

THE TIBETAN DIARIES (UNHEARD)

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ABSTRACT

My tryst with the life of refugees began when I was barely ten years old when my parents frequented the refugee camp for us to enjoy the much affordable eateries, especially, the soups and noodles it was famous for. Little did I know then that my inclination towards such aspects of human life will become my mainstream interest in life.

My purpose of making this paper was to self enlighten myself with regard to the future of the Tibetan refugees that have been in exile for almost 60 years. Also, I want to present to the readers many facts that have been under oblivion in context of China's real motive behind the ostensible modernization of Tibet Autonomous Region. Starting with the onset of the cultural revolution in China and its aftermath on the Tibetans who were forced to vacate their own homeland, divested off their cultural identity and ethnicity. My focus from the Tibetan refugee camp in Delhi's Aruna Nagar or popularly known as 'Majnu-Ka-Tila', takes a transition from their microcosmic existence (in India) to their place of origin, Tibet Autonomous Region. From the views of the experts in this field whom I met at various open discussions on Tibet; with the help of the Delhi office of Central Tibet Administration and Resident Welfare Office of New Aruna Nagar Refugee Camp and the guidance of Dr. Joyeeta Bhattacharjee, I have concluded how China is the cause of Tibetocide and the global silence on this poignant issue of justice denied.

Keywords: Tibetan refugees, Refugees in india, Delhi's Aruna Nagar refugees camp

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND¹

In 1642, the Great Fifth Dalai Lama, Ngawang Lobsang Gyatso was conferred a supreme authority over Tibet by Gushri Khan, a descendent of Mongol Khan, who had overthrown the ruler of Tsang. Since then the Institution of Dalai Lama, which was originally based in Drepung Monastery holds the temporal leadership of Tibet. With his spiritual strength and sheer expertise on diplomacy, the Fifth Dalai Lama unified and governed the entire country through Regent. In

¹ <http://tibet.net/about-cta/executive/>

the absence and during the minority of Dalai Lama, the Kashag invited the Regent appointed by the Tsogdu, to discuss problems of national importance.

The Kashag Lhengye (in short Kashag, House of Order) performed executive duties under the successive Dalai Lamas or the Regent. It consisted of three Kalons (Ministers), all laymen, till 1750, and of four- a monk and three laymen from 1751 to 1757. Even though the strength of the Kashag remained four, there does not seem to have a monk minister from 1757 to 1894. In 1894, the monk officials appealed for a representation in Kashag, which was later accepted. The Kashag submitted a list of suitable candidates, but the Dalai Lama appointed anyone he pleased whether or not the name of an appointee was on the list. Normally, he accepted the proposals sent up by the Kashag.

In earlier years, Kashag had a general controlling power over the administration of the country in all matters relating to administrative, judicial, and political. The ministers jointly conducted all the affairs of the State of Tibet: no minister held any specific portfolio. Kashag appointed, transferred, or dismissed lay and monk officials, subjected to the approval of the Dalai Lama, or the Regent in the absence and minority of the Dalai Lama. The Kashag had the power to issue decrees on land holdings without referring to the Dalai Lama.

When the Communist China invaded Tibet in 1959, His Holiness the Fourteenth Dalai Lama sought asylum in India. Few senior officials of the Tibetan Government accompanied and followed him into exile, along with over 80 thousand Tibetans. On 25 April 1959, His Holiness the Dalai Lama called an emergency meeting of the few senior Tibetan officials to discuss about the reconstruction of Tibetans in exile. Soon after the meeting, Central Tibetan Administration was established in a reorganized form of the old centralized Tibetan Government, to meet both immediate and long-term needs of the Tibetan people. His Holiness remained as the Head of the State and executive powers were vested upon Kashag, consisting of three lay and two monk officials. Kalons were all appointed by His Holiness the Dalai Lama.

THE STATUS OF REFUGEES IN INDIA

I was reminded of the quote by noble laureate Sir V. S. Naipaul² -

“In Trinidad, where as new arrivals we were a disadvantaged community, that excluding idea was a kind of protection; it enabled us - for the time being, and only for the time being - to live in our own way and according to our own rules, to live in our own fading India.”

² <http://fixquotes.com/authors/v-s-naipaul.htm>

Since 1959, more than 100,000 Tibetans have left their homeland and established themselves primarily in South Asia: India (94,203; 1.47%), Nepal (13,514; 0.211%) and Bhutan (1,298; 0.020%) (2009 CTA Demographic Survey of Tibetans in Exile)³. In 1990, the US Congress passed an Immigration Act that provided 1,000 immigrant visas for Tibetans and for reunification with immediate family members over subsequent years. As a result, the Tibetan population in the United States increased to 11,265 about 0.176% of the total Tibetan population (2013 American Community Survey 5-yr estimates) and Canada(4,640; 0.072%)(2011 Canada Census) to name a few countries.

The vast majority of the approximately 100,000 Tibetans living in India have chosen to remain stateless, rather than to adopt Indian citizenship. India has not signed the United Nations (UN) Convention on Refugees and had no refugee law but, in 1996, its Supreme Court ruled that the 1950 Constitution's guarantees of life and personal liberty protected refugees from refoulement⁴. India's Citizenship Amendment Act of 2003 defined all non-citizens who entered without visas as illegal migrants, with no exception for refugees or asylum seekers. India treated refugees differently depending on their nationality. It generally granted Tibetans and Sri Lankan Tamils protection. India is, however, party to both the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. Moreover, although today India harbours some 435,900 refugees⁵ (U.S. Committee for Refugees and Immigrants World Refugee

Survey 2007 – India), it does not have an internal refugee law. Today, Tibetans are the largest remaining group among a variety of groups who have sought refuge in India, including refugees from Bangladesh (formerly East Pakistan), the Chakmas (from the Chittagong Hill Tracts of what is now Bangladesh), and Tamils from Sri Lanka. Tibetans and other people who flee persecution in their own land are handled legally under India's Foreigner's Act dating from 1946. Under the Foreigner's Registration Act, Tibetans are required to obtain a “registration certificate”, which must be renewed on an annual basis. Several Tibetans asserted that having to renew the registration certificate every year was problematic and indicative of their changeable and precarious status. When discussing Tibetans' status in India, it is important to distinguish between three different groups. The first are those who fled to India around the same time as the Dalai Lama, 1959 through the early 1960s. These people are considered refugees who flee to India in a bid to escape Chinese occupation in Tibet. The second category are those who are off springs of the fled refugees, and thus born in India come under the Indian Citizenship Act of 1955⁶ and the third

³ <http://tibetdata.org/projects/population/>

⁴ <http://www.refworld.org/publisher,USCRI,469638821e,0.html>

⁵ Ibid

⁶ <http://lawmin.nic.in/ld/P-ACT/1955/A1955-57.pdf>

category are those who came from Tibet after the end of the Cultural Revolution in the People's Republic of China (hereinafter China), from the mid-1980s to the present refugees. The third category of refugees also called the 'newcomers', are the ones who do not come under the Citizenship Act 1958. This is because "newcomers", as of 1994, are not supposed to be granted registration certificates.

Since the end of the Cultural Revolution in China in the mid-1980s, there has been a constant stream of Tibetan refugees making their way across the Himalayas to seek refuge in Nepal and India. For at least the last decade, the refugees number between 2,000 and 3,000 per year (TIN, 2002).⁷ Tibetans leave China for a variety of reasons, including persecution on the basis of political and religious views, and educational opportunities, including Tibetan language and cultural education, as well as English-language education, not available in China's Tibet. Since 1994, the policy of the Tibetan government-in-exile is to encourage newcomers to return to Tibet after receiving an education (Garratt, 1997).⁸ The policy directive suggests that new arrivals should return in order to maintain a visible Tibetan presence in Tibet. The directive is aimed at those coming from Tibet for reasons such as audiences with lamas, pilgrimages, family reunions or bringing children to school. The government-in-exile's justification is that:

*"New arrivals settling permanently in India to increase in number means that through our own efforts we are assisting the long-term evil Chinese policy of transferring large numbers of Chinese into Tibet. It is unnecessary for new arrivals to stay permanently in foreign parts all the time. It has become vital that returning in whatever number to our own land of Tibet will maintain the policy of being able to hold on to what is our own (as quoted in Garratt, 1997: 47)."*⁹

THE TIBETAN COLONY IN NEW ARUNA NAGAR, DELHI

OVERVIEW OF THE COLONY

The aftermath of 1959 Chinese invasion on Tibet saw an influx of refugees in India. The then Prime Minister of India, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru granted asylum and rehabilitated them in refugee camps across the length and breadth of the country. Through his benevolent act, the Tibetans-in-exile were able to preserve their unique religion, culture and distinct identity and provide education to their children.

In early 1960's, these Tibetans were rehabilitated in '*Jhuggis*' (ghettoes) near Ladakh Budh Vihar (near I.S.B.T.-Delhi). Eventually the Tibetan colony developed on the bank river Yamuna,

⁷ <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1468-2435.2006.00356.x/full>

⁸ <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1468-2435.2006.00356.x/full>

⁹ Ibid

North Delhi on National Highway 9, Majnu-ka-Tila, covering an area of 69627.42 square mts. Additional plot was granted in 1981 for the rehabilitation of those affected by the widening of the National Highway. In 2004, NCRT of Delhi named the colony as 'New Aruna Nagar' and it was subsequently registered as New Aruna Nagar Welfare Association via Regd. no. S-49374 of the Societies Registration Act. 1860.



Central Courtyard of the Refugee Camp in Delhi

The colony is divided into 12 blocks with 365 permanent registered families. These families hosts tenants and their outstation student. The current total population of the colony is about 4000 (data given by the New Aruna Nagar Resident Welfare Association) An elected governing body of 7 members is directly elected by the people for a term of 3 years. Central Tibetan Administration, Dharamshala has a permanent representative known as the Settlement Officer.



Alley of the Refugee Camp in Delhi

The colony is self-sustaining which includes its own day school, health clinic and two temples of worship. There are restaurants, shops that sell indigenous jewellery, artefacts and native clothing that are open to visitors and tourists and lodging houses, together which is their main source of income. During winter season, mainly October to March, most of the inhabitants leave their homes to sell hand knitted woollen wear to various parts of India especially the hill stations where the demand of hand knitted clothes is very high. This is their additional source of income.



Shopping Area in the Refugee Camp (Delhi)

FROM THE REFUGEES' VIEWPOINT

A TALK WITH PRESIDENT OF NEW ARUNA NAGAR REFUGEE CAMP MR. KARTEN TSERING

During my visits at the camp, I did get a chance to speak to few residents. I had a long discussion with the President Mr. Karten Tsering, fondly called 'Pradhanji' (Head) (Pic. Inset)¹⁰ regarding the citizenship issue and he maintained the stand point that every person born in India on or after the 26th January, 1950 but before first day of July 1987, shall be a citizen of India by birth (THE CITIZENSHIP ACT, 1955)¹¹ and so many of them are natural citizens, while those born after 1987, will have a Registration certificate that has to be renewed every year. At the same time, what was noteworthy was the Tibetan integrity that despite being born in India during the aforementioned period, these refugees do not want to take up Indian citizenship, simply because they feel that the sacrifice of His Holiness Dalai Lama will abate. Even those who are born after 1987 in India or those who flee from Tibet for purpose of education or living are not seeking Indian citizenship as they are given work permit, education facilities, travel permit without Indian passports, so they do not want to trade their identity when most of their requirements are being met.

¹⁰ Resident Welfare Office at New Aruna Nagar.

¹¹ <http://lawmin.nic.in/ld/P-ACT/1955/A1955-57.pdf>



President Mr. Karten Tsering

When asked what are their expectations from the Indian Government, the President reiterated the procedure to travel outside India is very cumbersome and long, sometimes it takes a year to obtain Identity Certificate without which they can't travel, if the Indian Government amend their policy so as to expedite these proceedings similar to those who are Indian passport holders, then it would be a great relief to them.

Tibetans' status in India is a contradictory one. In many respects, Tibetans are on the receiving end of a generous and receptive Indian state policy that allows their settlement, contributes economically to their well-being and finances their education. Yet, at the same time, individual Tibetans often expressed feelings of insecurity with their legal status vis-à-vis the Indian state and with respect to their position in Indian society. In an interview, a Tibetan Shopkeeper (Pic. Inset)¹² at the Aruna Nagar camp, told me his desire to return to their native land for good but the current circumstances in Tibet dissuades him to go. He said that even if they are Indian passport holders, the maximum duration they'd get would be a maximum 14 days and that too under strong vigilance from the Chinese government, so taking Indian citizenship gives them practically no access to their homeland. Most of these refugees hold a Identity Certificate on basis of which the Chinese government gives them permit to enter Tibet.

¹² Shop at New Aruna Nagar Camp.



A Shopkeeper of the Tibetan Refugee Camp

FOOTPRINTS FROM INDIA ON TIBET

The issue of Tibet is an compilation viewpoints of foreign officials, professors, politicians and Tibetan officials to examine the systemic disintegration of a highly cultured race of people. The belief that China is committing a cultural genocide is expounded in light of the UN Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (1951).¹³ I had a great opportunity to be a part of such insightful discussions and understand various perspectives from such highly qualified seniors.

According to Ambassador Kanwar Sibal¹⁴, former Foreign Secretary of India, the situation of Tibet is similar to that of Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region, a part of China. Referring to the UN Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide in light of Tibet, he shared a few pointers on how China is committing this genocide:

- **Destroying the nomadic way of life-** The principal objective was not to bring a positive social transformation, but it was to enforce control over them even if it meant disrupting the ecosystem that the nomads were so well versed with. Taking the example of Tibetan tribe Drogpas¹⁵, who lived in their own four squared black tents , three- headed hearths to

¹³ <http://worldwithoutgenocide.org/genocides-and-conflicts/united-nations-convention-on-the-prevention-and-punishment-of-genocide>

¹⁴ Kanwar Sibal, Former Foreign Secretary of India.

¹⁵ <http://tibetpolicy.net/wp-content/uploads/2017/10/Tibetocide.pdf>

light their homes, ropes to tie animals, thus living a self sufficient life. Their relocation to urban areas will wipe out their unique livelihood and the eco system they lived in. Nomads for centuries have protected the environment by treating it with a divine angle and thus maintained the grasslands , wildlife and rivers that sustain them all.



Tent in which Drogpas live

- **Population transfer to gain control of non- Chinese inhabited regions-** In 1956 “Xiafang campaign” or the downward transfer to the countryside was a campaign to move millions of people from the urban areas of Eastern China to the remote and sparsely – populated regions in the north and west with intention to integrate and assimilate the minorities. Over 600,000 people were sent to regions like Amdo, Gansu, Ningxia, East Turkestan and Inner Mongolia in first couple of years.¹⁶ By 1980's an influx of Chinese settlers entered the Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR) as Beijing launched the “Help Tibet Prosper”. In May 1984 Radio Beijing reported that ,” Over 60,000 workers, representing vanguard groups to help in the construction work in the TAR, are arriving in Tibet daily and have started their preliminary work¹⁷. Another 60,000,Chinese workers- mainly from Sichuan province – arrived in TAR in the summer of 1985.¹⁸ Official Chinese statistics published between 1990 and 1995 show the total population of these regions as 7,742,000. Out of this Tibetans constituted 2,546,500, about 32.89 percent¹⁹.

¹⁶ New Majority: Chinese Population Transfer Into Tibet, Anders Højmark Andersen, Publisher Tibet Support Group UK, 1995

¹⁷ Tibet Under Communist China: 50 Years by Central Tibetan Administration-in-Exile(India). Department of Information and International Relations

¹⁸ Ibid

¹⁹ Ibid

- **Urbancide in Tibet-** The State Council of China unveiled the National New Type Urbanization Plan (NUP) in 2014 to increase the percentage of urban residents in the total population of China from 52.6 percent in 2012 to 60 percent by 2020. This policy has a unique impact on Tibet, where urbanization has become a major burden. Ethnically Chinese migrants coming from China's densely populated coastal provinces have started moving to Tibet and the reformed hukou system has made it easier to transfer their household registration in Tibet.²⁰
- **Destruction of Monastic Education System-** The Monastic system of education that emerged during second propagation of Buddhism had two lasting consequences.²¹ One that this system contributed to the cultural unity of the Tibetan people and the other was that the monasteries helped the Tibetan people to maintain the viability and relevance of the Tibetan Buddhist civilization, down the centuries. The education system, which these monasteries operated using the Tibetan language as one and only medium of instruction contributed to the Tibetan's linguistic unity. In early 1960's , the Chinese authorities started to reform Tibetan language by making crucial grammatical changes. China's prime target was launching attacks on Tibetan culture, the prime target being Tibetan language.²² All universities and schools were closed, Tibetan language classes were banned and Chinese language became the mode of instruction at schools. Such systematic programming and structured methods of education leave little room for Tibetans growing up in Tibet to learn their language and find their cultural roots. At the Tibet Shanghai Experimental School, so-called because it is built with funds from the Shanghai government, a class full of Tibetan children in red and white track-suits are all having a Chinese lesson.²³

“The government thinks people who go to ethnic schools have a stronger Tibetan nationalist identity”.

Tsering Woesser, a Tibetan writer in Beijing, said “The government thinks if they switch the instruction to Chinese, then people will change their views.”²⁴ This reminds me of the English Education Act 1835 introduced in British India, perpetrated by the Lord Macaulay's speech to the British Parliament (1835):-

²⁰ Emily T. Yeh, *Taming Tibet: Landscape Transformation and the Gift of Chinese Development*, Ithaca and London, Cornell University Press, 2013, 344 pp.

²¹ 11th century onwards: Revival of Buddhism by Indian monks from NE India, Principal source of inspiration was Pala India (9th-12thc)

²² *Education in Tibet: Policy and Practice Since 1950* by Catriona Bass

²³ <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-pacific-10638506>

²⁴ Ibid

“I have traveled across the length and breadth of India and I have not seen one person who is a beggar, who is a thief. Such wealth I have seen in the country, such high moral values, people of such caliber, that I do not think we would conquer this country, unless we break the very backbone of this nation, which is her spiritual and cultural heritage, and therefore, I propose that we replace her old and ancient education system, her culture, for if the Indians think that all that is foreign and English is good and greater than their own, they will lose their self esteem, their native culture and they will become what we want them, a truly dominated nation.”

President, Centre for China Analysis and Strategy, Mr. Jayadeva Ranade²⁵ tersely speaks that the prime agenda of China is to downgrade and undermine His Holiness Dalai Lama in order to gain control over the Tibetan population. According to him, a complex bureaucracy is growing in Tibet Autonomous Region, resulting in almost 230,000 ethnic Tibetans worrying about jobs as the government is promoting language of instruction as Chinese which will make them ineligible for applying.

Mr Ranade reveals that the real reason behind Beijing's Securitization Strategy in Tibet and Xinjiang is to strengthen military base by building airports, state-of-the-art railway systems, roadways ostensibly for tourist promotion but its more for the movement of troop rotation. A recent publication in China Brief Volume: 17 Issue: 12 by Adrian Zenz and James Leibold²⁶ echoes the response of Mr Ranade :-

“Within two months of assuming power in Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR) in August 2011, Chen Quanguo rolled out his first and perhaps most effective security innovation, the so-called convenience police stations (便民警务站), street-corner bulwarks for community-based policing. In October 2011, the TAR advertised 2,500 police positions, with 458 of them designated for Lhasa's new convenience police stations (Xueyu jiaoyu, October 21, 2011). By August 2012, Lhasa had established 161 of these concrete structures with a distance of no more than 500 meters between stations (Ministry of Public Security, August 12, 2012).

This dense network of surveillance is at the heart of what Party officials call “grid- style social management” (社会网格化管理), a practice that segments urban communities into geometric zones so that security staff can systematically observe all activities with the aid of new technologies (China Change, August 8, 2013; China Brief, August 17). The system relies on big data analytics, connecting a network of CCTV cameras with police databases to achieve enhanced, even automated surveillance. Grid management was first trialed in Beijing in 2004 (Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, October 28, 2013). Chen's implementation of the

²⁵ Mr. Jayadeva Ranade, President, Centre for China Analysis and Strategy.

²⁶ Adrian Zenz, James Leibold, Xinjiang's Rapidly Evolving Security State, China Brief Volume: 17 Issue: 4,

convenience police station network in China's West is probably the most sophisticated implementation yet.

By 2016, the TAR had established over 700 of these stations throughout all urban and semi-urban centres (News.163.com, March 4, 2016). In order to man them, regional authorities dramatically increased security recruitment. Between 2007 and the summer of 2011, the TAR advertised 2,830 positions for all types of police officers. Between 2008–2009, annual police recruitment averaged 866 positions, already a steep increase over the 260 positions advertised in 2007 before the Lhasa riots. However, after Chen Quanguo assumed office, recruitment skyrocketed. Between the autumn of 2011 and 2016, the TAR advertised 12,313 policing-related positions—over four times as many positions as the preceding five years.”

Since 2014, China's internal security budget which includes spending on police and domestic surveillance had crossed the National Defence Budget. For a third year in a row, the internal security (also called public security) budget has exceeded the defence budget. Last year, it stood at RMB 701.8 billion (\$111 billion) and this year it has marginally increased by 8.7 per cent to RMB 769 billion.²⁷ Village based cadre system for intensive surveillance on Tibetans' activities, “The Chinese government's decision to extend its Tibet surveillance program indefinitely is nothing less than a continuous human rights violation,” said Sophie Richardson, China director. The village-based cadre teams are composed of Party officials, government officers, members of government enterprises and work-units, members of the People's Armed Police and the Public Security forces, from township and urban areas of the TAR. Each team has included at least one Tibetan to translate for Chinese cadres in the team and each official remained on their tour of duty for about a year before being replaced. Routine coverage of the village-based cadre work teams in the official media states that the team members are required to carry out the so-called “five duties,” of which three are political or security operations: building up Party and other organizations in the village, “maintaining social stability,” and carrying out “Feeling the Party's kindness” education with villagers. The other two duties involve promoting economic development and providing “practical benefit” to the villagers. The village-based teams also “screen and mediate social disputes,” which involves acting to settle and contain any disputes among villagers or families, because of official concerns in China that small disputes might lead to wider unrest or “instability.” One objective is to prevent villagers from presenting petitions to higher level officials.

The village-based teams also engage in “cultural activities” such as building meeting halls and reading rooms for the dissemination of officially approved literature, films and theatrical performances aimed at inculcating “core socialist values” and discouraging “bad old traditions.”

²⁷ https://idsa.in/idsacomments/ChinasDefenceBudget2013-14_msingh_180313

Economic activities include poverty alleviation, social welfare provisions in monasteries, vocational training, small business loans, and the “finding of paths to enrichment.”

Another aspect Mr Ranade (Pic. Inset Extreme Left) elaborated on was China's dissension with nations that hosts exiled spiritual leader Dalai Lama. Beijing told countries concerned to respect China's core interests and make the right decisions. China calls the Dalai Lama a "wolf in sheep's clothing" and accuses him of secessionist activities in Tibet.²⁸ Visits by the Dalai Lama to foreign countries infuriate China, and fewer and fewer national leaders are willing to meet him, fearing the consequences of Chinese anger, though some have tried to placate Beijing by saying they are meeting him in a personal not official capacity. China took control of Tibet in 1950 in what it calls a “peaceful liberation” and has piled pressure on foreign governments to shun the Dalai Lama, using economic means to punish those who allow him in. Just recently China warned Botswana on Friday against hosting the exiled Tibetan spiritual leader the Dalai Lama, who is due to visit there next month, saying it hoped Botswana could make the “correct” decision about the trip.²⁹ At risk for Botswana is a vital block of Chinese trade and investment. China is the second largest buyer of Botswana's diamonds, which account for as much as 27% of the country's GDP. Chinese companies have been contracted to do major infrastructure projects and roads. And Chinese migrants bring in cheap goods, sold by both Chinese and local traders.³⁰



An open discussion on Tibetan Refugees

²⁸http://economictimes.indiatimes.com/articleshow/59773144.cms?utm_source=contentofinterest&utm_medium=text&utm_campaign=cppst

²⁹ <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-china-botswana-dalailama-idUSKBN19Z0XE>

³⁰ <https://qz.com/1038720/botswana-is-risking-its-relationship-with-china-by-hosting-the-dalai-lama/>

In a discussion with the President of Central Tibet Administration, Dr. Lobsang Sangay³¹ (Pic. Inset), he said that cultural genocide is making its place in Tibet. He explained that Genocide comes from Greek “*genos*” meaning race and the Latin “*cide*” meaning killing. President of C.T.A., Dr. Lobsang Sangay Genocide literally means annihilation of a group, referring that Chinese have destroyed the religious character of Tibet by destroying its monasteries and killing the monks and nuns. To quote Lemkin³², genocide is “a coordinated plan of different actions aiming at the destruction of essential foundations of life of national groups themselves”. According to the UN Declaration on Rights of Indigenous Peoples³³ adopted by the UN General Assembly on 12 September 2007, genocide involves attempts by more powerful group to dilute the integrity of another group, dispossess them from their lands, assimilate and absorb them into the more powerful culture through propaganda. However, says Dr. Sangay that cultural genocide extends beyond attacks upon physical and /or biological elements of a group and intends to eliminate its wider institutions and objects, the persecution of spiritual teachers , and attacks on cultural figures and intellectuals. He strongly condemned the policy of Securitization by China that has led to “**more guns in Lhasa than lamps**”. In the name of infrastructure development to modernize Tibet, the real reason is to make demographic changes in Tibet and change the complexion of TAR, by the influx of Chinese immigrants. The Tibetans living in China have been imposed with stringent travel permits that less than 2% of Tibetans get a passport. Those applying in the TAR must obtain approval from 10 different offices, an overly cumbersome process that falls short of international standards protecting the right to freedom of movement. The report found some Tibetans had to wait five years before getting a passport; others were rejected outright.³⁴ All these measures are to contain this race and gradually change them within the confines of TAR. This will also shrink the spread of Buddhism and thus the power of Dalai Lama.

³¹ Dr. Lobsang Sangay, President of Central Tibet Administration.

³² <http://tibetpolicy.net/wp-content/uploads/2017/10/Tibetocide.pdf>

³³ http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfii/documents/DRIPS_en.pdf

³⁴ <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/asia/china/11735590/China-restricts-passports-for-Tibetans.html>



President of C.T.A., Dr. Lobsang Sangay

The following post by a Tibetan blogger on a Chinese-language website October 2012, captures the harshest level of securitization in Tibet.³⁵

“Getting a passport is harder for a Tibetan than getting into heaven. This is one of those “preferential policies” given to us Tibetans by [China’s] central government.”

TIBETANS ROUND THE GLOBE

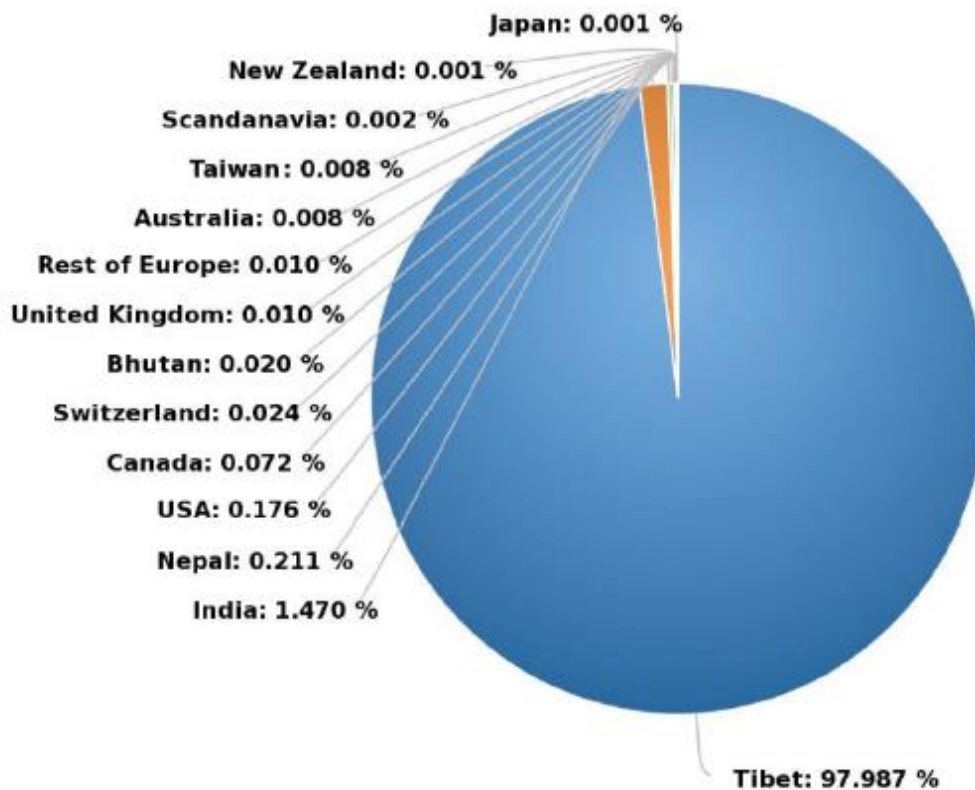
Ed Bednar, a former New York City Director of Refugee Services, spearheaded the organizing of the Tibetan-US Resettlement Project. Originally conceived as the 1990 Tibet Immigration Act (it was decided that a free standing bill would attract too much attention from China), the provision was eventually folded into the 1990 Immigration Act as Section 134, Tibetan.³⁶ Under the Section 134 Tibetan Provisions, introduced by Representative Barney Frank, Democrat of Massachusetts,

³⁵ <https://www.hrw.org/news/2015/07/13/china-end-two-tier-travel-system-tibetans-others>

³⁶ <https://www.justice.gov/sites/default/files/eoir/legacy/2009/03/04/IMMACT1990.pdf>

1,000 immigrant visas will be made available to "qualified displaced Tibetans." The law does not refer to the Tibetans as refugees, thereby avoiding a delicate issue that might well anger Beijing. The law specifically refers to natives of Tibet, including their children and grandchildren, who have lived continuously in India or Nepal since the enactment of the Immigration Act. The Tibetans will receive permanent residence and work authorization, but no benefits for three years and no Federal funds, things that are generally accorded to refugees.³⁷

SNAPSHOT OF TIBETAN POPULATION IN 2010



Source: <http://tibetdata.org/projects/population/>

³⁷ <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1468-2435.2006.00356.x/full>

China unhappy about Dalai Lama visit to Botswana



Written by Reuters, Thursday, 27 July 2017

China stepped up its warning to Botswana over a planned visit by exiled Tibetan spiritual leader the Dalai Lama next month, demanding the African nation respect China's core interests.

The Dalai Lama, reviled by Beijing as a dangerous separatist, is expected to address a human rights conference in Gaborone, on August 17-19 and will also meet Botswana's president. China is a major investor in Botswana's economy. China has already "clearly" expressed its point of view about the Dalai Lama's visit, Foreign Ministry spokesman Lu Kang told a daily news briefing. "Issues relating to Tibet concern China's sovereignty and territory integrity. We demand the relevant country earnestly respect China's core interests and make the correct political decision on this matter," Lu said, using stronger language than before on the issue. "China will not interfere in other

countries' internal affairs, but will certainly not tolerate another country doing anything that harms China's core interests," he added, without elaborating.

The Dalai Lama, who fled from Tibet into exile in India in 1959 following a failed uprising against Chinese rule, has long been at loggerheads with China, which sent troops into Tibet in 1950. The Dalai Lama, who won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1989, denies he is seeking independence for his Himalayan homeland. He says he is merely seeking greater rights, including religious freedom and genuine autonomy. Visits by the Dalai Lama to foreign countries infuriate China.

It often retaliates by stopping high-level meetings or taking economic steps, such as last year when it imposed new border fees following a visit by the Dalai Lama to Mongolia. Botswana's neighbour, South Africa, denied a visa to the Buddhist monk three times since 2009 in what opposition parties and Archbishop Desmond Tutu say shows the extent of Beijing's influence over Pretoria. China's fast-growing demand for raw materials has made it one of the biggest investors in Africa and its largest trade partner. Chinese state-owned companies have been awarded contracts to build roads, dams, power stations and airports in Botswana.

Julia Meredith Hess³⁸ who wrote a paper "Statelessness and the State:

Tibetans, Citizenship, and Nationalist Activism in a Transnational World", in which she discusses about Tibetan refugees in light of U.S.A. According to her, individual Tibetans articulate a variety of responses for adopting US citizenship: some express enthusiasm, others extreme emotion and reluctance, others see it as a practical action or one in which they have little choice. The following quote is from an interview, conducted in 1999, with Dondup, a 19-year-old Tibetan youth who had resettled with his family in New Mexico. His statement reflects a level of anxiety about the relationship between nationality, ethnicity, and citizenship:

³⁸ Ibid

I'm really scared of the future. Because when I first came here, and I started to have aims about what I would be in America and everything, I thought I would be an American citizen first so that I could go to Tibet under the passport of an American citizen. They would let me in because I am an American citizen, not a Tibetan. But then I started thinking again and again. And then there is paranoia about if I become an American citizen, then I am not Tibetan. And then I say to myself, "No you are Tibetan to the core, it's just the outside picture!" Then another self says, "No you are wrong, you will become American, you're not Tibetan anymore". There is a kind of paranoia there. But what I would really like to do is be American, be Tibetan, and then help more towards the Tibetan cause.

In other words, by becoming US citizens Tibetans can be good ambassadors for their lost homeland. In this way, part of the anxiety caused by moving away from the center of Tibetan culture in exile is assuaged for Tibetans as they use their newfound status as US residents and citizens to further the movement for an independent Tibet.

CONCLUSION

Attending an discussion meet with Smt. Meenakshi Lekhi³⁹, Member of Parliament, Lok Sabha regarding the status of Tibetans in India, she said that she firmly believed in their independence in concurrence with their assimilation in India. She said that the Western part of the world support China even though none know what is the intrinsic value of China's economy. It's a completely close economy. Why isn't the world standing by the principle of Genocide? While India has been from decades preserve race and culture that has been openly subjected to systemic annihilation. India has cherished the Buddhism that once originated from its homeland and with the Tibetan in exile, there has been a resurgence of Buddhism and consequently the survival of Tibetans as a race.

Tibetans, globally do not want to trade their ethnicity and identity for taking up a foreign land's citizenship. Whatever discussion I had at Aruna Nagar camp, the emotion runs ubiquitous that they do not want to trivialize the sacrifice of His Holiness Dalai Lama who is the face of Tibet. Secondly, the refugees whether in India or U.S.A. or elsewhere have substantial benefits of a refugee except the voting rights .They are allowed to travel under Identity Certificate protocol .What Tibetans diaspora is looking for is a permanent solution, their return to TAR and freedom the shackles of China. They are looking for a movement by nations, a movement that rides over the fear of endangering diplomatic relations with China, a movement that fights for justice, a movement that brings them home.

³⁹ Smt Meenakshi Lekhi³⁹, Member of Parliament, Lok Sabha, India.

NOTES

Footnote No. 1, 6, 11

Citizenship by birth.—(1) Except as provided in sub-section (2), every person born in India— (a) on or after the 26th day of January, 1950, but before the 1st day of July, 1987; (b) on or after the 1st day of July, 1987, but before the commencement of the Citizenship (Amendment) Act, 2003 (6 of 2004) and either of whose parents is a citizen of India at the time of his birth; (c) on or after the commencement of the Citizenship (Amendment) Act, 2003 (6 of 2004), where— (i) both of his parents are citizens of India; or (ii) one of whose parents is a citizen of India and the other is not an illegal migrant at the time of his birth, shall be a citizen of India by birth. (2) A person shall not be a citizen of India by virtue of this section if at the time of his birth— (a) either his father or mother possesses such immunity from suits and legal process as is accorded to an envoy of a foreign sovereign power accredited to the President of India and he or she, as the case may be, is not a citizen of India; or (b) his father or mother is an enemy alien and the birth occurs in a place then under occupation by the enemy.

Footnote No. 7, 8, 9, 37, 38.

Julia Meredith Hess, , *Statelessness and the State: Tibetans, Citizenship, and Nationalist Activism in a Transnational World*1, First published: 13 February 2006.

Footnote No.33

The United Nations Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide was signed in December 1948 and has been in force since January 1951. Article II of the Convention defines genocide as ANY of the following acts committed with the intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnic, racial or religious group, as such: (a) Killing members of the group. (b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group. (c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part. (d) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group. (e) Forcibly transferring children of one group to another group. The United States ratified the Convention in 1988, forty years later. The late Senator William Proxmire of Wisconsin gave 3,211 speeches in the Senate, a speech a day for 19 years —until Congress finally passed the measure. World Without Genocide raises awareness about current situations of mass violence and human rights offenses. By learning about these conflicts and acting early to resolve them, it is possible to stop them from becoming full-out genocides. We believe in creating the political will to prevent and eliminate genocide.

Footnote No. 36

SEC. 134. TRANSITION FOR DISPLACED TIBETANS. (a) In General.--Notwithstanding the numerical limitations in sections 201 and 202 of the Immigration and Nationality Act, there shall be made available to qualified displaced Tibetans described in subsection (b) 1,000 immigrant visas in the 3-fiscal-year period beginning with fiscal year 1991. (b) Qualified Displaced Tibetan Described.--An alien described in this subsection is an alien who-- (1) is a native of Tibet, and (2) since before date of the enactment of this Act, has been continuously residing in India or Nepal. For purposes of paragraph (1), an alien shall be considered to be a native of Tibet if the alien was born in Tibet or is the son, daughter, grandson, or granddaughter of an individual born in Tibet. (c) Distribution of Visa Numbers.--The Secretary of State shall provide for making immigrant visas provided under subsection (a) available to displaced aliens described in subsection (b) (or described in subsection (d) as the spouse or child of such an alien) in an equitable manner, giving preference to those aliens who are not firmly resettled in India or Nepal or who are most likely to be resettled successfully in the United States. (d) Derivative Status for Spouses and Children.--A spouse or child (as defined in section 101(b)(1) (A), (B), (C), (D), or (E) of the Immigration and Nationality Act) shall, if not otherwise entitled to an immigrant status and the immediate issuance of a visa under this section, be entitled to the same status, and the same order of consideration, provided under this section, if accompanying, or following to join, his spouse or parent.

FOREWORD



This is to certify that Swayam Bhatia of Grade 12, Modern School, Barakhamba Road, New Delhi has been under my guidance and supervision for his research project 'The Tibetan Diaries (Unheard)'. Swayam had been meticulously working for this paper since August 2017. His sourcing has been diverse ranging from frequent camp visits at New Aruna Nagar to attending discussions on the issue of Tibet to online sourcing. I am thoroughly impressed by Swayam's dedication and most of all his compassion for the refugees. He has a bright future ahead.



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