed and adopted some 27 legislative acts as well as rules and regulations and has also been making amendments to them as and when needed to this day. In the year 2001, as long standing wish and ordered by His Holiness the Dalai Lama, calling for the Kalon Tripa to be directly elected by the Tibetan people, the 12th Tibetan Parliament in Exile amended the relevant laws and related rules and regulations at its 11th session. The system of direct election of the Kalon Tripa by the Tibetan people through universal franchise was thus established. In particular, in the year 2011, keeping in view the current and long term interests of the Tibetan people, and after appraising a multiplicity of pros and cons and the reasons underlying them, His Holiness the Dalai Lama, in an extraordinary act of broadmindedness, made unequivocally clear his intention to devolve all his historical political and administrative powers to the leaders elected by the Tibetan people themselves. Accordingly, a special session of the 14th Tibetan Parliament in Exile was held and the 25th amendment of the Charter of Tibetans in Exile passed. And in a follow up to this development, the 15th Tibetan Parliament in Exile discussed and adopted amendments to the relevant acts as well as rules and regulations during its second session. Through developments such as these and on the basis of the relevant legislative acts and rules and regulations adopted by the Tibetan Parliament in Exile, the guidance and wishes of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, the savior of the Tibetan nation and people and their symbolic representative, were fully implemented. The result of this has been that the leaders elected by the Tibetan people assumed full responsibility in carrying forward all aspects of the functioning of the Central Tibetan Administration in keeping with democratic principles.

The Tibetan democracy is particularly a special one, for it has been gifted by His Holiness the Dalai Lama with great ingenuity of method and compassion and has evolved on that fundamental basis. All Tibetan people in general, but especially those living in exile, have been in continuous enjoyment of their democratic rights. In particular, we would like to appeal to all Tibetans to uphold with great importance the duties that are inherent in each of them at one's individual level by giving primary importance to the greater good of the Tibetan society, acting with solidarity to bring forth the collective strength of the Tibetan people to an ever higher level. This has become more imperative now than ever before.

Concerning the situation of the Tibetan people living under the oppressive rule of the government of China, there is no question at all of talking about democratic rights. They are totally bereft of even those freedoms that are inalienable to all humans, such as the freedoms of movement, speech and expression, religion, language, protection of one's culture and so on. Under the Chinese rule, the Tibetan language, the very basis of the Tibetan ethnic identity and culture, is getting decimated with the implementation of what China calls its common language policy for the whole country. Because of it, the Tibetan people living under Chinese rule are carrying out enormously praiseworthy deeds with great courage and determination to halt the decline and to preserve the Tibetan language and culture. We offer our admiration to them for their efforts. We, the entirety of the Tibetan people, living in freedom in other countries, whatever our means and circumstance may be, should never engross ourselves in our own immediate personal concerns and interests and instead pay ever greater attention to the learning, use, and promotion of the Tibetan language. This has become a matter of utmost importance, for it is concerned with the fundamental question of whether the Tibetan ethnic identity and culture will



survive on this globe or not.

Since the 27th of February 2009 till date, it has been clearly learnt and confirmed that a total of 149 Tibetan people had self-immolated in protest against the government of China for the cause of the Tibetan nation and people. They or their remains were almost all seized and taken away by the Chinese armed police force or the Chinese army. Those who survived were later tried and given jail sentences. Among them were Kirti Monastery's monks Lobsang Gyatso, Lobsang Kelsang, and Lobsang Konchog. Recent reports suggest that these three monks had been released from prison. However, apart from a mere mention of the fact that Lobsang Konchog's right leg had been amputated, there is neither clear information about the torture and beating suffered by them during their imprisonment nor about the physical conditions of these monks after their release. In view of this situation, we feel it necessary to let the government of China know that it should bear full responsibility for the physical well being of all the surviving Tibetan self-immolators. To the wider outside world, we appeal to governments, those supporting the issue of Tibet, and independent human rights monitoring groups to seek to meet with those survivors, or to find out about their health conditions, and make deliberate efforts to find proper treatment for them outside the People's Republic of China.

Likewise, in the year 2007, Adrug Lopo, a nephew of former Tibetan political

prisoner Runggye Adag, was released at 11 pm on 21st of August 2017 on completion of his 10-year jail sentence. However, it has still been not possible to find out about the health condition of this former religious Chant Master of Lithang Gonchen. Besides, the government of China continues to subject political prisoners in Tibet to untold torture and beating as well as criminal trial and imprisonment and other forms of persecution in gross violation of all the canons of the international law.

Freedom House, a human rights organization based in the US capital Washington, DC, has, in its annual survey of political rights and civil liberties for 2016, concluded that among the 18 countries with the poorest record during the year, China was re-designated the second worst violator. Likewise, during the 34th session of the United Nations Human Rights Council in Geneva too, China was strongly criticized for trampling on the basic human rights of its citizens. More recently, Mr. Liu Xiaobo, a Nobel Peace laureate and well known Chinese democracy activist, succumbed to serious ailments after years of ill-treatment in prison, which made it amply clear that China remains among countries in this world with the worst human rights record.

In the name of its policy of freedom of religious belief, the government of China has set up in each monastic institution in Tibet what it calls a 'Monastery Management Committee'. And this is the means by which it has made

gross interferences in all aspects of the Buddhist cannons of teaching, practice, and contemplation of the religiously immersed Tibetan monks and nuns. And it has set limits on the enrollment number of monks and nuns in the monasteries and nunneries, thereby curtailing the Tibetan people's religious freedom. It has also reduced all aspects of religious activities of the monks and nuns in those places of religious study and worship to mere showpieces meant to cater to the entertainment needs of the visiting tourists. Thus, all places of religious study and worship, large or small, in Tibet have been transformed by the government of China into a sort of market commodity meant to earn revenue for the government. In this connection, while releasing the US State Department's annual International Religious Freedom Report for 2016, Secretary of State Mr. Rex Tillerson made it clear in his introductory remarks that China was among the countries in this world with the worst record of respect for religious freedom of its citizens. He was also emphatic in pointing out that while denying religious freedom in Tibet and other regions, China has also been persecuting the people in those regions through launching of all sorts of campaign actions.

Ever since the Chinese occupation of Tibet, the incessant campaigns introduced in Tibet, that grossly violates human rights and trample on the human decorum, such as Cultural Revolution, has propelled the continual existence of Tibetan religion, culture and people into 'uncertainty.' Recent campaign of 'Education activities with special focus on implementing the Four Stresses and Four Loves' has subjected the minds and conducts of the Tibetan nomads, farmers, youths, students, monks and nuns to an involuntary conditioning and conformation to the communist Chinese ideologies of 'protection of the unity of Motherland'. Such propagandist campaigns in Tibet condemn the Tibetans in perpetual darkness, devoid of freedom of thought, movement and religion.

Including the mineral exploitations and clearing of whole forestlands, the government of China remains in

continuous plunder and destruction of Tibet's natural environment beyond all limits. Ongoing destructive projects especially the copper mining activity at Diney in the Amnye Machen mountain range, the destruction of the gateway to the Hortsang Nyagong Dragkar Khando Phodrang, the mining and carting away of coal, the setting up of an aluminum plant and other projects near the Qinghai Lake, all of which severely damage the local natural environment while also bringing untold hardship on the livelihood of the local population. In the name of bringing economic development to Tibet, China has launched in Tibet a campaign called "striving to make people rich and the region prosperous" and uses that as a pretext to explore the territory for mineral resources wherever they could be found. Chinese entrepreneurs have been making huge investments to set up projects and businesses. As a result, the local Tibetan people are denied of all the opportunities to develop their own ethnic territory. All the opportunities to explore and extract Tibet's natural resources and minerals, to undertake construction projects, to carry out road building works and so on are wrested from local Tibetans by Chinese entrepreneurs who come from regions outside of Tibet. In Sog County of Nagchu Prefecture in Tibet Autonomous Region this year, the Chinese government coerced the local Tibetan people to celebrate August 1, the Army Day of the People's Republic of China, with the additional demand that during the celebrations marking the occasion, the participants must wear costumes made from furs of endangered wild animals. In particular, in an unprecedented move, China has embarked on projects to build railway tracks in parts of Tibetan border areas, irrespective of any question whether

concerned neighboring countries were agreeable to them or not, while also making large scale deployment of its troops in those areas. What all this clearly shows is that, like in the case of Tibet, which it annexed through armed invasion, the communist government of China still continues to foster an ulterior motive of annexing territories of more neighboring countries.

During celebrations on the 1st of August this year, marking the 90th anniversary of the founding of the People's Liberation Army of the Communist Party of China, President Xi Jinping said in his speech that during times of emergency, the role of the Army is to protect the authority of the government. In this connection he stressed, among other things, that when supporters of democracy in the country staged protests on the Tiananmen Square in 1989, the People's Liberation Army crushed them with violence and great bloodshed to drive home this point. What all these indicate with emphatic rising certainty is that the government of China is moving towards strengthening the sustainability of the communist party policy and the intensity of repression in the country with this end in view.

The Congress of the United States of America and, likewise, representatives from the European Union have expressed strong concern over issues such as the absence of basic human rights for Tibetans in Tibet and urged the government of China to make efforts to resume talks with representatives of His Holiness the Dalai Lama. Recently, a delegation led by the Deputy Speaker of the Tibetan Parliament in Exile visited the Indian parliament in New Delhi. The delegation met with a number of Indian parliamentarians and appealed them

to seek support for the issue of Tibet. And members of the Indian parliament have promised to raise parliamentary support for the issue of Tibet as well as seek support from the different political parties. Nevertheless, in short, it is ultimately us, the Tibetan people, who has to bear the main responsibility to carry forward the struggle for our just cause. Thus, it is of great importance that we preserve our ethnic virtues, making sure to carry them forward without any sort of degeneration.

This year has seen a major earthquake in the Zitsa Degu region of Ngaba in Tibet while floods have hit Indian states such as Himachal Pradesh and Gujarat, as well as Nepal and other places. These catastrophes of nature have resulted in great losses in terms of deaths and injuries. The Tibetan Parliament in Exile is greatly saddened by such tragedies and we pray that such catastrophes may never occur again. We take the opportunity offered by this occasion to express our solidarity to the concerned families.

To all the governments, parliaments, organizations, and individuals who have supported the just cause of the Tibetan people and in other aspects, especially to the central and state governments of India and the Indian people, we offer our heartfelt gratitude.

Finally, we pray that His Holiness the Dalai Lama may live for hundred aeon and may all his wishes be fulfilled with spontaneity. May the just cause of the Tibetan people resolve in all speediness!

By Tibetan Parliament in Exile

2 September 2017



www.tibetonline.tv



His Holiness Attends Twentieth Anniversary of Children in Crossfire

His Holiness was welcomed by his host, Richard Moore. They embraced and His Holiness invited Moore, who cannot see, to touch his face. “Just as handsome as ever!” was his report.

Friends and supporters of the NGO, whose aim is ‘Giving children the chance to choose’, were gathered for lunch. Moore showed His Holiness a large illustrated display depicting Children in Crossfire’s work.

Invited to address the gathering, His Holiness laughed and told them that when your stomach is empty, what’s important is to eat lunch. Bishop Donal McKeown responded to Moore’s request that he say grace—“Make us not like porridge, thick, stodgy and hard to stir, but like corn-flakes, light, quick and easy.”

At the end of the meal, at Richard Moore’s request His Holiness presented tokens of appreciation to three members of Children in Crossfire’s board: Rose Kelly, Joe Murray and Don Mcleish.

When His Holiness and Richard Moore arrived at the nearby Millennial Forum, the Long Tower Folk Group, conducted by Moore’s wife, Rita, was singing a song of peace. His Holiness greeted an audience of more than 1000 when he came on stage and Moore gave a short introduction. He remarked that His Holiness has said that compassion without corresponding action is not enough. He added that there are children alive today, children with access to clean water and education, as a result of the action of Children in Crossfire. He described His Holiness as “representing something we’d all like to be”. He ended, “Ours is a city of many names—Derry, Londonderry, Legendderry, and you are welcome here once more.”

“My dear respected brother,” His Holiness responded, “I usually describe you as my hero. When I first met you and heard your story, (of being blinded as a child, but going on to work for others,) I was much moved. I often talk



Richard Moore greeting His Holiness the Dalai Lama on his arrival in Derry, Northern Ireland, UK on September 10, 2017. Photo by Jeremy Russell/OHHDL

about compassion, but I wonder if I had undergone the same experience as you, if I wouldn’t have lost my temper. You’ve shown such inner strength and your work to establish Children in Crossfire shows what it really is to be human. What you have experienced transformed your life. Instead of provoking your anger, it has strengthened your compassion. Wonderful!

“Compassion is an emotion that brings all social creatures together. Scientists tell us they have evidence that basic human nature is compassionate. I’ve seen an experiment in which infants, still too young to speak, were shown animated clips of different behaviour. They responded with pleasure and approval to the one that showed people helping each other, and turned away from the one that showed people being obstructive.

“Physicians say constant anger and fear undermine our immune system. Meanwhile, no doctor tells you that if you were angrier you’d be in better health. They advise you to relax, which means not only being physically at ease, but finding peace of mind too. Compassion brings us self-confidence and inner strength.

“When I heard scientists say that basic human nature is compassionate, I felt it was a sign of hope. Whatever our religious faith, showing others loving kindness is the best way to bring about inner peace. I am committed to

promoting fundamental human values like compassion. What we need today are universal values based not on faith but on scientific findings, common experience and common sense. Just as we preserve our health by observing physical hygiene, we can protect our inner well-being by tackling our destructive emotions and cultivating emotional hygiene.”

His Holiness suggested that fear and anger are rooted in self-centredness, being obsessed with ourselves and what we think we need. Being more concerned about others and taking compassionate action on their behalf, on the other hand, is the basis for living a happy life here and now. He said that it’s on such grounds that we can hope to make the 21st a more peaceful century.

“Peace will not be achieved by force. We need to take a human approach to resolving human problems. Talk and dialogue based on candour and respect are the foundation on which to build peace. I’m an admirer of the European Union and the spirit of the decision to put the common good ahead of narrower national interests. Similarly, I have some reservations about the slogan ‘American first’ and the US’s withdrawal from the Paris accord. It seems to me that the natural disasters we’ve witnessed in recent days have been trying to teach us something about climate change. However, if I’ve said anything wrong, I apologise.”

His Holiness Participates in Interreligious Meeting, Freedom through Rules & Public Talk on Peace through Education

Rain fell out of a grey sky as His Holiness the Dalai Lama drove to the Mandela Forum to participate in an interreligious meeting on the theme, 'Freedom through Rules'. He greeted his fellow participants and made a point of walking the full length of the front of the stage to salute the capacity audience of more than 5800 members before taking his seat.

Director of the Istituto Lama Tzong Khapa, Filippo Scianna, welcomed His Holiness and the other participants. He thanked His Holiness in particular for coming and told him Istituto Lama Tzong Khapa was at his service. Francesca Campana Comparini, the organizer of the event, introduced Dario Nardella, the youthful local Mayor. He welcomed His Holiness to Florence, a city that has historically established connections between people. He stressed the importance of knowing about ourselves and others, in order to work together.

Describing Florence as a city of peace and humanity Nardella declared that it gave him great pleasure to present His Holiness with the 'Seal of Peace', the highest and oldest honour of the City of Florence on behalf of all Fiorentini, in acknowledgement of his contribution to peace in the world. His Holiness held up the medal for all to see.

Moderating the meeting, President of Italian national broadcaster Rai, Monica Maggioni, invited His Holiness to open the discussions.

"Good morning brothers and sisters. It is indeed a great honour for me to have this opportunity to share some of my experiences with you. I consider myself to be just one among 7 billion human beings alive today, who all have a right to live a happy life. It's in the interests of humanity for us to talk about harmony, peace and unity.

"When we are born, we are like this little girl here, with no thought of 'us' and 'them', just ready to respond to any who smile and show affection, whatever their

nationality, family or social background. Creating divisions provokes an unease that can easily spill into violence. And yet deep down we are one. We are the same in being human—no differences between us.

"Right now we are happy here, but elsewhere people are being killed and innocent children are dying of starvation. We need to look into how to put a stop to these man-made sufferings. A fundamental start is to recognise that despite secondary differences between us, at root we are all the same as human beings.

"Since today even religion is giving rise to conflict, this kind of interfaith gathering takes on an additional significance. Can members of different religious traditions live together? The answer is 1000 times—yes. India is a living example. All the world's major religions have flourished there side by side for centuries.

"These days it's wrong to refer to Muslim terrorists or Buddhist terrorists because once someone embarks on acts of terrorism their actions are no longer true to their religion. Islamic teaching, for example, says that one who sheds blood is no longer a proper Muslim."

His Holiness added that today's global economy makes us all interdependent, while the challenge of climate change is a threat that affects us all. Therefore, he said, it is crucial for the 7 billion human beings on the planet to work together.

As the applause subsided, Maggioni called on former president of the European University Institute Joseph Weiler to contribute a Jewish point of view. He explained that Judaism is a religion of rules, some of which are well-known. Jews cannot eat pork, they don't work one day a week, and they abstain from sex for 12 days a month. They observe these rules as a way of maintaining their identity. Weiler remarked that if you don't respect yourself and your identity, you won't respect others.



His Holiness the Dalai Lama speaking at the interreligious meeting in Florence, Italy on September 19, 2017. Photo by Olivier Adam

Father Enzo Bianchi made the point that to assert that there is but one truth is a source of trouble. It fosters intolerance. However, human beings have a brain and the ability to reason, which they need to use. He noted that what Jesus taught seems often to go against the accepted rule or status quo. "Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven ... Blessed are the meek, for they will inherit the earth." Bianchi quoted St Francis of Assisi as saying that the gospel is not about rules. He ended in praise of forgiveness—"Whatever mistakes I have made are past; today I can start again and make a good life."

President of the Union of Italian Islamic Communities and Imam of Florence, Izzedin Elzir, introduced himself as having been born in Palestine but brought up in Florence. He spoke of the importance of reading and study. He clarified that contrary to popular hearsay, the word 'jihad' means to put what you believe into practice. His Holiness intervened to say that friends have told him that 'jihad' is about our inner struggle to combat our disturbing emotions.

Elzir agreed that we need to try to change ourselves and that, as Prof Weiler had said, if we don't respect ourselves, how can we respect others? He quoted a verse, which is at the root of his faith, that says "God shows his love for all humanity".

In his summary remarks, His Holiness said:

"If we accept the value of religion, we should be sincere in observing it in prac-

tice. All our religious traditions, despite widely varying philosophical points of view, which I appreciate in the way I admire a garden of different coloured flowers, have the potential to create a more compassionate person.”

After a break for lunch, His Holiness met 150 Tibetans and told them of his commitments to promoting peace and happiness among human beings, as well as harmony among religions. Thirdly, as a Tibetan, born and brought up in Tibet, and someone in whom the majority of Tibetans have placed their hope, he is concerned to keep Tibetan religion, culture and language alive. He explained thoroughly how Tibetan Buddhism purely reflects the Indian Nalanda Tradition. He concluded:

“We are seeking genuine autonomy for all three provinces of Tibet, those regions described as Tibetan areas in the Chinese constitution. But we also seek the right to preserve our own religion, culture and way of life—including the right to protect Tibet’s fragile environment. When they understand this, many thinking Chinese support our Middle Way Approach.”

His Holiness answered questions from the audience touching on education, the potential roles of analytical meditation and memorization. His Holiness had particular praise for the value of comparing different points of view in order to reach a sound conclusion.

He ended with this advice:

“As far as the future of humanity is concerned, we have to start to work to create a better world now. It may take twenty to thirty years to achieve the changes we seek, but we can’t delay—we have to begin right away.”

The forum was filled with warm and friendly applause as His Holiness left the stage. From Florence he drove to Pisa where from tomorrow he will attend the ‘Mind Science of Reality Symposium’. As he retired for the day a loud thunderstorm broke overhead.

His Holiness Being Conferred of an Honorary Master’s Degree by the University of Pisa and Second Session of MindScience Symposium



His Holiness the Dalai Lama receiving the Master’s Degree Honoris Causa in Clinical and Health Psychology at the University of Pisa in Pisa, Italy on September 21, 2017. Photo by Olivier Adam

His Holiness the Dalai Lama drove through the Tuscan countryside to reach the Pisa Congress Hall. As part of the ceremony to award him an honorary degree, he joined members of the faculty in putting on the robes of the University. The Rector, Prof Paolo Mancarella, escorted him into the hall, followed by the faculty members in procession.

In his introduction to the occasion, the Rector mentioned that His Holiness is the 14th Dalai Lama. He noted that the first, Gendun Drup, was born in the 14th century not long after the founding of the University of Pisa. He also remarked that today was the International Day of Peace and that His Holiness was a Nobel Peace Laureate.

Prof Angelo Gemignani spoke about the University’s motivations in awarding His Holiness an honorary degree. He referred to him as the most eminent guide of Tibetan Buddhism, the author of 11 books and numerous articles that have contributed to the understanding of psychology and a proponent of the two pillars of Buddhism—compassion and wisdom. Francisco Varela, Daniel Goleman, Paul Ekman and Richard Davidson were mentioned among his distinguished collaborators. His motivation was summarized in the following quotation: “as in science so in Buddhism, understanding the nature of reality is pursued by means of critical investigation.”

In the Laudatio, or words of praise that

followed, Amy Cohen Varela noted that “his is a compassion that acknowledges our common humanity.” She added that she had observed this personally in His Holiness’s close friendship with her late husband, Francisco Varela.

The Rector then conferred on His Holiness the Master’s Degree Honoris Causa in Clinical and Health Psychology and the hall was filled with applause.

“Respected scholars, brothers and sisters,” His Holiness responded, “I am deeply honoured to have been awarded this degree. I appreciate what the speakers have just said, but some of their praise was exaggerated. I consider myself to be one among 7 billion human beings. I believe having a sense of the oneness of all humanity is relevant in today’s world. Too many of the problems we face pivot on a division between ‘us’ and ‘them’.

“Where other major religions talk about the whole of humanity, Buddhism concerns itself with all sentient beings. The Sanskrit tradition, rooted in the Pali tradition, teaches about cultivating infinite love through reason. I’ve been curious since I was a child. I’ve always wanted to know how and why. How does this work? Why did that happen?

“The Buddha advised, ‘As the wise test gold by burning, cutting and rubbing, so, bhikshus, should you accept my words—after testing them, and not merely out of respect for me.’ He was not only a religious teacher, but a great thinker. This approach of investigation and experiment was embraced by the scholars of the Nalanda Tradition such as Nagarjuna, Dignaga and Dharmakirti who were rigorous in their application of reason. Thus, I too have long admired the scientific approach.

“I count myself as half a Buddhist monk and half a scientist. This honorary degree gives me encouragement. I am now 82 years old and I pledge that

in my remaining 15-20 years I will dedicate myself to further fostering an understanding of the science of mind.”

Prof Riccardo Zucchi thanked His Holiness for a speech that he regarded as having opened the second session of the MindScience Symposium focussing on the theme Mindscience vs. Neuroscience. He called on Prof Donald Hoffman to make his presentation, ‘The Case against a Physical Base for Consciousness’.

Hoffman began by asking, ‘Do we see reality as it is?’ We assume we do, but he showed a number of images which demonstrated that we contribute to the reality we see. He asked, ‘Does matter make consciousness?’ responding that most of his neuroscience colleagues think it does.

Repeating the question, ‘Do we see reality as it is?’ he asked, ‘Could we be wrong?’ He pointed out that views of the earth had changed from its being flat to its being round and in orbit around the sun.

Since one third of the brain is involved with vision, some people say we create what we see. Neuroscientists say we ‘reconstruct’ reality. Hoffman referred to his ‘Fitness Beats Truth Theorem’, which proposes that choices in that reconstruction are made not on the basis of what is real, but on the basis of what fits our survival.

Invited to comment, His Holiness mentioned that Nagarjuna advocated analysing how things and events exist. If you analyse space, you can’t pinpoint what it is. Things and events we see and experience are mental constructs; we apply mental labels to them. This doesn’t mean things don’t exist, but that they don’t exist in their own right, in and of themselves. They exist in relation to our perception of them.

The Two Truths reveal a conventional and ultimate existence. Under analysis we can’t find fire, nor can we find our finger, but if we put our finger in the fire,

it gets burnt and gives pain.

His Holiness continued to explain that according to a Tibetan Buddhist understanding of the workings of the mind we have sensory consciousness and mental consciousness. Visual consciousness sees a thing, but can’t ascertain it as it is; that is a conceptual process.

His Holiness outlined different levels of consciousness. Ordinary waking consciousness, dominated as it is by sensory consciousness, is relatively coarse. Subtler is the consciousness that prevails when we dream and sensory consciousness is inactive. Subtler still is consciousness in deep sleep, while the subtlest consciousness manifests at the time of death.

At that time the heart stops and the brain dies. Yet there are cases of people with meditative experience whose bodies remain fresh despite undergoing clinical death. They may remain in this state for a few days or a few weeks. Buddhist psychology explains that this is because the subtlest mind has not yet left the body, and when it does, the body declines. His Holiness mentioned that scientists are taking an interest in these phenomena, which are not easy to investigate.

He also reported the story of a meditative adept in Tibet under arrest and being taken to a class struggle session. He asked for a few moments rest on the way, sat in meditation and engaged in the practice of transference of consciousness. He ejected his consciousness and died. His Holiness referred to such stories as mysteries still to be explained.

Prof Steven Laureys was unable to attend the symposium in person and gave his presentation on ‘(Un)Consciousness & the Severely Damaged Brain’ via a video link. He also asked what science can tell us about reality. He conceded that although a science of consciousness is being developed, it has as yet failed to bridge the gap between mind and matter.

However, he stressed the need to remain open-minded.

He stated that much has been learned about perceptual awareness, inner awareness and external awareness, through magnetic resonance imaging. He also touched on what is being learned about comatose patients and those with locked-in syndrome. This can be compared with what’s been learned about the mind and brain when examining meditators in meditation. More is also being learned about patients’ near death experiences.

In commenting on what he had seen and heard, His Holiness stated that mental consciousness is what we need to know more about. Following Laureys’ lead he told the story of a government official he knew in Tibet, whose mother had announced that while she slept for a week, she was not to be disturbed. There was, of course, no machinery available to monitor what was going on, but it seemed that the woman’s dream body left her physical form and in the course of the week travelled here and there. Her subsequent reports of what she’d seen and heard apparently complied with accounts of what had actually been going on in the places she described.

Besides such anecdotes, His Holiness announced that as a result of a project he instigated, material related to Buddhist science and philosophy has been extracted and compiled from the vast canonical literature translated into Tibetan. Four volumes have been published in Tibetan. Of these, a first volume dealing with science of the external world and a second volume dealing with states of mind, and so forth, have been published in Chinese and are due to be published shortly in English and other European languages.



His Holiness the Dalai Lama Maiden Visit to the State of Manipur



Speaker of the Manipur Assembly Yumnam Khemchand Singh and Manipur Chief Minister N. Biren Singh accompanying His Holiness the Dalai Lama on his arrival at the airport in Imphal, Manipur India on October 17, 2017. Photo by Lobsang Tsering

When His Holiness the Dalai Lama arrived in Imphal, he was received by the Speaker of the Manipur Legislative Assembly, Y. Khemchand Singh, the Chief Minister, N. Biren Singh, as well as the Chief Secretary and the Director General of Police. At Raj Bhavan, His Holiness was invited to lunch by the Governor of Manipur, Najma Heptulla.

His Holiness met first with members of the media at City Convention Centre

“I’ve been aware of Manipur since I was a child,” he told them in his introduction. “And now I am extremely happy to actually be here among you.

“Wherever I go, I always stress that as human beings we are all the same. We all want to live a happy life, which is our right, and the key to doing so is developing compassion for others.

“As a Buddhist monk, I believe all major religious traditions can help people find inner peace. They may employ different approaches and techniques, but each of them has the potential to help us become better human beings. Therefore, it’s important that there is harmony and respect among them. India is a living example that this is possible. Indigenous religions as well as traditions from elsewhere have lived here for centuries side by side in harmony.”

His Holiness also suggested to members of the media that they too have a responsibility to promote a positive outlook, not dwelling solely on negative stories.

He told them it is important to highlight corruption and abuse of power wherever it occurs. However, they should also help people understand that our basic human nature is compassionate and that affection is essential to our survival.

Asked whether there would be a 15th Dalai Lama, His Holiness replied,

“Whether a 15th Dalai Lama is recognised is not my business. As early as 1969 I made clear that whether the institution of the Dalai Lama continues after me will be up to the Tibetan people to decide. I’ve also made it clear that when I’m between 85 and 90, I will discuss the future of the succession with Tibet’s other spiritual leaders.

“As far as political responsibility is concerned, I’ve been semi-retired since 2001 and completely retired since 2011, because we now have a democratically elected political leader. Not only that, I also proudly, voluntarily and happily put an end to the almost four centuries-old tradition of the Dalai Lamas being both the temporal and spiritual leaders of Tibet.”

With regard to the question of religious conversion, His Holiness said that every religion has a right to survive, but that he does not approve of people of one religion seeking to convert people of another faith. In this connection he explained that he is careful not to propagate Buddhism in places that traditionally follow other traditions.”

A capacity audience of more than 700 people stood to greet His Holiness when he entered the auditorium. Speaker Khemchand Singh welcomed him on behalf of the entire state of Manipur and invited him to address the gathering.

“Many of the problems we face today are of our own making,” His Holiness began. “Why is this? Because we are subject to emotions without properly using our intelligence. Human beings are not fundamentally negative, but are prone to be swayed by anger and fear.

We take such emotions for granted without realizing how destructive they can be.”

His Holiness observed that challenges like climate change affect us all and that in today’s globalized world, communities and continents are interdependent. The idea of one side only securing victory, while the other suffers utter defeat is no longer realistic. Instead of seeking to solve problems by force, he said, we need to engage in dialogue.

His Holiness urged modern Indians to pay more attention to the ancient knowledge of the workings of the mind that is part of their heritage.

“Our existing education system focuses on material goals such as money and power. The ancient Indian understanding of mind and emotions shows us how to develop inner peace, which is very relevant in today’s world. I believe India is the only nation that can combine this ancient knowledge with modern education and so make a significant contribution to world peace.”

In answering questions from the audience, His Holiness expressed concern about the damage being done to the environment in Tibet. He noted that its high altitude made it especially delicate. Since the majority of Asia’s major rivers rise in Tibet countries downstream have every right to show concern about the source of their water.

With regard to armed conflict in Manipur His Holiness remarked that he was an admirer of the spirit of the European Union, which has made the wider common interest more important than narrow national concerns. He suggested there is a need to be far-sighted. Since India is a democracy, he said, its citizens have every right to question the government.

The event concluded with the Chief Secretary offering words of thanks on behalf of the people and government of Manipur.

Tea and Tiananmen: Inside China's new censorship machine

By Cate Cadell, Pei Li – Reuters

say how many censors it employed.

LOVE NEWS, POLITICALLY SAVVY?

Reuters spoke to four Toutiao censors and four other staff, who described the company's censorship work, which they said spiked during periods of activity by the country's political leaders.

The censors rotate between day and night shifts; the peak time for censoring content is from 6pm to 9pm. Workers review videos, users' posts and news, rooting out political criticism.

They also target topics ranging from violence and drug addiction to extramarital affairs and religious cults, all of which were blacklisted in lengthy guidelines issued in June.

"You can't have anything that is too vulgar, too violent, too bloody, or anything that makes people feel disgusted," said a second Toutiao censor based in Beijing, where the company has its headquarters. "There's no set rules; more it's the discretionary judgment of those on duty."

Some topics are particularly sensitive – anything to do with President Xi is automatically flagged by computers. Others are totally off limits. The "6.4 tank event" – a reference to the date of the crackdown on student protests in Tiananmen Square – and "various nicknames for state leaders" are automatically blocked, the censors said.

Most of the censors said they were doing a public service.

"There is a lot of evil and pollution on the internet that people don't see, and we are helping protect people, a third Toutiao censor said in Tianjin.

But the efforts of the censors are often met with intense vitriol online by those whose posts are removed and others who decry the growing censorship in China.

"Looking for my friends' posts, I find they've all been erased," one Weibo user

In a glass tower in a trendy part of China's eastern city of Tianjin, hundreds of young men and women sit in front of computer screens, scouring the Internet for videos and messages that run counter to Communist Party doctrine.

References to President Xi Jinping are scrutinized. As are funny nicknames for state leaders. And any mention of the Tiananmen protests in 1989 is immediately excised, as is sexual innuendo and violent content.

Welcome to China's new world of online censorship, where Orwell's "Nineteen Eighty-Four" meets Silicon Valley start-up.

The young censors in the Tianjin office – or "auditors" – work for Beijing ByteDance Technology Co, better known as Toutiao, a popular and fast-growing news feed app.

Surrounded by noodle restaurants and construction sites, the Wisdom Mountain Twin Towers, where the censors do their work, don't exactly look Orwellian.

Workers scan into bright offices using iPads. There are team building sessions typical of start-ups the world over. And the dress code is casual.

"Our corporate culture is really good; every afternoon, for example, we get together for tea," said one censor at the Toutiao office. A "horizontal" management structure means "ordinary employees can send messages about their issues straight to the CEO".

The censor added: "Overall the firm is seen as a cool place to work."

Toutiao's Tianjin "auditing" centre is at the heart of a vast Chinese censorship effort that is growing fast as official scrutiny of online content intensifies.

According to figures released by the state media outlet Beijing News, China had roughly 2 million online content monitors in government departments and private companies in 2013. Academics

estimate that number has since risen sharply.

The government has been tightening control over videos, chat platforms and social media ahead of a Communist Party congress in October at which Xi is expected to bolster his leadership.

Under Xi, the government has stepped up efforts to control discourse online as a growing array of web platforms give people new channels for self-expression.

"They control a lot already but are really cleaning up for the Party congress," said Lokman Tsui, a journalism professor at the Chinese University of Hong Kong. He said the clampdown would last well beyond the congress and was having a widespread "chilling effect".

Companies like Toutiao are responding, hiring armies of workers to police videos, blogs and news articles available to its 120 million users across China.

"We had about 30-40 employees two years ago; now we have nearly a thousand reviewing and auditing," said the Toutiao censor, who, like other censors Reuters spoke to, asked not to be named due to the sensitivity of the topic.

A guard and receptionist at the building said the Tianjin office had expanded rapidly.

"Everyone here is doing auditing work," the receptionist said. "One year ago there was one floor, now we have ten."

Toutiao, which Reuters reported last month was raising at least \$2 billion in a new funding round that would value it at around \$20 billion, said it had been expanding its teams rapidly, including in content "auditing."

"We have invested in developing sophisticated AI analytical tools and stringent content management processes to weed out low quality and fake content," the company said in a statement, referring to artificial intelligence. The company declined to

posted under the handle “Jue Nian”. “I’m afraid in a few years that history will have been rewritten so many times there’ll be no space for opposing points of view.”

PARTY TIES

Beijing has tightened rules this year for Internet companies to self-censor content on their platforms, and has fined web giants like Tencent Holdings Ltd, Baidu Inc and Weibo Corp for not doing enough to clean up content.

In-house censors work separately from government censors, who operate within state media and local propaganda units and liaise with private companies.

Weibo and Tencent, which operates the popular chat platform WeChat, did not respond to requests for comment.

Baidu declined to comment, but pointed to a statement from August saying it was committed to dealing with malicious information on its platforms. Zhang Lijun, chairman of the online news and video portal VI Group, said

between 20-30 percent of his company’s labour costs went on content auditors – a necessary business expenditure.

“Without doubt you need to maintain close ties with the ruling Party,” Zhang said. “Party building, setting up Party units properly, these can ensure your news goes out smoothly and keeps your business operations safe.”

ARTIFICIAL AND HUMAN INTELLIGENCE

The Beijing-based censor said Toutiao used artificial intelligence systems to censor content, though these don’t always understand the tone of posts.

“We are training the AI. They are not as smart. Hopefully they will learn to handle all this eventually.”

For now, though, real humans are still in demand.

An advertisement Toutiao posted on Tianjin Foreign Studies University’s career page for students this month sought 100 fresh graduates to work in

“content audit”, earning between 4,000-6,000 yuan (\$611-\$917) per month.

Successful candidates need to “love news and current affairs” but also be “politically savvy” and “understand the laws and regulations governing Internet supervision”.

One advertisement, for a “forum auditor” posted on the recruitment site Lagou.com in September, said the person would be responsible for working with direction from China’s powerful Internet regulator, the Cyberspace Administration of China.

The CAC did not respond to requests for comment.

Most postings are for young graduates, generally seen as more receptive to the job’s demands.

“People who have just graduated from college are clean like a white piece of paper, and will accept our corporate culture more easily,” said one Tianjin censor. (\$1 = 6.5452 Chinese yuan renminbi)

Time is running out for nonviolence — or Trump — to save Tibet

By Josh Rogin, The Washington Post

The Tibetan movement is at a crossroads, facing increasing Chinese oppression and a shortage of international attention and support. If the international community and the United States continue to ignore one of the last and most afflicted nonviolent resistance movements, the implications will reach far beyond the Tibetan Plateau.

The Tibet issue intersects three huge global trends: the surge of nationalism, the retreat of human rights and democracy promotion, and the rise of China. Thanks to the last two, the Tibetan people’s struggle for survival, dignity and autonomy is steadily losing visibility. That prompted the Tibetan government-in-exile here in northern India to convene a first-of-its-kind conference this weekend to determine the path forward.

Called the Five-Fifty Forum, the

conference sought to chart a five-year plan for pursuing a return to dialogue and negotiations with China. If that’s unachievable, the Tibetans will plan for another 50 years of resistance to China’s occupation, systematic repression and attempted cultural genocide in Tibet.

Freedom House’s latest index ranked Tibet the second-least-free place, slightly better than Syria but less free than North Korea. Yet the situations in Syria and North Korea get far more media coverage, thanks to the crises’ threats of terrorism and nuclear war. Tibetan leaders lament that their nonviolent movement is ignored while violent movements and violent regimes succeed.

“Now, the rational, reasonable, nonviolent peaceful method doesn’t get traction,” said Lobsang Sangay, the elected president of the Tibetan

government-in-exile. “Whereas beheading, kidnapping and gunning down people gets the attention and the response from governments.”

Tibetans are nationalists, but they are not seeking ethnic purity in Tibet like the militant Buddhist nationalists in Burma. Nor are Tibetans seeking their own state, like the Kurds in Iraq. Instead, the Tibetan leadership is pursuing a “middle way approach” that seeks limited autonomy within the Chinese system.

Some 150 Tibetans have burned themselves alive to protest China’s repression since 2009, but no one else was harmed in those incidents. Nonviolence is part of the nation’s identity, Sangay said, but even Tibetans have their breaking point.

“It’s in the hands of the Chinese government,” he said. “If you want to

know China, you have to understand what is happening in Tibet.”

The Dalai Lama has held the Tibetan movement to a strict policy of nonviolence for decades. But when the 82-year-old spiritual icon passes on, that commitment to peaceful resistance could go with him. The window for striking a deal with Beijing could close as well.

Chinese authorities kidnapped Tibet’s second-holiest official, the Panchen Lama, when he was 6 years old and appointed an impostor in his place. When the current Dalai Lama dies, Beijing may appoint a fake Dalai Lama, which could cause the crisis to boil over.

Meanwhile, China’s strategy to erase Tibetan history, religion and language from Tibet is advancing apace. Under the rubric of development, China has bulldozed hundreds of Tibetan religious and historical sites. Massive numbers of Chinese citizens are being migrated into Tibet and given jobs, altering demographics to make Tibetans a minority in their homeland.

China is also securitizing the Tibetan Plateau with everything from advanced electronic surveillance and monitoring to the establishment of a fear culture that turns neighbors into spies. Chinese President Xi Jinping has said security and stability in Tibet are the goal. His policies are destined to have the opposite effect.

President Trump may not prioritize human rights or the viability of nonviolent movements, but supporting Tibet is also in the United States’ national interest. The Tibet issue could provide the pressure point Trump has been seeking in his dealings with Beijing. Economic leverage hasn’t worked to influence China’s calculus on matters such as North Korea, but adding the Tibet issue to the U.S.-China agenda would get the Chinese leadership’s attention.

To put the issue back on the map, Trump could bring up Tibet during his upcoming visit to China, encouraging a return to the dialogue that ended in 2010. The administration could also fill the vacant

position of special coordinator for Tibet at the State Department.

Trump should meet the Dalai Lama, as President George W. Bush and President Barack Obama did four times each while in office. Trump and the Dalai Lama may not agree on things such as climate change, but they are natural allies in the effort to manage China’s rise. These steps won’t solve the Tibet issue, but they would, at least, prevent China from realizing its goal of taking the international community out of the equation.

In the long term, dealing with China’s emergence as a world power mandates confronting the regime’s most egregious and massive offenses. If China’s Tibet strategy is allowed to succeed, every other actor in the path of China’s expansion, including the United States, will be in greater danger.

For detailed news visit:
www.tibet.net

How Mao Molded Communism to Create a New China

By Roderick MacFarquhar , The New York Times,

Toward the end of his life, dying of Lou Gehrig’s disease, Mao Zedong claimed two achievements: leading the Communist revolution to victory and starting the Cultural Revolution. By pinpointing these episodes, he had underlined the lifelong contradiction in his attitudes toward revolution and state power.

Mao molded Communism to fit his two personas. To use Chinese parlance, he was both a tiger and a monkey king.

For the Chinese, the tiger is the king of the jungle. Translated into human terms, a tiger is a high official. The agency running President Xi Jinping’s anticorruption campaign today likes to boast when it has brought down another “tiger.” By leading the Chinese Communist Party to victory in 1949, Mao became the top tiger.

The monkey king is an imaginary being with the strength of a superman, an ability to fly and a predilection for using his immense cudgel for destructive purposes. He is a sage. Ordinary humans and even spirits cannot defeat him.

In his earliest writings, Mao seemed to portray himself more as a Nietzschean superman, or a tiger:

The great actions of the hero are his own, are the expression of his motive power, lofty and cleansing, relying on no precedent. His force is like that of a powerful wind arising from a deep gorge, like the irresistible sexual desire for one’s lover, a force that will not stop, that cannot be stopped. All obstacles dissolve before him.

In his early 20s, roaming the countryside of Hunan Province with a friend, Mao convinced his companion that he saw himself in the tradition of the peasant

founders of Chinese dynasties, in particular Liu Bang, founder of the first great Chinese Empire, the Han. By the time he was 42, shortly after the bedraggled survivors of the epic Long March had reached safety in northwest China, Mao went as far as to look down upon all the great emperors of the past. In a famous poem, “Snow,” Mao wrote:

This land so rich in beauty
Has made countless heroes bow in homage
But alas! Qin Shihuang and Han Wudi
Were lacking in literary grace,
And Tang zong and Song zu
Had little poetry in their souls;
And Genghis Khan

Proud son of heaven for a day,

Knew only shooting eagles, bow
outstretched.

All are past and gone!

For truly great men

Look to this age alone.

But however self-confident Mao's early dreams of glory, his supreme leadership was far from preordained. On the eve of his coming out as a Marxist at age 27, he was an unsophisticated provincial nationalist. He gloomily dismissed the chances of the new Chinese republic surviving, wondered about Hunan becoming an American state and advocated that all of the Chinese provinces should become separate countries.

It was only in November 1920 that he admitted defeat: The Hunanese did not have the vision to appreciate his ideas. He wrote to his activist friends in the provincial capital to say that he would henceforth be a socialist. He was just in time.

Communist cells had been organized in Shanghai, Beijing and other cities, and in mid-1921, the first congress of the Chinese Communist Party was held. Mao, who had quickly organized a Communist group in Hunan, achieved the cachet of being one of only 12 delegates to attend. He was thus an early tiger.

The Soviet agents who funded and masterminded the organization of the early C.C.P. reported to the Comintern, the agency for spreading Soviet ideas and influence abroad. With memories of defeat in the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-5, and competing with Japan for influence in Manchuria, the Soviets needed a strong China as an ally against Japanese expansionism.

The fledgling C.C.P. was too weak. The Soviets decided to bolster the well known revolutionary who had helped bring down the Manchu dynasty but had then been pushed aside by warlords: Sun

Yat-sen.

They provided him with funds, reorganized his Nationalist party, known as the K.M.T., and helped him to train an army. C.C.P. members were instructed by Comintern agents to back the K.M.T., and even become members, but to retain their allegiance to the Communists. The plan was for the C.C.P. to take over the K.M.T. from within after the Chinese warlords were conquered by this united front.

Most of the C.C.P. leadership opposed the Comintern policy; they thought collaboration with the "bourgeois" K.M.T. would demoralize their members. But the piper called the tune, and they joined the K.M.T., few more readily than Mao.

Two events set Mao off on a new, career-shaping course. The first was Chiang Kai-shek's attack on the Communist Party. By 1927, after Sun Yat-sen's death, Chiang Kai-shek had taken over the leadership of the K.M.T., and he had conquered much of the southern half of the country. Aware of the Soviets' long-term aim for a C.C.P. takeover of the K.M.T., he short-circuited the plan in May 1927 by ordering the slaughter of Communists, mainly in Shanghai. Communist leaders scattered in flight.

The other event was Mao's experience with peasant power. After the death of their parents, Mao and his two brothers owned a valuable property back in their home village that had been built up by their father. The family had made the transition from poor to rich peasants. And though he had grown up surrounded by the miseries of rural life, as a fledgling Communist, Mao had been focusing on the urban proletariat until Moscow, realizing that China was different, ordered more attention be paid to the peasantry.

Mao became active in peasant affairs, and his transformative experience was witnessing and chronicling an uprising in his native Hunan. In a famous passage, he rejected allegations that the peasants had gone too far:

A revolution is not the same as inviting people to dinner or writing an essay or painting a picture or embroidering a flower; it cannot be anything so refined, so calm and gentle.

Witnessing the bloodshed in the Hunanese countryside, Mao was discovering his other persona. As the scholar-diplomat Richard Solomon first pointed out, Mao reveled in "luan," or upheaval. When young, Mao had written that for change to come about, China must be "destroyed and reformed." He now realized that only the peasantry could bring that about. Mao would be the monkey king to lead that destruction.

The primary source for the monkey king is the classic Chinese novel "The Journey to the West." Ostensibly about the famous Chinese monk Xuan Zang, who made the arduous crossing of the Himalayas to seek out original Buddhist scriptures in India, "Journey" is a fantastical tale in which Sun Wukong, the monkey king, plays a major role as the monk's escort. In the early 1960s, when the C.C.P.'s quarrel with the Soviet Communist Party was underway, Mao praised the monkey king:

A thunderstorm burst over the earth,

So a devil rose from a heap of white bones.

The deluded monk was not beyond the light,

But the malignant demon must wreak havoc.

The Golden Monkey wrathfully swung his massive cudgel

And the jade-like firmament was cleared of dust.

Today, a miasmal mist once more rising,

We hail Sun Wu-kung, the wonder-worker.

Mao then rose from guerrilla chief in the late 1920s to a party leader in the mid-1930s on the Long March, the flight of the C.C.P. from the southeast to the northwest to escape Chiang Kai-

shek's attacks. This was an epic event in Communist annals because it took a year, covered some 6,000 miles and reduced the 85,000 who had set out to a mere 8,000 by the time they reached the northwest. He absorbed two lessons: All power grew out of the barrel of a gun; and most of the time peasants were very difficult to organize because they had fields to tend and families to feed.

From the mid-1930s to the mid-1950s, Mao played his tiger role. He led an increasingly strong and efficient party and army that survived the anti-Japanese war and then defeated Chiang and the K.M.T. in the civil war of the late 1940s. From 1949 until 1956, Mao presided over the installation of the Communist dictatorship in China, rooting out all opposition, real or imagined, and transforming the ownership of the means of production from private hands to socialist control.

It was then that he dabbled in the monkey business for the first time. From the point of view of a dutiful

C.C.P. cadre, "monkey business" could be defined as any measure that would disrupt the party's standard operating procedures. Cadres did not appreciate it when Mao in 1956 exhorted intellectuals to "Let a hundred flowers bloom" and a year later again encouraged intellectuals to criticize the conduct of the party. As members of the ruling elite, the cadres resented being criticized, and Mao, having promised that the criticisms would only be like a light rain, quickly wound up the campaigns when they turned into a typhoon, and purged the critics.

For Mao, the Cultural Revolution ended in 1969 with the appointment of a new, and hopefully more revolutionary, leadership. But though he had dealt the age-old bureaucratic system of China a terrible blow, he knew that it could rise again from the ashes. He always emphasized that China would have to experience regular Cultural Revolutions.

But when Mao's chosen successor, Hua Guofeng, repeated that dictum, he

sealed his fate. Deng Xiaoping and his fellow survivors did not want any more monkey kings plunging the party and the country into chaos again.

And yet today, China's current ruler, Xi Jinping, with his relentless anticorruption drive to make officials more honest, has unleashed another Cultural Revolution against the bureaucracy, albeit one that is controlled from the center not from the streets.

This is the action of a monkey king. There is no chaos today, but there surely is widespread fear and resentment as his mighty cudgel claims more victims.

The 19th Communist Party Congress currently underway will confirm that Mr. Xi is top tiger, the most powerful ruler since Mao. But Mr. Xi will have to ensure that his alternate persona as monkey king does not loom too large. As the revolutionary founder, Mao could never have been toppled. But as a revolutionary successor, Mr. Xi could be.

Obituary: Kyabje Menri Trizin, Spiritual Head of Bon Tradition Passed Away

The 33rd Kyabje Gyalwa Menri Trizin, the spiritual head of Bon tradition passed away on 14 September 2017 at 6:25 pm, according to an announcement posted by Yungdrung Bon Monastic Center Society.

President Dr Lobsang Sangay of the Central Tibetan Administration expressed his profound condolences at the demise of the spiritual leader.

He said " I express my heartfelt condolence over the untimely passing of Menri Rinpoche. Rinpoche spent a lifetime preserving the Bonpo tradition in exile. I urge Tibetans to pray for his quick rebirth and once again spread the Bon tradition."

Rinpoche breathed his last at the Pal Shenten Menriling monastery in Dolanji, Himachal Pradesh.

The 33rd Abbot of Menri Bon Monastery, Kyabje Gyalwa Menri Trizin is the



His Holiness the Dalai Lama with Menri Rinpoche, (file photo)

spiritual head of Tibetan Bon religion.

He was born in Tibet in 1929, in the village of Kyongsang, in the far eastern province of Amdo near the Chinese border, and was given the name Lama by the local priest.

Since then, with insight, skill, and tireless commitment and with the onerous assistance of many friends and supporters, Kyabje Gyalwa Menri Trizin has focused his time and attention on creating in Dolanji a vibrantly authentic Bon monastery and a living center of Bon culture and tradition.

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QUOTES

“What will really change the world is coming to better understand our emotions and how to manage them on the basis of secular ethics. I believe we can change our emotions by using our intelligence to raise our awareness. Since it’s evident that the use of force provokes further violence, we have to adopt a more human approach—and we can start by recognising each other simply as brothers and sisters. This is how we could make this a more peaceful century”. His Holiness the Dalai Lama dialogue with Youth Leaders from Conflict Zones on 6 November 2017

“Our existing education system focuses on material goals such as money and power. The ancient Indian understanding of mind and emotions shows us how to develop inner peace, which is very relevant in today’s world. I believe India is the only nation that can combine this ancient knowledge with modern education and so make a significant contribution to world peace”. His Holiness the Dalai Lama during visit to the State of Manipur on 18 October 2017

“Despite the many hardships faced by an exile community including an increasingly scattered Tibetan population, the Tibetan community has over the last five decades successfully transformed into a fully functioning democracy that is lauded by many and has become a paragon of virtue for other exile communities.” Religion and Culture Kalon during 57th anniversary of Tibetan Democracy Day on 2 September 2017

“In the name of its policy of freedom of religious belief, the government of China has set up in each monastic institution in Tibet what it calls a ‘Monastery Management Committee’. And this is the means by which it has made gross interferences in all aspects of the Buddhist cannons of teaching, practice, and contemplation of the religiously immersed Tibetan monks and nuns”. Deputy Speaker of Tibetan Parliament-in-Exile during 57th anniversary of Tibetan Democracy Day on 2 September 2017
