

# Tibet

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## PRESS WATCH

INSIDE:

- ICT Members in Dharamsala
- Tibetan Heritage Sites
- Recent Threats to Religion
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WINTER 2017

*A publication of the  
International Campaign for Tibet*

INTERNATIONAL  
CAMPAIGN  
FOR TIBET



## THE FUTURE OF TIBET

A RENEWED VISION CREATED AT THE  
FIVE-FIFTY FORUM IN DHARAMSALA, INDIA





## *Member Spotlight*

### Hans Raum, *ICT Partner for Tibet*

In 1996, after trekking in the Himalayas up to Annapurna base camp, Hans Raum visited a Tibetan refugee settlement near Pokhara, Nepal. Hans says, “When I looked in the eyes of some of the refugees, I could sense they had endured a lot of suffering inflicted by the Chinese communists and that motivated me to join the International Campaign for Tibet.”

After that life-changing trip, he was thrilled to have His Holiness the 14<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama twice visit Middlebury College, where Hans worked as a Research and Instruction Librarian. During his first visit, His Holiness spoke at a Spirit in Nature conference and impressed Hans as “a man of great compassion and clear thinking.” During the Dalai Lama’s second visit, Hans watched him bless a tree right outside his office window. Watching that tree grow through the years has been an inspiration for Hans.

In October, Hans joined a group of ICT members traveling to Dharamsala, home of His Holiness (see page 5 for full story). He enjoyed walking the Kora, which circumnavigates His Holiness’ temple, and meeting the librarians at the Tibetan Works and Archives and the Tibetan Children’s Village School. The highlight of the trip was meeting the Dalai Lama.

Going to Dharamsala was a wonderful opportunity for Hans to deepen his understanding of and appreciation for the people and culture of Tibet. He is now even more staunchly committed to helping save the Land of Snows as a *Partner for Tibet*.

# *Partners for Tibet*

## **JOIN HANS RAUM AS A PARTNER FOR TIBET**

*Partners for Tibet* are a dedicated group of members who provide leadership gifts of \$1,000 or more to keep ICT in action. They work to fulfill His Holiness the Dalai Lama’s vision for the people of Tibet and help ICT to be worthy of the description His Holiness used at a recent meeting with us: “one of my hands.”

*Partners for Tibet* are offered unique benefits and special opportunities to engage more deeply in ICT’s work. Please contact Cynthia Hurst at 202-580-6775 or [cynthia.hurst@savetibet.org](mailto:cynthia.hurst@savetibet.org) to learn more.

# From the President



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Dear Friends,

As we wrap this issue, several members of the ICT family—Board, staffers, and members—have just returned from Dharamsala, India. While I and other leaders of the organization participated in a brainstorming forum organized by the Central Tibetan Administration to map out the future of the Tibet movement, participants in our member trip were gaining first-hand, personal perspectives on the Tibet issue. I can say with confidence that all of us were changed in some way by the experience—whether by debating strategy for the future of Tibet, in conversation with Tibetan people, or through spiritual teachings from His Holiness the Dalai Lama. Read more about these trips in our feature story on pages 4-5.

I am pleased to have some additional positive news to share. We recently received word that the Trump administration will appoint a Special Coordinator for Tibetan Issues—a senior position in the State Department that promotes dialogue between His Holiness the Dalai Lama and the Chinese government. After some reports that special envoy positions might be eliminated, we were concerned that the Special Coordinator for Tibetan Issues might be among them. We worked with our Congressional supporters, and we anticipate that the role will be filled in the coming months.

And we were very happy to learn that Congress has confirmed federal funding for humanitarian programs in Tibet and in exile at the committee level. The original budget had reduced some of the funding for Tibet, but thanks to advocacy by ICT members and Tibetan communities in the U.S., and a Congressional decision last summer, the funding has been restored to the 2017 level. But, we cannot rest on our laurels with this success, however. The funding budget will come up for review again soon and I ask you to turn to page 11 now to add your name to our petition to secure funding for Tibet in the 2018 budget.

We continue to actively work across the aisle on Capitol Hill to put pressure on the Trump administration to support the aspirations of the Tibetan people and the vision of His Holiness the Dalai Lama for a peaceful resolution of the Tibetan issue. I am hopeful that in the next issue of the TPW I will be able to report to you about some new and exciting ICT initiatives.

Finally, I hope you'll take a few minutes to read through this issue to learn about some of Tibet's most sacred heritage sites (page 6), the personal messages sent by ICT members from around the world to Tibetan refugees (page 7), and a new museum that will open next summer in Dharamsala (page 8). You will also find a number of exciting new books on Tibet that have been reviewed by our staff (page 10).

As the year draws to a close, I want to thank you as always for everything that you do. It is your collaboration and support that allows us to stay committed to achieving justice for the Tibetan people.

In solidarity,

Matteo Mecacci

Cover Photo: In October, His Holiness the Dalai Lama spoke at the Five-Fifty Forum, a brainstorming session planned by the Central Tibetan Administration that gathered Tibet advocates, including members of ICT's leadership team, to strategize about the future of Tibet.  
Photo by: Tenzin Choejor/OHHDL





## Representatives of ICT Participate in Major Conference on Tibet in Dharamsala

A three-day brainstorming session on Tibet, dubbed the Five-Fifty Forum, was held in Dharamsala, India, from October 6 to 8, by the Central Tibetan Administration (CTA)'s Department of Information and International Relations. Over 185 participants from 21 countries—including 12 ICT board members and staff—were invited to attend.

The name of the forum was derived from the goal of resolving the Tibet issue in the next five years while also securing the future of the Tibetan people for the coming fifty years. CTA President Dr. Lobsang Sangay described the forum “as an opportunity to express unvarnished opinions, suggestions, and recommendations to re-energize the Tibet movement in the next five to fifty years.”

His Holiness the Dalai Lama addressed the Forum on the second day, outlining developments in Tibetan history. “Tibetans are undergoing great turmoil and suffering imposed by China even now. However, we can take heart from the fact that we have a thousand millennia-old cultural heritage. And despite China’s repression, Tibetans inside Tibet have shown great valor and courage in preserving the indomitable Tibetan spirit,” he told the gathering.

Referring to the indomitable Tibetan spirit, the Dalai Lama said, “China tried to eliminate Tibet’s cultural identity through brainwashing, bribes, and even force. But it failed. Chinese leaders never expected [the] Tibet issue to remain alive even after fifty years. But it is alive and growing stronger.”

Participants of the forum deliberated on four main agendas, namely 1) seeking constructive dialogue and negotiations with the People’s Republic of China 2) Tibet’s core relationship with a rising India and Asia 3) CTA’s international relations and advocacy, and 4) CTA’s leadership.

ICT President Matteo Mecacci was a speaker at one of the sessions, and Communications Director Kate Saunders was a commentator for another session. Other ICT participants included board members Jan Andersson, John Ackerly, Mollie Rodriguez, and Christa Meindersma; ICT Germany Executive Director Kai Müller; ICT Europe’s EU Policy Director Vincent Metten and EU Policy and Advocacy Officer Mélanie Blondelle; ICT Director for Tibetan Empowerment & Chinese Engagement Programs Tencho Gyatso, ICT Vice President Bhuchung Tsering, and ICT co-founder Lodi Gyaltsen Gyari.

*“I think it means a great deal to both young and older Tibetans to know that they are not alone in their struggles, that people all over the world support their cause, and also value Tibetan culture.”*

—ELAINE HOLOBOFF, PARTNER FOR TIBET



## ICT Members Travel to Dharamsala Carrying Messages of Hope



Over September 27 to October 5, nine members of the International Campaign for Tibet traveled to Dharamsala, India, on a trip led by Director of Development Cynthia Hurst and Director for Tibetan Empowerment & Chinese Engagement Programs Tencho Gyatso. The itinerary was designed to offer dedicated members the opportunity to develop a deeper and more personal

understanding of the Tibet issue through first-hand exposure to cultural, religious, governmental, artistic, and spiritual perspectives.

While in Dharamsala, members had the rare opportunity of an audience with His Holiness the Dalai Lama, as well as a meeting with the President of the Central Tibetan Administration (CTA), Dr. Lobsang Sangay. They were also treated to a special dinner at the home of the Dalai Lama's sister, Jetsun Pema, and her husband Tempa Tsering, who is an ICT board member. His Holiness' brother, Gyalo Thondup, also joined for the evening.

Members also visited the Transit School, which offers education and training to newly arrived teenagers from Tibet. They met with the young women in school there to hear their stories of escape from Tibet and the challenges of transitioning to life in India without their families. At the CTA-run Reception Center

for Tibetan refugees, the group met with Nyima Lhamo (niece of Tenzin Delek Rinpoche, a revered lama who died in a Chinese prison in 2015), an advocate for Tibetans who live at the center. They also had an unexpected, emotional meeting with a recently arrived family that included grandparents who were pressured to return to Tibet by Chinese authorities during the January 2017 Kalachakra teaching in Bodhi Gaya, India. After that harrowing experience, the elderly couple gathered their grandchildren and escaped back to India.

A particular highlight of the trip was the opportunity to deliver messages written by ICT members from around the world (see a selection of them on page 7) to the high school students at the Tibetan Children's Village during a special assembly. The assembly included speeches by ICT Vice President Bhuchung Tsering, who spoke to the students in Tibetan language about ICT's role and activities, and ICT President Matteo Mecacci, who described ICT's community of members and their solidarity with Tibetans. The students received the hand-written messages with delight, passing them around, reading them together, and becoming excited about all the places from where they came.

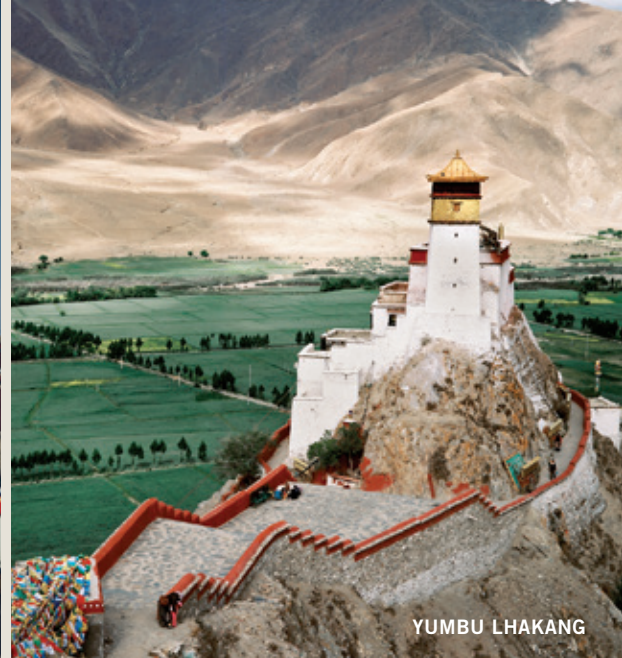
The members who traveled to Dharamsala reported how moved they were by being so openly welcomed by Tibetans who received them with a sense of joy throughout their trip.



# Arts & Culture



KUMBUM MONASTERY



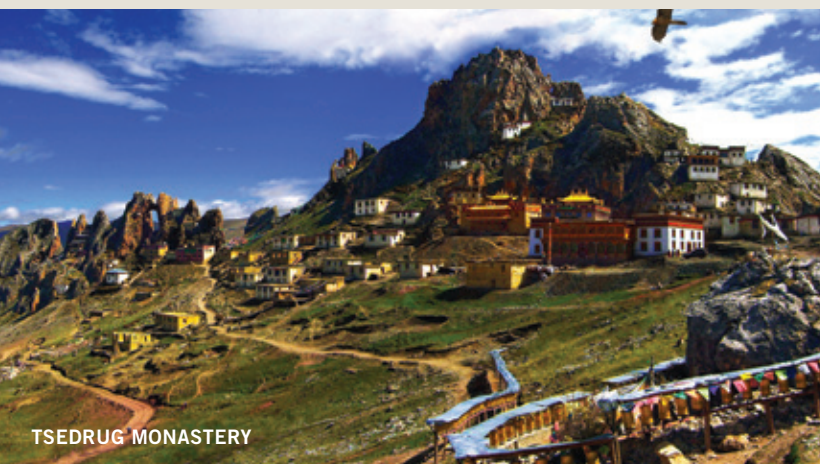
YUMBU LHA KANG

## Tibetan Heritage Sites

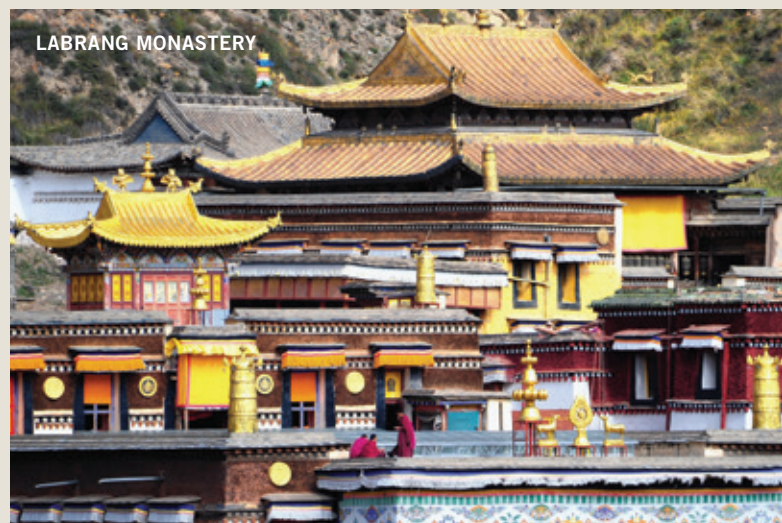
Recent genetic and archaeological evidence shows that the Tibetan people have inhabited their land for at least 7,400 years. Over that time, they have developed a civilization and culture deeply rooted in the unique environs of the Tibetan plateau. However, the Chinese invasion and occupation that began in 1949 brought the destruction of more than 6,000 monasteries, temples, and other cultural buildings. Fortunately, some of these historic and sacred sites still remain, or have been rebuilt and restored in recent years.



GYANAK MANI



TSEDRUG MONASTERY



LABRANG MONASTERY



THE POTALA PALACE

### Learn more about Tibet's ancient heritage sites

by purchasing ICT's Heritage Tibet 2018 wall calendar, which features stunning photographs of sites that hold a special connection to the history and people of Tibet. A limited quantity is available at [savetibetstore.org](http://savetibetstore.org) or by calling 877-259-9209.





# MESSAGES OF SOLIDARITY HAND-DELIVERED TO DHARAMSALA

ICT staff and members traveled to Dharamsala, India in late September, hand-delivering thousands of personal messages of solidarity to Tibetan refugees, written by ICT members from all over the world.



Although many miles separate us, distance does not diminish our connection or our sense of oneness. Please know that you are not alone in your quest for peace, justice, and freedom for all the people of Tibet.



*Stay strong and please keep your hope alive. You are not alone! We are with you and offer our heartfelt support for a free and peaceful Tibet. We keep you close in our hearts and minds.*

**Kathleen, Virginia, USA**

*I am thinking of you and contributing in the small ways that I can to work for the cause of Tibet, and I hope with all my heart that one day Tibet will be free.*

*With love,*  
**Johan, Sweden**

*While kilometers and oceans may separate us, there is no distance that can make us lose our compassion, or our understanding. In love and oneness we offer our hearts, our minds, our compassion to you. We love you.*

**Kelly, Georgia, USA**



*Please know that there are millions of people in the United States and other Western countries who know of the injustices done to the Tibetan people and who are aware of your suffering. Many, many of us are committed to helping create justice for all Tibetans.*

**Dan, Arkansas, USA**

*Having been to your amazing homeland, I can't imagine not being able to return. I think about Tibet and the Tibetan people every day.*

**Alison, Washington, USA**

*You are one of the most precious cultures that has ever appeared on Earth and we will stand by your side now and forever!*

**Raoni, Germany**

*I have been so inspired by the courage and wisdom of the Tibetan people and the Dalai Lama that I can only give them my wholehearted support and hope that one day China along with the rest of the world will come to appreciate the importance and value of the Tibetan culture.*

**Bruce, Canada**

*Across the planet, we stand with you. We stand against the injustice. We honor the challenges you and your families have lived through, your resilience, and strength. We wish for peace, reconciliation, and a return to your homeland. You are in our hearts and minds.*

*In solidarity,*  
**Penelope and Tara, New Zealand**



## ICT Vice President Bhuchung Tsering Speaks at Roundtable on the “Tibetan Buddhist Today” at U.S. Congress

On September 15, 2017, ICT Vice President Bhuchung Tsering joined a roundtable on “Tibetan Buddhist Today” held by the U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom and the International Religious Freedom Roundtable of the United States Congress. Other participants included Dr. Tenzin Dorjee, USCIRF Commissioner; Sarah Cook, Senior Research Analyst for East Asia, Freedom House; and Tina Mufford, Senior Policy Analyst, USCIRF. Judith Golub, Director of Congressional Affairs & Policy and Planning, USCIRF, moderated the roundtable.

Tsering’s comments addressed the connection between Tibetan political prisoners and self-immolators, many of whom are members of the ecclesiastical community who have been subject to the systematic denial of their basic rights by Chinese authorities. He also cited several specific acts of political violence and oppression that have led to self-immolation protests among

Tibetans, including the suppression of religion, the destruction of the Tibetan plateau, and the undermining of Tibetan-language education, among several others.

His recommendations to the U.S. government included implementing the Tibetan Policy Act of 2002 and appointing a Special Coordinator for Tibetan Issues in order to encourage negotiations with His Holiness the Dalai Lama. He also asked that the Trump administration support the call made to China in 2012 by the UN High Commissioner to address the longstanding grievances that have led to alarming escalations in protests and self-immolations.

Tsering also recommended that independent and impartial monitors and members of the media be allowed access to Tibet, and that Congress enact the Reciprocal Access to Tibet Act to allow American diplomats, journalists, and citizens to enter Tibet.

## Historic New Tibet Museum to Open in Dharamsala

The Tibet Museum in Dharamsala was established in the Dalai Lama’s temple complex in 1998 to document, preserve, research, and exhibit Tibet’s history, culture, and contemporary life. Now an exciting initiative is underway—a new Tibet Museum and Education Center is being created in the compound of the Central Tibetan Administration in exile, depicting and memorializing Tibet’s past, showcasing its rich civilization, and addressing the challenges of the future.

This 9,000 square-foot space, housed in an impressive new building in Tibetan style, will attract visitors from across the world and provide a vibrant new hub for an interactive journey telling the story of Tibet. Kate Saunders, ICT’s Communications Director, was invited to join a team of content consultants in Dharamsala in October to work on the project with the Tibet Museum’s Director, Tashi Phuntsog, and Sonam Dagpo and Dhardon Sharling from the Department of Information and International Relations.

The new and larger space, Tashi Phuntsog explained, will enable the weaving together of narratives and themes exploring Tibet’s past, contemporary life, and visions for the future, giving a



deeper understanding of Tibet. It will tell a story of the preservation of Tibet’s ancient culture and its re-imagining in the contemporary era, grounded in an understanding of the convulsive changes and tragedies of the past 60 years, and China’s policies on the plateau today. This historic new museum will open to the public next summer.



## China's Revised Religious Regulations Threaten Survival of Tibetan Buddhism

In September, China's revised regulations on religious affairs were passed by the State Council, intensifying controls over religious activity and presenting a further threat to Tibetan Buddhists. These rules conflate peaceful religious practice with "threats" to China's security, creating a more dangerous political environment for monks, nuns, and lay Buddhists, isolating them further from their counterparts outside China.

According to a newly revised provision of the regulation—and in an apparent attempt to use religion to achieve political goals of the Communist Party—religious groups are now bound to practice "core socialist values." The Chinese state media also announced a focus on the "Sinicization" of religion, stating: "The direction of religions is to integrate them with Chinese culture" (*Global Times*, September 7, 2017).

This updated version of rules put in place in 2005 should be assessed against the background of a series of laws that can be viewed as the systematic development of a security architecture. Among these are the 2015 Security Law, the NGO Law (in force January 2017), the 2016 Counter Terrorism Law, and the Cyber Security Law (in force May 2017). These laws represent the Chinese Communist Party's will to gain maximum control over every aspect of people's lives.

Matteo Mecacci, President of ICT, said: "These revised rules consolidate a legalistic framework of compliance and punishment on matters of deeply-felt personal belief, as well as the core values of a religious faith based on principles of compassion. They represent a staggering reach of political power and intrusion into people's lives by a government that promotes atheism.



Tibetans face a very real danger in their struggle to protect and practice their religion, which is integral to their identity, and will need the spirit and resilience that they continue to demonstrate in holding fast to their teachings.

In the focus on the eradication of 'foreign' influence, there is no doubt too that the intention is to ensure Tibetans in Tibet are separated from the teachings and presence of their spiritual leader, the Dalai Lama, isolating them still further. It is absurd for any Buddhist follower to practice 'socialist core values' as part of his beliefs. Religion cannot become an instrument for achieving political goals."

→ To learn more, read ICT's full report at <http://bit.ly/religious-survival>.



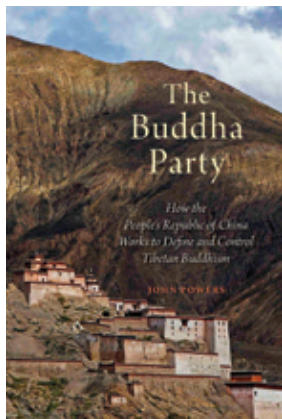
## Italian Government Confirms the Right of Tibetan Refugees to Travel to Italy

In August, ICT joined with the Tibetan Community in Italy, the Italy Tibet Association, and the Italian Buddhist Union to reverse recent decisions of the Italian authorities to deny visas to Tibetan refugees from India traveling to Italy. Following a meeting with ICT President Matteo Mecacci and other Tibet advocates, the Italian government confirmed its commitment to guaranteeing the right of Tibetan refugees to obtain visas for Italy. ICT will monitor the situation to avoid any further inconsistencies.



## THE BUDDHA PARTY

BY JOHN POWERS, OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS, 2016



Beyond exploring how the People's Republic of China tries to control Tibetan Buddhism, Powers spends much of this book looking at Chinese government propaganda on Tibet. He shows how this propaganda serves to fuel both Tibetan grievances against Chinese rule and Chinese grievances against Tibetans—creating a narrative of Tibetan resistance as “acts of ingratitude.” In one interesting passage, Tibetan monks interviewed by Powers explain how they rejected the

Communist Party’s “patriotic education” classes:

*[The monk] added that [China’s] materialist ideology is superficial and logically incoherent: “How could materialism compete with the mind of awakening?” Several stated that the ideology contained in the lessons is so muddled that even children can see through it. [Communist Party members] repeated that one cannot be happy unless one has a lot of money and things, and the monks responded that these are irrelevant to happiness and are really a source of discontent.*

## GUGE: AGES OF GOLD

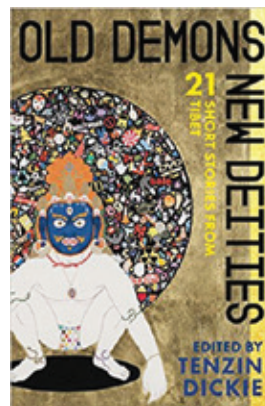
BY PETER VAN HAMM, HIRMER PUBLISHERS, 2017



The rulers of the Tibetan kingdom of Guge were generous patrons of the arts, employing painters who created beautiful frescoes that survived in the monasteries of western Tibet for centuries. In *Guge: Ages of Gold*, 527 color illustrations showcase the brilliance of their art, and explain the cultural and religious significance of the figures. This one makes a great coffee table book!

## OLD DEMONS, NEW DEITIES: TWENTY-ONE SHORT STORIES FROM TIBET

BY TENZIN DICKIE (ED.), OR BOOKS, 2017



“Why did we grow up as literary orphans?” is the question posed by Tenzin Dickie in an introduction to a new collection of Tibetan short stories. This first English-language anthology of contemporary Tibetan fiction available in the West brings together some of the best Tibetan writers from both Tibet and the diaspora who write in Tibetan, English, and Chinese.

Tenzin Dickie, who is based in New York, describes how when she was growing up in exile, she and

her fellow classmates in Dharamsala had no literary reference points—they had not seen Tibetan films, nor read Tibetan short stories or novels.

This collection of often strange, heart-wrenching, and humorous stories aims to address that absence, dovetailing with a remarkable literary resurgence in recent years, particularly among writers in the eastern area of Amdo producing literary fiction in both Tibetan and Chinese. The book gives an English-language readership a unique insight into the lives of Tibetans—from Bhuchung D. Sonam’s chilling account of an official police encounter in order to get a refugee Identity Certificate in India, to Tsering Woesser’s poignant story of a monk on an official delegation to Norway in “Nyima Tsering’s Tears.”

Tenzin Dickie describes the collection as the “coming out of the Tibetan short story.”

**TO LEARN MORE** about the rich treasures of Tibetan literary culture, we recommend the masterly study of contemporary Tibetan literature by Lamajabb, a former Tibetan nomad who is now a brilliant scholar at Oxford University. His book, *Oral and Literary Continuities in Modern Tibetan Literature: The Inescapable Nation* (Rowman and Littlefield, 2015), is the first book-length study to appear in English on the literary, cultural and political roots of modern Tibetan literature. It grounds the literary creativity of the present in a textured study of Tibet’s artistic past and political history, and its oral traditions. Lamajabb’s book is available for purchase at Amazon.com.



# Call to Action

## **CALLING ALL MEMBERS:** Urge the Chairs of the House and Senate Appropriations Committees to Ensure Funding for Tibetan Programs in 2018

The Tibetan Policy Act (TPA) of 2002 is a comprehensive Tibet legislation that mandates that the United States “support the aspirations of the Tibetan people to safeguard their distinct identity.”

Specifically, the TPA obligates the U.S. government to provide political and programmatic support to Tibetans—both in Tibet and in exile—to preserve and promote their religious and cultural heritage. This includes funding to support:

- Tibetan exile communities in India and Nepal
- access to quality healthcare for women and children
- scholarships for Tibetan students
- sustainable development and environmental conservation on the Tibetan Plateau
- unbiased media broadcasting in Tibetan language
- Refugee Reception Centers such as the one our members visited in Dharamsala this fall (see page 5)
- and much more.

In order to achieve this support, Congress established the position of Special Coordinator for Tibetan Issues, whose mandates include vigorously promoting the policy of seeking to protect the distinct

religious, cultural, linguistic, and national identity of Tibet. Simultaneously, every year Congress has appropriated adequate funding to enable the Tibetan people to undertake activities to achieve the above objectives.

However, the Continuing Resolution for Fiscal Year 2018—which until now has maintained the 2017 level of support for Tibetan programs—ends this December. That is why we are asking you to speak up now to urge the Appropriations Committees in the House and Senate to keep funding in place.

**YOU CAN HELP SECURE CRUCIAL FUNDING FOR TIBETAN PROGRAMS BY ADDING YOUR NAME TO THE BELOW PETITION.**

We ask all members and supporters to sign and return the enclosed petition to ICT in the attached envelope so that we can deliver them together for maximum effectiveness.



U.S. federal funding supports programs such as the Tibetan Medicare System, whose officials are shown here with CTA President Dr. Lobsang Sangay.

PLEASE CLIP HERE

**TO: REPRESENTATIVE RODNEY P. FRELINGHUYSEN,**  
Chairman of the House Appropriations Committee

**SENATOR THAD COCHRAN,**  
Chairman of the Senate Committee on Appropriations

As an American who cares deeply about the Tibetan people, I am writing to remind you of the U.S. government’s obligation, established under the Tibetan Policy Act of 2002, “to support the aspirations of the Tibetan people to safeguard their distinct identity.”

Since the Continuing Resolution for Fiscal Year 2018 ends in December, I ask that you implement the Tibetan Policy Act by **ensuring that funding for Tibetan programs is maintained in the Fiscal Year 2018 budget.**

I urge you to maintain this critical support, which enables Tibetans in Tibet and in exile to preserve their cultural heritage and way of life and to exercise their self-determination.

Thank you for your attention to this matter,

Sign Here \_\_\_\_\_

Name \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip Code \_\_\_\_\_







## Stay Informed, Stay Connected

Via our websites and social media, you can keep informed about the Tibet movement and the work of ICT. “Like” us, “share” us, and help us spread the word.

 Join us for the online conversation at our blog at [weblog.savetibet.org](http://weblog.savetibet.org).

Visit our website in Chinese at [liaowangxizang.net](http://liaowangxizang.net).

 “Like” us on Facebook. International Campaign for Tibet

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Share us with your contacts and join in the Tibet conversation. The more people who care about Tibet, the bigger the impact we can have!

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Compassionate monthly supporters help ensure that ICT continues the critical work of shining a light on the injustices being suffered in Tibet—every day, every month, all year long.

**JOIN FRIENDS OF TIBET:** Enroll online today at [savetibet.org/friends-of-tibet!](http://savetibet.org/friends-of-tibet!)  
 To learn more, contact Brian Ahern at 202-580-6770 or [brian.ahern@savetibet.org](mailto:brian.ahern@savetibet.org).



His Holiness the Dalai Lama greets members of ICT who traveled to Dharamsala, India in October to gain a deeper understanding of the Tibet issue. Read more about their experience on page 5.