

Tibet

PRESS WATCH

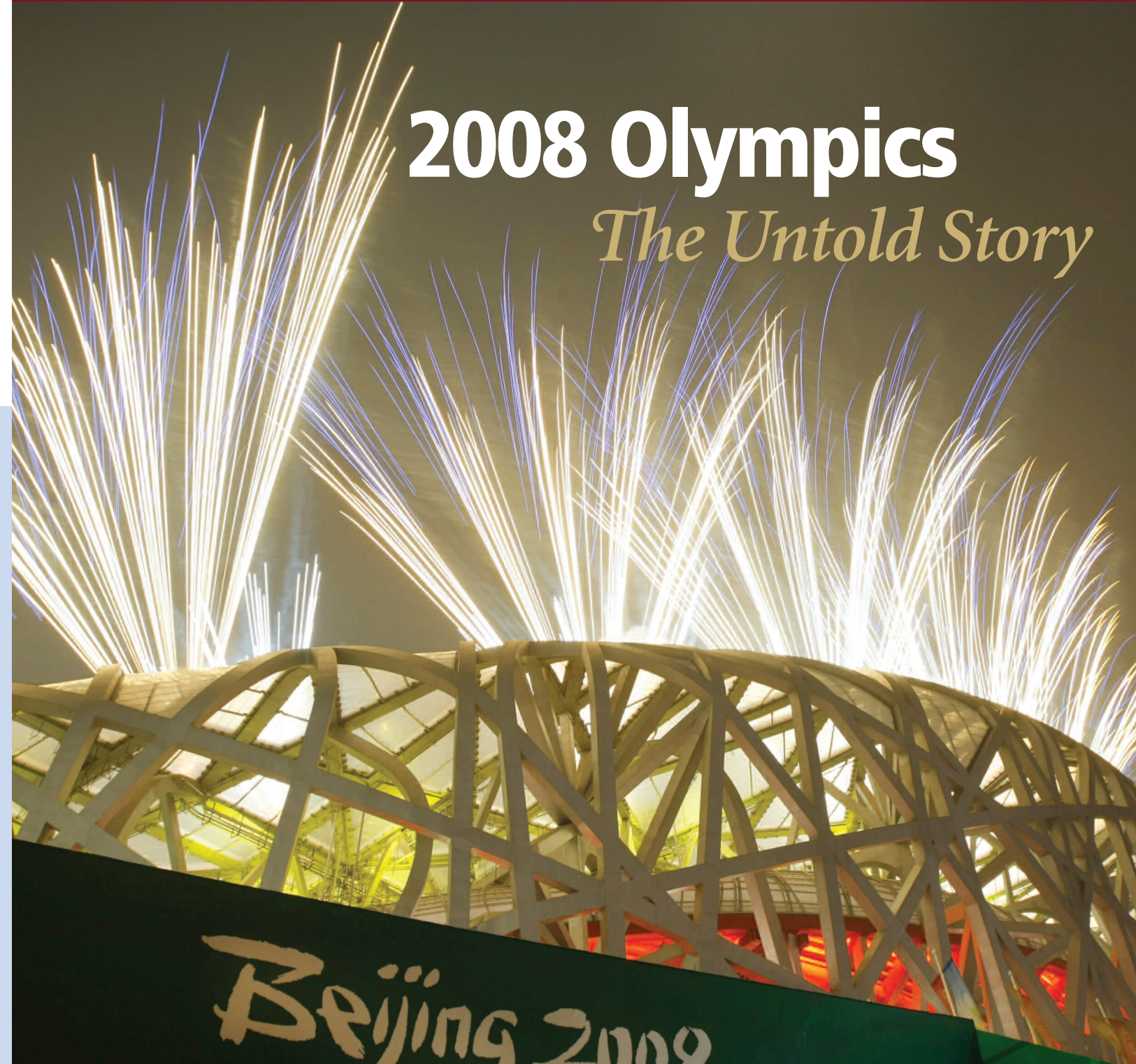
SUMMER 2008
*A publication of the
International Campaign for Tibet*

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- In Memoriam: Taktser Rinpoche
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 - Nancy Pelosi's Letter to President Bush
 - New Report:
Tibet at the Turning Point



2008 Olympics

The Untold Story



Beijing 2008



Detained:

Sangye Lhamo, a 26 year old nun from Dragkar nunnery in Kardze, was detained on May 28 when she distributed leaflets during a peaceful protest in the town market square. She is currently being held in Kardze town jail and has been denied family visitation.

དགྲེལ་འཁོར་ཚོགས་པ།

MANDALA SOCIETY

YOUR LIVING LEGACY TO TIBET

The Mandala Society is an intimate group of Tibet supporters, committed to helping future generations of Tibetans. By including the International Campaign for Tibet in their will or trust, Mandala Society members ensure that ICT will continue to have the resources to promote a peaceful resolution of the occupation of Tibet, and will be able to help rebuild Tibet when Tibetans achieve genuine autonomy.

For more information about Mandala Society membership, please contact Chris Chaleunrath at 202-785-1515, ext. 225, members@savetibet.org, or use the envelope attached to this newsletter to request a call.



The Mandala Society of the International Campaign for Tibet

TIBET PRESS WATCH

The International Campaign for Tibet works to promote human rights and democratic freedoms for the people of Tibet.

Founded in 1988, ICT is a non-profit membership organization with offices in Washington, D.C., Amsterdam, Berlin and Brussels.

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From the President



John Ackerly, President

Dear Friend,

Transitions are a time of change — and of great opportunity.

I keep this firmly in mind as I announce to you my retirement as President of the International Campaign for Tibet at the end of this year. I've carefully weighed this decision, taking into account what is best for the organization, and am confident that this is the right decision at the right time.

With the mass demonstrations in Tibet this March, a newfound strength in the movement arising around the Olympic games, and many other factors, the need and potential for ICT's role has never been greater.

That's why I've urged ICT's Board to see my transition as a special opportunity. I believe that with high-level diplomatic, fundraising, and organizational skills, the next President of ICT could move us more quickly toward organizational growth and greater support from governments. And while I'm sad not to be a part of this effort in a full-time capacity, we must look ahead and seize this moment with new energy.

I'm very proud of all that we've accomplished during my time at ICT. When I took over as President in 1981, ICT's budget was \$1.4 million and we had 12,400 members. Today, our budget for all branches is nearly \$10 million, and we have over 100,000 active members, with four times as many non-contributing supporters. We opened offices in Amsterdam, Berlin, and Brussels, hired staff in India and Nepal, and have the potential to expand even further.

You will see the results of this broad scope in the pages of this issue of *Tibet Press Watch*, which focuses on the Beijing Olympics. The Board, staff, and volunteers of ICT have become my true friends, and I know I leave this exceptional organization in good hands as I join the Board of Directors. I will also remain involved with ICT's Rowell Fund. I'm glad that you, too, will continue to be a supportive ally in the mission to defend the people and ancient culture of Tibet.

In this time of transition, let's work together to achieve the potential of the opportunities before us.

Sincerely — and with thanks,

John Ackerly

I know I leave this exceptional organization in good hands.

Tibet Press Coverage

News Round-up

Overwhelmingly, media attention focused on China during the Olympic Games — but despite China's extraordinary efforts to manage everything reporters saw, actual news did slip out between glowing press releases about global harmony and the spirit of brotherhood.

China set aside three public places for demonstrations — but demanded protesters secure permission first. Although 77 groups attempted the process, no authorization was given. The handful of protests that did occur were therefore illegal and protesters subject to arrest. Alarming, there is evidence to suggest that simply applying for a protest permit was enough to cause retaliation by the state.

Outside of their efforts to control the Olympics, China continued to crack down on Tibetan freedoms. Outrage grew around the world as repressions of Tibet's citizenry continued to create a deliberate climate of fear. We are proud that our friend and long-time supporter Speaker of the House Nancy Pelosi called upon President Bush to speak truth to China's leaders — and were disappointed that the President did not avail himself of the opportunity.



Activists Cesar Maxit (foreground), Kalaya'an Mendoza (on ground) and Jonathan Stribling-Uss opened Tibetan national flags on Beichen Road leading to the Olympic Park just prior to the Opening Ceremonies of the 2008 Beijing Olympics. The three men were tackled by Chinese security forces within seconds, forcibly detained, and then deported from China.

WASHINGTON POST
July 18, 2008

China's Preparation for the Games Can Be Measured in Arrests, Denied Visas and Cracked Heads

Beijing has heavily pressured the IOC and many Western governments to prevent athletes from criticizing China or its foreign policies during the Games.

Too many foreign leaders, including President Bush, have chosen to tolerate this behavior without protest. Mr. Bush confirmed that he will [attend] the opening ceremonies because he wishes "to cheer on our athletes" and because to do otherwise "would be an affront to the Chinese people."

In fact, Mr. Bush is affronting those Chinese who have bravely tried to resist the regime's steamrolling of all dissent. And what if an intrepid protester manages to raise his or her voice for Tibet... and is swarmed by the regime's thugs? What if Western media seeking to cover such an event are censored? We can only hope that in that event, Mr. Bush will stop cheering.

TRANSCRIPT FROM RADIO INTERVIEW, AUSTRALIAN BROADCASTING CORP. — June 23, 2008

Tibetans Told Not to Watch Torch Relay

Security was tight in Tibet on the weekend, as the Olympic torch passed through and reports of police patrolling in riot gear also showed that Lhasa is not a normal city. Indeed, human rights and lobby groups have spoken of a "climate of fear" in Tibet, as the plateau remains sealed off to foreigners and the Chinese government emphasizes "political education" to ensure stability. Kate Saunders of the International Campaign for Tibet:

SAUNDERS: Tibetans were warned before the torch relay that they should not go out of their houses. There was even an instruction that was sent round that they should not even look out their windows on the day of the torch relay — and shops were closed.

This is really a city under siege, where people are suffering terribly at the moment. We hear that there are still disappearances taking place. The pattern usually is that there is a raid on somebody's house at about two or three o'clock

in the morning, people are taken away to an unknown location. And we've received reports from Tibetans who have been imprisoned, of the torture that is happening in prison. This is the most serious crackdown for more than 50 years.

TRANSCRIPT FROM NPR'S MORNING EDITION — July 23, 2008

Lodi Gyari is the special envoy of the Dalai Lama, Tibet's exiled spiritual leader.

As the Dalai Lama's chief negotiator, Gyari has twice traveled to meet Communist Party officials in Beijing since this spring's widespread protests in support of Tibet's push for self-rule. Those protests, which centered on the Olympic torch's trip to Beijing, also set off counter-demonstrations in China and elsewhere.

Despite that unrest, Gyari told Steve Inskeep, "China sometimes takes the position that 'Oh, there's no problem in Tibet. Everything's fine. Tibetans are very grateful, there's prosperity, there's this, there's that.'"

And when rallies and demonstrations break out, Gyari said, China's communist government

treats them as threats to law and order, often leading to a crackdown. "This is not going to resolve the issue," Gyari says he told Chinese negotiators at a recent meeting. "The more you suppress, the more [there is] resentment."



USA TODAY — August 6, 2008
Tibetan Normality Hides Tension

...Lhasa's apparent calm hides a city of fear, say Tibetan exile groups and researchers. They claim several hundred Tibetans remain in detention and thousands of others are undergoing "patriotic education" campaigns to denounce the Dalai Lama, the exiled spiritual leader revered by most Tibetans.

In distant Beijing, where the Olympic Games begin Friday, suspicions against Tibetans have

EXCERPTS FROM A LETTER
WRITTEN BY SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE
NANCY PELOSI TO
PRESIDENT GEORGE W. BUSH
August 1, 2008



Dear President Bush:

On the eve of your trip to China to attend the 2008 Summer Olympic Games, the human rights situation in China and Tibet is worsening... I am writing to ask that you make human rights and freedom of the press top priorities of your visit.

Your recent meetings with Chinese dissidents at the White House are to be commended. However, your participation at the opening ceremony of the Olympics will send a signal to the Chinese people and the international community that could be misperceived as your approval, and that of the American people, for the draconian policies of the Chinese government. Therefore, it is essential that you unambiguously speak out for human rights and meet with the families of jailed prisoners of conscience while you are in Beijing.

Thank you for your attention to these concerns.

Sincerely,

Nancy Pelosi, Speaker of the House

cost several people their jobs and forced them out of the nation's capital, says poet Woese, a leading Tibetan dissident, outspoken poet and blogger whose works are banned in China. She says she recently left her Beijing home. Other Tibetans in the Chinese capital have also left, she says, and not by choice.

"Several of my Tibetan friends in Beijing have been fired in the last three months, as local police put pressure on their employers," she said.

NEW YORK TIMES

August 7, 2008

Nicholas D. Kristof

An Olive Branch from the Dalai Lama

In June, I sat down for a private meeting with the Dalai Lama, and we talked at length about what kind of a deal he and China might be willing to accept. He was far more flexible and pragmatic about a resolution of the Tibet question than public statements had led me to believe. But he also wonders if his engagement policy with China is getting anywhere: If the stalemate continues, he may give up on Beijing.

I have continued the discussion with Tibetan officials since then (just as I have had similar discussions with Chinese officials), and China's perception of the Dalai Lama as sticking rigidly to old positions is mistaken. The Dalai Lama recognizes that time is running out, and he is signaling a willingness to deal...

One signal is this: For the first time, the Dalai Lama is willing to state that he can accept the socialist system in Tibet under Communist Party rule. This is something that Beijing has always demanded, and, after long discussion, the Dalai Lama has agreed to do so. "The main thing is to preserve our culture, to preserve the character of Tibet," the Dalai Lama told me. "That is what is most important, not politics."



Nepalese police detain a Tibetan protester near the Chinese consulate in Kathmandu.

THE GUARDIAN — August 8, 2008

Olympic Protests Held around the World

Demonstrations take place in cities including London, Hong Kong, Delhi and Kathmandu as opening ceremony begins.

Human rights campaigners scaled up anti-China protests today with demonstrations around the world and an unauthorized broadcast from inside Beijing as the Olympic ceremony began.

While a heavy police presence ensured the streets of the host city remained calm, Chinese authorities were unable to stop the pirate radio transmission. Using transmitters and a homemade antenna, the message, broadcast in Mandarin, English and French, urged the government to relax state control of the media and called for the release of imprisoned journalists.

IDG NEWS SERVICE

August 22, 2008

China Blocks Apple's iTunes, Amazon over Tibet songs

Chinese authorities appear to have blocked access to Apple's U.S. iTunes Music Store, following the release of the 20-song "Songs for Tibet — the Art of Peace" collection Wednesday. Users in Beijing, Shanghai and Shenzhen confirmed that since as early as Wednesday morning, Beijing time, they began receiving "unknown error" messages when they tried unsuccessfully to access the store.

Although Amazon.com remains available in China, its pages for both the "Songs for Tibet" CD and download page fail to load.

ED. NOTE: For more information on "Songs for Tibet," see page 13.



Tibetan author, Woese.

TIMES ONLINE — August 25, 2008

Woese, Tibet's Most Famous Woman Blogger, Detained by Police

Tibet's most famous woman writer and blogger has been questioned by police for eight hours, accused of taking photographs on the street, after returning home briefly to Lhasa.

Her husband, the author Wan Lixiong, who spoke on behalf of his wife because he was worried for her safety, told The Times: "She told them it was not illegal to take photographs in a public place and she had not visited any secret areas or military installations. They had no legal basis for holding her." The police searched her mother's home and removed several documents as well as Mr. Wang's computer.

They hacked his password, checked all documents on the laptop and required Woese to erase every photograph that showed a policeman or army officer on the streets of Lhasa or in Tibetan areas they had visited.

Mr. Wang said: "If they can do this to an influential writer who has done nothing more than take photographs, then one can only imagine the kind of threat that ordinary people in Tibet must feel every day."

ED. NOTE: For a review of Woese's newest book of poetry, see page 12.

WASHINGTON POST

August 25, 2008

China Frees 8 American Protesters after Diplomatic Pressure

BEIJING — China released eight American protesters from jail and put them on a plane for *(continued on page 14)*

Time to Reveal the Truth

March 31, 2008

Ai Weiwei, the artistic consultant behind the "Bird's Nest" Olympic stadium in Beijing and one of China's most respected artists, raises his concern over China's suppression of the realities in Tibet in the newspaper Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung on March 31.

Ai Weiwei, what is your view of the recent unrest in Tibet over the past few weeks and the reaction of the western world?

As an observer, I think that the information presented both in the West and in China was to a certain degree incorrect. There was no in-depth reporting on the reasons behind the violence, and aside from mutual criticisms, neither side had any substantive communication with the other. Regrettably, a prominent feature when looking back on our history is the lack of public debate. We live in a society where ideology is severely controlled, especially when it touches upon the issues of ethnic minorities. If the majority of occupying Han treat the ethnic minorities as liberated serfs, there's no hope of resolving the issue. They have their own religion, their own path of cultural development and their own ways of thinking. The Tibetan people are now chided for being lawbreakers, but I don't think this can solve the problem. This is only going to intensify the hatred between the Han and ethnic peoples.

How can these differences be eliminated?

Most important is to truly respect ethnic minorities, and to admit all of the mistakes perpetrated against them in the past. In all events, this latest unrest [in Tibet] at the very least speaks to the failure of ethnic minority policies. We have never fully understood their religion and their lifestyle. Historically, we destroyed their monasteries and statues — that's a simple fact. Now they have started destroying property and they have attacked military personnel. We are compelled to ask, where did this hatred come from? Do we really want the kind of society where we completely

ignore their rights but then say everything is normal?

Why, do you think, has the Western world been disapproving?

If people carry preconceptions with them, they won't see the outside world clearly — "A single leaf before one's eye/ Obscures a view of all Mount Tai." Wherever there are cover-ups, there are also suspicions and speculation. I fundamentally believe that misunderstandings and resentment between people and between nations, and differences between ideologies and between east and west, and that the misunderstandings and resentment between Han and Tibetan people can to a large degree be traced back to the suppression of information, and a lack of transparency and channels for gathering information. This has been at great cost to society. In the early stages of Communism, people attempted to acquire the absolute truth by means of struggle. While people were striving for the truth, ordinary people who needed the truth were not trusted with it. It is extremely dangerous to



Chinese artist, Ai Weiwei.

Tibet. And conversely we can also ask: why are so few Chinese people concerned about Tibet?

Customarily in China, there's a lack of sympathy for the weak. The weak and injured have no toe-hold in this society. This is a society for the successful, for the power-brokers. There is little empathy. The West is another world, where people naturally stand on the side of the weak. Many Chinese people regard Tibet as a holiday destination, somewhere to go and sightsee.

How do people in China's literary and artistic society view these events?

People are confused at the moment. I often hear people ask, What went wrong? What does the Dalai want? People have been thrown

"I often ask why can't we have a society with no supervision or control of the media. What are we trying to hide? What kind of facts can be so dangerous?"

— Ai Weiwei, artistic consultant behind the "Bird's Nest" Olympic Stadium in Beijing

tell the public the truth. This very old way of thinking touches upon how people wield their power. I often ask why can't we have a society with no supervision or control of the media. What are we trying to hide? What kind of facts can be so dangerous? Naturally, if the majority of people can only get one-sided information then they're easier to control. Information is power. But before judgment can be made on who is right and who is wrong, the truth has to be understood.

Many Chinese are curious as to why so many Western people are interested in

into confusion. Devotees of Buddhism should be peace-loving, but they were seen with knives in their hands, burning the flag, destroying buildings and filled with a burning hatred. But is there any possibility that they could speak? Could they be invited onto Central China Television to discuss what they're thinking, and to stop just simply calling them criminals? I can't help but asking why not? Who has built these high walls of misunderstanding? If we continue to regard them as barbarians are we ever likely to be understood by them? The only possible outcome is the deepening of division and hatred.

Behind the Olympics — *The Untold Story*

The World Watched — But What Did We See?

Estimates say that at peak viewing times, more than a billion people around the world tuned in to the Olympic Games — the biggest broadcasting event in world history. We cheered as athletes strove to win.

The public perception of China became smiling faces, gleaming buildings and polished streets, dazzling fireworks, vast corps of dancers and drummers moving in eerie unity. Overwhelmingly, network coverage was respectful and admiring.

We saw, in fact, exactly what the Chinese government wanted us to see.

Prior to the Games, political critics were imprisoned, placed under house arrest, or told to leave Beijing. China's news media was tightly controlled.

The orchestration of the Olympics have revealed just how tightly controlled the nation of China is. Prior to the Games, political critics were imprisoned, placed under house arrest, or told to leave Beijing. China's news media was tightly controlled. All foreign media carefully monitored and contained; full access to the Internet was denied. In an editorial, the New York Times reported that “thousands of Beijing's least telegenic residents were evicted from their homes and out of camera range.”

Upon being awarded the Games, China promised to be respectful of all voices, and they did in fact establish three public places for protesters. But each protest required an application, made in person. Seventy-seven applications were made; none were approved. At least some of the Chinese who applied to protest were arrested; two elderly women were sentenced to a year at a “reeducation” labor camp and the fate of Ji Sizun, a legal advocate who was detained after trying three times to apply for a protest permit, is unknown.

Most of the 1.2 billion people around the world who tuned into the Games remain unaware of these events. What, then, is the untold story of the Olympics?

The Olympic Torch in Tibet

In an attempt to further cement its claim to Tibet, Chinese organizers were determined to send the Olympic torch relay through Tibet in June.

Coming just months after the brutal crackdown on Tibetan protesters, the presence of the Olympic torch — symbol of international goodwill, brotherhood, and sportsmanship — seemed a glaring insult to the people of Tibet. Worse, its presence there only increased tensions.

The International Campaign for Tibet called on the International Olympic Committee to cancel the Tibetan leg of the Olympic torch relay. We held (and still hold) the opinion that the IOC has a responsibility to press the Chinese government to allow access to foreign media during any leg of the torch relay, or any other Olympic event, without burdensome restrictions. The IOC refused.

Our message in response contained the following passage:

“Can we assume that the IOC is comfortable with taking the torch through an area that is under de facto martial law and closed to the outside world? Given the strong presence of security forces and intense surveillance the relay cannot proceed in the spirit of the Olympic ideals.

“The IOC's apparent failure to stand up for Olympic values... could place the IOC as a seemingly willing accomplice to the Chinese government... it reinforces the perception that this torch belongs to the Chinese government and not the world.”

The IOC declined. Tibetans in Lhasa were forced to remain in their homes during the torch's relay, and told not to look out of the windows. The absence of any Tibetans during that leg stands as a glaring example of China's outrageous oppressions.

Before the Games Began

Pro-Tibetan protests took place in cities around the world in the weeks leading up to the Olympic Games and garnered mild media interest. Far more was going on behind the scenes. The Washington Post reported that “Through censorship, visa

Message by His Holiness the Dalai Lama on the Beijing Olympics

I would like to offer my greetings to the People's Republic of China, the organizers and the athletes participating in the forthcoming Olympic Games in Beijing.

Right from the time of China's application to hold the Olympic Games, I have supported China's right to host the Games. This is a moment of great pride to the 1.3 billion Chinese people. These Games should contribute to promoting the Olympic spirit of friendship, openness and peace.

I send my prayers and good wishes for the success of this event.


DALAI LAMA
6 August 2008

restrictions, intimidation and brute repression, China's leadership is trying to prevent any public expression by Chinese citizens or foreign visitors that conflicts with the image it wishes to present to the world — that of a “harmonious” society.”

Many journalists were denied visas, and news organizations were warned that negative reports might cause that group to lose their rights to report from the Olympics. American athlete Joey Cheek — a gold-medal speedskater who was coming to the Olympics as a fan, not a participant — had his visa revoked just hours before his flight, apparently because he has been outspoken on China's role in Darfur.

National leaders from around the world decided to attend the games or to stay away for a variety of reasons, but few had the courage to speak out against China's repressions, given that China's economic might has resonated across the globe. President Bush, who attended the Games, met privately in Washington, DC with Chinese dissidents earlier this summer. But he did not take advantage of his time in Beijing to make statements that could be construed as controversial. As the Washington Post noted, “Mr. Bush seemed eager to play the role of the apolitical sports fan, instead of publicly pressing China's leaders on the ongoing Olympics crackdown. That nicely fit into the Chinese script of talking up sports while shutting down politics.”

At the Olympic Games

No protests were held in the approved areas, since no protests had been approved. Thus all other protests were deemed illegal and subject to arrest. A small protest in Tiananmen Square was broken up immediately and the protesters detained and deported. A banner was hung on a light pole outside of the Bird's Nest Olympic Stadium and was almost immediately removed. Protesters unfurled a pro-Tibet banner near the main Olympic complex and were arrested.

The last incident was witnessed by British journalists. Despite knowing that their news organizations could lose their accreditation to report on the Olympics (a crippling disadvantage during the Olympics, when the world was hungry for medal counts and stories of triumph), this news crew filmed the protest. They continued filming once they became the news themselves, as Chinese police roughed them up.

John Ray, a reporter for Independent Television News, was wrestled to the ground and dragged to a nearby restaurant, where he was forcibly held down by uniformed and plain-clothes officers, who also stamped on his hands. He was detained for 20 minutes and his equipment was confiscated. Journalists were blocked from filming the news on at least five other occasions.

No protests were held in the approved areas, since no protests had been approved. Thus all other protests were deemed illegal and subject to arrest.

An initiative called “Sports for Peace” sent an open letter to Chinese President Hu Jintao, urging him “to protect freedom of expression, freedom of religion and freedom of opinion in your country, including Tibet.” It was signed by 127 athletes from around the world, including 40 participating in the Olympics at the time.

But there were signs that the athletes chaffed at their restrictions. Polish weightlifter Szymon Koleccki was so frustrated by his inability to speak up that he shaved his head before his competition as a mark of solidarity with Tibetan monks. He took a

(continued on page 15)

Life in Tibet during the Olympics

While the eyes of the world were focused on Beijing during the Olympic Games, Chinese authorities were determined that no uprisings in Tibet would divert attention from the guise of harmony and peace. One eyewitness told us that security measures in Lhasa were far more arduous than in Beijing, and the attempt to impose an information blackout were even more pronounced.

But news did slip out, and we know that:

- Military snipers were positioned in Lhasa hotels during the first days of the Olympics. According to a report by a Western expert with Tibetan sources, “Soldiers took over upstairs rooms overlooking the street. They were behind curtains or stood back from the window in some other way so as not to be visible from the street. My source believed that an order had been given for that 24-hour period that soldiers could shoot on sight anyone who was seen with a knife or other weapon.”

One source referred, chillingly, to the well-known Chinese phrase of ‘settling accounts after the autumn harvest.’

- Two Tibetan women were shot and wounded by security personnel. A day after the Olympics opening ceremony, two young Tibetan women were shot as they went to a store to recharge their phones. One was shot in the leg and the other sustained an injury to her hand. The shots appeared to come from a building that is being used as a Chinese barracks for military reinforcements.
- The military conducted mock protests as a “training exercise” in the Ngaba region of Tibet. Troops re-enacted a protest and demonstrated the suppression of that protest. According to Tibetan sources, some soldiers were dressed as monks and lay protesters during the exercise. Sources speculated that the event was being filmed, perhaps for propaganda purposes as well as to train military personnel.

- The Kham area of eastern Tibet is still under intense security, described as a “war zone.” Many monasteries in the area are still under lockdown and severe restrictions imposed on the movements of Tibetans in these areas. Tibetans in this area are known for their strong sense of Tibetan identity; of the 125 protests ICT logged, fully 45 have been in Kham alone. The recent intensification of restrictions on religious expression, and the requirement to denounce the Dalai Lama, has led to a new wave of protests and arrests of monks, nuns, and laypeople in the last couple of months and a number of unarmed protesters have been shot dead. Hundreds of Tibetans in Kham (including schoolchildren) have been detained and treated with extreme brutality.

According to numerous reports received by ICT, there are serious fears that the crackdown could worsen still further after the Olympics, once the global focus is no longer on China. Many Tibetans are concerned — and in some cases have been warned by Chinese security personnel — that more reprisals may follow the Olympics, with people who are now being monitored being taken into custody later. One source referred, chillingly, to the well-known Chinese phrase of “settling accounts after the autumn harvest” (qiu hou suan zhang).

For more information on Tibet in the aftermath of the protests, download our newest report, *Tibet at the Turning Point*. See page 13 for more information.



Tibetan protestor killed after police opened fire on demonstrators near Kirti monastery in Ngaba in Sichuan province.

Eyewitness Testimony from Tibet

JUNE 15, 2008:
TIBETAN WRITER, NAME WITHHELD

When we entered Sege Monastery, which is the closest one to Ngawa County, the entire monastery was empty. No matter whether they are Buddhist halls or monks’ living quarters, most of them were locked.

I came across an old monk, who hurried to tell me about what happened. During the incident, altogether 29 people were killed in the county seat, one person was killed near Sege Monastery, two monks from Kirti Monasteries committed suicide, and one monk from Gomang Monastery killed himself. He also told me that monks from some monasteries all left and went home, and only old monks were left behind to take care of the monasteries.

Later in Cikdril County, I met a youth from Ngawa, and he told me secretly that just a few days ago, over 100 monks from Sege Monastery were arrested.

An old woman was not scared to speak, and she bent over the car window to tell us what happened in Ngawa. She told us that 4,000 people from Ngawa County were arrested, over 2,000 of whom were released but over 1,000 of whom are still in prison. Her brother was arrested because he shouted the slogan which wished that the Dalai Lama would return to Tibet, and it has been three months but she does not know his whereabouts.

During our trip, except in a handful of places, we were monitored and followed. On those armed policemen’s faces, what one can see is nothing but hostility. Many times I saw their fingers were resting on the triggers and they could kill somebody at any time. My beautiful land of the Tibetans has actually become like a prison.

JULY 25, 2008:
KATHLEEN McLAUGHLIN, ONE OF THE FIRST FOREIGN JOURNALISTS SINCE MARCH 2008 ALLOWED TO TRAVEL INDEPENDENTLY IN TIBET

I’m not at all concerned for my own safety. Instead, I fear even being seen speaking with me will cause problems for Tibetans living already under these so obviously extreme conditions. It is quite clear from words and actions that any Tibetan speak-

ing openly to a foreign journalist would draw unwanted attention and potential trouble from the omnipresent Chinese army and police.

As I was strolling near the Jokham Temple in central Lhasa just after sunset, a young Tibetan man cycled up next to me on his bike. He said he was studying English and was eager to find some foreigners to practice conversation with. Since the troubles of March 14, he smiled, there simply hadn’t been any around to talk with.

My heart sank a little. When a dozen passing soldiers and two uniformed police eyed us warily, I wanted to run, or to at least warn the young man away. Instead, I smiled and we parted ways. I’m still a little worried he may have been questioned after I left him.

On those armed policemen’s faces, what one can see is nothing but hostility... My beautiful land of the Tibetans has actually become like a prison.

REPORTED AUGUST 12, 2008:
WEN YAN-KING, TAIWANESE-AMERICAN TOURIST

In Kardze: There’s good reason that foreigners aren’t allowed in these places. It looks like a war zone. In Kardze the police are in the middle of the sidewalks. They’re sitting in helmets holding their guns and riot shields in rows of 10 or 15. They are outside convenience stores under blue plastic tarps every half a block, on both sides of the road — watching. They’re up on raised metal posts with cutout windows — watching. I couldn’t walk anywhere without dozens of armed police staring at me. I’ve never seen so many police and military personnel in one town in my life. Nor have I experienced this kind of heart-pounding fear before.

In Lithang: The local Tibetans told me that these police stations (as many as seven in a half-mile radius) had sprung up after the protests in March. If there’s a way to instill fear in people, this is the way to do it. You’re not going to go out in the street and protest when you see fifty armed police to the left and right of you.

Arts and Letters —

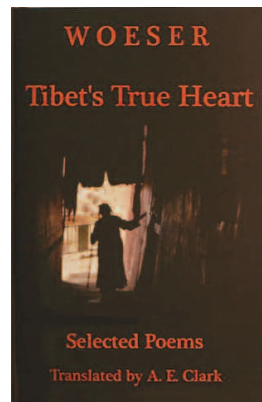
Considering Tibetan Oppression

BOOK REVIEW

Tibet's True Heart

BY WOESER

Reviewed by Kate Saunders



At a time when the Chinese government is more effective than ever at suppressing information from Tibet, Woeser's voice penetrates the silence to reach the outside world, tackling forbidden subjects such as Tibet's past, Beijing's policies, and political imprisonment. She has the compassion and eloquence of an artist and humanist, and is the leading voice of a new generation of Tibetans articulating sophisticated views and raising questions of identity and personal experience in the Chinese language in cyberspace.

Woeser's work has taken on a new significance since the protests and crackdown in Tibet began in March. She has written almost daily on websites, with an often heart-breaking honesty. The personal stories she includes in her writings (the blind monk who committed suicide, the lama who was beaten when he tried to prevent a protest from escalating) bring home to us the reality of the current crackdown in Tibet and its deeper significance. The poems are beautiful and moving, particularly in the present day context.

Woeser is a Tibetan writer based in Beijing. Her blog, The Middle Way, is frequently blocked and her books are banned in China. For news of her recent detention in Lhasa, see page 6.

For more information and to purchase, visit www.raggedbanner.com.

Lhasa Nights

BY WOESER

O Lhasa, dreamlike nights!
A certain lotus may have never bloomed,
Sometimes a wineglass shatters at a tap,
Yet there are people, just a few—who blessed
Them with such spirit?—to whom this movable feast
Seems Paradise for banishment self-chosen.
If (imperceptibly) they weep, it's only
For a kinsman whom they couldn't keep.
O Lhasa, nights of woe!
A certain bluebird may have never chirped,
And sometimes garments are begrimed with dust,
Yet there are people, just a few—who spread
That plague?—who see bright fleeting Time as but
A pool wherein the posturing ego sinks.
Illusions countless, ever so seductive,
Can't lure a reincarnate kinsman back.
O Lhasa, nights like nowhere else!
A love there is that never came to pass,
And certain bloodlines gradually mixed,
Yet there's a man, perhaps just one—what kind
Of lightning bolt?—who makes a stifling fate
Serve as the hinge of reconciliation.
Upon the endless wheel of birth and death
I wish you would forever be my kin!

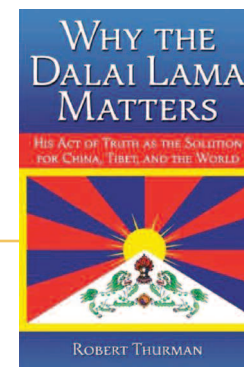
—1996, Lhasa

2009 International Campaign for Tibet Calendar — NOW AVAILABLE



ICT's 2009 calendar is now available at www.savetibet.org/store. This year's calendar features iconic images from *Tintin in Tibet*. Written in 1958 by Hergé, *Tintin in Tibet* introduced millions of people to Tibet's beauty, landscape and culture. Tintin's journey over the Himalayas to Tibet presaged the Dalai Lama's escape from Tibet the following year, in 1959. Considered to be one of Hergé's masterworks, *Tintin in Tibet* is humorous, enthralling and spiritually

rewarding. Hergé passed away in 1983, but his wife, Fanny, has kept his passion for Tibet alive. In 2001, the Hergé Foundation blocked Chinese attempts to rewrite both Tintin's and Tibet's history by demanding the recall of a Chinese version printed in Beijing entitled "Tintin in China's Tibet." The book was then published under its original title, *Tintin in Tibet*.



BOOK REVIEW

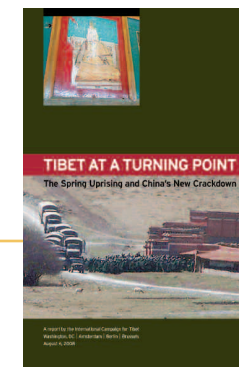
Why the Dalai Lama Matters: His Act of Truth as the Solution for China, Tibet and the World

BY ROBERT THURMAN

In the decades since the illegal Chinese invasion of Tibet, Tibetans have seen their ecosystem destroyed, their religion, language, and culture repressed, and systematic oppression and violence against anyone who dares acknowledge Tibetan sovereignty. Yet above it all, the Dalai Lama has been a consistent voice for peace, sharing a "Middle Way" approach that has gathered accolades from the Nobel Peace Prize to the Congressional Gold Medal.

Robert Thurman, renowned Tibetan scholar, president of Tibet House, and longtime personal friend of the Dalai Lama, presents a bold, reciprocal five-point plan for establishing Tibet's genuine autonomy within China, letting China renew its image with the world by allowing the Dalai Lama to guarantee freedom for his people. When China changes policy and lets Tibetans be who they are, Tibet can, in turn, join with China in peaceful coexistence.

Why the Dalai Lama Matters is not merely a book about Tibet or the Dalai Lama. It is a revealing, provocative solution for a world in conflict, dealing with the very fundamentals of human rights and freedoms. By showing the work that the Dalai Lama has done on behalf of his people and as an advocate for the environment, Thurman illustrates a worldwide call-to-action, demonstrating that power gained by might means nothing in the face of a determined act of truth.



Tibet at a Turning Point

ICT RELEASES A NEW REPORT ON THE INTENSIFIED CRACKDOWN IN TIBET

Tibet at the Turning Point: The Spring Uprising and China's New Crackdown is an essential guide for understanding China's policy in Tibet at this crucial time. The report considers how the leaders in Beijing have responded to internal and international pressures by virtually sealing off the entire plateau and imposing a news blackout — despite promising increased openness in return for the right to host the Olympic Games.

The evidence in this report was gathered at great risk. It details:

- The "disappearance" and detention of hundreds of Tibetans, including monks, nuns, and schoolchildren, who are treated with extreme brutality in custody.
- Unarmed peaceful protesters who have been shot dead, and names of those who have died following torture in prison or as a result of suicide due to despair over the crackdown or being made to denounce the Dalai Lama.
- More than 125 protests across the Tibetan plateau — the overwhelming majority non-violent. Tibetans have risked their lives to demonstrate that the exiled Tibetan leader, and not the Chinese state, represents Tibetan interests.
- Sweeping new measures to purge monasteries of monks and ban worship in the wake of the protests, revealing a systematic new attack on Tibetan Buddhism led by Chinese leader Hu Jintao that is reminiscent of the excesses of the Cultural Revolution.

ICT members and supporters are invited to download a copy of *Tibet at the Turning Point* from our website, at www.savetibet.org.

SONGS FOR TIBET
STING RUSH DAVE MATTHEWS DAMIEN RICE
JOAN ARMATRADE JOHN MAYER GARBAGE
DUNCAN SHEIK JACKSON BROWNE BEN HARPER
ALANIS MORISSETTE MOBY REGINA SPEKTOR
UNDERWORLD SUZANNE VEGA IMOGEN HEAP
JONATHA BROOKE TEITUR VANESSA CARLTON
THE ART OF PEACE
WISDOM. ACTION. FREEDOM.



Songs for Tibet

CREATED IN SUPPORT OF TIBET

Sting, Dave Matthews, Jackson Browne, John Mayer, Alanis Morissette, and others sent a message of support to Tibet and the Dalai Lama with the release of "Songs for Tibet — The Art of Peace." Initially available only on iTunes, "Songs for Tibet" is now available through retail channels worldwide. Besides raising awareness and support, proceeds will support projects inspired by the Dalai Lama's promotion of peace.

The International Campaign for Tibet supported the creation of this album. We supported this unique project as a heartfelt expression of solidarity with the Dalai Lama and the Tibetan people at a time when the survival of Tibet's religious culture is under threat.

Michael Wohl, the executive director of the Art of Peace Foundation said "We wanted to express our support for the Tibetan people and their message of peace through music, a fundamental means of expression, at a time when the eyes of the world are on China.

"Within days of our request, the artists responded with an extraordinary passion and commitment by delivering new songs. This album will focus people's attention on the importance of Tibet, the gifts of its culture, and the crisis the Tibetan people are facing today."

China blocked access to "Songs for Tibet" and iTunes during the Olympics. For more, see related article on page 6.

Songs for Tibet is available online at Amazon.com and iTunes. For more information, visit www.artofpeacefoundation.org.



Taktser Rinpoche was a scholar and a tireless fighter for Tibet. His passing is mourned by his family, his friends, his colleagues, and his students.

IN MEMORIAM

Taktser Rinpoche, Eldest Brother of the Dalai Lama



On September 5, 2008, Taktser Rinpoche died peacefully in his home in Bloomington, Indiana. He was 86 years old.

Taktser Rinpoche — whose given name was Thupten Jigme Norbu — was recognized at the age of three as the rein-

carnated abbot of Kumbum monastery, one of Tibet's most important monasteries. In the immediate wake of the Chinese invasion of Tibet in 1949–1950, Taktser Rinpoche played important intermediary roles first between the Dalai Lama and Chinese Communist officials and then later, when in India, between the U.S. State Department and the Dalai Lama. He was deeply mistrustful of the Chinese Communist Party's intentions in Tibet and urged his brother to leave Tibet in the face of what was perceived as direct threats to his own personal safety as well as to the integrity of Tibet itself.

Although a devout and dedicated follower of the Dalai Lama, Taktser Rinpoche nevertheless took a different stand on Tibet's status to his brother, calling instead for the complete independence of Tibet as opposed to the model of autonomy put forward by the Dalai Lama.

From 1965 until his retirement in 1988, Taktser Rinpoche was a faculty member in Indiana University's Department of Central Eurasian Studies, where he founded the Tibetan Cultural Center in 1979. He wrote several academic papers and books on Tibet, including his own autobiography, *Tibet Is My Country*, one of the first books on the Tibetan experience to have scholarly credibility.

He is survived by his wife, Kunyang, his sons, Lhundrup, Kunga, and Jigme and their families, his sister, Jetsun Pema, and his brothers, Ngari Rinpoche and His Holiness the Dalai Lama.

Taktser Rinpoche was a scholar and a tireless fighter for Tibet. His passing is mourned by his family, his friends, his colleagues, and his students.

Tibet Press Coverage *(continued from page 6)*

Los Angeles on Sunday night as the Beijing Olympics closed.

Top diplomats at the U.S. and British embassies earlier in the day had pressed for the immediate release of 10 foreigners. All had been sentenced to 10 days of detention after police swarmed their unauthorized pro-Tibet demonstrations last week. Forty-eight other foreign protesters detained by Chinese authorities during the Games were immediately deported.

Meanwhile, for Chinese citizens who pushed for permission to protest during the Games, the future is uncertain.

Two elderly Chinese women who were facing one year at a reeducation labor camp for seeking applications to demonstrate said no authorities had bothered them in the past few days. "Nowadays, the fire is still burning hot. They don't dare do anything. But we don't know what will happen after the Olympics", said Li Xuehui, son of Wu Dianyuan, 79.



Beijing grandmothers Wu Dianyuan, 79, and Wang Xiuying, 77, were arrested for applying for a protest permit.

Behind the Olympics — The Untold Story

(continued from page 9)

silver medal at the competition, and when asked by the press about his haircut, he could only say "I can't say directly why I did it. It's connected with certain things that the Olympic Charter forbids. But I will say that it's symbolic."

Growing Awareness in China

Intellectuals in China — with greater access to unbiased reporting from around the world — are risking much to speak up in support of Tibet. Writer Zhu Rui, who lived and worked in Tibet for several years but now lives in Canada, wrote an open letter of support to the Dalai Lama. Part of that letter offers a window on why relations between the Tibetans and the Chinese have been so strained.

"Revered Dalai Lama,

I have to tell you that my impression of you in my childhood and youth was that you were a flayer of human skin, a demon who picked flesh from human bones. From this point alone, you have probably guessed that I am Han Chinese. Indeed, I grew up within the Communist education system."

Her open letter continues to explain how she came to understand she'd believed lies, and was now overwhelmed by the compassion and kindness of His Holiness.

Hers is not the only voice raised in support of Tibet. Ai Weiwei, one of China's most respected artists (and creative consultant to the Bird's Nest Olympic Stadium) lives in China and dared to speak to a German reporter from Beijing during the Olympics. His statement is remarkable for its frankness, honesty, and courage.

"Historically, we destroyed their monasteries and statues — that's a simple fact. Now they have started destroying property and they have attacked military personnel. We are compelled to ask, where did this hatred come from? Do we really want the kind of society where we completely ignore their rights but then say everything is normal?

"I often ask why can't we have a society with no supervision or control of the media. What are we trying to hide? What kind of facts can be so dangerous?"



TAKE ACTION: CAMPAIGN 2008

ICT has launched a new **Campaign 2008** area on our website to provide you with up-to-date information on where the presidential candidates stand on Tibet. Visit www.savetibet.org/campaign2008 to find candidate statements, video clips, and more.

In addition to election resources, we also want to hear from you. Tell us what you want the next President of the United States to do for Tibet. There are three ways you can share your thoughts with us:

1. By email: campaign2008@savetibet.org
2. By mail: ICT Press Watch
1825 Jefferson Place NW, Washington, DC 20036
3. By video upload on our YouTube page:
www.youtube.com/intercampaigntibet

ICT will share your messages and videos with the presidential campaigns staff.

Make your voice heard!

Pass the Word — Help the Planet

When you're finished with this issue of Tibet Press Watch, please consider passing it on to a friend instead of throwing it out. Your thoughtfulness will not only ease our carbon footprint in the world, but help to spread awareness about the plight of Tibetans and the mission of peace and compassion of the Dalai Lama. Thank you.

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