



Tenzin Norgay <tenzinnorgay@tchrd.org>

## Arbitrary Detention of Mr. Kalsang Tsultrim in Gansu, China

1 message

Tenzin Norgay <tenzinnorgay@tchrd.org>

Wed, Sep 1, 2010 at 12:21 PM

To: Working Group on Arbitrary Detention OHCHR <wgad@ohchr.org>

Bcc: info <info@tibetatun.org>, Tenzin Samphel Kayta <samphel@tibetoffice.ch>, Tseten Samdup Chhoekyapa <tseten@tibetoffice.ch>

Working Group on Arbitrary Detention  
c/o Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights  
United Nations Office at Geneva  
8-14, avenue de la Paix  
1211 Geneva 10, Switzerland

1 September 2010, Dharamsala, India

**Subject: Arbitrary Detention of Mr. Kalsang Tsultrim in Gansu, China**

Dear Chairperson,

The Tibetan Centre for Human Rights and Democracy (TCHRD) would like to request the Working Group on Arbitrary Detention (WGAD) to urgently intervene on the arbitrary detention of a Tibetan intellectual who has been detained by police on 27 July 2010 for his activities in writing a book and composing, distributing video compact discs expressing his views and opinions.

In July 2009, as an awareness raising activity in order to counter the government propaganda, Mr. Kalsang Tsultrim, 30 years old, authored a book titled *Miyul La Phul Ve Sempa* and also made and distributed 2,500 copies of video compact discs (VCD) recoding his opinion for the wider illiterate audience. His book and VCDs were distributed widely in his native Xiahe County as well as in the neighboring counties. In light of the political error he has committed, Kalsang has been on the move for a year in order to remain safe from the authorities. On 27 July 2010, he was arrested at Dzoge County by the Public Security Bureau and taken away for detention. He is currently known to be detained at Hezhou City Public Security Bureau Detention Centre.

In light of the current pattern of harsh crackdown on Tibetan intellectuals and cultural figures in Tibetan areas of China, Mr. Kalsang is the latest to be detained for the exercise of his human rights to form and peacefully express his opinion. The TCHRD request the WGAD to urgently intervene in order to prevent a harsh prison term for him as the current pattern indicate that he will be most likely prosecuted for "endangering state security" under which he can face lengthy imprisonment term.

Sincerely,

Tenzin Norgay (Mr.)

Research and UN Affairs

Tibetan Centre for Human Rights and Democracy  
Top Floor, Narthang Building  
Gangchen Kyishong, Dharamsala  
H.P. - 176215, India

Tel: +91 1892 223363 / 229225

Fax: +91 1892 225874

Email: [tenzinnorgay@tchrd.org](mailto:tenzinnorgay@tchrd.org) / [tibet@riseup.net](mailto:tibet@riseup.net)

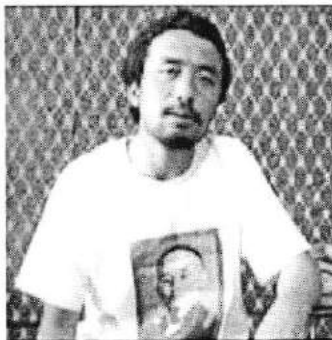
Website: [www.tchrd.org](http://www.tchrd.org)

**Note: Please find attached the following**

- 1) A completed questionnaire by the WGAD
- 2) Two pictures of Mr. Kalsang Tsultrim
- 3) *A video appeal from a Tibetan inside Tibet to the international community*, Press release by the TCHRD on 28 August 2009 regarding Kalsang's activity and the imminent danger, URL: <http://www.tchrd.org/press/2009/pr20090828.html>
- 4) *One more Tibetan Intellectual Arrested*, Press release by the TCHRD on 22 August 2010 on the arrest of Kalsang Tsultrim, URL: <http://tchrd.org/press/2010/pr20100822.html>
- 5) Translation and transcript of video testimony
- 6) Video testimony is available at Tibet Online TV at the URL: <http://www.tibetonline.tv/videos/71/appeal-about-the-plight-of-tibetans>
- 7) Media report, Phayul.com, *Another Tibetan Intellectual Arrested*, 24 August 2010
- 8) Media report, Tibetsun.com, *Author and activist Kalsang Tsultrim arrested*, 23 August 2010
- 9) United States Congressional Executive Commission on China (CECC) Record Number: 2010-00302  
URL: <http://ppd.cecc.gov/QueryResultsDetail.aspx?PrisonerNum=8012>

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**8 attachments**





**kalsang tsultrim.jpg**  
33K





**Kalsang Tsultrim 2.jpg**  
26K


 **WGADQuestionnaire\_en.doc**  
106K

 **28 August 2009 - TCHRD Press Release - A video appeal from a Tibetan inside Tibet to the International Community.pdf**  
121K

 **22 August 2010 - TCHRD Press Release - One More Tibetan Intellectual Arrested.pdf**  
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 **Translation and transcript of Kalsang's video testimony.docx**  
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 **Phayul.com - Another Tibetan intellectua....pdf**  
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 **Tibetsun.com - Author and activist Kalsang Tsultrim Arrested.pdf**  
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## Press

22 August 2010

### One More Tibetan Intellectual Arrested

Kalsang Tsultrim, remembered for his widely distributed video testimonial in 2009, was recently arrested on 27 July 2010 at Dzoge County in Sichuan Province. Though enquiries have been made by family members, no response or reasons have been given by the officials for his arrest. But his arrest is not unexpected. Kalsang, better known by his pseudonym Gyitsang Takmig, has been suspected of committing *political error* and has been on the move for at least a year to remain safe from the authorities.

Family members suspect his arrest occurred due to his expression of alarm about the situation in Tibet and treatment of individuals. He composed and distributed 2,500 VCDs discussing Tibetan history and recordings of the current desires, aspirations, concerns, and dreams of Tibetan people in Tibet. He also wrote *Miyul La Phul Ve Sempa* (summarized as *Sharing the Inner Thoughts in My Heart*) a book which illustrates the concerns of the Tibetan people. Kalsang's arrest is an example of the current pattern of targeted Tibetan intellectuals which includes artists, writers, bloggers and cultural figures. What is considered freedom of expression by the people is, from the PRC's perspective, a form of political error that can easily lead to an unlawful arrest.



#### Related information:

- A video appeal from a Tibetan inside Tibet to the international community, TCHRD Press Release on 28 August 2009
- Kalsang's video testimony is available [here](#)

WORLD BRIDGES



## Press

28 August 2009

### A video appeal from a Tibetan inside Tibet to the International Community

The Tibetan Centre for Human Rights and Democracy (TCHRD) is organizing a press conference at Lhakpa Tsering Hall, Department of Information and International Relations (DIIR) on the fresh videotaped information received from Tibet that appeal to the International communities to act swiftly on behalf of the Tibetan people who are victims of human rights violations in Tibet.

Kalsang Tsultrim also known by pseudonym of Gyitsang Takmig is a monk of Gyitsang Gaden Choekorling Monastery in Sangchu County (Ch: Xiahe), Kanlho "Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture" ('TAP'), Gansu Province, one of the main focal points of last year's protests in Tibet. Kalsang Tsultrim took a great personal risk of recording and distributing video testimony giving detail account of Tibetan history since the flight of Dalai Lama into exile, lack of human rights in Tibet, suffering of Tibetan people, struggle, hopes, aspirations of Tibetan people inside Tibet and his appeal to the outside world. The hour long video testimony was recorded on 18 July 2009 and was later edited with the input of related video footages and snaps for the final version in a VCD that was widely distributed in many Tibetan areas in Gansu, Qinghai and Sichuan Province. Kalsang is well versed in writing essays, composing lyrics etc. He had even authored a book



*kalsang tsultrim*

According to the source who delivered the video testimony told the Centre that, "Kalsang Tsultrim wishes to distribute video as widely as possible inside Tibet notwithstanding a great personal risk involved so as to educate primarily illiterates and general Tibetan public who were fed with daily dose of government-sponsored propaganda with the history of Tibetan struggle for freedom, the Dalai Lama's call for the genuine autonomy through middle way approach human rights situation in Tibet. He dealt in length with the Tibetan people's hope and aspiration of the Dalai Lama's return to his rightful place, lack of human rights including religious freedom that led to the flight of many religious leaders including Karmapa, Arja Rinpoche and others who could have easily chosen luxury and privileges under the Chinese government rather than coming into exile."

Kalsang Tsultrim video testimony also touches many recent events in Tibet and Chinese government policies which led to the displacement of a large number of Tibetan nomads in the name of development, and thereby completely altering the nomadic way of life, extraction of Tibet's natural resources, destruction of fragile environment, economic marginalization, social exclusion of Tibetans, lack of freedom etc. He further elucidates on recent farming boycott movement in Tibet, self-immolation bid by Lobsang Tashi a.k.a Tapey of Kirti Monastery, suicide by a monk of Ragya Monastery, arbitrary arrest, detention of thousands of Tibetans post 2008 March protests in Tibet.

The video message also appeals to the United Nations and International communities that they have moral obligation speak on behalf of the Tibetan people inside Tibet who are living in constant fear and under severe repression.

Kalsang went on to retort the Chinese law on National Regional Autonomy by saying, "the laws on national regional autonomy stipulated under the Chinese Constitution guarantees the fundamental rights of minorities including Tibetans. in reality it is a completely different scenario where our fundamental rights are not being respected at all. Tibet is gover as just another territory or region in the People's Republic of China, but nothing is done to build the harmonious society t the government promises."

"We do not have freedom of religion and politics because most of the religious and political websites are full of propaga that distorts the situation. We do not hate the Chinese, but we respect truth and justice. We were protesting against Chin rule because the local authorities are not acting according to China's Constitution and autonomy laws. The Premier of People's Republic of China said that China respects truth and justice. But Tibetans don't have equal religious, political, economic rights. So, many Tibetan people sacrificed their lives to protest against Chinese rule [over the past year], includ myself here today, because we want equal human rights and freedom. We will never give up our fight for freedom and tr until Chinese policies change regarding the implementation of the Constitution," Kalsang concluded.

The Tibetan Centre for Human Rights and Democracy (TCHRD) consider the video message and view conveyed by Kalsang Tsultrim purely as general exercise of the fundamental freedom of expression and right to opinion enshrined in the Chin constitution and other major international covenants that China is party to. The Centre believes that the message and vie conveyed by Kalsang is widely shared by people inside Tibet. Kalsang's outburst is a sign of China's continuing repress inside Tibet and a manifestation of widespread human rights violations. His initiative in this expose under such ri circumstances indicates the deep seated helplessness that pushes Tibetan people's endurance to the very edge of hur capacity.



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# Another Tibetan intellectual arrested

Phayul[Tuesday, August 24, 2010 16:15]  
By Phurbu Thinley

Dharamsala, August 24: Chinese authorities last month arrested another Tibetan intellectual for reasons yet to be officially confirmed, a Tibetan human rights body based here said Monday.



Kalsang Tsultrim (Photo: TCHRD/file)

Kalsang Tsultrim, known for his widely distributed [video testimonial](#) in 2009, was arrested on July 7 in Dzoge County in Sichuan Province, according to Tibetan Centre for Human Rights and Democracy (TCHRD).

The centre said Kelsang's arrest was "not unexpected".

Kalsang, better known by his pseudonym Gyitsang Takmig, a township in Amdo province in northeast Tibet where he is from, had been suspected of committing "political error" and had been on the move for at least a year before being arrested last month.

Despite repeated enquiries being made by his family members, no response or reasons have been given so far by the officials for his arrest.

Family members think his role in alarming the situation in Tibet and the treatment of Tibetans under the Chinese rule could be the reason.

In August 2009, months after the widespread anti-China unrest in Tibet, a video appeal recorded by Kalsang managed to slip out through the Chinese border security. In the video, Kalsang urged the international community to "act swiftly on behalf of the Tibetan people" to end repression in Tibet and also called for the return to Tibet of the Dalai Lama.

In the video, he gave detail account of Tibetan history since the flight of Dalai Lama into exile, suffering of Tibetan people, the hopes and aspirations of Tibetan people inside Tibet and his appeal to the outside world.

Besides glorifying Tibet's past history, Kalsang talks about his fears for the survival of Tibetan religion and culture, the crackdown over the past year and the general human rights abuses perpetrated by the Chinese authorities.



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According to TCHRD, the video testimony, which is one hour long, was recorded on July 18 2009. It was later edited with extra input of related video footages and snaps for a final version in a VCD that was widely distributed in many Tibetan areas in Gansu, Qinghai and Sichuan provinces that are part of the traditional Tibetan provinces of Amdo and Kham.

According to sources Kalsang wanted to distribute the video as widely as possible inside Tibet to "educate primarily the illiterates and general Tibetan public" with the "true history of Tibetan struggle for freedom, the Dalai Lama's call for the genuine autonomy through middle-way approach and human rights situation in Tibet" to counter the "daily dose of government-sponsored propaganda".

Sources told TCHRD that Kalsang had recorded and distributed over 2,500 copies of the VCD.

Kalsang, who identifies himself on the video as Gyitsang Takmig, is a monk of Gyitsang Gaden Choekorling Monastery in Sangchu County (Ch: Xiahe), Kanlho (Ch: Gannan) "Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture" (TAP), Gansu Province. The region was one of the main focal points of the 2008 anti-China protests in Tibet.

Kalsang is said to be well known locally for his writings and even published a book in 2008 called "*Miyul la phulway Jamba*," or "Love dedicated to the human realm," a book that highlights the concerns and aspirations of the Tibetan people.

The report on Kalsang's arrest comes amid prosecution of several other prominent Tibetans that include writers, bloggers, singers, artists and influential cultural figures, and lately even successful businessmen.

Following widespread unrest against Chinese rule in 2008, China unleashed a new wave of crackdown in Tibet to squelch all forms of dissent. And those now targeted also include Tibetans once known for having close ties to the government and for carefully eschewing politics.

Tibet observers describe it as the largest crackdown on Tibetan intellectuals since the end of China's chaotic Cultural Revolution in 1976.

Uprising that began in Lhasa in March 2008 led to the most sustained Tibetan uprising against Chinese rule in decades. Demonstrations swept towns throughout Tibet, where occasional protests still continue, and security remains extremely tight.

China says not more than 22 people died in the 2008 unrest. Tibet's government in exile here and pro-Tibet groups say more than 200 people were killed in a subsequent crackdown by Chinese military troops.

This story has been read 3644 times.

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## Author and activist Kalsang Tsultrim arrested

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MCLEOD GANJ, India, 23 August 2010 (Tibet Sun)

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An outspoken Tibetan author and activist in Tibet has been arrested by Chinese authorities in July, another in a string of arrests of high-profile Tibetans.

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Kalsang Tsultrim, who produced and distributed a video message in 2009 about human rights violations and repressive Chinese policies in Tibet, was arrested on 7 July 2010, according to the Dharamshala-based Tibetan Centre for Human Rights and Democracy.

He was one of several Tibetan artists and intellectuals arrested in recent months, in what activists say is the biggest suppression of Tibetan culture and expression in years.



Kalsang Tsultrim, who reco China's human rights violati subjected to in Tibet. Tsultr away from the authorities fc 2010. (Video grab/China)

Links

Prominent author Tragyal was arrested in April, while environmentalists Karma Samdrup and Rinchen Samdrup were given lengthy jail terms earlier this year. Dorje Tashi, one of Tibet's richest businessmen, has been sentenced to life in prison for helping exile groups.

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Tibet Sites

Tibetans across the region rose up against Chinese rule of Tibet in March 2008, following bloody riots in Lhasa on 14 March of that year. China accused the Dalai La unrest, a charge they deny.

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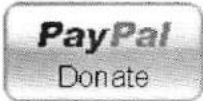
Tsultrim was arrested at Dzoge County in Sichuan Province. His family members reportedly made not given any response nor the reasons for his arrest.

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Better known by his pseudonym Gyitsang Takmig, Kalsang Tsultrim has been under suspicion of in been on the move for at least a year to keep away from the authorities.

Family members believe that the arrest was due to his expression of alarm over the situation in Tib



recorded and distributed 2,500 copies of a video cd which discussed Tibetan history and contained people in Tibet. He also wrote *Miyul La Phul Ve Sempa (Sharing the Inner Thoughts in My Heart)* the Tibetan people.

Kalsang's arrest is an example of the current pattern of targeting Tibetan intellectuals, which include influential figures, a sign activists say shows China hardening its policy on Tibetan affairs.

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Kalsang Tsultrim's video testimony is translated into English from the original Tibetan as follows:

*Translation courtesy: International Campaign for Tibet, Washington, USA, [www.savetibet.org](http://www.savetibet.org)*

(PART 1 - 2)

Tibetan brothers and sisters who share the same nationality and fortune, on this day in 2009 I take this risk to mark this year as the anniversary of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, Tenzin Gyatso, the Boddhissatva for us, being in exile for 52 years, and of the 10th Panchen Lama being in a dark prison for 15 years. [2009 is also the 20th anniversary of the year of the 10th Panchen Lama's death.] What I call my video is 'A Report on the Human Rights Situation in Tibet.' Whether Tibet survives or becomes extinct, I have become encouraged to voluntarily do something to realize the great struggle of Tibetans.

Freedom to me is a right entitled to every Tibetan in terms of preservation of culture, religion, tradition and in terms of maintaining the Tibetan way of life. It isn't necessary to mention that Tibet is a territorial entity with its own unique history, way of life, and abundant cultural heritage. Tibet has been a unique entity since the time of the 33rd King of Tibet, Songtsen Ganpo, who is commonly recognized by all Tibetans.

However, because we all know what the Tibet of today is like, we have to bury our tears and grievances deep in our hearts. Freedom in Tibet was taken away in 1951 with the signing of what they called the "17-Point Agreement." The so-called "17-Point Agreement" was signed with an ill-intentioned purpose. Speaking either in terms of narratives by those outside Tibet at the time, or according to those historical records by Tibetans, it was signed under duress, which is something everyone is clearly aware of. It is obvious that there was no conformity among the parties, be it the Dalai Lama and Panchen Lama, or Mao Zedong, the then Chairman of the People's Republic of China. Tibet was torn apart under these circumstances. In 1959, after China's military invasion of Tibet, Tibet was officially occupied forcing His Holiness the Dalai Lama into exile on the day of March 17. His Holiness the Dalai Lama, who to us Tibetans is like our eyes and our heart, decided to go into exile in order for the sun to rise again one day in Tibet. Following his escape, since March 22, 1959 there has been a violent crackdown and mass killing openly initiated by the invading forces of China, turning Tibet into a place where anyone who spoke the truth would be arrested and detained. So this is what they call the "Peaceful Liberation of Tibet."

But how can it be called the "Peaceful Liberation of Tibet," when thousands were killed and many more were detained, causing unprecedented social chaos in this once peaceful land? After that, and notwithstanding his own personal safety, the 10th Panchen Lama bravely submitted a "70,000 character Petition" during the Cultural Revolution, the time of madness and mass destruction of Tibetan identity and cultural tradition. His petition eventually led to a long period of detention, during which the humiliations and sufferings he faced were unimaginable. Basic

freedoms have been so non-existent in Tibet that even a very important figure like the Panchen Lama was detained for simply speaking the truth.

From the early 1980s onward, a relative sense of freedom was beginning to return to Tibet in terms of recovering from the fatal destruction done to Tibetan culture and tradition. However, looking back over the last 50 years, what the Chinese think of the Tibetan people is very vividly described as "a seed growing out of blood" the Chinese have always defined Tibetans as enemies. This is because the Chinese do not want, nor are they interested in, the Dalai Lama, Tibetan culture, religion, or tradition. All they want and are interested in is the geographical area of Tibet, which is rich in natural resources. I think this is true considering those Chinese policies that have been implemented in Tibet, such as the birth control policy, and restricting monks from joining monasteries, etc. I think those policies are aimed at eventually eliminating the very Tibetan identity. As a Tibetan, I think we should seriously think about these implications.

Unable to work for the welfare of the Tibetan people, His Holiness the [17th] Karmapa also escaped to India [in 1999-2000] in search of a freedom that would guarantee him an environment in which he could really work for Tibetans. Likewise, Arja Rinpoche [former abbot of Kumbum monastery in Qinghai who defected to the US in 1998] was told by the Chinese government to invite the 11th Panchen Lama recognized by China to Kumbum Monastery. However, Arja Rinpoche argued that Tibetan culture and religious traditions should be respected, as clearly stated in the Chinese Constitution, and because of that he also had to leave Tibet. So by looking at these examples, it is obvious that there is no freedom at all in Tibet.

The Tibetan Government in Exile and Tibetan support organizations had been fighting for the independence of Tibet from 1959 until the 1970s. By the late 1970s, however, His Holiness the Dalai Lama began advocating the Middle Way Approach. What I understand of the Middle Way Approach is that it is genuinely based on achieving mutual benefit for both sides, a peaceful solution based on understanding.

The idea of the Middle Way Approach is generated from Buddhist teachings. It is a political approach to achieving a genuinely autonomous Tibet where Tibetans are guaranteed rights to preserve their own culture and maintain their own traditions and way of life within the framework of Chinese Constitution. All those guarantees for the rights of ethnic minorities are actually clearly stated in the Chinese Constitution, and thus the Middle Way Approach proposed by His Holiness the Dalai Lama is not contrary to Chinese law. Also, in 2005 Bapa Phuntsog Wangyal [the first Tibetan Communist, now in his eighties and living in Beijing] tirelessly wrote letters to President Hu Jintao, clearly stating that the Middle Way Approach is the best solution, that it is based on mutual benefits to the Chinese and Tibetan people, and that it is a far-sighted proposal for finding a peaceful solution to the Tibetan issue. Those letters by Phuntsok Wangyal have been published in "New Generation."

The situation in Tibet today is such that the Tibetan language has been marginalized to the point that all government offices only use Chinese as the official language. Sometimes, ordinary Tibetans who have to go to government offices are scolded and called animals by Chinese officials because they do not understand Chinese. Racial discrimination is prevalent everywhere. No Tibetan is spoken at meetings or used in government-related work. This is the conspiracy in

the current policy. The kind of political conspiracy I understand it to be is one that is distorting history, and anyone who speaks the truth about it will be connected to this "conspiracy," thus making anyone's thoughts deemed to be politically incorrect. This clearly shows that there is no freedom, particularly for ethnic minorities.

I want to talk about this political conspiracy from two points of view: one where it is something that we can easily see, while the other is where it is taking place under the surface. The facet of the political conspiracy that we can easily see and feel is the high-handed policies of the Chinese government, while the other facet relates to the degeneration of Tibetan culture, and the economic and political environment.

I am now in my twenties and as far as I am concerned, I have never experienced a situation where a Chinese has pointed a gun at my head, nor have I ever experienced physical maltreatment from a Chinese person. However, as a Tibetan living in Tibet, the sufferings faced by my fellow Tibetans, needless to say, are my own sufferings. As I have pointed out above in terms of the degeneration of Tibetan culture, language and tradition, there is always an impartiality with those teachers' concepts of teaching in schools in Tibetan areas.

So in the first aspect of this "political conspiracy," students never get to learn what they are supposed to, making school just a kind of formality. Tibetan students never get the opportunity to properly learn professional skills in school. This situation emerges from policies aimed at systematically corrupting the future generation of Tibet in order to disempower them and make them unable to stand on their own feet.

Secondly, and in terms of mineral resources and the destruction of Tibet's environment due to excessive mining, large amounts of resources that cannot be counted in terms of money have been transported to China. Everything in Tibet, including water from the three main rivers, the Driчу (Yangtze), Machu (Yellow) and Dzachu (Mekong), gold, and other valuable mineral resources are all taken to China. Also, many places in Tibet are used as a dumping site for nuclear waste. These are steps to undermine the very identity of Tibet. I am speaking these truths based on my own observations and understanding.

Speaking about the situation in nomadic areas of Tibet, a significant increase in the construction of Chinese styled houses has been carried out in the name of urbanization, centralizing nomads in towns and cities. The real motivation behind this is to fundamentally change the style of living of Tibetan nomads, the very culture of Tibetan nomads. Mao's plan in the early days to migrate Chinese settlers to regions like Yushu and Golok have been restarted, with more and more Chinese migrants settling in Tibetan areas.

Speaking about the situation facing Tibetan farmers, they are forced to plant bushes in their fields; their right of choice is not at all respected, which is also a long-term political conspiracy of the Chinese government.

Freedom to preserve our Tibetan culture and religion has been completely restricted for 50 years, and these violations of our rights are rapidly accelerating as there is no respect paid to the laws in China's Constitution on autonomy for nationalities. A Tibetan who loves Tibet should never let

these restrictions define them. As is written in an article: "When we laugh, we laugh together, and when we mourn, we mourn together. It is time now to speak up for truth, justice, and the pain caused by the distorted propaganda and education that is getting more severe."

So a Tibetan like Lobsang Tashi (Tapey), who set himself on fire because he was unable to bear all of the suffering [the Kirti monk who set himself on fire in February after the local authorities banned a prayer ceremony, his whereabouts is currently unknown]; like the monk from Ragya monastery [in Qinghai], who jumped into the river; like Jinpa and Thysum from Mayur who committed suicide after being tortured in prison; like Thupten Ngodup, a Tibetan in exile who committed suicide by setting himself on fire due to his desire for human rights; and like those Tibetans who have been killed and detained since last year's protest: those Tibetans have sacrificed their lives for the Tibetan people's cultural, traditional and economic rights. Even though Tibetans are terrified to speak up against those sufferings due to the heavy-handed policies and crackdowns on dissent, the resentment and grievances are always there deep down in the heart of every Tibetan.

Sometimes it is believed that a few people speaking up will not make a difference, but given the crisis we face in terms of the survival of our culture and identity, we must stand up. While the Tibetan people are living in constant fear and under such severe repression, it is unavoidably an obligation of the international community, including the UN, to pay attention to this. We should not be engaged in our own internal conflicts, but rather, we should be aware of the outside factors that threaten us. Our parents were killed, our sisters and brothers were killed, they all died for Tibet.

Tibet is not just a name, Tibet is more than that. Anyone who loves Tibet should do something and speak out. Following the example of Tibetans like Khenpo Jigme Phuntsog [the late senior lama from Larung Gar, Serthar], who dedicated his life to the preservation of Tibetan Buddhist culture, or like Kongthang Tsang who refused to accept the 11th Panchen Lama appointed by the Chinese government. They suffered a lot simply because of their love for Tibet. After these sacrifices, a Tibetan who indulges only in his or her own personal well-being is worse than an animal. We should always think of ourselves as an ethnic group with a vital cultural heritage and a tradition we should be proud of; however, this is dying out. We should realize that there is always a danger that the Tibetan ethnic group is going to be like today's Manchurians who exist in this world by name only, and we should be aware that this is exactly how the Chinese policies are transforming the Tibetan ethnic group.

Today I am here speaking of these things, not as a hero of the nation or scholar, I am speaking as a Tibetan who is unable to bear what is going to happen [to Tibet]. Those senior officials, like the head of Gannan prefecture or county should really take it seriously. However, while it is understandable that it is really difficult for people who live in such a repressive environment to speak up, people are dying and there is no time to wait.

India gained its independence after being colonized by Britain for 200 years. Under Mahatma Gandhi's leadership, many people sacrificed their blood for independence through the use of non-violence, so we Tibetans also should follow their steps.

His Holiness the Dalai Lama, who is now 74, has been working tirelessly for the wellbeing of the Tibetan people. He also feels happiness and sadness, so as the proverb says: "People miss their home when they get old, birds miss their nest when they are old." It is my biggest wish that there will be a reunion of all Tibetans soon.

The Middle Way Approach, which uses non-violent means in the hopes of achieving mutual benefit for both Tibetans and Chinese, is commonly recognized and supported worldwide. We Tibetans should also be able to stand on our own feet. How should we do this? It is, of course, difficult to ask lamas to do this or that, considering that they are also living under the gun which I mentioned above as in the example of Chadrak Rinpoche, who was arrested simply for showing his objection to the recognition of the Chinese appointed 11th Panchen Lama.

It is the shared wish of all six million Tibetans to find a peaceful solution to the Tibetan issue through the Middle Way Approach, which is based on achieving mutual benefit and understanding for both Chinese and Tibetan people, as is proposed by His Holiness the Dalai Lama and all Tibetans. However, the Chinese government has never taken it seriously.

Transcription (PART 3 - 4)

The Chinese government has said that Tibetan protesters killed many Chinese civilians during the unrest last year. In fact, it was the Chinese military that cracked down on peaceful Tibetan protesters. Many Tibetans sacrificed their lives for freedom. And while they hated the Chinese government, rather than resorting to violence these Tibetans used courage in the face of death to fight for freedom.

We have seen many things happen in other countries after the crackdown in Tibet, and how many lives were lost just as in Tibet last year due to the military, but Tibetan protesters did not use violence.

The only acts of violence committed by Tibetans were by those martyrs who set themselves on fire and those who committed suicide by jumping into rivers in the name of freedom. We Tibetans protest against Chinese rule because of the policies against us, an invisible destruction of the basic cultural, economic and political identity of the Tibetan people inside Tibet. This is not to say all Chinese people think this way, but the Communist government is more concerned with implementing its ambitious development policies rather than with the well-being of the Tibetan people. We cannot stand idly by as the government distorts the truth with its propaganda. I have no regrets if my life has to be sacrificed for my country and fair treatment of my people.

Despite the oppression of the Chinese government, what we have to do as Tibetans is come together and develop the ideas [and strategies] necessary to protect our cultural identity. And we have to choose our own way without being controlled by anyone else. It is not a given that we believe in the government's distorted information, nor is it necessarily the case that we have to protest against it, as it is obvious that the government would deal such things with lethal force, causing the loss of more lives and Tibetans being hated by more Chinese. Even though tens of thousands of Tibetans have been killed by the Chinese military forces since they started occupying Tibet, we are not thinking that we should take more Chinese lives in order to avenge

those lost Tibetans, who sacrificed their lives for truth and justice. So how can we hate the Chinese?

We are a new generation and we work for truth and justice despite the Chinese government that is willing to take the lives of more and more Tibetans. We are very committed to protecting truth and justice. I am standing in front of the camera here today [as evidence of this]. In the same way, many domestic publications in Tibet, including Shar Dung ri (The Eastern Mountain), Tsen po Nyiangtob (Dedication of (Tsenbo) Tibetan King), Nga shon sarba (New Generation), Nge phayul dang shevi Jiangdrol (My Homeland and Peaceful Liberation) as well as other publications outside Tibet, all contain that strong expression of the pain of Tibet and her people under Communist rule. [These are literary publications with Tibetan views about the protests and their consequences, and experiences of imprisonment and loss].

Many Tibetan intellectuals and educated people already understand what those books have expressed and revealed, but due to the threats of the Communist government's rule very few people dare to pass on real information concerning the people inside Tibet. So many nomads and people living in rural areas simply don't know about the Tibetan issue. Today I am here, facing danger, hoping that that my voice will reach those uneducated people inside Tibet and also the people around the world whose positive research approaches the reality on the ground inside Tibet. Therefore everyone, both Tibetans and people of the world, have the responsibility to make clear the distinction between right and wrong, and let people around the world see who was wrong and who made mistakes.

I am here today, and while I cannot encourage other people to speak out, I am determined to do whatever I can. Tibetan religious lamas should respect our real history, speak the truth, and work for it. Tibetan officials in Tibet should protect their positions and salaries given to them by the government, but must be concerned with the wellbeing of minorities, such as Tibetans. You should not accept your wages without upholding justice for the people.

We do not have freedom of religion and politics because most of the religious and political websites are full of propaganda that distorts the situation. We do not hate the Chinese, but we respect truth and justice. We were protesting against Chinese rule because the local authorities are not acting according to China's Constitution and autonomy laws. The Prime Minister of the People's Republic of China said that China respects truth and justice. But Tibetans don't have equal religious, political, and economic rights. So, many Tibetan people sacrificed their lives to protest against Chinese rule [over the past year], including myself here today, because we want equal human rights and freedom.

We will never give up our fight for freedom and truth until Chinese policies change regarding the implementation of the Constitution. We have been fighting for our freedom for more than 50 years, but the Chinese government has refused to hear us and ignored us until today. So far, the Chinese government has charged numerous Tibetans who love peace and truth under the criminal code with such crimes as being a counter-revolutionary and destroying social stability, putting them in prison for terms varying from 10-18 years to life.

In fact, we are not the criminals. Chinese rule is criminal. Even the Chinese government makes accusations against His Holiness the Dalai Lama and his Middle Way Approach, calling him and his supporters the "Dalai clique" and "separatists." It is well known that the Middle Way of His Holiness the Dalai Lama is the best way to solve the problem between Tibet and China. It will bring benefit for both Tibetans and Chinese. But still, the Chinese government refuses it. How would the Chinese act if we Tibetans took the picture of Mao Zedong over the Tiananmen Gate and trample it into the ground? And yet the Chinese authorities did this to His Holiness the Dalai Lama's photo many times in monasteries. Did the Chinese government feel the pain of the Tibetan people? What would the followers of Christianity and other religions do if you vilify their leaders? Do you know how it feels to be accused of being a criminal? This is the only reason why Tibetans always call for people around the world to support justice and truth.

The return to Tibet of religious leaders such as the Karmapa, Arjia Rinpoche, Samdhong Rinpoche [the Tibetan Prime Minister in exile], and especially the leader of Tibet, His Holiness the Dalai Lama, would build a positive, harmonious and peaceful society between Tibetans and Chinese. The return of His Holiness the Dalai Lama is fundamental to establishing harmony between China and Tibet.

Every Tibetan has the same thought that I just expressed because they love their country and their religious leader. However, they cannot speak those words in public without facing arbitrary arrests and a crackdown by authorities. The responsibility of our new generation is to continue to protect our Tibetan identity despite the repression and threats from the government. I'm here today to speak the truth, everyone loves and respects the truth, it doesn't matter whether you are a religious person, or a politician, everyone has the right to speak the truth. The pain that I have in my heart is shared by all Tibetans, but we have no chance to express it living under Communist Party rule.

Little of Tibet will remain if the current situation under Chinese rule continues. Tibetans have not stopped voicing appeals for freedom for their country and people, but many of them have disappeared because of the lack of freedom in the region. Every Tibetan feels pain due to the destruction to the environment, extraction of natural resources, economic marginalization and social exclusion.

His Holiness the Dalai Lama had no choice but to flee the Chinese military forces in Tibet for the outside world, and has for more than 50 years been tirelessly working for our country and people through peace and non-violence. Tibet once had a population of six million, but now it only has four million after many were killed and birth control policies were implemented, on top of which is the effective transfer of Chinese into Tibet that is out-pacing the Tibetan birth rate in the region.

For example, the population in Gannan Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture in Gansu province had reached around 120,000 to 130,000 in 2003-2004, but in 2009 it is only 80,000 to 90,000. This same situation is happening to the Tibetan population throughout Tibet as well. The population of monks in Gannan Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture was around 13,000 in 2004, but in 2009 there are only 8,000. This number was issued by the local authorities based on people's identity

cards, so they know how the population has reduced between these four years. Looking at these numbers, the troubling situation for Tibet's culture and traditions is clear.

The Chinese people need birth control because it has a massive population, but not enough territory. We Tibetans do not need birth control, because we are an ethnic minority with only a very small population. The Tibetan territory takes up 40% of China, but with only four million Tibetan inhabitants. As for Chinese cities, such as the capital city of Gansu province, Lanzhou, the population has reached over 3,000,000. The whole of China has around 1.2 to 1.3 billion people, and therefore they could not survive on their own land due to the limited availability of shelter and food. So, the Chinese government's policies in Tibet are aimed at killing native Tibetans and restricting their fundamental rights in order to absorb this ethnic group into the Han Chinese. However, Tibet has monks and nuns, whose vocation works to naturally control the Tibetan population.

The laws on regional autonomy in the Chinese Constitution say to respect the fundamental rights of Tibetans, but the reality is completely different and our fundamental rights are not being respected at all. Tibet is governed as just another territory or region in the People's Republic of China, but nothing is done to build the harmonious society that the government promotes. Tibetans have no psychological harmony because we have only pain inside due to Communist rule. His Holiness The Dalai Lama is very famous in the world today, everyone respects and honours him, but he is 74 years old now; he must miss his homeland very much, because when people become old, they miss home just as when birds get old, they want to return to their nests. Every Tibetan is hoping for His Holiness the Dalai Lama to return to Tibet and negotiate with Chinese leadership in peace. That is the only wish of every Tibetan.

However, the Chinese government does not treat Tibetans as human beings or allow us to revere His Holiness the Dalai Lama, or even call for his return. It will cause great heartache for Tibetans if His Holiness the Dalai Lama passes away outside of Tibet, because the connection between the Tibetan people and His Holiness the Dalai Lama is like the one between a child and their parents. Taking care of and protecting parents should be the responsibility of the children, but we Tibetans have not been able to do this for more than 50 years. We can only wear a fake smile for the Communist government in Tibet or risk imprisonment.

And the Western Development Program ['Xibu da Kaifa', Beijing's economic strategy for the Western regions of the PRC, including Tibet], which has been underway for years in Tibet, maintains the same purpose as other policies, including the control of more resources through road construction in remote areas. This has not benefited the local Tibetan people, but rather, has benefited the Chinese migrants. The Western Development Program has brought a lot of new construction to Tibet, but this is owned by Han Chinese and rented by Han Chinese, so what benefits remain for local Tibetans?

Many people worry that Tibet will turn into Manchuria, which is what the Chinese government would like to see. This is the only real opportunity to be a Tibetan freedom fighter and express the real situation to the world so the world will know what the Chinese government envisions for Tibet. Educated Tibetans and intellectuals cannot write the real history of Tibet because of restrictions on publishing Tibetan books, or hold artistic performances that deal with the reality

of what is happening in Tibet, or conduct traditional religious activities, without the permission of authorities.

The authorities ban these types of practices because they know that these activities would clear people's minds and reveal the truth when the façade created by the government's propaganda is stripped away. I'm here today to express the pain inside me due to Chinese rule. This doesn't mean that I'm a good speaker, or that I'm very knowledgeable. But the pain inside me serves to motivate me to speak out regarding the fact that there is no freedom in Tibet.

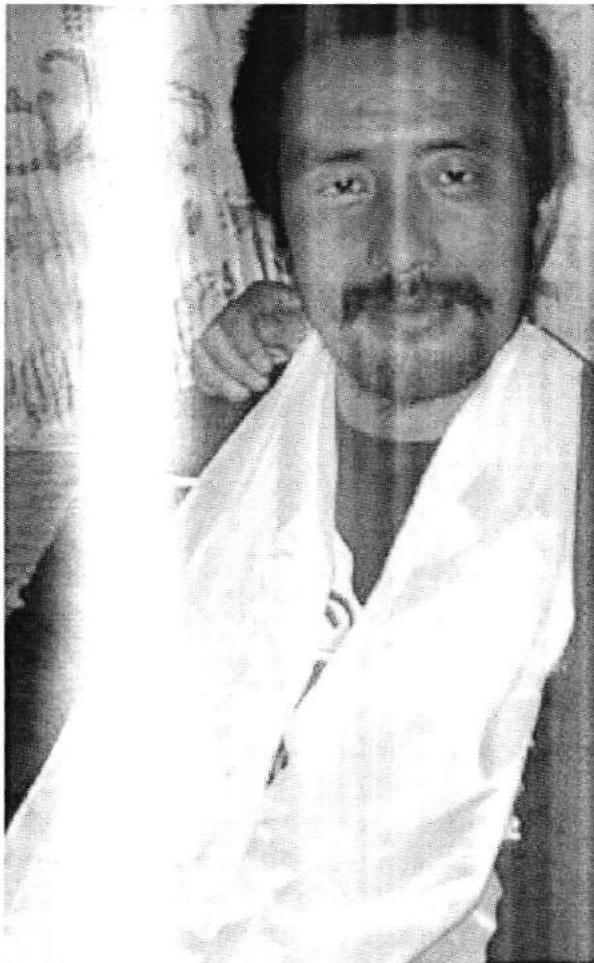
For example, the peaceful protest this year at Lutsang monastery in Qinghai, and the student protest at Sangchu Tibetan Middle School. The Constitution of the People's Republic of China actually states that everyone has a right to demonstrate as long as they do not destroy the government or other people's property. However, we saw with our own eyes the tight security and the pressure on the teachers at Sangchu school after the peaceful demonstration, in which the school director and some students were expelled. Most teachers did not receive their last pay check, and restrictions were put in place on the number of students allowed to attend university this year.

What appears in this video footage is the pain of the Tibetan people under Chinese rule, as well as facts about what has happened in Tibet in the past and what is going on in Tibet today.

**MODEL QUESTIONNAIRE TO BE COMPLETED BY PERSONS  
ALLEGING ARBITRARY ARREST OR DETENTION<sup>1</sup>**

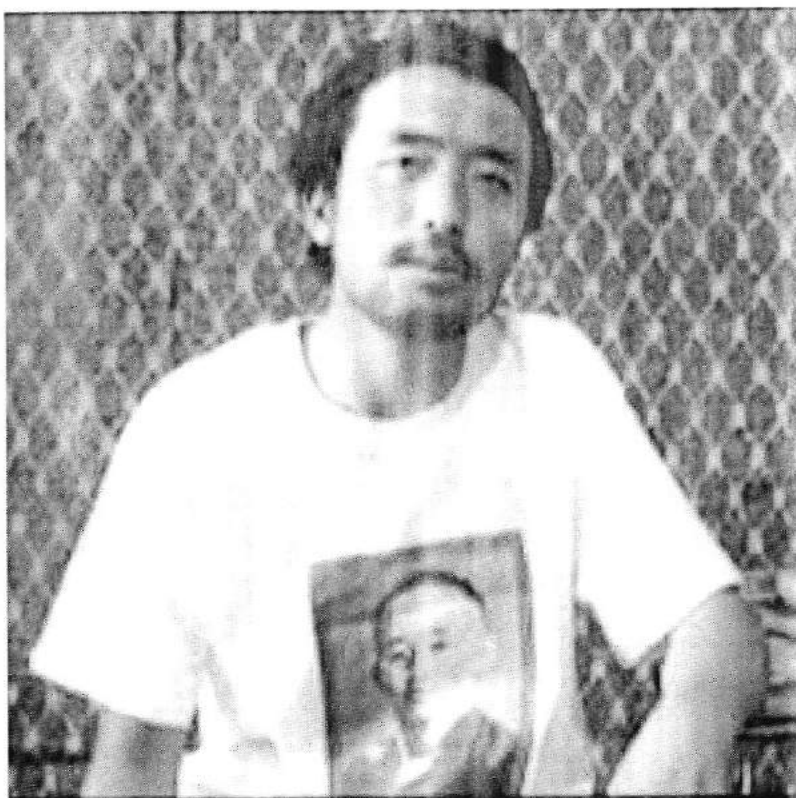
**I. IDENTITY**

1. Family name: .....
2. First name: ...Kalsang Tsultrim [Chinese characters: 格桑楚臣(音)] .....
3. Sex: Male
4. Birth date or age (at the time of detention): .....1980 , 30 years old.....
5. Nationality/Nationalities:.....Tibetan.....
6. (a) Identity document (if any): .....pictures below.....



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<sup>1</sup> A separate questionnaire must be completed for each case of alleged arbitrary arrest or detention. As far as possible, all details requested should be given. Nevertheless, failure to do so will not necessarily result in the inadmissibility of the communication.



(b) Issued

by: .....

(c) On

(date): .....

(d)

No.: .....

7. Profession and/or activity (if believed to be relevant to the arrest/detention):

.....Kalsang undertook an awareness raising activity to counter government propaganda. He authored a book in Tibetan language titled *Miyul La Phul Va Sempa* (summarized as *Sharing the Inner Thoughts in My Heart*) and also made and distributed widely video recording of his opinion regarding the Tibetan freedom struggle, the Dalai Lama's call for genuine autonomy through middle way approach and human rights situation in Tibet. Around 2,500 copies of the VCD were distributed in his native county and the neighboring counties. He understood the risk he took in committing this *political error* and has been on the move for around a year to remain safe from the authorities until his arrest in July 2010.

On 25 August 2010, a team of around seven Xiahe County Public Security Bureau officers arrived at Kalsang's monastery, Gyitsang Gaden Choeling Monastery, for

investigation and collection of evidence. The officers were investigating the source of fund for the VCD. They also took along a copy of Kalsang's book as evidence when they left the monastery. It clearly shows that he has been arrested for his activity in publishing .....

8. Address of usual residence:

....His usual residence will be his monastery, Gyitsang Gaden Choeling Monastery, at Xiahe County, Gansu Province.

He was born in Sangchu County, Gansu Province, in 1980 to Samphel (father) and Kyi Re (mother). For nine years he studied at the local primary school. At 13 years of age, he enrolled in Gyitsang Gaden Choeling Monastery where he stayed until 2005. Thereafter, he joined Kanlho Buddhist Institute and completed his further studies in 2009. He is still affiliated to Gyitsang Gaden Choeling Monastery.

## II. Arrest<sup>2</sup>

1. Date of arrest:.....27 July 2010.....

2. Place of arrest (as detailed as possible):

.....Along with a friend, he was arrested at Dzoge County, Ngaba Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Sichuan Province.

3. Forces who carried out the arrest or are believed to have carried it out:

..... Dzoge County Public Security Bureau .....

4. Did they show a warrant or other decision by a public authority?

No

5. Authority who issued the warrant or decision:

.....  
.....  
.....

6. Relevant legislation applied (if known):

.....No charges have been drawn so far by the Public Security Bureau but it is expected that ultimately the court will convict him under the legislation "Endangering State Security" .....

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<sup>2</sup> For the purpose of this questionnaire, "arrest" refers to the initial act of apprehending a person. "Detention" means and includes detention before, during and after trial. In some cases, only section II, or section III may be applicable. None the less, whenever possible, both sections should be filled in.

### III. Detention<sup>3</sup>

1. Date of detention: ... He was arrested on 7 July 2010 at Dzoge County and immediately taken away for detention at Hezuo City Public Security Bureau Detention Centre...

2. Duration of detention (if not known, probable duration): .....Exactly a month at the time of case submission.

3. Forces holding the detainee under custody:

.....Hezuo City Public Security Bureau.....

4. Places of detention (indicate any transfer and present place of detention):

.....He is known to be detained at the Hezuo City PSB Detention Centre since his arrest.....

5. Authorities that ordered the detention:

.....The County and Ganan Tibet Autonomous Prefecture are believed to have jointly ordered his detention.....

6. Reasons for the detention imputed by the authorities:

.....No official reason has been given by the authorities for Kalsang's detention. When he finally arrived at the Hezuo PSB Detention Centre, their inquiries were absolute....

7. Relevant legislation applied (if known):

.....At the moment he is not charged but most probably he will be charged for "Endangering State Security".....

IV. Describe the circumstances of the arrest and/or the detention and indicate precise reasons if you consider the arrest or detention to be arbitrary <sup>2/</sup>

<sup>3</sup> For the purpose of this questionnaire, "arrest" refers to the initial act of apprehending a person. "Detention" means and includes detention before, during and after trial. In some cases, only section II, or section III may be applicable. None the less, whenever possible, both sections should be filled in.

.....Taking a great personal risk in countering government propaganda, Kalsang undertook an awareness raising activity in Tibet to educate primarily the monks and the public about the true history of Tibetan struggle for freedom, the Dalai Lama's call for genuine autonomy through middle way approach and his current situation in Tibet. In order to widely reach the illiterate audience, he made a video recording of his opinion on 18 July 2009. About 2500 copies of this widely distributed video CD touched upon many recent events in Tibet and Chinese government policies which led to the displacement of a large number of Tibetan nomads in the name of development, and thereby completely altering their nomadic way of life. The video also touches upon Tibet's natural resources, destruction of fragile environment, economic marginalization and social exclusion of Tibetans, lack of freedom etc. The message also appeals to the United Nations and International community that they have moral obligation to speak on behalf of the Tibetan people inside Tibet who are living in constant fear and under severe repression. Besides the VCD, Kalsang had also authored a book titled *Miyul La Phul Ve Sempa (summarized as Shunpa's Inner Thoughts in My Heart)*, a book which illustrates the concerns of the Tibetan people.

Right from the beginning Kalsang knew that he was at a great personal risk in committing this *political error* and has been on the move for at least a year to remain safe from the authorities. He was finally arrested on 7 July 2010 in Dzoge County in Sichuan Province. His arrest is not unexpected. ....

V. Indicate internal steps, including domestic remedies, taken especially via the legal and administrative authorities, particularly for the purpose of establishing the reasons for detention and, as appropriate, their results or the reasons why such steps or remedies were ineffective or why they were not taken

.....At the time of arrest, a friend was arrested along with Kalsang Tsogden. However, the PSB released him after two days detention. He later informed Kalsang's family about his detention at the Hezuo City PSB Detention Centre. The family travelled to the detention centre to inquire about the reasons and well being of Kalsang but the officials did not respond to any of their questions. The family is illiterate and financially poor, hence they have not acquired the service of a lawyer at the time of submission of this case to the WGAD. In ethnic Tibetan areas of the People's Republic of China, people do not approach the legal and administrative authorities since it is considered an exercise of futility in view of the political situation in the area and the government's strong fist response to anything politically challenging the government and its bodies. ....

VI. Full name and address of the person(s) submitting the information (telephone and fax number, if possible) <sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup> If a case is submitted to the Working Group by anyone other than the victim or his family, such person or organization should indicate authorization by the victim

Mr. Tenzin Norgay

Research and UN Affairs

Tibetan Centre for Human Rights and Democracy  
Top Floor, Narthang Building  
Gangchen Kyishong, Dharamsala  
H.P. - 176215, India

Tel: +91 1992 223363 / 229225 9816676427 (cell)

Fax: +91 1992 225874

Email: [tenzinorgay@tchrd.org](mailto:tenzinorgay@tchrd.org) / [tenzinnorgay@gmail.com](mailto:tenzinnorgay@gmail.com)

Website: [www.tchrd.org](http://www.tchrd.org)



Date: ...27 August 2010..... Signature: .....

.....

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or his family to act on their behalf. If, however, the authorization is not readily available, the Working Group reserves the right to proceed without the authorization. All details concerning the person(s) submitting the information to the Working Group, and any authorization provided by the victim or his family, will be kept confidential.

*Truth is what I want to protect*

*Lies are what I want to hate*

*These are the goals of my life – Gyitsang Takmik*

### **“I will not close my eyes even in death”**

(Note: This is the abridged translation of the texts of the video appeal by the arrested Tibetan monk Gyitsang Tsultim or Gyitsang Takmik. His book *Miyul La Phuhwai Sempa* (roughly translated as: *Offering My Mind to Exile*) was published in 2009.)

Tibetan brothers and sisters from the Land of Snow, it has been 52 years since His Holiness was forced into exile and 15 years since the abduction of Eleventh Panchen Lama by the Chinese authorities. On these occasions in 2009, I have found the courage to take great risk to record this appeal against the denial of basic rights in Tibet. Tibet is now facing live and death struggle.

A Tibetan saying says “all suppressions are suffering and all freedoms happiness.” But how do we talk about the word ‘freedom is happiness’. Freedom to me is the right to preserve my culture, practice my religion and to maintain my Tibetan way of life. It goes without saying that Tibet is a nation with its own unique history, way of life, and abundant cultural heritage that goes back over millenia.

However, today Tibet [under China] has no freedom. It has become a place where we have to bury our tears as the tears gnaw from inside. In 1959 His Holiness was forced into exile and the Communist Government declared so-called liberation of Tibet during which hundreds of thousands of Tibetans were killed and many more were imprisoned. But how can it be called the ‘Peaceful Liberation of Tibet’?

Sacrificing his personal safety and privileges Panchen Lama wrote his historic 70,000 Character Petition in 1987 which he was denounced as a ‘feudal lord’. Later he was imprisoned for nine years and eight months. Basic freedoms were and are non-existent in Tibet. This was clear from imprisonment of a very important figure like the Panchen Lama for simply speaking the truth.

This is 2009. If we reflect on the last 50 years — a book published in exile clearly stated that ‘China is always for the Chinese. Chinese authorities always consider Tibet as its enemy. They do not want the His Holiness Dalai Lama, the Tibetan culture, religion or Tibetan traditions. China only wants Tibet’s natural resources’ — I think this is true considering Chinese policies in Tibet such as the birth control, suppression of religion, population transfer etc. which are aimed at eventually eliminating the very Tibetan identity. As Tibetans, we should seriously think about its implication.

The lack of freedom and suppression of religion in Tibet can be seen from the lives of Gyalwang Karmapa and Arjia Rinpoche. Unable to work for the welfare of the Tibetans, they went into exile in search of freedom that would guarantee them an environment to work for Tibetans.

China’s suppression of Tibetans has two levels. The first is the more tangible one in terms of physical harassment of anyone who speaks about the situations in Tibet today. Using tools such as ‘engaging in political activism’ and ‘holding wrong political thoughts’ those who speak the truth are persecuted. This is done by sending soldiers and other security personals all over Tibet, who use modern weapons to arbitrarily arrest and force people to live in constant fear. Thus freedom of thought is denied.

The other level of suppression is subtle and less tangible in the form of denial of political rights and declining economic situation, and the destruction of Tibetan culture. There is discrimination in education where Tibetans schools are never taught subjects such as science and arts in the same standard as are taught in the Chinese schools. Tibetans do not get professional skills and equal job opportunities. This is a political scheme to disempower them.

There is also a dangerous trend to sinocise all aspects of Tibetan way of life. Throughout Tibet farmers are driven into urban towns and nomads are forced into permanent settlements. Additionally huge number of Chinese settlers is brought in whereby Tibet’s unique culture and traditions are permanently destroyed.

At such a critical time, we cannot remain silent. We must speak. In an essay I read earlier that it was written that ‘it’s great if we all laugh together, and it will be courageous if we all cry and die together.’ We must speak the truth. It makes me unbearable to witness all these deceptive policies and wrong the education system in Tibet.

I am now in my twenties, but personally I have never experienced a situation where a Chinese soldier pointed a gun at my head. I have also not experienced ill-treatment from a Chinese. However, as a Tibetan living in Tibet, the sufferings my fellow Tibetans face are my own sufferings.

Lobsang Tashi [name] from Ngaba in Amdo province sacrificed his life for his country, people and their rights as the local authorities banned religious ceremonies. Recently a monk from Ragya Monastery also sacrificed his life due to severe restrictions on religious freedom. Likewise, Pawo Thupten Ngodup in exile self-immolated to demand freedom for Tibet. There are thousands of Tibetans being tortured in Chinese prisons. All of them have the same vision for a free Tibet, where we have political freedom, economic rights and freedom to protect our culture.

The majority of Tibetans are cowed down by suppression, fear and crackdowns by the Chinese authorities. As a result, many think that we have all to lose and nothing to gain. But deep down every Tibetan has resentment and grievances stored in their hearts.

Sometimes it is believed that a few people speaking will not make a difference. Yet given the fact that our culture and identity faces life and death struggle, we have to stand up. Drawing inspirations from the example set by Gunthang Jampalyang, who refused to accept the Chinese appointed Eleventh Panchen Lama, and Khenpo Jigme Phuntsok, who dedicated his life in the preservation of Buddhist culture, we must speak.

Today, I am speaking about these things not because I am a scholar but because my flesh, blood and bones are inherited from my Tibetan ancestors. And the Tibetan language has given me the strength to speak. I can no longer bear the situation in Tibet. People are dying and there is no time to wait. Everyone must speak. This is also true for those who work for the Chinese government. If their fate is linked with rise and fall of the Tibetan nation, they must work for the people's happiness.

Realising that thousands of Tibetans sacrifice their lives for Tibet, those who work for the Chinese must have the courage to tell the truth. This was what the Indians, under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, did to free themselves from the British and they won independence in 1947. If we follow their example, it is likely that we will win freedom soon.

His Holiness the Dalai Lama is now, and has been working tirelessly for more than 50 years for Tibet. As the Tibetan proverb says 'old man longs for his home and an old bird its nest' and likewise His

Holiness too misses and longs to come back to Tibet. This is the sole wish of all Tibetans in and outside Tibet. For this to happen even if we have to speak against the barrel of a gun, we must do so with total conviction and courage.

We are a new generation who work for truth and justice despite the fact that the Chinese authorities are willing to take more and more Tibetan lives. We are very committed to promoting truth and justice. [That is why] I am standing here today. Similarly, many books published in Tibet such as *Shar Dung Ri* (Eastern Snow Mountain), *Tsenpoi Nyingtob* (Fierce Courage), *Na Shon Sang* (New Generation), *Ngai Phayul Dang Shiwai Chingtol* (My Land and 'Peaceful Liberation') as well as other publications in exile strongly express the sufferings of Tibetans under the Communist rule.

It is not that we cannot carry violent activities or that we are incapable of carrying them out. Many have sacrificed their lives for Tibet and hence it is not that we do not have courage to use any means. But under the leadership of His Holiness the Dalai Lama we fight for justice through non-violence. We will never resort to terrorism as is being done in other parts of the world. We have also no plans to avenge the hundreds of thousands of Tibetans who were murdered.

Yet looking at today's situations of the farmers and nomads, then it is worth sacrificing one's life. In this way, I have the willingness to sacrifice my life for Tibet when a circumstance requires and I will have no regrets. If all of us remain united and think likewise, we will realize our common aspiration.

It is not necessary for all of us to take to the streets for Tibet with our fists raised in the air. Through writing we can tell the truth about the real situation in Tibet. Today I am here, in the face of the danger, hoping that that my voice will reach those who are inside Tibet and around the world.

Everyone has the responsibility to talk about right and wrong. If one is a lama, he has the duty to tell the truth and if one works for the government, then he must speak the truth because his salary is tiny compare to all the sacrifice people are making. If the Tibetan students know that the education system does not provide them the necessary qualifications they should boycott by not attending classes. Likewise, Tibetans must stop using Chinese clothes and stop eating Chinese food. If think in this way, it is not necessary for all of us to take to the streets raising our fists. We do not hate the Chinese people, but we respect truth and justice. We are against the Communist China's rule.

Premier Wen Jiabao said that China respects truth and facts. If this is so then why is that I as a Tibetan do not have the freedom to learn my language, promote my culture and practice my religion? This is why lamas, monks, government officials, students and all other lay and monastic people must engage in civil disobedience by boycotting in all their respective works. Is it possible to boycott in all activities? The answer is that all the patriots who march forward ready to sacrifice their lives do so for Tibet and the Chinese people and never for any personal gain. If they can sacrifice their lives for Tibet, then we can do the same and boycott in our works.

For the past 50 years we have suffered under the oppression. Each time we humbly submit an appeal, the Chinese government does not accept it. In fact today anyone who tells truth is considered as a criminal, though this is the China rule that is criminal. Moreover, the Chinese authorities call His Holiness 'a wolf in sheep's clothes' and his followers 'Dalai clique' and 'separatists', which deeply hurt the Tibetans. How would the Chinese people feel if we take down the portrait of Mao Zedong from the Tiananmen Square and trample on it?

Taking down the 'Dalai clique' photos, burning and tearing them have caused deep wounds in the Tibetan hearts. If the true friendship is to be built between the Tibetan and Chinese people, then His Holiness and the Tibetan Government-in-Exile must be allowed to return and engage in genuine talks with the Chinese government to solve the issue of Tibet. Only then a true harmony between the people can be built. No matter how many times the Chinese government talks about harmony and peace, it is all in just empty words.

His Holiness has traveled all around the world, everyone respects and honours him. But His Holiness is 74 years old and he must miss his homeland very much. It is the wish of every Tibetan for His Holiness to return to Tibet and negotiate with Chinese leadership in peace.

However, the Chinese authorities do not treat the Tibetans as human beings, and deny us the right to revere His Holiness and even call for his return. It will cause a great heartache for every Tibetan if His Holiness is not allowed to return to Tibet because the bond between the Tibetans and His Holiness is like a child to a mother.

Many worried that Tibet will face the same fate as that of Manchuria. This is what the Chinese government is doing. In this historical opportunity, Tibetans in and outside Tibet who share a

common aspiration, must be able to sacrifice their lives for justice and freedom of the Tibetan peoples.

The crackdowns on artists and intellectuals are increasing. The authorities ban all types of publications because they know that these would clear people's minds and break down the wall of lies the government propaganda has built.

I'm here today to express the pain I feel inside due to the Chinese rule. I am not a good speaker nor very knowledgeable. But the pain inside me pushes me to speak out for the sake of freedom in Tibet.

The images you see in this video are testimonies to sufferings of the Tibetans under the Chinese rule. Generally, I write essays and books about the situation in Tibet. However, since the majority of Tibetans [in Tibet] are illiterate, I chose to make this video appeal so that even a nomad in the hills can hear it.

Finally, the Tenth Panchen Lama said that 'I will never engage in a single thing in my life that will harm the courageous and hard working people of Tibet,' and that 'Until and unless I am able to clear this impression of backwardness in the Tibet people, I will not close my eyes in death.' Drawing inspiration from our leaders such the Panchen Lama, we must have vision for a united Tibet and to preserve our culture and speak in pure Tibetan. We must not engage ourselves in petty issues. These are my final appeals.

*Translated from Tibetan by Bhuchung D. Sonam*