Dalai Lama endorses 'just wars', not in case of Tibet

San Fancisco: Waging war for the cause of freedom can be justified, but not in the case of Tibet's dream of autonomy from China, the Dalai Lama told an audience at a US university on Friday. During the first of a two-day visit to Stanford University in California, Tibet's exiled spiritual leader Tenzin Gyatso touched on topics ranging from television viewing to abortion, cloning and the idea of just wars.

Tanging from television viewing to abortion, cloning and the idea of just wars.

The allied victory in World War II "saved Western civilisation", and conflicts fought in Korea and Vietnam were honorable from a moral standpoint, the 14th Dalai Lama said in answer to questions. But he ruled out armed struggle for Tibet's grievances with the Chinese government. "In the case of Tibet versus China, violence is almost like suicide," the Dalai Lama said.

"If violence, then bloodshed. Bloodshed means more casualties among the Chinese and, again, more hatred. We must follow nonviolent principle so that later we can live happily." Fighting a war of independence with China would also take a vast arsenal that Tibet lacks, he added.

Tibet's cause enjoys growing support among the Chinese people, but not the government, the Dalai Lama said. "There are some among us who say our neighbour only understands the language of violence," the Dalai Lama said. "It is easy to say 'jihad', but actual implementation is very complicated, hard, and risky."

The Dalai Lama said Tibet wants to keep its culture, language and spiritual customs autonomous from China but would benefit from close economic ties. Asked about the US-led invasion of Iraq, he said it would take a few years before it becomes clear whether the US military action was the right course of action.

tion was the right course of action.

If handled improperly, the situation in Iraq could go from "today, one (Osama) bin Laden, next few years 10 bin Ladens, then 100 bin Ladens," the Dalai Lama said. The spiritual leader made his comments during an afternoon session entitled "the heart of nonviolence".

Earlier in the day, he led a packed auditorium filled with 7,000 people in a medi-



Stanford University president John Hennessy greets The Dalai Lama

tation session. While fielding questions, the Dalai Lama said that there were no clear right or wrong answers to controversial topics such as euthanasia, abortion or genetic cloning.

tion or genetic cloning.

The issues should be looked at "holistically", with situations evaluated case by case, the Dalai Lama said. The Dalai Lama joked at times. A question about whether to cut television from people's lives prompted him to quip that "society would be more boring." At one point he smiled, touched his balding, shaved head and remarked: "Less hair, more shine, more wisdom."

He closed the afternoon talk by saying that China was undergoing a transition toward a more open culture and that he has reason to be hopeful for future relations between Beijing and Tibet. The Dalai Lama, who won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1989, has been pushing for greater autonomy for the Himalayan region, as the head of an unrecognised government and de facto diplomat. AFP

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Dalai Lama Fighting odds

'Tibet train is cultural genocide'

Hailey, September 12

A RAIL link being built between Tibet and several major Chinese cities could lead to `cultural genocide" by luring more Chinese workers to the region, the Dalai Lama said. Tibet's spiritual leader said following a speech in Idaho on Sunday that more pressure will be placed on native Tibetans by the rail line scheduled for completion in 2007.

"Some kind of cultural genocide is taking place," the Dalai Lama told reporters. "In general, a railway link is very useful in order to develop, but not when politically motivated to bring about demographic change."

Tibetans, working mostly in traditional pursuits such as farming and herding, are struggling to keep up amid what Amnesty International and other human rights groups have denounced as repression and racial bias. Chinese officials have denied adopting a policy of migration to squeeze out Tibetans and say any income disparities among ethnic groups stem from Han Chinese opting for service jobs while Tibetans prefer lower paid farm work.

ing for service jobs while Tibetans prefer lower paid farm work.

The 70-year-old monk was invited to Idaho by Kiril Sokoloff, a Buddhist and financial industry consultant, to give a speech on compassion to victims of the Sept. 11 terrorist attacks and those suffering from Katrina.

3 4

U.S. raises Tibet issue in talks with China HOND China should reach out to the

China should reach out to the Dalai Lama though he is no threat: Rice

P. S. Suryanarayana

SINGAPORE: Even as China\affirmed its "willingness to fur-ther strengthen the constructive and cooperative relations" with Washington, the U.S. Secretary of State, Condoleezza Rice, raised the Tibet issue in her talks with Chinese leaders in Beijing on Sunday.

Ms. Rice, who arrived in Beijing on Saturday on a tour of East Asia, called on Chinese President Hu Jintao and Prime Minister Wen Jiabao besides holding talks with Foreign Minister Li Zhaoxing.

Ms. Rice, who appreciated China's role in bringing North Korea back to the negotiating table on its nuclear-weapons is sue, said Pyongyang should help move the related six-party parleys beyond the stage of 'talks about talks."

While she is understood to have agreed with the Chinese

leaders that Washington, too, saw the positive aspects of its dialogue with Beijing, Ms. Rice told a press conference after the talks that she raised the Tibet issue, with particular reference to Dalai Lama. Maintaining that Dalai Lama posed "no threat" to China, she suggested that it should "reach out" to him.

With the issues of Taiwan and China's "military build-up" also apparently figuring in her talks, Ms. Rice covered a "broad agenda" as Washington indicated prior to her arrival in Beijing.

Mr. Wen Jiabao noted, in his conversation with Ms. Rice, that it was the "strategic choice" of both countries to safeguard and promote a robust and stable development of bilateral relations, according to the Chinese side. He emphasised China's readiness to further reinforce its ties with the U.S. on the basis of "mutual respect, equality and mutual benefits".

Tibetan chill at Indo-China thaw

Statesman News Service

DARJEELING, April 12. — They may not mind the ongoing bonhomie between the governments of India and China, but New Delhi's solemn iteration before the Chinese premier not to allow anti-China activities on its soil, has sent a chill down the spines of Tibetan activists here.

The large Tibetan population of Darjeeling Hills—some refugees, some now domiciled—is afraid that they may not find it easy in the coming days to stage peaceful demonstrations as they are wont to doing here regularly. This anxiety would be shared by the community in exile in other parts of the country. Be it for release of Panchen Lama or remembering the Tibetan Uprising, rallies against China are regularly held in the region, including Darjeeling, by the community. It is only thing for the Tibetans to do politically and they do it quite regularly.

eling, by the community. It is only thing for the Tibetans to do politically and they do it quite regularly.

"It will be very unfortunate if the democratic government of India clamps down on peaceful political demonstrations by Tibetans," Mr Tashi G Trogawa, administrator, Chagpori Tibetan Medical Institute, Darjeeling, said.

The Tibetan Youth Congress has been a foregunner in

The Tibetan Youth Congress has been a forerunner in the struggle of Tibetans in recent times. Though some local TYC members expressed dismay at the Indian decision, it officially declined any immediate comment.

Tenzin does it again

BANGALORE/ NEW DELHI, April 10. — In a security breach, a Tibetan today staged a protest atop the main building of the Indian Institute of Science in Bangalore when Chinese Premier Mr Wen Jiabao was interacting with top scientists on the ground floor

It was a déjà vu. For not only was a similar protest adopted during the 2002 visit of then Premier Mr Zhu Rongji — even the protester was the same person, Tibetan writer and activist Tenzin Tsundue.

Much to the embarrassment of the state administration, just as Mr Wen was being taken into the hall of the institute, Tsundue (29) appeared with banners criticising the occupation of Tibet by China. Even as the officials watched helplessly, Tsundue shouted slogans and threw pamphlets which read "Let there be peace in Tibet, let there be peace in Tibet."

Two years ago, on 16 January 2002, Tsundue had climbed to the 12th floor of Oberoi Hotel in Mumbai, where Mr Zhu was holding a meeting with Indian business leaders. Exactly like in Bangalore, he had also rigged up a red banner with the words "Free Tibet" and unfurled a Tibetan flag.

Tsundue had managed to stay aloft on the construction poles of the hotel before police managed to arrest him. He won the Outlook-Picador Award for Non-Fiction in 2001 for a essay where he had spoken about his anguish of being a stateless refugee. He has also published a book of poems Crossing the Border. India described the security breach as "unfortunate".

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Beware the Dragon

Tibet Autonomy Issue Goes Beyond Dalai Lama

When Vamana Avatar asked for three strides of land from Bali Raja, the generous king granted it but didn't know that this avatar of Lord Vishnu would grow up to be so big that his two strides would cover the earth and the rest of the universe, and he would be left with nothing to offer for the third stride but his own head. The Dalai Lama is trying just that in the 21st century. Of course, without any offer from Beijing.

Beijing may not be familiar with this lesson from Hindu mythology, but it has witnessed the collapse of the former Soviet Union and become very, very cautious. Like the USSR, the People's Republic of China is a conglo-meration of nationalities: Mongolia, the Islamic country, East Turkestan now called Xinjiang, Manchuria and Tibet. With great tension the communist government is struggling to keep things under control as China". The last thing they would want is the entry of the Dalai Lama into Tibet, knowing his simple presence could unite the people and reinvigorate their desire for freedom.

This March, during the 46th anniversary of the Tibetan National Uprising Day, the Dalai Lama once again announced that he does not seek independence and is willing to settle for "genuine autonomy" within the frame-work of the People's Republic of China. Though this doesn't come as a shock to Tibetans as it does to non-Tibetans, it further disappoints many of us who continue to stand for an independent Tibet.

For the Tibetan community, the Dalai

Lama is not only their leader but also the Buddha who knows the past, present and future. Even when you reason and prove that "genuine autonomy" isn't a viable solution as we negotiate with Beijing, the majority of Tibetans would say, "There must be something His Holiness has in mind which is beyond our understanding". This leap of faith makes the Tibetan leader His Holiness the Dalai Lama.

The Dalai Lama, however, doesn't go unopposed within the Tibetan community, especially among the youngsters who do not cow down to say: "We beg to differ, your Holiness". On the stand for independence, for example, the biggest Tibetan NGO—the Tibetan Youth Congress with 20,000 members in 77 different chapters all over the world — makes its goal of independence clear to the Dalai Lama. There is, however, pressure from the older generation to conform to his directives

I am a second generation Tibetan, born and brought up in India on stories of our freedom struggle and the wonderful dream of a free Tibet. We were anxious to grow up fast to take part in the freedom movement. Today, when we are ready to shoulder responsibi-lity, the goal posts are being shifted. I can

never think of being party to the corrupted communist China, which has brutally massacred her own children on Tiananmen Square when they demanded freedom and democracy.

The Tibetans who emerged from isolation behind the Himalayas in 1959 — marvelling at the sight of even a bicycle — have made a fast forward journey into modernity. It was a youthful Dalai Lama who introduced democracy into the Tibetan community in 1960 and slowly passed most of his temporal powers into the hands of the prime minister of the exile government. Today, we have a functioning democracy, which can change the whole tradition of leadership.

The process of finding a negotiated solution to our impasse with Beijing was passed as a resolution by the Tibetan parliament in 1999, making it the official stand of the Tibetan government-in-exile. The idea originated way back in 1979 when premier Deng Xiaoping offered to discuss anything other than independence with the Dalai Lama. Twenty-five years later, with Deng dead, diplomacy with China has reached

nowhere. Three delegations have visited China and Tibet since the reopening of the diplomacy exercise in September 2002, yet Beijing is not even willing to give official recognition to the delegations sent by the Dalai Lama.

China too wants to solve the Tibet issue, preferably before the 2008 Beijing Olympics to have the Dalai Lama seated alongside Beijing leaders at the opening show. But for this,

the Dalai Lama has to declare to the world that Tibet and Taiwan are historically a part of China. In fact, this has been the precondition for negotiations, which Beijing repeated again recently while refuting the Dalai Lama's March 10 message. From the Tibetan side, this is something no one can agree to no, not even the 14th Dalai Lama - even if China is promising autonomy in exchange.

The Dalai Lama always maintains that history is history; let's talk of the future, he says. The way the exile government is practising the policy of appeasement banning all protest expressions to create a "conducive atmosphere" for negotiations it doesn't look too implausible for the delegations to strike a deal for a lesser autonomy. If this happens the Dalai Lama and the exile Tibetans could return home, wrapping up the exile government. It would be difficult for us to accept Chinese citizenship, but that would be the beginning of the true freedom struggle while being inside Tib

Behind the Himalayas, six million Tibetans are living under the repressive Chinese rule. resisting, waiting for their leader to return from exile. Here in exile, we will again protest, when China's prime minister visits India in a few days, braving arrest and lathicharge. We will not keep silent; this is our right.



Tibet no longer an issue in Sino-Indian ties: Chinese envoy

By Amit Baruah 🛒

NEW DELHI, APRIL 1. Tibet is no longer an "issue" in Sino-Indian relations, the Chinese Ambassador to India, Sun Yuxi, said at a press conference days before China's premier, Wen Jiabao, is scheduled to arrive here on an official visit.

With India publicly stating in Beijing in June 2003 that it would not allow anti-China activities relating to Tibet, this had ceased to be a problem in bilateral relations between India and China, the Chinese Ambassador said. "It [Tibet] is totally an internal matter [for China]."

'Sikkim issue settled'

On Sikkim, he said the "issue" had been settled between India and China. "It is completely solved," he said when asked if anything more needed to be done. "There's no problem [on Sikkim]."

Asked about the circulation of some maps at an international conference last year that showed Sikkim as an "independent State," he said that no such "maps" would be published afresh by the Chinese Government.

Welcoming the India-Pakistan peace process, he said that if China could do anything to

bring the two countries closer, it was ready to do so. He strongly opposed the presence of foreign troops in other countries, stating that this job had to be done by the United Nations alone. India and Pakistan were like brothers and they had every reason to develop friendly relations.

An accord on the "guiding principles" to settle the boundary issue between India and China was likely to be agreed upon during Mr. Wen's visit to India. The Special Representatives of the two countries were conducting negotiations on the issue, Mr. Sun said.

About a dozen agreements were to be signed during Mr. Wen's visit. A joint study group on economic and trade issues had completed its task and would submit its report to the two Prime Ministers.

The Ambassador said China was in favour of a free trade area agreement with India. This would create the largest FTA in the world involving a population of 2.4 billion. Already, Sino-Indian trade had touched \$13.6 billion in 2004.

Asked what he felt about the growing ties between India and the United States being perceived by some as a "counter" to China, Mr. Sun said U.S.-China ties themselves had been im-

proving. Hoping that Indo-U.S. relations would develop further, Mr. Sun, however, stressed that these should not be targeted at any third country.

Arunachal 'disputed'

On the boundary issue, Mr. Sun said the "so-called" State of Arunachal Pradesh was disputed territory. According to him, all disputed areas between India and China were now open for negotiation—leading to a resolution of their status.

Mr. Sun said a major effort would be made to clear the boundary dispute out of the way so that it did not stand in the path of developing better relations between India and China. The two premiers would discuss a range of international issues.

Apart from Nepal, India and China would discuss regional cooperation in groups such as the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation, "the ASEAN plus three" and the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC).

Mr. Sun said cultural exchanges and contacts between students India and China should be expanded. On the tourism front, the two countries would agree on adding new flights — including a new route between Mumbai and Shanghai.

Importance of being Dalai Lama

Chinese Premjer makes a historic visit to India in mid-April

C RAJA MOHAN ()

IF there is one man who can spoil the big party New Delhi and Beijing are planning next month—Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao will be here in the second week of April—he is the Dalai Lama, the revered leader of the Tibetan people, long exiled in India.

New Delhi and Beijing are attaching great importance to Wen's visit and want to make it a moment of transformation in bilateral relations. Instead of wrecking the party, the Dalai Lama has consciously chosen to make it easier for India and China to celebrate next month.

On Thursday in Dharamsala, during a speech marking the 45th anniversary of the Tibetan uprising, the Dalai Lama offered a big political gesture to Beijing. He went further than before in affirming that he is not seeking independence from China.

He also declared that he seeks no political role for himself or for the institution of the Dalai Lama in Tibet after a mutually satisfactory agreement on the future of the region is worked out with Beijing. It is not clear whether his gesture will have

an immediate impact on the current dialogue between the Chinese government and the Dalai Lama. But it certainly has created the right political ambience for Wen's visit to India.

The turbulent history of Sino-Indian relations since

progress in bilateral relations without the Dalai Lama's political blessings. For the moment, India and China should be relieved that the Dalai Lama has signalled greater political flexibility in his engagement with China.

A harder line from the



Never publicly acknowledged, but Beijing and New Delhi know they can't make progress in bilateral ties without the Dalai Lama's political blessings

the late 1940s is also the life story of the Dalai Lama. He was present at the creation of the key problems in Sino-Indian relations. He is the only one alive among the cast of characters like Jawaharlal Nehru and Zhou Enlai who struggled in vain to construct a peaceful settlement on Tibet.

While neither side might publicly acknowledge it, both New Delhi and Beijing know that they cannot make Dalai Lama would have soured the current attempt to transform Sino-Indian relations by defining a new set of principles to resolve the longstanding boundary dispute.

And this dispute is, in fact, about the boundary between Tibet and the adjacent regions in India. Holding a double-edged sword, the Dalai Lama is the indeclared third party at the Sino-Indian boundary talks. Yet,

he has acted with great responsibility. If the Dalai Lama merely whispert that the territorial concessions currently being discussed by India and China are against the interests of Tibet, Beiling and New Delhi will both find it hard to sell a deal on the boundary at home.

This is particularly true of Tawang in Artimachal Pradesh where China wants major territorial adjustments. It is not merely Beijing that has claims on Tawang Linasa had always ignisted that Tawang belongs to Tibet.

Any principle maturity acceptable to New Delhi and Beijing that leads to a settlement on Tawang will need to be endorsed by the Dalai Lama in some form. India and China will need all the wisdom of the Dalai Lama in crafting creative solutions to the Tawang question.

The Fibetans would certainly want to see the resolution of their two political dispute with China in tandem with the settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary dispute. India, then, has every reason to encourage the current dialogue between Tibet and Beijing, and China an opportunity to build on the Dalai Latina's latest political concessions. TIBETAN UPRISING 46TH ANNIVERSARY

Dalai ready to

Statesman News Service 5

SHIMLA, March 10. - The Tibetan spiritual leader, the Dalai Lama. has assured China once again that Tibetans are willing to remain within the People's Republic of China.



Dalai Lama

Speaking at McLeodganj near Dharmshala on the 46th anniversary of the Tibetan People's Uprising today, the Dalai Lama sought to dispel Chinese suspicions saying: "We remain fully committed to our middle path approach of not seeking independence for Tibet."

He further clarified that his involvement in the affairs of Tibet was not for claiming "certain personal rights or political position "and that he was not attempting to stake a claim for the Tibetan administration in exile. In fact, in what may be seen as an important signal to all parties involved especially the Chinese — the Dalai Lama announced that he would not hold any office in the Tibetan government and that the Tibetan administration in exile would be dissolved.

"The Tibetans working in Tibet now should carry on the responsibility of administering Tibet," he announced.

Indians okay with China might: BBC

BEIJING, March 10. -- Majority of Indians view the growing military and economic might of China positively and do not perceive it as a threat to their existence, a new survey says. Despite an unresolved border dispute with their south Asian neighbour, some 66 per cent of Indians hold a positive opinion on China's economic and military growth and do not consider it as a threat, a new BBC World Service poll has found. - PTI

Cautioning that Tibetans would return only with a certain degree of freedom, the Dalai Lama quoted independent journalists and travellers on the lack of human rights, religious freedom and selfrule in Tibet. He also pointed out that since the establishment of the Tibetan Autonomous Region, Chinese officials had the real authority and "Tibetans have been viewed with suspicion and growing restrictions"

The Tibetan leader also said that he was receiving support from various parts of the world for his ' reasonable and realistic approach beneficial to both the Tibetans and the Chinese." He also singled out the support from "certain quarters of intellectual circles within China" and confirmed that the "interactions between us are improving gradually".

THE STATESMAN

1 MAR 2005

চাইলেন দলাই লামা। এই নির্বাসিত কিন্তু তাদের হাতে অধিক প্রশাসনিক করেছেন তিনি। ক্ষমতা দিতে হবে।

নিয়েছিলেন দলাই লামা। চিন তাঁকে দেখেছে। কিন্তু সম্প্রতি দলাই কঠোর ব্যাপারে ইঙ্গিত দিলেও আজ তাঁদের আন্দোলনের ৪৬তম বর্ষপূর্তি উপলক্ষে বলেছেন। দলাই লামার বক্তব্য, "যত ধর্মীয় নেতার।

নয়াদিল্লি, ১০ মার্চ: তিব্বতের পূর্ণ দিন তিব্বত নিয়ে আমি দায়বদ্ধ, স্বাধীনতার পরিবর্তে স্বায়ন্তশাসন মধ্যপন্থা অবলম্বন করেই চলা হবে তত দিন। অর্থাৎ পূর্ণ স্বাধীনতা নয়, ধর্মীয় নেতা সুর কিছুটা নরম করে আজ তিব্বতকে চিনের অঙ্গ হিসাবেই চাই বলেছেন, তাঁর অনুগামীরা তিব্বতকে আমি।" কিন্তু একই সঙ্গে স্বায়ন্তশাসন চিনের অংশ হিসাবে মেনে নিতে তৈরি। এবং তিব্বতের জন্য আরও ক্ষমতা দাবি

বিশেষজ্ঞরা অবশ্য মনে করছেন, ৪৬ বছর আগে ভারতে আশ্রয় চিন এই কথায় কর্ণপাতও করবে না। তিব্বত-বিশেষজ্ঞ বিজয় ক্রান্তি বলেছেন, সর্বদা বিচ্ছিন্নতাবাদী নেতা হিসাবেই "অতীতে এ ধরনের প্রস্তাবে কান দেয়নি চিন। এ বার তার অন্যথা হবে কি না অবস্থান থেকে সরে তিব্বতকে চিনের সন্দেহ।" গত সেপ্টেম্বরে দলাইয়ের দৃত অংশ হিসাবেই চাইছিলেন। এত দিন এই হয়ে চিনে গিয়ে ইতিবাচক ইঙ্গিত পান লোধি গ্যারি। এ বার দলাইয়ের প্রস্তাবে চিন একমত হলে শেষ পর্যন্ত দেশে বিবৃতিতে তিনি সরাসরিই কথাটি ফেরার সম্ভাবনাও দেখা দেবে তিব্বতি —রয়টার্স

ANADABAZAR PATRIKA

1 1 MAR 2005

Pak bouncer on Dalai role

OUR BUREAU

Feb. 27: Three days before the googlies grip and rip on the ground, a snorter outside the cricket arena jarred the tour of the Pakistani team.

The Pakistan Cricket Board has expressed misgivings about the Dalai Lama inaugurating the three-day touropener at Dharamsala, the seat of the Tibetan government-in-exile.

The Pakistan team squares off against the Board President's XI at the Himachal Pradesh town from March 3 to 5.

"The PCB chairman, Shaharyar Khan, spoke to the Indian board officials on Saturday insisting that Pakistan should not be put in an embarrassing position as it enjoyed very good relations with China," a PCB source was quoted by a Pakistani daily.

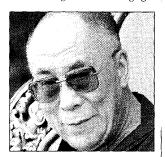
"BCCI conveyed to Shaharyar that it was not their decision to invite the Dalai Lama to inaugurate the match and that this was done by the Himachal Pradesh Cricket Association," the source said.

When contacted, HPCA president Anurag Thakur tried to clear the air. "No formal inauguration has been planned. Moreover, the invitation to the Dalai Lama makes no mention of him being introduced to the Pakistani team," he said.

Thakur explained that as this would be Himachal's biggest match so far, they wanted to honour the Dalai Lama.

Earlier, the tour was caught on a sticky wicket at Ahmedabad, with the Pakistanis refusing to play a Test there. The tangle was sorted by assigning the Test to Calcutta and scheduling a onedayer in Gujarat.

The daily also reported that Khan asked the BCCI to be very selective while confirming future engage-



Dalai: On a sticky pitch ments of the Pakistan team on the tour.

Kashmir soccer

Pakistan-occupied Kashmir is planning a friendly soccer match with a team from Jaminu and Kashmir to further boost relations after the proposed bus service between Srinagar and Muzaffarabad, agencies reported.

"Sport plays an important role in bringing people closer. Because the road is being opened, I have asked the government (Islamabad) here to allow soccer matches," said PoK sports minister Deewan Ali Chughtai.

In Jammu and Kashmir, a top official said: "Why not? With permission from the government of India, we would like to promote cultural and sport ties."

Chughtai said he also hoped to arrange cross-border cricket matches in the region.