



RESPONSE

*The Response to Communist Party
of China's Allegations*



Tibetan Youth Congress
Dharamshala, January 2009

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Foreword

The success, effectiveness and potential of the Tibetan Youth Congress are reflected in China's strong criticism, not only of its policies and activities but also of its very existence. Being a national movement, TYC receives the unwavering support of all Tibetans. This distinguishing feature of TYC and its consistent struggle to restore the independence has earned TYC recognition by the international media and political circles in many countries as an important voice of the Tibetan people.

Tibetan Youth Congress today, is a world wide organization of Tibetans united in the common struggle for the restoration of independence of Tibet with over 30,000 members in 84 chapters in 12 countries. It has emerged as the most active and important political force within the Tibetan community. As the largest independent Tibetan organization with the broadest support base, it also serves as a training ground for the leadership in Tibetan society. TYC has a written constitution with clearly outlined goals.

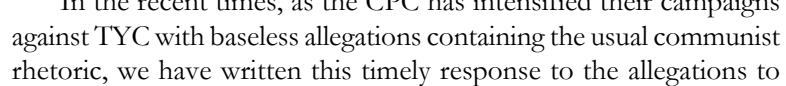
Recognizing the potential of TYC, China has been propagating against Tibetan Youth Congress through their foreign missions and academic circles for decades. After 10 March 2008, the unprecedented peaceful Tibetan people's movement through out the three traditional provinces of Tibet shattered the Communist Party of China's (CPC) claims that Tibet always was an inalienable part of China and the Tibetan people were content under China's rule. The display of the Tibetan peoples deeply held resentment against the colonial occupation of Tibet posed a direct challenge to the Chinese government's legitimacy in Tibet.






The CPC being incapable of facing reality made a scapegoat of TYC to inflict unwarranted damage to TYC's standing in the international community. It made their secret campaigns against TYC public by terming it as a terrorist organization without any credible evidence. Through their official mouth piece Xinhua, CCTV, Internet and other sources numerous baseless allegations were hurled at His Holiness the Dalai Lama and the Tibetan Youth Congress.

The Communist Party of China could use its coercive diplomacy to seek international support in branding TYC as terrorist organization in the coming decades. Post September 11, 2001 terrorist attack on USA and America's war on Terrorism, China successfully branded many organizations as Terrorist outfit in Eastern Turkistan. The Communist Party of China also launched similar campaign against TYC in the international community through their Government sponsored scholars and Chinese Embassies around the World.



In the recent times, as the CPC has intensified their campaigns against TYC with baseless allegations containing the usual communist rhetoric, we have written this timely response to the allegations to help present the facts and truth from mere fabrications. Through our limited infrastructures and channels we hope this response will provided a clearer understanding of the Tibetan Youth Congress and its activities.

Tibetan Youth Congress
Central Executive Committee
Dharamshala, H.P
India.





Response to Communist Party of China's Allegations

"Often "suppression of terrorism" has been used as an excuse for laws and practices designed simply to stifle dissent and opposition. In many cases this has amounted to "war" against opposition of whatever kind, with the use of repressive catalogue of violations of human rights including the right to live, the right not to be tortured, the right not to be detained arbitrarily and the right to a fair trial. Those affected frequently include the wider population who are innocent of any illegal activity."

Amnesty International

"If we keep repeating one lie a thousand times in people's ears, it will become truth."

Chinese Proverb





Introduction

Since the unprecedented peaceful protests by Tibetans on 10 March 2008 and the subsequent protests inside all the three traditional provinces of Tibet and beyond, the Communist Party of China (CPC) and its state media immediately hurled baseless allegations that these protests were incited by the 'Dalai Clique' and the Tibetan Youth Congress (TYC). With these allegations, the CPC also started the malicious and baseless branding of the Tibetan Youth Congress as a terrorist outfit replete with unsubstantiated allegations, deliberate distortions and blatant lies.

Xinhua News Agency, the Chinese government's official mouthpiece have published dubious reports claiming that His Holiness the Dalai Lama and the Tibetan Youth Congress have 'masterminded' the peaceful protest of Tibetans inside Tibet. Even the Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao accused the Dalai Lama of orchestrating the riots in a press conference on 18 March, 2008 where he said that, "there is ample fact and plenty of evidence proving that this incident was organized, premeditated, masterminded and incited by the Dalai Clique."²

The Tibetan Youth Congress (TYC) was founded by young and educated Tibetans in exile on 7 October 1970 with the primary aim to struggle for the restoration of independence for Tibet. At the time of its inception, China strongly criticized its very formation. And today, China not only condemns its very existence but also its policies and activities. In the subsequent years, one of the most





8 *RESPONSE: The Response to Communist Party of China's Allegations*

important campaigns spearheaded by the Chinese government has been to denounce and malign TYC as an organization fighting to 'split' China. With the evolution of a global anti-terrorism drive after the 9/11 terrorist crisis in United States, China also intensified its campaign to use the concept of terrorism in an attempt to label Eastern Turkistan Islamic Movement as a terrorist outfit. Not only that the Chinese government later moved to label all Uyghur based organizations as terrorist outfits to silence any dissent.

The fallacious and baseless allegations concocted by the Chinese Government and its state media intensified after the spontaneous peaceful protests that erupted in Tibet since March this year. The non-violent protests by the Tibetan people inside Tibet and the subsequent brutal crackdown of the peaceful protests by the Chinese government drew worldwide criticism. The timing and purpose of intensifying their allegations were motivated by the challenges posed to the Chinese government's legitimacy inside Tibet. The one sided propaganda was used to aid the Chinese government in their vilification of peaceful dissent and to defuse the mounting international pressure.

In the run up to the much hyped Beijing Olympics, when China hoped to present itself as a modern nation achieving 'grandeur and success' even in the occupied countries of Tibet, East Turkistan, Manchuria and Inner Mongolia, it hyped up its attack on the Tibetan people in general and His Holiness the Dalai Lama and the TYC in particular.

China's public relations campaigns to improve its image around the globe turned into a public relations disaster when people protested the arrival of the Olympic torch which is normally welcomed by the citizens. Instead, the Olympic torch were welcomed by the unprecedented security forces in almost all the cities it traveled in and was guarded by the People's Armed Police force throughout its journey.

Rather than doing an analysis of why these protests were taking place, the CPC resorted to the use of force to brutally suppress the

protests and concocted baseless allegations as a part of a coordinated attack intended to derail the public opinion towards Tibet, to malign the Tibetan people's just struggle, to defuse the mounting international pressure for the brutal suppression of peaceful protests and to restore the faith of the Chinese people in the Communist Party of China. In addition, to justify the discriminatory policies that deprive the Tibetans inside Tibet of their fundamental rights and China's illegal occupation of Tibet in the eyes of Chinese citizens and the world the CPC's only scapegoat was His Holiness the Dalai Lama.

This first detailed response by the Tibetan Youth Congress to these accusations documents the Communist Party of China's misleading and irresponsible publishing of many unfounded allegations against His Holiness the Dalai Lama and the Tibetan Youth Congress. The allegations made by the CPC contain two oblique admissions: 1. China has failed to win the hearts and minds of the Tibetan people and is unable to exercise any control over Tibetans inside Tibet, except through excessive use of force. 2. The loyalty of the Tibetan people lies with His Holiness the Dalai Lama, thus proving that His Holiness the Dalai Lama is the undisputed leader of Tibetans inside and outside Tibet.





Communist Party of China's Brief History in Dealing with Crisis

On 18 March, 2008, His Holiness the Dalai Lama dismissed the allegations made by the Chinese government that he was behind the violence at a press conference held in Dharamshala where he invited the Chinese government to send its emissaries to inspect his home, office and said, "Investigate thoroughly... Check our various offices. They can examine my pulse, my urine, my stool." The Dalai Lama also said that he would have no option but to resign if majority of the Tibetans resorted to any form of violence.

His Holiness the Dalai Lama's open challenge and invitation to the People's Republic of China to examine the Central Tibetan Administration's files and audio & video records of the Dalai Lama's audience and meetings with new arrivals of Tibetan refugees and Tibetans showed that His Holiness has nothing to hide. China has yet to provide any convincing evidence of their allegations.

It is no surprise however that whenever the Chinese government is faced with challenges inside Tibet in the form of peaceful protests, the Chinese government's immediate reaction is to make a scapegoat of His Holiness the Dalai Lama and Tibetans in exile by throwing the yoke of blame on to the Tibetans rather than admit their mistakes and misrule inside Tibet. Although there is nothing much to be perturbed about, the intensity and the extent of these lies and concoctions need to be exposed in the interest of truth.

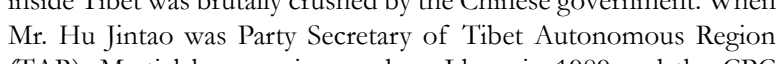
The Communist Party of China's struggle to maintain its monopoly over political power and its long tradition of its inability



12 RESPONSE: *The Response to Communist Party of China's Allegations*


to admit its mistakes have resulted in gross human rights violations and social unrest in Tibet and China. Since the establishment of the People's Republic of China by the Communist Party in 1949, many wrong government policies that had disastrous results were simply blamed on others and never checked.

Mao Tsetung blamed the 'weather' for the death of over 30 million Chinese due to the failure of his Great Leap Forward campaign and went a step further when he launched the Hundred Flowers campaign to uproot all dissent against his rule. Deng Xiaoping rose to power by blaming the tragedies of the Cultural Revolution on the Gang of Four. And so it comes with no surprise when again the CPC is working overtime to hold everyone else but themselves responsible for the 50 years of tragedy and suffering that the Tibetan people have been subjected to.



The historic 1987, 1988 and 1989 demonstrations by Tibetans inside Tibet was brutally crushed by the Chinese government. When Mr. Hu Jintao was Party Secretary of Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR), Martial law was imposed on Lhasa in 1989 and the CPC accused His Holiness the Dalai Lama and nonexistent 'foreign hands' of masterminding the protests. The 1989 pro-democracy movement inside China which was blamed on a few reactionaries showed that even the Chinese people demand democratic freedoms. The brutal suppression of the Chinese democracy movement and their demand for democratic rights which resulted in the 1989 Tiananmen Square massacre showed that the CPC lacks legitimacy amongst its own people. Even today, the CPC's attempt to create amnesia or the complete erasure of the memories of the Tiananmen massacre from its history with the suppression of any expression of 1989 depicts the Communist Party's inability to come to terms with its own recent history and the grievances of the Chinese people. Not only that, it shows the extent to which the Communist party will go to legitimize its monopoly of power by distorting history and facts to legitimize its power in the eyes of its own citizens.

Since then, CPC's communist ideology has long since been replaced by fascist capitalism. China's communist regime has lost the confidence of its own people. Rampant corruption and high-handed



nepotism has plagued its administration and its policies. The CPC has failed to learn from its own mistakes to make administrative amendments. Claims of self-analysis and taking responsibility for policy failures have been a far cry. Instead the CPC has consistently misused and abused the human tragedies that have beleaguered China and Tibet to flame nationalistic fervor amongst the Chinese in order to bolster the dictatorial regime of the party and to indict and alienate party colleagues emerging as possible power threats.

The history of the brutal suppression of the peaceful demonstrations inside Tibet and China constantly being met with brute force and violence demonstrates that the Tibetans inside Tibet do not have any effective conventional means of making their grievances heard and that China's repressive policy in Tibet has failed to win the support of the Tibetans.



Analysis of Why The Protests Occurred

Since the forceful invasion of Tibet in 1949 by the People's Liberation Army of China, the people of Tibet have suffered tremendously under almost six decades of China's illegal occupation of Tibet. Even today, the ground reality in Tibet remains largely unchanged. The CPC continues to carry out systematic political repression and institutional discrimination against Tibetans inside Tibet. China's record of human rights abuses, such as widespread arbitrary arrests, imprisonment and extra judicial killings, the use of extended detention, including re-education through labor and torture of political prisoners, is notorious. These practices continue to serve as an instrument of state control in Tibet.

Tibetans face increasing discrimination as the Chinese Government's assimilationist policies being implemented in the name of 'liberalization' and 'development' supports the mass population transfer of landless and jobless Chinese settlers into Tibet. Tibetans have become a minority in their own country facing Chinese hegemony. This policy of cultural genocide has resulted in building deep resentment amongst the Tibetans who are facing social, economic and political marginalization.

In retrospect, the Third Tibet Work Forum convened by the top Chinese leaders in Beijing from 20 to 23 July, 1994 and presided over by the then President Jiang Zemin reversed the liberal policies laid forth by the first two forums of 1980 and 1984 presided by the late former Secretary General of CPC, Hu Yaobang. The third forum policy recommendations contained four key elements that may have laid the seeds for the present crisis in Tibet. These included, "China step up the scale of repression (mainly targeting Tibetan Buddhism)

in Tibet. External propaganda work was escalated. The pace of economic development in Tibet and its corollary of encouraging more Chinese settlers and businessmen to take advantage of the economic boom on “the roof of the world” were also increased.”³

The Tibetan people inside Tibet are outraged by the CPC’s hard line policy in Tibet and its efforts to completely destroy Tibetan identity through its strategic policies targeting Tibetan Buddhism and culture. The launch of ‘Strike Hard’ campaigns since 1996 have been used to target Tibetans labeled as ‘splittists’. The re-intensification of ‘patriotic reeducation’ campaigns within monasteries that force Tibetans to denounce His Holiness the Dalai Lama and state that Tibet has always been an inalienable part of China not only undermines Tibetan Buddhism but such measures that attempt to break the sacred bond between Buddhist followers and His Holiness the Dalai Lama also increases more dissent as Tibetans share the highest reverence for His Holiness the Dalai lama.

Infact, the replacement of the reincarnation of the 11th Panchen Lama, Gendun Choekyi Nyima by the CPC choice of Gyaltzen Norbu in 1996 and the continued detention of Gendun Choekyi Nyima have also further distanced the Tibetan people from the Chinese government as Tibetans inside Tibet are appalled by this deliberate interference of the Chinese government in religious matters. The implementation of new religious measures on the reincarnation of ‘Living Buddhas’ on September 1st, 2007 called “Order No. 5” that enables an atheist government to select reincarnate lama’s goes against the traditional Tibetan Buddhist practice and legitimizes China’s restrictions on religious freedom. All these measures show that due to social, economic and political oppression, the Tibetan people cannot take part in the political decisions being made on their behalf.

The fact that autonomy in the TAR region and all over Tibet exists only in name is evident from the comments by Chen Kuiyuan, the hardliner Party Secretary of “Tibetan Autonomous Region”. His recommendations to the Central Chinese government at a secret meeting in December 1999 in Chengdu, Sichuan shows that the CPC



Analysis of Why The Protests Occurred 17

leaders inside Tibet lack any respect and understanding for Tibetan culture and religion. The recommendations to eradicate Tibetan Buddhism and culture so that no memory of them will be left in the minds of coming generations of Tibetans-except as museum pieces, to uproot the existence of the Dalai Lama and his exile government in exile in Dharamshala that he believed as the main cause of instability and to merge the “Tibetan Autonomous Region” with other provinces like Sichuan so the very name of Tibet will be destroyed.

Comments like “The Dalai is a devil with a human face but with a heart of a beast” and “We are currently in an intensely bloody and fiery struggle with the Dalai clique, a life-and-death struggle with the enemy” coming from the Party Secretary of Tibetan Autonomous Region, Zhang Qingli, depict that the CPC leaders in Tibet do not share any genuine concern for the Tibetan people and are bent on the complete destruction of the Tibetan identity.

The kind of reverence that Tibetans share for His Holiness is very well stated by Sanjoy Hazaria, a specialist on North-east studies in his article published in the Indian Express. He wrote, that “In every Buddhist temple I visited during a journey through Tibet, there is always a high chair which no abbot or Rinpoche will sit on – it is for the Dalai Lama when he returns.” He further adds that, “By throwing such force against a symbol they [CPC] are betraying their own weakness and acknowledging the overwhelming power of the other.”



Tibetan Youth Congress



Who is Responsible for The Escalation of the Protests Inside Tibet?

The CPC's claims that the protests inside Tibet were incited and masterminded from outside are completely untrue. Tibetan people inside Tibet do not need to be incited from outside. China's illegal occupation of Tibet and the continuing oppression of the Tibetan people and its effort to eradicate Tibetan identity is the sole reason for their peaceful protests. Tibetans inside Tibet are the inspiration for Tibetans in exile.

The state-controlled Xinhua News Agency published an article on 30 March 2008, in which His Holiness and the TYC were accused of plotting and inciting the Lhasa demonstrations on March 14. Not only are these allegations baseless lies, what the Chinese government failed to report is that the protest began on March 10 in different regions of Tibet and coincided with the 49th anniversary of the Tibetan Uprising of 1959. For instance, over 300 monks from Drepung monastery took out a peaceful rally towards the Tsukla Khang cathedral ground for the release of monks from their monastery who were arrested and sentenced for celebrating on 17th October 2007, the day when His Holiness the 14th Dalai Lama was conferred the US Congressional Gold medal. Instead of positively responding to their just and reasonable demands, the Public Security Bureau and police armed forces arrested more than 60 monks under the pretext of master minding the protest and unlawfully sentenced them.

On the same day, the Chinese officials mercilessly crushed down the peaceful protest in different parts of Lhasa and Tibet which further angered and generated the subsequent protests on 10th, 11th, 12th and 13th March 2008 by the monastic communities of all the major Tibetan Monasteries namely, Sera Monastery, Gaden Monastery,

Drepung Monastery and others. With the brutal use of force by the Chinese armed forces, the monks from Ramchoe Monastery and others which are located within Lhasa got enraged and protested insistently against the regime on 14th March, 2008 and afterwards.

Wang Lixiong, a well known Chinese writer in China stated that, “the recent troubles in Tibet are a replay of events that happened two decades ago. On Oct. 1, 1987, Buddhist monks were demonstrating peacefully in the Barkor – the famous market street around the central cathedral in Lhasa – when police began beating and arresting them. To ordinary Tibetans, who view monks as “treasures” the sight was intolerable – not only in itself, but because it stimulated unpleasant memories that Tibetan Buddhists had been harboring for years... From time to time monks have used peaceful demonstrations to express their anguish. When they have done this, an insecure Chinese government, bent on ‘annihilating unstable elements’ in the “emergent stage,” has reacted with violent repression. This, in turn, triggers violence from Tibetans.... It should be no surprise that beating of monks and closings of monasteries naturally stimulate civil unrest, or that civil unrest, spawned in this way, can turn violent.”⁴

The Chinese police and armed force’s resorting to the use of poisonous tear gases, violent beatings and indiscriminate firing on the peaceful demonstrators further infuriated the general public of Lhasa which resulted in subsequent solidarity protests throughout all the traditional provinces of Tibet (Domed, Dotoe and U-Tsang) and beyond.

The brutal handling of the peaceful demonstrations caused more protests and these spread to other parts of Tibet. The spontaneous protests inside all over Tibet and beyond as a reaction to the Chinese governments brutal handling of the peaceful demonstrations shattered the CPC’s claims that Tibetans are content under Chinese rule and left the CPC authorities with two options: 1. To address the legitimate grievances of the Tibetan people inside Tibet, for which CPC would

have to accept its failure inside Tibet or 2. or to suppress protests inside Tibet with the use of force.

The CPC chose the second option and quickly moved in the People's Liberation Army (PLA) and Peoples Armed Police (PAP) forces to suppress all protests. They began to implicate the peaceful protesters inside Tibet as common rioters and separatists. To justify their use of force the party formed a hard line policy that blamed the "Dalai clique" for the protests and began a fierce campaign in the CCP's official mouthpiece Xinhua news and state television CCTV. The Tibetan Autonomous Regional Government Chairman Qiangba Puncog (Jampa Phuntsok) stated at a press conference on March 18th that, "dozens of policemen and 61 armed policemen were injured, six seriously, and the rioters set fire to more than 300 places, including residential houses and 214 shops and smashed and burnt 56 vehicles in the violence which was "premeditated, incited, and organized" by the Dalai Clique."⁵

Another aspect that could have contributed to the escalation of the protests is the *biased media reporting* used by the CPC. Xinhua repeatedly carried misleading and negative political propaganda to malign His Holiness the Dalai Lama, the peaceful protests inside Tibet and demonize the Tibetan Independence struggle. China's media depicted images of the peaceful people's movement inside Tibet as anti-Chinese in a desperate and irresponsible attempt to justify their inhumane policies inside Tibet.

The rapid spread of the spontaneous protests inside all over Tibet is also attributed to the use of media by the CPC. The showing of these images on television in Tibet, and the wide access to television, people have now a days compared to the past may have mobilized and triggered the escalation of more protest by Tibetans in other areas as it was witnessed that the spontaneous protests spread from Lhasa to the rest of Tibet. Furthermore, Tibetans inside Tibet who have gone through so much suffering under China's occupation watching these negative images depicting Tibetans as violent without showing the brute force the PAP and PLA and the actual truth behind

the protests could also have provoked more ordinary Tibetans in other areas to express their grievances and deeply held resentment against the Chinese government's wrong policies targeted to destroy Tibetan identity publicly.

Wang Lixiong states that, "due to prejudiced choice of materials and propaganda efforts that stirred up extreme sentiments, the incident was pictured as an event in which Tibetans slaughtered Han Chinese without reason. It cut out a racial chasm between Han Chinese and Tibetans. The longing and intimate feelings towards Tibetan culture that Han Chinese people displayed in recent years were changed into fear and hatred towards Tibetans in general, seeing Tibetans as an ungrateful people."⁶

The difference in the use of media when protests occur within mainland China and Tibet demonstrates the sketchy measures the CPC adopts when dealing with crisis. For example, whenever a protest occurs in mainland China, the media coverage showing video recordings of the events is very little or none, especially to the world media. However in the case of protests inside Tibet, the videos that depicted Tibetans attacking stores were shown throughout China, Tibet and the world. Infact, the video images were provided by the Chinese state television CCTV for the purpose of: 1. To use the images as evidence and justify China's use of brutal force against peaceful Tibetan protestors by depicting them as violent and as common rioters, criminals and separatists. 2. To flame nationalistic fervour and direct hatred at Tibetans to legitimize the Chinese government's actions in Tibet in the eyes of its own citizens.

If the protests inside Tibet were predetermined and instigated by outside forces as claimed by the Chinese Officials, than why did the same forces fail to station foreign media to highlight the issue internationally? Rather the International Media relied completely on the CCTV footages.

The demonstrations organized in China against the French super market chain Carrefour, the strong presence of Chinese Diaspora coming out to support the Beijing Olympic torch relay and the strong

campaigns on the internet vilifying a young Chinese student of Duke University who tried to mediate between Chinese and Tibetan protesters were all examples of the manipulations of the Chinese government and the kind of nationalistic fervour that it was able to rally to counter the criticism against its mishandling inside Tibet.

It must be noted that reports from Tibet stated that Chinese spy agents dressed in civilian clothes infiltrated into the crowds of peaceful protestors and deliberately committed acts of violence to portray Tibetans as violent. These images were captured by the official Chinese government television channel CCTV and reports confirmed that these images were repeatedly shown inside China and around the world to present the peaceful protest by Tibetans as an act of ethnic violence depicting Tibetans targeting Chinese.

Although the rest of the free world has access to uncensored media through which people can ascertain the real perpetrators responsible for the peaceful protests, the views of Chinese citizens inside occupied Tibet and mainland China are being manipulated by these propaganda images. These are deliberately shown to sow a seed of discord and depict the Tibetan struggle as being an ethnic problem and anti-Chinese, when the real situation is that it is the Communist Party of China's repressive and discriminatory policies in illegally occupied Tibet that forces Tibetans to protest. China Free Press article stated that "after years of distorted propaganda and demonization of Tibetans, the Chinese masses do indeed harbor hatred for the Dalai Lama, creating the circumstances in which bloody suppression is readily accepted."⁷ This shows that the CPC's politburo continues to manipulate its monopoly of media to justify its repression inside Tibet in the eyes of its own citizens.

The Chinese media, especially Xinhua and CCTV, role in creating hate propaganda against Tibetans has outright neglected its moral responsibility towards its citizens by depicting propaganda "images" of Tibetans committing ethnic violence against Chinese that will take a long time to redress.




24 *RESPONSE: The Response to Communist Party of China's Allegations*



Tibetan Youth Congress





Refuting The Allegations against Tibetan Youth Congress

Among many allegations, the state-controlled Xinhua News Agency published an article on 30 March 2008, where His Holiness the Dalai Lama and the Tibetan Youth Congress (TYC) were accused of plotting and inciting the Lhasa demonstrations on March 14 and furthermore TYC was charged with setting up guerrilla force to infiltrate Tibet and start an armed struggle. It also insisted that to implement the “Tibetan People’s Uprising Movement,” TYC held training in guerrilla warfare and explosives use.

The charge that TYC held trainings on guerrilla warfare and explosives use to implement the ‘Tibetan People’s Uprising Movement’ are simply ludicrous as TYC was never a part of this group. The ‘Tibetan People’s Uprising Movement’ (TPUM)⁸ was jointly formed by four organizations based in India namely Tibetan Women Association, Gu Chu Sum, National Democratic Party of Tibet and India’s Students For a Free Tibet Chapter. The Tibetan Youth Congress decided to join the “March to Tibet” Committee with these four organizations after it got a 7 to 3 majority vote at the 23 November 2007 Centrex meeting.

The March Committee organized two days of workshops and trainings on nonviolence movement for the representatives of the Regional Tibetan Youth Congress and Regional Tibetan Women’s Association at Lower TCV School auditorium. On 5 – 6 March, 2008, over 140 volunteers for the march were also given two days of training on non violence movement at Dolmaling Nunnery near Norbulingka. The training on Gandhian principles of Non-Violent actions was attended and documented by numerous independent international media including CNN, BBC, VOT, RFA, VOA, Italian TV Channel, Reuters, AFP etc. besides local Indian media. The trainers included respected Buddhist scholars, Gandhian activists such as Mr. Rajiv Vora from Swaraj Peeth, non-violent activists, human rights

Tibetan Youth Congress



lawyers from the Human Rights Law Network, media persons etc. A simple inquiry with these media and individuals listed above will make it clear whether the training sessions had anything even remotely to do with 'guerrilla warfare, armed struggle or terrorism' as claimed by the CCP.

On 10 April 2008, Xinhua cited the spokesman for the Ministry of Public Security, Wu Heping saying that police had raided the homes of Tibetan monks following the March unrest and confiscated 178 guns, 13,013 bullets, 359 knives, 7,709 pounds of explosives, 19,360 primers and two grenades.⁹ It is worth noting that the details of these so called findings have been strictly controlled by Chinese authorities and often the only source for information is Xinhua News Agency, the Chinese government's official news outlet.

China should allow independent investigation into these so-called findings so that the actual truth can be determined. What we must also wonder is why there have been no reports of explosions and weapons being used by the Tibetans inside Tibet if the protests were 'premeditated'.

Xinhua news deliberately highlighted the so-called findings of these weapons out of context in an attempt to brand TYC as a terrorist organization without any substantive evidence and to make the connection that TYC is responsible for the recent peaceful protests inside Tibet. An article in Xinhua news on the 10 April stated that, "What makes the TYC a terrorist organization is not only what it has said but what it has done. Police in Lhasa seized more than 100 guns, tens of thousands of bullets, several thousand kilograms of explosives and tens of thousands of detonators, acting on reports from lamas and ordinary people. These figures, in addition to the deaths of more than a dozen ordinary people in the Lhasa riot, show that the TYC is no different from Al-Qaida, Chechnyan armed terrorists, "East Turkistan" separatists and any other terrorist organization."¹⁰

China has yet to publish any convincing evidence of their alleged findings having any connection to TYC. What is even more surprising

is that on the same day that they publicly announced the findings, they also announced in another article that these findings evidently imply that these are the evidence that TYC has ‘premeditated’ the protests inside Tibet and is a terrorist organization. The CPC’s conclusion that the findings and TYC were linked being made on the same day that they announced the findings is impractical as it demonstrates that the CPC’s allegations were not based on through investigation but were simply concocted to suit the official hard line rhetoric of the CPC. Furthermore, why has China turned down a request by the U.N. Human Rights Commissioner, Louise Arbor, to visit Tibet in April and make an independent first-hand examination of violations in the on-going crisis if it has nothing to hide from the world? It is China’s illegal occupation of Tibet which is responsible for TYC’s existence and their policies of Cultural genocide which is the sole reason for peaceful uprising in Tibet.

China’s vitriolic campaigns against His Holiness the Dalai Lama and the inclusion of Tibetan Youth Congress as having ‘secret understanding’ with His Holiness the Dalai Lama are also deliberate attempts to sow doubts about His Holiness’s middle way approach that seeks genuine autonomy and malign him as a disingenuous separatist in the public view. TYC is an independent organization whose activities and policies have no interference from outside. The CPC’s failure in realizing that they cannot win the loyalty of Tibetans as long as they continue to denounce His Holiness the Dalai Lama who is unshakable and inseparable from the minds and hearts of every Tibetan was evident through the protests inside Tibet where Tibetans demanded that His Holiness the Dalai Lama be allowed to return to Tibet. And it is His Holiness the Dalai Lama who has been calling on His people to exercise patience and restraint through his messages to the media to calm the situation inside Tibet.

Central Tibetan Administration’s (CTA) response to the allegations made by CPC also demonstrates the hypocrisy behind these allegations. It states, “We cannot speak on behalf of the Tibetan Youth Congress. The TYC is more than capable of speaking for

itself. We are making these comments in so far as China includes the TYC in its broad and all-encompassing term, “the Dalai clique.” To call a democratically-elected organisation a “terrorist” with links with Al-Qaida is based on the assumption that those who hear this claim are total fools or is an attempt to harden the Chinese leadership’s attitude to the Tibetans. Whatever the real reason for making such absurd claims, the truth is that the TYC is based in India, an open and plural society where free flow of information is cherished. This allows the concerned authorities of India to make an informed judgment of organizations that flout, or does not flout, the laws of the host country. Till now, the Government of India in its considered judgment has not declared the TYC as a terrorist outfit and within the exile Tibetan community the youth body is recognized as a respected organization.”¹¹

Clearly, the CPC has failed to understand the democratic relation that His Holiness the Dalai Lama shares with the Tibetan people. This is not surprising since the CPC does not believe in democracy. As in any other democracy, the Tibetan people have also agreed to disagree on various political issues while working towards the greater goal of amicably resolving the Tibetan issue. One prime example of the Tibetan people exercising their democratic rights is the fact that despite His Holiness’s middle way approach for genuine autonomy for Tibet, TYC’s primary aim continues to be the restoration of Independence for Tibet.

TYC is subject to elections every three years at the General Body Meeting where new members are elected and no executive member can serve for more than two terms. The democratic and transparent functioning, the love and support it enjoys amongst Tibetans and Tibet supporters is seen as a challenge to the CPC which lacks transparency and is deeply rooted in corruption. The very foundation of the Tibetan Youth Congress was a smack on the face of the Chinese government who violently protested to the Government of India when the first General Meeting of TYC was held in 1970. TYC Vice President Dhondup Dorjee stated that “The Chinese

officials, after seeing that the Tibetan Youth Congress is the most potential force today in the peaceful movement in exile, have been trying to brand it as a terrorist organization for many years without any basis.”¹²

A Tibetan scholar Tsering Shakya wrote in an article in the Far Eastern Economic Review that, “The Tibetan Youth Congress, which has been labeled by the Chinese as a terrorist organization, is the largest social and political organization for Tibetans in India. The membership is almost entirely made up of Tibetans born in India, and their political strategies are influenced by Indian political culture. This is not in itself a bad thing—whatever one may think of the Indian system, it has a long tradition of protest and the people march for the slightest infringement of liberty. The TYC sees protest as the bread and butter of politics. Since they cannot protest in Tibet, they march on the streets of Delhi, New York and Paris.”¹³

The same April 10, Xinhua article also stated that, “On March 15, the following day of the March 14 incident, TYC held a meeting of its executive members in Dharamshala, and unanimously adopted a resolution on cross-border entry into China to carry out guerrilla warfare and launch a secret entry into the country through the Sino-Nepalese border. A TYC ringleader even claimed that they are ready to sacrifice another 100 Tibetans for their complete victory. This has once again laid bare the ugly feature of this group of terrorists.”¹⁴

The records of TYC Centrex minute book shows that there was no meeting on March 15. After the brutal crackdown on peaceful protestors intensified, TYC Centrex convened a meeting on March 14 to immediately organize peaceful protests in exile to highlight the brutal crackdown to the world community. CPC officials can visit our office and check the records of the minute book of TYC. No such resolution was adopted at the meeting as proclaimed above. No sacrifice or suicide bombs have occurred till now inside or outside Tibet. These accusations were made so that the CPC can use the threat of terrorism to violently suppress the Tibetan protesters.

On April 19, a China Daily article stated that, “Tsewang Rigzin, head of Tibetan Youth Congress (TYC), recently told an Italian media that “it’s a trend to use suicide bombers and that can be done to seek independence of Tibet.” They also claimed that “Before that, his predecessor also said, “As long as it’s good for our cause, we will use any measures at all costs, either violent or non-violent.”¹⁵

The Milan based news outlet *Corriere della Serra* published an article written by Cremonesi Lorenzo which quoted TYC President Tsewang Rigzin. Only the Chinese media quickly picked up on the article to allege that TYC was a terrorist organization and ran a vicious campaign to create doubts about TYC in the world view and justify their repressive measures inside Tibet. On April 24, 2008 Tibetan Youth Congress vehemently rejected these baseless allegations by CPC at a press conference in Dharamshala and stated that “in the last 38 years of TYC’s existence, we have always campaigned for Tibet’s Independence based on the historical truth and non-violence and have never resorted to any terrorist activities or suicide attacks to achieve our goal of Tibet’s Independence.”¹⁶ The President of TYC also stated that his statement was stated out of context in the Milan based *Corriere della Serra* article and the CPC’s mouthpiece Xinhua news and China Daily further skewed his remark to depict TYC as an imminent threat to China.





Response to assertions made by Beijing based organization CTRC researchers

Xinhua news has also used statements and assertions made by the researchers of the Beijing-based organization China Tibetology Research Center. It is important to note that China's media is strictly controlled by the Central Propaganda Department which takes directives directly from the CPC Politburo. Since these researchers are working directly under the Chinese government and all their statements try to confirm what CPC has already stated in regard to Tibet, it shows that the researchers are not speaking independently and like many others are kowtowing to the party line in fear of facing social, economic or political reprisal. These researchers statement simply follows the official line of the CPC and does not offer any new or independent thought backing the claims which normally an independent scholar would offer. From these it is evident that the researchers statements quoted in the Xinhua news are erroneous statements concocted by the CPC to deceive Chinese citizens and the world.

While refuting these allegations, we should keep in mind that the Chinese media and the scholars mentioned above are not working freely. Therefore the Chinese media and their assertions lack transparency, credibility and the values of ethical journalism. The publishing of these unfounded stories are a part of the Chinese government's effort to sow discord amongst Tibetans and Chinese people who are completely reliant on Chinese media and susceptible to Chinese propaganda.

On 4 May 2008, a senior research at the Beijing-based organization China Tibetology Research Center (CTRC), Bi Hua said that "TYC was set up in 1970 under the 'direct incitement of the Dalai...that in the early 1970's, some

Tibetan Youth Congress

Tibetan youths in exile became decadent and tired of life, as either independence or returning to China was hopeless years after they fled the country.” He further alleged that, “the organization exposed its violent nature in many events such as the 1974 incident in Bhutan. In that year, in order to turn Bhutan into a forefront against Tibet, the Dalai Lama group plotted to upset the Bhutan government, but the plan was thwarted and 28 suspects were seized by the Bhutan police when Dalai’s people prepared to set a palace on fire and assassinate the King.”¹⁷

The statement above shows that the researcher is either completely ignorant of the history of Tibetans in exile or is deliberately trying to distort facts to support the CPC’s claims. Tibetan Youth Congress was started by young and educated Tibetans in exile who felt the need for a platform where young Tibetans can work to keep alive the Tibetan struggle for Independence internationally. As Dr. Bhaskar Vyas states in his book that, “The Tibetan youths have seen the functioning’s of the youth wings of various political parties in India. They have known that this is a pathway to the building of future leadership... they liked the dialectics, and, democracy also thrives on the dialectical discourse. The organization gave the youths a platform to not only question the happenings of the past, but also to raise their doubts about the government in Exile. Thus since its inception the TYC while owning its allegiance to the Dalai Lama, is in a state of creative tension with the Tibetan government and even with the Dalai Lama.”¹⁸ Over the years, TYC has emerged as the most active and important democratic political force within the Tibetan community and is also the largest Tibetan organization with the broadest support base.

At a time when the CPC finds itself defenseless against international criticism as the CPC’s inhuman policies are exposed to the world and faces a public relations disaster, their attempt to divert the international criticism have not only led them to make baseless allegations but they have also raised incidents such as the 1974 Bhutan

incident with distorted facts and new allegations as evidence of their claims. The Chinese government must respond to why it has reported on these old incidents with new fabrications at a time of the mounting international pressure on China. This shows the lack of credibility in the accusations made by the CPC and also demonstrates the practice of unethical journalism in an authoritarian regime. The following few paragraphs provide a clearer view of the Bhutan incident.

In March 1974, upon learning of the sudden arrest of 28 Tibetans, including Mr. Lhading, the representative of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, for allegedly plotting to assassinate the king, the Tibetan officers approached the Royal Bhutan Mission in New Delhi who claimed that they were unaware of the matter. Soon after, this news was published in Kuensel, the Bhutanese official English language bulletin which was released on the eve of the coronation of King Jigme Singhe Wangchuk on June 2, 1974. The senior most Tibetan Cabinet Minister, Mr. W. G. Kundeling had gone to Thimpu on May 2, 1974 and had three meetings with Bhutan's Royal Advisory Council, one of which was attended by the King himself.

The Tibetan administration conveyed to the Bhutanese government that if they could furnish them with concrete evidence and photocopies of the documentary proof which the Bhutanese claim to possess and if we are convinced that they are genuine, then we would not only cease to plead on behalf of the arrested Tibetans but would actively support the Bhutanese action. However, the Tibetan representative was neither shown these evidences nor was he permitted to visit the detainees, inspite of repeated requests.

The Tibetan administration also made thorough investigation of the matter as they could under the circumstances and found that there was no ground at all to support the allegations. Despite the King earlier statement that the 4000 Tibetan refugees in Bhutan had no involvement, the Bhutanese Government adopted several measures that led to raise concerns for the safety of the Tibetan refugees in Bhutan. The archaic trial proceedings of the 28 arrested Tibetans also raised concerns as it became evident that the unfair

trials were not open to the public, the Tibetans were not provided with proper legal counsel and torture was used to coerce and extract false confessions.

In the ensuing meetings between Tibetan and Bhutanese authorities in Thimphu and New Delhi, it was suggested that the Tibetan authorities request the Government of India to agree to the transfer of all Tibetan settlers in Bhutan to India or Tibetans in Bhutan should be told to accept Bhutanese citizenship. Tibetan authorities had no objection to Tibetan refugees accepting Bhutanese citizenship voluntarily but the Tibetan refugees in Bhutan declined the offer as it would systematically destroy their identity as Tibetans.

Tibetan refugees in Bhutan were faced with another challenge when the 50th Bhutanese National Assembly passed a resolution to repatriate the Tibetans in Bhutan back to Tibet if other countries refused to grant asylum. On August 17, 1974 Tibetan refugees began an indefinite hunger strike led by the Tibetan Youth Congress at the Bhutanese mission office in Chankayapuri, Delhi to demand that the Government of Bhutan withdraw the baseless allegations against Tibetans.” The refugees called off their hunger strike on August 30 on the assurance given by some Indian Members of Parliament including Mr. Shashi Bhushan who stated that, “We do not want that you should continue your hunger strike. It is our sincere desire that you should end it. Regarding your problems, we assure you that we would request the Government of India to forward your grievances to the Bhutan Government.”¹⁹

The Indian government later resettled almost all the Tibetan refugees in Bhutan to a new settlement in India. Mr. Vijay Kranti wrote on the issue that, “What they [Bhutanese government] have failed to explain is why the news of the arrest of the 20 Tibetan refugees had to be kept secret for over three months. Why was it, again, dramatically broken just hours before the coronation and an hour after the arrival in Thimphu of the Chinese representative?”²⁰

For centuries, Tibet has shared good relations with Bhutan and the people of both countries have had many cultural exchanges as

neighboring countries. This attempt to harm the good relations between the Tibetans and Bhutanese people are disturbing considering that these assertions published in the state news outlet Xinhua shows that these directives are coming from the CPC.

In the same article of 4 May 2008, Liu Hongji, also a senior researcher at the Beijing-based organization CTRC, quoted in the official Xinhua news agency alleged that “TYC has become a terrorist organization as concepts of violence have taken root in the organization” and claimed that the congress “sought mutual support from international terrorist organizations such as al Qaida and East Turkestan groups” in northwest China.” He also alleged that “TYC had organized training sessions, such as one on “dynamite techniques” and another on how to carry out violent and terrorist activities.”

Making such erroneous statements raises the concern that China still harbors ill resentment against India and through these claims is either trying to sabotage India’s image as TYC is based in India or is trying to put indirect pressure on the Indian government to curtail the political activities of TYC. Bhaskar Roy, a retired senior Indian government official stated that, “the People’s Daily articles carry a serious, and not so hidden, attack on India. The article claims internationally branded and banned terrorists are freely active on the Indian soil, running terrorist camps, and enjoying sanctuary if not outright hospitality. They make two significant points (a) India encourages international terrorism on its soil and (b) India is abetting, if not sponsoring, terrorism against China to split China. It is well known that the People’s Daily is the official news bulletin of the CPC and airs the Party’s official position. And the party is above the government.”²¹

TYC annually organizes leadership trainings where young Tibetans receive insightful and educational information on various issues to improve their understanding of the global political scenario. At these leadership trainings, they are provided with information on the

prevention of HIV/AIDs and career counseling. Several well reputed Indian and Tibetan scholars such as Professor S. D. Muni, Professor Brahma Challaney, Mr. Bharat Karnad, Dr. Srikanth Kondapalli, Mr. Ravi Nair and Mr. Vijay Kranti have spoken at these workshops. All student participants fill out paper evaluations which are recorded and kept in our office files and we welcome the Chinese government to send their emissaries to check the files of the TYC.

Also, McClatchy reporter Tim Johnson reported in his article dated 24 November 2008 that Liu Hongji declined to elaborate on charges [that] the group is now armed in the interview stating that, “because we do research, not intelligence, we cannot provide details, but it is said that they have these (weapons). These are secret.”²² Whenever scholars make assertions, they should be able to back their assertions with ample facts and figures. If Liu Hongji could make the above claims, he should have provided the evidence. However his inability to elaborate on the charges he alleged earlier in May’s Xinhua news proves that his statements against the Tibetan Youth Congress were totally deceptive and erroneous.

Infact, China should look at its own dealings. China’s record in “sponsoring militancy, arming separatists bordering on terrorism in its neighborhood” is also a threat to peace in Asia and the world. China also conducts arms sales with Iran, Iraq, Myanmar, North Korea, Pakistan, Thailand and others. Bhaskar Roy states that, “it may be recalled that following the ‘9/11’ al-Qaeda terrorism in the US, and Wanshington’s counter-attack in Afghanistan on the al-Qaeda and the Taliban in 2001, the Chinese President Hu Jintao had questioned US evidence and had given a clean chit to the Taliban. That is, because, China was conducting business with the Taliban including military business. It was unethical business, as both the Taliban and their guest the al-Qaeda were designated terrorists organizations. China has done business and dined with them.”²³

The third researcher quoted in the same article Lian Xiangmin, also a researcher with the CTRC, said that “the

Tibetan Youth Congress

Dalai Lama and the TYC shared the same goal and so called differences lay only with means or strategies. Picking up the Dalai Lama's hints, the TYC would fight for independence at any cost." Lian further added that, "we hope the 14th Dalai Lama could truly give up 'Tibet independence', stop secessionist activities, stop instigating violence, stop disrupting the Beijing Olympics, effectively prevent TYC's violence and denounce its terrorist acts."²⁴

This statement not only tries to undermine the democratic relationship that the Tibetan people and TYC share with His Holiness the Dalai Lama, but it indirectly implies and accuses His Holiness of also having links with terrorists. The CPC's logic here behind this oblique allegation is that if TYC has links with terrorism, and TYC shares the "same goal" and "secret understanding" with the Dalai Lama then that implies that through TYC, His Holiness the Dalai Lama may also have links with terrorists.

These serious and unfounded explicit malicious allegations against His Holiness the Dalai Lama, an internationally renowned advocate of world peace and a recipient of the 1989 Nobel Peace Prize should not be taken lightly. The international community should demand that China provide evidence of their allegations or issue an apology for making baseless and false allegations. Such statements also hurt the sentiments of not only the Tibetan people but also peace loving people of the World. China's misapprehension regarding the Tibetans which arises out of their illegitimacy inside Tibet does not justify that China is free to make these allegations.

The conditions put forth by the Chinese government to the Dalai Lama that he should "stop disrupting the Beijing Olympics" are simply ridiculous and deceitful. Even before China won the bid for the Beijing 2008 Olympic Games, His Holiness the Dalai Lama supported Beijing's bid and stated on a visit to Salt Lake City, United States in May 2001 that he supported China's bid for the Games in 2008 if it promoted human rights in the country. Even CNN had reported that, "the Beijing bid received a major boost last week

when the Dalai Lama, the exiled Tibetan Buddhist leader, said China 'deserves to be the Olympic host'²⁵ which could have attributed to Beijing winning the bid for the 2008 Olympics. Even after the unprecedented protests inside Tibet and the brutal crackdown on the protestors which led to increased calls for the boycott of the Beijing Olympic Games, His Holiness expressed that there should not be any boycott as the Chinese people deserve to host the games.

China's use of term "sabotage" should also be examined as it was witnessed that the Organising Committee spokesman Sun Weide said that the torch relay was 'sabotaged' by Tibetan separatists. The fact that simple democratic protests against China's human rights violations in free countries along the torch relay were being termed with such extreme language like 'sabotage' shows how China manipulates public opinion within China with such propaganda tactics.

The fact that such statements were put forward even during the Special Envoy Lodi Gyaltzen Gyari's whose visit to China from 30 June to 3 July 2008 was part of an effort to calm the situation inside Tibet reveal the CPC's lack of genuine commitment to resolving the issue of Tibet. The Statement of the Special Envoy which rejected these allegations stated that, "While the Chinese side finally seems to have realized that their allegations against His Holiness for instigating the recent events in Tibet and in sabotaging the Olympics Games have become untenable, they are now urging His Holiness not to support violence, terrorism, and sabotaging the Olympics. We stated in the strongest possible terms that no one needs to urge us on this as His Holiness and the Tibetan struggle are universally acknowledged and appreciated for consistently rejecting and opposing such acts. While the Tibetan Youth Congress does not support the Middle Way Approach of His Holiness the Dalai Lama and stands for independence of Tibet, we categorically reject the Chinese to label it as a violent and terrorist organization."²⁶

Furthermore, there has been no response from the Chinese government's side to His Holiness the Dalai Lama's repeated invitation to the Chinese government to send a delegation to Dharamshala to

check the files and records of CTA for proof. His Holiness the Dalai Lama has also expressed willingness to meet with CPC President Hu Jintao which has yet to be reciprocated. China's continued refusal to allow independent investigation into the situation inside Tibet only goes to show that they are hiding the truth from the world.

The Government of India or any other government around the world has not declared TYC as a terrorist outfit, which goes to show that China's accusations are unfounded and baseless. These allegations against the Tibetan Youth Congress are used as an instrument to demonize the Tibetans in the eyes of the international community and to justify China's crackdown on Tibetans inside Tibet in the face of mounting pressure from the international community for its use of force to crush the peaceful protests.

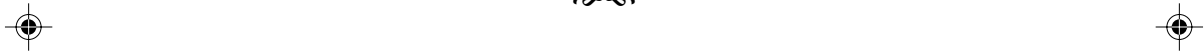
Despite all efforts made by His Holiness the Dalai Lama to calm the situation inside Tibet, the Chinese government continues to vilify him even today. What is even more interesting is the kind of news reports churned out by the Chinese government's official mouthpiece that highlight his statement out of context and skew them in an attempt to demonize His Holiness the Dalai Lama and malign the peaceful movement inside Tibet. The recent Xinhua news on 24 November 2008 stated that "On Aug. 13, the Dalai Lama confessed at the French parliament that Tibetans might have carried out violent acts. But he did not condemn them. This proved that the Dalai Lama and his supporters are behind the violence."²⁷

This simply erroneous and foolish argument above has no logic. Infact, China did not condemn the past terrorist attacks and recent ones in Mumbai. Does that prove that China is behind the series of attacks. China's equipping arms supply and providing trainings for the insurgencies and anti-India factions are reported by various reliable sources from Indian intelligence and scholars. China's relations with ISI and its influence over Pakistan are known facts. Being an only permanent UN Security Council member from the Asian continent, China has the moral responsibility to condemn such inhuman acts on civilians and pressurize Pakistan in wiping out the terrorist camps



40 *RESPONSE: The Response to Communist Party of China's Allegations*


as claimed by India and USA. Infact, on March 18, 2008 when His Holiness the Dalai Lama addressed the world media in a press conference from Dharamshala, he stated that if majority of the Tibetans resort to violence, he will resign from the political leadership. His Holiness the Dalai Lama had also been calling on his people to exercise patience and restraint.



The Double Speak

Tibetan Youth Congress





As the CCP continued to issue hard line statements and depict Tibetans as violent, the Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao on an official state visit to Laos on March 30th, “called upon the Dalai Lama to use his influence to end the violence in Tibet.”²⁸ This statement made outside of China by a top CPC politburo official was a subtle sign of the CPC expressing their wish to work on improving the deteriorating situation inside Tibet. Though it contained the usual attacks on His Holiness, the statement explicitly recognized that China has lost control of the situation inside Tibet and that His Holiness the Dalai Lama is the only legitimate leader of the Tibetan people who can calm the situation inside Tibet.

This complete turn around from Wen Jiabao’s earlier statement on 18 March 2008 that accused the Dalai Lama of orchestrating the riots in a press conference where he said “there is ample fact and plenty of evidence proving that this incident was organized, premeditated, masterminded and incited by the Dalai Clique”²⁹ and the explicit admission did not lead to any changes. This approach was not followed by any action as the Chinese government refused to provide a medium through which the Dalai Lama could exercise his influence in Tibet as Tibet was put under virtual martial law and no international media was allowed in Tibet. Even before the Chinese Premier’s statement urging His Holiness to use his influence, the Dalai Lama’s appeal to Tibetans and his threat to resign from political leadership if majority turn violent shows that His Holiness has always advocated non-violence and that the majority of the Tibetans have not resorted to violence as the CPC has tried to depict it. The PRC also paid no heed to His Holiness’s repeated request to the CPC to stop their suppression and for the withdrawal of its troops.

His Holiness the Dalai Lama’s Statement to all Tibetans issued on 6 April, 2008 not only refuted to the allegations saying “if the PRC has any basis and proof of evidence to back their allegations,


they need to disclose to the world” but he also stated that though Tibetans inside Tibet are “being provoked at every level, it is important to stick to our non-violent practice... and not waver from this path, however serious the situation might be.” These messages here show that despite His Holiness being “very much saddened and concerned by the use of arms to suppress the peaceful demonstrations of Tibetan people’s aspirations that have resulted in the unrest in Tibet, causing many deaths, and much more casualties, detentions, and injury” and feeling “helpless in the face of these tragic incidents”³⁰ he tried to reach out to the Tibetans inside Tibet and calm the situation inside Tibet.

Also during the Chinese President Hu Jintao’s visit to Japan, Hu’s comment on the coming dialogue between the envoys of the Dalai Lama and representatives from the United Front Work Department of the Chinese Communist Party at a press conference and said that “we hope the contacts will achieve positive result.”³¹ Despite these softer remarks coming from the two top leaders, one must wonder why the CPC officials of the United Front Work Department and others continued to accuse His Holiness the Dalai Lama and were stuck on the hard line rhetoric being published in Xinhua news agency.


Wang Lixiong, a prominent Chinese writer states that for China’s Communist Party officials inside Tibet, “The most convenient way to get excused is to translate the burden of failure as a result of the “sedition and secession” efforts organized and carefully planned by the “Dalai clique”. Because no matter what excuse is readily available, if it came from within, the bureaucrats have to bear responsibility for the failure; only by throwing the burden off the country can the bureaucrats be totally excused.”³² Baba Phuntsok Wangyal states a popular saying in Tibet about these bureaucrats who have built their careers on the struggle against separatism which will be threatened if the Tibet issue is resolved “these people live on anti-separatism, are promoted due to anti-separatism and they hit the jackpot by anti-separatism”³³

On the one hand, the Chinese government accuses His Holiness the Dalai Lama of masterminding the violence and on the other hand a Chinese government official states that “We believe that in the present situation most of the Tibetans in exile will not support violence and terror and even in the future we believe most of them will not agree to use violence or terrorism against China or the Tibet Autonomous Region.” This statement directly contradicts the Chinese accusations that attempted to label Tibetans as violent and terrorists. The inconsistencies in the Chinese government’s official statement is ever more evident from the remarks made by the executive Vice minister of the United Front Work Department (UFWD) of the Communist Party of China (CPC) to CNN reporters that said, “We believe that in the present situation most of the Tibetans in exile will not support violence and terror and even in the future we believe most of them will not agree to use violence or terrorism against China or the Tibet Autonomous Region,” and further added “Some of them were just blustering and some of them were really reminding us of the possibility.”³⁴







Unfair Trials, Disappearances, and The use of Torture



In the aftermath of the March unrest in Tibet, Tibetans have been severely affected by the systematic and sustained crackdown on all forms of Tibetan dissent. Human rights violations have significantly increased and the situation inside Tibet still remains tensed. In the report submitted to the United Nations Committee Against Torture, the Central Tibetan Administration stated that, “As a result of the crackdown, there are reports that the main detention facilities in Lhasa were so full that extra centers were improvised in Toelung Dechen County and in a warehouse near the new rail station.¹⁶ As shown below, all reports of conditions in detention describe overcrowding, lack of food and water, denial of medical treatment and torture during interrogation. Accounts also claim that during the crackdown, security forces took possession of all corpses, by force if necessary, to destroy evidence of the manner of death.”³⁵ This shows that much of the evidence of China’s egregious human rights violations are being destroyed.

Pema Tsewang cited in Xinhua news reports said that “Following the violence, police detained 1,317 people, of whom 1,115 were subsequently released. The rest stood trial.”³⁶ However, the actual numbers of people detained is still higher. However, The Tibetan Centre for Human Rights and Democracy (TCHRD) states that so



far, over 170 Tibetans have been handed down prison sentences and that their cases have been carried out without adequate legal oversight or due process. In its December 10, 2008 press release, TCHRD said that it had received information on more than 120 Tibetans who were killed in the series of protests in Tibet. It also reported that more than 6500 Tibetans were arbitrarily detained or arrested since March and that there are over a thousand Tibetans whose current whereabouts and well-being remains unknown.

The fact that China continues to hold thousands of Tibetans in undisclosed locations and refuses to disclose their whereabouts or acknowledge their detention shows that the legal system in China does not meet international standards and therefore an internationally recognized independent body should be allowed to investigate into the present crisis in Tibet. These facts demonstrate that Tibetans do not have any conventional means to make their long held grievances heard.

The latest round of attempts to malign His Holiness the Dalai Lama and Tibetan Youth Congress have been the sentencing of seven Tibetans on 7 November 2008 by the Lhasa Intermediate People's Court for alleged involvement in crimes of 'espionage, endangering State security and 'illegally providing information to outside agents.' Lhasa Evening News, reported that of the seven Tibetans, Sonam Dakpa in Tibet was accused of being a member of TYC and for providing "Tibetan Youth Congress" with intelligence information and sentenced to 10 year in prison and 5 years deprivation of political rights. Wangdue was accused of accepting assignments from the 'Public Security Department' of the Dalai clique and setting up an underground intelligence network in Lhasa. He was sentenced to life imprisonment and deprivation of political rights for life on charges of 'endangering state security'.³⁷

The memberships for Tibetan Youth Congress are issued by the central executive committee of TYC through its regional executive members. At present, TYC has 84 regional chapters in 12 different Countries. All TYC members have to renew their membership forms every five years through their Regional TYC executive members.

Tibetan Youth Congress

Since, TYC has no regional chapters based in Tibet or China, where is the question of Mr. Sonam Dakpa who resides in Tibet becoming a member of TYC?

By 21 March 2008, pictures of Tibetans in prison uniforms were being flashed around the world. 30 Tibetans in late April had been given prison terms ranging from three years to life. The unjust and harsh sentencing of the 30 Tibetans was used to create an atmosphere of fear within Tibet. By widely publicizing the excessive punishment handed down to the protesters, the Chinese government used the media as a mechanism to further suppress and terrorize the Tibetan population by inflicting mental torture. Over 55 Tibetans in November of this year have also been unfairly sentenced by China's courts for their participation in peaceful protests against China.

In a press release by the Tibetan Youth Congress on 7 May, 2008 which condemned the unfair and unlawful trials of the 30 Tibetans by China, it stated that "International law requires an arrested suspect to be charged with a recognized offense and given a fair trial, and anybody arrested for expressing their opinions and participating in peaceful demonstrations should be considered arbitrarily detained. A fair trial includes the right to legal representation, the right to be presumed innocent, the right to have adequate time to prepare a defense and the right to be heard in public. The speedy one-day trial proceedings in Lhasa were held in secret and did not conform with even the most basic standards of international justice."


The court verdicts and the flashing of Tibetans in prison uniforms in March were attempts to 'criminalize' the Tibetan people's protest. The public sentencing there-after were intended to serve as the execution of the Tibetan image as "Foucault observes in his book, 'Discipline and Punishment: The Birth of the Prison' that public executions had very real political consequences for regimes that lacked the mechanisms of modern political publicity. By calling the public together to witness a spectacle of physical domination and pain, the authorities produced an experience of the truth of their own power that could be expected to linger long in the memories of witnesses

and be shared in their narratives. At the same time, however, they created dangerous possibilities of inversion, including moments of popular uprising.”³⁸


The present trial proceedings are also a sophisticated attempt by China to deceive the international community by presenting itself as a nation of laws to defuse the mounting international pressure and by hiding the fact that it continues to use coercive measures of subversion to silence dissent by the excessive use of force, intimidation, arbitrary detentions, enforced disappearance and the use of torture. The denial of a fair trial to Tibetans who have been subjected to unjust and harsh sentences for their participation in peaceful protests handed down by China’s illegitimate courts in Tibet further illustrates that Tibetans cannot find justice in courts that act as the weapon of the oppressors to persecute and prosecute Tibetans. This practice to undermine the Tibetan people’s political activity is a clear mockery of justice.



Conclusion





Repression in Tibet stems from the CPC governments inability to confront truth and recognize Tibet as a distinct nation with its own civilization that is facing the threat of extinction under the illegal occupation of China. Tibetans basic grievances and aspirations are deeply rooted in the illegitimacy of China inside Tibet and the Chinese hegemony. It has resulted in widespread, systematic, and egregious violations of human rights inside Tibet. CPC has made great efforts to justify its repression in Tibet and its illegal occupation of Tibet by attempting to link the peaceful protests inside Tibet to His Holiness the Dalai Lama, non existent ‘foreign hands’ and TYC. Without presenting any credible evidence of a genuine terrorist threat, CPC continues to defend the crackdown in Tibet in the name of fighting the “separatism and terrorism.” The CPC itself terrorizes its own people.



Tibetan Youth Congress urges the Chinese government to responsibly address the grievances of Tibetans inside Tibet and to end its policy of demonizing Tibetans as terrorists on unsubstantiated evidence to justify their own systematic and sustained crackdown and the illegal occupation of Tibet. The Chinese government must cease to employ repressive measures and its continuous violation of human rights. It must implement basic human rights, the rule of law and democratic reforms in Tibet in order to improve its image in the world.

TYC as a matter of principle is democratic and transparent in its functioning. This is evident from the way we conduct the various
Tibetan Youth Congress





50 *RESPONSE: The Response to Communist Party of China's Allegations*

social, religious, humanitarian and political activities throughout the world. TYC, because of the complete support and love that it enjoys from all the freedom loving people at large and the Tibetan people in particular, can boldly declare that it is prepared for any fair and neutral independent scrutiny of its activities. We have nothing to hide. All further doubts can be put to rest if the CPC can also yield to a similar independent international investigation and furthermore prove its legitimacy as the true representative of the Chinese people through a popular referendum conducted by an independent body.

There is no denying the fact that the main goal of TYC is to regain Tibet's independence and restore the basic human rights and dignity of the Tibetan people. Like all other people, it is the legitimate right of the Tibetan people to struggle for their legitimate freedom and the independence of their country.





Footnotes

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