



GU CHU SUM

The Gu-Chu-Sum Movement of Tibet
Association of
Ex-Political Prisoners

Tibetan Envoy Newsletter

Oct 2006 Issue 6

A writer and a victim of injustice..



His real name Lobsang Kelsang Gyato, but has been writing under a pseudonym Dolma Kyab to avoid the fear of imprisonment. The 30 year old writer is from Dholha county. Amdo which lies in the eastern part of Tibet. He did his high school and on 5th of November 2002, escaped to India as a refugee. He studied in Transit school in Dharamsala.

He returned to Tibet at the end of year 2004 and became a teacher in one of the schools in Lhasa. He had written a book which dwelled on Tibet's geography, religion and history and is named as Himalaya: The restless Zone. He was taken into custody on the charges of Endangering States Security on 9th of March the same year by the Secret Service Agency. He was detained and interrogated in Sangyib detention centre. Dolma Kyab was only 29 years old when he was arrested. On 19th of september 2005, he was convicted of disclosing state's secret however, Dolma kyab refused the charges against him. On 30th of November 2005, he was trialed for the second time and sentenced to 10 years of imprisonment. He was convicted of an attempt to murder the informer who unveiled his works to the Chinese authorities. Later in prison, he smuggled out 5 different applications to the United Nation stating that he was apprehended by the chinese police on an account of false charges against him. Dolma Kyab was imprisoned in Nyethang prison. But when discovering he had a tuberculosis he was transfered to Sangyib prison. He was sent back to the Nyethang prison after a month and still languishing in this prison. On 17th of August, one of the high officials of central chinese govt. stated with ambiva-

lence that a political prisoner named Dolma Kyab is not in any of the prisons in Lhasa. However they convinced that there is a criminal named Dolma Kyab in Kardze prison. This portrays the very corrupted mind of chinese authonties and is being considered the same charges against Trulku Tenzin Delek who was accused in planting bombs. We received an information that DolmaKyab is being called as Tochu in the prison. It is a Chinese name and we assume that even in his judicial record, his name is written as Tochu. Inshort, chinese govt. has always disgrace our history and is always in pursuit of creating lies and weaving history of their own to shed the truth to the whole world. We the Gu Chu Sum Movement of Tibet strongly condemn the false approach of the Chinese government. Dolma Kyab has been detained under a false charge and it is the duty of TGIE and NGO's to condermn the Chinese govt. for the arrest of Tibetan writer. There cannot be a peaceful negotiation between Chinese and Tibetans if the very idea and the approach of Chinese government is corrupted. This is not the first incident, in the year 1998 in Lhasa's Drapchi prison, there occured a turmoil and chaos that led to the death of 9 political prisoners they disclosed the wrong information to the members of Human Rights Comission of United Nation stating that it was a false statement. However after mounting pressures from UN, they finally admitted that they had never heard of such case. It is the policy of communist government to provide imprecise evidence and telling bunch of lies to prove their authenticity. therefore in Drapchi prison, the incident that happened proved to be a fake incident. If there is no prisoner named Dolma Kyap in any of Lhasa's prison, we therefore ask the whearabout of Tochu who is a political prisoner languishing in prison.

Message from President



I pay my deep respect to all the peace loving beings and my sincere thanks to all the supporters of Tibet whose unconditional support has kept our spirit of freedom alive.

From the advent of Chinese in 1949 and the invasion of Tibet in 1959, 1.3 million Tibetans were killed under the direct Chinese occupation. A tremendous destruction has been brought into Tibet. Chinesees have robbed Tibet's natural resources and thousands of monastories were demolished. There has been continous violation of Human Right and no freedom of religion are given in Tibet. The marginalisation of Tibetan is Highly visible with the influx of Han Chinese into Tibet. In a way, Chinesees have brought so much destruction in the name of liberation of Tibet. We condemn Chinese Government for their insatiability in robbing natural resources, bringing destructions and incessant violation of Human Rights in Tibet.

In the name of Liberation, Chinesees have brought hunger, destruction and thousands of Tibetans were brutally killed under their oppression. Tibetans are suppressed from raising slogan of freedom, many Tibetans are expelled from schools and monastories. They are also denied of any good job. As a result of which thousands of Tibetans flee to India. Today, there are about 150 political prisoners who are suffering under the Chinese authority. There should be consistent effort to stop Chine Govt. from furthur demolilishing our resources, however at this moment i find it very important to discuss the following points.

1. Immediate release of the youngest political prisoner Gedun Choekyi Nyima

and the upliftment of released political prisoners.

2. Should put an end to such actions which harm the environment and the natural vegetation of Tibet.

3. There should be an interference from International Communities to look into the real situation of Tibet

4. There should be an equal job opportunity between Tibetans and Chinese. Tibetans shouldn't be barred from applying for jobs.

5. If the Chinese Government continues to oppress and violate Human Rights in Tibet. Then we call upon to withhold the year 2008 Olympic in China.

comemorating an occassion

Gu Chu Sum commemorated the occasion of the 27th of September. On that day the chief guest was the chairman ATPD Mr Thumten Phelgyal who gave the speech commemorating the occasion. Not only the gathering was attended by the head of the regional welfare office, representatives of monasteries and organisations, large



number of lay people and monks also attended the function and participated in the incense prayer. (Songsol)

Incense prayers and entrusting good favour ceremony (Tinchol) were offered in the morning. Later, the students of lower TCV sang the national anthem with the musical band.

Candlelight vigil was also organised in the evening in which a large number of people participated. The function was first started with a speech by the head of Gu Chu Sum working committee Ven Ngawang Woebar who gave an introductory speech.

The day commemorates and marks an event in which monks of Drepung monastery along with a large number of people in Lhasa staged a peaceful rally around the main street on 27th of September 1987, which marked a chapter or an era in Tibet's history. The committee commemorated the nineteen years since that event and it also marked the founding of Gu Chu Sum Committee in exile.

In the year 1959, the Chinese occupied Tibet and it has been forty seven years since then within that period brave men and women sacrificed their lives for Tibet's freedom, were commemorated and the political prisoners who are still in terms with their sentences in the prisons and those who were released from prison yet lost directions in their lives facing great difficulties in societies are being remembered and acknowledged for their im-



mense sacrifices. Ever since Tibet was first occupied by Chinese, His Holiness and CTA in order to solve this problem adopted a non-violent means yet in contrary, with their statement China occupied the whole Tibet and it has been forty seven years now since then.

Within this period not only the ancient history of Tibet which has been thriving for more than thousand years has been destroyed, robbed and annexed, Tibet's natural environment was put to destruction. The natural treasures were exploited, deforestation was rampant and wild animals were either captured or killed. Many of the animals were reduced to thousands by number. The treasures and trees were used solely by the Chinese authorities and not a single seed was sown for the batterment of the livelihood of Tibetan peasants and nomads.

From the 1st July 2006, the train project

in Tibet was started without the support and wishes of Tibetan masses and also ignored the pressures and demonstration from the Tibet Support Groups which clearly further proved the nature of the violent and oppressive method of the Chinese authorities which is a true picture of the Chinese Government. Due to this project, the natural pastures used by the Tibetan nomads and natural vegetational potential has been drastically affected. The Chinese authorities have mainly put their own benefits at the front-line neglecting and ignoring the benefits of the Tibetan people at large.

Apart from the real facts, China has been continuously stressing and propagating on their part of liberation and development of Tibetan people to the world incessantly. The Chinese Govt's declaration of an independent Tibet and their means of developing Tibet is a mere act of superciousity and does not benefit Tibetans at all. It is a complete misformation to the people of the world. The marginalisation of Tibetan is highly visible with the influx of millions of Han Chinese into Tibet. Moreover they have built casinos and brothels to entertain and demoralise the very existence of Tibetan society. The anti-social elements like liquor and cigarettes are flourishing in the streets of Lhasa. Children as young as ten years of age are deeply involved in these anti-social elements. This portrays the Chinese Govt's consistent effort in ruining the peaceful atmosphere and in a way harm the very fabric of our society.

Tibetans are not provided the basic modern education and are being alienated from giving quality education. Chinese language is considered to be a primary language. Tibetans are forbidden to apply for the white colored job. This delineates the Chinese government's policy of eradicating Tibetans from any kind of job opportunity. Since from the year 1987, non-violence is the prime weapon to fight for our independence. Thousands of Tibetans had lost their life and hundreds are still languishing in various prisons in Tibet. They have gone

through the most traumatic experiences of their life and is deprived of any modern facilities.

The whereabouts of Eleventh Panchen Lama Gedun Choekyi Nyima is still unknown to the people of the world. The child is under captive from the year 1995 and we demand his whereabouts through the interference of United Nation's Child Right Desk.

There are about more than 150 long suffering political prisoners like Lobsang Tenzin, Bangri Rinpoche, Trulku Tenzin Delek, Chadrel Rinpoche, Jampa Thinley, Ngawang Phulchung, Ngawang Jungney, Thupten Yeshe, Jigme Gyatso, Phuntsok Wangdue, Bushob, Chime Dorjee, Dawa Gyaltzen and Dolma Kyap who are still languishing in various prisons in Tibet. We demand immediate release of all the political prisoners and specially the ex-political prisoners to provide their basic rights, for instance freedom of religion, health, education and financial help to uplift the dispossessed ex-political prisoners.

Moreover the Chinese authority should put an end to their constant act of threatening and infuriating the released political prisoners. They should refrain from alienating ex-political prisoners from the general masses. These days some people have this perception that no more pro-independence demonstration is taking place in Tibet, however the truth is Chinese government has put a huge restriction on Tibetan people and always keep a vigilant eyes on suspected Tibetans. They have even deployed a number of secret service agents to curb Tibetans from raising slogans from freedom.

It is indeed our heartiest welcome to the consistent effort from the TGiE in negotiating with Chinese Govt. down the years to solve Tibet's problem, and subsequent sending of His Holiness's envoys to Beijing to discuss the issue of Tibet with Chinese delegates. Our committee stands for complete independence from the establishment on 27th of

September 1991. The core reason is as unveiled in Tibet's history that Tibet was a free country. Since our organisation was formed by ex-political prisoners, we have borne the true experiences of torture being inflicted on us. When we were in Tibet, we have our firm believe and trust in His Holiness and TGiE for their approach towards our independence. Such motivations boosted our inspiration towards the freedom movement.

Therefore after arriving as refugees and the establishment of this committee, we firmly stand on Tibet's culture and environment and fully supported the middle path of His Holiness and TGiE, however the continuous decline and delay from the Chinese Govt's negotiation with TGiE and their burst of invectives to our Tibetan leader leads our organisation to stand for complete independence. We unanimously decided our stand on 27th of September 1991.

Under the guidance of His Holiness and TGiE pursuing the middle way approach to solve our problem, we have alienated ourselves from this pursuit and it is not a lone work and responsibility of His Holiness to struggle for Tibet's freedom. Every Tibetan must thrive hard for Tibet's independence. Two generations have passed since the annexation of Tibet, but no big events take place mainly because of the principle of non-violence.

Recently in the month of May, Chinese Govt. had again accused His Holiness of being a splittist, engaged in sedition etc. All these accusations are baseless and blatant lies. We in turn have unfolded the truth and inform the facts to the world with our 14 page report entitled <A Noble Being of 21st Century: His Holiness the 14th Dalai Lama>. If such accusations remain unanswered, it would definitely remain a black stain in our history.

There has been an incessant oppressions happening in Tibet. It is very evident from the re-introduction of patriotic re-education in three big monasteries

Drepung, Sera, Gaden in the year 2005 and 2006. Since many monks didn't abide to the newly amended law, it led to the expulsion of many monks from their respective monasteries. There had been a case of an untimely death of a monk in Drepung monastery. Moreover, there happened to be an expulsion of all the monks from Gaden monastery and two monks were imprisoned. They also try to create communal violence among the Tibetans. The Chinese gov't's policy of divide and rule and their method of disrupting the peaceful atmosphere clearly delineates the corrupted mindset of Chinese authorities.

In Tibet, the principle of non-violence and pursuit of middle path is being questioned among the youngsters. They are sceptical on the efforts put forward by TGiE on the pursuit of nonviolence. They have the perception that the principle might prove a constructive approach towards gaining independence during His Holiness's lifetime, however after the demise of His Holiness, violence and disruption are tend to occur in Tibet. Even the Chinese gov't. is desperately waiting for this day to come.

No matter how hard the Chinese Govt. try to defame and disgrace our Tibetan leader, truth always triumph and shine to the world. Very recently, US Congress presented His Holiness a Congressional Golden Medal, the highest honour bestowed on our Tibetan leader by US Congress. And was also honoured with a Canadian Citizen by the Canadian Govt. We congratulate His Holiness and is indeed a glory to all the Tibetan people.

We appeal to all Tibet supporters and international communities to mount pressure on Chinese government for their insatiability in robbing Tibet's resources. From the subjugation of Tibet in 1959, there has been continuous violation of human rights in Tibet. Not even in Tibet, the Tiananmen Square massacre that happened in 1989 is still remembered today as a black day in which thousands of Chinese students were brutally massacred in China. It clearly depicts the

barbarious nature of Chinese govt.in slaughtering the mankind and seizing the basic fundamental rights of every Tibetan. Therefore we strongly condemn the holding of the year 2008 OLYMPIC in China. It is our earnest hope that a day will come when there will be a grand celebration of His Holiness's return to homeland. No matter how hard the Chinese govt. tries to curb our freedom Movement, we shall never give up and our struggle will go on and on...

ment in Tibet after year 1999. In an information received by us, on that very day a monk raised a slogan of free Tibet in the main street of Lhasa's Barkor for more than 5 minutes, however he was immediately arrested by the Chinese police. We are yet to ascertain his name and the background but is believed to be a native of Toelung Dechen county. He was a monk in Takdak Monastery eight years ago. but During the period of patriotic Re-education launched in monasteries, he refused to abide to the newly amended law which resulted in his expulsion from the monastery. after his arrest, his whereabouts is still unknown to us.

school. The function was attended by imminent figures like PA Sudarshan, Chief executive Prof.Sanmdong Rinpoche, Former Chief Minister of Himachal Pradesh Prem Kumar Dhumal, deputy Speaker Karma Choephel, Dr.Agnohitri and many more.



Mr.Karma Chephel spoke on the Sinicization of Tibet. The Chief Guest Mr.PA Sudharshan showed his solidarity with Tibetans by commencing on the need of an international support to our cause. The function was ended with a concluding speech from our chief executive Prof Samdong Rinpoche

Bharat Sanyog Maanch Meeting

An Outcry for Freedom

There had been an outcry for freedom in Lhasa's Barkor on 3rd of September 2006. This is the first freedom move-

On 26th of October 2006, Indo-Tibet friendship association celebrated its 100th anniversary at Lower TCV

Three different workshops

On 31st of July 2006, the Gu Chu Sum working committee organised a day workshop at Sherab Gatsel Institute with all the students participated on the topic of democracy and human rights. The President of Gu Chu Sum working committee gave an opening speech followed by the speech of the Chairman of the Assembly of Tibetan people's Deputy, Mr Karma Choephel. He talked in great depth about the development and the purpose of democracy. In the evening, the human rights researcher of the working group Mrs. Dickyi Dolkar organised some human rights relevant activities. Moreover the students were given sometime for questions of students entertained and addressed, the workshop



was successfully concluded. No sooner another workshop was again held at Sarah Tibetan college of higher studies in which the ex-political prisoners shared their life history and their relevant activities.

The President of the working group Ven Ngawang Woebar introduced the aims and objectives of the Gu Chu Sum working committee followed by a talk by an ex-political prisoner Jigme Gyalpo. He talked about the Chinese ways and methods of torturing and fatiguing one's body since he himself had undergone such traumatic experiences. He genuinely shared his personal predicaments. Not only the students got to know about the difficulties faced by the ex-political prisoners through this workshop but they also get to know the real truth from them and they raised and voiced their full support. Our president and Principal Mr Phurbu Tsering initiated a strong movement by organizing a photo exhibition in and around Shimla depicting and exhibiting the real situation inside Tibet and the torture faced by the political prisoners. Their work was greatly appreciated and welcomed by the students and the public of Shimla.

A Protest Demonstration

On 24th of October 2006, we along with other NGO's held a protest demonstration from temple to kachari, lower Dharamsala. Several thousands Tibetans took part in this demonstration. The main aim of this demonstration is to ensure the Chinese government to acknowledge the illegal shooting at Nangpa pass and subsequent killing of innocent Tibetans. We also demand an independent investigation in the shooting incident and urge international community to mount pressure on China for the safety of Tibetans in Tibet. We strongly condemn the killings of two Tibetan refugees by Chinese people armed polices near Nangpa pass. The demised Tibet-



ans are confirmed to be Kelsang Namdrol, a seventeen year old nun and a 20 year old Kunsang Namgyal. On 30th of September, 71 Tibetan refugees were crossing Nangpa pass, suddenly PAP showered bullets on unarmed Tibetan refugees. The innocent Tibetans fled in different directions to rescue themselves, however only 41 refugees were able to made through this arduous journey. The remaining refugees were arrested by PAP and their whereabouts are still unknown. This is the not the first case of cold blooded murder of Tibetan refugees crossing Himalaya to seek political asylum and blessing of His Holiness. So far we do not have concrete evidence to prove our authenticity. However, this time we have an eyewitnesses who recorded gunfire being shot at Tibetans in their camera. The incident was also updated in one of the mountaineering websites mounteverest.net which clearly shows the unmercy killing of innocent

Tibetan refugees. This depicts the human rights violation is still prevalent and they defy the Article 14 of the universal declaration of human rights which stated that *"every one the right to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution."* The remaining refugees reached Dharamsala on the same morning and a press conference was held to disclose the truth to the people of the world.

In the evening around 5:30pm, we again organised a candlelight vigil from McLeod Ganj to the temple to pay homage to deceased persons and prayed for the immediate release of the arrested refugees. A video clipping of the gunshot at Nangpa pass was shown to the public. We the Gu Chu Sum Movement of Tibet calls upon the immediate release of



the arrested Tibetan refugees and ensure full justice to the Tibetans shot at Nangpa pass.

Press Release

16th September 2006, Gangchen Kyishong, Dharamsala

Recently in one of the Chinese websites, the newly appointed Secretary of Tibet's Autonomous region Mr Zhang Qingli accused His Holiness the 14th Dalai Lama of being a spiltist, engaged in sedition and questioned his role as a religious leader, by saying that his views conflict with religion. His burst of invectives were mere baseless and fabricated allegations and thus does not affect the worldwide image of our tibetan leader. Despite positive efforts being put forward by the TGiE and His Holiness to negotiate with Chinese Govt., they have always tried to character assassinate

our Tibetan leader and denounce the very existence of tibetan society at large. In this 14 page report titled "A Noble Being of 21st Century: His Holiness the 14th Dalai Lama", we have disclosed the truth and exhibit the real information to the people of the world. We have defended their fictitious accusations with an authentic report portraying their attack as a complete absurdity.

Our president Ven Ngawang Woeber urged tibetan writers to uphold the truth about Tibet with the might of pen in their books. Ven Woeber also discussed about the five round of talks re-started in 2002 that held between Chinese leaders and Tibetan envoys which so far has no substantial benefits to the TGiE. "This delienates the lack of sincerety from the Chinese Govt. and thus is a mere time consuming process which has no visible progress" said Ven Ngawang Woeber.

Former Chief Executive of the TGiE (Kalon Tripa), Mr Sonam Topgyal who was a chief guest at the press conference stated with conviction that there wont be a peaceful relation between Chinese and Tibetans if the very mind of chinese leader is corrupted. He further added that it is evident to remain a black stain in Tibet's history if such mendacious accusations remained unanswered.

The press conference ended with a question and answer session. In this edition, we have taken a few pages from our 14 page report and will continue to bring out the remaining pages in our next edition.

In defence of truth:

Rejoinder to an invective diatribe against His Holiness the Dalai Lama and his Middle Way Approach to peacefully resolve the portracted issue of Tibet.

1. New hopes on the horizon

Since the ongoing process of dialogue between Dharamsala and Beijing revived in 2002, His Holiness the Dalai Lama and the Tibetan Government In-Exile (TGiE) have been exceedingly re-

ceptive and compliant to the increasing demands of the Chinese leadership. Beguiled by a misplaced hope- against hope, His Holiness and the TGiE have also, on numerous occasions, exhorted the tibetans within and without Tibet, along with the Tibet Support Groups across the globe, to refrain from staging (aggressive) demonstration when chinese leaders tour foreign countries.

Whereas, on the contrary, exploitation and oppression continues unabated in Tibet under the colonial rule of the Chinese Communist Party. The propaganda mill of the regime continues to manufacture fabricated ambiguities and inconsistencies in the position of His Holiness and the TGiE, even though they have remained sincerely consistent down the years. Furthermore, in the recent past, Beijing's drive to characterize His Holiness has seen a renewed intensity. People like the regional party head of the so called Tibet Autonomous Region, Ching Ling Zhang, who lack even a modicum understanding of tibetan religion and culture, had taken to making willful accusations against His Holiness. He accused His Holiness of being a separatist, engaged in sedition and, questioned his role as a religious leader, by saying that his separatist views conflict with religion.

Mendacious accusations such as these, which have no effect whatsoever on the popularity of His Holiness, are consigned to the dustbin of history almost as soon as they pop up. The gesture and diction of the chinese leaders, who throw up such invectives, if at all any, only further validate the grisly fact that not even a semblance of change has come to pass on the deceptive, draconian and dogmatic nature of their policies vis-a-vis His Holiness the Dalai Lama and Tibet.

2. Regurgitating propaganda

In the recent past, other than Ching Ling Zhang, various officials of both central and regional authorities in China had been outright indignant His Holiness the Dalai Lama and his Middle-Way Approach, mainly with fabricated and mendacious allegations. What is most common in this renewed propaganda is the allegation that His Holiness had always harbored the desire for independence.

To begin by analyzing this accusation in its actual historical perspective, His Holiness the 14th Dalai Lama has been one of the foremost, who had collaborated with China in building a harmonious nation, wherein both tibetans and chinese can co-exist in peace. In order to secure an adequate level of autonomy for tibet, His Holiness, and the Government of Tibet headed by him, sent a delegation to Beijing in 1951. At that time, if His Holiness had harbored the idea of continually resisting the Chinese tooth and nail, he would not have blown his chance to flee from Dromo to India, instead of returning to Lhasa, then under siege by Chinese troops. Would he not.

The decision to send delegates to Beijing was his first bold initiative towards collaborating with China, as His Holiness viewed his quest for a peaceful settlement with the Chinese as consistent with the evolution of history. The chinese, unfortunately, not only dismissed squarely all the propositions tabled by the Tibetan delegates, they also forced them to sign under duress the so called treaty of 17-Point Peace Agreement. Recalling the actual events, the Chinese interpreter of the Tibetan delegation, Phuntsok Tashi Takla, quotes in his memoirs, the leader of Chinese representatives, Li weihen, as saying

Our forces are already in Tibet. It is as simple as dispatching a telegraphic message. How do you want to be lib-

erated peacefully or violently? It's your call. {An Account of My Life, Vol.1, page 51. }

The Tibetan delegates thus have had only two options, whether to accept the forced treaty on toto, or to preserve in their efforts to forge a mutually-beneficial settlement, reached on equal footing. The Tibetan delegates chose the latter. However, once the Chinese gave their ultimatum of an immediate, military aggression on Tibet, the signing of the Agreement was no longer an option. Even the seals affixed to the document were forged by the Chinese to give it the necessary semblance of authenticity.

The treaty, needless to say, was the first spark that lit the inferno of Sino-Tibetan conflict. In fact, Mao Zedong himself, in the directive of central committee of CPC on the policies of our work in Tibet, issued on 6 April 1952, admitted:

(N)ot only the two Silons (i.e. prime ministers) but also the Dalai and most of his clique were reluctant to accept the Agreement and are unwilling to carry it out..... As yet we do not have a material base for fully implementing the agreement, nor do we have a base for this purpose in terms of support among the masses or in the upper stratum. [Selected works of Mao Tsetong, Vol 5, Foreign Language Press, Peking]

Although the 17-Point Agreement between the Tibetan government and the People's Republic of China was not reached on an equal footing or through mutual consent, His Holiness the Dalai Lama had returned from Dromo to Lhasa, in order to continue his quest for a peaceful settlement with the Chinese. For eight years since 1951, His Holiness the Dalai Lama made all possible efforts to reach a peaceful settlement with the Chinese government.

Even after His Holiness the Dalai Lama and the Kashag arrived in the Lhoka region from Lhasa in 1959, he continued his efforts to achieve a negotiated settlement with the Chinese military Officials. Unfortunately, the Chinese army unleashed a harsh military crackdown in Lhasa, Tibet's capital, and this convinced His Holiness the Dalai Lama that his hope for co-existence with the Chinese government was no longer possible. Under the circumstances, he had no other option but to seek refuge in India and work in exile for the freedom and happiness of all the Tibetan people.

3. Deng's proposition

The decades of 70's and 80's saw a massive overall transformation in the world. Under the weight of the changing dynamics of international politics, China had to adapt (at least outwardly) its domestic and international politics, including its economic system. In 1979, the then Chinese paramount leader, Deng Xiaoping, initiated a proposal through Gyalo Dhondup, an elder brother of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, to the TGiE, conveying that "except independence, all other issues can be resolved through negotiations."

His Holiness and his Government responded favorably by sending three fact-finding delegations to Tibet in 1979 and 1980. His Holiness has since, for an umpteenth number of times, expressly reiterated that if Tibet is granted a status of genuine autonomy, he will forsake independence, and accept unification of Tibet with the Greater China.

Despite China's continued apathy to the peace overtures of His Holiness, along with the constant downplaying of the issue of Tibet to that of His Holiness' personal status once he returns to Tibet, His Holiness, on his part, has persevered in his efforts to broker a peaceful settlement between the Tibetans and the Chinese, which he believes best serve both the short and long-term interests of the two nationalities. His Holiness has ex-

ounded his proposal explicitly in his address to the United States Congress human rights Caucus on 21 September 1987, further elaborating on it later on 15 June 1988, at the European in Strasbourg.

Despite an unending trajectory of internal and external constraints, in addition to the innumerable concomitant calamities of social evolution, His Holiness has remained steadfast in his position on the issue of Tibet ever since he assumed state responsibility at the tender age of 16. Although His Holiness' position has been crystal clear to the world at large, the leadership in Beijing, in a feigned ignorance and confusion, continues to cold-shoulder His Holiness as "a separatist".

The fact that the proposition of "The Middle-Way" has remained dormant for lack of Chinese response, provides a distinct opening for us Tibetans who still cherish independence, which is in fact the dying wish of all the brave men and women who have perished under the excesses of the Communist regime. Although we are not oblivious to the fact that the Tibetan resilience may not withstand the full onslaught of the mighty Chinese military, the resolve of our spirit can never be subdued, let alone extinguished. Besides, the changing fulcrum of global politics also compliments the fruition of our ultimate cause.

4. Pseudo arguments rehashed under pseudonyms

In the recent past, the China Information center had posted online a shoddy commentary entitled "On the Middle-Way of the Dalai Lama", under a pseudonym of Yedor. He was actually a division-level official, Palden Dhondup, faithfully toeing the diktat of the United Front Work Department. Originally written in Chinese, a Tibetan fendering of the article was produced after securing clearance from the relevant authorities. Only a cursory glance at the article will suffice to get a feel for the inveterate

mendacity of the Communists and, how fabrication runs in the artery of Chinese politics. Fabrication is in fact an inherent malaise for them.

The apropos commentary had dismissed the proposition of uniting all Tibetans within the ambit of one autonomous entity as a travesty of the Chinese constitution. The article further claimed that "the Dalai Lama sticks to 'large Tibetan Area' [a united Tibet, with all its three traditional provinces] that, however, does not exist in history." Whereas, the chairman of the Tibet Autonomous Regional Government, Jampa Phuntsok (Ch: Qiangba Puncog), was once quoted as saying that the so-called Greater Tibet had existed during the reign of the Choe-gyal emperors (from the seventh century). This indicates the extent of the fabrication of his fellow comrades resort to, in distorting the history of Tibet.

On the issue of uniting Tibetans under one political entity, the 10th Panchen Lama has stated,

[The phenomenon of] integration to disintegration, and disintegration to integration, are a historical reality. The inception of a greater Tibet autonomus region is only a matter of feasibility. I don't believe in the so-called separation or sedition.

Although China accuses His Holiness of being a separatist, in reality, the main culprit for fuelling separatism is China itself, which panders to the needs of its dominant nationality [Han Chinese] by oppressing and exploiting its minority nationalities. History has no precedent for the magnitude of ubiquitous exploitation and oppression ruthlessly carried out under the regime of the Chinese Communist. Under the same old colonial policy of 'divide and rule', the people of Tibet today have been divided into eight parts; other than TAR, most of them are in the Chinese provinces of Qinghai,

Sichuan, Yunnan and Gansu. (Even Jampa Phuntsok himself had admitted that the Communists have divided the historically united people of Tibet.) It is thus quite apparent that His Holiness the Dalai Lama is the victim, not the perpetrator, of seperatism.

In one concrete proof of how China has colonized Tibet, all the key positions of the (Chinese) bureaucracy in Tibet, from top brass to the rank and file, are comfortably occupied by Chinese. The most powerful position, that of the Secretary of the “TAR” Communist Party, has been held only by Chinese. No matter what position a Tibetan occupies, he always has a “junior” Chinese official “under”him who exercises the real power.

In the arsenal of colonial tools China has effectively employed to break resistance and consolidate control, the large-scale population transfer poses the greatest threat to the survival of Tibet and its people. The extent of the overwhelming influx of Chinese settlers may be gauged from the following example: of the 12,827 shops and restaurants in Lhasa city (excluding Barkhor),only 300 are owned by Tibetans. In Tsawa Pasho, the ownership ratio is similar in other Tibetan towns: 748 to 92 in Chamdo, 229 to 3 in Powo Tramo. The situation is far worse in the urban centres of Amdo, where, according to one British Journalist, Tibetans are reduced to “tourist curious”.

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Our Activities

- Organizing exhibitions, lectures, talks, and interviews with former prisoners.
- Publishing the annual magazine “Tibetan Envoy”.
- Organizing education and job training programs.
- Providing housing, employment, medical care, and economic assistance to former prisoners.
- Sending money and clothing to the prisoners and their families in Tibet.
- Maintaining a database of political prisoners and ascertaining the health conditions and treatment of political prisoners in Tibet.

