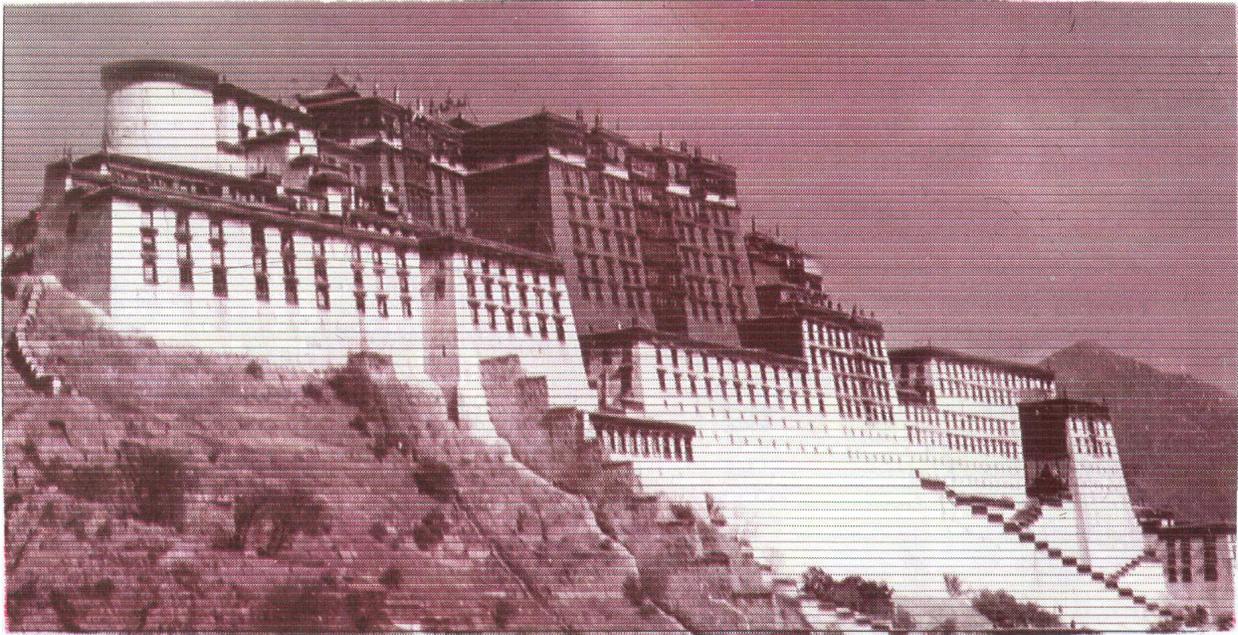


The monthly magazine on Tibet

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# Tibetan *Review*



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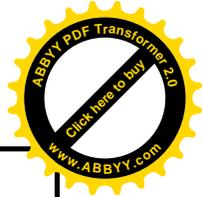
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# Tibetan Review

TIBETAN REVIEW is a monthly publication of news and features on Tibet and Tibetans. Besides regular survey of the current situation in Tibet, based on reliable sources, the journal gives reports on activities of Tibetans living in exile and other Tibet-related activities taking place all over the world. Each issue also contains articles of general interest on various aspects of Tibetan life and culture. Above all, TIBETAN REVIEW seeks to provide a forum for free and frank discussion of the question of Tibet and the various problems of the Tibetan people.

Contributions are invited from scholars, research workers, journalists, and others in all fields of Tibetan studies.

Signed articles do not necessarily reflect editorial views.

All contributions, including Letters to the Editor, must be signed, dated and must carry the full address of the sender.

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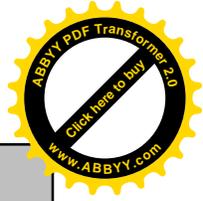
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## Editorial

### Tibetans choose unity in Special Meeting

It was the abject failure of the middle way policy which prompted the Dalai Lama to call for the holding of the Special Meeting of exile Tibetans from November 17 to 22; nevertheless, it was the middle way policy which the majority of the gathering of 560 Tibetan officials, representatives and activists recommended as the best possible course for dealing with China. There are, of course, many ways to explain this paradoxical outcome. The most obvious one is that by it the Tibetans reaffirmed their faith in the Dalai Lama's leadership and renewed his mandate, and thereby strengthened his moral authority in the face of the recent series of very serious setbacks in dealing with China, including even after reportedly agreeing to accept the communist party of China-led government system for Tibet.

What really led to the decision was obviously the fact that it would be hard to imagine how the exile Tibetan leadership, including the Dalai Lama, would react and what the effect would be within the broader Tibetan society were the gathering to recommend something like independence as the goal for the Tibetan (freedom?) struggle. The exile Tibetans are obviously not prepared for such a radical turn of events, which carries with it the prospect of the Dalai Lama being no longer leading the Tibetan freedom movement. Having unanimously entrusted the Dalai Lama with the task - or mandate - to continue to lead the Tibetan people by bringing his wisdom to bear on the movement in accordance with changing times and circumstances, supporting the middle way approach he so single-mindedly believes in, irrespective of its current apparent hopelessness, was only a logical corollary. After all, it would be very odd to ask the Dalai Lama to continue to lead the Tibetan struggle by thrusting upon him a goal he had so emphatically given up not just out of current political expediency but also as an article of faith and conviction in finding a permanent solution to the Tibet issue.

In that sense, the Special Meeting could even be construed, by implication, as an offer by the Dalai Lama to step down from leading the exile political movement if the Tibetan people felt that the policy he had so eloquently espoused, and which the exile government had so vigorously been promoting and pursuing, should be judged as an irredeemable failure. The Dalai Lama's logic is obvious: whether the middle way approach had yielded a result or not, we have no alternative but to persevere with it. If that sounds defeatist and like the height of pessimism, that may only be reflective of the dire strait in which the Tibet issue itself had plunged into today. The important point, it would seem, is to maintain hope and occupy the moral high ground gained from being non-violent, compromising and conciliatory to the extent we have been with our middle way proposal, which may be the only position of strength we can have against China and of influence we have on global opinion and support.

Of course there is much that could be argued, powerfully, from the point of view of pursuing the goal of independence, which the Dalai Lama never tires of acknowledging is our inherent historical and legal right. Besides, this has the major advantage of being truly inspiring and soul stirring as a call to join the struggle for the original cause and make sacrifices. Anyone who saw video pictures of the March 2008 uprising in Tibet and the Snowlion flag-wielding activists during the Olympic torch relays in Ath-

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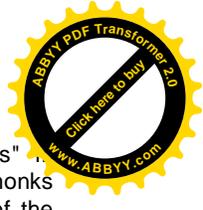
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ens, London, Paris, San Francisco, Canberra, New Delhi and elsewhere can be in no doubt about that. Even more attractive, from the point of view of the international legal order, is the goal of self-determination, under which previously seemingly hopeless cases like East Timor and Kosovo came to see the light of their independence day when the old, seemingly infinite orders suddenly collapsed, yielding fertile grounds for grabbing independence through use of international legal remedies.

While there is a strong, unmistakable outburst of sentiment within the Tibetan community, both in and outside Tibet, in favour of independence, and self-determination is a viable, politically and legally correct, alternative that can generate as much global support as the middle way policy, the Dalai Lama has either abandoned or refrained from resorting to them for a very obvious reason: He is being generous to a fault in accommodating the Chinese government's empire-size, ego-based concerns and interests and is making the additional concessions that not being in actual control of any part of the territory he campaigns for encourages him to.

The Dalai Lama is, thus, not only willing to forego Tibet's right to independence although history clearly is on his side on this issue but also seeks to ensure for China a basis for sovereign authority over it for all times in the future. China's perspective is, however, entirely different. It seeks to rewrite Tibet's past on the basis of its current situation and remains haughty and arrogant in its confidence that its future will only be of greater power and domination. It, therefore, sees acceding to the Dalai Lama's offer as an act of weakness and the beginning of the end of its rule not just over Tibet but also other territories over which its hold is equally tenuous, liable to unravel at the first sign of real trouble and weakness within China. China seeks to pre-empt this by demographic assimilation; hence its constant harping on "ethnic unity and solidarity" and emphasis on ensuring the well being of "all ethnic groups" in Tibet. These have, in fact, been the basis of its rejection of the Dalai Lama's envoys' memorandum on genuine autonomy for Tibet.

Therefore, the Dalai Lama's thus far failed middle way approach, even though approved by most of the delegates at the Special Meeting, faces a dim prospect of success "in the near future" unless a sudden development in China forces the government there to change its whole outlook towards the idea of its legitimacy. That certainly does not seem likely to happen in any near future. It was more likely the sanctity Tibetans attach to the idea of unity in the sense of rallying for a single cause behind a single leader, who has to be the Dalai Lama, which obviously exercised a powerful influence on the gathering to come to a face-saving resolution. ■



# TIBET NEWS

## Repression belies Dalai Lama return hopes

Queensland Liberal backbencher Michael Johnson of Australia concluded a Nov 2-5 visit to Tibet by asking China to consider allowing the Dalai Lama to visit his homeland. "As a friend of China, I would say that some kind of reconciliation must take place between Beijing and the Dalai Lama," The Melbourne Herald Sun Nov 8 quoted Johnson as saying. That may, however, be a wishful thinking, given China's very forthright rejection of the terms on which

the exile Tibetan leader is willing to return. Besides, two journalists who accompanied the pro-China lawmaker found Tibet to be in such a state of repression as to render any positive consideration of his suggestion by China very unlikely. They found the extent of hostility towards the Dalai Lama, and the exile Tibetan government, to be the most striking aspect of their meetings with Chinese officials.

The journalists accompanying Johnson found increased numbers of soldiers and police patrolling the streets of Lhasa, a fact admitted by TAR's vice-governor Pema Tsewang who told them the government had "moderately adjusted" the military and police presence in recent days because of "separatist activities".

But what the journalists witnessed was more than just moderately adjusted troop presence or activities. The report cited them as saying military personnel with machineguns were conducting routine patrols around Lhasa's historic Bharkor district while snipers were also positioned on rooftops and stairwells, including around the city's most holy site, the Jokhang Temple. It said The Courier-Mail journalist who accompanied Johnson also witnessed (on Nov 4) monks being bundled into a police van close to Lhasa's historic Jokhang temple.

The Australian Nov 8 reported that the Chinese authorities had gone to extraordinary lengths to monitor local Tibetans, installing CCTV cameras on buildings and deploying plainclothes police as well as the more overt scrutiny being conducted by the large numbers of uniformed police and soldiers. It said that as night fell, hundreds of Chinese troops fanned out across Lhasa city, armed with riot shields and assault rifles. "They set up sentry posts on street corners and dispatch patrols in groups of six soldiers, three with shields and three with guns."

Johnson, vice-chairman of the Aus-

tralia-China Parliamentary Friendship group, visited Tibet with two journalists at the invitation of the Chinese Government, which urged them: "Tell Australians what you have heard and seen about the truth in Tibet." They were given access to high-level Communist Party officials, parliamentarians and local governors in Lhasa, with the obvious view that the journalists should limit their coverage to their comments.

The Australian report said the official programme for the visitors included no meetings with senior Buddhists and no one whose views strayed from the official line. A request to visit Drapchi prison, where at least 202 people involved in the March protests were reported to remain incarcerated, was refused.

The journalists made up for the deficit in their access to news about the situation in Tibet by slipping out of their hotel at night. They found the local Tibetans reluctant to talk, fearing they might be seen or overheard by the authorities or reported on by spies and informers whose presence was reported to be ubiquitous. One monk who had the courage to speak to The Australian had said, "more and more Chi-

nese, more and more soldiers" in Lhasa in recent weeks. Several monks said China had "bugged" some of the city's key tourist sites, such as the Potala Palace, to eavesdrop on potential troublemakers, said The Melbourne Herald Sun report.

Official cooperation in enabling the visiting journalists to report truthfully was not forthcoming. For example, the newspaper said attempts to get an explanation on a group of monks seen on Nov 4 being placed in a police van and taken away were entirely unsuccessful.

The journalists found the Chinese officials in total denial mode when asked about the all too obviously negative aspects of the government policies and actions in Tibet. And due to their little understanding or acceptance that Tibetans may have different priorities, they could not understand why years of economic growth in Tibet had failed to quell Tibetan demands for greater autonomy or independence.

The reporters found Lhasa brimming with middle class prosperity. However, they found this class to be made up almost entirely of Chinese immigrants, while the local Tibetans, being primarily herdsman and farmers, lacked the literacy skills and education to seize the opportunities created by China's massive investment.

The reporters also found officials often contradicting each other on Tibet policy measures. For example, the head of religious affairs of the Tibet Autonomous Region, Kalsang, denied widely reported views in the West that monks were required to denounce the Dalai Lama as part of "patriotic education" programmes in monasteries. Yet, Wang Jinjun, vice-director-general of the State Council Information Office in

### Tibet's economy, hard hit by Mar'08 protests, reported recovering

The Tibet Autonomous Region's economic growth was hit hard in the wake of the Mar 14 "riots" in Lhasa, with the rate of increase reduced but showed improvement in the third quarter, reported China's official Xinhua news agency Oct 31. It said the region recorded a 7.4 percent year-on-year economic growth in the first two quarters, the lowest in the past decade. It added that the figure increased to 9.1 percent for the first three quarters.

Likewise, the region's foreign trade volume exceeded 150 million dollars in the third quarter, compared with about 170 million dollars for the first two quarters, it said.

The report said tourism, a backbone industry for the region, was the worst hit, with only 1.7 million visitors during the first three quarters, down 47.1 percent year-on-year. It said it was the first time in history that the region reduced admission prices at nearly all its tourist sites.

The region's economic growth over the past seven years, before the March protests, was 12 percent or more per annum, with the GDP in 2007 being 34.2 billion yuan, or about 12,000 yuan per capita, which was double the 2002 figure. □

Beijing, conceded several days later that monks in Tibet were being given "legal information programs" in which they were told not to mix religion with politics.

The reporters found the most striking aspect of their meetings with Chinese officials to be the extent of their hostility towards the Dalai Lama. Wang equated granting greater autonomy to Tibet to reducing the region to "a backwater society which features theocratic rule" and to its feudal origins.

China's only report on the delegation's visit cited Johnson as calling on the Western media to project a more balanced picture of "China's Tibet". "While reporting the challenges the region faces, they should also talk about the economic development. They should be balanced," the official China Daily newspaper Nov 10 quoted Johnson as saying. Johnson himself was reported to be impressed by China's 30-year development work in Tibet. "I am very surprised by the mature economic environment there, very sophisticated economic structure and mature modern economic infrastructure. It's the benefit of China's 30 years of growth and the growth of Tibet." And he was reported to feel, "That has not been communicated to the international community as it should have been."

China invited Johnson even as it was yet to respond to an existing request by members of the All-Party Parliamentary Group for Tibet to undertake a fact-finding mission to Lhasa. Danby as well as Australian Greens leader Senator Bob Brown, Independent Senator Nick Xenophon and Liberal backbencher Peter Slipper had written to Chinese Ambassador Zhang Junsai in October, saying they would like to visit Tibet to understand how events had progressed since the March protests.

Michael Johnson, a person of Chi-

### **Qinghai schoolboy commits suicide to protest denial of rights**

**L**hundrub, a 17-year-old boy, described as well-mannered and one of the best students at the Chentsa (Chinese: Jianza) County Middle School in Malho (Chinese: Huangnan) Prefecture of Qinghai Province committed suicide by jumping from the roof of his three-storey school building at around 4 pm on Oct 18, reported the exile Tibetan parliament's Tibetan Solidarity Committee Oct 28. It said Lhundup had left a note for his parents, teachers and fellow-students, saying he was committing suicide not for any personal reason but to make the point that there was no freedom and basic human rights for Tibetans under Chinese rule.

He was reported to have hoped in the note that Tibetans would remain steadfast in their fight for freedom, adding that his teachers and schoolmates should work hard for the preservation of the Tibetan language.

Lhundup's family lives in Yulung Town of Kangtsa (Chinese: Gangca) County in Tsojang (Chinese: Haibei) Prefecture. The Kangtsa County's Middle and Junior School was a scene of Tibetan protests during the March Tibetan uprising and was still under tight security. The report said Lhundup was involved in pulling down and burning the Chinese National flag from the school compound while tying to the pole, in its place, a Tibetan ceremonial scarf. □

nese and Australian descents, was born in Hong Kong in 1970 and emigrated to Australia when he was ten, reported China's online Tibet news service eng.Tibet.cn Nov 4. He is said to be the youngest representative as well as the first one of Chinese origin in the Commonwealth of Australia. □

### **Three young monks held for power station explosion in Markham**

**T**hree young monks have been detained on Oct 24 and 30 in connection with an explosion at a local power station on Sep 8 in Markham county of Chamdo Prefecture, Tibet Autonomous Region, reported Radio Free Asia (RFA), Washington, Oct 31. It cited Tibetan and Chinese sources as saying Ngawang Tenzin, 20; Tenzin Norbu, 19, and Tenzin Rinchen, 17, were suspected of knocking out the local power station after the local television shows in August and

September condemned the Dalai Lama as a "splittist" bent on dismantling China. The explosion caused no casualties.

The report said Rinchen was shot in the leg and arrested on Oct 24 while Ngawang and Norbu were detained on Oct 30 night. The monks were taken to the prefectural capital Chamdo town while their families were ordered to remain in Markham.

The report cited a Markham county Public Security Bureau (PSB) officer as saying, following the first arrest of one of the suspects, that the alleged culprits had been hiding out somewhere for a little over a month and 20 days.

Amid high restrictions, tension was reported to prevail in Markham, where the prefectural police chief was holding meetings and the presence of security forces was reported to be huge.

Ngawang's father, Dechen Dorje, 49, was held and questioned on Oct 26 and was still in detention. Norbu's elder brother Lobsang Tenzin, 26, was held on Oct 19 while ploughing his field. He had been tortured for refusing to answer questions and was released on Oct 27, no longer able to move his hands or feet. □

### **55 Tibetans sentenced so far for Mar 14 Lhasa unrest**

**I**n one of its rare sporadic comments about arrests and trials of Tibetans, China said Nov 4 that it had so far sentenced 55 Tibetans for their involvement in the Mar 14 unrest in Lhasa. Baema Cewang (Pema Tsewang), vice chairman of the regional government, made the remarks during a meeting with Michael Andrew Johnson, a visit-

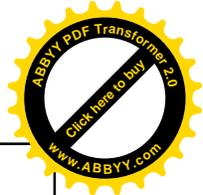
### **Ceremony held for 11 patriotism-trained monks**

**G**aincain Norbu, the Chinese government-selected 11th Panchen Lama, attended the graduation ceremony on Nov 18 for 11 monks who had completed a year-long Chinese government-prescribed course of study at the High-level Tibetan Buddhism College of China, reported China's official Xinhua news agency Nov 19. It said Du Qinglin, vice-chairman of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC), urged the monks to "contribute to the unity of the country and harmony among different ethnic groups".

Du also expected the monks to work for the stability of Tibet and Tibetan people outside Tibet.

China launched the programme in 2004 to combine traditional learning with modern education to create a universal standard of academic titles among different schools of Tibetan Buddhism, the report said.

The course culminates in a six-day debate session. The report said about 300 other monks and believers also attended the ceremony. □



ing member of the Australian House of Representatives, reported China's official Xinhua news agency Nov 4.

The bald comment was devoid of any details about names, charges, jail terms, dates of trials and other details. What this does mean, however, is that 13 more Tibetans had been tried and sentenced after Sep 3. Before that, China tried and sentenced to jail terms of up to life a total of 42 Tibetans in two batches on Apr 29 and Jun 20-21 for "arson, robbery, disrupting public order and attacking government offices, among other crimes".

Cewang has said the authorities detained 1,317 Tibetans in connection with the Mar 14 unrest in Lhasa, of whom 1,115 were subsequently released. The authorities had earlier said no Tibetans had so far been sentenced to death, raising the possibility of such punishment in future trials.

China said 18 civilians, including three Tibetans, and a Chinese policeman died in the Mar 14 unrest in Lhasa. The exile Tibetan government maintains that as of Jul 31, there had been 218 confirmed deaths of Tibetan civilians, 1,290 Tibetans injured and 6,705 Tibetans detained or arrested across the Tibetan Plateau in the Chinese crackdown on the March Tibetan uprising. It said the actual figures in all these cases were likely to be much higher, with the Dalai Lama telling the French newspaper Le Monde, in its Aug 21 edition, that 400 had been killed in the Lhasa area alone.

Johnson, a pro-China Australian MP,

### Poor villagers still toil land with painful disease

The poorest of villagers on the Tibetan plateau are still afflicted by the rare nutrition-related debilitating condition called Kashin-Beck, reported Reuters Oct 21, citing a Belgian group fighting the disease. The disease causes painful swelling in joints and retards limb growth, resulting in dwarfism in the most severe cases, the report said. It cited Francoise Mathieu, director of programs for the Kashin-Beck Disease Foundation, as saying that a multi-year study showed lower incidences of the disease in children who took multivitamin and mineral supplements.

"I think they live with much more suffering than we could," Philippe Goyens, a doctor, was quoted as saying. He has added that severely deformed victims continue to farm and work in remote villages.

Last summer, authorities in Tibet Autonomous Region said they had moved 1,000 households affected by the disease while Aba (Tibetan: Ngaba) prefecture in the high grasslands of Sichuan province planned to relocate from the endemic areas 77,000 people by 2013, the report said.

Once found in an arc from Siberia, through northeast China and down into the southwest, the diseases has largely disappeared following advances in nutrition, except in remote valleys around Lhasa and elsewhere on the plateau, the report said. Risk factors were reported to include lack of selenium and other nutrients in the diet, fungi that grow in grains and farming in mineral-poor soil. □

was leading a media delegation of two from his country at a time when China had refused to respond to an existing request from members of the All-Party Parliamentary Group for Tibet to undertake a fact-finding mission to Lhasa. □

### 14 jailed by Lhasa county courts for Mar'08 protests

Fourteen Tibetans were sentenced to jail terms ranging from two and half to 15 years by three county courts of Lhasa City for alleged involvement in protests in Mar 2008,

reported Dharamsala-based Tibetan centre for Human Rights and Democracy (TCHRD), citing apparently a Chinese language report of China's official Xinhua news agency Oct 29. They were reportedly sentenced for endangering public security, robbery, smashing or looting and creating disturbances during the "March riot".

The report said monks Lobsang Tsemey (lay name: Passang) of Gachoe Monastery and Doloe of Sha Monastery, being ringleaders in the Mar 14 and 15 protests in the county, were given 15 years, deprived of political rights for five years and fined 2,000 yuan each by the Phenpo Lhundup County court. The same court also convicted monks Tenzin Yeshe, Tashi Namgyal, Gaden Chodak, Tenpa Dhondup and Lobsang Theychu (lay name: Tashi Norbu) of Gachoe Monastery, as well as nuns Lhakdon and Dorje Dolma of Podo Nunnery to jail terms ranging from 5 to 14 years.

Tenzin Yeshe, Tashi Namgyal and Gaden Chodak were alleged to have led a violent riot in the county on Mar 14. Lobsang Tsemey, Tenpa Dhondup and Lobsang Theychu were alleged to have jointly prepared, on instigation by Gaden Chodak, 'independence' leaflets to cause unrest. Lobsang Tsemey was alleged to have led on Mar 15 a protest by 40 monks of Gachoe Monastery towards the county police headquarters.

Also on Mar 15, Doloe, Lhakdon and Dorjee Dolma were alleged to have planned and led monks of Sha Monastery, nuns of Podo Nunnery and around 10 farmers of Dendong Village

### Tibetan gov't employees clash with Chinese soldiers, police

A Chinese soldier as well as a police officer were seriously injured while 18 young Tibetan government officials were briefly detained following a clash between the two sides on Oct 11 at a restaurant in Hezuo (Tibetan: Tsoe) city in Kanlho (Chinese: Gannan) Prefecture, reported Radio Free Asia (RFA, Washington) Oct 20. Trouble began after a group of 20 Tibetan youths, all government employees in the city, left a restaurant after their dinner and were confronted by a group of police and soldiers. No reason was state for the confrontation.

The report only said the Tibetan refused to be intimidated as other Tibetans in the area were, which angered the Chinese. A brawl ensued, resulting in a policeman and a soldier being taken to hospital and 18 Tibetans being briefly detained.

The Tibetans working in Tsoe originally belonged to other counties in Kanlho prefecture, such as Chone (Chinese: Zhuoni), Sangchu (Chinese: Xiahe), Machu (Chinese: Maqu), and Luchu (Chinese: Luqu)."

The report cited local Tibetan sources as saying there was a strong presence of Chinese soldiers and policemen in the city and they were "constantly harassing local Tibetans who move around the city." Besides, there was strong continuing resentment among Tibetans, including those in government employment, over the way they were being treated by the Chinese after the March uprising.

The RFA source did not want to say how long the Tibetans were detained and how much they were fined, only that they were now back in work. □



in a protest which headed towards the county headquarters. They were accused of being involved in "arson, looting, killing, disrupting public order and assaulting government offices among other crimes." (There had been no reports of deaths in protests in the county.) Dorjee Dolma was also accused of having noted down names of "all the nuns" and of having written leaflets with plans to send them to overseas "Dalai clique".

In the second case, the Chushul County court was reported to have sentenced monks Lobsang Tsephel and Tsenam of Ratoe Monastery in Chushul County to nine and five year jail terms, respectively, for having led a protest by 10 monks from the monastery towards Nyethang Township government offices in the evening of Mar 15. They were accused of having committed arson and destruction of properties at the local Shangthungda Petrol Station.

And in the third case, the Lhasa Municipal Court was reported to have sentenced three men – Phuntsok Tenpa, Phuntsok and Phuntsok Drakden – to jail terms of 3 years, 9 months; 2 years, 9 months, and 2 years, 6 months, respectively, for having allegedly "obstructed the administration of public order by vandalizing public properties, looting, arson, insulting the national flag, disrupting public order." □

### **Five jailed in Karze for up to 9 years for role in uprising protests**

**F**ive Tibetans have been sentenced to jail terms from 3 to 9 year by the Intermediate People's Court of Kardze (Chinese: Ganzi) prefecture, Sichuan Province, from Oct 28 to 30, reported Dharamsala-based Tibetan Centre for Human Rights and Democracy (TCHRD) Nov 6. They were charged with "endangering state security" or "disrupting public order and other crimes" for having taken part in protests and related actions on Mar 18 and 26.

Sherab Sangpo, 26, a monk of Dongthog Monastery, received 6 years for having raised a Tibetan national flag during a Mar 26 protest in Kardze. His whereabouts remained unknown until his trial and sentence on Oct 29. Also, a man named Loga was given three years for involvement in the same protest.

Ngoega, 53, of Serchu Village, and Norbu Tsering, 49, of Drukhang Village in Kardze County, were sentenced to 8- and 9-year jail terms. Respectively, for "endangering state security" after they took part in a protest rally on Mar 18 at the county headquarters. Norbu's whereabouts had remained unknown from the time of his arrest until he was tried.

The report said a fifth Tibetan, from Sertha County, whose identity could not be ascertained, was also sentenced on Oct 28, although detail were not yet available.

TCHRD said hundreds of Tibetans were still being held without charge while at least 105 had been tried and sentenced across the Tibetan Plateau for involvement in protests since Mar 10, 2008. □

### **Seven Tibetans, including a cadre, in Ngaba County and one in Lhasa jailed for up to 14 years**

**E**ight Tibetans in Ngaba (Chinese: Aba) County of Sichuan Province and one in Lhundup County of Lhasa City were sentenced to up to 14 years in jail for having given out news by phone or email or for otherwise having taken part in protest actions, said the Tibetan Solidarity Committee of the exile Tibetan parliament Nov 6.

It said Waelsa Norzin Wangmo of Kyungchu township in Ngaba Marthang County was sentenced to five years in jail on Nov 3 for having given out news by phone and internet to the outside world. The International Campaign for

Tibet (ICT), Washington, DC, Nov 6, described her as a cadre in her thirties and that the exact details of the charges against her were not known. It said she was tortured during trial and her whereabouts remained unknown. Waelsa is married and has a son.

Dhargye, 26, of Ra-Ru-Pae village in Cha Township was also sentenced on Nov 4 to five years in jail for allegedly destroying public property. Also tried with him for the same offence were Zamba, 34, and Nag-Tsang Mae Nangrin, 36, both of Cha Township, who both received four years each from the County court of Ngaba.

And on Nov 5, Choepphel, 33, and Sangye, 31, from Ra-Ru-Pae village in Cha township received four years each while Tsedak, 31, of Mevo Ru-Ma Ratsang got six years from the same court for destroying public property.

And on Oct 29, a man named Tenzin Yeshe was sentenced to a 14-year jail term by the Lhundrub County court, the report said, citing Lhasa Township Public Administration Internet service. It gave no reason for his arrest or sentence.

The committee also said in a statement Nov 11 that more Tibetans in Ngaba, and Kangding (Tibetan: Dartsedo) counties in Sichuan Province and Rebkong county in Qinghai province were sentenced to jail terms ranging from eight months to 10 years from the end of Oct'08 to Nov 4 for alleged involvement in the March uprising. It also said that pilgrims and students from the traditional Kham and Amdo provinces of Tibet had been detained in Lhasa on Nov 4 and 6 and their whereabouts remained unknown.

### **Security tightened as March protesters sentenced in Xiahe**

**C**hinese paramilitary police with riot shields and batons abruptly took up posts on Nov 24 on the main street of Xiahe (Tibetan: Sangchu) County in Gansu Province, disrupting the bustle of Buddhist pilgrims as a local court sentenced a group of Tibetans for taking part in large anti-government protests in the town in Mar'08, reported AP Nov 25. The verdicts were not publicly announced, the report said.

Security was reported to be tight. Helmeted police with truncheons and six-foot-long poles stood outside the courthouse and government buildings. At a checkpoint with sandbags chest high on a bridge, uniformed officers studied identification papers and stopped all but a few dozen vehicles from entering the one-street town, the report added.

The security arrangement was part of reminder that China was determined to control Tibet with naked force. In a change of tactics, the authorities were reported to suddenly dismantle checkpoints and guard posts which had stood for months, only to put them back without warning days later. The Nov 24 police action in Xiahe came after several weeks in which riot squads had rarely been seen on the streets, a resident was cited as saying.

The report said a court officer confirmed that those on trial had participated in the March demonstrations, in which hundreds of monks marched through town, but declined to specify the number of defendants or their sentences. □



## Octogenarian held, possibly sentenced, whereabouts unknown

**P**aljor Norbu, an 81-year-old man, was detained by the Chinese People's Armed Police on Oct 31 in Lhasa, reported the International Campaign for Tibet, Washington, DC, Nov 17. The owner of a family printing business in the Bharkor, which had printed and published Buddhist texts for monasteries for some generations, was believed to be undergoing a seven-year jail sentence.

While his whereabouts remained unknown, his business had reportedly been shut down by the Public Security Bureau (the police), which also confiscated many of the wooden printing blocks. His family is desperate to reach him to rush warm clothes and blankets.

His detention is believed to be indicative of police suspicion that he pro-

vided publications during the Mar'08 Tibetan uprising. □

## Strong earthquake hits Qinghai, five killed

**F**ive factory workers were killed when a building collapsed during a powerful earthquake which rocked Qinghai Province on Nov 10, reported the AFP Nov 11, citing China's state media. The earthquake, which measured 6.3 on the Richter scale, hit the sparsely populated, mineral-rich Da Qaidam district in Haixi Prefecture of Qinghai Province at 9:22 am on Nov 10, reported China's official Xinhua news agency Nov 10.

The five workers died in the provincial capital of Xining, 615 km from the epicentre, when a workshop they were building collapsed, AFP cited Xinhua as saying.

Another Xinhua report Nov 11 said at least 500 houses were damaged,

with several old huts having collapsed and many walls had developed big cracks. The direct economic loss was valued at 6 million yuan (about US\$857,000). It said 259 families were affected by the quake.

The epicentre was reported to be at 37.6 degrees north latitude and 95.9 degrees east longitude, about 716 kilometres west of the provincial capital Xining. The report said an aftershock measuring 3.9 hit the same area exactly an hour later. The provincial Seismic network had monitored more than 800 aftershocks as of 8:00 am Nov 12, including one measuring 5.1 that day, reported Xinhua Dec 12.

The AFP Nov 10 reported that the quake, whose magnitude it put at 6.5, shook buildings hundreds of kilometres away, sending people running into the streets. It cited the US Geological Survey as saying a 5.0-magnitude aftershock rattled the region 1-1/2 hours later.

Apart from Golmud and Xining, the tremor from the quake was felt more than 245 km away in the city of Delintha (Tibetan: Terlenkha), AFP cited residents there as saying.

Da Qaidam is about 150 km north-east of the industrial and mining city of Golmud, the starting point of the Qinghai-Tibet Railway. "Some residents said it was the biggest tremor they had felt" since a quake measured at 7.8 jolted the area in Nov 2001, the AFP report of Nov 10 cited Golmud official Luo Zhenggang as saying. It also cited officials as saying the Qinghai-Tibet railway was largely unaffected by the earthquake. However, Xinhua reported that starting from 10 am on Nov 10, a speed limit was imposed on all trains passing the quake-battered areas. The upper limit was 60 km per hour between Delintha and Hairag in the west of Qinghai, and 45 km between Delintha and Golmud, about 160 km from the epicentre.

The Xinhua report said Da Qaidam was sparsely populated with about 16,000 people, including Mongolians, Tibetans and Chinese. The report said the area was rich in mineral resources, with one of the largest lead-zinc mines in western PRC and several coalmines. The epicentre was reported to be close to two coalmines, which, however, reportedly did not incur serious damages.

## 4.8-magnitude earthquake hits Shigatse

An earthquake measuring 4.8 on the Richter Scale shook Namocha village

### Safety concerns for Labrang monk held for torture video

**F**eared have been raised for the personal safety of a 42-year-old monk of Tashikhyil Monastery at Labrang (Chinese: Xiahe) town in Sangchu County of Gansu Province over an account of his torture from a previous arrest which had been videotaped and uploaded on Youtube. Jigme Gyatso, deputy director of his monastery's Democratic Management Committee and Director of Labrang's Vocational School, was taken from his monk's quarters at Labrang on Nov 4 by around 70 police and was now being held at an unknown location in Lanzhou, the provincial capital, reported the International Campaign for Tibet (ICT), Washington, DC, Nov 18.

In the video, the monk shows his face and gives his full identity and denies being involved in the Mar 14-15 protests in the area for which he was held and tortured. ICT said the authorities suspected him of being a ringleader. The video account covers his arrest on Mar 22 and his ordeal thereafter over a period of two months. His account was later shown also on the Voice of America's Tibetan language weekly Kunteng programme on Sep 3.

Jigme had eluded police for about two months before his arrest. The National (UAE) Nov 4 (which put the date of his arrest as Nov 3) cited Jigme's friends as saying the authorities had lured him to the monastery by announcing he would not be arrested.

While being tortured after his arrest on Mar 22, Jigme was hospitalized twice, the second time after lying unconscious for six days and apparently on the verge of death from internal injuries. He was then handed over to his family on a conditional medical release, with his case remaining unresolved. The family took him to another hospital where he recovered after 20 days of treatment and rest.

Rather than being covered by the tragic experience, Jigme remained defiant, explaining that he took no part in the protests and recounted his ordeal both to the AP news agency, which reported it Sep 14, and posted it on youtube.com ([www.youtube.com/watch?v=GZLIKmlnP24](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GZLIKmlnP24)). The Video, which he produced in Beijing after going there secretly, also talked about torture of fellow monks.

After the video was broadcast, Gyatso went into hiding, telling friends he would remain out of touch, unless he was arrested.

The National report cited an unnamed Tibetan writer in Beijing as saying Gyatso was not involved in the protests this year because he had already been detained by the police several times, including once for 40 days after returning from a Buddhist ceremony in India in 2006. □



(at 88.26 degrees east longitude and 29.57 degrees north latitude) of Xaitongmoin county in Xigaze Prefecture of Tibet Autonomous Region at 7:52 am on Nov 18, reported China's online Tibet news service eng.tibet.cn Nov 19. It said the tremor was felt noticeably in Xigaze, Lhatse, Saga, Ngamring and other counties. It said there were no casualties and house collapses. □

## China approves Medog Highway project

China's State Council, or cabinet, approved on Oct 21 a feasibility report on the building of the Medog Highway, paving the way for actual building of a highway to Medog County in Nyingtri Prefecture of Tibet Autonomous Region, reported the party mouthpiece People's Daily Online Oct 23. Medog (Tibetan: Metog) is the only county in the PRC without a highway access. All past efforts have failed because of the area being prone to landslide and other natural disasters.

The Moinba and Lhoba ethnic Tibetans, whom China has classified as two separate ethnic groups within its 55 minority nationalities, form the majority of its population. A rugged road from Powo Tramo (Chinese: Zhamu) in Nyingtri is currently the only access to the county.

The newly approved Medog Highway will be about 117km long and start from Zhamu Town in Bome County and end in Medog County. China is investing 950 million yuan to build the highway within three and half years. □

## Tibet snowstorm death toll rises to nine

Nine people had died in Lhunze and Cuona (Tsona) counties of Lhokha (Chinese: Shannan) Prefecture of Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR) as of Oct 31 afternoon, either frozen to death or crushed by collapsing buildings, due to snowstorm, reported China's official Xinhua news agency Oct 31. The two counties were under continuous snowfall from Oct 26 to 28. Among the 2,158 people, mostly herders, known to be stranded, 1,892 were rescued and evacuated to safe areas, the report said. Local meteorologists were cited as saying snowstorm was rare in the region's history.

An earlier Xinhua report Oct 31 said the snowstorm was the worst in the TAR's record. It said about 144,400

heads of livestock died in the snowstorm, which also knocked out telecommunications and traffic in parts of the prefecture. China's online Tibet news service eng.Tibet.cn Oct 31 said some 50,000 people were injured.

Lhunze (Linzi), the worst hit region, had 36 consecutive hours of snowfall from Oct 26, causing an average snow cover of 1.5 metres—two to three metres thick in some places. "It was the heaviest snow I've ever seen and the snowstorm was totally unexpected," yet another Xinhua report Oct 31 quoted Gaisang Yangzom, chief of Maru village affairs committee, as saying.

Earlier, Xinhua Oct 30 reported that 1,700 people and 174,500 heads of livestock remained stranded in Lhunze, Cuona (Tsona) and Comai (Tsomey) counties of Shannan prefecture. The report added that more than 1,200 stranded people had been relocated to other villages, there they were sleeping in schools or government buildings.

China Travel News (China) reported Oct 31 that Shannan, Nyingchi,

Chamdo, Nagqu and Xigaze prefectures were heavily affected by the snowstorm. □

## 863 stranded in Golog Qinghai Snow disaster

A total of 863 herdsmen belonging to 289 households were stranded in Matoi (Chinese: Maduo) County of Golog Prefecture, Qinghai Province, due to incessant snowfall from Oct 27 to Nov 5, reported China's official Xinhua news agency Nov 11. The worst hit were reported to be Madoi, Gade, Darlag counties in the prefecture while Yushu prefecture too was hit. "Traffic has been cut off as thick snow blocked roads to townships including Huashixia, Machali, Huanghe and Zhalinghu, and the roads have remained icy," Pema Gya, deputy government chief of Matoe County was quoted as saying. Trapped alongside the herdsmen were reported to be 27,052 heads of livestock. □

## NEWS IN BRIEF

### China launches new propaganda drive on Tibet

Even as Tibet remained off-limits for foreign journalists, China's top nine state-run news networks, including the official Xinhua news agency and People's Daily Online, launched on Nov 5 a major propaganda drive to highlight the social and economic development of Tibet over the last 30 years. The move will help international readers to better understand Tibet, reported China's online Tibet news service eng.Tibet.cn Nov 3. The coverage of Tibet by these networks with a series of reports for this purpose is being jointly sponsored by the Publicity Department of Tibet Autonomous Region and the Publicity Department of the Party Committee of TAR, with the network sponsorship of China Tibet Information Centre (which runs eng.Tibet.cn) and Chinatibetnews, the report said.

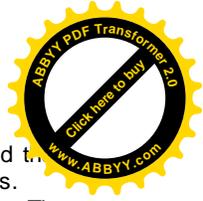
### Free education comes to Tibet 22 years after policy announced, still woefully inadequate

It seemed to have taken 22 years for China to realize the implementation of free education in Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR). Beijing launched a policy of offering free education for children in the TAR in 1985, reported China's online Tibet news service eng.Tibet.cn Oct 29. Following it, the report said, the region, in 2007, became the first in the PRC to remit tuition fee and incidental expenses for primary and middle school students. However, free education has obviously failed to address the Tibetans' educational needs as children continued to be sent to India while China recently announced a deadline for Tibetan cadres and government officials to bring their children back from schools run by the exile Tibetan government.

### Nagchu rural Tibetans to get new homes, but with difficult loans to repay

The Nagqu (Tibetan: Nagchu) Branch of China Agriculture Bank had offered 190.98 million yuan loan in the first six months of this year to support 12,781 household of farmers and herders to build new homes, reported China's online Tibet news service eng.Tibet.cn Oct 27. China's so-called socialist village projects, such as this one, have been criticized for creating indebtedness among poor rural Tibetans who have no hope of being able to repay their loans under this compulsory project. ■

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# OUTSIDE TIBET

## Middle Way on trial to bring result?

The Special Meeting of exile Tibetans called by the Dalai Lama and organized by the Tibetan Parliament-in-Exile in Dharamsala from Nov 17 to 22 ended with the 560 officials, representative, activists and others invited to attend it being unanimous in agreeing to directly "follow the guidance of His Holiness the Dalai Lama based on the prevailing situation from time to time." However, a good majority of the delegates felt that the hitherto failed middle way

approach for reaching a solution with China should give way to independence or self-determination if it fails to bring result "in the near future".

The meeting's final recommendations, brought out by the exile parliament Nov 22, also said that the majority "decision" was to continue the policy of middle way approach, ie, seeking genuine autonomy rather than accepting the status quo, as being demanded by China, or demanding indepen-

dence, as being campaigned for by a significant section of the exile Tibetans.

The meeting also made certain important suggestions, the most significant of which was that further talks with the Chinese government should be halted unless Beijing shows more positive attitude on dealing with the Tibet issue. "(V)iews to stop sending envoys and to pursue complete independence or self-determination if no result comes out in the near future

were also strongly expressed," said the meeting's final recommendations.

The meeting vowed to keep the Tibetan freedom movement non-violent, whether the goal or strategy was to be independence or self-determination. It urged the Dalai Lama to continue to lead the Tibetan people instead of keeping himself in semi-retirement or considering complete retirement. "(T)here is none other than His Holiness to continue to protect the people of snow-land, Tibet," the meeting said, referring to "the pledge of successive reincarnations of the Dalai Lama".

The meeting rejected China's assertion that the Dalai Lama and his exile government could not claim to represent the Tibetan people. "We affirmed that His Holiness (the Dalai Lama) and the Central Tibetan Administration are the sole representative of the Tibetan people," Tibet.net Nov 22 quoted the exile parliament Speaker, Mr Karma Chopel, as saying.

### UN committee asks China to end culture of torture, impunity

The UN Committee against Torture has severely indicted China for its "routine and widespread use of torture" both in Tibet and across China, rejecting the country's persistent claim of having "zero-tolerance" for the vile practice. Releasing its 15-page concluding observations on Nov 21 after hearing China's reports on its claimed adherence to the UN Convention against Torture, the independent body of 10 experts expressed, in its Tibet section, a deep concern over "longstanding reports of torture, beatings, shackling and other abusive treatment, in particular of Tibetan monks and nuns, at the hands of public officials, public security and state security, as well as paramilitary and even unofficial personnel at the instigation or with the acquiescence or consent of public officials."

The Committee has asked China to provide, within one year, a response to reports of widespread excessive use of force and other abuses related to the spring demonstrations in the Tibet Autonomous Region and neighbouring Tibetan prefectures and counties.

The International Campaign for Tibet, Washington, DC, which was among the NGOs that submitted reports to the committee, said Nov 21 the Committee particularly expressed concern at:

- ◆ The large number of Tibetans arrested after March 2008 and the "reported lack of restraint with which persons were treated"
- ◆ The failure by the Chinese authorities to investigate deaths of Tibetans "from indiscriminate firing by the police into crowds of reportedly largely peaceful demonstrators" in Kardze county, Ngaba county and Lhasa
- ◆ The failure to conduct independent and impartial investigations into the use of torture, as well as China's refusal to allow independent investigators, including the UN and Red Cross, into Tibet
- ◆ China's failure to inform the Committee of the whereabouts of "a large number of persons" who have been arrested since March, but whose fate remains unknown.

The Committee was also reported to have raised the case of the missing 11th Panchen Lama, Gedhun Choekyi

Nyima, disappeared since 1995 as a six-year-old after being kidnapped by the Chinese government, as well as highlighting gender-related abuse against Tibetan nuns in detention.

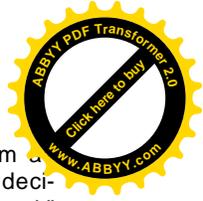
The Committee has recommended: "As a matter of urgency, [China] should take immediate steps to prevent acts of torture and ill-treatment throughout the country." In particular, the committee has asked China to end impunity and offer apology to the victims of the 1989 Tiananmen Square repression.

Human Rights in China, New York, Nov 21, cited the committees as urging China to address impunity for past abuses, including conducting a full and impartial investigation into the suppression of the Democracy movement in Beijing in June 1989, providing information on the persons who are still detained from that period, informing the family members of their findings, offering apologies and reparation, and prosecuting those found responsible.

The Committee conducted its review of China on Nov 7 and 10 in Geneva. It has invited China to submit its next report by Nov 21, 2012. This is in addition to its request that China provide, within one year, information on its response to a number of the Committee's recommendations, including those on ending harassment and intimidation of lawyers and on addressing impunity for the Jun 4 crackdown on the 1989 Democracy Movement.

\* \* \*

Meanwhile, far from complying with the committee's request for urgent measures to end the widespread practice of torture, China betrayed an intention to continue the impunity by denying its existence. On the contrary, it accused the committee of putting "unreal and stigmatised (or slanderous) comments" into its final conclusions. Its official Xinhua news agency Nov 23 quoted the country's foreign ministry spokesman Qin Gang as saying the committee's final conclusions "lacks justice and professional objectiveness, against which China firmly opposes." He has accused "some committee members" of being prejudiced against China. □



The meeting "strongly" urged China to immediately stop its campaign of denigration against the Dalai Lama, saying it had caused "incurable wound in the hearts and minds of the Tibetan people in and outside Tibet" besides among "the followers of the Tibetan Buddhism, including the Chinese Buddhists and in the justice-and-truth-loving people all over the world."

The meeting said the Tibetan struggle was being waged against the wrong policies of PRC towards Tibet and Tibetans, and was in no way against the Chinese people, as the Chinese government portrays.

To the head of the exile government, the Kalon Tripa Samdhong Rinpoche, the concluding session was an occasion to call on the exile Tibetans to rally to the middle way proposal. He urged the Tibetans to put concerted efforts in carrying out the 11 model action plans proposed by his administration. These are designed to maintain Tibetan unity

and harmony, preserve the culture, enhance health and education within the exile community, and promote the Tibet issue without antagonizing China.

In his speech at the meeting's inauguration on Nov 17, Chopel said that in a survey held in Tibet on the future course of the Tibetan freedom movement, 8,000 of the total of 17,000 respondents had said they would follow whatever stand may be taken by the Dalai Lama, with more than 5,000 saying they wanted independence, and 2,000 being in favour of continuing the current approach. It was not clear how the survey was carried out.

In terms of the main reason for the holding of the Special Meeting, support for the middle way approach was clearly shown as being conditional, depending on achieving progress with China "in the near future". In that sense, the Special Meeting was, as seen by some, the first step towards the review of the middle way proposal. □

## **Dalai Lama cautions against independence goal, vows to continue to lead Tibet**

The Dalai Lama sounded a word of warning to those seeking to push for independence for Tibet, saying it was not practical and could lead to a total failure of the Tibetan struggle. "The next twenty years, if we are not careful, if we are not prudent in our plans, there is a great danger," AP Nov 23 quoted the Dalai Lama as saying while addressing the Tibetan delegates who had concluded their Special Meeting the other day. "It could lead to the danger of failure."

Although the Tibetan leader did not refer to the recommendations of the Special Meeting, it was clearly on his mind. He said that although his attempts to engage the Chinese leadership in trying to strike a compromise on the Tibet issue on the basis of his middle way approach was a failure, there was still the broader possibility of reaching out to the Chinese people. "My trust in Chinese officials is becoming thinner but my trust in Chinese public is still alive and strong," he was quoted as telling the Tibetan delegates.

He has also responded to the meeting's call for him to continue to lead the Tibetan people, saying there was no question of him retiring completely so long as the Tibet issue remained unresolved. "With certain degree of freedom when we return, then I will hand ... over all my legitimate authority. That's one way of complete retirement," he was quoted as saying at a press conference after addressing the Tibetan delegates. But he stuck to his semi-retirement status. "The majority of decisions are taken by the prime minister. I act as his senior adviser," the AFP Nov 23 quoted him as

saying during the press conference.

On the suggestion of the Special Meeting's majority that further contacts with the Chinese leadership be halted,

the Bloomberg Nov 23 cited him as saying he would make no early decision for at least a month. "Wait a month" and "then we'll see" whether the Tibetan side will find a basis on which to propose further contacts, he had told journalists.

Speaking on the wisdom of having begun the ongoing talks in 2002, the Tibetan leader had said he had "received contradictory information" about whether Chinese leaders were interested in talks, adding he had "maybe too much expectation at that time".

On the question of his succession, the Dalai Lama had said the whole issue was wide open, including whether he was to be the last Dalai Lama, or whether it will be a young girl even, according to the IANS news agency Nov 23. It was also reported, including by Times Online (UK) Nov 23, that the Dalai Lama might adapt the Vatican system for electing the Pope, or that someone could be instated during his lifetime, either as the 15th Dalai Lama or as a regent on temporary basis. □

## **China pressures UN to remove Tibetan torture report from its website**

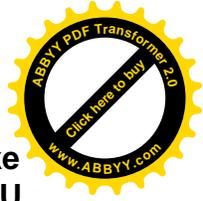
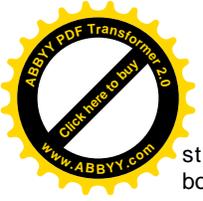
The Office of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) was reported to have taken off its website on Oct 24 a report on the routine use of torture in Tibet submitted by the exile Tibetan government in Sep '08. The removal followed

### **China speaks of post-Dalai Lama era**

China was not only blunt in its rejection of the Dalai Lama's middle way proposal for resolving the Tibet issue but has also made clear that it was looking beyond the era when the exile Tibetan leader will be no more. Speaking of the Dalai Lama's advanced age and "poor health condition", China's official Xinhua news agency Nov 11 cited Zhu Weiqun, executive vice minister of the United Front Work Department (UFW) of the Communist Party of China (CPC) Central Committee, as hoping that he would "correct his mistakes and get closer to the central government and do something beneficial for the people, including the Tibetans, during the remainder of his life."

Regarding the widely expressed fears that violence may engulf Tibet if the Tibet issue is not resolved soon, or within the current Dalai Lama's lifetime, Zhu had said, "Some of them were just blustering and some of them were really reminding us of the possibility." Overall, he dismissed the possibility of the flaring up of violence. "We believe that in the present situation most of the Tibetans in exile will not support violence and terror and even in the future we believe most of them will not agree to use violence or terrorism against China or the Tibet Autonomous Region," the report quoted Zhu as saying, replying to CNN reporters.

China made clear its right to define the current Dalai Lama's legacy and successor. The report cited Zhu as claiming that the Dalai Lama's religious title, and those of his predecessors, were all given and approved by the central government. "If he did not listen to the government's advice and continue his pro-independence policies, the Dalai Lama will leave a bad reputation in history and bring shame on the conferring regulation of the title which has been practiced for more than 450 years." □



strong pressure from China exerted both through the office of the UN Secretary-General and the OHCHR, according to a Phayul.com report Oct 28.

The exile government submitted this report to the UN Committee Against Torture for its upcoming 41 session,

when it was going to hear China's Fourth Periodic Report on its implementation of the UN covenant on torture on Nov 7 and 10. The report, "The Continuing Use of Torture against the Tibetan Peoples", had been posted online 10 days before its removal. □

## China denies there were peaceful protests, or violent crackdown, in Tibet in Mar'08

China made a very short work of responding to a series of questions from the UN Committee Against Torture (CAT) on the widely reported crackdown on the Tibetan uprising in Mar 2008 by advancing a fantastic claim that there was no crackdown at all. "There is no such a thing as 'hundreds of people' hav(ing) been arrested because of these demonstrations," said China's written response Sep 8 posted on the website of the Office of the UN High

Commissioner for Human Rights. On Nov 10, the committee of 10 experts expressed disappointment that China had not presented sufficient information to show its compliance with its international obligation to end torture.

Ahead of its scheduled hearing from Nov 3 of China's fourth report on its implementation of the UN Convention Against Torture, CAT had asked China to provide it "a list of all persons detained" in connection with the Mar'08 uprising and numerous other questions pertaining to their treatment. CAT had asked China: "Public statements confirmed that hundreds of persons were detained in connection with the unrest that followed the March 2008 demonstration in the Tibet Autonomous Region and neighbouring Tibetan prefectures and counties in Gansu, Sichuan and Qinghai provinces."

"The notion of 'dispersing the peaceful demonstrations by monks' is sheer fabrication," China said in its written communication. It claimed that "(t)he incident which happened in Tibet and the neighbouring areas in March this year was not 'peaceful demonstration' at all, rather, it was an organized law-breaking serious incident of violence." It claimed that there was no "excessive use of force by police" and that as of Jul 2008, the justice departments had detained 953 persons, including 362 who surrendered themselves to the police. It said 42 had been convicted and sentenced while another 116 criminal suspects were under trial.

Given its claim that there was no violent crackdown, there was no question of China answering the CAT's other questions such as on the number of deaths and "information on any investigation into those deaths and whether there will be a transparent public in-

quiry into them". Rather, it said, 18 people, including three Tibetans, were killed by rioters in Lhasa on Mar 14, while one Chinese policeman was "martyred".

Unfortunately for China, a number of human rights NGOs as well as the exile Tibetan government and an exile Tibetan human rights NGO, had presented written submissions detailing violent crackdowns and killings by Chinese troops, and a host of other serious violations of human rights across the Tibetan plateau which CAT was bound to take into account in its final finding and follow-up questions.

The Chinese response also did not provide any detailed information about the situation of Tibetan detainees from protests held outside the "Tibet Autonomous Region". China also did not answer CAT's specific question on Gedhun Choekyi Nyima's whereabouts, only repeating its past unsubstantiated claims that the boy and his family did not wish to be disturbed. □

## China presumes to stake relations with France, EU in Sarkozy-Dalai Lama meet

French President Nicolas Sarkozy whose country currently holds the EU's six-month-rotating presidency, is to meet the Dalai Lama on Dec 6 while attending celebrations marking the 25th anniversary of the awarding of the Nobel Peace Prize to former Polish President Lech Walesa, prompting both criticism and warning from Beijing. "We oppose firmly the Dalai Lama's secessionist activities in any country under any identity, and we are also firmly against any foreign leader's contacts with the Dalai Lama in any form," China's official Xinhua news agency Nov 14 quoted Foreign Ministry spokesman Qin Gang as saying in a press release.

He had implied that the meeting could derail what he called "the hard-earned Sino-French and Sino-European ties" which he said were maintaining a momentum of improvement and development. He also indicated that the meeting would be interpreted as a failure on Sarkozy's part to comply with China's demand for adherence to the "one-China" policy, a view the French President, like most other western leaders, obviously would not share.

The Chinese warning came as Sarkozy announced Nov 13 that "The Tibetans should not be subjected to repression and, like everyone else, they have a right to freedom," while confirming his planned meeting in Poland with the Dalai Lama. "The Dalai Lama is a distinguished man, a man who in-

### Fund supports China on Tibetan culture

Louise Blouin MacBain, a Canadian divorcee with a personal fortune estimated at £187 million who set up a "cultural diplomacy" fund to preserve Tibetan culture and promote Chinese culture, has supported China's charge that the Dalai Lama is working against, not with, Beijing. Referring to his call for the reunification of the three traditional provinces of Tibet, which China has split up and merged with neighbouring Chinese provinces, she has said, "He has to moderate his demands, to work with and not against China," reported Telegraph.co.uk Oct 26.

She has also echoed the Chinese government's oft-repeated contention to criticize the Dalai Lama. "His constant negative criticism is fuelling separatism and further destabilising relations between China and the West."

Her fund, with an initial handsome contribution from the Chinese government of \$ 70 million, is seeking donations from governments and others to promote the Chinese version of the current state of the protection of the Tibetan culture in the name of promoting harmony. The fund's launch was announced Sep 23 in London, with Ms MacBain saying it had already received a substantial contribution from Pace Beijing Gallery.

The report described her as former girlfriend of the Duke of York, brother of the Prince of Wales who is known for his support for the Dalai Lama. □



spires profound respect and I will have the opportunity to see him in Poland on December 6," AFP quoted him as saying. Walesa had led the Polish solidarity movement, which overthrew the communist government there.

Sarkozy also justified maintaining ties with Beijing despite the latter's onerous human rights record, asking, "if we do not go to Beijing, if we do not discuss, if we do not share our con-

cerns, if we do not progress step-by-step, then how will we ensure that the idea that we have of respect for rights and freedoms will prevail?"

Also, French Foreign Minister Bernard Kouchner Jun 14 rejected the Chinese warning. "I have already met him (the Dalai Lama) 20 times," the AFP Nov 14 quoted him as saying, adding his belief that Sarkozy was handling the issue "correctly." □

## Bogota hosts Tibetan cultural event despite Chinese pressure

The Museum of Bogotá in the Colombian capital was compelled to cancel the hosting of a scheduled Nov 7-14 Tibetan cultural event under strong pressure from China. The pressure was exerted by the Chinese embassy on the Office of the Bogotá City Mayor whose department of Culture, Recreation and Sport had already agreed to sponsor the event. As a result the event was shifted to Javeriana University. It was organized jointly by the National University of Colombia and the Artists Cooperative in collaboration with the Office of Tibet, New York, reported the exile Tibetan government's Tibet.net Nov 9.

The event featured a sand Mandala by monks of the Dalai Lama's Namgyal

Monastery, a photo exhibition by New York-based photographer Sonam Zoksang and writer Jianglin Li and the screening of video films on Tibet.

A mandala is an imaginary palace visualized during meditation. There are

many different mandalas, with most of them containing a host of deities.

Javeriana University is a private Catholic University founded in 1623; it is one of the premier academic institutions in Colombia. □

## NEWS IN BRIEF

### Dalai Lama to address European Parliament Dec 4

The Dalai Lama is to visit Brussels to address the European Parliament on Dec 4 as part of the European year of intercultural dialogue, reported the AFP Nov 15, citing an assembly spokesman. It said the exile Tibetan leader had been extended the invitation several months earlier.

### Dalai Lama's Nov'08 Arunachal tour postponed

The Dalai Lama had to postpone till next year a scheduled Nov 10-15 visit to the China-sensitive Indian border state of Arunachal Pradesh for want of clearance from India's foreign ministry, reported Merinews online (India) Oct 24. The Tibetan leader was to inaugurate a multi-specialty hospital in Tawang, which China especially covets as the birthplace of the Sixth Dalai Lama. The state's chief minister, Mr Dorjee Khandu, had visited Dharamsala recently to personally extend the invitation to the Dalai Lama.

### Exhibit opened of Dalai Lama's Jul'08 visit to Lehigh University, USA

An exhibition of photographs and memorabilia from the Dalai Lama's visit to Lehigh University in Pennsylvania, USA, in Jul'08 opened at Linderman Library as well as the university's website, reported The Brown and White newspaper Oct 24. During the visit, which began Jul 7, the Dalai Lama conferred a six-day lecture on Tsongkhapa's masterpiece on the Stages of Spiritual Evolution. The collection includes memorabilia from the visit as well as items from events held in preparation for the visit.

### Dalai Lama to visit Poland in Dec'08

Some 5,000 Poles will take part in a meeting with the Dalai Lama in the Polish capital Warsaw on Dec 11, reported The Polish Radio Nov 18. It said that officials of Wola, a Warsaw district, were going to pass a special resolution to name one of the roundabouts in the city centre as "Free Tibet". Apart from Warsaw, the Tibetan leader will visit Krakow to receive on Dec 8 an honorary doctorate from the Jagiellonian University, and Wroclaw.

## Journalists prevented from accompanying Norwegian Dy FM, parliamentary delegation, to Tibet

Norway's deputy foreign minister, Raymond Johansen, led one of the largest human rights delegations ever to visit China but was allowed to visit Tibet only if he was not accompanied by Norwegian journalists. After failing several times to persuade China to change its mind on the issue, Johansen decided to undertake the journey on Oct 25 rather than cancelling the visit.

Norwegian newspaper Aftenposten cited Mr Johansen as saying he decided to visit Tibet for two reasons: to get an impression of the situation in Tibet and to demonstrate to the Chinese officials that Norway remained highly interested in Tibet. China never explained to Johansen why reporters weren't allowed with him into Tibet, reported the exile Tibetan government's Tibet.net Oct 24.

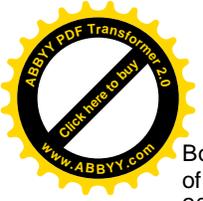
Johansen led a delegation of 40 Norwegian politicians, judges, human rights NGO representatives, civil servants, trade unionists, employer representatives, and experts on China to discuss human rights with Chinese officials in Beijing. The annual "round-table" discussion took place Oct 30-31.

Norway has had formal discussions on human rights with China since 1997.

Earlier, a cross-party delegation of Norwegian MPs headed by Vice-President of Parliament, Olav Gunnar Ballo (Labour party), visited Tibet from Nov 9 to 17 "to know about the present political, economic and social conditions" there. The delegation visited Lhasa, as well as Gyantse and Shigatse, and held talks, including on human rights, with a number of representatives from local authorities, besides visiting school and religious sites.

But the delegation's aim may not have been fully realized as Chinese made clear its intention to fully control the visit. It rejected the delegation's request that a Tibetan interpreter from Norway be allowed to accompany them. Chungdak Koren of the Norwegian Tibet Committee, however, expressed happiness at having had the opportunity to brief the delegation on the real situation in Tibet.

The delegation included Olav Akselsen (AP), Solveig Horne (FRP), Sonja Sjøli (H), May-Helen Molvær Grimstad (Christian People's Party), Rune Skjælaaen (SP) and Gunvald Ludvigsen (V). □



Both the President and Prime Minister of Poland had refused to attend the Aug 2008 Olympic Games in Beijing, citing the deplorable human rights situation in Tibet.

**Dalai Lama to meet Havel in Prague**

The Dalai Lama is to visit the Czech capital Prague from Nov 29 to Dec 2 at the invitation of former president Vaclav Havel and Havel's Forum 2000 foundation, reported the Czech news agency CTK Nov 13. Havel was the first head of state to receive the 14th Dalai Lama not only as a spiritual leader but also as the head of Tibet, the report noted. Dalai Lama has visited the Czech Republic several times since then.

**Politics less important in Tibet support work, Dalai Lama**

Those who support the Tibetan cause should give more importance to ecological, cultural and humanitarian issues than politics, the Express India news service Nov 8 cited the Dalai Lama as saying while inaugurating the Gita Mandir at Sadhu Vaswani Mission in Pune, India. He also felt that genuine friendship between India and China would not only make the world a safer place but also help resolve the Tibet issue. The Dalai Lama also reminded India of its responsibility as the teacher in its ancient teacher-disciple relationship with Tibet. "(I)f a disciple suffers, the teacher is responsible for it."

**Dalai Lama meets Japanese lawmakers**

The Dalai Lama met with members of a cross-party grouping for Tibet in the Japanese parliament on Nov 6, the last day of his visit to Japan which began on Oct 31. The Diet lawmakers who attended the meeting included Yukio Edano, a member of the Democratic Party of Japan who had formerly served as chairman of the main opposition force's policy research council; Tokuchiro Tamazawa, a member of the ruling Liberal Democratic Party and former farm minister, and Shu Watanabe, a DPJ member of the House of Representatives, reported The Japan Times Nov 7.

**Japanese Judo star seeks Dalai Lama's advice**

Japanese Olympic gold medallist in Judo Satoshi Ishii attended a speech by the Dalai Lama on Nov 6 and asked the Tibetan leader for advice on a pivotal decision in his life. The star had announced earlier in the week that he would switch to the cash-rich world of mixed martial arts. He said he had received advice on this from many people

and wondered whether he should make a decision for himself or he should sometimes "yield to the powerful". "Ultimately, your own investigation — that's most important," The Japan Times Nov 7 quoted the exile Tibetan leader as having advised.

**Dalai Lama meets with Chinese scholars in Japan**

The Dalai Lama held a private meeting lasting over two hours with a group of 14 Chinese scholars, most of them teachers of politics, religion, ethnic studies and other subjects, in Tokyo on Nov 1. Mr Tsewang Gyalpo Arya of the Office of Tibet, Tokyo, said the Chinese scholars sought clarifications on Tibet's historical relations with China, his experience of dealing with Beijing and his plans for the future. The Chinese were reported to be impressed with his responses and to become more forthcoming as a result of it. They reportedly felt that the exile Tibetan leader should be able to visit Beijing and speak directly with the Chinese leaders on his positions.

**Dalai Lama speaks to thousands in Japan**

The Dalai Lama told an audience of 5,000 at the media dome auditorium in the southwestern Japanese city of Kitakyushu in Fukuoka on Nov 4 that as people faced problems of violence, war, and increasing greed for material wealth, preserving Tibet's culture of compassion was becoming ever more important. Speaking on "Compassionate Mind: Key to a Happy Life", he said, "Preserving Tibetan Buddhist culture is not only the concern of Tibetans but also of central Asia and also China proper," reported the exile Tibetan government's Tibet.net Nov 5. He had called it a healthy sign that more and more people were viewing justice, transparency, and truth to be important, leading to increasing desire for peace.

The Tibetan leader also gave a public talk on the nature of mind at Ryogoku Kokugikan in Tokyo on Nov 6. He also delivered a speech at the Foreign Correspondents' Club of Japan in Tokyo on Nov 3. He was earlier welcomed by well-wishers and Buddhist monks at the Narita Airport near Tokyo on Oct 31.

\* \* \*

**China hails new relations with Germany, warns against Tibet**

Chinese President Hu Jintao praised the state of relations with Germany during a meeting with Chancellor Angela Merkel in Beijing on Oct 24, suggesting ties between the economic powers had been repaired since a spat

over the Dalai Lama last year, reported AP Oct 25. However, while Merkel has indicated that she had not made any concession to China over her Sep'07 official meeting with the Dalai Lama in Berlin, China has warned that another meeting could easily cause a slide in relations. Merkel was among dozens of foreign leaders attending a summit of 43 Asian and European nations (the ASEM summit) being held in the Chinese capital on Oct 24, with the global financial crisis being the major topic of discussion.

**Taiwanese urged to remember Tibet in dealing with China**

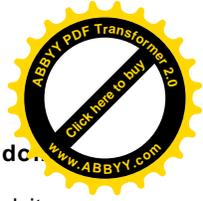
On the eve of talks Nov 3 in Taipei between the chairman of China's Association for Relations Across the Taiwan Straits, Mr Chen Yunlin, and the government of Taiwan, the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) Legislator Mr Tien Chiu-chin led a lineup of 20 exile Tibetans in Taiwan and held a press conference. Tien said that despite signing a 17-Point Agreement for peaceful liberation in May 1951, China still invaded Tibet. He wanted Taiwan's President Mr Ma Ying-jeou not to engage in wishful thinking when dealing with China. He urged the public to heed the Tibetan lessons and, notwithstanding the risks, concentrate their efforts on safeguarding Taiwan's sovereignty and national integrity, reported Taiwan News Online Nov 3.

**Australian Senate passes motion for successful Sino-Tibetan dialogue**

Following a high-profile visit to Australia by the exile Tibetan government's minister for Information and International Relations, Kalon Mrs Kesang Y Takla, the country's Senate passed a unanimous motion on Oct 21, "wishing both the Chinese government and the envoys of His Holiness the Dalai Lama for a successful result in the coming eighth round of discussions on Tibet." The motion was tabled by Senator Bob Brown, leader of the Australian Greens. Brown and four other Green Senators had met with Kalon Takla on Oct 13. Takla had also addressed the Foreign Affairs Sub-Committee of the Federal Parliament's Joint Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs, Defense and Trade on the current situation in Tibet, noted the exile Tibetan government's Tibet.net Oct 21.

**Chinese delegation explains 'real' Tibet in Norway**

A delegation of Chinese Tibetologists visited Norway from Oct 15 to 20, during which it met with Vice-President Olav Gunnar Ballo of the Lower House of parliament and presi-



dent Egil Lothe of Norwegian Buddhist Union, besides officials from the Norwegian Foreign Ministry and the University of Oslo, reported China's official Xinhua news agency Oct 20. The delegation included its head, Mr Shen Kaiyun, who is a Chinese, and Mr Dawa Ciren, a researcher in the Tibetan Academy of Social Sciences, described as being fluent in English. The report said the delegation explained to the Norwegians the Chinese government's position on Tibet and "the reality of Tibet".

**China replaces Nepal ambassador for Tibetan protest fiasco**

China replaced its Nepal ambassador, Mr Zheng Xianglin, well before the end of his three-year term apparently because of his failure to effectively block Tibetan anti-China protests that lasted almost five months ahead of the Olympics, reported the IANS news service Nov 23. Zheng had assumed office in Apr 2007 and returned home early Nov 2008. He has been replaced by Qiu Guohong, a former deputy director-general at the Asia department of the Chinese foreign affairs ministry. Qui kicked up a controversy by meeting Nepal's home and defence ministers even before presenting his credentials to the country's head of state.

\* \* \*

**Tibetans target Hu Jintao in G-20 summit protest in US capital**

Tibetans constituted the largest group among hundreds of people who staged protests Nov 15 outside the venue in Washington, DC, of the financial summit of the Group of 20 nations. The Tibetan target was of course, Chinese President Hu Jintao, who was among the leaders of the big, rich and developing countries taking part in the summit. They were joined by a smaller group of Falun Gong. While AP news agency said the Tibetan protesters numbered nearly 200, the Washington Times put their number at about 300. The Tibetan protesters were outnumbered by Chinese supporters of Mr Hu later in the afternoon.

**China's Tibet propaganda delegation mobbed in London**

Zhu weiqun, China's Vice-Minister of the United Front Work Department responsible for leading a series of meaningless talks with envoys of the Dalai Lama since 2002, took part in a round-table discussion in London on Nov 15 on the failure of the Nov 4-5 eighth round of Sino-Tibetan talks in Beijing. As Zhu took part in the discussion in the Chatham house at St. James

square, Tibetans and supporters staged a protest outside, chanting slogans. They also tried to disrupt Zhu's motorcade. One Tibetan student was reported to have thrown herself in front of Zhu's motorcade, carrying a Tibetan national flag. Four other Tibetans were reported to have splashed tomato sauce onto the windows of the car carrying Zhu.

**Olympic album for Tibet to be released in DeLuxe edition**

The Art Of Peace Foundation announced Oct 22 that it would release a deluxe edition of their Olympic album Songs For Tibet (Warner Bros.), in Dec'08. It will include a three-hour DVD with teachings by the Dalai Lama. Designed as a show of support for peace, Tibet and the Dalai Lama, the album was initially released as an itune download days before the 2008 Beijing Olympics. The album features artists like Sting, Alanis Morissette, Rush, Imogen Heap, Garbage, Damien Rice, Moby, Duncan Sheik and many more. Legendary producer Rupert Hine (the Fixx, Stevie Nicks, Bob Geldof) chipped in. After 46 of the Olympic athletes downloaded the album, the Chinese authorities blocked access to the album, including by cutting off some of the biggest online music retailers. After a worldwide outcry, the album became available again in China.

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**Temporary relief for Majnu-ka-Tilla, Budh Vihar Tibetan colonies, Delhi**

The two tiny Tibetan colonies at Majnu-ka-Tilla and Budh Vihar in Delhi have received a temporary reprieve from imminent government demolition with the grant of a 'Provisional Regularization Certificate'. The two were among 1000 illegal colonies in the Indian capital to be guaranteed temporary relief. The local city legislator, Mr Prahlad Singh Sahni, delivered the certificates to the concerned Tibetan families at a function on Nov 3, attended by the Dalai Lama's New Delhi representative, Mr Tempa Tsering, and deputy speaker Mrs Dolma Gyari of the exile Tibetan parliament. The colonies faced demolition as the building are unauthorized and they have to make way for the widening of a national highway running alongside them and for the cleaning up and beautification of the Yamuna River bank running along them from the other side as part of the city master plan.

**Tibetan activists is co-winner of**

**Norwegian PEN's 2008 freedom award**

The Norwegian PEN awarded its annual Ossietzky Prize for outstanding achievements in the field of freedom of expression for 2008 to Mrs Chungdak Koren for her work in Norway for the rights of the Tibetan people and to Mr Francis Sejersted for his work for freedom of expression. The award presentation took place at the House of Literature in capital Oslo on Nov 13. The President of Norwegian PEN, Mr Anders Heger, said the two Prize winners demonstrated, in different ways, the importance of using and defending the right of freedom of expression, and illustrates achievements and the value of patient work by these brave individuals, reported Mrs Koren's group the Norwegian Tibet Committee Nov 20.

**Gov't-funded Tibetan studies institute opens in Austria**

An International Institute for Higher Tibetan Studies was inaugurated Oct 31 at the Austrian town of Knappenberg, the birthplace of the late explorer Mr Heinrich Harrer who had lived in Tibet during the last seven years of its existence as an independent country. The institute is funded by the Kärnten regional government of Austria, with the late regional Governor Mr Jörg Haider playing an instrumental in securing a five-year funding for the project. Mr. Haider, who had led a team visit to Dharamsala, died in a tragic car accident only three weeks earlier. The Institute will provide courses on Tibetan Medical & Astrology and Buddhist Philosophy in collaboration with the Tibetan Medical & Astrology Institute, Dharamsala and the Centre for High Tibetan Studies in Sarnath, India. Also, it will invite visiting lecturers from India, Europe and America. Geshe Tenzin Dhargye, deputed by the Dalai Lama to manage the planning of the project, is the director of the institute.

**Undercover Tibet film wins award**

"Undercover in Tibet," filmed secretly in Tibet over three months from late Apr 2007, has won a Rory Peck Award, which recognizes the work of freelance cameramen and camerawomen who gather news in "regions where it is difficult to operate", reported Radio Free Asia Nov 18. The documentary was one of the top three selected for consideration at the annual event, held on Nov 13 at the British Film Institute in London. The film is produced by cameraman Jezza Neumann and interviewer Tash Despa. ■



# SINO-INDIA

## India reiterates Arunachal not negotiable

India has strongly reiterated its determination never to cede Arunachal Pradesh to China on the basis of the latter's claim over it as part of occupied Tibet. "China is often making claims on Arunachal Pradesh, but Arunachal Pradesh has a special place in our heart," the PTI news agency Nov 9 quoted India's External Affairs Minister, Mr Pranab Mukherjee as saying while visiting the 400-year-old Tawang Buddhist monastery near the state's border with Tibet. He had said China was "fully aware" that the state was an integral part of India.

The minister had cited the people of the state's democratic choice in being a part of India. "People of Arunachal Pradesh regularly elect two representatives to the Lok Sabha [the Lower House of Indian Parliament] and there is an elected state assembly carrying out the responsibility of administration like any of other 27 states. The question of parting company of Arunachal or any of its part does not arise," he was quoted as saying amid deafening cheers. The minister made clear India's position that in sorting out the boundary issue no settled population areas could be exchanged.

The minister was the chief guest at the 8th Buddha Mahotsava being held at Tawang.

During his visit to the state earlier in the year, following a visit to China, India's Prime Minister, Dr Manmohan Singh, called the state "our land of rising sun".

Meanwhile, China expressed bitter disappointment with Mr Mukherjee's remarks. "We deeply regret the Indian side's remarks, that take no regard of the historical facts. China and India have never officially settled demarcation of borders, and China's stance on the eastern section of China-India borders is consistent and clear-cut," China's official Xinhua news agency Nov 11 quoted Foreign Ministry spokesman Qin Gang as saying at a regular press conference Nov 11 afternoon. □

### India finally calls China a challenge

India's foreign minister Mr Pranab Mukherjee has, for the first time, described China as a security "challenge and a priority", and, significantly, not as an opportunity, reported The Times of India Nov 5. Addressing the National Defence College on Nov 3, Mr Mukherjee thus listed India's security challenges: "(a) to cope with the rise of China; (b) maintenance of a peaceful periphery; and (c) managing our rela-

tions with the major powers." He had described the current phase of India-China ties as only "a somewhat normalised relationship".

Ten years ago, Prime Minister Mr Atal Bihari Vajpayee had blamed China's proliferation activities as one of the reasons for India going overtly nuclear. The report noted that fears were growing in many parts of the world that China's rise may not always be "peaceful" as its leadership promises.

India has so far been neither articulate nor overt in its concerns about China's rising power. This may change as Mr Mukherjee noted: "We are today faced with a new China. Today's China seeks to further her interests more aggressively than in the past, thanks to the phenomenal increase of her capacities after 30 years of reforms. There are also new set of challenges which China poses such as the strategic challenge as China develops its capabilities in outer space; the geopolitical challenge as it reaches out to various parts of the globe in search of raw materials and resources."

Meanwhile, on Nov 7 night, India clarified that the minister had never called China a "threat", as claimed by some media reports. The clarification came after Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman Qin Gang reportedly reacted to Mukherjee's comments, saying China was far from being a challenge or security risk to any Asian nation, reported NDTV.com Nov 7. □

### India's second-strike capability against China in place

India has built at least two tunnels to store its Agni Intermediate Range Ballistic Missile (IRBM) as a response to China's deployment of its IRBMs in occupied Tibet, reported Frontier India Defence and Strategic News (India) Nov 18. It cited Mr Bharat Karnad, who released his book "India's Nuclear Policy" in Mumbai Nov 17, as saying India was building more such facilities. Such tunnels will help India's second-

strike capability as the Chinese Threat. Nuclear weapons cannot vaporize mountains, the report noted. □

### China funding and arming northeastern Indian insurgents?

China has been increasing its secret flow of arms and funds to insurgent groups in the volatile northeastern states of India, according to an E-Pao.net (India) report Nov 1. It cited intelligence sources as saying the Chinese had been active in the region now for some time, especially in the last two years.

Weapons seized by the Indian security agencies in the region were reported to bear no markings. However, a more careful study was reported to show the weapons to be Chinese made.

China and the insurgent groups reportedly meet on the trade routes in the region which are fluid, particularly where the Myanmar and China borders meet. It cited intelligence sources as saying that in recent months, the Chinese had managed to increase the flow of funds into these groups.

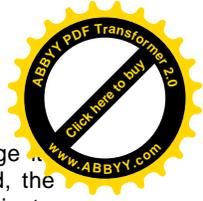
A similar report was carried by the Jane's Intelligence Review. China expectedly denied the allegations, with its official Xinhua news agency Nov 3 quoting Foreign Ministry spokeswoman Jiang Yu as claiming, "The Chinese government always sticks to the principle of non-interference in other nations' domestic affairs. We won't support any anti-government groups in India."

Nevertheless, The Times of India newspaper Nov 5 reported that Indian officials suspected China's involvement in the recent series of bomb explosion in its northeastern Assam state which claimed many lives. □

### India to host first military exercise with China Dec 4

India and China are to hold their first joint military exercise on Indian soil on Dec 4, with the venue being Belgaum in Karnataka state. The 10-day anti-terror exercises will involve company level units of 100-120 troops from both sides, reported the Indian Express Nov 22.

An Indian Army team went to China in December last year for the first war games between the two countries near the city of Kunming. ■



# ROUNDUP -- Pema Thinley

## Sino-Tibetan talks Round 8

### China rejects Tibet autonomy demand

Both the envoys of the Dalai Lama and the Chinese government have announced that their 8th round of talks since 2002 held in Beijing on Nov 4-5 were a dismal failure, with both the sides blaming the other for it. This was not surprising, given the fact that China's one-point agenda was for the Tibetan side to give up everything and return to Tibet on its own terms while the Tibetans would hear none of it without being granted a semblance of real au-

tonomy for their homeland. But while China appears to remain open to dialogue, for what it is worth, the Tibetans side is still licking its wounds from the latest talk setback. In fact, the Tibetan side said it had given it up after the sixth round of talks but felt compelled to make further contacts after the Mar 2008 uprising in Tibet which China put down with use of massive and brutal armed force.

With both the sides contending that the ball is in the other side's court, the logjam remains firmly in place.

China was the first to publicize its version of what transpired at the talks. It said the talks were "frank and sincere" but that serious differences remained and blamed it all on the Tibetan side, according to China's official Xinhua news agency Nov 6 and 10.

The contacts and talks "failed to make progress" and the Dalai Lama side should "shoulder full responsibility for that", Xinhua Nov 10 cited Zhu Weiqun, executive vice minister of the United Front Work Department (UFWD) of the Communist Party of China (CPC) Central Committee, as saying.

Special Envoy Lodi G Gyari and Envoy Kelsang Gyaltsen, along with their three senior aides – Mr Sonam N Dagpo and Mr Bhuchung K Tsering, both members of the Task Force on Sino-Tibetan Negotiations, and Mr Kalsang Tsering from the Secretariat of the Task Force – were in China from Oct 30 to Nov 5. They met in Beijing on Nov 4 with Mr Du Qinglin, Vice-Chairman of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference and head of UFWD. However, holding discussions with the envoys was left for two of Du's deputies. The envoys said in a statement Nov 6 they had a daylong discussion on Nov 5 with Mr Zhu Weiqun and Mr Sithar, Vice Minister of the CUFWD. Joining the discussion on the Chinese side was Mr Pelma Trilek, Executive Vice-Governor of Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR).

Also, an expert briefing on the Chinese Constitution and Law on Regional

National Autonomy was organized for the envoys at the China Tibetology Research Center in Beijing, moderated by its director Mr Lhakpa Phuntsok. The envoys were taken to visit the Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region for a demonstration on how Beijing handles minority concerns.

The envoys said they presented a memorandum to the Chinese leadership on genuine autonomy for the Tibetan people. But China was blunt in its total and absolute rejection of all the Tibetan demands on autonomy, which was supposedly, from the Tibetan side, to be the main focus of the discussion between the two sides.

To begin with, China's official Xinhua news agency Nov 6 cited Du as having demanded, in his meeting with the envoys, that the Dalai Lama should "respect history, face reality and conform to the times, as well as fundamentally change his political propositions". This was a euphemism for China's posi-

tion that it would not at all change... position while, on the other hand, the Dalai Lama should conform his to Beijing's demands as a matter of the exile Tibetan leader being "good for the nation, its people and history as well as himself".

The report said being firm on the autonomy issue was "the fundamental issue of safeguarding (China's) national unification and territorial integrity" and, hence, "not the slightest wavering or departure would be allowed". On this basis, it cited Du as saying no "Tibet independence," "half independence" or "covert independence" would be tolerated, meaning any form of real autonomy for Tibet was entirely out of the question.

The report cited Du as having said there would be "unwavering and unswerving" implementation of the "three adherences" as "the most prominent reality in Tibet", as in China, namely, "adherence to the CPC's leadership, the socialist path with Chinese characteristics and the regional autonomy system for ethnic minorities" stipulated in China's Constitution. This was, of course, autonomy only in name, as Du so clearly pointed out: "The regional ethnic autonomy system is exercised under China's unitary system and is different from the federal system or confederation as implemented in some countries".

In an obvious reference to Tibet's specific hopes, Du was reported to have pointed out that this "regional au-

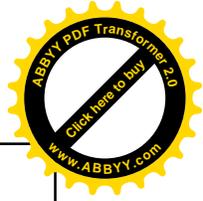
#### Tibet talks are only about Dalai Lama's future — China

China made it clear that its "nine" rounds of talks with the envoys of the Dalai Lama since 2002 had never been about Tibet, autonomous or otherwise, but only about the exile Tibetan leader's personal future in China. "It is impossible for the central government to talk with the Dalai Lama's personal representatives over the so-called Tibet issue," China's official China Daily newspaper Nov 20 quoted Mr Zhu Weiqun, executive vice-minister of the United Front Work Department (UFWD) of the Communist Party of China (CPC) Central Committee, as saying. Speaking in a meeting with a group of overseas Chinese in Paris, he had said, "The central government will talk only with the personal representatives of the Dalai Lama about his future on the condition he gives up his wrong stance."

As regards discussing the Tibet issue, which it seemed to presume was none of the Dalai Lama's business, the newspaper said, quoting the party mouthpiece People's Daily Nov 19, "The Tibet government-in-exile is illegal, and the central government will not talk with it. ... There is no compromising on this issue."

The report cited Zhu, described as "a major central government negotiator with the Dalai Lama's representatives", as having alleged that although the "Dalai's" side had always changed its strategies in accordance with the situation, the Dalai Lama's stance on pursuing independence had never changed.

"To give up his pursuit of independence and to do something good for the country and the people is the only way out," Zhu was quoted as saying. This, in context, means that the Dalai Lama should give up his demand for any kind of autonomy and uphold China's claims about Tibet's past history and current situation as well as China's version of its sovereignty, including with Taiwan being part of China. □



onomy system for ethnic minorities" was different from the "one country, two systems" system implemented in Hong Kong and Macao. And his final blow on Tibetan hopes for a semblance of real autonomy was: "The regional ethnic autonomy system is a combination of ethnic autonomy and regional autonomy and will never allow ethnic splitting in the name of 'true ethnic autonomy' to undermine ethnic solidarity".

Finally, whether by design or otherwise, to avoid inevitable rejection of its non-existent autonomy offer as defined above, China made it clear that the Dalai Lama was yet to fulfil its conditions for holding substantive talks. The Xinhua report said the Dalai Lama was, again, urged to respond with sincerity to his commitments made during contacts in Jul, 2008, including "not supporting plots to fan violent criminal activities, not supporting and concretely curbing violent terrorist activities of the 'Tibetan Youth Congress', and to create favourable conditions for the meetings to make progress."

Although the exile government was strenuous in its efforts to live up to the alleged Jul 2008 promises of "four no-supports", Zhu was not at all willing to acknowledge it.

The Xinhua report of Nov 10 quoted Zhu as alleging, "They absolutely forgot to carry out their promise and did not stop boycotting and destroying the Beijing Olympics. ... Instead, they intensified sabotaging activities and continued to attack the Central Government." He was also quoted as saying, "They supported the 'Tibetan Youth Congress' and other organizations to publicly advocate 'Tibetan independence' and fanned or organized violent criminal activities. ... They also continued to set up a claim to internationalize the Tibet issue, trying to make use of foreigners pressuring the central government." Besides, Zhu was also quoted as alleging, "They continued to collude with such dregs as overseas democracy activists, 'Falungong elements' and 'Eastern Turkistan terrorists', trying to form so-called 'united front work' to oppose the Chinese government and split the motherland. ... All of these have caused the Chinese people strong aversion to their actions."

On the memorandum on autonomy presented by the Tibetan envoys, the BBC News Online Nov 10 cited Zhu as saying, "They aimed at revising the constitution so that this separatist group could actually possess the power of an independent state." He was reported to accuse the Tibetan side of

## 'China distorting Tibetan autonomy proposal'

The envoys of the Dalai Lama have accused China of distorting the substantive contents of their memorandum on genuine autonomy for the Tibetan people presented by them during their Nov 4-5, 8th round of talks in Beijing. Referring to statements issued by the Central United Front Work Department (CUFWD) of the Chinese Communist Party, with whose officials the talks were held, the envoys said in a statement Nov 16 that they distorted the position and proposal outlined in the memorandum. The envoys said they therefore decided to release the memorandum in an apparent move to straighten the record.

Contrary to China's claim that the Tibetan proposal sought to dilute the PRC's "national unification and territorial integrity" with an alleged demand for "half independence" or "covert independence", the envoys have said in their memorandum that the Tibetan aspiration could be fully met within the terms of the existing Chinese constitution. The memorandum says: "The Constitution of the PRC contains fundamental principles on autonomy and self-government whose objectives are compatible with the needs and aspirations of the Tibetans."

The memorandum points out that the Chinese constitution gives significant discretionary powers to state organs in decision-making and on the operation of the system of autonomy. It asks that these powers be exercised to facilitate genuine autonomy for Tibetans in ways that would respond to the uniqueness of the Tibetan situation.

The memorandum emphasizes the Tibetan side's genuine interest to live under Chinese sovereignty by noting: "As a part of the multi-national state of the PRC, Tibetans can benefit greatly from the rapid economic and scientific development the country is experiencing."

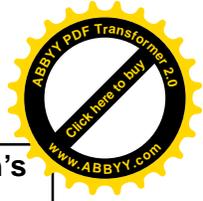
The envoys have justified their demand for the reunification of all Tibetan populated regions that make up the three traditional provinces of Tibet by noting that Tibetans belong to one minority nationality and respecting the integrity of this unity "is (within) the spirit, the intent and the principle underlying the constitutional concept of national regional autonomy as well as the principle of equality of nationalities." The memorandum cites the historical and geographical basis for this demand by pointing out: "The Tibetan nationality lives in one contiguous area on the Tibetan plateau, which they have inhabited for millennia and to which they are therefore indigenous."

The memorandum says the current administrative divisions, by which Tibetan communities are ruled and administered under different provinces and regions of the PRC, promotes the fragmentation of the Tibetan nationality and disregards the spirit of autonomy.

The memorandum also makes some suggestions for making the constitutional provisions on autonomy real and effective within the terms of the principle, such as introducing a clear division of lawmaking powers and responsibilities, and streamlining laws and regulations that at present restrict or negate the autonomy of the supposedly autonomous regions. Regarding the former, the memorandum suggests that Tibet, like other autonomous regions, be granted powers of self-governance with regard to the following subjects: Language, Culture, Religion, Education, Environmental Protection, Utilization of Natural Resources, Economic Development and Trade, Public health, Public Security, Regulation on population migration, and Cultural, educational and religious exchanges with other countries.

The memorandum rightly points out that encouraging and allowing large scale migration and settlement of the majority Han nationality and other nationalities in a supposedly autonomous region would "fundamentally change the conditions necessary for the exercise of regional autonomy since the constitutional criteria for the exercise of autonomy, namely that the minority nationality 'live in compact communities' in a particular territory is changed and undermined."

Nowhere in the memorandum is there any suggestion or implication that the Chinese constitution be revised "so that this separatist group could actually possess the power of an independent state" or that some form of "ethnic cleansing" be carried out in the Tibetans regions, as alleged by Zhu Weiqun, executive vice minister of UFW (CUFWD) of the Communist Party of China (CPC) Central Committee, in an interview with the BBC News Nov 10. Besides, China contends that Tibet is more than 90 percent Tibetan, hence, no basis arises for making or interpreting any ethnic cleansing intentions on the part of Tibetans. Zhu had been leading the talks with the Tibetan envoys. □



intending to carry out ethnic cleansing. The report concluded that while the Chinese had not ruled out future talks, their stark language suggested there was little chance of real progress in the near future.

According to Reuters Nov 10, the Chinese officials said the only point of the talks was to impress on the Dalai Lama that their government would not relax its hold on the Tibet Autonomous Region. Likewise, the Globe and Mail (Canada) Nov 11 quoted Zhu as saying the talks were strictly limited to subjects of Beijing's choosing. "We merely talked about how the Dalai Lama should completely give up his splittist opinions and actions, and strive for the understanding of the central authorities and all Chinese people."

Zhu spoke at a press conference held by the State Council Information Office to brief the media on the talks between China and representatives of

the Dalai Lama.

Although all this adds up to a bleak prospect for a mutually beneficial resolution of the Tibet issue, Zhu Xiaoming, the head of a delegation of Chinese Tibetologists visiting the Czech capital, had indicated that there were still hopes. Xinhua Nov 10 cited Zhu, whose designation was not stated, as saying Nov 10 that progress had been made in the talks and there was no need to be pessimistic about their prospects.

Likewise, Zhu Weiqun himself was reported to have indicated an interest to continue the ongoing dialogue. "China has done everything it can to talk to the Dalai Lama. ... the door is still open," AP Nov 15 quoted him as having told the BBC News broadcast Nov 14. But by vowing never to concede anything on real autonomy for Tibet, the big question is why the Dalai Lama would want to accept the open-door invitation. □

### 'China lying in denying Deng's 1979 Tibet comment'

The Dalai Lama's elder brother and his former personal emissary to China, Mr Gyalo Thondup, expressed shock at China's claim that its late paramount leader Deng Xiaoping had never stated that except for independence for Tibet everything could be settled through discussions. Speaking to the media in Dharamsala on Nov 19, he said Deng made this comment to him during his first visit to China since the 1950s on Mar 12, 1979. The exile Tibetan

government, in a Nov 20 report on its official website Tibet.net, reinforced Gyalo's comment with a series of China's official and documented comments up to Sep 1992.

During the eighth round of talks with Chinese leaders in Beijing on Nov 4-5, 2008, the Dalai Lama's Special Envoy, Mr Lodi Gyari, had reminded the Chinese of Deng's statement in pushing for genuine autonomy for a reunited Tibet. However, his dialogue counterpart Zhu Weiqun, Executive Vice-Minister of the Central United Front Work Department (CUFWD) of the Chinese Communist Party, later responded to a Japanese reporter's question No 10 by saying, "Comrade Deng Xiaoping had never made such a statement. It is a

falsehood made by Gyari and is a complete distortion of Deng Xiaoping's statement."

A "shocked" Gyalo said, "it was myself to whom the late paramount leader, Deng Xiaoping, said that 'except independence all other issues can be settled through discussions' on March 12, 1979." And Mr Juchen Thubten Namgyal, a former head of the exile Tibetan government who also addressed the press conference, said: "As a member of the first Tibetan exploratory mission, we met with Vice-premier Yang Jireng, who was also the head of Central United Front Work Department and Nationality Affairs Commission and others on 29 April 1982. I sought confirmation from Yang Jireng

#### China's reading of the Dalai Lama's middle way proposal:

China's official Xinhua news agency Nov 10 cited Zhu Weiqun, executive vice minister of the United Front Work Department (UFWD) of the Communist Party of China (CPC) Central Committee, as finding fault with the Dalai Lama's middle way proposal on five counts.

- (1) It does not acknowledge that Tibet is part of China since ancient times.
- (2) The Dalai Lama is scheming for a 'Greater Tibet', which has never existed
- (3) It seeks to overthrow the current social and political system in the Tibet Autonomous Region under the pretence of "high degree of autonomy".
- (4) It asks the central government to withdraw the PLA from "Greater Tibet" area.
- (5) It excludes other ethnic groups from the area of "Greater Tibet". □

### China welcomes Britain's Tibet policy change

Zhu Weiqun, executive vice minister of the United Front Work Department (UFWD) of the Communist Party of China (CPC) Central Committee, who had been leading an entirely meaningless series of talks with the envoys of the Dalai Lama since 2002, has welcomed Britain's new Tibet policy concession to it. The BBC News online Nov 15 quoted him as saying in an interview that Foreign Secretary David Miliband's Oct 29 parliamentary statement recognizing Tibet as part of China had brought the UK "in line with the universal position in today's world". He called this "a recognition of an already existing objective fact".

Miliband, it may be noted, had described Britain's position recognizing Tibet as a "suzerain" rather than a "sovereign" part of China an "anachronism" while giving strong backing to substantive Sino-Tibetan dialogue. Miliband had said: "Like every other EU member state, and the United States, we regard Tibet as part of the People's Republic of China." □

whether Deng Xiaoping had made such a statement. He did not deny this fact."

Also, the exile Tibetan government's Tibet.net Nov 20 noted that a series of comments from top Chinese leaders and in official Chinese documents up to Sep 1992 reiterated Deng's offer to the exile Tibetan leadership. It noted, for example, that on Mar 1, 1979, Ulanfu, Chairman of the CPC's CUFWD and Minister for Nationality Affairs Commission, had told Gyalo that suitable arrangement could be made for the Dalai Lama and all exile Tibetans returning home, adding, "The Dalai Lama had not made contacts with the Soviet Union. Therefore, apart from independence, we can solve any problem..." In an interview with Xinhua News agency on May 19, 1991, the then premier Li Peng had also said, "all matters except Tibetan independence could be discussed". Likewise, China's Sep 1992 white paper on Tibet's "ownership" repeated Deng's comment in unmistakable terms.

Gyalo said he had met with representatives from the Chinese embassy in New Delhi on Nov 14, 2008, because he felt compelled to convey the message that "there is no choice" but to talk to each other. He said he told the Chinese, "The people of China will eventually realize that what we are asking is legitimate."



### Chris Patten wrong on Dalai Lama's position on Tibet's status

Chris Patten, the last British Governor of Hong Kong, has made a totally wrong representation of the Dalai Lama's position on Tibet's historical status while justifying his country's Foreign Secretary David Miliband's Oct 29 parliamentary statement announcing change of Britain position on Tibet's status vis-à-vis China.

Speaking to journalists in Beijing on Nov 1 on a range of issues, Patten has said the move to abolish what he called a "quaint eccentricity" in British policy was long overdue, according to a China.org.cn (China) report Nov 2. He was reported to have praised Mr Miliband for bringing the UK into line with the rest of the world, including the Dalai Lama, in recognizing China's sovereignty in Tibet.

Patten is patently wrong on this point. The Dalai Lama has never recognized Chinese sovereignty over Tibet. He has always maintained that Tibet has been a fully independent country and it was not for him to falsify this historical fact to satisfy China's current demand. What he has said is that he is willing to accept Chinese sovereignty over Tibet in future in exchange for genuine autonomy for undivided Tibet. This is the compromise underlying his middle way proposal.

China has never accepted the Dalai Lama's middle way proposal, so it is wrong to say the Dalai Lama accepts Chinese sovereignty over Tibet.

Patten is a former UK Conservative party chairman and has also served as the EU's foreign affairs commissioner. □

He said he rejected China's assertion that the Dalai Lama had no right to talk about Tibet. "I told them that the dialogue is in no way the personal issue of the Dalai Lama. As soon as the 14th Dalai Lama was chosen he belonged to the people of Tibet and to the state of Tibet. He's completely a servant of the Tibetan people."

Gyalo accused China of continuing the failed colonial policies of the Manchu and Qing dynasties and said it now must "abandon these policies".

Zhu's denial and Gyalo's reminder make it plain that China's position on the Tibet issue has greatly hardened as China grows in power and stature on the world stage even as threats of social stability within the country keep growing amid rising corruption, official apathy and economic hardship. □

### US and UK urge substantive Sino-Tibetan dialogue

Ahead of the talks, the US State Department and the UK's Foreign Ministry urged China to review its Tibet policy so that that the dialogue between the two sides becomes meaningful. The US said it "encourages China to examine policies that have created tensions due to their effect on Tibetan culture, religion and livelihoods," reported the AFP and other news agencies Oct 30 and 31. It quoted the State Department spokesman Gordon Duguid as saying, "the most appropriate and productive means of dealing with the difficult issue of Tibet is

through serious, substantive dialogue between the Chinese authorities and the Dalai Lama's representatives."

"We and others around the world will continue to look to these talks to result in concrete progress," Duguid was further quoted as saying. He also wanted China to improve access to Tibetan areas for journalists, diplomats and other international observers.

Earlier, on Oct 29, the UK's Foreign Secretary David Miliband issued a statement saying, "The new round of talks are hugely important for the future of Tibet and provide the only forum in which there is any realistic possibility of progress to resolve the differences between the parties involved." He further said: "No government which is committed to promoting international respect for human rights can remain silent on the issue of Tibet, or is interested in a solution to its problems." He said the situation in Tibet marked by the post-Mar'08 uprising crackdown "reinforce long-held unease on the part of the (UK) Government about the underlying human rights situation in Tibet." He added that the UK's interest was in the long-term stability "which can only be achieved through respect for human rights and greater autonomy for the Tibetans." □

### In supporting substantive Tibet talks UK betrays Tibet

UK's demand that China enter into serious negotiation on the Tibet issue ahead of the visit to Beijing Oct 30 by envoys of the Dalai Lama had come with a tinge of bitter policy twist. Foreign Secretary David

Miliband's Oct 29 parliamentary statement that past British policy was an anachronism" and he had effectively abandoned it, saying that the UK does recognize Tibet as "part of the People's Republic of China" has been criticized.

"Before 1950, we had many treaties with British India government in which Britain recognized Tibet as an independent country," the Wall Street Journal Nov 1 quoted Thubten Samphel, spokesman for the exile Tibetan government, as saying. For the UK to say now that it always saw Tibet as a part of China is "testifying to [a] falsehood," he had added.

Miliband had claimed that Britain's previous position on the status of Tibet was defined at the start of the 20th century, and was "based on the geo-politics of the time" and "the outdated concept of suzerainty". "Some have used this to cast doubt on the aims we are pursuing and to claim that we are denying Chinese sovereignty over a large part of its own territory. We have made clear to the Chinese Government, and publicly, that we do not support Tibetan independence."

However, the report cited a British official at the foreign office in London as saying Oct 31 that Mr Miliband's statement represented only a clarification, and that the UK's actual position hadn't changed. Indeed, The Economist Nov 7 considered it curious that "Mr Miliband's statement does not, in so many words, recognise Chinese sovereignty."

The UK had long acknowledged Chinese control over Tibet, but its policy for nearly a century stopped short of formally recognizing Tibet as part of Chinese territory. Former British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher reaffirmed Tibet's right to independence in a book she wrote shortly after leaving office and this was widely reported in the international media. □

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# The Lhasa uprising of 1987-1989

## An essay on the critical approach of the international press - II

*Reporting on or analysing any kind of large-scale protests or uprisings anywhere is inherently problematic due as much to the patent, latent and subconscious predispositions of the authors as to the quality of the information available. In this the second of a three-part series on the Tibetan protests that took place in Tibet's capital Lhasa between Sep 1987 and Mar 1989, which ended with the imposition of over a year-long martial law there, MAURO CROCENZI\* examines what she considers preconceived and obviously divergent western and Chinese media coverage of the protests and offers some possible alternative conclusions.*

### 2. THE LHASA REVOLT (1987, 27th September – 1989, 8th March)

#### 2.1 The critical approach of Chinese and Western press to the uprising: the opposite interpretation of events

In spite of a few exceptions, it is evident that both Chinese and Western press reports of demonstrations were mostly confined to their respective points of view and gave rise to an opposing and irreconcilable reading of the events. The clash was almost complete, and firstly concerns the very judgement of the nature of the dissidents. Western accounts were mainly founded on the reports of tourists and journalists on the spot, which tended to describe the demonstrators as tragic heroes; usually they mostly pointed at monks with no armaments but only stones, and gave prominence to their courage, as they were ready to give their lives for the cause of freedom.<sup>14</sup>

According to the Western witnesses (most of them were tourists), monks were the defenceless targets of police firearms and faced death without hesitation; for instance, during the revolt of October 1, a few monks entered a burning police-station in order to save their companions who had been imprisoned there. Special emphasis was laid on the age of monks too, as many of them were teenagers. One of the victims of the second revolt was a teen-aged monk shot dead by a policeman while he was throwing stone; every Western journalist reported this news and especially stressed this event, pointing at the young life broken by the blows of police weapons.

The Chinese press described the dissidents in a very different way: the demonstrators were considered criminals who threatened Tibetan stability and prosperity, people who acted against the interest of the community and excited the rage of Lhasa's population. The reports were full of ordinary people's criticisms of the uprising; they asked for the intervention of law and requested strict penalties against the demonstrators. The state television mostly broadcasted scenes of violence and described the destruction wrought

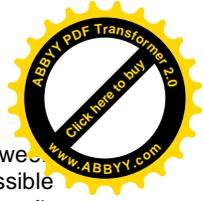
by the rioters. The Chinese portraits of the demonstrators were uncompromising: they were vile, because they tried to force ordinary people to join the revolt; despicable, as they had obtained the services of children with a few coins, and reactionary, owing to their final purposes, that is to say, the restoration of the old system (always described as an unfair and feudal system founded on slavery) which preceded the Peaceful Liberation of 1951. According to the official Chinese point of view, the policemen were merely victims of the riots: even though they were continuously exposed to the stones of rebels, they did not fire any shot for the risk of hitting innocents and for this reason the communist propaganda chose them as one of the symbols of the Chinese people's heroic patriotism against the separatist rebellion.<sup>15</sup>

The criticisms by the Chinese press were mainly founded on the violence of the revolt, which directly contradicted the peaceful struggle that the Dalai Lama had publicized abroad. Journalists observed that violence was more and more indiscriminate; and while admitting that at the beginning of the revolt, it had mostly hit the *Hans* and symbols of *Han* presence (such as the police-stations, the Buddhist Association, journalists and shops), they also remarked that its targets gradually became indistinct and unconditional. Indeed, among the targets of the first and the second revolts there were also a

school and a clinic which were destroyed and looted. After the second revolt, Chinese propaganda chose Yuan Shisheng, a twenty-year-old *Khampa* policeman barbarously lynched by the crowd, as the symbol of wounded patriotism. However, Chinese journalists laid most of the stress on the three days of uprising in March 1989. Over those days, they maintained that among the ordinary people and traders who were beaten and robbed by the rioters in the streets, there were both Tibetans and Chinese, and, moreover, some fire-fighting engines and an ambulance were destroyed.

The reconstruction of facts was discordant too. For instance, there were many discrepancies in estimates from the revolt, namely in the computation of the numbers of demonstrators and of victims. Regarding the first revolt, Western journalists noticed that a large number of monks and ordinary people had joined the revolt, even though they refrained from making precise estimates.<sup>16</sup> In contrast, the first Chinese official accounts only attested that twenty-six people gave rise to the demonstration of September 27th, while just few dozens took part in the first revolt.<sup>17</sup> After the second revolt, Western journalists remarked that 'thousands' of people had been involved and specified that many monks had refused to attend the *sMon lam's* public ceremony in order to protest against the government.<sup>18</sup> On the other hand, Chinese reports did not point out the number of demonstrators, but tried to limit them, remarking that a large number of people had been opposed to the riots. During the fourth revolt, the opinions of the two presses were reversed, but always discordant: for other reasons discussed later, only the Chinese newspapers emphasized that a high number of people had taken part in the uprising.

One essential aspect of the journalistic debate was Buddhist legitimization, on the one hand, of the revolt and, on the other hand, of the repression. The continuous references of Chinese propaganda to the violence of the revolt require an analysis in relation to the political aim of the Chinese press. On this subject, Chinese journalists tried to discredit the demonstrators and the Dalai Lama by remarking that the violence of the uprisings was violating both the national juridical law and the Buddhist Dharma. Accordingly, the



'facts' revealed the 'real' intents of Dalai Lama and of rioters, who were accused of being enemies of the Dharma. Those facts were fully described in articles and broadcast by television, which allowed people to see the looting, the destructions, the fires and the physical aggression exhibited by the dissidents. Finally, the same violence was mentioned by high-ranking religious officers—including the Panchen Lama, a few re-incarnated lamas, the authorities of the main monasteries, and the leadership of the Buddhist Association of the TAR—in order to 'disavow' the demonstrators, and to condemn them as enemies of Buddhism, who hid their crimes under the robes of monks.

According to the Western press, however, the Lhasa uprising was essentially a religious revolt, to such an extent that Buddhism was considered its symbol, as well as the main instrument of the dissidents, as they tried to declare the political identity of the Tibetan nation. The journalists warmly described the boundless faith and the political trust that the Tibetans in the TAR still placed in the Dalai Lama although he had been physically absent from Tibet since 1959; they pointed out his influence on the political consciousness and on the national identity of Tibetan people. Finally, they reported the leading role that monks had had in the revolt, and observed that the police had been compelled to close the monasteries in order to put down the riots, while the movements of monks were closely watched and very limited. In more recent times, certain scholars researching the connections between Buddhism and the Lhasa Revolt have considered the very essence of religious practice to be an act of political dissent, some have also studied the symbolic function of sacred places, such as the Jokhang monastery, and of religious festivals, as the *sMon Lam*, during the days of the uprising. Results from this research have proved that not only was religious belief an instrument for demonstrators to express their political claims, but that the political claims too (such as independence and the defence of human rights) could be blended with religious belief, and identified with the Buddhist Dharma.<sup>19</sup>

All the uprisings raised some polemics about the interference of Western countries in Chinese internal affairs. In particular, both the Chinese and Western press gave prominence to the resolutions of the US Congress.<sup>20</sup> After the first revolt, the protests from the Chi-

nese Government were very harsh; in October 1987, the Chinese press reported the official statements of the Chinese Ambassador in Washington DC, of the President of the PRC, Li Xiannian, and an official paper compiled by the Foreign Affairs Committee of Chinese National People's Congress (*Quanguo Renda Waishi Weiyuanhui*). All the statements maintained that the speech of the Dalai Lama and the outbreak of revolt were closely connected, and they held the US Government responsible for the outbreak of revolt since it did not prevent the Dalai Lama from delivering his speech. However, the dispute mainly concerned the attitude of Western countries from the beginning of the Dalai Lama's internationalisation policy. Many Chinese officials would not hide their disapproval of the US Congress resolutions in favour of Tibetan particularity, and most of the polemical attitudes of the Chinese press towards the US increased when the US Senate passed a bill which declared Tibet an occupied country, raised the question of human rights, and criticized the violent repression of the first revolt. Chinese journalists resumed the history of US official interference in Chinese internal affairs and openly accused a few members of the US Congress of actively bringing about all the interference which had occurred since the beginning of the 1980s. Finally, they envisaged the possible consequences on the Sino-American relationship. The controversy was resumed in December 1988, when the Nationalities Committee (*Quanguo Renda Minzu Weiyuanhui*) and the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Chinese National People's Congress attacked an amendment passed by the US Congress, which condemned human rights violations in the TAR and 'Han colonization' of the Tibetan Plateau.<sup>21</sup>

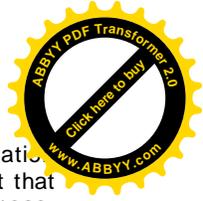
Most Western journalists also doubted the final aims of the criticism by Western countries' governments, as they did not believe that the Tibetan issue could stop the improvement of Chinese economic relations with the West. However, they did not question the foundations of the criticism at all. On the contrary, when the absolute lack of practical results from this criticism became clear, their bitter resignation indicated an implicit condemnation of the sacrifice of democratic ideals for economic interests. Even though after the first uprising, the reactions of the press to the US Congress's resolutions were still enthusiastic, from the

end of 1987 and particularly between March and April 1988, it was possible to perceive an evident lack of confidence.<sup>22</sup>

Even though the opening of Tibet was not officially questioned, the spreading of dissent largely limited the presence of foreigners in Tibet. Every time demonstrations turned into a revolt, the government placed some restrictions on tourism in the TAR (usually individual trips were banned, some routes were modified and monasteries were closed), while the release of entry visas were interrupted, most of the flights to Lhasa were cancelled and some foreigners were expelled from the TAR.<sup>23</sup> All these restrictions prevented Western journalists from describing the restoration of order with detailed reports, and at the same time raised several doubts about the instruments the leadership had adopted in order to achieve peace. The Western press generally correlated the restrictions placed on the movements of foreigners with the violence of the repression that followed the rebellion.

The greater part of these restrictions hit foreign journalists. After the outbreak of the uprisings, Western correspondents could not enter Tibet, and many restrictions were placed on the movements of those who were already in Lhasa. Their communications were difficult too, since both the telephone and the telegraph lines had been blocked. They were firmly forbidden to disseminate any pictures of the demonstrations, neither could they photograph or film the protests. Some correspondents were expelled because they had filmed a few scenes of demonstrations, and for this reason, the police searched the rooms of the others, confiscated their rolls of film and equipment, and sometimes took them to the police-station, where they were compelled to undergo interrogation. Within a few days of the outbreak of each revolt, an expulsion decree against all the foreign journalists in the TAR was re-iterated. The Western press gave more prominence to the decree which followed the first revolt, but similar measures were taken after the second revolt, and when Martial Law was brought into force.<sup>24</sup>

All the restrictions resulted from the suspicion that some foreigners were involved and actively took part in the demonstrations. On October 2, 1987, the Government of Lhasa Municipality officially required 'Western friends' to keep away from dissidents, while, on October 4, it issued a four-point regulation which was enforced throughout



the crisis and prevented the foreigners in the TAR from joining the dissidents and submitted the transgressors to the Chinese law.<sup>25</sup> Before the outbreak of the second revolt the authorities imposed a curfew on Western tourists for the duration of the *sMon lam*.<sup>26</sup> These measures were spread by radio, newspapers, television, leaflets and loudspeakers that made wide use of rhetorical tones. However, these propagandistic intimidations were not remarked on by the press, mainly because more than one witness, including both Tibetans and Chinese, had no doubt that some foreigners had taken part in protests.<sup>27</sup>

## 2.2 The critical approach of Chinese and Western press to the uprising: Some instances of alternative points of view

At the outbreak of the uprising, the positions of the Chinese and Western press had already been conceived and were evidently opposed. During the weeks following the riots of 1 October, the attention of the media was even more focused on aspects that could strengthen the foundation of their own positions: the nobility of such an uprising, on the one hand, and its barbarity, on the other hand. Nevertheless, there were a few exceptions. In relation to the improvements resulting from Central Policies, Western newspapers did not doubt, nor even discussed, the sincerity of reforms for the development of the TAR and some journalists reported it, albeit in a limited way. Some journalists also observed that the uprising had produced divisions within Tibetan society (as many Tibetans did not take part in the disorders) which gave rise to a few popular condemnations of the revolt, as Chinese press were excessively fond of pointing out.

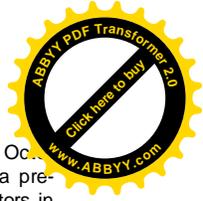
Even though some of these comments were the result of a direct observation of society, some of them were probably suggested or even induced by Chinese propaganda.<sup>28</sup> For instance, Chinese journalists did not notice the generational gap in the composition of the demonstrators that had been remarked on in a few Western articles; this discordance clearly proves that the news had no relation to the Chinese propaganda. In contrast, however, Western sources sometimes described the increasing availability of consumer goods (such as televisions and washing machines) among Tibetan families as well as the increasing recognition of religious freedom, and related these improvements to the

divided feelings of Tibetans regarding the revolt. Perhaps, these kinds of remarks were influenced by the propaganda of the Chinese press, since Chinese newspapers commonly identified the will of the Tibetan population with the development of living standards and with the spreading of religious freedom, namely the final goals of the reformist policies. Finally, sometimes Western journalists openly mentioned some formulae of the Chinese propaganda while reporting that some people displayed a direct hostility to the revolt and towards the demonstrators; in this case the connection with the position of Chinese media seems to be evident.<sup>29</sup>

Western journalists expressed evidence of the new 'transparency' of the Chinese press on several occasions, particularly after the first revolt. Even though differences between Chinese and Western reports existed, the Western media especially appreciated the admission of the existence of the disorders, which in foreign eyes would be considered a confirmation of China's wish to open its boundaries, as well as a sign of the accomplishment of political reform. Nevertheless, Chinese transparency was likely unavoidable, and moreover it had a political function. Western tourists and foreign capital had been entering the TAR since the middle of the 1980s and for such a reason it would have been difficult to conceal four revolts as large as those on October 1 and March 5. As was usual, the official press reflected the political directives, so that the uprisings were marginalised and demonstrators were passed off as a minority that the population had promptly isolated. After acknowledging and downplaying the effects of the revolt, Chinese leaders introduced the discontent into the political debate: firstly they connected the riots with the Tibetan community in exile as a part of a destabilizing policy implemented by the government in Dharamsala (in addition to that of internationalizing the Tibetan question), and secondly, they noted the repercussions of this policy both on the positivism of reforms and on the popular consent that the reforms had achieved in Lhasa; namely, the Central Government did not urge a denial of the existence of the revolt, but of the revolt as a consequence of reforms. Even if the nature of this connection is probably not absolute, at the end of the 1980s, the risk of coming to such a conclusion was real because of the historical precedent of 1959, when the biggest

revolt since the Peaceful Liberation occurred and spread in Tibet. At that time, just as between 1987 and 1989, the Central Government of the PRC had carried out reformist policies (which included the principles of tolerance and gradualism in minority areas) that were followed by revolt, making it seem as if the particularity of Tibetan identity and culture necessarily was antithetical to communism, and that excessive recognition of them could give rise to armed-rebellion. Although by the late 1980s the reformists had been steadily in power and did not fear the return of radicalism as had occurred after 1959, the credibility of the CCP in the TAR at that time was mainly founded on reforms which aimed to ease the strains between Tibetans and *Hans* after the destructive events of the Cultural Revolution. For this reason the Chinese press, on the one hand, insisted on distinguishing between reformist policies and Tibetan resistance, and, on the other hand, pointed at the Tibetans abroad while trying to explain the real causes of dissent.

In any case, the transparency of the press was never absolute, neither the official estimates of both rioters and victims, nor the number of uprisings noted by the Chinese press were complete; according to the Tibet Information Network (TIN), a total of sixty two incidents occurred in Lhasa between September 1987 and December 1989, and among them twelve were not officially confirmed and only ten had been reported by the press.<sup>30</sup> When instability in Lhasa increased, Chinese transparency gradually disappeared. In connection with this, the second revolt showed the failure of the official propaganda regarding the leniency of local authorities and proved that the leadership had placed too much trust in the popularity of reforms. For these reasons, the Chinese Government resorted to some 'classical' ways of easing the discontent, namely an increased severity of repression, the involvement of the army, and a lack of transparency. Between the second and the third revolt, Western sources reported one commemoration for the victims of the first revolt and five demonstrations, on April 17 and 24, at the beginning of July, on September 27 (when the anniversary of the first demonstration fell) and on September 29. Moreover, Western journalists also publicized a few inquiries about the violation of human rights in prisons of the TAR. However, Chinese press did not acknowledge either the disorders or



the existence of torture in the jails. When the third revolt broke out, the reports in the Chinese press and television failed to reflect the real size of the event, and even before the fourth revolt in 1989, the disorders which had occurred in February and March were neither described nor discussed, but only partially mentioned just prior to the imposition of Martial Law.<sup>31</sup>

It is not possible to find an independent attitude towards the revolt among Chinese journalists, simply because of the nature and the function of press in China. In consequence, none of the articles, even for a moment, depart from the official point of view throughout the crisis. However, some statements made by the tenth Panchen Lama require a short analysis owing to their contents and to the reactions to them by the press. Since the 17-Point Agreement, the Panchen Lama had embraced the cause of co-operation with the Chinese communist government. During the Cultural Revolution he had witnessed the destruction of Tibetan culture, been made the object of accusations and had suffered physical torture. However, when the reformist line came to power he was reinstated in his office and became a high-ranking representative for the accomplishment of China's policy for minorities in the TAR.

For the duration of the crisis, the Panchen Lama never criticized the Dalai Lama openly as the author of the revolt; even when the Party started the anti-Dalai Lama campaign after the first revolt, his criticism was never direct. Moreover, while describing the size of uprising, the Panchen Lama proved more objective than other officials in the long run and even acknowledged the involvement of about ten thousand people in the second revolt.<sup>32</sup> Above all, he repeatedly recalled to mind, in particular from 1988, the tragic consequences of leftist radicalism on Tibetan culture and society during the Cultural Revolution, and heavily criticized the permanence of radical ideals among several officials of the TAR.<sup>33</sup> The abundance of attacks by the Panchen Lama on ultra-leftism was partially due to a political task that the Party leadership had assigned to him after the outbreak of the revolt. However, the efforts he devoted to this evidently show that the Panchen Lama sincerely feared the effects that radicalism could have on Tibetan culture, to such a point that his last speech about the defence of Tibetan particularity was made on January 25, 1989, only three days before his

death.<sup>34</sup> Nevertheless the unique position of the Panchen Lama for commenting on the revolt was limited as his institutional office prevented him from contradicting the official point of view. Therefore he did not fail to denounce the violence of revolt, its barbarity and unpopularity, using the same terms and tone as those adopted by the prevailing propaganda. Nor did he fail to hide an important part of the truth, mainly in relation to the repression of the revolt, and he systematically rejected Western reports about human rights violations and always denied the practice of torture in the prisons of the TAR.

#### FOOTNOTES:

14 Chinese sources, in contrast with the Western press, reported that fire-arms had been used by the dissidents too, particularly during the first and the last uprising. See: Anon., "Lasa saoluan muji ji", in *Xizang Ribao*, October 4th, 1987, p.1; Anon., "Saoluan fenzi shibao ji", in *Renmin Ribao*, March 8th, 1989, p.2.

15 The first admission of the use of fire-arms was made by the Chairman of the TAR rDo rje Tshe ring only one month after the first revolt. However, he declared that the absence of a high number of victims proved that the policemen had not received the order to fire at the crowd. Nevertheless, this statement was reported only by Western press, while the first admission reported by Chinese press occurred in February 1988 and it was made by the tenth Panchen Lama. On that occasion he stated that some people had been injured and one man had been shot dead during the protest of October 1st, but he also asserted that the policemen had not had the order to fire (according to his sources the policemen fired some warning shots to the ground and air) and the incidents had certainly been a consequence of the confusion. Finally, an official admission before the international community was made in March 1988 by the Chinese delegation which attended the 44th Session of the UN Commission on Human Rights. See: Anon., "Closing of Tibet's Borders denied", in *The Times*, November 2nd, 1987, p.11; Anon., "Banshen Fu Weiyuan Zhang de zhongyao jianghua", in *Xizang Ribao*, February 8th, 1988, p.4. Tsering Shakya, *The Dragon in the Land of Snow*, New York, Penguin Compass, 2000, note 67, p.523.

16 According to some subsequent reports we know that one hundred and seventy one Tibetans actively demonstrated on September 27th, two to three thousand people were actively involved in the first revolt and about one hundred people took part in the disorders of October 6th. See: Tibet Information Network, "A Struggle for Blood and Fire" *The Imposition of the Martial Law in 1989 and the Lhasa Uprising in 1959*, 25 febbraio 1999, <http://www.tibetinfo.net/news-updates/nu250299.htm>, ©1998-2003.

17 Anon., "Shiyue yiri Lasa fasheng yiqi you shaoshu fenzhuangzhuyi fenzi xuyi

zhizao de saoluan", in *Xizang Ribao*, October 3rd, 1987, p.1. The Panchen Lama presented a new account of the demonstrators in April 1988. On that occasion, he noted the involvement of two thousand people on September 27th and remarked that Tibetans attending the first and the second revolts were even more.

18 The traditional festival of *sMon lam* indicates the beginning of the Tibetan year and is likely the most important festival of the Tibetan calendar. The *sMon lam* was established by Tshong kha pa (1357-1419) in 1409, and since the seventeenth century grew into importance following the intervention of the fifth Dalai Lama (1617- 1682). Nevertheless it was banned in 1967 during the Cultural Revolution and finally permitted again from 1986. The high number of pilgrims and monks who attended the festival in 1986 made the *sMon lam* one of the symbols of reformism in the TAR, particularly in relation to the recognition of religious freedom. After the disorders of 1987 the government tried to persuade the monks of the main monasteries to take part in the public ceremonies, in order to obtain a religious legitimacy of the reformist policies in spite of the spreading of feelings for independence in the TAR, which was remarked on by the press of foreign countries.

19 R.Barnett, "Symbols and Protest: The Iconography of Demonstrations in Tibet, 1987-1990", in: R.Barnett and S.Akner (eds), *Resistance and Reform in Tibet*, London, C.Hurst&Company, 1994, pp. 238-258; R.D.Schwartz, "The Anti-Splittist Campaign and Tibetan Political Consciousness", in: R.Barnett and S.Akner (eds), *Resistance and Reform in Tibet*, London, C.Hurst&Company, 1994, pp. 225-235.

20 The support of the US Congress and Government of the Tibetan question included some unofficial measures, such as the two letters sent to the President of the PRC Li Xiannian in July 1985 and September 1987 (one day after the Dalai Lama has made his Five Points Proposal) by a few members of the Congress, and some official (but not binding) pronouncements, such as the Foreign Relations Authorization Acts in 1987 and 1991. In 1987 the paper required the recognition of human rights in Tibet and considered Tibet a determining factor in US relations with China. In 1991 Tibet was also considered an occupied country against the standards of the international law and the right of self-determination of the Tibetan people was recognized.

21 The House of Representatives and the Senate respectively passed the bill on June 18th and on October 6th, 1987, while the amendment was moved on December 15th and 16th, 1987. The members of US Congress that the Chinese press directly accused (some journalists also published their names and surnames), had been already involved in some other controversies on the Taiwanese question, the defence of human rights in the PRC and the Chinese birth control policy. See: Anon., "Quanguo Renda Waishi Weiyuanhui zuo fabiao shengming qianglie qianze Mei Guohui shaoshu ren elie xingjing", in *Renmin Ribao*, October 9th, 1987, p.1; Anon., *Dui Zhongguo Zhengfu zai Xizang de zhengce jinxing quanmian gongji*, in *Xizang Ribao*, October 8th, 1987, p.1; Anon.,

"Wo zhu Mei Dashiguan dui Mei Canyon tongguo Xizang wenti xiuzhengan biaoshi fenkai", in *Xizang Ribao*, October 8th, 1987, p.1; Anon., "Qianglie kangyi Meiguo Guohui wumie woguo zai Xizang 'qinfan renquan'", in *Xizang Ribao*, December 27th, 1987, p.1.

22 The disappointment of journalists resulted from the positions of both US and Great Britain's Governments after the outbreak of the second revolt. On that occasion, although the Dalai Lama had warmly requested the support of the US President R. Reagan (having sent a letter to him on March 7th), Western criticism towards China almost disappeared. Furthermore, the Foreign Secretary of the PRC Wu Xueqian visited Great Britain, France and the US, where he arrived on March 6th (just one day after the revolt). The visit gave the Western Governments a good chance to raise again the question of Tibet, especially in the US, where Wu also met the President. However the issue was not discussed, officially for lack of time, and the general impression was that the visit had 'reconciled' the two countries. See: F. Deron, "Rebondissement de la Polémique entre Pékin et Washington sur le Tibet", in *Le Monde*, December 29th, 1987, p.6; Anon., "Pékin ménage le Dalai-Lama", in *Le Monde*, March 12th, 1988, p.6; D. Oberdorfer, "Schultz pressing China to back Iran Embargo", in *The International Herald Tribune*, March 9th, 1988, p.6; Anon., "U.S. eases Sanctions on China", in *The International Herald Tribune*, March 10th, 1988, pp.1-2; A. Mc Ewen, "MPs attack Bid to gag Dalai Lama", in *The Times*, March 4, 1988, p.11th; Anon., "Reagan chiede alla Cina di cessare Forniture militari all'Iran", in *La Repubblica*, March 9th, 1988, p. 14.

23 Although the Chinese Government officially maintained that Tibet was open to the tourism throughout the crisis, Tibet's inaccessibility was a matter of fact and her borders were partially and occasionally closed. On October 7th, 1987, the Chinese Foreign Office even discouraged tourists from visiting Tibet.

24 The three decrees were issued on October 8th, 1987, March 6th, 1988, and March 8th, 1989. The first decree has been emphasized in Western countries because the Government of the TAR did not use at the revolt to justify the decree. Instead, journalists were accused of violating the regulation for the entry of foreign correspondents into the PRC. According to this paper, the official request for entering into the TAR should have been presented two weeks before the date of entry. This measure has been considered by some journalists to symbolise the end of Chinese transparency. After the third revolt no decree was adopted, since at that moment probably no foreign correspondent was present in the TAR. With regard to the fourth revolt, the fourth point of the Martial Law expelled eighty foreigners from the TAR within two days of its proclamation. The same point also limited the presence of foreigners in Lhasa to a great extent. See: R. Gieves, "Reporters ordered to quit Lhasa by tonight", in *The Times*, October 9th, 1987, p.10; Anon., "Yixie waiguo jizhe bei xianqi li Zang", in *Xizang Ribao*, October 9th, 1987, p.1; Anon., "Xizang Zizhiq Renmin Zhengfu ling", in *Xizang Ribao*, March 9th, 1989, p.1.

25 Anon., "Lasa Shi Renmin Zhengfu

tonggao", in *Xizang Ribao*, October 4th, 1987, p.1.

26 The curfew rang every day at ten p.m. See: Anon., "Tibet Tourist Curfew", in *The Times*, February 19th, 1988, p.9.

27 Chinese newspapers remarked on the involvement of foreigners in the demonstrations especially after the first uprising. During the third revolt a Dutch girl was injured in the clash with the police.

28 According to some interviews, the majority of demonstrators were monks and usually were very young, as the old monks feared to suffer the same repression they had already experienced in 1959 and during the Cultural Revolution.

29 For example, some Western articles stated that many Tibetans 'demanded the full enforcement of law against the demonstrators', that is a common and propagandistic formula adopted by the Chinese press during the anti-splitist campaign to prove the hostility of the majority of people towards the demonstrators. See: R.Ferraro, "Tibet, le Riforme sotto Processo", in *Il Corriere della Sera*, March 8th, 1988, p.5.

30 Tibet Information Network, "A Struggle for Blood and Fire" *The Imposition of the Martial Law in 1989 and the Lhasa Uprising in 1959*, February, 25 1999, <http://www.tibetinfo.net/news-updates/nu250299.htm>. ©1998-2003. In particular, the Chinese press published detailed reports just concerning five incidents (i.e. the four main revolts and the demonstration of September 21st, 1987) and simply mentioned the remaining disorders; moreover, one of those incidents (the demonstration of October 6th, 1987) was mentioned in a quite accidental way in one of the several reports about the description of anti-splitist campaign meetings. On that occasion, a journalist quoted exactly one official's criticism of Tibetan independence, which contained an explicit mention of the demonstration of October 6th. Checking the articles about the Lhasa revolt from September 1987 to March 1989, this is the only reference to the demonstration of October 6th. See: Anon., "Zuguo tongyi shi minzu xingwang de zhongyao baozheng", in *Xizang Ribao*, October 13th, 1987, p.1.

31 Chinese newspapers took an interest in the third revolt just for two days. All the articles at issue were very short and did not mean to draw the people's attention. In contrast, after the uprisings of October 1987 and March 1988, the Chinese press published many reports and discussions on disorders for a whole month, the articles were longer and illustrated by pictures. Among seven incidents occurring in Lhasa before the imposition of the Martial Law in 1989, just four have been quoted by the Chinese press. See: Anon., "Yixie lama nigu youxing naoshi", in *Renmin Ribao*, December 11th, 1988, p.4; Anon., "Lasa saoluan zhong jingcha beipo mingqiangshijing", in *Renmin Ribao*, December 12th, 1988, p.4; Anon., "Lasa fasheng yanzhong saoluan shijian", in *Renmin Ribao*, March 6th, 1989, p.1.

32 The Panchen Lama's transparency and the uniqueness of his position on the extent of demonstrations deserve to be noticed, mainly because the majority of the Chinese press (namely the newspapers in Chinese) did not report his statements. The

Panchen Lama was the only official of the Chinese Government who recognized that thousands of persons took part in the first and the second revolts. Furthermore, he admitted on several occasions that the police used firearms to put down the rebellion. See: Anon., "Tibetan Leaders on the Tibet Situation", in *Beijing Review*, 31/16:14; Gejing, "Chanshu Xizang changzhijiu'an zhi dao", in *Xizang Ribao*, April 5th, 1988, p.1.

33 The Western press widely considered the effects that the spreading of discontent in Lhasa could have on the accomplishment of central and regional policies in the TAR and also on the political trends within the CCP. In fact, the reformism did not enjoy universal consent in the PRC and the political plan proposed by Hu Yaobang had some opposition in the TAR. Although neither the essence nor the contents of the political and economic reforms were questioned, however, there were some disagreements about the conditions of the fulfilment of reforms; on the national level, the debate mainly focused on the gradualism and the caution in connection with the achievement of reforms, both in economical and political fields. In the TAR, the reformist line had many difficulties in fulfilling the central policies because of the ostracism by the radical line, the so-called 'ultra-leftism', which had continuously controlled the power since the Cultural Revolution, and was still keeping some local posts. The strain between the two tendencies resulted in different approaches to the extent of religious freedom and different considerations about its effect on society.

34 Anon., "Banshen Fu Weiyuan Zhang fabiao zhongyao jianghua", in *Xizang Ribao*, January 20th, 1988, p.1; Anon., "Banshen Fu Weiyuan Zhang de zhongyao jianghua", in *Xizang Ribao*, February 8th, 1988, p.1; F. Deron, "Le Panchen-Lama critique les Mesures répressives au Tibet", in *Le Monde*, March 31st, 1988, p.6; Anon., "Le panchen-lama dénonce «les Erreurs de Gauche» au Tibet", in *Le Monde*, January 26th, 1989, p.7.

The Panchen Lama was probably the most authoritative official who criticized the permanence of radical ideals inside the regional Party, but he was not the only one, and his criticism was often supported by other officials. Usually, they connected the effects of the ultra-leftist policies with the permanence of some restrictions on religious freedom, but sometimes they also referred to the social and economical backwardness of Tibet. Chinese press started to publish this kind of attack at the beginning of 1988, namely after the first revolt, and it is necessary to observe that the influence of the 'ultra-leftism' was picked out as one of the reasons for the outbreak of the revolt. For this reason we can suppose that the reformist 'offensive' (which took some aspects of the real conditions of the Tibetan Plateau as a starting point) against the 'ultra-leftism' was intended to prevent the risk of linking reforms and revolt. From this point of view, the Lhasa uprising nourished the existing political dispute which, however, was publicly hidden behind the common criticism against the revolt.

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## TIBET IN HISTORY THIS MONTH

### From Successful fact-finding visit to failed talks?

On Dec 21, 1979, the first ever fact-finding delegation to Tibet and China sent by the exile Tibetan government returned to India. Its leader, Mr Juchen Thupten Namgyal, described the visit as "very successful".

**Dec 5, 1893:** An unequal treaty was signed between China and British India to open Yadong (Yatung) in Tibet as trade port.

**Dec 17, 1933:** The 13th Dalai Lama passed away in Lhasa, as apparently prophesied by him the year before in his famous "Political Last Testament".

**Dec 12, 1942:** The first American Mission to Tibet, led by Captain Ilia Tolstoy and Lieutenant Brooke Dolan, entered Lhasa, bringing a letter and gifts for the Dalai Lama from President Roosevelt.

**Dec 30, 1947:** The first international trade mission from independent Tibet met with officers of the US Embassy in India and presented the acting ambassador there with letters from Tibet's regent and the Kashag (Tibetan cabinet).

**Dec 25, 1954:** The Sichuan-Tibet Highway and Qinghai-Tibet Highway were put into operation.

**Dec 28, 1958:** Tibet People's Broadcasting Station established by Chinese occupation authorities launched its first trial broadcast.

**Dec 20-27, 1959:** The TAR People's Political Consultative Conference Committee was established with Tan Guansan as the chairman

**Dec 4, 1968:** China accused India of using the Dalai Lama against it in a Radio Peking broadcast reported by the Hindustan Standard. This followed the Dalai Lama's recent visit to New Delhi, which China called a "mad provocation against the Chinese people".

**Dec 14, 1980:** China rejected the exile Tibetan government's request for 11 Tibetan scholars living in Tibet to be allowed to attend a conference of Tibetologists being held abroad.

**Dec 25, 1983:** The senior tutor to the Dalai Lama and the 97th Ganden Tripa, Kyabje Ling Rinpoche, passed away at his residence in Dharamsala.

Dec 16, 1984: The Dalai Lama re-

jected China's five-point proposal for his "return", calling it ill-timed since the situation in Tibet had still not improved.

**Dec 2-4, 1988:** Petra Kelly, a member of the German parliament and of its Foreign Affairs Committee, described the Chinese occupation of Tibet as "incompatible with international law" and tabled a motion (adopted later) during a federal congress of the Greens held at Karlsruhe, condemning the continuing human rights violations in Tibet.

**Dec 5 to 8, 1988:** At the Fourth Tulku Conference held in Sarnath, the Dalai Lama told a gathering of over 350 tulkus (reincarnated lamas), abbots, and former abbots of important monasteries belonging to the four major sects of Tibetan Buddhism and the Bon religion that his reincarnation would definitely not be born in a territory under Chinese control and also expressed a desire not to play any active role in the future government of a free Tibet.

**Dec 7, 1988:** Wu Jinghua, the First Secretary of the regional Communist Party of Tibet Autonomous Region, was replaced by Hu Jintao, who, after 3 months of his appointment, imposed martial law in Lhasa in the wake of continuing mass demonstrations in Lhasa.

**Dec 10, 1988:** In a crackdown on a major demonstration at the Jhokhang Temple in Lhasa, the Chinese police killed at least 15 Tibetans, seriously wounded some 150 more and arrested hundreds of others.

**Dec 18, 1988:** For the first time in history, Tibetans staged a demonstration in Beijing—some 18 Tibetans from the Nationalities Institute there staged a march to protest against the bloody Chinese crackdown in Lhasa.

**Dec 10, 1989:** The Dalai Lama accepted the Nobel Prize for Peace in Norway's capital Oslo.

**Dec 6, 1990:** The Australian Senate passed a unanimous resolution call-

ing on China to end human rights violations in Tibet and to negotiate with the Dalai Lama and his representatives.

**Dec 2, 1991:** The British Prime Minister John Major met with the Dalai Lama at 10 Downing Street, ignoring Chinese protests. Major had, in March that year, refused to meet the Dalai Lama, but was reportedly influenced by the US President George Bush's April meeting with the Dalai Lama this time.

**Dec.1, 1992:** Chen Kuiyuan succeeded Hu Jintao as the First Secretary of the regional Communist Party of Tibet Autonomous Region.

**Dec 8, 1995:** Tashi Lhunpo Monastery was turned into a fortress guarded by over 5090 PLA soldiers as the Chinese appointed 11th Panchen Lama Gyaltsen Norbu was enthroned.

**Dec 10, 1996:** In their separate acceptance speeches, joint winners of the Nobel Peace at that time, the Roman Catholic Bishop Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo and the exile independence campaigner Jose Ramos-Horta, both of East Timor, called on China to release Tibetan political prisoners and improve the situation in Tibet.

**Dec 11, 1996:** A ceremony was held to establish and inaugurate a Monastery Management Committee and a Monastery Buddhist Affairs Committee at Drepung Monastery in Lhasa under a campaign to ensure correct political orientation of Tibet's monasteries.

**Dec 25, 1996:** A major explosion dubbed as the "Christmas Day Bomb", rocked Tibet's capital Lhasa early morning around 1.30. The blast took place outside the front gate of the offices of the Lhasa City Metropolitan District, and injured five people. The case remained unsolved.

**Dec 26, 1996:** A public sentencing mass meeting was held and a winter Strike Hard Campaign launched in Nagchu (Ch: Naqu) Prefecture in northern TAR.

**Dec 10, 1998:** Coinciding with World Human Rights Day, a group of exile Tibetans and overseas Chinese dissidents set up in the US a forum called "Sino-Tibetan Study Group", to promote better understanding between the two communities. □



## NEWS IN QUOTES

If the Dalai Lama dies without returning to Tibet or without there being significant progress in the situation in Tibet, his death will be like a clear signal to the people of Tibet to rise up en masse.

— Chinese dissident writer Wang Lixiong, predicting that the next unrest in Tibet will be larger than that of the spring of 2008, quoted in **Dalai Lama's Surrender? The Next Tibetan Uprising?** *The Washington Post* Oct 30, 2008.

Things (are) not going well ... I have to accept failure.

— The Dalai Lama at a press conference in Tokyo on Nov 2, referring to his failure to win a positive response from China to his middle way proposal for the resolution of the Tibet issue.

They don't want any dialogue, any solution, because they are making a fortune exploiting Tibet.

— Gyalo Thondup, the Dalai Lama's personal emissary to China for a number of years since 1979 and his elder brother, referring to the local leaders in Tibet, quoted in **Dispatch from Dharamsala - No.2**, *Radio Free Asia online*, Nov 21, 2008.

We talked with Mr. Lodi Gyari and his party only because they were the Dalai Lama's private representatives.

— Zhu Weiqun, executive vice minister of the United Front Work Department (UFD) of the Communist Party of China (CPC) Central Committee, calling the "Tibet government-in-exile" illegal, quoted by China's official *Xinhua* news agency in **China says serious differences in talks with private envoys of Dalai Lama**, *Xinhua*, Nov 10, 2008.

The regional ethnic autonomy system is a combination of ethnic autonomy and regional autonomy and will never allow ethnic splitting in the name of "true ethnic autonomy" to undermine ethnic solidarity.

— Du Qinglin, vice-chairman of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference and head of the United Front Work Department of the Communist Party of China (CPC) Central Committee after holding talks Nov 4-5 with envoys of the Dalai Lama in Beijing, quoted by China's official *Xinhua* news agency in **Dalai Lama urged to truly not support "Tibet independence"**, *Xinhua*, Nov 6, 2008.

China is a unitary nation, unlike some nations that are federal states or confederations.

— "Yiduo" in a lengthy commentary totally rejecting the "Memorandum on Genuine Autonomy for the Tibetan People" presented by envoys of the Dalai Lama during their talks with Chinese officials in Beijing on Nov 4-5, 2008. See **Signed article: On the "Memorandum" of the Dalai clique**, *Xinhua*, Nov 21, 2008.

It is simply not possible at the moment to reverse the hard line and the demonisation (of the Dalai Lama) without admitting that the most powerful faction in Chinese politics (has) got it wrong.

— Ben Hillman, of the Australian National University's China Institute, quoted by Cameron Stewart in **Tibet's looming eruption**, *The Australian*, Nov 13, 2008.

There is little understanding or acceptance that Tibetans may have different priorities.

— Cameron Stewart on the frustration among Chinese officials on why years of economic growth in Tibet had failed to quell Tibetan demands for greater autonomy or independence from China, stated in **China's iron fist cracks down to subdue Tibetan rebels**, *The Australian*, Nov 8, 2008. Stewart was one of two

journalists who accompanied Queensland Liberal backbencher Michael Johnson on a Nov 2-5 visit to Tibet on Chinese government's invitation.

There is much sunshine in the economic relations with Germany, but we take our sovereignty very seriously and react harshly when Taiwan and Tibet are concerned — then it gets dark in the relations.

— Constitution expert Cai Dingjian of China, explaining why German Chancellor Angela Merkel's meeting with the Dalai Lama greatly annoyed China, quoted in **Relations With Germany Strengthened, China Says**, *Deutsche Welle Online* (Germany) Oct 24, 2008. The comment was made during Merkel's meeting with Chinese intellectuals at a Beijing hotel during the former's visit to the city for the Oct 24-25 ASEM in Beijing.

All the officials here are corrupt. ... Most villagers are afraid to talk about it because they're afraid of retaliation.

— A vegetable farmer in Xianyi village of Xiangang town in western Guangdong Province over the loss of village land to a road-building project, an industrial park and a market, without either consultation or adequate compensation, quoted by Maureen Fan in **In Southeast China, Skepticism on Land Reforms**, *The Washington Post*, Oct 29, 2008.

Unemployment.

— Chinese President Hu Jintao when asked by US President Bush in Washington, DC, in Apr 2006 which of the numerous challenges China faced was the most serious — which one kept him awake at night worrying — quoted by Simon Elegant, in the context of China's dipping GDP growth and rising unemployment today, in **China's Worst Nightmare: Unemployment**, *TIME* (US Weekly), Oct 31, 2008. Some 9,000 of the 45,000 factories in the cities of Guangzhou, Dongguan, and Shenzhen—the heart of China's industrial south—were expected to close before the Chinese New Year in late Jan'09, leading to job losses of up to 2.7 million, or more.

This is the worst I've ever seen it. Normally I can get a job in a few days, but I've been out here a month already.

— Ren, a day labourer in his 40s, huddled with others under a bridge in southwest Beijing, an area where construction managers would hire crews in better times, quoted by Simon Rabinovitch in **Unemployment fears stalk once-roaring China**, *Reuters*, Nov 4, 2008.

After decades of solid economic growth, China is battling an unknown as falling demand for its products triggers factory closures, sparks protests and raises fears of popular unrest.

— Ben Blanchard in **Protest-hit China says job stability top priority**, *Reuters*, Nov 20, 2008

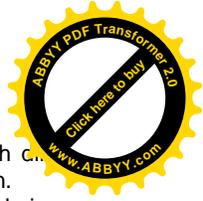
While, in the U.S., a financial failure would simply mean another dent in George W. Bush's reputation, in China it could mean the breakdown of the entire political order.

— Joshua Kurlantzick, explaining how the global economic crisis could bring down the Chinese government, stated in **Crash and Burn**, *The New Republic*, Nov 20, 2008

... a somewhat normalised relationship.

— India's foreign minister Mr Pranab Mukherjee, referring to the current phase of India-China ties despite the excitement about their \$60billion bilateral trade figures, quoted by Indrani Bagchi in **Finally, Pranab calls China a challenge**, *The Times of India*, Nov 5, 2008. ■

While sending their subscription by Money Order, readers in India are requested to write their full address, including with postal code. --Editor



# CHINA WATCH

## Hardliners take on 'liberals' over magazine article

In carrying out the Tiananmen Square massacre of Jun 3-4, 1989, the hardliners in China only won the battle, not the war, in its factional war with the liberals, or so it emerges. China's consensus driven, collective leadership was seen to fray at the fringe when a retired hardliner tried to get the editor of a liberally-oriented magazine replaced over its favourable treatment of the late liberal stalwart Zhao Ziyang, according to The Age (Australia) newspaper Nov 18.

The Tianamen Massacre was carried out after the then party secretary Zhao Ziyang was purged for refusing to support the suppression of students and workers. He was replaced by Jiang Zemin, who held the top positions until 2003 and continues to exercise political influence.

It was obviously Jiang at whose instance an official from the Culture Ministry visited the editor-in-chief of Yanhuang Chunqiu (Annals of Emperors Huang and Yan) monthly magazine at his home on Nov 14, seeking his resignation, ostensibly on ground of his age. The report said the official told the magazine's publisher Du Daozheng, 85, that a retired leader had taken offence at the magazine's favourable treatment of Mr Zhao, whose name had been taboo in the Chinese media for 19 years.

But Du, a feisty stalwart of the Communist Party since 1937 whose publication enjoys protection through progressive senior party officials, refused, saying the Government's official retirement age did not apply to non-government enterprises. "If I work until I'm 120, that's got nothing to do with you," Du was reported to have replied.

Du has said the matter had become a major issue and may trigger intervention from senior party officials.

"Yanhuang Chunqiu is run by journalists and scholars who believe that China should dig into, and learn from, its real history – not anyone's official version," Sidney Rittenberg, a China analyst, was quoted as saying.

The report said Yanhuang Chunqiu is one of three bastions of (relative) media freedom in China, along with the business magazine Caijing and the "Southern" stable of newspapers and magazines. Yanhuang Chunqiu has long been seen as a thorn in the side of the conservative faction of the communist government, said Asia Times Online (Hong Kong) Nov 22. It has carried memoirs and essays by influential advocates of democratic political reform, including Mao Zedong's one-time secretary Li Rui and former vice premier Tian Jiyun. They

are highly rated by China watchers and history scholars because they offer rare

glimpses of historical reality which differ from the party's official version.

Du was head of the General Administration of Press and Publication from 1987 to 1989, when he was sacked after the Jun 4 Tiananmen crackdown for being sympathetic to the student-led demonstrations. He then began to publish Yanhuang Chunqiu, which has encountered pressure nine times in its 17-year history, Asia Times Online cited Du as saying, claiming to represent the voices of more than 100 party luminaries and authors. □

## China under spectre of rising unemployment

The worst fears of the Chinese leadership may be coming true as the country faces a spectre of rising unemployment with its GDP growth having now dipped to around 9% and expected to decline further as the worldwide financial crisis transmogrifies into a global recession, reported the TIME weekly (US) Oct 31. It said scores of Chinese factories producing consumer goods like toys and plastics goods had already closed down in the southern

industrial powerhouse of Guangdong, and thousands of unemployed workers had made their displeasure known with rowdy demonstrations.

It said the situation was going to get much worse in the next few months, as the number of unemployed balloons. It cited the Dongguan City Association of Enterprises with Foreign Investment as saying that 9,000 of the 45,000 factories in the cities of Guangzhou, Dongguan, and Shenzhen — the heart of China's industrial south — were expected to close before the Chinese New Year in late Jan'09. They "conservatively" estimated that up to 2.7 million workers could become unemployed.

When Chinese President Hu Jintao

was asked by US President George Bush in Washington in April of 2006, which of the numerous challenges China faced was the most serious — which one kept him awake at night worrying, Hu was unhesitating in replying "Unemployment", the report said. That almost certainly means Hu is suffering from serious insomnia these days.

China, by its own admission, currently suffers tens of thousands of "mass incidents," meaning protests involving large numbers of demonstrators, with the majority of them taking place in the countryside. Should they begin to occur in the cities, "we would be witnessing the most severe challenge the Communist leadership has

**China's collective leadership at odd with protocol of summit diplomacy**

The system of collective leadership established since the death of Deng Xiaoping means that state President and party secretary Hu Jintao is not necessarily the most powerful man in China, according to an english.chosun.com (South Korea) report Oct 27. What this means is that the nine standing committee members of the Politburo govern collectively, while externally the president and premier share the role of head of state with a view to ensuring mutual restraint and division of power.

This was seen in action during the Oct 24 Asia-Europe Meeting (ASEM) in Beijing when it was not President Hu, the no. 1 in the state, but Prime Minister Wen Jiabao, nominally no. 3, who presided over the summit. Likewise, some summits with the heads of states such as Japan, Indonesia and Italy during ASEM were held by President Hu, while the summits with others such as Poland and Singapore were with Prime Minister Wen. The two effectively shared the role of head of state.

Likewise, Hu was scheduled to preside over APEC and the G20 summit in Nov'08, and Wen over the ASEAN+3 conference and summits with the heads of state of South Korea and Japan in Dec'08.

The report noted that while the international community tended to accommodate the dual system, there was criticism that the system ran counter to the strict protocol of summit diplomacy. □



faced in many, many years," Beijing based scholar Russell Leigh Moses was quoted as saying.

Such mass incidents have been rising recently, with taxi drivers, would-be displaced urban residents, and unpaid workers of failed factories taking to the streets in ever growing numbers. Meanwhile, faltering economic conditions have raised the spectre of growth falling below 8 percent, which the government regards as a benchmark to create enough jobs to sop up excess labour and guarantee social stability, reported Reuters Nov 20. The number of newly jobless reached 10.2 million in the first 10 months of 2008, exceeding China's projection for the entire year by 2 percent, the report cited China's Minister of Human Resources and Social Security Yin Weimin as saying.

Yin had said China's official urban unemployment rate was still about 4 percent, but likely to tick up to 4.5 percent by the end of the year, and rise further next year. And the official figures fail to capture many of the hundreds of millions of Chinese who have left villages and sought work in the cities over the past three decades, said the

### Tibet policymaker removed from post after her computer hacked into

China is reported to have removed from her post a key party policymaker on the Tibet issue after her computer was hacked into and information on China's bottom line on negotiating with the Dalai Lama's envoys reportedly stolen. Bi Hua, a known hardliner, was asked to step down recently as director of the No. 7 bureau of the Party's United Front Work Department (UFWD), reported Reuters Nov 20 and 22, citing two independent sources with knowledge of the case who requested anonymity for fear of repercussions.

Although the Reuters' Nov 20 report cited an overly gentle line on Tibet as a possible reason for her removal, its Nov 22 report called the 53-year-old ethnic Chinese a hardliner. "People are very surprised. She was very hardline," the report quoted one of its sources as saying, adding, "Even the old Communist Tibetan cadres could not stand what she was saying."

The report said her computer was hacked by unknown individuals, and classified documents stolen. "She is under investigation," Reuters quoted its source as saying. "But she insists she has done nothing wrong."

Bi was not a part of the UFWD officials who talked with envoys of the Dalai Lama, including during the latest Nov 4-5 round in Beijing. China currently refuses to concede anything on the exile Tibetan leadership's offer to recognize Chinese sovereignty over Tibet in exchange for genuine autonomy while claiming to keep the door for talks open. So, it would be interesting to know whether China does indeed have a bottomline for negotiating with the envoys of the Dalai Lama, and, if so, what it is. □

Reuters report, citing Yin. The AFP Nov 20 cited Zhang Xiaojian, vice minister of social security, as saying demand for workers in 84 cities across China

in the third quarter of this year had fallen 5.5 percent – the first third-quarter drop in "many years".

The official China Daily Nov 21 cited Zhang as saying 24 million people, including 6.1 million college graduates, would enter the labour market in 2009, competing for the 12 million jobs cities could generate. □

### Chinese essayist tried for separatism for Tibet uprising article, his lawyer supports Dalai Lama's autonomy call

Zhu Jiuhu, a Beijing-based Chinese attorney, has expressed support for the Dalai Lama's call for genuine autonomy for Tibet while defending a Chinese writer being tried for separatism before a court in Jintang city on Nov 5 for posting articles online on the Tibet uprising in Mar 2008, reported Boxun News Nov 11. He was reported to have said the Dalai Lama's appeal was consistent with the Chinese constitution and the late paramount leader Deng Xiaoping's policy to accord real regional national autonomy to all ethnic minority regions.

Essayist Chen Daojun, 40, was on Nov 5 charged before a court in Jintang city of Sichuan province with "separatism" for three articles he posted online on the protests in Tibet in March 2008 and on the issue of civil liberties, reported Paris-based Reporters Without Borders Nov 5. His essay on Tibet, titled as "Misgovernment drives people to Revolt – My Respect to the Tibetans struggling heroically" ([http://2newcenturynet.blogspot.com/2008/04/blog-post\\_7713.html](http://2newcenturynet.blogspot.com/2008/04/blog-post_7713.html)), referred to the street rioting in Lhasa in March.

"This charge is astounding. The authorities are unable to hide their obsession with control of news and censorship of publications critical of the Party," the group said, demanding the dropping of the charges against him.

Chen was sentenced Nov 21 to a three-year jail term, with deprivation of political rights for three years for "inciting subversion of state authority", reported the Paris-based group Nov 21.

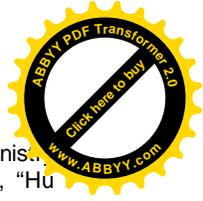
The ecology activist from the Sichuan's capital Chengdu was arrested on May 9, 2008, for "attempted subversion of state power" after he joined a protest rally condemning an environmental threat. He had also written an article posted on May 5 on a foreign-based Chinese website YiBao (ChinaE), calling for a halt to the operation of a petrochemical plant around 40 km from the city, the group said.

Meanwhile, dissident writer Zhao Dagong has praised Zhu's willingness and courage to openly advocate the Dalai Lama's positions, reported the exile Tibetan government's Tibet.net Nov 11. Zhu, a well known human rights defender, was, in 2005, imprisoned for five years for assisting activist Gao Zhisheng in connection with a case on oilfield in Shaanxi province. □

### European freedom prize for dissident angers China

Bushing aside repeated stern warnings from China, the European Parliament on Oct 23 decided to award its 2008 Sakharov Prize for Freedom of Thought to the jailed Chinese human rights activist Hu Jia, 35, provoking angry denunciations from the dictatorial regime in Beijing. Announcing the award, European Parliament President Hans-Gert Poettering called Hu "one of the real defenders of human rights in the People's Republic of China." Hu, who was sentenced last April to three and half years in prison for "incitement to subvert state power", will be presented the award at a ceremony in Strasbourg on Dec 17, although he may not be able to receive it personally.

The European Parliament described Hu Jia as a "leading symbol of China's human rights problems, representing "all the other Chinese and Tibetan citizens who are repressed: lawyers, journalists, petitioners, human rights activists, writers and cyber-



dissidents." Conservative foreign affairs spokesman in the European Parliament Dr Charles Tannock called the award decision a powerful demonstration of solidarity between the democratically elected representatives of European citizens and the people of China, reported Conservatives in the European Parliament (Belgium) Oct 23.

It further quoted Dr Tannock as saying, "Beijing was lobbying heavily for Hu Jia to be passed over but the award of this richly deserved accolade to him shows that MEPs will not be silenced like so many Chinese dissidents have been."

Also, Speaker Nancy Pelosi of the US Congress welcomed the award for Hu who she said "is risking his life, family and freedom so he can speak the truth" and called on the Chinese government "to immediately and unconditionally release Hu Jia from prison and to respect the fundamental freedoms of all the people in China."

Hu is said to be suffering in prison from cirrhosis of the liver and anaemia, so it is all the more urgent that he is freed at the earliest.

The Sakharov Prize, named after the Soviet dissident Andrei Sakharov, is in its 20th year and is worth €50,000. Past winners have include Nelson Mandela, the former South African President; Aung San Suu Kyi, the Burmese pro-democracy campaigner; and Kofi Annan, the former UN Secretary-General.

Paris-based Reporters Without Borders Oct 23 called the award decision a "great victory for Chinese prisoners of conscience" and called for Hu's release. Washington-based Human Rights in China also demanded Oct 23 that China release Hu and all other political prisoners.

According to the DPA news agency Oct 23, Hu is a practising Tibetan Buddhist while his wife Zeng Jinyan had met the Dalai Lama in India in 2006. The two have sought and received a Tibetan name from him for their infant daughter.

China condemned the award to Hu on the eve of a key summit with the EU. The Chinese Foreign Ministry expressed "strong dissatisfaction at the decision by the European Parliament to give the award to a jailed criminal in China, in disregard of our repeated representations". Said the ministry's spokesman Liu Jianchao, "This is gross interference in China's domestic affairs. I do not believe that anyone gets anywhere by interfering in the affairs of others." Times Online (UK) Oct

24 cited him as clarifying, however, that the award would not hinder the Oct 24 ASEM summit, in which senior EU figures, including President Sarkozy of France and José Manuel Barroso, President of the European Commission, were going to take part.

Likewise, New Europe (Belgium)

Oct 27 quoted another foreign minister's spokesman Qin Gang as saying, "Hu Jia is a criminal convicted on charges of subversion. ... To give the award to such a person is interference in China's judicial sovereignty, which is also against the original purpose of the award." □

## As economic hardship bites, China hit by more and bigger protests

As factories close down and official corruption, highhandedness and apathy continues unabated, China has been seeing far more and much bigger protests in recent times.

Some 600 workers of a subsidiary in Shenzhen's Longhua township of Hong Kong-listed Peace Mark Holdings, a watchmaker, staged protests during the week over unpaid wages and severance benefits, reported Radio Free Asia

(RFA), Washington, Oct 24. The company had gone into liquidation. "If nothing comes out by Friday (Oct 24), we will protest at the municipal government," a worker surnamed Song was quoted as saying.

Labour affairs officials at the Longgang township government in Shenzhen ended a protest by around 900 workers of Gangsheng Electronics, a bankrupt Hong Kong- invested electronics supplier, by paying them three months' back pay totally received 3.1 million yuan (U.S. \$453,00) and promising them their severance pay once the factory was stripped of its assets, said the RFA report.

More than 1,000 workers of Chunyu Textile Company took to the streets on Oct 27 in Wujiang city of Jiangsu province in eastern China, blocking four downtown streets, after their employer apparently fled abroad, leaving four months of wages unpaid, reported the AFP Oct 28, citing Hong Kong-based Information Centre for Human Rights and Democracy. The protesters only agreed to disperse after a city official emerged, promising to find a solution to their plight.

The report also said that in the southern Chinese export hub of Dongguan in Guangdong Province, the owner of Smart Union, a Hong Kong-listed toy factory, one of the largest in the city, fled after his company went bust earlier in October, leaving 7,000 workers jobless and owed back pay. Many of those workers protested, forcing the local government to help pay some of the back wages.

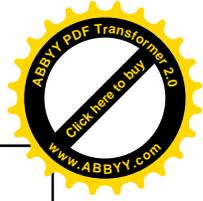
More factory closures and resultant protests were expected. As many as half of all toy manufacturers in the Pearl River Delta could go out of business within the next two years, reported China's official China Daily newspaper Oct 21, citing an industry expert.

Speaking in an interview with Guangzhou Daily, Wang Zhiguang, vice-chairman of the Dongguan Toy Industry Association, had said: "Of the 3,800-odd toy firms in Dongguan, no more than 2,000 are likely to survive the next couple of years."

Nearly 10,000 residents gathered at Suyu Middle School in Suqian City of Jiangsu Province on Oct 20 to protest against police beating of the parents of a 13-year-old boy who had committed suicide in his school, reported The Epoch Times (NY) Oct 29. It said school staff refused to meet with the parents; instead, they called the police who beat the parents for refusing to permit them to carry away the body for cremation.

It took a meeting between the provincial Governor Xu Shousheng and 10 representatives of protesters to bring to a temporary end a violent protest that raged for two days – Nov 17 and 18 – in Dongjiang township of Wudu District in Longnan city, Gansu Province, according to Reuters Nov 20. The protest was over inadequate compensation for village land acquired for building a new road. The number of protesters grew from 30 in the morning of Nov 17 to as much as 50,000 by next day after police used force and fired tear-gas canisters to remove them from in front of the Communist Party headquarters in Longnan City.

A protest organized by the family of a 31-year-old motorcyclist who crashed into a pole and died on Nov 7 morning turned into a major anti-police riot in Shenzhen city of Guangdong province, acknowledged China's official media Nov 8. The motorcyclist lost control after a traffic checkpoint official in Shiyan subdistrict office of the Bao'an district in Shenzhen city threw his walkie-talkie at him as he failed to stop as ordered. The reports said the number of protesters before the police station had



grown to over 400 by 5:00 pm, while more than 2,000 others watched.

Two people were killed and hundreds of others injured in Daduan town of Tonggu county in Jiangxi province when a dispute between a timber company and thousands of villagers exploded into violence, reported the AFP Oct 25, citing Hong Kong-based Information Centre for Human Rights and Democracy. The villagers were reported to have torched offices of the Lu Hai Forestry Co, battled police, and set two police vehicles on fire. Several thousand armed police were sent in to quell the unrest after an initial dispatch of police got overwhelmed by villagers.

The authorities in the Yongchuan district in the suburb of Chongqing municipality, China's fourth largest city, were forced to reverse their decision to increase the number of licensed taxis operating there from 300 to 400 following a protest Nov 19 by the cab drivers, according to China's official China Daily newspaper Nov 20.

About 100 cabs, including three police cars, were smashed as some 9,000 cab drivers went on strike in Chongqing city on Nov 3, protesting over a range of issues, reported China's official Xinhua news agency Nov 3, the China Daily and the AP Nov 19. The drivers' grievances included insufficient supplies of compressed

### China bans music album for its democracy title

China has banned a musical album of the US group Guns N' Roses, which has a massive following in the country, simply because it contains the word "democracy" on its title, reported LIVENEWS.com.au Nov 24. China's government owned music importation arm has red flagged the record, it said. The group's hits "Welcome To The Jungle" and "Don't Cry" were especially popular during China's rebellious era, in particular in the wake of the 1989 Tiananmen Square massacre of pro-democracy demonstrators. "Chinese democracy" was in the making since 1994. The album contains specific references to Falun Gong, a spiritual movement labelled an illegal cult by China, in singer Axl Rose's lyrics.

The ban came after the album was severely criticized in the party newspaper the Global Times, which under the title "American band releases album venomously attacking China" said it "turns its spear point on China", reported myFOXlubbock.com (TX, US) Nov 25. It was reported to cite unidentified Chinese Internet users as having described the album as part of a plot by some in the West to "grasp and control the world using democracy as a pawn." The article was reported to refer only to the title of the album and not to specific song lyrics.

Songs from the album could be heard on Internet sites such as YouTube and the band's MySpace page on Nov 24. □

natural gas, which fuels most cabs in the city, competition from unlicensed cabs, and high fines for traffic violations. It took a meeting with the city Party Secretary and a member of the ruling Communist Party's powerful Politburo, Bo Xilai, to bring the strike to an end.

No cabs were seen running in Sanya, a major tourist city in south China's island province of Hainan, on Nov 10, as more than 200 of its cab drivers gathered in front of the municip

pal government building. They were demanding cut in drivers' monthly fee and crackdown on illegal cabs, as well as permission to set up their own organizations to protect their interests, reported Xinhua Nov 11 and 14. The Straits Times (Singapore), Nov 11 said 21 cab drivers were in detention for vandalizing two taxis whose drivers had refused to participate in the strike.

About 160 of the Yongdeng County's (Gansu Province) 280 licensed cabs staged a strike near the county's transport bureau, demanding significant cut in driver's license fee and a crackdown on the about 700 illegal cabs. The strike ended the next day after the county government promised to put forward a plan within a week to get rid of unlicensed competition, reported Xinhua Nov 11.

At least 500 taxi drivers staged a strike for two days on the square opposite the city's government offices in Shantou City, south China's Guangdong province, in protest against unlicensed taxis, reported Xinhua Nov 21. Top city leaders were to set up a meeting with the protesters. Stratifor Nov 21 said the number of taxi drivers on strike was some 1,000.

Hundreds of taxi drivers in the southern Chinese city of Guangzhou clashed with police on Nov 24 during a protest against the alleged beating of a cabbie by an official, reported Reuters Nov 24. It said the cabbies were shown scuffling with police on Hong Kong's Cable TV during a march to protest the weekend beating of a local taxi driver by three drunken men, one of whom claimed to be a city official. It said a number of cabbies were shown being dragged to waiting vehicles by officers.

### Thousands support confessed police killer as hero

More than 4,000 people have signed an open letter posted online urging that the life of a 28-year-old man sentenced to death for killing six policemen in Shanghai in a revenge attack be spared, reported The Washington Post Nov 14. Yang Jia stabbed the policemen on Jul 1 in the Zhabei Police Station in north Shanghai where he had been severely beaten after being falsely accused of having stolen a bicycle he had taken on rent. Thousands of Chinese have lionized him for standing up to the security forces.

The letter has since been erased from many Web sites by government censors while coverage of the case in the state-run media has been strictly controlled, the report said.

"There are many citizens who have suffered similar treatment but are too afraid to speak out," Liu Xiaoyuan, the family's attorney was quoted as saying. "They feel that if someone stands up to the police, he or she is fighting for justice on their behalf."

At one of Yang's hearings in Oct 2008, hundreds of protesters descended on the Shanghai Higher People's Court, carrying signs that read "Long Live the Killer" and shouting "Down with the Communist Party" and "Down with fascists." The report said many of the protesters were educated and middle-aged.

Yang had also received support from some leading Chinese artists and intellectuals, who demanded amnesty for him, reported AP Oct 30. It said the outspoken intellectuals were using the case to protest against the weaknesses in China's legal system. Artist Ai Weiwei, who designed Beijing's main Olympics stadium; economist Mao Yushi; author Liao Yiwu, and blogger Zhou Shuguang had all confirmed they had signed an online petition saying Yang's case was not handled fairly. The petition protested against the death penalty in general and asked the central government to investigate. The report said that by Oct 27, more than 2,500 people had added their names to the online petition, but by the following day the petition had been removed from most Chinese Web sites. □



Hundreds of taxi drivers went on strike on Nov 24 in Suizhou city in Hubei province in central China, angry over a new government-imposed license fee, reported AP Nov 24, citing local drivers and China-based The Civil Rights and Livelihood Watch. None of the city's 550 licensed taxis were running on the roads, the report cited a government notice as saying.

Alleging harm to their health and crop harvest, villagers had been blocking garbage trucks from entering the Jiaxing city's Buyun Garbage Incineration Power Plant located near their village in Zhejiang Province, since Nov 8,

reported China's official Xinhua news agency Nov 12. As a result, rotting rubbish had been piling up on the city streets. The streets of Jiaxing, a boomtown city with about 4 million people, had been stinking for days.

Cars and equipment were damaged some people suffered minor injuries following a clash between the inhabitants of a village in Chongqing municipality and personnel from the Zhongyuan Mining Company on Nov 21, reported the AFP Nov 23, citing the Chongqing Evening News Nov 23 posted on popular web portal sina.com. The villagers were reported

to be angry about the inadequate resolution of allegations that the firm's coal mining activities were damaging the area's environment, leading to landslides and a lack of water.

More than 100 rail workers carrying iron bars beat local farmers who were obstructing work on the Beijing-Shanghai high-speed train link in a dispute over land compensation, reported Reuters Nov 4. The farmers were reported to be seeking compensation directly from rail authorities after local officials appropriated land along rail routes without compensating them. □

## NEWS IN BRIEF

### Xinhua launches multilingual website on Tibet

China's official Xinhua news agency has launched on Nov 25 a new website devoted exclusively to cover Tibet, "offering the world a multilingual platform to better understand the autonomous region". The channel has Chinese, Tibetan and English versions available at the moment, and editions of other foreign languages will be featured step by step, reported Xinhua Nov 25. The website is reported to have promised that channel reporters, who cover all the Tibetan-inhabited areas in the PRC, will give instant reports on local news, and its editors will also better process the news and information.

### China using Google Ads to promote Tibet propaganda

China is using Google Ads to battle its negative image on the Tibet issue, noted a Shanghaiist.com report Nov 20. Given the massive reach of Google's self-serve contextual ads, this means anytime one is viewing something related to China, or, more specifically, Tibet, anywhere on the web, an ad may appear pointing the surfer to <http://eng.tibet.cn/>.

### Democracy activist held for alleged subversion

China arrested on Nov 13 an activist university professor on charges of inciting subversion after he set up an independent political party, reported the AFP Nov 14, citing his wife. Guo Quan, a professor at Nanjing Normal University in eastern China and frequent government critic, formed the China People's Livelihood Party in 2004 – renaming it the China New People's Party late last year – to protect the rights of 'workers, farmers, businessmen, students, and urban residents'. His wife, Li Jing, has been quoted as saying, "Police gave his mother an official notice saying Guo is suspected of subverting state power." Guo had previously been stripped of his teaching duties over his activism and had been held in detention before.

### China to organize its second world Buddhist Forum in Mar'08

China is to organize its second World Buddhist Forum in Wuxi city of Jiangsu province on Mar 28, 2009, reported its official Xinhua news agency Nov 23. The meeting will then move to Taipei in Taiwan, and close there Apr 1, it cited Master Xuecheng, vice-president of the Buddhist Association of China, as saying at a press conference in Wuxi. He had said Buddhist monks and scholars from more than 20 countries, including India, the US, Britain, Sri Lanka and Thailand, were planning to attend the forum. China organized its first global Buddhist forum in Hangzhou city in east China in Apr 2006, with the 11th Panchen Lama appointed by it being given a prominent profile. China officially had a Buddhist population of around 100 million in 2006.

### China stops counting rising number of melamine-tainted milk victims

Bad news-averse China had stopped counting the rising number of victims of melamine tainted infant milk formula. "A recent revelation (show) that at least five more children died after drinking infant formula tainted with the industrial chemical," reported the AP news agency Nov 16. China's Health Ministry had said three infants had died from drinking melamine-tainted milk and nearly 53,000 were made ill but stopped counting the casualties beyond these figures. ■

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