



WHEN THE SKY FELL TO EARTH

THE NEW CRACKDOWN ON BUDDHISM IN TIBET

Includes Sourcebook of Current Chinese Documents on Religious Policy

A report by the International Campaign for Tibet
Washington, DC | Amsterdam | Berlin
www.savetibet.org



Tibetans sometimes refer to the Cultural Revolution as a time 'when the sky fell to earth'. The legacy of the Cultural Revolution still affects religious life in Tibet today.

COMPANION FILM — DEVOTION AND DEFIANCE

A companion film to this report, "Devotion and Defiance: Buddhism and the Struggle for Religious Freedom in Tibet," (USA, 2004, 35 minutes). The film examines the recent growth of, and crackdowns on, religious institutions in Tibet and the complex struggle of monks and nuns who defy the Chinese government's heavy-handed control. Contains rare footage from inside Tibet shot in the last three years. The film was produced by the International Campaign for Tibet and is available in DVD, PAL and VHS.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This report was written by ICT staff and Kate Saunders. The report is based on interviews, primary material and documents collected from 2001 - 2004. Thanks to Robbie Barnett, Jane Caple, Dorjee Damdul, Antonio Terrone, Gabriel Lafitte, Chonpel Tsering, Joe Hipgrave, TIN field staff and to many individual in Nepal and Tibet who cannot be named. Matthew Akester translated Documents 1, 3 and 4 from Tibetan.

Cover Photo:

Jokhang Temple, Lhasa

© 2001 Ron Lussier / Lenscraft.com

When the Sky Fell to Earth:

The New Crackdown in Buddhism in Tibet

©2004 by the International Campaign for Tibet

ISBN: 1-879245-25-6

THE INTERNATIONAL CAMPAIGN FOR TIBET

The International Campaign for Tibet works to promote human rights and democratic freedoms in Tibet. ICT monitors conditions in Tibet, advocates for Tibetans imprisoned for their political and religious beliefs, works with governments to help Tibetans, provides for humanitarian assistance to Tibetans in exile and promotes a peaceful resolution of the occupation of Tibet through negotiations between the Chinese government and the Dalai Lama. Founded in 1988, ICT is a non-profit membership organization with offices in Washington, Amsterdam and Berlin.

International Campaign for Tibet

1825 K Street NW, Suite 520

Washington, DC 20006

Phone: 202.785.1515

Fax: 202.785.4343

E-mail: info@savetibet.org

International Campaign for Tibet Europe

Keizersgracht 302

P.O. Box 3337

1001 AC Amsterdam

The Netherlands

Phone: +31 (0) 20 3308265

Fax: +31 (0) 20 3308266

E-mail: icteurope@savetibet.org

International Campaign for Tibet Deutschland e.V.

Marienstr. 30

10117 Berlin

Germany

Phone: +49 (0) 30 27879086

Fax: +49 (0) 30 27879087

E-mail: ict-d@savetibet.org

WWW.SAVETIBET.ORG

CONTENTS

Executive Summary	1	Sourcebook of Current Chinese Documents on Religious Policy	
Introduction	3	1. <i>Rules for monks and nuns in monasteries</i> by the Lhasa City Municipal Government, 1997	89
Chapter 1: The Politics of religion	5	2. <i>A Reader for Advocating Science and Technology and Doing Away with Superstition</i> by the Propaganda Department of the Committee of the Communist Party of the Tibet Autonomous Region (2002)	91
China's current policy of 'religious freedom'	7	3. <i>HANDBOOK FOR EDUCATION IN ANTI-SPLITTISM: TAR Patriotic Education for Monasteries Propaganda Book no. 2</i> by the TAR Leading Committee for Patriotic Education in Monasteries (May 2002)	103
The 1990s – Tightening control through 'legal management'	8	4. <i>HANDBOOK FOR EDUCATION IN (PARTY) POLICY ON RELIGION: TAR Patriotic Education for Monasteries Propaganda Book no. 4</i> by the TAR Leading Committee for Patriotic Education in Monasteries (May 2002)	108
Religious policy in Tibet – Buddhism and identify	9		
Chapter 2: The Main Struggle in Tibet – the Anti-Dalai Lama Campaign	15		
Images of the Dalai Lama	15		
Campaign against Dalai Lama's Internationalization of the Tibet Issue	16		
Dalai Lama Birthday celebrations Illegal	18		
Chapter 3: A Religious Education in Tibet	21		
Obstacles to obtaining a religious education	21		
Freedom of movement	22		
Chapter 4: Reincarnation and an Atheist State	29		
Incarnate lamas and the Chinese state	30		
The 14 th Dalai Lama and the reincarnation process	32		
Institution of the Panchen Lama	34		
The 10 th Panchen Lama	34		
The 11 th Panchen Lama	36		
The Chinese appointed 'Panchen Lama'	38		
Agya Rinpoche	39		
Reting Rinpoche	40		
Escape of the Karmapa	41		
Pawo Rinpoche	43		
Gen Lamrim Ngawang Phuntsok	44		
Chapter 5: The Apparatus of Control	47		
Patriotic Education & the Management of Monasteries	47		
Promotion of Atheism	53		
Democratic Management Committees	55		
Financial Management of Monasteries	58		
Restrictions on Pilgrimage	59		
Chapter 6: Destruction of Monasteries & Persecution of Leaders	63		
Demolitions and Expulsions at Larung and Yachen Monastic Encampments	64		
Destruction and Displacement at Yachen	69		
Chinese Devotees at Larung and Yachen	71		
Persecution of Buddhist Leaders in Kham	75		
Sonam Phuntsok	75		
Tenzin Delek Rinpoche	76		
Crackdowns in Kardze	77		
Long Life Ceremonies for Dalai Lama Trigger Arrests	77		
Chapter 7: The Consequences of Dissent	81		
Conditions in Tibetan prisons	82		



EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Religious policy in the People's Republic of China (PRC) and Tibet is shaped by the ideology of the ruling Communist Party and its political imperative of maintaining power. Although China's Constitution states that citizens of the PRC have 'freedom of religious belief', the Communist Party defines what is 'acceptable' religious behavior and religion is only tolerated as long as it does not interfere with or challenge the legitimacy and status of the Party. Over the past 50 years, practical measures to handle religion in China have varied from a pragmatic tolerance to complete repression and persecution. Current policy dictates that religion should be accommodated and utilized, but kept firmly under Party control. This has led, during the past 10 years, to the development of administrative and legal mechanisms that enable the authorities to clamp down on any religious activities viewed as a threat to social stability and national unity, while claiming they are operating according to a 'rule of law'.

The measures used to implement state religious policy have been particularly harsh in Tibet because of the close link between religion and Tibetan identity. Tibetan Buddhism continues to be an integral element of Tibetan identity, and is therefore perceived as a threat to the authority of the state and unity of the PRC. The Chinese leadership views the Dalai Lama as the main obstacle to political stability in Tibet, a 'wolf in lama's clothing.' The very practice of Buddhism and the display of a picture of the Dalai Lama have become, for many Tibetans, a means of expressing their Tibetan identity, and in some cases, their opposition to the Chinese Communist Party. Hence issues relating to religion are perceived as being highly relevant to political control and the suppression of 'separatism' in Tibet – both factors underpinning China's strategic concerns and development aims in Tibetan areas of the PRC.

A new low point was reached in the last few years with the imprisonment of several senior religious figures known for their loyalty to the Dalai Lama and their religious and social activism – one of whom, Tenzin Delek Rinpoche, is serving a commuted death sentence. The Chinese authorities' control over religious expression has been extended to control over monastic influence in general and local community leadership by respected religious teachers. In particular, there have been severe restriction of movement imposed on prominent and popular religious leaders such as Khenpo Jigme Phuntsok and Acho Khen Rinpoche, among others.

This report documents the following trends in Tibet:

- From the mid-1990s onwards, China's position towards the Dalai Lama, Tibet's leader in exile, has become more hostile.
- A wide-ranging patriotic education campaign has been carried out in monasteries and nunneries throughout Tibetan areas with the aim of undermining the Dalai Lama's influence, indoctrinating monks and nuns in Party policy and ideology and identifying defiant monks and nuns.
- Democratic Management Committees established in large monasteries are now being strengthened, and set up in all monasteries, in order to assert greater state control and surveillance over the daily life of monks and nuns.
- Limitations imposed on the numbers of monks and nuns in each religious institution remain in place and are selectively being enforced more than they were a decade ago.
- Beijing is more aggressively asserting control over the search and identification of Tibetan reincarnate lamas.
- The demolitions of homes and expulsion of monks and nuns in the religious institutes of Larung Gar and Yachen Gar show a new determination to enforce state-specified limitations on monastic life and control the activity of influential and charismatic spiritual leaders like the late Khenpo Jigme Phuntsok, the founder of Larung Gar.
- Obtaining a complete religious education remains extremely difficult or impossible in Tibet.
- Imprisonment for terms of 5 – 10 years or more, and brutal torture continues to be a likely consequence of dissent for monks and nuns in Tibet.

This report also documents factors that have contributed to a situation in which many Tibetans feel they have no choice but to escape into exile if they are to pursue their religious vocation. These factors include the decimation of the older generation of senior teachers and scholars inside Tibet and the generation gap between older and younger generations due to death, exile or the absence of opportunity; the material devastation of the network of monasteries, Buddhist libraries, texts and artifacts, and pilgrimage sites; the systems in place to control and manage religious institutions; the political campaigns, obligatory political study sessions and forced denunciations of the Dalai Lama; and restrictions on pilgrimage imposed in various areas by PRC authorities.

The attached Sourcebook of Current Chinese Documents on Religious Policy, reveals scores of rights violations that China systematically tries to hide from the West. The four documents explain in detail the current Party policy on religion in Tibet and conclude that the Party still has along way to go to fully bring religion under its control.



INTRODUCTION

This report looks at religious policy and practice in Tibet since the years of relative liberalization in the early 1980s, giving an insight into religious policy and implementation in Tibet over the past 15 years. During this period, Party policy has become more nuanced with regard to the issue of religious freedom, but many of the same basic strategic aims that were set during the 1950s remain in place, and there have been cycles of what the Chinese refer to as loosening up (Ch: *fang*) and tightening down (Ch: *shou*).

The report cannot be wholly comprehensive, as the Chinese government strictly controls access to and information about Tibetan areas, particularly the TAR, meaning that it is difficult to determine accurately the scope of religious freedom violations throughout the region. It is notable that the atmosphere for religious freedom varies considerably from region to region.

Chapter 1 sets the context for the report, providing an overview of religious policy in China and considering the specific problems that religion in Tibet poses to the Party as a result of the link between Tibetan Buddhism and Tibetan identity. Chapter 2 explores the Party's past and current political struggle against the Dalai Lama and official attempts to undermine his influence and popularity both inside Tibet and in the Western world. The third chapter discusses the obstacles to obtaining a religious education in Tibet, due to the historical legacy of CCP rule and current tightening of restrictions. The threat this poses to the continuity and survival of Tibetan Buddhism inside Tibet is further examined in Chapter 4 by a description of China's interference in the selection of the reincarnations of senior lamas, including case studies of some of the most important of these figures. Chapter Five looks in more detail at the mechanisms China is using to implement religious policy in Tibet, including the Patriotic Education campaign and the management of monasteries. The increasing repression of religious activities in some areas, particularly in eastern Tibet, is documented in the sixth chapter, including the destruction of monasteries, forced eviction of monks and nuns and the imprisonment of religious leaders. The final chapter provides an analysis of political imprisonment in Tibet, describing the consequences that monks and nuns have faced for voicing dissent, and looking more closely at the cases of some of Tibet's political prisoners.

The testimonies of Tibetans and Western observers are used throughout the report, while the official documents include previously unpublished translations from propaganda manuals printed in the TAR. Extracts from these documents can be found in the Sourcebook of Current Chinese Documents on Religious Policy at the end of the report. The third and fourth documents are taken from two in a series of handbooks written for Patriotic Education in Tibetan monasteries. They present the official Party line on religious policy and implementation and Tibet's political status. The second document is a 'Reader' for Party members and government workers, aimed at dispelling superstition and propagating the importance and value of Marxist materialism, atheism, science and technology. These documents provide a solid official background to this report, giving the reader an insight into the ideological and political factors driving religious policy in Tibet today, as well as illustrating the constraints on religious practitioners.



CHAPTER 1 THE POLITICS OF RELIGION

Chinese Communist Party rulings on religious freedom emerge from a position first established by Mao Zedong, who believed that as society became more advanced under the Party, religious belief would eventually wither and die. Mao expressed this view when he said: 'It is the peasants who put up idols, and, when the time comes, they will throw the idols out with their own hands...It is wrong for anybody else to do it for them.'

Since the foundation of the People's Republic of China [PRC], there has been an article in the Constitution that states that citizens of the PRC shall have 'freedom of religious belief'. But even during the most liberal periods of modern Chinese history, religion has only been tolerated as long as it does not interfere with or challenge the political power of the CCP. As the former Chinese leader Liu

Shaoqi stated explicitly in 1954: 'Safeguarding freedom of religious belief is quite a different matter from safeguarding freedom of counter-revolutionary activities; these two cannot be mixed up. Nor, similarly, will our constitution and laws ever provide the slightest facility for those elements who engage in counter-revolutionary activities under the cloak of religion.'⁵ The editor-in-chief of the [government] journal *Modern Buddhism* expounded further in an editorial comment in 1951: 'Some Buddhists think that, because the Common Program⁶ provides for freedom of belief, they can do anything they like and that anyone who corrects their thinking or actions is infringing on their freedom of religion. This is a very big mistake and really is the thinking of backward elements...[I]t must be corrected as forcefully as possible. Anyone who does not listen must be denounced to the government.'⁷

'It is clear that the government doesn't like Buddhism and they do not want us to carry out our Buddhist tradition. But if you removed Buddhism from the way that we Tibetans see the mountains, rivers, and sky, if you removed Buddhism from the way we see our families, our temples and our history, then we Tibetans just wouldn't BE anymore. We wouldn't have tradition or our pride, we wouldn't be Tibetan. If you remove the Buddhist significance of the Potala, that is the pure land of Chenrezig,¹ you are removing the very reason for Lhasa to be here. If you remove Buddhist meaning of Tashi Lhunpo,² that is the pure land of Amitabha, then you are removing the very reason for Shigatse to be there. If you build a road around Mt. Kailash,³ you are removing one of the most important aspects of the arduous Buddhist journey we take there, that of spiritual purification. If you remove Buddhism from the Jokhang and have it only as a Chinese tourist site, you are removing the heart the century old connection between the Kings of Tibet and the teachings of the Buddha. The Chinese have tried to remove the Dalai Lama from our hearts but that will never happen.'

- Tibetan businessman in Lhasa⁴



According to the CCP's Marxist, atheist ideology, religion is a superstitious and unscientific product of natural and social oppression; it has been exploited and used in backward societies as a tool by ruling classes to suppress the people and preserve social inequality. According to this Marxist materialist worldview, religion will disappear in a socialist society. Practical measures to handle religion have varied from differing degrees of tolerance to persecution of practitioners.

The practice of religion continued in varying degrees under the new Communist state until the Cultural Revolution in 1966, when all religious practice, and any expression of religious faith, came under attack. Monasteries, temples, mosques and churches were destroyed, along with religious scriptures, statues and artifacts. Priests, clerics, monks and nuns were de-frocked and many were targeted for re-education and sent to work in forced labor camps. The end of the Cultural Revolution in Tibet had destroyed nearly all of Tibet's monasteries. Tibetan historian Tsering Shakya writes: 'For the majority of Tibetans...the trauma of the Cultural Revolution would linger in their minds, and evidence of the appalling destruction of Tibet's cultural heritage would haunt the Tibetan landscape. The people who lived through the period still express their incomprehension and describe it as the time "the sky fell to earth".'⁸

Soon after the 1959 exodus of Tibetans, the Dalai Lama convened a meeting of the major Tibetan Buddhist teachers at his residence of Swag Ashram near Dharamsala. This 1961 photo shows heads of the main schools of Tibetan Buddhism who fled to exile, as well as many other teaching lineage holders. If these individuals, who represent the living tradition of Tibetan Buddhism, had not fled to exile, they would likely have been imprisoned and suffered public humiliation, as endured by the likes of the 10th Panchen Lama and Mindroling Chung Rinpoche, both who remained in Tibet. This meeting was part of the first steps the Dalai Lama took at divesting political power from the Gelug school and aristocratic families and the democratization of the Tibetan government in exile. The front row of the photo [left to right] is Kyabje Dudjom Rinpoche, head of the Nyingma school; the 16th Gyawla Karmapa, head of the Karma Kagyu school; Kyabje Sakya Trinzin, head of the Sakya school, Tenzin Gyatso, the 14th Dalai Lama; Yong Dzin Ling Rinpoche, the senior tutor of the Dalai Lama and future head of the Gelug school; Trijian Rinpoche, junior tutor to the Dalai Lama; and Bhakula Rinpoche of Ladakh, former minister in the Indian parliament and ambassador to Mongolia. The second row includes Chogye Trichen Rinpoche, Dilgo Khyentse Rinpoche, Druk Tuktse Rinpoche, Drayap Kyapgon Rinpoche and Serkyong Rinpoche. Many other religious luminaries and abbots of significant monasteries in Tibet, as well as the Tibetan government in exile cabinet are also pictured.

'From the Marxist point of view, religion comes into being at a certain stage of the historical development of human society, then progressively develops and eventually disappears. Given that that is its nature, its long-term persistence in socialist society is unavoidable. [...] Our Party has made a correct recognition and understanding of the historical manifestation of religion, and on the foundation of seeing its objective nature as arising, progressing and disappearing, it is with regard to the reality of religion persisting for a long time in socialist society that this [religious] policy has been defined.

- TAR Patriotic Education of monasteries propaganda book no 4 – Handbook for education in [Party] policy on religion (See Document 4 in the appendix)

The death of Mao Zedong in 1976 and the rise to power of Deng Xiaoping resulted in a new cultural and economic policy in China and Tibet⁹ that was focused on national reconstruction and modernization. This resulted in a more open approach to religious policy, similar to that of the 1950s, and steps were taken to redress some of the 'excesses' of the Cultural Revolution. Many of those who had been persecuted, including religious leaders, were 'rehabilitated' and restoration work began on religious institutions. The full impact of these changes reached Tibet in 1980 when Hu Yaobang, the then General Secretary of the Party, visited and launched a new reform policy there, apologizing for the failures of Party policy in Tibet.¹⁰ Following the relative liberalization of the late 1970s and early 1980s, religious practice began to take place in public again in Tibet and China, although there were still clear constraints by the Party.¹¹

CHINA'S CURRENT POLICY OF 'RELIGIOUS FREEDOM'

In 1982, China's basic religious policy was set out in a key policy paper, known as Document 19,¹² and enshrined in the revised Constitution. In a return to the policy that existed before the Cultural Revolution, current policy is based on the premise that religion cannot be eliminated by force and will persist for a long time.¹³ As a result, 'religious freedom' should be permitted and the Party should seek the co-operation of patriotic religious believers in building a unified and modern socialist state. However, the conditions that are attached to religious freedom in China make the phrase virtually meaningless according to a

Western understanding of the concept. Principally, religion must remain firmly under state control, be supportive of the Communist Party, and adapt itself to socialism. A TAR propaganda manual, issued in 2002, makes it clear that China's 'freedom of religious belief policy' is, by its very nature, one 'whose implementation will end with the voluntary [historically determined] disappearance of religion'.¹⁴ The practical meaning of 'freedom of religious belief' is further complicated by the distinction that is made between 'normal' religious practice and 'superstition'. Although the 1982 Constitution introduced the concept of the state's protection of 'normal religious activities' for the first time, the interpretation given to the phrase 'normal religious activities' is critical. The People's Republic of China recognizes only five religions – Buddhism, Taoism, Catholicism, Christianity and Islam. Other belief systems are labeled 'feudal' or 'superstitious' with the result that the beliefs held by many Chinese people, that are a blend of Taoist, Buddhist and polytheistic elements, are afforded no constitutional or legal protection. In addition, it is only those religious groups that operate under the auspices of one of China's eight 'Patriotic Religious Associations' that are officially permitted.¹⁵

Even within the scope of China's five official religions, the distinction between what is 'normal' and what is 'superstitious' is not clear and is left open to interpretation by the varying levels of Chinese authorities. For example, some elements integral to Tibetan Buddhism, such as oracles and divination, are generally viewed as superstitious; but they have also been accepted as 'normal' and correct religious practice in situations where they can be used to support Party interests, notably in the selection of reincar-

nate lamas. Conversely, any religious practice or organization can be treated as falling outside the scope of what is 'normal' if it is perceived as posing a threat to the state. The state's protection of normal religious activities is also conditional on the equally ambiguous order in the Constitution that: 'No one may make use of religion to engage in activities that disrupt public order, impair the health of citizens or interfere with the educational system of the state' [Article 36]. Current religious policy further dictates that religion cannot be allowed to grow unchecked and must be free of foreign influences or alleged 'hostile domestic forces' that could destabilize China. The policy aims to co-opt religious leaders to promote Party policies; therefore the first allegiance of religious leaders must be to the state and future religious leaders must be carefully monitored before they are permitted to take on official roles.

THE 1990'S - TIGHTENING CONTROL THROUGH 'LEGAL MANAGEMENT'

By the end of the 1980s it was clear that the Party's religious policy was not working. Religion, far from dying out, was proliferating at an extraordinary rate, well beyond the control of the Party. The enthusiasm with which the easing of restrictions on religious practice was greeted throughout China was alarming to Party leaders, while political dissent and unrest at the end of the 1980s, culminating in the 1989 Tiananmen Square massacre, compounded their fears of political and social instability in China.

As a result, a more sophisticated strategy to tackle religion has been developed. This strategy, which first emerged in speeches given by Li Peng and Jiang Zemin at a national meeting on religious affairs held in 1990, emphasizes the need to adapt religion to socialism through 'legal management'. New measures have been put in place to strengthen the administration of religion, religious institutions and religious personnel within a regulatory framework. For example, all places of religious activity have had to register

with the state. This has allowed an opportunity for the state to 'legally' close down any place of religious activity that is not registered – including institutions that had been functioning as places of religious activity but were refused official recognition and registration when they applied for it. Once religious organizations and personnel are registered they become subject to a stringent set of rules and regulations. In the case of Tibetan monasteries, this includes fixed limits on the numbers of monks and nuns, compulsory study of state policy and law, as well as the Party management of the monastic Buddhist curriculum itself. State regulations were brought into force in 1994, setting out the national legislative framework for the management of religious activities and the activities of foreign religious personnel staying in China.

Religious activities and beliefs that are seen as posing a threat to the authority of the Party have been criminalized and targeted during national 'Strike Hard' anti-crime campaigns. China's Criminal Law has been used to prosecute individuals whose religious activities are equated with separatism, while Article 300 of the Criminal Law [as amended in 1997] stipulates that a three to seven year prison sentence should be handed down to 'whoever organizes and utilizes superstitious sects, secret societies, and evil religious organizations or sabotages the implementation of the state's laws and executive regulations by utilizing superstition.' The Chinese leadership also controls religious practice through regulations that are not specifically geared to religious institutions, such as regulations governing the right to form a social organization, freedom of assembly, land use and internal migration.

This 'legal management' approach to dealing with religion serves two purposes. On the one hand it allows the leadership to create an impression of religious freedom to the outside world, and to fight off international criticism by holding up China's legal protection of 'normal' religious activity. Any tourist visiting China today can see people

'The management of religion work according to law means the administration of religion by the government, taking the constitution, relevant laws, legal practice and relevant documents as the foundation. [...] The main points are safeguarding those activities that accord with the law, putting a stop to those which contravene the law, prohibiting infiltration and punishing criminal activity.'

- TAR Patriotic Education of monasteries propaganda book no 4 – Handbook for education in [Party] policy on religion (See Document 4 in the appendix)

openly worshipping in churches, mosques and temples. At the same time it enables the Party to use administrative and legal mechanisms to confine religious institutions and religious believers within boundaries set by the Communist Party. Any person or institution acting outside of these boundaries is vulnerable to attack and could be risking detention, arrest and judicial or administrative sentencing. For instance, the crackdown on Falun Gong [a worldwide organization described by adherents as a spiritual practice of body, spirit and mind that center around a practice of meditation and Qi Gong exercises] has employed a series of legal maneuvers that flout international standards but allow the Chinese government to claim that its crackdown is based on the rule of law.¹⁶

While the Chinese government has not specifically sought to suppress the growth in all religions in China that has been taking place in the last few years, it has attempted to control and regulate religious groups in order to prevent the rise of sources of authority outside the control of the Party and the government.¹⁷ Over the past year, although freedom to participate in religious activity increased in many areas of the PRC, there were crackdowns against groups including unregistered, underground Protestant and Catholic groups, the Falun Gong movement and against Uighur Muslims in Xinjiang and Tibetan Buddhists in Tibet.

RELIGIOUS POLICY IN TIBET – BUDDHISM AND IDENTITY

Tibetan Buddhism is a fundamental and integral element of Tibetan identity and has always played a central role in Tibetan society, defining morality and engaging individuals in popular religious practices such as circumambulating holy sites, turning

prayer wheels, and pilgrimage as well as in profound meditation practices and philosophical erudition. As a result the clash between traditional Tibet and the modern Chinese state has been acute in the sphere of religion. The resistance that has arisen among the monastic community and lay Buddhist devotees in Tibet to Chinese rule does not emerge solely from China's religious policies. But interference in religious and cultural life has generated considerable antipathy to China's domination over Tibetan society and economy.

The Chinese Communist Party sees religious belief as one of its most significant problems in Tibet, largely due to the ties between Tibetan Buddhism and Tibetan identity. The Party has been confounded by its failure to draw Tibetans away from their religious beliefs, and particularly their loyalty to the Dalai Lama. As well as posing an ideological problem for the Party, their concerns over religious belief in Tibet are also political and strategic. The Party's fear of a Tibetan desire for separation from China and instability in the PRC's border regions has increased its sensitivity to any perceived infiltration from outside 'hostile' anti-China forces.

Since the liberalization of the mid-1980s, the Chinese authorities had made various attempts to limit the growth of religion in Tibet, but these attempts had rarely been strictly enforced, even in the direct aftermath of the pro-independence protests involving monks and nuns in the late 1980s. It was not until the Third Work Forum on policy in Tibet was held in Beijing in 1994 that religious activity began to be severely curtailed.²¹ The Third Work Forum guidelines demonstrate a deep concern on the part of the Party over the continued popularity of Tibetan Buddhism – intensified by the perceived relationship between religion and the pro-independence movement.

'...Tibetans considered themselves the agents of their own Buddhist civilizing project with regard to the spiritual life of the Mongols and Manchus, including the Manchu emperors of China. The Dalai Lamas, for example, regularly sent monks and incarnate lamas to Beijing to instruct the royal family in the Tibetan language so that they could read prayers in the language of the scriptures. Tibetans were the only minority with an advanced civilization that the emperors of China actually sought to learn from. Religious sophistication and greatness, therefore, were at the heart of Tibetans' identity and self-image.'

Most of Tibet's great monasteries and nunneries have been rebuilt to some extent, though with one or two exceptions, none have been allowed to be completely rebuilt and to house the number of monks or nuns that they did as of the 1950s. Drigung Til monastery located 130 km Northeast of Lhasa, was established in 1179 and in the thirteenth century it was very powerful. Today, it too has been partially restored and is frequently visited by western tourists and Tibetan pilgrims. (Photo: ©Myra de Rooy/ICT)



The tightening of restrictions on religion in Tibetan areas in the mid-1990s reflects the general direction of religious policy in China; but the crackdown on monasteries and nunneries can also be seen as part of the wider efforts to suppress Tibetan dissent through a combination of propaganda, re-education, administrative regulation, punishment and implementation of increasingly sophisticated security measures. A Party document that emerged out of the Third Forum, entitled 'A Golden Bridge Leading Into a New Era', highlights the Party's concerns over the link between monasteries and political activism: 'A number of religious institutions have been used at times by a few people who harbor sinister motives to plot against us and have become counter-revolutionary bases... The influence of our enemies in foreign countries, especially the "Dalai clique", was slipping into the monasteries of our region more than ever. They assume that to get hold of a monastery is the equivalent of [getting hold of] a district of the Communist Party.'²²

The Third Work Forum gave approval at the highest level to increased control and surveillance of monasteries and the upgrading of security work undertaken by administrative bodies, beyond their existing duties as political educators and informants. It also called for the following steps to be taken in each religious institution:

- **vetting the political position of each Democratic Management Committee and appointing only 'patriotic' monks to those committees**
- **enforcing a ban on the construction of any religious buildings except with official permission**
- **enforcing limits on the numbers of monks or nuns allowed in each institution**
- **obliging each monk and nun to give declarations of their absolute support for the leadership of the Communist Party and integrity of the motherland**
- **requiring monks and nuns to 'politically draw a clear line of demarcation with the Dalai clique', in other words to give a formal declaration of opposition to the Dalai Lama and his policies**

Enforcement of these measures was strengthened with the launch of the Patriotic Education Campaign in Tibet two years later, with work teams of officials visiting even the most remote monasteries and nunneries to oversee political education and the implementation of religious policies.²³

The extension of restrictions on religious practices to lay Buddhists has varied widely from area to area, but generally appears to have been most strict in major urban centers such as Lhasa and Shigatse in the TAR. During a crackdown on religious practice in Lhasa in 2000, religious scroll paintings (Tib: *thang ka*) and altars were banned from private homes. Homes were checked for photos of the Dalai Lama, and school children in Lhasa were told that they were not allowed to visit monasteries or temples and that they should not wear Buddhist blessing and protection cords (Tib: *srung mdud*) to school. In some instances students had to pay fines if they are known to have visited monasteries. A telephone hotline was set up by the authorities for people to inform on others who are involved in religious practices and teachers were told to step up education on atheism.²⁴

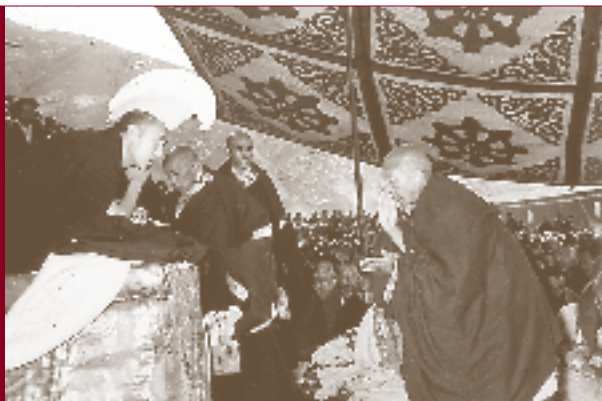
The Party stresses that there is now an even more urgent need to 'adapt' Tibetan Buddhism to socialism. A TAR propaganda book on Patriotic Education in monasteries states that religious believers should take 'a political stance of voluntarily loving the Motherland, respecting socialism and the leadership of the CCP' which 'is also the political foundation for being able to bring about the adaptation of Tibetan Buddhism to socialist society'. Tibetan Buddhist 'religious personalities' should be instructed 'to preach the goals of social progress as an essential religious duty and thus give depth to the adaptation of religion to socialist society.'²⁵



Monks and nuns have been in the forefront of many pro-independence demonstrations which always results in major clampdowns on the monasteries and nunneries that participated in the demonstration. Here, Jampa Tenzin of the Jokhang Temple is cheered by a crowd of demonstrators during a massive demonstration on 1 October 1987. Jampa Tenzin sustained third degree burns when he entered a police station that had been set on fire by demonstrators who were trying to free scores of monks who had been arrested. Jampa Tenzin and others succeeded in freeing many of the detained monks. (Photo: ©Ackerly/ICT)

'Yes, we all like to say we are from Derge, or from Lhasa, or wherever in the Land of Snows. But, we are all Tibetan and it isn't difficult to really distinguish a Tibetan. Even His Holiness says it on the radio, 'We tsampa-eating, six-syllable reciting'¹⁹ people'. That is really a way to see if they are Tibetan; if you can survive on tsampa and if you recite the heart mantra and fervently pray to Chenrezig, Tibet's patron deity and who the Dalai Lama represents for us, then you must be Tibetan.'

- Tibetan businessman in his forties from Kardze (Ch: *Ganzi*) prefecture in Kham²⁰



The 25 year-old 14th Dalai Lama Tenzin Gyatso [left] debating one of his elderly teachers of logic as part of his geshe degree examination at Drepung monasteries in Lhasa in 1959. The geshe degree is the highest level of erudition in the Tibetan Buddhist curriculum of philosophical study. Drepung monastery housed nearly 9,000 monks before the Chinese invasion. Today, Drepung has between 300 and 400 monks in residence. Drepung has not produced a single geshe degree since 1959.

Party leaders including the former President and Party Secretary Jiang Zemin have stated that Tibetan culture, which is inseparable from religion in Tibetan society, must be supportive of Chinese ideological and developmental objectives. Religion was identified as a major ‘obstacle to development’ and to the ‘stability of the ethnic regions’ in a strategy paper written by Li Dezhu, the Minister of the State Ethnic Affairs Commission,²⁶ on the development of western regions of the PRC, including Tibetan areas. This key article, published in June 2000, stated that the religious element in Tibetan society, as a key factor in Tibetans’ self-identity and culture, could be a serious impediment to the implementation of the PRC’s drive to intensify development in the western regions of China, including Tibetan areas.²⁷

Li Dezhu writes: ‘Historically, the western region was a sensitive region for ethnic relations. The negative impacts of some ethnic relations problems left over by history cannot be eliminated in the short term, but still require long term effort. The religious influence of the western regions is far-reaching, and the intermingling of nationality and

religious issues’ has increased the complexity of managing ethnic relations. ‘Anti-separatist’ policies have thus been built into China’s western development strategy in order to support Beijing’s objectives of ‘national unity and stability’. In this way, the perceived goal is to reduce the ‘negative effects of religion on the region’s development and stability.’²⁸

China’s drive to develop the western regions, announced by former President Jiang Zemin in 1999, is a core strategic and political aim of the PRC. The policy is implemented from the top-down with the clear political aims, as stated by Jiang Zemin, to ‘help develop China’s economy, stabilize local society and contribute to China’s unity.’²⁹ Li Dezhu states in his article that through this development, China aims to solve ‘the nationalities problem’ in Tibet and the western regions, thus assimilating Tibet further into ‘the motherland’. While the Party sees these policies as ‘civilizing’ Tibetan areas, Tibetans themselves, who are not generally averse to economic development, fear the degradation of their religion and culture, and the loss of their cultural and religious identity.

NOTES

- 1 The Dalai Lama is said to be the embodiment of Chenrezig, the Buddha of compassion while the Panchen Lama is the embodiment of Amitabha, the Buddha of Infinite Light.
- 2 The seat of the Panchen Lama in Shigatse, TAR.
- 3 A reference to plans for a road around Mt Kailash reported in 2003. According to reliable reports, plans for this road have now been dropped by the authorities, although there are still concerns regarding inappropriate development of the Kailash area in order to boost tourism.
- 4 ICT interview, fall 2003.
- 5 Liu Shaoqi was commenting on China's draft Constitution. Cited on p 3, 'Buddhism in Contemporary Tibet: Religious Revival and Cultural Identity,' edited by Melvyn C Goldstein and Matthew T Kapstein, University of California Press 1998.
- 6 The Common Program was developed in September 1949 by the CCP and officially codified in 1954 in China's first constitution.
- 7 Ibid, from the same chapter (Introduction by Melvyn Goldstein, pp 2-3).
- 8 'The Dragon in the Land of Snows: A history of modern Tibet since 1949' by Tsering Shakyia, Columbia University Press 1999, p 347.
- 9 'Tibet' in this report refers to all Tibetan areas currently under the jurisdiction of the People's Republic of China. This includes the Tibet Autonomous Region (Ch: *Xizang Zizhiqu*), the area west of the Yangtse River, and other Tibetan inhabited areas in the Chinese provinces of Qinghai, Gansu, Sichuan and Yunnan.
- 10 See 'Postscript 1 – Hu Yaobang's visit to Tibet: May 22-31 1980: An important development in the Chinese government's Tibet policy' by Wang Yao, p 285, 'Resistance and Reform in Tibet' edited by Robert Barnett and Shirin Akiner, C Hurst & Co, London 1994.
- 11 Melvyn Goldstein, among other commentators, has noted that the revival that took place in the early 1980s did not represent a new surge in faith but 'an unworried coming into the open of what had been there all along.' He cites Israel Epstein as saying: 'in the previous period... a believer who did not take his prayer wheel outdoors might have fingered a rosary, instead, within his sleeve. And a circuit pilgrim would walk around the Barkor (the market route surrounding the sacred temple in the center of Lhasa) as though "taking a stroll".' Cited on p 10, 'Buddhism in Contemporary Tibet: Religious Revival and Cultural Identity,' edited by Melvyn C. Goldstein and Matthew T. Kapstein, University of California Press 1998.
- 12 The full title of the document is 'The basic viewpoint and policy on the religious question during our country's Socialist period'. See Donald E. MacInnis, 'Religion in China Today: Policy and Practice,' Orbis Books, 1989 for a translation of Document 19.
- 13 For example, an editorial in the People's Daily in 1950 stated the following: 'Some people ask, since Communists are thorough-going atheists, then why do they advocate permitting freedom of religious belief? This is because religion came into being and has continued to exist during the time when mankind has been faced with natural and social forces that it felt it could not contend with and so looked to the mystical for help. Therefore only when man has adequate means to put nature at his disposal and thoroughly destroy the exploitative class system and its remnants – only then will religion go to its destruction. Until that time, so long as a part of mankind is technologically backward and hence continues to be dependent on natural forces and so long as a part of mankind has been unable to win its release from capitalist and feudal slavery, it will be impossible to bring about the universal elimination of religious phenomena from human society. Therefore with regard to the problem of religious belief as such, any idea about taking coercive action is useless and positively harmful. This is the reason why we advocate protecting freedom of religious belief just as we advocate protecting freedom to reject religious belief.' Cited in 'Buddhism in Contemporary Tibet: Religious Revival and Cultural Identity,' edited by Melvyn C. Goldstein and Matthew T. Kapstein, University of California Press 1998.
- 14 'TAR Patriotic Education of monasteries Propaganda book no 4 – Handbook for education in (Party) policy on religion' (See Appendix 1).
- 15 Including the China Buddhist Association. These Patriotic Associations were set up as umbrella organizations for religious groups, with the function of representing these groups, liaising with officials and relaying government reports.
- 16 'China: Religion in the Service of the State,' statement by Mickey Spiegel, Consultant to Human Rights Watch, US Commission on International Religious Freedom, 16 March 2000. For more information on the crackdown on Falun Gong and other religious organizations in China see the Amnesty International report 'The crackdown on Falun Gong and other so-called "heretical organizations,"' March 2000.
- 17 See the China country report on Human Rights Practices 2003, released by the Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labour in the US State Department on 25 February 2004 and the US annual Report on International Religious Freedom, released 18 December 2003.
- 18 Page 6, 'Buddhism in Contemporary Tibet: Religious Revival and Cultural Identity,' edited by Melvyn C. Goldstein and Matthew T. Kapstein, University of California Press 1998.
- 19 Tsampa, or roasted barely flour is the staple food found throughout all Tibetan inhabited areas. Mixed with salted tea and sometimes butter, it is most often eaten as a dough. The six-syllable mantra (Tib: *yi ge drup pa*), OM MANI PADME HUM, refers to the most commonly recited mantra by the Tibetan people. The mantra is believed to invoke the blessing and presence of the Buddha of compassion, Chenrezig, whom the Dalai Lama is believed to be the embodiment of.
- 20 ICT interview, fall 2002.
- 21 It is noteworthy that Hu Jintao, China's Party Secretary and President, was involved in drafting policy documents at the Forum due to his experience as former Party Secretary of the TAR.
- 22 'A Golden Bridge Leading Into A New Era' (Tib: *Dus rabs gsar par skyod-pa'i gser zam*), a propaganda manual published by the Propaganda Committee of the TAR Communist Party as 'reference materials to publicize the spirit of the Third Forum on Work in Tibet (Tibetan People's Publishing House, 1 October 1994), quoted in 'Cutting Off The Serpent's Head: Tightening Control in Tibet 1994-5' Tibet Information Network/Human Rights Watch/Asia, March 1996.
- 23 For more information on the Patriotic Education Campaign see Chapter 5.
- 24 See TIN News Update, 'Religious crackdown intensifies in Lhasa,' 25 August 2000.
- 25 See Section 3, No 38 in Appendix 1.
- 26 A government body under the State Council. The article was published in a semi-monthly journal of the Party Committee, Qui Shi, which means 'Seeking Truth' on 1 June 2000. Qui Shi is used as a channel for analysis and theoretical statements. For a summary of the content of the paper see pp 8-9, 'China's Great Leap West,' Tibet Information Network, November 2000.
- 27 The areas covered by the PRC's western development strategy are Chongqing Municipality, Sichuan province, Guizhou province, Yunnan province, Tibet Autonomous Region, Shaanxi province, Gansu province, Ninxia Hui Autonomous Region, Qinghai province, Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region, Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region and Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region (while Inner Mongolia and Guangxi are not part of the western regions of the PRC, they have been assigned as 'western' areas under the western development strategy).
- 28 TAR Tenth Five-Year Plan.
- 29 See 'China's Great Leap West, TIN, 2000.



CHAPTER 2 'THE MAIN POLITICAL STRUGGLE' IN TIBET— THE ANTI-DALAI LAMA CAMPAIGN

The Dalai Lama has become a potent symbol of Tibetan identity, both as a religious and a political leader. Tibetans' continued loyalty to the Dalai Lama over the Communist Party poses a sustained threat to the legitimacy and stability of Chinese rule in Tibet and China's 'struggle' against him has become central to its religious policy. The significant international support for the Dalai Lama infuriates the Chinese leadership who feel threatened by the extent to which he has managed to 'internationalize' the Tibet issue – an issue which China views as a purely domestic affair. He is blamed for any dissent or unrest inside Tibet and is also portrayed as the ringleader of anti-China and pro-Tibet activities in the West. Exile Tibetan organizations and western Tibet support groups are referred to collectively as the 'Dalai clique.'

The Third Tibet Work Forum, that demanded that monks and nuns denounce the Dalai Lama, marked the launch of an aggressive campaign to undermine his influence. Although the Dalai Lama's political views and status as Tibet's political leader had previously been repudiated, China had not challenged his religious authority since the period of relative liberalization began at the end of the 1970s. But the propaganda campaign launched in the official media following the Third Forum directly attacked the Dalai Lama on religious grounds, accusing him of violating Buddhist doctrine and using the 'mask' or 'cloak' of religion to incite social unrest.

Although there appear to have been fewer attacks on the Dalai Lama in the Chinese media over the past year, the determination of the authorities to quash support for him and for religious teachers who espouse loyalty to him has been evident in a number of recent cases, where religious devotion to the Dalai Lama has been equated with 'separatism'. An official court document obtained by ICT makes it clear that the case against senior religious leader, Sonam Phuntsok, who was arrested in Kardze in 1999, rests on his organization of religious ceremonies to pray for the long life of the Dalai Lama. The sentencing document from the Sichuan People's Intermediate Court in Chengdu concerning Sonam Phuntsok's³² five-year prison sentence beginning 20 November 2000, states:

'In order to achieve his aim to separate the country and sabotage the unity of nationalities, the accused [Geshe Sonam Phuntsok] illegally organized a mass gathering with 2,000 participants at Puse Township of Kardze County on January 30th in 1998 to pray for the long life for the Dalai, the exile who has been engaged in activities to separate the motherland. At this prayer gathering, the accused raised a giant portrait of the Dalai, which was provided by the accused himself, and entered in the gathering with slogans. During the religious teaching session, the accused not only chanted long life prayers for the Dalai, but also openly advocated monks and other people to believe in the Dalai. At the same time, the activity of chanting long life prayers for the Dalai was taped by video camera, and the tape was spread in many places.'

Similarly, the political 'crime' of Chadrel Rinpoche, head of the search team for the 11th Panchen Lama, was to consult the Dalai Lama on the reincarnation. He is also said to have been firm about expressing loyalty to the boy recognized by the Dalai Lama as the Panchen Lama.³³

IMAGES OF THE DALAI LAMA

The Third Work Forum in 1994 also led to prohibitions on the possession of Dalai Lama photographs and other religious symbols by Party members. The extent of the ban and whom it should be applied to was ambiguous; partially in order to increase its intimidating effect, and implementation was erratic. But in principle Dalai Lama pictures cannot be displayed in any government office or accommodation and today, virtually no images of the Dalai Lama are on public display in the TAR, although they are still kept in private homes. Photographs can still occasionally be found in monasteries and nunneries, although they are hidden when patriotic education work teams arrive. Despite recent crackdowns in areas of Kham³⁴ now incorporated into Sichuan province, images of the Dalai Lama are still more common in Tibetan areas outside the TAR.

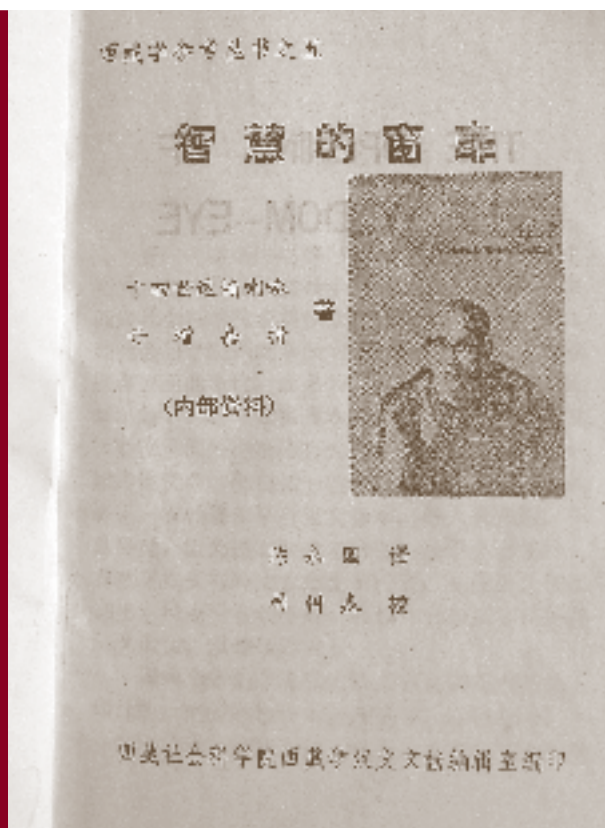
In different Tibetan areas there have been various cycles of repression, crackdown and relaxation with respect to

anti-Dalai Lama policy. For instance in late 2000, religious restrictions among lay Tibetans, particularly in and around Lhasa, were intensified and homes of government officials were checked for photos of the Dalai Lama. It appears that Chinese officials at the national and provincial levels may make a theoretical distinction between political and religious application of images of the Dalai Lama, by maintaining that an individual possessing a photo of the Dalai Lama for the purpose of worshipping him as a religious figure is acceptable. If his photo is used to advocate separatism, then it is not acceptable. However, this distinction is not clear and remains open to the interpretation of authorities.³⁵

It is obligatory for some religious institutions in Tibetan areas to display photos of the Chinese chosen boy, Gyaltzen Norbu, in their temples, although monks reportedly sometimes ignore these instructions. According to one report received by ICT, officials arrived at a monastery in Nagchu (Ch: *Naqu*) in the TAR in 2000, to replace all photos of the Dalai Lama with photos of Gyaltzen Norbu. They returned a week later to ensure the photos were still there.

PRC CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE DALAI LAMA'S 'INTERNATIONALIZATION' OF THE TIBET ISSUE

The Chinese authorities are not only attempting to eradicate loyalty to the Dalai Lama within Tibet, but are also trying to undermine his popularity in the Western world. In April 2001, ICT and the Tibetan government in exile obtained a Chinese government document detailing the proceedings of a meeting on external propaganda work, which was held in Beijing in June 2000. The document which records a speech given at the meeting by China's Minister of Information and foreign propaganda chief Zhao Qizheng,³⁶ revealed plans to step up China's external public relations campaign in support of Party policy in Tibet and its hard-line position toward the Dalai Lama.³⁷ In his speech Zhao drew attention to the importance that the central leadership, including then President Jiang Zemin, places on influencing Western public opinion about the Dalai Lama, stating that: 'Our most important political responsibility is to publicize our work in Tibet and to struggle for international public opinion... We must take



While public images on the Dalai Lama are officially banned, some of the Dalai Lama's writings and speeches are translated for limited, internal consumption for scholars or Party and government cadres. This undated translation of 'The Opening of the Wisdom Eye' was 'Edited and Published by the Editorial Office for Documents on Tibetan Studies in Chinese Language at the Academy of Social Sciences of Tibet.' It also says, 'Internal reference material.' ICT obtained a copy from a Chinese Buddhist who got one and made scores of photocopies for distribution in China and Tibet. (Photo: ©ICT)

this work very seriously. The coming period will be very crucial for our struggle against the Dalai clique.’

The meeting focused on the importance of using China’s Tibetologists and other academics to promote the Party’s interpretation of history and the current situation, or, as Zhao puts it, to ‘take up arms’ on the ‘battlefield’ of propaganda work. Zhao acknowledges that Beijing’s official statements on Tibet are often not credible, and that ‘the Western public does not really trust government propaganda [...] generally, our foreign friends listen readily to specialist academics, because of their non-official nature and their authority in academic affairs.’ Although this viewpoint appears to exaggerate the importance of Tibetan studies in the West and its influence on Western governmental policies, it highlights the Party’s sensitivity to criticism and any challenge to its legitimacy in Tibet. China has devoted increasing resources to funding Tibetology and publicizing the rapid growth of Tibetan studies in China over the past few years.

In general, official Chinese media on Tibet focuses on development achievements over the past 50 years and the central role-played by the Party and state in bringing stability and economic growth to Tibet. But there has been a growing emphasis in recent years on depictions of a thriving Tibetan religion and culture – a response to international criticism and the allegations of repression voiced by Tibetan groups in exile and their Western supporters.

Zhao makes it clear in his speech that greater efforts are needed because China is losing the propaganda battle. He refers in his speech to the success of the ‘non-politicized propaganda of the Dalai Lama’ who ‘portrays himself as a spiritual teacher [...] and pretends to be seeking dialogues and autonomy’ with hopes of winning ‘greater internation-



Far more dangerous than photos of the Dalai Lama are images, like this slightly altered Tibetan national flag. This flag was posted in a market place in Amdo, northeastern Tibet in 2001. Referring to the Dalai Lama, it reads: ‘The leader of Tibet, the land of snows, the great protector, treasure-of-all, may he live to the end of the universe.’ Unlike photos of the Dalai Lama, possessing a flag such as this would likely carry a lengthy prison sentence, if found. (Photo: ©ICT)

al sympathy and support.’ He also highlights the activities of Tibetan supporters: ‘Over the past few years, the Dalai clique has taken advantage of anniversaries and UN-sponsored international conferences to repeatedly undertake varying commemorative campaigns and demonstrations in order to raise hullabaloo over Tibet issue in all directions. During every foreign visit of our leaders, last year, the Dalai clique, with covert incitement and help from Western countries as well as Tibet Support Groups, interfered and created disruption through protest rallies. In this way, they gained the highest-level international platform and intervention. This year, the Dalai clique has made detailed plans to take advantage of every UN-sponsored international meeting to create publicity and generate pressure. In

‘What kind of person is the Dalai? The Dalai is the main leader of the Splittists who conspire for Tibet independence, a tool used by international anti-China forces to promote hostility, the chief inspiration for those causing unrest within Tibetan society, and of all those who obstruct the re-establishment of discipline in the regulations of Buddhist [monasteries] in Tibet.’

– Notes written in Tibetan by a TAR cadre involved in the Patriotic Education campaign in the TAR, 1997³⁰

‘Sometimes tourists come here and bring photos of the Dalai Lama. I tell them not to bring such images. Not because I don’t want to see His Holiness, but we have him in our hearts. I tell the tourists, if you really want to make a difference, try to help us preserve our spiritual heritage.’

- Senior Rinpoche from the TAR³¹

addition, the Dalai clique launched a campaign of unprecedented strength against China at the 56th UN Human Rights Commission.’

Previous attempts to sway international opinion include the circulation of four major articles attacking the Dalai Lama among western politicians in 1997.³⁸ From 2001-2003, China appears to have toned down its attacks on the Dalai Lama for Western audiences. An unusually factual and restrained bylined article summarizing the Dalai Lama’s ‘Middle Way’ approach appeared in English in the People’s Daily on 22 July 2003. The article, which first appeared in the English language official magazine ‘China’s Tibet’ and which appeared to be aimed at an international rather than domestic audience, reiterates the usual official line that the Dalai Lama is ‘disguising’ his claim for independence with his stated call for genuine autonomy. But it also gave the most substantial and detailed assessment of the Dalai Lama’s aims and approach known to have appeared in the Chinese official press, even stating that the Dalai Lama’s ‘Middle Way’ has become ‘mature in content.’ Its restraint in tone is consistent with the relative lack of anti-Dalai Lama rhetoric in the Chinese official press over the past year, coinciding with two visits of the Dalai Lama’s envoys to China in September 2002 and May/June 2003, which broke a diplomatic stalemate of a decade between China and the Dalai Lama.³⁹

DALAI LAMA’S BIRTHDAY CELEBRATIONS ‘ILLEGAL’

Tibetans gather every year on 6 July to celebrate the Dalai Lama’s birthday (Tib: *trunglha yarsol*) by praying, burning incense, and throwing tsampa, barley flour, in the air. The Chinese authorities began to crack down on these celebrations in the 1980s, and most such events in Lhasa were banned from the 1990s onwards, although some were allowed to take place early that decade under close monitoring. In 1999 the authorities destroyed an incense-burning urn at a site in the eastern suburbs of Lhasa, normally used for the celebrations, and access to the site was blocked. Measures to prevent Tibetans marking the Dalai Lama’s birthday in the traditional manner were even more stringently enforced in Tibet’s capital in 2000, when Tibetan government workers and cadres were reportedly discouraged from burning incense in their own homes, and security personnel were stationed around incense-burners in the Barkor area.

A Propaganda Department study manual, issued to county-level education offices in the TAR in 2002, provides the set answer on why the government has banned the Dalai Lama’s birthday celebrations. There are three general justifications: the celebrations are essentially a political tool of the Dalai Lama; incidents sparked by the celebrations [allegedly including fighting and traffic accidents] adversely affect social stability; and, finally, the Tibetan people themselves want to see the celebrations stopped.⁴⁰

‘The reason we want to outlaw the *trunglha yarsol* activity is because primarily it is an illegal activity to make power for the head of the splittist group, the Dalai. [...] The facts show that *trunglha yarsol* sui has been deliberately used by the antagonists as a weapon for the splitting force to carry out its splittist plot, antagonistic propagation and penetration [...]. Secondly, all kinds of problems happened during the time of *trunglha yarsol* activity and incidents caused by them have offended the constitution and law of the country, severely affected the masses’ normal production, life, work and studying order, affected the unity of the nationalities and so its social harm is significant. Thirdly, the numerous cadres and masses are discontented about *trunglha yarsol* activity and are strongly demanding that the government take measures to punish and ban it.’

NOTES

- 30 From a handwritten five-page document entitled ‘The Main Points of Patriotic Education’ obtained by ICT in December 2003. Details of the monastery and township have been withheld.
- 31 ICT interview, winter 2002.
- 32 Described in the court document and known locally as ‘Geshe’ a religious title.
- 33 Reliable reports received by ICT indicate that although Western governments were told by Beijing in January 2002 that Chadrel Rinpoche had been released after six years in prison, he is still in custody at an unknown location. On 22 April 2003, the Dharamsala based Tibetan Center for Human Rights and Democracy reported Chadrel Rinpoche was under house arrest in an isolated resort (Ch: *dujian cun*) south of Drib military camp (Tib: *sgrib dmag sgar*) outside Lhasa.
- 34 See Chapter Six.
- 35 In the case of Gedun Choekyi Nyima, the current Panchen Lama, the Chinese position is that he is not the Panchen Lama, and that he has no religious role. Therefore, a photo of Gedun Choekyi Nyima is always political, and would never be acceptable in Tibetan areas.
- 36 His official roles are as minister in charge of the Information Office of the State Council and Director of China’s Foreign Propaganda Office.
- 37 The full text of Zhao Qizheng’s speech is available on the ICT website in English and Chinese at: www.savetibet.org/about/pressreleases/release_010409_tibet_propaganda.html An analysis of the speech and propaganda issues in general, ‘Propaganda and the West: China’s struggle to sway international opinion on the Tibet issue’ is at Tibet Information Network’s website at: www.tibetinfo.net/news-updates/nu160701.htm.
- 38 See TIN news Update ‘New Phase in Anti-Dalai Campaign,’ 1 July 1997, in “TIN News Review – Reports from Tibet,1997”, TIN, 1998.
- 39 See ICT report, ‘Tibetan Envoys return to India after talks with Chinese officials,’ 26 September 2002.
- 40 ‘A Reader for Advocating Science and Technology and Doing Away with Superstitions,’ Propaganda Department of the Central Committee of the TAR Communist Party. Obtained by ICT in August 2002.

CHAPTER 3 A RELIGIOUS EDUCATION IN TIBET

OBSTACLES TO OBTAINING A RELIGIOUS EDUCATION IN TIBET

Tibetan Buddhism places great importance on the transmission of Buddhism through teaching or transmission lineages (Tib: *brgyud*). Each teaching lineage is believed to be an unbroken chain of spiritual transmission directly from the Buddha, passed on from teacher to student through to the present day. As such, a teacher's lineage is what guarantees the authenticity of the teachings they are passing on to students. Hundreds of such teaching lineages have formed and are taught within the four main schools of Tibetan Buddhism; Nyingma, Gelug, Kagyu and Sakya schools.⁴¹ Within these lineages are highly sophisticated and tested systems of inner development, a rich store of refined philosophical insights and a range of ritual and sacred arts. Tibetan Buddhists refer to the continuity of religious training for monks and nuns as 'becoming a holder of the transmission of the teachings (Tib: *brgyud 'dzin*).'

There are critical religious elements in Tibetan Buddhism that comprise and sustain the transmission lineages. These include empowerment, reading transmission, and pith instruction.⁴² Empowerments, sometimes referred to as tantric initiations, are rituals where spiritual authorization may be granted to a student to practice esoteric meditation techniques. The reading transmission is the audible reading of Buddhist texts and liturgies that, as an exiled teacher from Larung Gar told ICT: 'pass from the teacher's mouth to the student's ear in an unbroken lineage we can trace back to the historical Buddha.' The pith instruction is the practical know-how on meditation and contemplative practices. One of the main concerns of many religious leaders in Tibet since the end of the Cultural Revolution has been to improve standards in the quality of religious education through renewal of scholarship and teaching, and indeed to spread the teaching lineages. Many teaching lineages were fractured as a result of persecution of lamas and the destruction of monasteries, religious texts and artifacts before and during the Cultural Revolution. Religious education inside Tibet has also been constrained by the fact that so many senior religious leaders have left Tibet in order to continue their religious traditions. During the

past few years some of the most important religious leaders remaining in Tibet have either passed away or escaped into exile.⁴³

All too often in Tibet today, one or more elements necessary in maintaining the unbroken chains of transmission is missing, such as a lack of qualified lineage-holding teachers, religious texts and/or students.

An elderly monk from in central Tibet told ICT: 'Sometimes there are the texts and students but no teacher who can teach it. Then there are times when a teacher comes who have the texts, but there are no students. And then sometimes, we have both the students and teachers present but the text was destroyed in the past [a reference to the destruction of religious texts and institutions during the Cultural Revolution].'⁴⁴

The continued transmission of lineage today is also impeded by the restrictions placed on both religious institutions and religious practitioners. Public teachings and empowerments given by religious teachers are subject to constrictive regulations, and restrictions have been placed on general Buddhist teachings, beyond the monastic curriculum. Monasteries must often receive official permission before certain types of teaching, initiation, or ceremony are performed and the authorities are particularly wary of any religious event that is likely to attract a mass gathering. Monks and nuns are also restricted or forbidden from performing a variety of traditional rituals in people's home and in other places outside of the monastery. As with other aspects of religious policy, in some areas the restrictions are minimal and in others they are scrupulously enforced.

In one recent example, nearly a thousand monks and nuns from the Tibetan area of Kham and central Tibet gathered at the important Nyingma institute, Mindroling monastery in Lhoka prefecture, TAR, in autumn 2001 to receive an important series of teachings and tantric initiations known as the *Rinchen Terdzo*. Monks would traditionally stay for

three months at Mindroling to receive these teachings. However, local officials ruled that only those monks and nuns from the immediate area could attend. Nearly 700 monks and nuns who had traveled to the area from eastern Tibet were not allowed to stay for the teachings. ‘They [government officials] don’t understand that monks always move around and go to particular monasteries for particular teachings and initiations,’ a monk who was forced to leave told ICT.⁴⁵

Religious affairs personnel have told Western government officials that there are no fixed ‘quotas’ on the number of monks and nuns in a monastery or nunnery. But officials also state that each monastery’s Democratic Management Committee (DMC) decides on how many monks a monastery can support. Because DMCs are government-controlled, the authorities are able to impose strict limits on the number of monks and nuns in major monasteries and nunneries.

FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT

Prior to 1959, it was quite common for monks and nuns to leave their home monasteries and travel to receive teachings from a particular lama or to stay in another monastery for an extended period of study. The larger monasteries in and around Lhasa, for example, admitted numerous monks from Amdo and Kham. This was perhaps most important for monks from smaller monasteries where there were no senior teachers in permanent residence. It would allow them access to teachings and provide them with the necessary qualifications to teach in their own monastery on their return. But it was also important for even the most senior lamas who might need instruction from a particular lama as part of their religious training. Although restrictions on freedom of movement eased following the end of the Cultural Revolution, many monks and nuns are once again finding it harder to gain access to a complete religious education due to the increased regulation of religious personnel and tightening administration of monasteries.

One of the ways in which authorities are trying to regulate Tibetan Buddhism is to control, through administrative mechanisms, the movement of monks and nuns. If monks want to leave their monastery to study elsewhere, they must obtain a letter from their monastery’s Democratic Management Committee (DMC), their local Public Security Bureau (PSB, Ch: Tib: *sbyi sde chu*, Ch: *gong an ju*), town and county level Religious Affairs Bureau (RAB), stating appropriate reasons why they want to study elsewhere.⁵⁰ When they arrive at the larger monastery they must report to the local PSB and the monastery DMC

who will then determine if they are able to issue them with a ‘temporary’ permit, which is usually valid for two to three years. Temporary permits are sometimes issued on a quota basis, and many monks unable to get one will stay on unofficially at the monastery, avoiding DMC members and work team visits in hope of gaining access to teachings.

In some small nunneries or monasteries in Tibet today, there is no teacher in residence and monks or nuns must travel to other monasteries to receive teachings, or wait for teachers to visit their monastery. Large numbers of monks and nuns are left to study on their own without ever receiving the traditional education the monasteries were intended to provide.

Restrictions make it nearly impossible for monks and nuns who wish to travel outside China to receive instruction from teachers who are in exile; and it also difficult for exiled teachers to get permission to travel within Tibet to give teachings.

FALLING STANDARDS OF INSTRUCTION

A monk in his twenties describes how the standard of religious in his area has fallen due to a shortage of qualified practitioners. He described how monks like himself, who do not have the proper authority, end up giving teachings because there is no one else. The monk, who is from Yushu Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture in Qinghai, is now in exile.⁴⁹

‘When I went back to Tibet after some time in India, I was asked to give the reading transmission for a number of prayers and texts that I received in India. In our tradition, we are supposed to receive the lung for these texts before reciting them. Before the Chinese destroyed so much Dharma, many lamas would have these lungs and be able to pass them on, but it isn’t that way anymore. I am just a normal monk and not learned and have only had the good fortune to have heard some teachings and received lungs in India. I haven’t really practiced what I was being asked to give the reading transmission for. But it was for some old practitioners who had never received the transmission, and likely they wouldn’t be able to receive it before they died. So there is a saying we have, “If a dog can repeat the syllables he heard from the lama, and then if no one else is around, the dog can give the transmission.” So, jokingly I say I am indeed this dog that this old time saying is talking about but in truth, in many places this is the state of our lineage, having been reduced to dogs giving the transmission of the holy lineage.’

IDENTIFICATION CARDS IN MONASTERIES

The following is the text of an ID card, with identifying details omitted, of a monk from a monastery in Qinghai:⁴⁶

PAGE 1

- Photo
- Stamp of the issuing authority
- Serial number
- Date of issue Year/Month/Day

PAGE 2

- Record of investigations conducted and decisions taken
- Time
- Stamp of investigation unit
- Notes

PAGE 3

To keep within the limits on numbers that they have agreed to, the monasteries are responsible for [meeting the standard of] quality when accepting new monks or nuns, having [candidates] investigated and registered

1. Those monks and nuns wishing to become a voluntary member of the monastery community must be law-abiding patriots and sincere practitioners of religion, they must respect monastic discipline and the rules and regulations of the monastery, and to begin with, the bearer of this document must submit their petition.⁴⁷
2. Once the petition has reached the [sub-committee of] the Democratic Management Committee there must be vigorous scrutiny of the applicant's objectives and means for staying at the monastery, as well as their character and behavior.
3. It is the responsibility of the personal [sponsoring] tutor⁴⁸ and academic tutor to teach those duties for which they have undertaken to be the applicant's guarantor, correct conduct, monastic discipline, and monastery rules and regulations. They must take responsibility [to see] that their own students follow the regulations, obey the laws, and meet the [standard of] 'Cherishing the Nation, Cherishing the Dharma'. When all of the above conditions have been met, within one year, once the investigation of the case has been conducted, the bearer must prepare three identical copies of a statement of their means of support in tabular form, bearing the signature or seal of both tutors. Then, if there is any place at the monastery without exceeding the limit on numbers, the [sub-committee of]

the Democratic Management Committee will, after receiving permission from the director of studies, issue a single identity card, and with that one can be considered an enrolled monk or nun.

4. Monks and nuns within the number limit agreed by the monastery have the same rights as ordinary citizens and must perform the same duties.

5. Monks and nuns within the number limit agreed by the monastery who contravene monastic discipline or monastery regulations must, in accordance with the severity of the offense, do re-education, read the regulations aloud or at worst face expulsion from the organization, in which case their monk or nun identity card will be withdrawn.

6. For those among the Tibetan compatriots permanently returned from abroad wishing to enroll as monks or nuns, the procedure they have followed in being re-settled must first be specified by ascertaining the circumstances of their return. Then they may follow the standard procedure for enrollment.

PAGE 4

7. Monks and nuns who have officially joined a monastery community have the right to withdraw from it. Having gone through the withdrawal procedure, they should return to their place of origin.

Important points

1. This document is to identify the status of religious personnel and not to be used for other purposes.
2. It should be safeguarded and may not be altered or lent to anyone else.
3. In case of loss, the issuing office must be informed and issue notice of cancellation. If the findings of an investigation are suitable, it must be replaced.
4. The pages for recording observations must be written by the issuing office, and they are also responsible for fixing the number of pages and assuring that the information is complete.

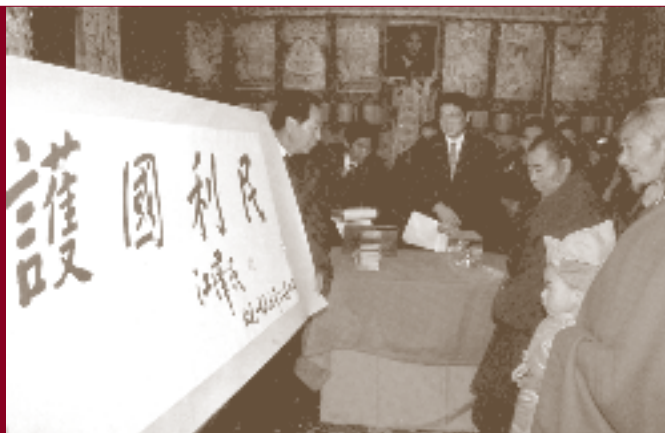
Many Tibetans who have escaped into exile say that they have done so in order to have a proper religious education and to gain access to teachers who are living in exile. Since the early 1990s, an average of between 2000 – 3000 Tibetans have entered Nepal each year to escape conditions in Tibet, many of them monks or nuns. The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) reported that 1268 Tibetans transited through Nepal in 2002, but in 2003 there were over 2,500.⁵¹ Often, religious practitioners who do escape intend to go back to their monasteries in Tibet and pass on the teachings to monks there. But they can find that they are not permitted to rejoin their monastery or nunnery on their return, or may face even greater restrictions than before.⁵²

The restrictions placed on monks and nuns returning from abroad can also affect the quality of religious education in their home monasteries. According to a report received by ICT, a lama from a monastery near Lhasa who had lived in India encountered many bureaucratic difficulties upon returning to Tibet, and was prevented from assuming his role at his monastery as a religious teacher. He is only allowed to go to the monastery very infrequently and barred from living there. According to the reports, this has reduced the morale and standard of teaching at the monastery concerned.

PASSING AWAY BEFORE PASSING KNOWLEDGE

A senior lama who is now in exile talked to ICT about his concerns that certain Buddhist traditions are dying out as senior monks pass away.⁵³ His comments reflect the fact that due to the complete repression of religion during the Cultural Revolution there is often a large age and knowledge gap between the younger and older generations of monks. This means that the younger monks have not had the time or experience to gain sufficient knowledge to continue their teachers' traditions:

'At my monastery [a historically significant center in the TAR] we are responsible for conducting rituals not only in our valley but even in adjacent areas, and we simply don't have enough monks to do the rituals, or monks who are competent in the rituals. Because we have to keep the monastery running, often our time for the study of religious rituals and texts is significantly decreased. We are losing know-how every time an elderly monk dies. Last year, the main teacher of religious dance and rituals died. The young monks who had been taught the religious dances by him had been told not to forget, but they are young and the dances are complicated. One day a while ago Chinese television came and filmed a cham [monastic dance] ceremony. A video was made [by the monks] as an education tool. But that was just the outer movements and the dance has very complicated visualizations to be done. That knowledge is lost if young monks forget.'



Competing for the right to train and educate young monks and nuns, particularly important reincarnations, is the Chinese communist Party. Compulsory secular and political education is now established at large monasteries and many smaller ones. Here, Gyaltzen Norbu, the boy designated to be "Panchen Lama" by the Chinese Communist Party, receives a blunt message as part of his ongoing training in China: 'Protect the country and benefit for the people,' singed, Jiang Zemin, December 9, 1995.



One of the most contested areas of religious education is whether monasteries can train young monks and nuns, as tradition requires. Equally contentious is for monasteries, and monks and nuns to be involved in providing secular education to lay children. According to official regulations, 'to instruct underage youngsters [under 18] in religious doctrines ... is the same as forcing them into religious belief.' (see Document IV, paragraph 27 in the Sourcebook) (Photo: ©ICT)

THE ROLE OF RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS IN PRESERVATION OF THE TIBETAN LANGUAGE

Prior to 1959, monasteries were the schools and universities of Tibet. Literary Tibetan was developed and preserved inside these institutions. Today, many Tibetans believe that the restrictions placed on formal religious education pose a direct threat to the survival of traditional Tibetan language. A former Tibetan monk from Lhasa told ICT: 'Study of the Tibetan language is extremely important in monasteries. You have to study teachings in Tibetan with specific Buddhist vocabulary. If these practices didn't continue in the monasteries, I don't see how the Tibetan language could survive.' A Tibetan from Lhasa who is now living in the US says: 'All of the monasteries which are the real treasures and centers for the preservation and promotion of Tibetan language and culture for the Tibetan nationality have been subjected to stringent control and supervision by the Chinese government. They have introduced strict limits on the number of monks and nuns that could be enrolled; the content of the educational curriculum has been carefully scrutinized. In this

way obstacles are being put in the way of the development and progress of Tibetan language and culture.' The same Tibetan referred to the well-known Nationalities Teachers Training College of Tsoe, one of the leading centers for the study of Tibetan language in Gansu province. While the Tibetan department at the college has been very successful in producing scholars to meet the need of Tibetan language teachers, cadres to work in the government offices and raising an educated manpower in the area with experts in both the Tibetan and Chinese languages.⁵⁴ But the Tibetan said that now, due to a lack of resources and expertise, the number of students enrolling to the above mentioned Tibetan department of the college has been decreasing. 'Now, students graduating from the Tibetan department usually find it hard to be assigned to any government postings; and if they do get a posting, then it is usually to remote places like the nomadic areas. Otherwise, they have to fend for themselves and look for employment,' said the Tibetan source.

DIFFICULTIES FOR NUNS

Women who have a religious vocation in Tibet face particular difficulties as a result of tightening restrictions on religious practice. There have always been far fewer opportunities for Tibetan nuns than for monks. But many nuns are finding it increasingly difficult to get a religious education now that official regulations are making it harder to travel to receive teachings. Due to a combination of these problems and political pressure, many feel they have no choice but to leave Tibet if they are to follow their religious vocation. Nuns were targeted in the recent clampdown at Khenpo Jigme Phuntsok's Buddhist academy, Larung Gar, in eastern Tibet. There had been over 3,000 nuns studying at the Khenpo's religious encampment, which had offered them opportunities for religious training that few will find elsewhere. Most of these nuns are reported to have been forced to leave, with many experiencing great hardship as a result.⁵⁵

A nun in her twenties from Kham who is now in exile gave ICT the following account of the reasons for her escape into exile:⁵⁶

'I left Tibet in order to seek the blessing of the Dalai Lama and also to study and practice religion, which I could not do in Tibet. In my home area, there were quite a number of monasteries but no nunneries and there were no teachers to teach us nuns. Thus I went to Lhasa and tried to gain admittance to [a nunnery there]. I had to take an exam before I could be admitted to the nunnery. After taking the exam, I was told I didn't qualify and pass the exam and so I was told that I couldn't enter the nunnery. It was a sort of Question and Answer form, not so much an exam. There were no real questions about Buddhism or philosophy but it did ask why I became a nun and why I wanted to be a nun. It asked us if we had any family members in India. There were also a few questions about why one couldn't go to India, about why the Dalai Lama is bad for China. Although I don't think we had to say that he was evil, we just had to say that no, we didn't support him. It was a two-page questionnaire. I didn't write anything on the questions about the Dalai Lama and that is

why I didn't gain entrance and also I think was because I was from a different part of Tibet. I actually knew more about Buddhism than many of the nuns because of my self-study in Kham. But those who are checking the admittance aren't worried about the quality of the nun, just if she won't do anything that will disturb the motherland. This is the most important thing for a monk or nun in my view, stability. I think they have given up in a way in convincing us that we shouldn't practice religion. We do and we will.

Still, I hung around the nunnery and while I was not official and did not have the card to show that I was official, I still tried to learn by going to the rooms of the teachers, some monks and older nuns. We could sit in the room or outside and have them teach us about compassion and why we recite certain texts. We didn't have any continuity though; it wasn't like an academic course. It was sort of piecemeal but that is all we can have there and that is fine, but even that we aren't really allowed to do. Those older teachers though were told that they should not gather students together by the Chinese and Tibetan authorities who would come around on occasion. I didn't attend the classes when the work teams came around because I wasn't official. But they had to sit for many hours on end during some period of the year. It wasn't all year around. Just some times.

It seems that it is stricter than it was five years ago. I hung around the nunnery for several years and they seem to be more suspicious. For sure if this kind of thing continues there is a threat to our religion. I don't think the government wants us to practice religion, they want us to study what they want, keep quiet about the Dalai Lama. Still they don't know what is in our hearts all the time. Perhaps they seem satisfied when they leave the nunnery after teaching the nuns a bit of history. I don't know what is in their mind, and they don't know what my mind is, but I have a feeling that there is no similarity in what we as religious persons want and what they as so-called educators [work teams] want.'

NOTES

- 41 Nyingma (Tib: *nying ma*), Gelug (Tib: *dge lugs*), Kagyu (Tib: *bka' bgyud*), and Sakya (Tib: *sa skya*).
- 42 Empowerment (Tib: *dbang bskur*), reading transmission (Tib: *rlung*) and pith instructions (Tib: *gdams ngag*).
- 43 See the next chapter, which describes the factors leading to their departure.
- 44 ICT interview, February 2003. The monk was referring to monasteries in central Tibet, but his comments are still applicable in all Tibetan areas of the PRC.
- 45 ICT interview, February 2002.
- 46 Obtained by ICT in February 2004.
- 47 Submitting a petition is something that is commonly asked of applicants in all areas of life throughout the PRC. The petition is essentially a curriculum vitae starting from age 8.
- 48 Sponsoring tutor is a kind of supervisory position who vouches for the validity of the application, as opposed to the academic tutor who carries out academic instruction.
- 49 ICT interview, December 2003.
- 50 The regional level PSB (Ch: *gong an ting*) and national level ministry of PSB (Ch: *gong an bu*) are both referred to in Tibetan as *sbyi sde thing*.
- 51 Due to a number of factors including heightened border security by the Chinese to stop the flow of refugees and by Nepalese in response to the Maoist insurgency, the numbers of Tibetan refugees arriving in Nepal dropped in 2001 and 2002 but in 2003, the number of Tibetan refugees provided assistance by the UNHCR in Kathmandu was again over 2,500. For an overview of Tibetan refugees, see 'Dangerous Crossing—Conditions Impacting Tibetan Refugees,' ICT's annual refugee report published for the last three years.
- 52 In one recent case, a monk from a monastery near Kokonor in Qinghai province returned to his monastery from India in order to teach, whereupon he was fined RMB5000 (approx. \$ 609) by county officials. He was allowed to remain at the monastery but was not allowed to go on pilgrimage or visit other monasteries to teach. Ex-political prisoners are also generally not allowed to return to their monastery or nunnery after completing their sentence. See Chapter 7.
- 53 ICT interview, October 2002.
- 54 Cadre (Tib: *las byed pa*, Ch: *ganbu*) is a term often referencing any member of the Chinese Communist Party who holds a responsible position, but it can also be applied to non-Party members who holds some level of responsibility in the government.
- 55 See chapter 6 for more information about Khenpo Jigme Phuntsok's Buddhist academy.
- 56 ICT interview, February 2004.



CHAPTER 4 REINCARNATION AND AN ATHEIST STATE

In Buddhism, as in many Indian philosophical schools of thought, reincarnation is a core belief. In Tibet, the Buddhist doctrine of rebirth took on a distinctive form in recognizing chains of successive rebirths of particular lamas, referred to in the West as “reincarnate” or “incarnate” lamas. Tibetans refer to reincarnate and other senior lamas with the respectful title of Rinpoche or “precious one” or sometimes as tulku (Tib: *sprul sku*), literally rendered as manifestation body.⁵⁷ The oldest line of reincarnate lamas is that of the Karmapa (head of the Karma Kagyu school), which is traced back to Dusum Khyenpa, a disciple of Gampopa (himself a student of famed Tibetan saintly poet Milarepa) in the twelfth century. Today, there are hundreds of reincarnate lamas spread across the Himalayan regions, and some have been reborn in the West.

Tibetan Buddhism asserts that at the time of death certain individuals can direct when and where their next rebirth will take place. Buddhist philosophy posits an individual’s rebirth is determined by their volitional actions, or karma (Tib: *las*) in the current and previous lives and their state of mind at the time of death. While most individuals are “thrown” into their next rebirth without their own control, Tibetan Buddhists believe that individuals who have gained a high enough degree of realization (Tib: *rtogs pa*) can control their next rebirth.

The identification of reincarnate lamas in the Tibetan tradition is carried out according to esoteric rituals and procedures. These include interpretation of any prediction left by the previous incarnation as to the place and circumstances of his rebirth; the meditation experiences and dreams of high lamas and individuals close to the deceased; consultation with oracles and other forms of divination; and testing the proposed child candidate. In the tests, the child is asked to choose articles that belonged to the previous incarnation which have been arranged with similar objects. The current (14th) Dalai Lama and Gendun Choekyi Nyima, the 15 year-old Panchen Lama who is currently in Chinese custody, were identified according to these rituals.

The Chinese government’s interference in this selection process has caused deep-seated resentment amongst Tibet-

ans. A major clash between Tibetan religious teachers and monks and Chinese officialdom over this issue occurred in May 1995 over the recognition of the incarnation of the 10th Panchen Lama. Within three days of the Dalai Lama recognizing six-year old Gendun Choekyi Nyima as the 11th Panchen Lama, he and his parents were taken into custody. Beijing continues to deny Western governments and international representatives access to them and their whereabouts is kept secret. The Chinese authorities installed a six year-old Tibetan boy, Gyaltzen Norbu, whose father was a CCP member, in his place. Chadrel Rinpoche, abbot of the Panchen Lama’s monastic seat, Tashi Lhunpo monastery, and Tibetan leader of the search committee and his assistant Champa Chung, were imprisoned, and many other monks were detained.

China attaches particular importance to the Panchen Lama issue because of its link to China’s assertion of sovereignty over Tibet and because it sets a precedent for the reincarnation of the Dalai Lama. China’s territorial claim to Tibet rests partly on the 1792 agreement between the Emperor Qianlong and the Tibetan government. This agreement said that the Emperor’s representative should be involved in the selection of the Panchen Lama and the Dalai Lama.⁵⁸ Therefore, for Beijing to exercise the final authority in determining senior incarnations is a demonstration of China’s authority over Tibet. Control over the Panchen Lama’s reincarnation is also of critical political importance to Beijing due to the Panchen Lama’s traditional role in the recognition of the next Dalai Lama.

Accepting the boy enthroned by the authorities as Panchen Lama and/or denouncing the boy recognized by the Dalai Lama has become a major test of Tibetans’ political loyalty and trustworthiness. Chen Kuiyuan, when he was Party Secretary of the TAR, stressed that the loyalty of ‘patriotic personalities’ and of Tibetans standing for any official position would be tested by their past political word and especially by the way they conducted themselves during the dispute over the reincarnation of the Panchen Lama in 1995. Chen defined that period as a ‘critical moment’ in recent history. ‘We will never forget those who stood together with us through storm and stress at the crucial

‘Senior figures in the religious sectors have a certain influence amongst the masse of believers, so it is of great importance to do our work with them properly.’

- Chinese President Jiang Zemin, during a speech to the Work Conference on Religion, 1990⁶⁰

moments in Tibet. The crucial moments, not to mention those moments long time ago, include the critical moment of the reincarnation of the Panchen Lama in recent years. We will judge people from their attitude against the Dalai’s scheme to split the motherland,⁵⁹ said Chen.

INCARNATE LAMAS AND THE CHINESE STATE

On assuming power in Tibet, the Chinese Communist Party incorporated members of the traditional ruling elite, many of them religious leaders, into its official leadership structure as a means of winning over the population. Although these figures were targeted for persecution during the Cultural Revolution, many of them, including the 10th Panchen Lama, were ‘rehabilitated’ in the late 1970s and once again placed in official, albeit largely symbolic, roles. The US State Department report on human rights in China and Tibet published on 25 February 2004 stated that in the TAR alone, some 615 Tibetan Buddhist religious figures held positions in local People’s Congresses and committees of the Chinese People’s Political Consultative Conference. The authorities have attempted to co-opt these senior religious figures, particularly those belonging to important incarnation lines as ‘patriotic’ leaders symbolic of Tibetan support for Chinese rule. Tao Changsong, a Chinese research scholar at the Tibet Academy of Social Sciences is quoted as saying in 1999 that reincarnate lamas must be ‘patriotic and have no intention of splitting the country.’⁶¹ But the results have not always been as intended, as is shown in the sections below on the Panchen Lama, Agya Rinpoche and the Karmapa.

Many of Tibet’s most senior religious leaders escaped into exile to escape persecution in the late 1950s and 1960s. One of the direst consequences for Tibetans of the increasing interference in the selection and training of reincarnate lamas during the 1990s has been the fact that this has led to a second generation of senior religious leaders who feel that the only way they can fulfill the religious obligations of their position is to escape into exile.

A further development of this policy in the 1990s has been the appropriation of the selection process for reincarnate lamas. China’s assertion of control over the recognition of

Tibetan reincarnate lamas is the most obvious expression of the Party’s attempts to control and utilize religion, in line with the state’s ‘policy of religious freedom.’ Although it is an atheist state, the CCP asserts that reincarnate lamas are an ‘internal affair’ of the state and shall be identified by administrative means controlled by the government. The director of the Ethnic and Religious Affairs Commission of the TAR, named as ‘Tarquen,’ in the Chinese press, encapsulated the CCP’s paradoxical approach by couching century’s old esoteric Tibetan traditions in official rhetoric. ‘Tibet has made considerable progress in the reincarnation of Living Buddhas in recent years,’ the director said. ‘As a special system cherished by the central government, the reincarnation of Living Buddhas is seen as an internal religious affair, and the central government and the Tibet regional government can legitimately approve the determination of Living Buddhas.’ He concluded by stating the Dalai Lama has ‘no right to determine reincarnations.’⁶² The Chinese authorities seek to legitimize their control over the selection of reincarnate lamas through historical precedent. In the case of the Panchen Lama, for example, China insisted that the correct candidate should be selected according to the ‘Golden Urn’ system. This system is based on a recommendation made in 1792 by China’s ruling Qing dynasty to the Tibetan government that they should institute a lottery system for selecting senior lamas. One name would be chosen from an urn and then forwarded to the Chinese central government for final approval. According to Tibetan historian Tsering Shakya, what really mattered to China when they insisted on using this method to identify the 11th Panchen Lama was the ‘symbolic potency of the ceremony in demonstrating Chinese authority over Tibet.’⁶³

The Chinese press has increasingly drawn attention to the Party’s control over the process of reincarnation over the past few years. A Xinhua report on 24 May 2001 stated: ‘In addition to the famous 11th Panchen, nearly ten Living Buddhas have been determined and approved [by the central government]. Last year, three Living Buddhas in Nagqu County and the famous Seventh Raiqen [Reting or Tib: *rova sgreng*] in Lhasa all succeeded the throne and another three Living Buddhas will be determined in Qamdo [Tib: *Chamdo*] County this year.’

These policies have caused great frustration and anger among Tibetans, who feel it is unacceptable for an atheist state to assert control over their religious traditions in this way. China's appointment of Gyaltzen Norbu as the 'Panchen Lama' and another young boy as the 6th Reting Rinpoche in 1999, are cases in point. The Dalai Lama's close religious connection to both of these lamas in his current and previous lives would normally mean that the Dalai Lama would have an important role in identifying and enthroning the reincarnation. Thubten Samphel, head of the Department of Information and International Relations in the Tibetan government in exile in Dharamsala, India, said in response to the news of the Chinese authorities' selection of the little boy Sonam Phuntsok as Reting Rinpoche: 'Traditionally, recognition [of Reting] has to come from His Holiness [the Dalai Lama]. The selection of a reincarnation cannot be an administrative decision; it is a question of people's beliefs.'⁶⁴

In Tibet today, reincarnations can be prevented from taking up their religious duties if the authorities discover communication with the Dalai Lama over their selection process. In 1999, ICT learned of a seven year-old reincarnate lama in Kardze Autonomous Prefecture province, who was identified by traditional means; in this case by the visions of senior monks in the area. Permission was sought and granted by the local Communist Party leaders and Public Security Bureau for the young boy to be enthroned, as PRC law dictates. The young lama took his traditional position at the village temple a half-day away from his home. Less than a year after the enthronement, a Tibetan who had lived in exile returned with a letter from the Private Office of the Dalai Lama in Dharamsala approving the enthronement.⁶⁵ After local police discovered the letter, the young reincarnate lama was stripped of his official Chinese title as "Living Buddha" and his right to oversee the monastery, and was forced to return to his home.⁶⁶

For this reason, secrecy is often maintained in the recognition of tulkus. A monk from the former traditional area of Amdo told ICT: 'In one monastery, local lamas recognized the tulku, and then His Holiness the Dalai Lama confirmed it. After the previous incarnation died, a letter had been sent to Dharamsala, and the Dalai Lama responded about where to find the young tulku, when he was born, and the names of his parents. After a short while, a boy was found who matched these requirements. This is very serious matter and if the authorities had known, the tulku would either not be allowed to stay in the gonpa or he would be heavily scrutinized. But no one at the monastery says anything about it.'⁶⁷

Chinese legislation also stipulates that Tibetans living abroad are not allowed to be involved in the recognition of

incarnate lamas. This has meant that the authorities have, in at least two cases in Kham and one in Amdo known to ICT, refused to recognize young tulkus when exiled Tibetan lamas have carried out the identification process. Government documents from Kardze Prefecture in current day Sichuan state the following. 'Persons of the religious upper strata from abroad who return to visit our prefecture must not carry out within the prefecture, activities to try to locate, recognize, or enthrone (Ch: *zhuochuang*) a reincarnated lama; in relation to those held abroad to be reincarnated "lamas", they must adhere to the relevant regulations of the State Council, and not grant them recognition.'⁶⁸

LIFE AT A 'TULKU SCHOOL'

A teenage reincarnate lama who arrived in exile several years ago gave the following account of his studies at a school for 'tulkus' in Tibet, attached to one of the main monasteries in northern Tibet:

'In order to be recognized as a tulku, you have to request the approval of the county (Ch: *xian*), prefecture and provincial religious departments. We waited to have my recognition as tulku approved by the government for about two years. In the case of the Chinese you have to make connections in whatever you do. We had to present them with butter, yak meat, sheep meat, and so on. We spent a lot of money. If you don't do this you don't get permission to be recognized as the tulku. Some get permission more quickly than that. If the government gives permission [for the recognition] then you go to the lama who will then do the recognition. The government did not ratify some of the older tulkus. It is important for the government and for your future to have the tulku 'certificate' [authorization]. There are I think five teachers in the tulku school, teachers of Chinese, mathematics, calligraphy and politics. The main subject of politics was about the Chinese Constitution. The teacher of politics is a layperson. At first they told us tulkus we would have to go to Beijing to get an education, but then a local Rinpoche said that that would be harmful for our religious education and so set up the school, which is run by the Chinese government. But if you are concerned about religious education this school greatly harms your religious education, simply because we don't have time to look at the work our religious teachers give us to do. We go to school for about half of the year. We have political education at the monastery as well as the school. For instance, at meetings officials will talk about Falun Gong being very bad. Sometimes they will say that all religion is useless. Some of the officials show respect to the tulkus when they visit, some do not.'

THE 14TH DALAI LAMA AND THE REINCARNATION PROCESS

The Panchen Lama controversy in 1995, particularly given its outcome, has brought the issue of the Dalai Lama's reincarnation into sharp focus in recent years. The importance of the 14th Dalai Lama, Tenzin Gyatso, to the Tibetan people cannot be over-estimated; as both their spiritual leader and as a powerful symbol of Tibetan national identity. After more than four decades in exile, the 14th Dalai Lama has become an influential religious figure on the world stage and is continuing his efforts to bring about a peaceful resolution to the Tibet issue. In May/June 2003, a delegation led by the Dalai Lama's Special Envoy Lodi Gyari traveled to China and Tibet for 'confidence-building' talks with Chinese officials.

The Dalai Lama takes the position that he is part of the solution to the Tibet question. He told ICT in December 2002: 'In order to truly develop the economy in Tibet, the grassroots must be supportive of the [Chinese development] policies, and the grassroots in Tibet are not supportive. This is clear. They will not be supportive [of the Chinese] so long as they are suffering. Trust must be established between Tibetans in Tibet and the Chinese in Beijing and in Tibet. This is where I come in. I can help. Tibetans trust me. So if I can meet with the Chinese and gain their trust, then I can help convince Tibetans in Tibet to work with the Chinese and urge them to towards peacefully living in unity and solidarity with their Chinese brothers and sisters. I will help the Chinese government if they would let me do so. I will help Tibetans accept Chinese [rule] but it must be the Tibetans making the decisions in Tibet.'

This approach challenges the current strategy employed by elements of the Chinese authorities, who have yet to be convinced of the value to them of engaging with the Dalai Lama in any negotiations over Tibet's future. Many senior Chinese officials consider that time is on their side and are simply waiting for the 14th Dalai Lama to die, believing that the exile movement will be forever weakened and that resistance to Chinese rule inside Tibet will be substantially damaged. 'The Dalai Lama is getting on in years and worries,' stated China's Tibet, an official magazine published in Beijing in February 1995. 'He is well aware of what the future holds, and worries that upon his death Tibetans in exile will lose their spiritual leader, and no one in the exile clique can assume his position,' continued the magazine's lead article, which said that the exile movement would disintegrate once its leader died. In the winter of 1996,

China's Tibet magazine reported that the 'hysterical' Dalai Lama was 'yearning for longevity' in order to carry out his political agenda.

The Dalai Lama has publicly discussed the matter of his next reincarnation starting the mid-1980s, saying he will not be reborn in Chinese hands. He told a meeting of Tibetan exiles in New York on 25 May 1997: 'If I die in exile, and if the Tibetan people wish to continue the institution of the Dalai Lama, my reincarnation will not be born under Chinese control. It will be outside, in the free world. This I can say with absolute certainty.'⁶⁹

However, the Chinese authorities have made it clear that they view themselves, not the Dalai Lama, as having authority over the his reincarnation. A committee has reportedly been set up in Beijing to monitor and prepare for the selection process. The discussions of this committee are highly confidential and there have been few public statements on the matter in the Chinese press. But China has stated categorically that the 15th Dalai Lama will be born within its borders. In June 1999, Tao Changsong, deputy director of the Tibetan Contemporary Research Centre in Lhasa said: 'The next incarnation of the 14th Dalai Lama will not be chosen from foreigners. He will be a Tibetan born in Chinese territory.'

The Dalai Lama has taken steps in recent years to divest himself of official political power within the exiled Tibetan government in the hope that 'the political affairs of Tibet would be attended to by a government organization elected by the people.' Having started the process of divesting the position of the Dalai Lama of political power in the summer of 2001, the current Dalai Lama intends that he and the next Dalai Lama will 'no longer be involved in political affairs, but [the Dalai Lama] would purely assume the role of religious leader.'⁷¹ The Chinese authorities state that such initiatives are merely the Dalai Lama hiding his desire for the independence of Tibet 'under the cloak of religion'.⁷⁰

BRIEF BIOGRAPHY OF THE 14TH DALAI LAMA

His Holiness the 14th the Dalai Lama Tenzin Gyatso is the spiritual leader of the Tibetan people. He was born to a peasant family and named Lhamo Dhondrub on 6 July 1935, in a small village called Taktser in northeastern Tibet, in the traditional Tibetan area of Amdo. His Holiness was recognized at the age of two, in accordance with Tibetan tradition, as the reincarnation of his predecessor, the 13th Dalai Lama.⁷² The enthronement ceremony took place on 22 February, 1940, in Lhasa, the capital of Tibet.

The Dalai Lama began his education at the age of six and completed the Geshe Lharampa Degree [Doctorate of Buddhist Philosophy] in 1959 when he was 25. On 17 November 1950, His Holiness was called upon to assume his full authority as head of the Tibetan state and government after the People's Liberation Army (PLA, Ch: *jiefang jun*) invaded Tibet. In 1954, he traveled to Beijing for talks with Mao Zedong and other Chinese leaders including Zhou Enlai and Deng Xiaoping. In 1956, while visiting India to attend the 2,500th Buddha Jayanti Anniversary, he had a series of meetings with Prime Minister Nehru and Premier Zhou about the deteriorating conditions in Tibet.

Beijing's aggressive reform policies in eastern Tibet that directly threatened Tibetans' traditional way of life and the traditional position that the monasteries held in Tibetan society ignited popular uprisings and resistance. The political turmoil spread to central Tibet, leading to a major demonstration by Tibetan people in the capital, Lhasa, on 10 March 1959 — commemorated today as National Uprising Day. The Chinese army crushed the uprising, and thousands of Tibetans were killed and imprisoned. The Dalai Lama escaped from Tibet on the night of 17 March 1959 and was given asylum by India's Prime Minister, Nehru.⁷³ Some 80,000 Tibetan refugees followed the Dalai Lama into exile and today there are more than 130,000 Tibetans living in exile. Since 1960, the Dalai Lama has resided in Dharamsala, India, known as 'Little Lhasa, the seat of the Tibetan government in exile.

In the early years of exile, the Dalai Lama appealed to the United Nations on the question of Tibet, resulting in three resolutions adopted by the General Assembly in 1959, 1961, and 1965, calling on China to respect the human rights of Tibetans and their desire for self-determination. He dedicated himself to preservation of the Tibetan culture and religion. Tibetan refugees were rehabilitated in agricultural and agro-industrial settlements. Economic development and the creation of a Tibetan educational system helped to ensure that refugee children grew up with a full knowledge of their language, history, religion and culture. The Tibetan Institute of Performing Arts was established in 1959, while the Central

Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies became a university for Tibetans in India.

In 1963, the Dalai Lama promulgated a democratic constitution; based on Buddhist principles and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, as a model for a future free Tibet. However, many of the hallmarks of full democracy — such as media and public access to parliamentary proceedings, transparency of spending, and so on — took decades to be implemented in Dharamsala. Today the people directly elect members of the Tibetan parliament; Samdhong Rinpoche has become the Kalon Tripa, the first elected leader of the government in exile. The Dalai Lama has continuously emphasized the need to further democratize the Tibetan administration and publicly declared that once there is a solution to the Tibetan issue he will not hold political office.

In 1987 he proposed a Five-Point Peace Plan as a step toward resolving the future status of Tibet at the Congressional Human Rights Caucus in Washington, D.C. This plan called for the following:

1. Transformation of the whole of Tibet into a zone of *Ahimsa*, demilitarized zone of peace and non-violence;
2. Abandonment of China's population transfer policy, which threatened the very existence of the Tibetans as a people;
3. Respect for the Tibetan people's fundamental human rights and democratic freedoms;
4. Restoration of and protection of Tibet's natural environment and abandonment of China's use of Tibet for the production of nuclear weapons and dumping of nuclear waste;
5. Commencement of earnest negotiations on the future status of Tibet and of relations between the Tibetan and Chinese people.

In 1988 the Dalai Lama elaborated on the fifth point, proposing a concrete framework of negotiations. Tibet, he suggested, should become fully self-governing democratic entity, including the regions of Kham and Amdo, operating in association with China. China would maintain responsibility for Tibet's foreign policy and, until the Tibetan zone of *Ahimsa* is set up, China would also be permitted to maintain a restricted number of troops in Tibet for defensive purposes. In 1989 the Dalai Lama won the Nobel Peace Prize. His 'middle way' approach to resolving the Tibet issue remains the basic position of the Tibetan government-in-exile and its basis for any dialogue with China. At the time of writing, the Dalai Lama and the Tibetan government in exile were waiting to hear from Beijing whether there would be a third visit of the Dalai Lama's Special Envoys to China and Tibet following the two earlier visits of September 2002 and May/June 2003.

'For three and a half decades the history of modern Tibet has revolved around one document more than any other: the previously unseen 70,000 Character Petition of the 10th Panchen Lama. Except for the question of Tibet's political status, that Petition contains the essence of the Tibetan critique of the Chinese regime.'

- Robert Barnett, in the preface to 'A Poisoned Arrow: The Secret Report of the 10th Panchen Lama' (TIN 1997)

THE INSTITUTION OF THE PANCHEN LAMA

The institution of the Panchen Lama was established in the 17th century with the great Tibetan Buddhist teacher, Lobsang Choekyi Gyaltsen (1570-1662), a highly esteemed teacher of the 4th and the 5th Dalai Lamas. In 1642, the 5th Dalai Lama (known as the 'Great Fifth') acknowledged the importance of his teacher by reestablishing Lobsang Choekyi Gyaltsen in Tashi Lhunpo Monastery in Shigatse and conferring on him the title of 'Panchen.' Panchen is a contraction of the Tibetan 'Pandita Chenpo' meaning 'Great Scholar'. The title was conferred retrospectively on three previous incarnations and so Lobsang Choekyi has come to be referred to as the fourth Panchen Lama.

Over the course of history, the Panchen Lama has become one of the foremost teachers and leaders of Tibetan Buddhism. The relationship shared by the Dalai Lamas and the Panchen Lamas is distinctive in ways beyond hierarchy. Tibetans speak of the eldest of the two as the 'the spiritual father' of the younger. This symbiosis of the spiritual 'father' and 'son' is often referred to as the sun of the Dalai Lama and the moon of the Panchen Lama. The elder of the two passes on Tibet's spiritual heritage, offering religious teachings, monastic ordination, and tantric initiations to the younger.

It is this distinctively Tibetan tradition that maintains the continuity of spiritual knowledge as well as the teacher-disciple relationship between the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama. This relationship stretches beyond lifetimes and thus, traditionally, each Dalai Lama and Panchen Lama performs a critical role in the recognition of the reincarnation of the other. Chinese historian Ya Hanzhang, in his official biography of the Panchen Lamas, said, 'By Tibetan tradition a reincarnation of the Panchen could not be religiously legal without the Dalai's recognition, and the same was the case with the Dalai.'⁷⁴

THE 'CONSCIENCE-KEEPER OF THE TIBETAN PEOPLE' THE 10TH PANCHEN LAMA

The 10th Panchen Lama, Choekyi Gyaltsen was born in 1938 in the Tibetan area of Amdo [now mostly under the administration of Qinghai province]. In the 1950s, he was popularly perceived as being under Chinese influence, partly because the Communists had supported his candidature as Panchen Lama. During this period, he took up his religious studies and duties at his traditional seat of Tashi Lhunpo monastery in Shigatse.⁷⁶ He was a progressive, who believed in the necessity for modernization, and even opened a special school in 1956 with study including Tibetan, Hindi, Chinese, photography, driving, riding and shooting – a radical curriculum for an incarnate lama to preside over. Almost immediately after the Dalai Lama had escaped from Tibet in 1959, the Chinese authorities appointed the 10th Panchen Lama as the Acting Chairman of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region [the TAR was to be established in 1965] and later as the vice chairman of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, effectively making him one of the most senior leaders in the TAR. This move formalized attempts by the Chinese authorities to use the Panchen Lama as a counter-force to Tibetan nationalism, a 'patriotic' advocate of their policies in Tibet, and a rival to the Dalai Lama.

But far from functioning as a mouthpiece for Beijing, it has become apparent that the Panchen Lama felt and acted upon a deep-seated sense of responsibility for and duty to the Tibetan people, culture and religion. In 1962, the 10th Panchen Lama sent to Mao Zedong his famous '70,000-character Petition', a strongly worded and critical analysis of Chinese policies and practices in Tibet, especially during the period 1959-61. Professor Dawa Norbu, a Tibetan historian based in New Delhi, says of the petition: 'No Chinese (with the possible exception of Peng Dehuai), and certainly no other leader of a national minority, had dared to challenge Communist policies so fundamentally

‘...For the time being at least, there is no Tibetan religious figure in China capable of acting on behalf of Tibetan Buddhists with the authority of the former Panchen Lama. In the absence of the latter, and with the former under sharp attack, feelings of loss and desperation may be expected to surface in some quarters with renewed force.’

- Matthew T Kapstein⁷⁵

within the PRC since its founding in 1949, as the Panchen Lama did in 1962 and 1987 [see below].⁷⁷

The Panchen Lama’s 1962 Petition is still deeply relevant to the lives of Tibetans today. Throughout the Petition, he affirms his faith in Buddhism and his concerns for the survival of Tibetan culture and religion. He writes: ‘Those who have religious knowledge will slowly die out, religious affairs are stagnating, knowledge is not being passed on, there is worry about there being no training for new people, and so we see the elimination of Buddhism, which was flourishing in Tibet and which transmitted teachings and enlightenment. This is something which I and more the 90% of Tibetans cannot endure.’⁷⁸ At the same time, he



The 10th Panchen Lama was an enormous figure in modern Tibetan history. Imprisoned from 1964 to 1978, he re-emerged on the political scene vigorously fighting for the rights of lay Tibetans and the clergy to rebuild monasteries, make Tibetan the official language and promote Tibetans to positions of authority. He died under mysterious circumstances in January 1989 setting in motion a historic reincarnation controversy.

did not oppose development or appropriate modernization of Tibet, and he couches his critique in Marxist-Leninist terminology, informed by an in-depth understanding of the Party’s campaigns and directives.

The 10th Panchen Lama traveled extensively in his official capacities between the Tibetan countryside and Beijing documenting the conditions of Tibetans living under Chinese rule. His observations during these tours formed the basis of his Petition.

The petition was submitted shortly before Mao Zedong re-asserted his dominance within the Party over more moderate elements. Mao reacted strongly against the Petition and within two years the 10th Panchen Lama was stripped of his official titles and spent the following 14 years in prison or under house arrest. He was finally released in 1978, two years after most other religious figures and cadres had been rehabilitated at the close of the Cultural Revolution. The Panchen Lama continued his efforts for reform and modernization, and his defense of the Tibetan culture and language.

A decade later, he made a further scathing criticism of Party policies at a meeting of the Standing Committee of the TAR on 28 March 1987. This was in essence a repeat of the 70,000-character Petition, but he did go one step further in stating that he had not in fact reported the full extent of the problems in his petition because to have done so could have led to his death under public struggle session (Tib: *‘thab dzing*) In an equally extraordinary public speech made in 1989 in Shigatse, the Panchen Lama called for the Dalai Lama to be allowed to cooperate with him on Tibetan policy. In an article in the official press in 1989, the Panchen Lama wrote: ‘Since liberation, there has certainly been development, but the price paid for this development has been greater than the gains.’⁷⁹

‘Today is the auspicious day when Buddha first gave the Kalachakra teaching. The Kalachakra teachings have a special connection with the Panchen Lamas. On this occasion, which also happens to be the Vaisaki, [the Buddha’s birthday] it is with great joy that I am able to proclaim the reincarnation of Panchen Rinpoche. I have recognized Gendun Choekyi Nyima, born on April 25, 1989, as the true reincarnation of the [11th] Panchen Rinpoche.’

- Tenzin Gyatso, the 14th Dalai Lama, Dharamsala, India. 14 May 1995

The 10th Panchen Lama died suddenly in Shigatse in January 1989, not long after giving this speech. The cause of his death was given as a heart attack, although many Tibetans believe that mysterious circumstances surrounded the death. The Times of India reported the sight of old Tibetan women weeping in the streets of Lhasa, and quoted one of the women as saying: ‘This is the end. The death of the Panchen Lama is the death of Tibetan culture.’⁸⁰

Despite the strongly critical nature of his final public statements, the 10th Panchen Lama is today described as a ‘patriot’ by the Chinese authorities. Officials continue to hold up the example of the ‘patriotic’ 10th Panchen Lama as a means of undermining the Dalai Lama. During ceremonies to mark the anniversary of his death in Beijing, the Tibetan official Ragdi followed the Party line by describing the Dalai Lama as ‘the chief root for creating social disturbance in Tibet’ in contrast to the 10th Panchen Lama who was a ‘model’ for ‘safeguarding the unity of the motherland.’⁸¹ In death as in life, the Panchen Lama remains a controversial and undeniably central figure in the history of modern Tibet. Professor Dawa Norbu writes: ‘Here was a High Lama who transcended his immediate family, the sect which he represented and the region to which he belonged. He spoke and acted on behalf of all Tibetans in Tibet even at the risk of his own personal safety, as [his] Petition reveals. Even the 13 or more years of detention, torture and humiliation in Beijing and Lhasa did not dampen his spirit as the conscience-keeper of the subjugated Tibetan people.’⁸²



Gendun Choekyi Nyima was recognized as the 11th Panchen Lama by the Dalai Lama on May 14, 1995. On May 17, 1995 he was taken into custody by Chinese officials and has not been seen since. He is believed to be held under house arrest somewhere near Beijing.

THE 11TH PANCHEN LAMA

The Panchen Lama reincarnation identification team has traditionally been made up of senior lamas from Tashi Lhunpo monastery. As with other reincarnate lamas, their methodology involves visions that prophetically direct their search to the true reincarnation. Following these mystical signs, the lamas’ test the best candidates by asking them to identify personal objects owned by the previous Panchen Lama. Oracles are then consulted and divinations performed to reconfirm the final candidate. Traditionally, the Dalai Lama himself carries out these final steps.

Traditionally, the Dalai Lama has been involved in identifying the reincarnation of the Panchen Lama and has played a role in his training through adulthood. The 10th Panchen Lama acknowledged this in a quote, in the official Chinese press: ‘according to Tibetan tradition, the confirmation of either the Dalai or Panchen must be mutually recognized.’⁸³

'In a solemn and harmonious atmosphere Li [Tieying] reached out his hand and gently held the new Panchen Lama up to the holy throne for all Panchen Lamas in history. This historical moment was recorded with flashlights and cameras. ...Li looked kindly at the 11th Panchen Lama, who returned a vivid, lovely smile...and expressed his thanks to the Central Government and President Jiang, and pledged himself to study hard and love the country.'

- Xinhua News Agency, 8 December 1995, reporting on the enthronement of the Chinese choice of Panchen Lama

During the search for the 11th Panchen Lama, the search party compiled a list of numerous young boys who were potential successors to the 10th Panchen Lama. The abbot of Tashi Lhunpo monastery, Chadrel Rinpoche, head of the search team, was allowed to convey a message to the Dalai Lama about the recognition process. After numerous divinations, on 14 May 1995, the Dalai Lama proclaimed six-year old Gendun Choekyi Nyima to be the 11th reincarnation of the Panchen Lama. Three days later, the little boy and his family 'disappeared'; they were taken into the custody of the Chinese authorities.⁸⁴ Denouncing the Dalai Lama's choice as illegitimate, the Chinese authorities drew lots from a golden urn and selected their own 'Panchen Lama' on 29 November 1995. Six year-old Gyaltzen Norbu was subsequently enthroned on 8 December 1995. By January 1996, at least 56 Tibetans had been detained in connection with the dispute over the Panchen Lama's reincarnation.⁸⁵ The most prominent detention, of Chadrel Rinpoche, took place three days after the Dalai Lama made his announcement. It was nearly two years before the Intermediate People's Court in Shigatse sentenced Chadrel Rinpoche to six years in prison on 21 April 1997 for 'the crime of splitting the country.'

Champa Chung, a monk in his fifties who assisted Chadrel Rinpoche, received a four-year sentence and Samdrup, a businessman in his 30s who worked in the trading corporation associated with the monastery, was sentenced to two years in prison. Recent reports received by ICT indicate that Champa Chung may still be in prison today. Although the Chinese authorities have told Western governments that Chadrel Rinpoche has been released, he is still believed to be under some form of house arrest in an undisclosed location.

The whereabouts of Gendun Choekyi Nyima, now 15 years old, and his parents Dechen Choedron and Konchog Phuntsok, remain unknown. Foreign delegations have been denied access to him, despite repeated requests.

Intent on curbing the influence of the 69-year old Dalai Lama within Tibet and on controlling his next reincarnation, the Chinese government has disrupted the symbiotic relationship between the Panchen Lama and the Dalai Lama.

The Dalai Lama has said that he regards the kidnapping of the authentic Panchen Lama in 1995 as a dress rehearsal for what happens after he dies. Although the Chinese will certainly 'discover' a Dalai Lama, he told China analyst Jonathan Mirsky: 'I have made it clear that the next Dalai Lama will be born in a free country. I think the Tibetans will accept that - and they won't accept a boy chosen by the Chinese.'⁸⁶

The 10th Panchen Lama's daughter, a 20-year old American-educated Tibetan-Chinese woman, Yabshi Pan Rinzin Wangmo, has traveled to Tibet on several occasions, where she is mobbed by Tibetans, due to their reverence for her father. On one occasion, Rinzin Wangmo, met the official '11th Panchen Lama,' Gyaltzen Norbu, at a carefully arranged ceremony. It was intended that she should prostrate herself before him to demonstrate to witnesses and cameras that she regarded him as her father's incarnation. But Rinzin Wangmo, told Jonathan Mirsky, in the same report, that she declined, saying: 'I just said hello. My father never made me prostrate myself to him, so I felt I didn't need to do so before this boy.' Rinzin Wangmo said that it is too early for her to say whether Gyaltzen Norbu is the 'real' Panchen Lama, and that she has never met Gendun Choekyi Nyima.⁸⁷ It is likely that the authorities in Beijing will continue to cultivate Rinzin Wangmo, who is currently based in the US, in order to seek her acknowledgement of the 'official' Panchen Lama.⁸⁸

THE CHINESE APPOINTED “PANCHEN LAMA”

Gyaltzen Norbu was six when the Chinese government selected him to represent the 11th Panchen Lama. On 29 November 1995 a highly publicized ceremony was conducted in Lhasa’s historically significant Jokhang Temple to carry out the process of selecting the incarnation. Communist Party officials in black suits sat on plastic chairs in front of a Golden Urn used for choosing lots, while hundreds of maroon-clad monks seated on traditional woolen rugs chanted prayers. Following State Council approval on 8 December, Gyaltzen Norbu was enthroned as the ‘11th Panchen Lama.’ Due to the political sensitivity of the issue and the authorities’ aim of grooming the boy as a patriotic figure, he began his study in Beijing, and not at the Panchen Lama’s traditional seat of Tashi Lhunpo. Gyaltzen Norbu is reported by the Chinese press to be pursuing a Buddhist education in order to obtain a ‘Geshe’ degree.

In 1999, Beijing began to give the boy a higher profile, publicizing his activities to legitimize their selection and reinforce their political message. Nine-year old Gyaltzen Norbu was present at the meeting in Beijing to commemorate the death of the 10th Panchen Lama, and also traveled to Tibet that year for the first time since his enthronement in 1995. He led recitations of Buddhist scriptures, offered blessings to pilgrims at the Jokhang temple in Lhasa and visited Tashi Lhunpo monastery.

An official bid to promote positive coverage of his visit in the international press backfired. The party of Western journalists who were invited to witness the boy’s supposed return to his traditional seat in Tibet reported instead on the tight security including military convoy escorts surrounding the boy. They described Tibetans’ despair and anger at his selection and their affirmation of loyalty for the Dalai Lama’s choice of incarnation, Gendun Choekyi Nyima. The picture painted by the Western journalists was quite different from the official version given by Xinhua, which generally emphasized that the succession of the 11th Panchen entirely conformed to historical conventions and Buddhist practices.

Tibetans inside Tibet often refer to Gyaltzen Norbu as ‘Panchen Zuma’ (literally ‘fake Panchen’) and sometimes the boy is described as ‘Jiang Zemin’s Panchen.’ His photo-



Gyaltzen Norbu, the boy China selected as the ‘Panchen Lama’ is often referred to by Tibetans as ‘Panchen Zuma,’ the fake Panchen, and as ‘Jiang Zemin’s Panchen’ or ‘Jiang’s boy’ because Jiang Zemin personally played a strong role in enthroning Gyaltzen Norbu. Here, Gyaltzen and Jiang Zemin pose in Beijing in 1996.

graph is rarely displayed in monasteries or homes as would normally be customary with a religious figure of his status. When it is displayed it is at orders from Patriotic Education work teams. Examples of monasteries where work teams have ordered the display of Gyaltzen Norbu’s photo include Tashi Lhunpo in Shigatse, Tranang in Tsetang, Reting near Lhasa, and Kumbum in Qinghai.⁸⁹ Sometimes Tibetans will indicate their true loyalties by displaying a very small picture of Gyaltzen Norbu alongside a large framed portrait of the 10th Panchen Lama, the latter adorned with traditional white offering scarves.

Reincarnate lamas are often said to have extraordinary abilities such as memorizing lengthy scriptures upon first reading, a spiritual presence that is beyond their years, or ability to confer blessings for such things as harvests and long life. Although belief in and respect for these kinds of abilities appears to be considered by the Communist Party as ‘superstitious’ and unscientific, the official press still seeks to legitimize their selection of Gyaltzen Norbu by reporting that he displays precisely these kinds of capabilities.

In June 2002, Gyaltzen Norbu returned to Tibet for a brief tour of Lhasa and Shigatse. On his return to Beijing, the then Premier Zhu Rongji encouraged Gyaltzen Norbu to ‘carry on the patriotic spirit of successive Panchen Lamas, study hard to become an accomplished Buddhist religious leader and make contributions to maintaining national unity and promoting development and stability in Tibet.’⁹⁰

AGYA RINPOCHE

Agya Rinpoche, former abbot of Kumbum monastery in Qinghai and a senior lama of the Gelugpa tradition, escaped from Tibet in 1998 because of the increasing pressure he was under to help the government have its choice of the Panchen Lama accepted by the Tibetan people.

Agya Rinpoche, who held a number of important official positions⁹¹ and was regarded as a 'patriotic' lama by the authorities, is now living in California after being granted political asylum.

Agya Rinpoche is recognized as the reincarnation of the father of Je Tsong Khapa, founder of the Gelug school of Tibetan Buddhism, who was born near Kumbum (Ch: *Ta'ersi*) monastery in Huangzhong. In his position as abbot of Kumbum, Agya Rinpoche tried to work within the system to do as much as he could to maintain religious traditions inside Tibet. By paying lip service to Chinese policy and through his apparent loyalty to the Party, Agya Rinpoche was able to use his influence to promote Tibetan culture, language, literature and religion through the renovation of monasteries destroyed during the Cultural Revolution and the foundation of libraries and schools in monasteries.



Agya Rinpoche sought political asylum in the US rather than acquiesce to China's demand that he accept – and help train – Gyaltsen Norbu, the boy designated to be the 'Panchen Lama' by China's leadership. Chinese authorities had presented Agya Rinpoche a document that outlined lengthy protocols that Kumbum, his monastery, would have to follow when Gyaltsen Norbu visited.

Agya Rinpoche finally decided to leave Tibet when the authorities began to develop plans to bring the Chinese choice of Panchen Lama, Gyaltsen Norbu, to Kumbum monastery, historically the most significant Gelug monastery in Amdo. These plans appear to have been dropped temporarily following Agya Rinpoche's departure, although Gyaltsen Norbu was brought to Kumbum in August 2003 for official ceremonies, carried out under stringent security. Agya Rinpoche said: 'I think the monks at Kumbum do not accept this boy in their hearts as the Panchen Lama, but they have no choice but to attend any

ceremony held for him. Many Chinese officials know this, and they would not want to keep Gyaltsen Norbu for too long in the area. They want him back in Beijing where they have full control.'⁹²

Agya Rinpoche gave his first public statement following his arrival in exile in March 2000, when he appeared before the US Commission on International Religious Freedom and summarized his reasons for leaving Tibet:⁹³

'Had I remained in Tibet I would have been forced to denounce the Dalai Lama and my religion and to serve the Chinese government. This meant also participating in government practices that went against my religion and my personal beliefs. As Abbot of Kumbum monastery, I would have been forced to help the government have its choice of Panchen Lama accepted by the Tibetan people. This would violate my deepest beliefs. It was at this point that I knew I must leave my country. So in the end I chose to follow my teacher's guidance. He had advised me that when I turned 50 years old I should leave political life and concentrate on my religious studies. The only possible way I could follow his advice was to escape from what had become almost total Chinese control over my life.'

Embarrassed by Agya Rinpoche's departure into exile and his high-profile statements on the lack of religious freedom in Tibet, the Chinese authorities finally issued a brief statement more than a year after his escape, stating in Xinhua on 24 June 2000 that he had been removed from his post on the Standing Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC). A former official who is now in exile and who worked in the Qinghai area told ICT that following the departure of Agya Rinpoche, senior PSB told security personnel that they must be very careful about issuing passports and visa extensions to 'Living Buddhas' and monks. The official told ICT: 'I heard that officials in the province where Agya Rinpoche's passport and identity documents were issued had been reprimanded, and some may have lost their jobs. Senior PSB officials also told us that any monk with a Nepalese or Indian passport should not be issued visa extensions for more than 20 days. A Tibetan official told me that he never thought for a moment that Agya Rinpoche would flee, and that we should never trust Living Buddhas.'⁹⁴

RETING RINPOCHE

The 5th Reting Rinpoche was an important political and religious figure. As regent of Tibet following the death of the 13th Dalai Lama, he played a leading role in the search for the 14th Dalai Lama and acted as his senior tutor. The regency of Tibet is a powerful position, with responsibility for overseeing Tibet's political affairs until the Dalai Lama attains his majority, at around the age of 16. Resigning in 1941, Reting Rinpoche was later accused of collusion with the Chinese against the Tibetan government and was arrested in April 1947. He died in prison one month later.

The 6th Reting Rinpoche was used as a 'patriotic' figurehead by the Chinese government, being appointed to political positions from the age of eight onwards. He was imprisoned during the Cultural Revolution but was 'rehabilitated' in the late 1970s and awarded several official positions. Like the 10th Panchen Lama, after his imprisonment he adopted a secular lifestyle and married. He died in 1997.

On 31 December 1999, Tibet Daily reported on a press conference held by government officials in Lhasa to announce that the search for the 7th Reting Rinpoche had been completed according to 'relevant central and TAR regulations, the historical system and religious regulations.' A two-year old Tibetan boy, Sonam Phuntsok, had been named as the 7th Reting Rinpoche. The deputy mayor of Lhasa, Dargye (Ch: *Tajie*) told the conference that the search had been undertaken by Reting Monastery's Democratic Management Committee, 'taking into account a series of signs of the 6th Reting Rinpoche loving the country and loving religion during his lifetime and his influence on the broad masses of monks and ordinary people.' He added that the search had been conducted strictly in accordance with Tibetan Buddhist tradition: 'including divination and looking for visions in lakes carried out by senior monks of great virtue from within the region.'

The Dalai Lama has not approved the Chinese selection of Sonam Phuntsok as the 7th Reting Rinpoche. According to the Tibetan government in exile, the Dalai Lama's approval is 'critical' because of the close personal relationship between the Dalai Lama and the 5th Reting Rinpoche.⁹⁵

A VISIT TO THE NEW RETING RINPOCHE

In May 2000, monks from Reting Monastery protested against Sonam Phuntsok's selection as the 7th Reting Rinpoche, and there were reports that eight monks had been arrested, possibly accused of plotting to kill young boy.⁹⁶ The reports were an indication of tensions in the monastery. According to reports received by ICT, the atmosphere in the monastery due to the authorities' selection of a Rinpoche has made it very difficult for monks to study and have classes. A year later, a Westerner who visited the monastery was given access to Reting Rinpoche and gave ICT the following account:

'There was quite a tense atmosphere in the monastery, which has about 130 monks, and we later found out there was a work team there at the time. All the monks had to attend meetings everyday except for Sunday, and had to study from a book. We asked to see the Chinese Reting Rinpoche. We were initially denied and told that it was next to impossible to see the young boy, including for Tibetans, because of fear that someone would harm him. After much persuasion we were given permission. We arrived at the compound, which is apparently the old summer palace, surrounded with new Chinese buildings, the police [all Tibetans] said immediately that foreigners were not allowed to see him. We showed the offerings we had for the boy and they let us proceed. The little boy was sitting on his throne, with a monk attendant on one side, his father, and police in the room, and another security official followed us in. The little boy looked frightened and had no idea what to do. All the attendants were giving him instructions, 'say hello, give them an offering scarf.' All his family is with him there, but he is not allowed outside the compound to play, only in the garden behind the house. We were not allowed to take photographs of him, which was highly uncommon, and there were no photographs of him to buy anywhere either.'

THE ESCAPE OF THE KARMAPA

The escape of the 14-year old Karmapa, Ugyen Trinley Dorje, into exile in 1999 could hardly have been a more potent symbol of the lack of religious freedom in Tibet and of the failure of the Chinese authorities to exercise control over and manipulate Tibetan loyalties.

Ugyen Trinley Dorje, who was welcomed warmly by the Dalai Lama as soon as he arrived in India, is the first Tibetan Buddhist reincarnation to be recognized by both the Dalai Lama and officially accepted by the Chinese authorities. His defection was deeply embarrassing for the Chinese government, who had previously portrayed Ugyen Trinley Dorje as a 'patriotic' religious leader and whom they hoped would play a key role in their attempts to legitimize current religious policy in Tibet. Since his arrival in exile, the 17th Karmapa has made it clear that he left Tibet because of the restrictions on religious freedom that left him unable to receive adequate religious training needed to fulfill the obligations of his religious office as head of the Karma Kagyu school of Tibetan Buddhism. The refusal of the authorities to allow him access to senior Kagyu lamas in exile was one of the main reasons he felt he had to leave his monastery in Tibet.

The 16th Karmapa fled Tibet in 1959 with a group of 150 reincarnate lamas, monks, and lay followers. On reaching the Indian border town of Buxa Duar, the Karmapa received an invitation from Chogyal Tashi Namgyal, the king of Sikkim, to establish a new seat in Rumtek. The 16th Karmapa traveled extensively in the West giving Buddhist teachings before he died in November 1981.

After the death of the 16th Karmapa, four senior lamas of the Karma Kagyu tradition, Gyaltsab Rinpoche, Jamgon Kongtrul Rinpoche, Shamar Rinpoche and Situ Rinpoche assumed the position of regents and were responsible for collectively identifying the reincarnation of the Karmapa. In March 1992, Situ Rinpoche announced that he had discovered a prophetic letter from the 16th Karmapa that led him to identify the whereabouts of a boy in Eastern Tibet he believed to be the 17th Karmapa. When Jamgon



A Chinese military photographer at Tsurphu monastery taking photos for official Chinese publications to show the extent of religious freedom in Tibet. However, his presence and that of many other security and government officials at this 1995 ceremony was obtrusive and offensive to hundreds of local Tibetans in attendance. Five years later, the Karmapa fled from Tsurphu, citing oppressive government regulation as a main reason. (Photo: ©ICT)

Kongtrul, who had been charged with traveling to Tibet to find the candidate, was killed in a car crash in India, Shamar Rinpoche withdrew his support for Situ Rinpoche and his candidate, marking the beginning of a dispute that continues today.⁹⁸

The Dalai Lama announced his official support for the candidate Situ Rinpoche identified on 7 June 1992 while dispute raged among the remaining regents, in particular Situ Rinpoche and Shamar Rinpoche. Situ Rinpoche had already contacted the Chinese authorities who allowed a search team to travel to a nomadic area in eastern Tibet where they located the candidate, Ugyen Trinley Dorje, and formally identified him as the 17th Karmapa.⁹⁹ On 13 June 1992, Ugyen Trinley was taken to Lhasa and exactly two weeks later, Chinese authorities announced their agreement that he was the 17th Karmapa. A few days later

'No matter how much brute force is exerted, it cannot stamp out the faith and devotion to the Buddha Dharma that the Tibetans have in their heart. Nobody will ever be able to do that.'

- The 17th Karmapa, Ugyen Trinley Dorje⁹⁷



Ugyen Trinley Dorje, the 14 year old Karmapa in disguise making his daring escape through Nepal to India. He was the first Buddhist reincarnated monk to be recognized by both the Dalai Lama and Chinese authorities. He personified the hope that China and the Dalai Lama could cooperate when it came to Tibet's unique and ancient system of identifying reincarnations. (Photo: Dargye)

the enthronement took place with elaborate ceremony at the Karmapa's monastery, Tsurphu near Lhasa, attended by Chinese officials who took the opportunity to claim that they had a historical and legal right to appoint 'Living Buddhas' in Tibet.

The 17th Karmapa took his monastic ordination at Tsurphu monastery and by the age of 11, began to recognize other incarnate lamas significant within the Kagyu lineage such as Pawo Rinpoche, Jamgon Kongtrul Rinpoche and the young Dabzang Rinpoche.

Tibetans had been concerned for some time about Chinese attempts to use the Karmapa for their own political purposes, notably in undermining the Dalai Lama. The Karmapa toured China twice in his early teens and met senior Chinese leaders including Jiang Zemin. In January 1999, Li Ruihuan, Chairman of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC), told China's main English language magazine on Tibet, 'China's Tibet' that the Karmapa had said he 'received an education in patriotism during his visit to China and that he would follow the instructions of Jiang Zemin and work hard for the unification of the motherland and national unity.' At the same meeting, Li Ruihuan said 'the healthy growth' and 'progress' of the Karmapa 'will have a great impact on the development and stability of Tibet.'¹⁰⁰

Despite the pressures from the Chinese authorities to be a 'patriotic' figurehead, the young Karmapa was widely revered among Tibetans in Tibet and in exile, who particularly noted that he had managed to avoid denouncing the Dalai Lama and that on one occasion he had reportedly refused to prostrate before the Chinese choice of Panchen Lama, Gyaltzen Norbu.

The Karmapa became convinced that the only way he could fulfill his religious duties and responsibilities was to escape into exile. After months of careful planning with his closest aides, on 28 December 1999 the Karmapa told his Chinese minders and Tibetan monk attendants he was entering an eight-day solitary meditation retreat. That evening, he changed from his robes into trousers, jacket, and a baseball cap and slipped out of his window. Leaving Tsurphu monastery in a Mitsubishi SUV with five attendants, he began his audacious escape into exile, evading army and police by car, foot, horseback, helicopter, train and taxi, through far west Tibet, across the Nepalese border in Mustang, and finally to India.¹⁰¹ On 5 January 2000 he arrived in Dharamsala, India.

Following his departure, TAR officials launched an investigation into the circumstances surrounding the escape, and his escape route, and conducted a review of security at Tsurphu. Nearly every monk at Tsurphu was questioned regarding suspected involvement and security was strengthened, with a permanent police presence stationed at Tsurphu in addition to the monastery's Democratic Management Committee. No new monks were allowed to enter the monastery and patriotic education intensified in the months following the escape. A Xinhua report acknowledged that the Karmapa had left his monastery in Tibet, and stated that he had left behind a letter that stated that he had gone abroad to collect 'the musical instruments of the Buddhist mass' and the 'black hats' used by previous Karmapas.¹⁰² The Xinhua report also quoted the Karmapa as saying in his letter that his actions did not mean that he intended to 'betray the state, the nation, the monastery or the leadership.'

The Karmapa is now living in Gyuto monastery, approximately 40 minutes drive from Dharamsala. He has not been permitted by the Indian government to travel to his seat in exile at Rumtek monastery in Sikkim, nor is he allowed to travel to the monastery of his teacher, Tai Situ Rinpoche, at Sherab Ling in India. In December 2002 he gave ICT the following account of his reasons for departure and his feelings about religious freedom in Tibet:

‘From my perspective, I am a lineage holder and have a responsibility to continue that lineage. I have inherited a historic and religious responsibility and it is my duty to uphold it. Therefore, as a young monk, I need to receive teachings from my teachers in my lineage in order to fulfill my religious duty. Specifically, this means that I need to receive the tantric initiation, the oral transmission of texts, and the explanation of mediation techniques. There are specific traditions to follow for each school of Tibetan Buddhism and the lineages within those schools. Mine is the Karma Kagyu lineage.

‘The reason I fled Tibet was because I was not given the opportunity to fulfill my duty as a lineage holder by the authorities. I did not have freedom. I tried for many years to secure invitations so my teachers who reside outside of Tibet could come and give Buddhist teachings to me. The authorities did not allow this. Thus my formal religious education was failing. Therefore, I was not able to receive the initiations and teachings I needed so I decided to leave Tibet.

‘[With regard to religious freedom in Tibet] it really depends from what perspective you look at the issue. From the perspective of individuals’ belief, you could say ultimately there is complete freedom. That is to say, no matter how much brute force is exerted, it cannot stamp out the faith and devotion to the Buddha Dharma that the Tibetans have in their heart. Nobody will ever be able to do that.

‘Now, it is quite obvious that the authorities put a lot of effort into controlling the external manifestations and support of Tibetan Buddhism in Tibet such as monasteries, the number of monks and nuns, what we are allowing to study, and our demonstration of devotion for the Dalai Lama. And in fact, this very definitely limits religious freedom and Tibet’s inner sciences of the mind. The supportive environment like religious education systems, religious institutions, and certain forms of popular religious devotion is severely limited in Tibet.’

NENANG PAWO RINPOCHE

The 10th Pawo Rinpoche, one of the most important lineage holders in the Karma Kagyu tradition remaining in Tibet, had been recognized in 1994 at the age of two by the Karmapa, and his recognition accepted by the Chinese authorities. Traditionally, the student-teacher relationship between Pawo Rinpoche and the Karmapa is analogous to the religious relationship between the Panchen Lama and Dalai Lama. Pawo Rinpoche’s seat is at Nenang monastery, near Tsurphu. Following the Karmapa’s departure, however, the young Pawo Rinpoche, Tsulak Mawe Dayang, was removed by the authorities from Nenang and taken to Lhasa, where he attended a secular school and was not allowed to wear monastic robes. According to reliable reports received by ICT, Pawo Rinpoche, who is now 12 years old, has been allowed to return to his monastery and to wear robes again.¹⁰³



Pawo Rinpoche is one of the most important lineage holders in the Karma Kagyu tradition and his recognition by the young Karmapa in 1994 was accepted by the Chinese authorities. Following the Karmapa’s escape to India in 1999, Pawo Rinpoche was taken from his monastery and held in Lhasa. He has recently been allowed to return to his monastery and wear his robes again.



Gen Lamrim was a highly regarded lama who remained in Lhasa. Beginning in 1990, he gave annual public Buddhist teachings to thousands of people in Lhasa until his death in 1997. (Photo: ©ICT)

GEN LAMRIM NGAWANG PHUNTSOK

One of the most popular Buddhist lamas who remained in Tibet after 1959, Gen Lamrim died on 28 May 1997 after a long illness. Although not a tulku, or reincarnated lama, he was widely regarded as one of the greatest teachers in the Gelugpa tradition of Tibetan Buddhism. He gained his prominence and influence through his erudition and meditation accomplishments and was respected by both Tibetans and Chinese for his moral authority. During the Cultural Revolution he was required to work as a wool spinner in an agricultural cooperative.

Gen Lamrim was born in Gyalthang in eastern Tibet now under the administration of Yunnan province. He came to Lhasa in the 1940s and spent most of the rest of his life at Drepung as a teacher. His prominence in central Tibet came from his biannual one-month public teachings, which he had been granted official permission for in 1984. Attended by thousands of monastics and lay people from Lhasa and the surrounding area, they continued regularly until the Chinese crackdown on non-violent pro-independence protests that began in 1987 with a group of 21 monks from Drepung. The arrests of those 21 monks, all of whom had been ordained by Gen Lamrim and were from the most advanced class of Buddhist philosophy in the colleges at Drepung, sparked a series of over 150 pro-

tests throughout the next ten years in Tibet, which resulted in thousands of Tibetans being arrested and imprisoned.¹⁰⁴

Gen Lamrim was allowed to resume his public teachings in 1990 under stringent control by the authorities. Official tourist groups were allowed to attend, and Chinese television crews would occasionally film the teachings.

In 1996, nearly 200 officials from patriotic education work teams accompanied by military personnel stayed in Drepung Monastery for several months. The leaders of the monastery were relieved of their posts and replaced by an unelected committee of laymen. To the dismay of monks at Drepung, Gen Lamrim was not included on any official committee.

Since the death of Gen Lamrim in 1997, there have been no public Buddhist teachings in the Lhasa area on such a scale or frequency. Local Tibetans and monks from Drepung have been unsuccessful in their efforts to secure permission from the authorities to construct a traditional reliquary (Tib: *mchod rten*) in his memory. Cassette teachings and photographs of Gen Lamrim are still widely sold in Lhasa.

NOTES

- 57 Chinese publications often incorrectly translate the Tibetan word *tulku* (Tib: *sprul sku*) as *huo fo*, or Living Buddha. *Huo fo*, which is a short form of *huo zai ren jian de fo*, literally means, Buddha living on earth or Buddha living among the mortals. Also, the phrases *huo fo* and the often used *huo fo zhuang shi* connotes a form of religious transmission characteristic of Tibetan Buddhism. The Chinese word *fo* is an abbreviated form of the Chinese transliteration *fo tuo* of the Sanskrit Buddha and generally speaking it is used in Chinese as the respectful form of address to the Buddha. In Chinese a form to describe the reincarnation process is also *fo de hua sheng* or Buddhist incarnation. In the past some Chinese Tibetologists following the meaning of *fo de hua sheng* which literally means, Buddhist changing the body.
- 58 See 'Cutting Off The Serpent's Head: Tightening Control over Tibet 1994-5,' Tibet Information Network/Human Rights Watch Asia, 1996, pp 52-3. The text of the 1792 agreement in printed in English by Ya Hanzhang, Biographies of the Dalai Lamas (Beijing 1991), p 72. On 13 November 1995 and afterwards the Chinese authorities stated that the matter was in the final analysis one of sovereignty.
- 59 SWB Nov 15 1997, Speech to non-party figures, Tibet TV Nov 9 1997.
- 60 Xinhua, 8 December 1990.
- 61 South China Morning Post, June 23, 1999.
- 62 Xinhua, Reincarnation of Living Buddhas in Tibet, May 24, 2001.
- 63 Tsering Shakya, 'The Dragon in the Land of Snows: A History of Modern Tibet Since 1947', Columbia University Press 1999, p 444.
- 64 'Reincarnation of Reting Rinpoche confirmed by TAR authorities' TIN News Update, 14 January 2000.
- 65 Historically the Dalai Lama did not approve every reincarnate lama on the Tibetan plateau, owing to lack of communication. Today it is commonplace that the Dalai Lama is informed and asked to confirm reincarnate lamas both inside and outside Tibet.
- 66 ICT interview, October 2002.
- 67 ICT interview, February 2004.
- 68 'Kardze Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture People's Government Circular with Comments on the prefecture's Tibetan Affairs Office, Public Security Bureaus and Religious Affairs Bureau's Views on some Question Relating to the Visits to our Prefecture of Senior Religious Personnel among Tibetans Resident Abroad (1994)' translated and cited by Tibet Information Network in 'Relative Freedom, Tibetan Buddhism and Religious Policy in Kardze, Sichuan, 1987-1999.
- 69 Radio Free Asia, 25 May 1997.
- 70 South China Morning Post, 23 June 1999.
- 71 Ch'en Yu-hui, "Dalai Lama: Seeks Autonomy for Tibet, Not To Separate Tibet from China." 27 November 2002. Interview by Lien-Ho Pao.
- 72 Lama means 'spiritual teacher' and Dalai is a Mongolian term that literally means 'ocean of wisdom'. The title Dalai Lama was first given to the Tibetan lama Sonam Gyatso in the 16th century by a Mongolian prince, Altan Khan, the great-grandson of Genghis Khan. The Dalai Lama's temporal reign began with the 5th Dalai Lama in the 17th century.
- 73 For a full account of his escape and the factors that led up to it, see the Dalai Lama's two autobiographies, 'My Land and My People' (1962) and 'Freedom in Exile' (1991). A comprehensive account of events leading up to his escape is also given in 'The Dragon in the Land of Snows: A History of Modern Tibet since 1947' by Tsering Shakya, Columbia University Press. 1999.
- 74 Ya Hanzhang, Biographies of the Tibetan Spiritual Leaders Panchen Erdenis. Beijing: Foreign Language Press, 1987. pg 350.
- 75 Matthew Kapstein is Numata Visiting Professor of Buddhist Studies in the Divinity School of the University of Chicago and Visiting Associate Professor in the Department of South Asian Languages and Civilizations Quoted in 'Concluding Reflections' in 'Buddhism in Contemporary Tibet: Religious Revival and Cultural Identity' edited by Melvyn C. Goldstein and Matthew T. Kapstein, University of California Press 1998.
- 76 There had been a rift between the government of the 13th Dalai Lama and Tashi Lhunpo, with the 9th Panchen Lama being exiled in Amdo from 1928. The young 10th Panchen Lama spent his early years at Kumbum monastery in Qinghai. Following the signing of the 17 Point Agreement the 10th Panchen Lama returned to be enthroned at Tashi Lhunpo. This was used as major propaganda victory by the Chinese authorities.
- 77 For further details see the Introduction to 'A Poisoned Arrow: The Secret Report of the 10th Panchen Lama,' TIN. 1997)
- 78 TIN, A Poisoned Arrow; The Secret Report of the 10th Panchen Lama. Page 57. London, 1997.
- 79 China Daily, January 25, 1989.
- 80 TIN, A Poisoned Arrow; The Secret Report of the 10th Panchen Lama. London, 1997
- 81 SWB February 14, 1999. Xinhua February 12, 1999.
- 82 'A Poisoned Arrow: The Secret Report of the 10th Panchen Lama,' TIN. 1997.
- 83 China Reconstructs, January 1998.
- 84 'The Search for the Panchen Lama' by Isabel Hilton tells the story of the search and consequences.
- 85 TIN News Update, 'Senior Lama Sentenced for Handling of Panchen Lama Search.' 17 May 1996. 'Tibetan Monks Arrested in Dispute Over Panchen Lama. See also Tibet Press Watch, September 1995, 'Six-year-old boy missing and over 50 detained in Panchen Lama dispute,' and Amnesty International, January 18, 1996.
- 86 Asian Wall Street Journal, 8 September 2003.
- 87 Ibid.
- 88 An in-depth interview with Rinzin Wangmo by the correspondent Isabel Hilton was published in The New Yorker, 29 March 2004.
- 89 ICT interviews October -February 2001.
- 90 Xinhua, 'Chinese Premier Meets 11th Panchen Lama.' 31 July 2002. Gyaltzen Norbu in turn is quoted as saying that 'would definitely learn from the 10th Panchen Lama's glorious past, and as President Jiang Zemin had hope, love both the country and the religion and protect the country and benefit the people' as well as pledging to 'work harder to safeguard China's national and ethnic unity.'
- 91 These positions included the vice-president of the Buddhist Association of China and deputy chairman of the Qinghai People's Political Consultative Conference.
- 92 See report by Kate Saunders, 18 August 2003, 'Security surrounds visit of Chinese choice of Panchen Lama to Kumbum', on the website of Free Tibet Campaign at: <http://www.freetibet.org/press/specialreport180803>.
- 93 Commission on International Religious Freedom, Los Angeles, March 16, 2000. see www.savetibet.org for a full transcript.
- 94 ICT interview, Fall 2001.
- 95 TIN News Update 'Security tightened at Karmapa's monastery in Tibet; reincarnation of Reting Rinpoche confirmed by TAR authorities,' 14 January 2000.
- 96 TIN News Update 'Reting Monks Detained Following Protests Over Reincarnation.' 13 June 2000.
- 97 Interview with ICT, December 2002. 'Buddha-Dharma' refers to the teachings of Buddhism.
- 98 An account of this controversy and the story behind the recognition of Ugyen Trinley Norbu can be read in Mick Brown's book, 'Dance of the 17 Lives', published by Bloomsbury in March 2004. Also see the website: www.nalandabodhi.org for comprehensive press archives on the escape of the 17th Karmapa into exile.
- 99 Controversy soon arose within Tibetan quarters when Shamar Rinpoche announced that he did not accept the authenticity of the letter produced by Situ Rinpoche which identified Ugyen Trinley as the 17th Karmapa. In 1994 Shamar Rinpoche recognized a rival candidate, Thaye Dorje, whom he and his followers continue to claim to be the real Karmapa. For information on the debate see www.kagyuoffice.org and www.karma-kagyu.org.
- 100 Xinhua, 27 January 1999.
- 101 A full account of the escape is given in the book 'Music in the Sky: The Life, Art and Teachings of the 17th Karmapa Ogyen Trinley Dorje' by Michele Martin. Snow Lion Publications, 2003.
- 102 7 January 2000.
- 103 ICT interview, March 2004. ICT also obtained a photograph of Powa Rinpoche sitting on a throne reportedly at Nenang Monastery.
- 104 See Schwartz, Ronald, 'Circle of Protest.' New York, Columbia University Press, 1994.



CHAPTER 5 THE APPARATUS OF CONTROL

PATRIOTIC EDUCATION AND THE MANAGEMENT OF MONASTERIES

The first 'Patriotic Education' campaign was first launched in China, initially in schools, in September 1994. It involved the daily raising of the Chinese flag in each school and the chanting of the national anthem, as well as a study of approved patriotic books and films. When the campaign was launched in the TAR in May 1996, the focus was on religion and monks and nuns were the main targets. The campaign was extended a year later to monasteries and nunneries in Tibetan areas in Qinghai, Sichuan and Gansu.

The main aim of the patriotic education campaign in Tibetan areas, which reached even the most remote monasteries and nunneries, was to tighten Party control over religion and undermine the influence of the Dalai Lama in society and religious institutions. It is known in Tibetan as '*rgayl khces ring lugs bsam blo'i slob gso*,' literally meaning 'love your country, love your religion.' This underlines the basic message of the campaign – that loyalty to the state is pre-requisite to being a good monk or nun.

'Through the conduct of Patriotic Education in the monasteries in recent years, since the roots of the Dalai clique have been shaken and the ideological and social foundations of splittism weakened, the challenges to state security and disturbances caused by law-breaking monks and nuns have been effectively stopped, haphazard monastery construction and monastic recruitment and emboldening of illegal religious activities have been completely overturned, and not only has the regular discipline of normal religious activity been made better than before, but responsibility for it has been [ensured]. As comrade Li Ruihuan pointed out: "If education had not been improved at Tashi Lhunpo in 1995,¹⁰⁵ if Chadrel [Rinpoche] and the small number of other long-term henchmen of the Dalai had not been cleaned out, the work of recognizing the reincarnation of the 10th Panchen could not have been successfully carried out in a straightforward way; and if the work of Patriotic Education and the establishment of a normal disciplinary code had not been conducted in depth in the three great monasteries¹⁰⁶ near Lhasa in recent years, the situation in Lhasa too would not be as peacefully under control as it is now. This is as good a proof as any that the conduct of patriotic education is an absolute necessity.'"

- TAR Patriotic Education for Monasteries, Propaganda Book no 4 (see Document 4 in the Appendix)



A work team comprised of 2 Tibetans and 1 Chinese walks toward the remote, small nunnery in the Tibet Autonomous Region to conduct 'patriotic education' sessions. This work team conducted multi-day sessions twice a year in 2000 and 2001. The official purpose of these teams is to 'consistently strengthen the patriotic education of the monks and nuns, to raise the patriotic and religious awareness and eliminate unstable elements in the monasteries.' (see Document 2, paragraph 30, in the Sourcebook) (Photo: ©ICT)

Implementation of the campaign has demonstrated the Chinese leadership's renewed determination to 'adapt' Tibetan Buddhism to socialism and to enforce regulations governing the management of monasteries and registration of monks and nuns. Two other campaigns were renewed in intensity at around the same time as Patriotic Education began to be implemented – 'spiritual civilization', which focused on screening and eliminating the Dalai Lama's influence in the spiritual field, and the 'strike hard' campaign against crime, which was used in the 'struggle against separatists.'

According to information given to Western governments by Chinese officials, Patriotic Education as a major campaign was concluded in 2000. Even so, work teams remain in many monasteries and nunneries in Tibetan areas, and routine forms of political education continue at monasteries, nunneries, schools and workplaces. The scale and intensity of Patriotic Education may have diminished in recent years, but policies to promote China's religious policies and its position on the Dalai Lama and Panchen Lama are still in place, and efforts to persuade Tibetans to be patriotic to China are ongoing. In monasteries and nunneries where monks and nuns have been politically active the campaign has been continued and there are generally high levels of supervision.¹⁰⁸ ICT has received varying reports from monasteries and nunneries in recent years about the extent of the implementation of the campaign and its intensity.

THE AIMS OF PATRIOTIC EDUCATION

An article in Tibet Daily on 28 November 1997 detailed policy and procedure for patriotic education in Lhoka [Ch: *Shannan*], south of Lhasa. The article stated that the aim of Patriotic Education was to remove 'the Dalai's cloak layer by layer' through the following tasks:

1. Establish a mechanism and clearly define the responsibilities of each of the leading group for patriotic education and the religious affairs management group.
2. Provide sufficient staff and conduct training at different levels.
3. Take a clear cut stand and pay attention to policy, such as removing child monks.
4. Combine education for monks and nuns with education for laymen.
5. Contrast new with old; demonstrate typical examples of old peasants, herders and monks and nuns subjected to the Dalai's rule and suppression in old Tibet.
6. Conduct activities such as literary and art performances to enhance the educational effect.
7. Make verbal and written denunciations [of the Dalai Lama].
8. Provide guidance for different categories, advance in depth step by step.

As well as an attempt to indoctrinate monks and nuns, the campaign was used to test the loyalty of individuals and as a means to root out potential troublemakers. An official document about the role of monks and nuns entitled 'Rules for monks and nuns in monasteries' published by the Lhasa City Municipal Peoples' Government on 20 July 1997 and obtained by ICT outlines what the DMC and monastery officials should look out for, including: 'The shouting of reactionary slogans, the pasting up of reactionary leaflets, the drawing, printing, pasting up or flying of reactionary flags, the staging of illegal demonstrations or protests, the devising or spreading of counter-revolutionary rumors, the reproduction or secret possession of reactionary propaganda materials and the establishment of secret organizations.'

A major test of loyalty was the requirement for monks and nuns to denounce the Dalai Lama and endorse the Chinese Panchen Lama. In some monasteries, monks also had to display the correct political attitude towards local religious leaders who had been targeted by the authorities. For example, Sonam Phuntsok, a highly respected teacher from Kardze TAP in Sichuan, who was charged for involvement in 'separatist activities.'¹⁰⁹

‘The main battlefield of our struggles against the Dalai clique is in the spiritual field.’

– Chen Kuiyuan, the then TAR Party Secretary, 23 July 1996

Although the level of enforcement has varied, reports and official documents received by ICT underline the similarities in policy and implementation of Patriotic Education throughout all Tibetan areas, from the TAR to Tibetan areas of Sichuan, Qinghai, Yunnan and Gansu. The unified and consistent manner in which the Chinese authorities deal with Tibetan identity, spiritual leadership and the ‘separatist threat’ reflects official concerns over the unity of Tibetans as represented by Tibetan Buddhism and the influence of the monastic tradition in wider society.¹¹⁰

RESPONSES TO PATRIOTIC EDUCATION

ICT has monitored various responses among monks and nuns to the patriotic education campaign. In many cases, monks and nuns have refused to cooperate with work teams, particularly when required to denounce the Dalai Lama. Discrediting the Dalai Lama is one of the most pernicious aspects of the campaign for Tibetan Buddhists, as it contravenes a fundamental vow of spiritual loyalty to one’s ‘root’ [principal] teacher. The Dalai Lama has recognized the pressure on Tibetans to denounce him, and in addresses given to newly arrived refugees in 1998 and 1999, he said: ‘From now on if the Chinese authorities ever force you into denouncing me, do that without any hesitation...If you were to denounce me, the act would be seen by any sensible man as having been committed under duress, under gun-point.’¹¹¹ In some areas, lower level work teams appear to have turned a blind eye to non-compliance, preferring to report successes to higher levels, and perhaps themselves not comfortable with the requirements of the campaign [many Tibetan officials remain quietly devoted to the Dalai Lama]. But in other cases refusal to denounce the Dalai Lama has resulted in expulsions from the monastery or nunnery, and in some, temporary detention or imprisonment [see Chapter Seven]. Many monks and nuns have left their religious institutions in Tibet to escape into exile and continue their religious education in India.

In some monasteries monks have reacted more strongly to the presence of work teams. There were protests at Sera and Drepung monasteries in Lhasa when the Patriotic Education campaign was first launched in 1996. In No-

vember and December 1998, five monks at Kirti monastery in Ngaba (Ch: *Aba*) prefecture of Sichuan province, were arrested under suspicion of organizing resistance to the campaign; monks at Kirti had reportedly walked out of patriotic education meetings, torn down campaign posters and pasted up other posters in protest.¹¹² In 1998 about 20 monks from Ragya (Ch: *Laija*) monastery in Golog (Tib: *mgo log*, Ch: *Guoluo*) prefecture in Qinghai were detained and questioned for several days after protesting about an order to remove pictures of the Dalai Lama and the Dalai Lama’s choice of Panchen Lama.¹¹³

Some senior monks are concerned that patriotic education may affect the way religion is perceived by the younger generation. A senior lama from the TAR told ICT: ‘Whether they are in [monastic] robes or not, children are told that dharma is superstition and isn’t patriotic to our country. So the so-called education is really changing their mind about what is important.’¹¹⁴ Lhasa City Municipal Government regulations obtained by ICT forbid monastics even speaking to children about religion. ‘Since religion may not be used to impede the study of state administration, law and culture, monasteries may not run their own institutes or classes for the study of scripture. Implanting religious ideas in the heads of minors younger than 16 must be stringently prevented.’¹¹⁵

One former monk from Lhasa who is now living in the UK presented a different perspective when he said that Patriotic Education had helped monks to assess where political dangers lie. ‘Monks have spent so many years being told what to do and what to say. The intelligent monks get to know through political study how they can protect themselves, through what not to say or do.’

In general the increase in control and the new framework for management of monasteries, has not extinguished Tibetans’ loyalty to the Dalai Lama nor has it tempered the integral role and influence of Tibetan Buddhism in Tibetan society. In most cases, Tibetans continue to find pragmatic and discreet ways to circumvent restrictions and to continue with their spiritual lives. For instance, some senior lamas and monks have created schools to provide

a religious education for young monks expelled from monasteries due to age restrictions set by the authorities, or for monks without official permits. Other monks and nuns attend patriotic education sessions but ultimately do not allow it to affect their inner religious lives. A monk from Derge (Ch: *Dege*) county told ICT: ‘They [patriotic education work teams] talk about many things. The monks go along with what they say and will speak the words, but they do not believe them or feel them in their heart.’¹¹⁶

IMPACT OF POLITICAL EDUCATION IN MONASTERIES

A monk in his twenties from the eastern Tibetan area of Kham talked to ICT about his experiences of Patriotic Education in both his home monastery in Kham and at Drepung monastery in Lhasa. His account highlights the different pressures facing monks in Tibet today. He feels that the main threat to Buddhism in his area of Kham is a lack of qualified teachers. He then describes how the highly politicized environment at Drepung is affecting morale, the intensity of political education disrupting their religious studies:¹¹⁷

‘I spent some years at a monastery in Kham and later was at Drepung in Lhasa. His Holiness’ photo is not allowed anywhere nor are ceremonies allowed to be done for him. The policy isn’t enforced with the same severity in all areas, but where it is really enforced it has a long-term effect, decreasing the amount of monks in the monasteries. How can you cut the root and expect the tree to grow? It is the same if you cut at the root of our devotion, His Holiness.

In my monastery in Kham [name withheld], there used to be hundreds of monks, but now there are less than a hundred. This was a little due to the rigidity of the patriotic education but more because of the lack of teachers who are holders of many teachings. In the monastery they could only teach us to read and write and recite mantras, but nothing about religious ritual or about philosophy. We got along well enough with the teachers and high lamas. They were good people but they didn’t have the educational background and fundamentals of philosophy to be teachers. But what could we do? Indeed, there is a real risk in these kinds of places. If the philosophical grounding of Buddhism isn’t there, not much can be built for future generations. Just reciting a mantra is not religion.

One thing that was stressed most by the high lamas [who were instructing patriotic education] was that we were not to go to India, and of course no monk who has been to India can stay in our monastery. They said we needed to practice religion in our own monastery and not go outside but ev-

eryone knows they mean they don’t want us to listen to the Dalai Lama in India. It is kind of like they [the Patriotic Educators] want us to practice their religion, not the real religion of His Holiness. They also told us that if Buddhism spreads it will not be good for the economy and social status of people in China. Their reasoning was that if religion spreads, there will be more monks and fewer men to work for the good of all of China. But we only had a week of this kind of education a year.

But I managed to study later at Drepung in Lhasa. Gaining entrance into Drepung is very difficult. I had some connections that helped. You have to sign some things about the Dalai Lama being bad and take an exam that asks you political questions. In Drepung, we spent about 14 hours a week in political education classes that cover a wide range of topics. We sit there and they lecture on and on. Of course there are the usual lectures about not protesting, not to celebrate anniversaries of the Dalai Lama, telling us to speak ill of His Holiness. There is also a lot of history and politics. We have to act as though we are paying attention. If we do not, the committee members hit us with a stick. The Chinese government appoints all of the committee members and if they have devotion for the Dalai Lama, they would not be on the committee. If monks go against what they are saying in the classes, they will be kicked out. The way we mostly deal with it is just being silent. Even then, we can’t always just remain silent; they don’t even allow us just to be silent.

I don’t think anyone believes what they say in the classes but it does change our minds in a strange way. It makes us tired. Inside it makes us tired and sad and we just don’t want to hear what they have to say, so then when we go out of the political education class, we don’t feel like studying. It sort of wears us down. Because we become so sad inside, it makes it hard to study our religion, as if we don’t have enough energy to. It isn’t like that always, but so much time in the political education classes makes it difficult to really concentrate on our studies.’

PATRIOTIC EDUCATION METHODOLOGY AND WORK TEAMS

Under patriotic education, monks and nuns are required to study from set official texts, and sometimes to sit examinations. In some religious institutions, monks must go through the local newspapers during these political education sessions, reciting what the Chinese government is doing in Tibet and what the leaders are saying.¹²⁰ Monks and nuns are questioned on issues including the Dalai Lama and his ‘clique’, foreign influences, the Communist Party and socialism.

Work teams made up of groups of Tibetan and Chinese officials, usually from local areas, implement Patriotic Education. There are generally between three to 20 officials in a work team depending on the size of the monastery or nunnery and whether the monastery is being targeted for previous political activity. Often if there is a new rule or campaign initiative, prefecture level officials will be part of the work team. Work teams have become a permanent feature at least some monasteries that are historically significant, high profile to tourists or politically active – examples of this include Labrang Tashikyil in Amdo [Qinghai province], Lithang (Ch: *Litang*) monastery in Kham (Sichuan province), Ganden, Sera and Drepung monasteries in Lhasa, and Tsurphu monastery in central Tibet, home of the Karmapa who fled Tibet in 1999.

Work teams normally stay from five days to three months or even longer, usually in monastery accommodation or a nearby town. One role of the work team is to check monks’ and nuns’ official status, and monitor any newly admitted monastics. If a monk or nun does not have a permit they will generally be required to leave. ICT monitoring throughout the TAR and Sichuan province indicates that expulsion for lacking proper permits is common.

Government work teams distribute books among the monks and nuns and usually divide them into small groups to conduct the lessons. Patriotic Education lessons are compulsory.¹²¹ Monks now in exile from Sera monastery in Lhasa have reported being fined for not attending the Patriotic Education lessons. Work teams are also responsible for confiscating any photos that are found in the monastery of the Dalai Lama or the boy he recognized as the 11th Panchen Lama.

In some monasteries, monks who have traveled to India and then returned to their monasteries in Tibet have become a particular focus for attention by patriotic education work teams due to their suspected connections with the ‘Dalai clique.’ While in the past monks and nuns who have been to India were often allowed to return to their monasteries, since the advent of patriotic education, many have been expelled or not allowed to be ‘official’ monks.

‘Q: Who is the chief backer of the Dalai clique? Without backing, could the Dalai clique survive?’

A: The Dalai clique assiduously seeks the support and backing of the Western capitalists. Without Western support, there is no way the Dalai clique could survive.

Q: In all his successive religious teachings, what main point does the Dalai include in the main discourse?’

A: So-called “Tibetan independence”¹¹⁸

- from a Patriotic Education examination paper distributed to monks in Nedong (Ch: *Naidong*) county in Lhoka (Ch: *Shannan*) prefecture, TAR¹¹⁹

EXTENSION OF PATRIOTIC EDUCATION TO THE LAY COMMUNITY

In November 1997 the patriotic education campaign was extended to the lay community in Tibetan areas. Jampa Kelden, head of Nationalities and Religious Affairs Commission in TAR, announced that steps should be taken to “spread patriotic education in the agricultural communities, towns, cities, government organs and schools.” Jampa Kelden stated that these measures were needed in order to ‘Eliminate the Dalai’s influence and win people’s hearts. Otherwise, if we only carry out the patriotic education in temples, the instability will continue.... The influence of the Dalai Lama on the peasants, in the townships, schools and government organs is still serious.’¹²³

Further restrictions on Tibetan cadres were seen in 2000 when they were told to withdraw their children from Tibetan exile schools in India, otherwise they would risk losing their jobs. During the same period government workers were told that they must withdraw their children from monasteries and nunneries in Lhasa. ICT has also received reports from Tibetans now in exile, that families have been fined, sometimes up to RMB2000 [approx. \$ 243], if their children are caught trying to escape to India, or are known to have escaped.¹²⁴

Government workers are reportedly not allowed to wear Tibetan traditional dress or carry traditional prayer beads to work. According to reports received by ICT, government workers have been told since 2000 that they will be dismissed from their jobs if they carry out the religious circumambulation around the city’s holy sites (Tib: *ling skor*) during the annual 15 day Buddhist Saga Dawa festival. A young man from Tagtse (Ch: *Dazi*) in Lhasa Municipality, now in exile, said that during a political meeting in his town in April 2002, they were told that government workers were not allowed to conduct the *lingkor* circumambulation during Saga Dawa, otherwise they would lose their jobs, and that the townsfolk were allowed to do the

circumambulation, but not allowed to burn incense. If they were caught burning incense they would be arrested. Tibetans in Lhasa have told ICT that if they do want to do circumambulations they just go earlier in the morning than they would normally – it seems the stringency of enforcement varies.

Children in schools in Lhasa have also been affected by patriotic education campaigns, and have in many areas been discouraged from expressing religious faith and practicing devotional activities as part of a campaign by the authorities in middle schools and some primary schools. According to reports received by TIAN, children aged between seven and thirteen in schools targeted by the patriotic education campaign have been told that Tibetan Buddhist practice is ‘backward behavior’ and an obstacle to progress. In some schools children have been given detention or forced to pay fines when they failed to observe a ban on wearing traditional Buddhist ‘protection cords (Tib: *srung mdud*).¹²⁵

More recently, there have reports of academics being targeted for political education. At Tibet University in Lhasa, some ancient or religious texts have been banned for political reasons, and the authorities reportedly require professors, particularly those from the Tibetan language department, to attend political education sessions in an effort to prevent political and religious activity on campus.¹²⁶ Private religious practice is also severely restricted at the University; both Tibetan and foreign students at the University are not allowed to keep Dalai Lama photographs in their rooms, and monks and nuns are generally not allowed to visit the campus. Students at Tibet University who participate in political activity ‘beyond that sanctioned by the Communist Party’ or who join a religious group are ‘kicked out’ of college, student administration chief at the University in Lhasa, Pema Tashi told western journalists visiting the TAR on a press trip.¹²⁷

‘Q: When you witness actions that are not beneficial to social stability, your actions will be:

- (1) to firmly stop them and make a report to the relevant departments
- (2) crowd round to watch
- (3) pretend not to see
- (4) don’t care’

- Examination question for specialist technical personnel from a work unit in the TAR, autumn 2001.¹²² Number (1) was deemed the correct answer.

PROMOTION OF ATHEISM

In a speech to the regional Party committee on 15 November 1998, Ragdi called on all Party members and officials to make 'bold propaganda' regarding materialism and atheism. He said there was a need for this so people of the region would 'cast off the negative influence of religion.' He reaffirmed the need for all party members to be atheists

and said that freedom of religion belief and all legitimate religious activities are to be protected by law, whilst control over religious affairs by law is to be tightened and religion adapted to socialism. He concluded by stressing the need to combat all 'separatist' actions in the name of religion.¹²⁹

'Why does little Tseren not pray to the gods and Buddhas any longer?

Little Tseren's grandmother, Yangzong is a devout Buddhist. When little Tseren was nearly ready to graduate from his primary school, in order to enable her grandson to go to Tibetan class inland, the old lady often took him to the monastery to burn incense and prostrate himself and pray to the deities and spirits to bless him without any consideration of little Tseren's resistance. In the long run little Tseren was imperceptibly influenced and gradually slackened in his learning believing that everything would turn out as he wanted with the blessing of gods and Buddhas. In the event he could not pass the exams. When little Tseren was weeping silently, his teacher Zhoma told him "failure is not horrible, the crucial point is to learn from your failure." The teacher also gave him two books "The Mystery of Nature" and "Stories of Zhang Haidi". In the vacation, little Tseren read through the books and understood that there are no gods and spirits in the world, success depends only on hard work. Last year little Tseren was in grade three in secondary school. This year he was to enter high school. Old mother Yangzong wanted to go to the monastery with her grandson to pray to the Buddhas again and said that the reason he had not had a good result in the exam last year was because he had not gone to the monastery enough. Little Tseren appreciated what his grandmother did for him but he has already known that going there was ridiculous and useless. Then little Tseren politely said, "grandmother, our country is implementing a policy of religious freedom, I respect that you believe in religion, but it is my freedom not to believe in it and you should respect my choice." After convincing his grandmother, little Tseren studied hard whole heartedly and eventually he has achieved his ambition and entered the Lhasa middle school with his excellent mark.'

- 'A Reader for Advocating Science and Technology and Doing Away with Superstitions,' by the Propaganda Department of the Committee of the Communist Party of the TAR¹²⁸



Drepung monastery, near Lhasa not only has a Democratic Management Committee (left sign), but also houses a Religious Affairs Bureau office (right sign) and a police station (not pictured) on its grounds. This heightened level of bureaucratic intrusion is likely the result of both a centuries old legacy of political activity, and a more recent legacy built since 1987. At least 4 Drepung monks are serving sentences of 10 – 17 years in jail for publicly opposing Chinese rule in Tibet. (Photo: ©ICT)

PROMOTING MARXIST MATERIALISM AND ATHEISM

The official document *Reader for Advocating Science and Technology and Doing Away with Superstitions* gives the following perspective on atheism (see Document 2 in the appendix):

'As long as the masses really understand Marxist materialism and atheism and grasp them, they will not entrust their hope to so called "gods" or "savior of the world." Conversely they will establish the idea of "rely on oneself for everything", actively bring into play their subjective dynamic role, and to construct their homeland and create this worldly happy life. Marxist materialism and atheism are the scientific worldview, and in the propagation of science, the propagation of Marxist materialism and atheism are also included.

Only if we propagate Marxist materialism and atheism energetically, can people free themselves from the fetter of religious negative ideology, effectively get rid of disorder in society and the religious field and masses' ideology created by Dalai's splittist group. They can then control religious negative influence, do away idealism, theism and feudal superstition, eliminate harmful old ideology (Ch: *jiu si xiang*), old ethics (Ch: *jiu dao de*), old traditions (Ch: *jiu chuan tong*), and old customs (Ch: *jiu xi su*) to establish a Tibetan socialist spiritual civilization (Ch: *she hui zhu yi jing shen wen ming*) step by step.

Only if we energetically propagate Marxist materialism and atheism, can we effectively carry out the strategy of developing a "prospering Tibet with science and education" (Ch: *ke jiao xing zang*), and grasp the historical chance of developing the west (Ch: *xi bu da kai fa*) extensively and popularizing science and technology, in order to improve the masses' scientific and technological quality. Because socialism was established on the ruin of a feudal serf system in our region, there are still extensive influences of idealism, theism, feudal superstition and old rules (Ch: *chen gui*) and bad custom (Ch: *lou su*) and these have been the major elements blocking the social progress of our region. In addition, the interruption and violation of the Dalai's bloc (Ch: *da lai ji tuan*) and international hostile forces, shows the importance and urgency of propagating Marxist materialism and atheism. Only if we educate and win over the masses with the materialist worldview and atheist ideology, we can open the way for popularizing science and technology and modern civilization. Only in this way can we free the masses from the fetter of the religious superstition and outdated modes of production and life, especially from the Dalai's bloc's interruption and violation and overcome ignorance with science, and help the masses to live healthy and happy lives, pursue a fine worldly life, and promote the fast and healthy development of the Tibetan economy.'

Ragdi's comments preceded a three-year campaign, called the 'Three Stresses', in 1999 urging cadres and members of society to adopt atheism. The Three Stresses are the stress of study, theory and sound healthy trends, which has been like most national campaigns, adapted in Tibetan areas to focus on the 'problems' of religious belief amongst party and government members, particularly their faith in the Dalai Lama.¹³⁰

Shortly after the launch of this campaign in the TAR, government cadres were given study manuals such as 'A Reader for the Education of Marxist Materialism and Atheism and a Popularizing Reader for Advocating Science and Doing Away with Superstition' [as quoted above; see Document 2 in the Appendix for a translation of this manual] with the intention of implementing 'both the spirit of central government concerning thoroughly launching the teaching of Marxist materialism and atheism and also the requirement of the Committee of the region that an opportunity be given to bring to fruition the propagation of materialism, atheism and science and the abolition of idealism, theism and feudal superstition. Its purpose is also to provide a learning material for the urgent need of the Party members and cadres and the masses at the basic level.'¹³¹

Communist Party members in China are required to be atheist. But religious policy, as laid out in Document 19, acknowledged that this would be problematic in some ethnic minority areas and that patience would be required to attract cadres who do not have strong beliefs. Religious belief and suspected loyalty to the Dalai Lama amongst Tibetan Party members is still a problem for the Party. In June 1997 Chen Kuiyuan, then Party Secretary of TAR, announced that their opposition to the Dalai Lama would be a test of loyalty of top Party cadres. 'The best touchstone to test their political steadfastness is the battlefield of the struggle with Dalai clique. This is the one basic thing in which to see a Party member's Party spirit,' he said. Atheism continues to be promoted in regular political training for government cadres.

The Chinese Communist Party has always emphasized that there is an important link between atheism and economic development. On the one hand there is a belief that economic development will counter the influence of religion and therefore promote atheism. 'People in richer areas usually do not take a great interest in religions, whereas the poorer people are, the stronger their enthusiasm for religions,'¹³² Xiao Huaiyuan, director of the regional Propaganda Department, said in 1994. At the same time, as Director Xiao notes, atheism should be encourage to aid economic development because religion holds

development back: 'Intensifying propaganda on atheism is especially important for Tibet, because atheism plays an extremely important role in promoting economic construction, social advancement and socialist spiritual civilization in the region.' Xiao reiterated that Party members must 'resolutely resist the Dalai clique's reactionary infiltration' and 'help peasants and herdsmen free themselves from the negative influence of religion.'¹³³

DEMOCRATIC MANAGEMENT COMMITTEES

Democratic Management Committees (DMCs) (Tib: *mang gtso bdag nyer uyon lhan khang*) are government committees responsible for regulating religious affairs, production, finance, security and study in monasteries and nunneries. Zhou Dunyou, an official of the Tibetan Regional Nationalities Affairs Commission, said in 1994 that DMCs 'have been set up in all temples and monasteries so that monks and nuns can manage religious and other affairs on their own.'¹³⁴ DMCs virtually all consist of monks appointed or elected in monasteries, and lay government cadres of Tibetan ethnicity. Their members are responsible for the distribution of official documents and for publicizing government policy. They vary widely in the degree of control they exert; at larger monasteries they are often more repressive, while at smaller or more remote monasteries they may be relatively independent. In all cases, the DMCs have supplanted the traditional monastic hierarchy, in which monk officials oversaw the religious and administrative life of the institution. They are responsible for implementing directives of the Religious Affairs Bureau (RAB), the principal government organ for administering religious policy in China and Tibet. The central RAB falls under the authority of the State Council.

An official document entitled 'Lhasa City Municipal Government measures for the supervision of monasteries', sets out some of the duties of Democratic Management Committees as follows:¹³⁵

'Under the leadership of the Peoples' Government and its expediting offices, voluntarily accepting the oversight and supervision of the local government and agencies in charge of religion, the Democratic Management Committees of monasteries must vigorously support the work of related agencies.

'Having put the Democratic Management system into practice and guided the masses along the path, the DMCs of monasteries must do whatever is best to promote democracy, make decisions on major issues after collective discussion, and offer them for the scrutiny and approval of the local government and agencies in charge of religion.'



Larger monasteries closer to large Chinese civilian and governmental population centers have more government regulation and stronger 'Democratic Management Committees.' These committees are also more likely to include local lay officials who are not trusted by the monks. Pictured here is a small sign near the entrance to the offices of the Democratic Management Committee of Kumbum monastery, near the provincial capitol of Xining, reads, 'No entrance for tourists.' (Photo: ©ICT)

THE ROLE OF THE DEMOCRATIC MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE

'A monk in his twenties who is now in exile gave the following account of the management of Sera monastery in Lhasa in recent years. The monk comments that the DMC even controls what monks say to foreign tourists visiting the monastery:

In 1996, the Chinese government set up a branch of the Democratic Management Committee at Sera. The [responsibilities of this] committee included all new admissions and expelling of monks from the monastery. The traditional head of the monastery was sidelined by this committee, and had only nominal power. Even the smallest decisions, like spending a few hundred yuan, cannot be made before consulting this committee. Overall it seems that the Chinese had hijacked the monastery to serve their own purpose of making a lot of money from tourists, and carrying out propaganda work. The main purpose of monastery was neglected.

The DMC gives special attention to the finances of the monastery and political activities inside the monastery. Major issues such as education, discipline and maintenance of this ancient monastery were neglected. The government had never provided any financial help to the monastery for maintenance, but the authorities now want to control the income of monastery and also want the monastery to contribute to the state through tourist fees and other means. The Chinese government forced the monastery to pay for, and build a house for members of management committee.

The chairman of the committee was usually a high ranking Communist party official who hold the post of Party secretary at county level. All the members of the committee are non-believers of Buddhism. They don't have any knowledge of Buddhist studies. Their duties are to spy on the activities of individual monks in the monastery and to convert this aged-old monastery into a profit-making enterprise.

Monks who have been expelled by the DMC have generally been expelled for political reasons, and not for violating the discipline of the monastery. Even the slightest dissent like listening of Voice of America or Radio Free Asia can result in expulsion. Possession of photo and cassette recordings of His Holiness the Dalai Lama is strictly prohibited.

Since 1996 a new curriculum was prescribed by the authorities [a reference to patriotic education]. Any one found skipping the studies is liable to be expelled from the monastery. Monks were supposed to attend the lecture session every day, although now this strict schedule has been relaxed and monks now have to attend classes about once in a month. As well as the classes on patriotism, monks are taught what to say to the foreign and overseas Chinese tourists who visit the monastery. Interaction between tourists and monks are strictly monitored by the DMC, and punishments can result if monks are found to have said something to tourists that was not permitted.'

As the basis for their main functions and management needs, monasteries may establish positions for religious functionaries such as abbot, disciplinarian and chant master. Functionaries such as abbot, disciplinarian, chant master, personal tutor, scripture tutor and shrine keeper [who] have responsibility to the DMC, and must fulfill their own responsibilities with the DMC's guidance, help and support.

Various procedures must be established for essential duties, religious assemblies, study, protection of cultural artifacts, monastic discipline, work reports and so on, in accordance with the requirements of the functioning of the monasteries. Organized by the DMC of monks and nuns for periodic, one study session every two weeks, study of law, the legal system and of relevant policies is to be finalized. Work reports are to be delivered periodically, every six months, in the monastic assembly.⁷

The document also stresses the imperative of patriotism among monks and nuns and the role of the DMC in instilling this:

'Monasteries will hold an annual competition for "Monks and nuns who excel in loving the Nation, loving the Dharma". Those who uphold the unification of the Motherland and unity of nationalities, vigorously study relevant official policies and religious knowledge, obey rules and regulations, protect cultural artifacts, take care of common property, respect the old and nurture the young and contribute to collective work will not only be commended by the DMC as a "Monk or nun who loves the Nation and loves the Dharma", but receive material rewards and suitable promotion. Those with special accomplishments will be proposed for commendation to the Nationality and Religious Affairs offices.'

It is the DMCs who are responsible for selecting which monks are allowed to remain at the monastery, and to enforce expulsion of monks under the age of 18. The DMCs sometimes play a repressive role by collaborating with security officials in the arrest and expulsion of monks.¹³⁶ However as interviews with DMC members in exile have shown, many members of these committees have been reluctant to enforce official policy which conflicts with their religious beliefs and vows. As intermediaries between Party officials and monks and nuns, some have tried to exert what influence they can to protect their monastery. Given the prevalence of work teams in Tibet's monasteries it would appear that the DMCs have failed to some extent at least, as a tool of government supervision.¹³⁷

A report in the official press in 2002 referring to training classes for DMCs appeared to indicate some concern on the part of the authorities about the 'religious patriotism' of committee members. The article, in Tibet Daily on 13 June 2002, stated that an opening ceremony had been held for the training classes, attended by cadres, DMC members and senior monks from the TAR's main monasteries. The training classes were being held in order to 'raise the quality of political thought in democratic committee directors and their levels of management' as well as to 'thoroughly grasp' three principles by former Party Secretary and President Jiang Zemin for strengthening religious patriotism. The official Luosan Duzhu [the Tibetan name is likely to be Lobsang Dondrub] was quoted in the article as saying that he hoped that every DMC member and monk present at the training would raise their awareness, and 'clearly separate themselves in thoughts and in actions from the Dalai clique.'

AGE RESTRICTIONS IN MONASTERIES AND NUNNERIES

With the launch of the patriotic education campaign in TAR in May 1996, work teams began to prevent children from joining a monastery or nunnery until they are 18. Traditionally, monks had often entered monasteries as novices at a very young age.

The level of enforcement of this rule seems to have varied from monastery to monastery – for instance in smaller monasteries in more remote areas, many monks below the age of 18 are still continuing their studies. In some areas, under-18 year old monks have left the monasteries only for the duration of the visit of patriotic education work teams. In other monasteries, schools have been established so that young monks can stay. For instance at Drepung monastery in the Lhasa valley, the biggest monastery in central Tibet prior to the Cultural Revolution, hundreds of unofficial young monks were waiting to join the monastery. The DMC made the decision to provide basic schooling for them, and as of 1995 there were 400 monks at the school and seven monk teachers, providing classes in written Tibetan and basic mathematics. In 1996 their curriculum was expanded to include Chinese and English and the school was established as a full six year primary school.¹³⁸ In some monasteries the resources for establishing a school are not available. In other places schools, which have been established for a number of years, are now facing further restriction and control by the government.¹³⁹

The vows and precepts of fully ordained monastics are understood to be a lifetime's undertaking, although monks and nuns are free to return to lay life if they wish to.¹⁴⁰ While there is some debate amongst the Tibetan community over the benefits of children entering a monastery at a very young age, there has never been any concept of a 'retirement age' for monks and nuns. But there have been some reports of monks over the age of 60 being forced to 'retire', including one official report in *Qinghai Daily* on 5 October 1998, which stated that the authorities 'gave retirement to 49 out of 52 monks over the age of 60 in Youning monastery.'¹⁴¹ ICT has also received reports that monks above the age of 60 are no longer allowed to stay in various monasteries in Dranang county in the TAR, Kardze TAP in Sichuan province, and near Rebgong in Qinghai province. There is no evidence yet of a general policy to retire older monks, but these reports are alarming, particularly given that there is already such a shortage of older monks who can pass on their knowledge to a younger generation. Drepung monastery, one of the largest known monasteries in the world pre-1959 with around 9,000 monks, has still not produced a single new geshe in the last 30 years, and many older monks there fear a new generation of geshe scholars will not be ready to take over the educational activities in Drepung when the last of the 'old society' monks die, and with them, their learning.¹⁴²

FINANCIAL MANAGEMENT OF MONASTERIES¹⁴³

Monasteries traditionally derived income from voluntary offerings, taxes, rent, government grants and business revenues. In Tibet, as in many Asian societies, there exists a symbiotic relationship between the lay community and religious community; the lay community offering financial support and the monastic community offering spiritual guidance. The Chinese Communist Party views the traditional position of monasteries in Tibetan society as parasitic and exploitative, and their support by the lay community a drain on economy and society. As a result, Party policy on religion emphasizes the need for monasteries and other religious institutions to be economically self-sufficient.

Many larger monasteries have established small businesses within the monastery such as shops and restaurants for pilgrims, local buses, and entrance fees from tourists. Donations and alms are still an important source of income for many monasteries, particularly those in remote areas where there is little opportunity for other economic activity. However, monks and nuns are not allowed to facilitate

nor encourage the religious alms giving¹⁴⁴ and authorities have also made attempts to re-educate the lay public through propaganda to discourage them from spending their income on donations.

Accounts received by ICT indicate that many monks throughout Tibetan areas are dependent on funds from their families to stay in their monasteries. A monk in his early twenties from Malho Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture (Ch: *Huangnan*) in Qinghai province who is now in exile told ICT that most of the monks in one of the major monasteries in the area, Rebgong, were supported by their relatives, although he added: 'The monastery will give monks a share when they receive an offering from a family in the area.'

The taxation levied on monastic communities appears to vary widely from area to area. This reflects the general situation in Tibetan areas; reports indicate that levels of taxation imposed on farmers and herders are inconsistent and that, in some areas, unofficial taxes are imposed by local authorities to generate extra income. A Western Buddhist student who has traveled widely in Tibetan areas of the PRC told ICT that monks in some areas of Kham had complained to him that taxes were unduly high, and that there was a lot of confusion about exactly what taxes they were paying. The student said: 'It seems that the rate, frequency, and imposition of taxes outside of the TAR is not consistent even within a township and often seems to be dependent upon the relationship that local officials have with those being taxed.'

An official document on 'the propagation of patriotic education in Tibetan Buddhism' produced under the auspices of the Religious Affairs Bureau of Gansu province in January 1998 gave an insight into the financial management of one monastery, Labrang, located in modern day Gansu province¹⁴⁵ and one of the six main Gelugpa monasteries.¹⁴⁶ The document states that the monastery should follow the path of 'self-sufficiency' by giving priority to 'productive labor – farming or religious alms'¹⁴⁷, 'encouraging the productive artistic skills of monks', providing services such as 'wood-block making, type-setting, medical care, handicrafts, running a guest-house and restaurant, making incense, shops, tourist guides, photography and gardening.' The report concluded that in the last decade, the monastery's income has risen from several thousand to several hundred thousand yuan, which is 'clear evidence of marching on the path of self-sufficiency and following the principle of the monastery running itself, reducing the burden on the state and the devout public, and pioneering the new brand of socialist monks.'

The Communist Party views monasteries as a drain on resources in society, and has actively discouraged voluntary donations, which would help monasteries rebuild more quickly and support more monks or nuns. Deciding how to spend small donations left by pilgrims, such as those seen here on the rooftop of the Potala Palace, is now often controlled by the Party-controlled "Democratic Management Committee" set up in each monastery and nunnery. (Photo: ©ICT)



The same document referred to the importance of tourism to Labrang's revenues, drawing attention to the successes of the monastery for 'responding to the increasing demands of the tourist industry' by means including the setting up of 'restaurants, guest-houses, shops' and having tour guides available. The report presented the suggestions of the Labrang monastery DMC that 'defense against infiltrators' should be 'strengthened' whilst 'promoting tourism', concluding that 'religious tourism is the mainstay of economic income and prospects for Labrang.'

Tibetans have renovated most monasteries and nunneries in Tibetan areas privately. The Chinese authorities state that since 1976 the state has contributed approximately \$40 million towards the restoration of more than 1400 Tibetan Buddhist sites that were destroyed before and during the Cultural Revolution.¹⁴⁸ Although the authorities state that these renovations are to support religion, the money has also been invested at least in part to promote the development of tourism in Tibet. In June 2002 the government began a five-year centrally funded restoration of the religious sites of the Potala and Norbulingka palaces in Lhasa, although neither are allowed to host a cohesive monastic population, and the active Sakya monastery in rural southern Tibet.

RESTRICTIONS ON PILGRIMAGE

Pilgrimage to holy sites is a prominent feature in Tibetans' popular religious devotional practices. Pilgrims in the past and today endure great hardships while traveling across the vast plateau to visit holy sites such as monasteries, hermits' caves, and sacred mountains that have been consecrated and inhabited by past meditation masters and Buddhist scholars. The Tibetan word for pilgrimage, 'ne khor' literally means 'the circumambulation of a sacred place.'

To go on a pilgrimage to a religious site in a restricted area, a Tibetan generally needs to secure a letter of authorization from their Neighborhood Committee or from their local PSB. New restrictions were introduced on pilgrims to one of the most holy of Tibet's pilgrimage sites, Mt Kailash, in 2002. This was the Year of the Horse – a particularly auspicious year to travel to the mountain. According to reports received by ICT, to obtain a permit to travel there pilgrims had to obtain a letter from their local PSB first, then from the Ngari prefecture office in Lhasa. Their permit, together with their ID card, was checked at a number of checkpoints on the way to Mt. Kailash and on arrival they were registered by the PSB. Some pilgrims reportedly had to pay a fee in order to do a circumambulation of the mountain, which is sacred to Hindus and Jains as well as Buddhists. ICT received reports of some pilgrims being detained in Purang (Ch: *Pulan*) in western TAR, because of lack of appropriate permits.¹⁵⁰ The obligation to obtain a permit is likely to have deterred some pilgrims from making the journey.

It is even more difficult for Tibetans to make a pilgrimage to holy sites beyond Tibet's borders. According to reports received by ICT, it is very difficult for Tibetans to obtain permission to make a pilgrimage to Nepal and almost impossible for them to obtain permission to travel to India. In recent years, some elderly Tibetans and Tibetans living outside TAR have been able to obtain passports from their county level PSB, usually after their political record has been checked and with payment of between RMB 300-500 (approx. \$ 36-60). Once they have their passport they are able to apply for a visa at the Nepalese Consulate in Lhasa and from there travel by road or air to Kathmandu. For most Tibetans in the TAR it is virtually impossible to obtain a passport without official connections.

'Tibetan pilgrimage...includes much more than the mere physical journey to places deemed sacred. Through religious teaching, ritual activity, and the attendant assimilation and replication of symbols, as well as through the formation of a rich network of social and economic relationships, pilgrimage has functioned in Tibet as an integral dimension of the construction of society and self, transforming the body, consciousness and status of the pilgrim throughout the course of the journey. This certainly has been the case even if never brought to the level of deliberate reflection, through traditional Tibetan religious culture has in fact long been conscious of the transformative dimension of the pilgrimage experience, and so intentionally has sought to refine and thus to accentuate it.'

- Matthew T. Kapstein¹⁴⁹

MT. KAILASH PILGRIMS

Despite the difficulties and restrictions experienced by religious practitioners in Tibetan areas today, the devotional aspect of religious practice is very apparent to foreign visitors, particularly on pilgrimage trails. British tourist Joe Hipgrave gave ICT the following account of a visit to Mount Kailash (Tib: *khan grin po che*) during the Buddhist festival of Saga Dawa in June 2003:

'When I visited the sacred sites of Mount Kailash and Lake Manasarovar for the Saga Dawa festival in 2003, I was struck by the vibrancy and the potency of Buddhism. It was the Tibetan year of the Water Horse (2129) when karma generated by a circumambulation of Kailash is said to be multiplied 13 times. On the way to Kailash from Lhasa we encountered dozens of Chinese army convoys on the mountain passes, but met at least equal numbers of pilgrim convoys, with their sturdy lorries decorated with lotuses, swastikas and other Buddhist symbols. We heard many rumors about the numbers traveling to Kailash for the festival, including some wild estimates suggesting many tens of thousands. When we arrived at Darchen below the sacred mountain the authorities allocated us sleeping space in the compound for foreigners. We were not allowed to camp in the rapidly spreading Tibetan site that was appearing on the plain, with its colored tents and campfires.

A day later, the number of pilgrims had increased dramatically. The makeshift town that had appeared to the south and east of the mountain had expanded into a small temporary city, with peddlers' stalls set up along the pathways and plumes of smoke rising from the campfires. There were perhaps up to 10,000 people. My impression was that the

numbers of pilgrims and tourists had overwhelmed the authorities.

The Chinese authorities were visible, though not oppressive. The dozens of green-uniformed figures were greatly outnumbered by the pilgrims and there was the sense that, recognizing that the huge gathering was largely peaceable, there was no need for displays of authority. The exception to this came when, after the main ceremony, a boy lama left his tent and passed through the crowd. A group of scowling Chinese officials appeared and attempted to push back the crowds. A middle aged officer in dark glasses standing on a box to lift him above the heads began shouting and pointing as though he were directing the procession. I felt that he intended to give the impression that they were in control of the situation and directing the proceedings. But they just seemed ridiculous and impotent.

Kailash and Manasarovar are sacred not just to Buddhists, but also to followers of the ancient Bön religion, to Jains and to Hindus. While there we heard of a number of Indian Hindus who had made the pilgrimage (the authorities had relaxed the entry restrictions for the first time) and had died, overcome by the altitude. But most of the visiting Hindus had, like us westerners, prevailed, and could be seen, puffing and sluggish, in gloves, scarves, woolen hats and sunglasses. More and more Chinese are also making the pilgrimage to Kailash, usually the well off educated Chinese from cities who have become intrigued by Tibet and Buddhism. The Chinese authorities are clearly putting a lot of effort into promoting Kailash as a tourist destination to the Chinese domestic market.'

NOTES

- 105 A reference to the dissent that followed the Chinese installation of an official 11th Panchen Lama, not recognized by the majority of Tibetans. Tashi Lhunpo is the Panchen Lama's traditional seat.
- 106 Sera, Ganden, Drepung.
- 107 Both Spiritual Civilization and Strike Hard were national campaigns, but as with Patriotic Education, were adapted in Tibet to focus on perceived threats to state security. For further details of these campaigns, see TIN's Background Briefing Papers: 'Political Campaigns, Documents and Statements from Tibet 1996-7,' published 1998.
- 108 The 2002 Annual Report of the US Congressional Executive Commission on China stated the following: 'Article 36 of the Chinese Constitution provides for the freedom of normal religious practice. Party official Zhu Xiaoming, then an official in the United Front Work Department, explained to Commission staff that this must be based on seamlessness between religion and patriotism. Loving the country is identical to loving religion, he said. The Patriotic Education campaign, carried out from 1996 to 2000, resulted in the expulsion or displacement of thousands of monks and nuns.'
- 109 ICT has received reports from 2000 to 2003 that photographs of Sonam Phuntsok are not allowed to be displayed in monasteries in Kardze. For more information about Sonam Phuntsok see Chapter 6.
- 110 For further analysis of this theme see 'Relative Freedom? Tibetan Buddhism and religious policy in Kardze, Sichuan, 1987-1999,' TIN Briefing Paper, 1999 and 'A Sea of Bitterness, Patriotic Education in Qinghai Monasteries,' TIN Briefing Paper 1999.
- 111 Cited in 'Sea of Bitterness: Patriotic Education in Qinghai monasteries,' TIN, July 1999.
- 112 'Relative Freedom? Tibetan Buddhism and Religious Policy in Kardze, Sichuan, 1987-99,' TIN Briefing Paper 1999, pp 37-8.
- 113 'A Sea of Bitterness: Patriotic Education in Qinghai monasteries,' TIN Briefing Paper 1999, pp 5.
- 114 ICT interview, fall 2001.
- 115 Lhasa city municipal government 'Rules for monks and nuns in monasteries' 20 July 1997.
- 116 ICT interview, winter 2003. The Polish sociologist Edmund Wnuk-Lipinski coined the phrase 'the dimorphism of values' to describe the public adherence to the official culture and masking of one's true sentiments. Footnote 22, p 190, 'Buddhism in Contemporary Tibet: Religious Revival and Contemporary Identity,' edited by Melvyn C. Goldstein and Matthew T. Kapstein, University of California Press 1998.
- 117 ICT interview, winter 2004.
- 118 In fact the Dalai Lama has consistently advocated 'genuine autonomy' for Tibet since the mid 1980s, not independence.
- 119 TIN Background Briefing Papers, 'Political Campaigns, Documents and statements from Tibet 1996-7,' pp 28-9.
- 120 For example, monks at Tashi Lhunpo monastery in Shigatse – a particularly politically sensitive monastery as it is the seat of the Panchen Lama - have been required to do this, according to reports received by ICT.
- 121 'Organized by the DMC of monks and nuns for periodic, one study session per fortnight, study of law, the legal system and of relevant policies is to be finalized. Work reports are to be delivered periodically (every 6 months) in the monastic assembly.' Official document entitled 'Measures for the supervision of monasteries' from the Lhasa City Municipal Government, July 20, 1997.
- 122 'News Review, Reports from Tibet 2001,' TIN, p 41.
- 123 Tibet Daily 21 Nov 1997, AFP, cited in TIN News Review 1997.
- 124 Interviews by human right monitor at the Tibetan Refugee Reception Center, Kathmandu, Nepal, Fall 2001.
- 125 TIN News Update, 20 February 2001.
- 126 US State Department report on human rights in China, published 25 February 2004.
- 127 Sydney Morning Herald, 30 August 2003.
- 128 Official document obtained by ICT. See Document 2 at the end of this report
- 129 SWB 30 December 1998.
- 130 See 'News Review Reports from Tibet, 1999,' TIN 2000.
- 131 A Reader for Advocating Science and Technology and Doing Away with Superstitions, Propaganda Department of the Committee of the Communist Party of the Tibet Autonomous Region, authored by Comrade Fang Yuguo and Liu Shiguang.
- 132 Tibet People's Broadcasting Station, Lhasa, 28 November 1994 in SWB, 5 December 1994.
- 133 See 'News Review Reports from Tibet, 1999,' TIN, 2000 p 58.
- 134 Quoted in 'Rights groups slam claim of religious freedom in Tibet,' UPI, Beijing, 7 October 1994.
- 135 Official document ICT obtained. Published 20 July 1997. The word monastery in this text connotes the inclusion of temples and religious hermitages.
- 136 See Nicholas Eftimiades 'Chinese Intelligence Operations' Annapolis: Naval Institute Press 1994 pp. 48-51.
- 137 See 'Forbidden Freedoms – Beijing's Control of Religion in Tibet' International Campaign for Tibet, 1990 p 51.
- 138 See Melvyn C. Goldstein "The Revival of Monastic Life in Drepung Monastery," in 'Buddhism in Contemporary Tibet – Religious Revival and Cultural Identity,' University of California Press 1998, p 43.
- 139 At Kirti gonpa, in Ngawa prefecture, reports have been received about the school's forced closure in March 2002, by Ngawa county authorities because of disagreements on how the school was being managed.
- 140 Fully ordained monks usually spend many years as a novice (Tib: *dge tshul*) before making the decision themselves to take full ordination. Fully ordained monks (Tib *dge slong*) in Tibet take 253 vows found within the Indian Buddhist monastic discipline (Tib: *dul ba*) lineage.
- 141 TIN, 27 Oct 1998, 'Forcible retirement of monks threatens Buddhist tradition.'
- 142 See Melvyn C. Goldstein "The Revival of Monastic Life in Drepung Monastery," in 'Buddhism in Contemporary Tibet – Religious Revival and Cultural Identity,' University of California Press 1998, p 45.
- 143 For a detailed account of the financial management of one monastery in Tibet, Drepung in Lhasa, see Chapter Two, "The Revival of Monastic Life in Drepung Monastery" by Melvyn C. Goldstein in 'Buddhism in Contemporary Tibet: Religious Revival and Cultural Identity' edited by Melvyn C. Goldstein and Matthew T. Kapstein, University of California Press 1998.
- 144 "The monastery is not allowed to encourage nor ask for donations from the public and is not allowed to make the public work for them." 'Ways to Control Monasteries, Temples and Hermitages from the Lhasa Control Office,' 20 July 1997.
- 145 'Study Material for the Propagation of Patriotic Education in Tibetan Buddhism,' United Front of the Party Central Executive Committee of Gansu Province under the auspices of the Religious Affairs Bureau of the Gansu Province, January 1998.
- 146 The other five being Drepung, Sera and Ganden in Lhasa, Tashi Lhunpo in Shigatse and Kumbum in Qinghai.
- 147 This indicates that the gathering of religious alms is classified as a 'productive labor activity.'
- 148 Cited by the US State Department in its Report on International Religious Freedom, released 18 December 2003.
- 149 "The Pilgrimage of Rebirth Reborn: The 1992 Celebration of the Drigung Powa Chenmo," p 95, in 'Buddhism in Contemporary Tibet: Religious Revival and Cultural Identity' edited by Melvyn C. Goldstein and Matthew T. Kapstein, University of California Press 1998.
- 150 Interviews submitted to ICT by human right monitor (ref#162) at the Tibetan Refugee Reception Center, Kathmandu, Nepal, Fall 2002.



CHAPTER 6 DESTRUCTION OF MONASTERIES AND PERSECUTION OF RELIGIOUS LEADERS

After the destruction of monasteries, libraries and Buddhist colleges (Tib: *bsbad gra*) that took place before and during the Cultural Revolution, Chinese official sources estimated there were only 10 monasteries left standing in 1976 from the 2,463 which were in use in 1959.¹⁵¹ In the two decades following the Cultural Revolution, 1,400 monasteries were renovated, according to official statistics.¹⁵² While the Tibetan government in exile disputes these figures, there is no doubt hundreds of monasteries were rebuilt and renovated during the 1980s, some with government financing but mostly funded by private contributions from local Tibetans.¹⁵³

Official concern over the scale of the religious revival in Tibet grew as the decade progressed and the level of religious faith it represented became apparent. By the end of the decade, the authorities were formulating measures to address their lack of control over religious activities and the influence of monasteries in the community. Laws and regulations have gradually been introduced in Tibetan areas to prevent religion from spreading further and to facilitate the exercise of greater official control over existing religious activity through stronger state administration of religious activity, religious institutions and religious personnel. 'This included a prohibition on new building, unless authorized by the Party. The official policy documents produced during the Third Tibet Work Forum in Beijing in 1994 stated that a 'sufficient' number of monasteries, monks and nuns existed in the TAR to 'satisfy the daily religious needs of the masses,' that more rebuilding was not needed, and that religion should never be allowed to 'spread unchecked.'¹⁵⁴

Similar measures were introduced to control further expansion of organized religion in Tibetan areas outside the TAR. From the late 1980s onwards, the authorities in Sichuan had begun to impose measures limiting the construction of new monasteries. In 1992, the Kardze

Religious Affairs Bureau stated that new or renovated monasteries were being built without official approval, and warned: 'The monasteries in our prefecture are already satisfying the requirements of the religious masses. The crux lies in improving the management. From now on, in principle, there will be neither restoration of monasteries nor opening of new places of religious activity... The relevant offices at all levels must firmly control and prohibit unauthorized construction or expansion of monasteries.'

Although there is little information currently available on the situation in Tibetan areas in Qinghai and Gansu, this pattern of increasing control over religion has been evident in both Sichuan and the TAR in the past few years. The Chinese authorities have made increasing use of civil laws and regulations to limit the size of monasteries and nunneries in Tibetan areas and to reduce the numbers of monks and nuns, in line with the trend throughout the People's Republic of China of devising legal mechanisms to enforce the Party's religious policy. In Sichuan, over two thousand homes were demolished and monks and nuns expelled in the Buddhist institutes of Serthar (Ch: *Seda*) in the valley of Larung Gar and Yachen, and there was a serious crackdown in Kardze Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture following incidents of political protest and long life prayer ceremonies for the Dalai Lama. In the TAR, two historically important Tibetan Buddhist retreat areas and pilgrimage sites are known to have been destroyed, as well as a nunnery.

Increasing levels of repression against religious activity in many areas were also demonstrated by the detentions of popular religious leaders, known for their social and religious activism rather than their political stance. The Tibetan prefectures Kardze (Ch: *Ganzi*) and Ngaba (Ch: *Aba*) in Sichuan have become more restive as religious repression has intensified.

DEMOLITIONS AND EXPULSIONS IN THE TAR

In 1994, the Party Secretariat of the Lhasa City Administration announced a ruling on the building of new monasteries as follows:

'From now on, no new monasteries are allowed to be built. In the event of the construction of a monastery without authorization from the local government, the district authority, besides finding out the people responsible, should destroy the monastery within a given period. No monastery is permitted to encourage the local community to engage in the renovation of monasteries. In cases where a monastery needs to be reconstructed, either the district authority or the City People's Government should be informed and authorization for reconstruction should come from them.'¹⁵⁵

These harder line policies began to be implemented in the mid-1990s, notably with the destruction of religious buildings at two historically important Tibetan Buddhist retreat and pilgrimage sites near Lhasa, Drag Yerpa and Samye Chimpu, as well as Rakhor nunnery in Tölung Dechen county (Ch: *Duilong Deqing*), north-west of Lhasa.

A temple and monastery at the retreat and pilgrimage area of Drag Yerpa had been built in 1996 under the direction of a young Rinpoche from Kham, but were ruled to be unauthorized because they were not on the exact site of one of the historic temples or monasteries which existed before 1959.¹⁵⁶ In 1998, the buildings at Drag Yerpa were torn down by local workers directed by officials from Taktse county (Ch: *Dazi*).¹⁵⁷ At Samye Chimpu, retreat structures and a small temple were reduced to rubble with the use of dynamite by Chinese authorities. Dozens of monks and nuns were expelled from both sites. Today, there are still monks and nuns are still present at Drag Yerpa and Samye Chimpu, although in reduced numbers

By autumn 1998, Rakhor nunnery in had been almost entirely destroyed by authorities. The historically important twelfth century nunnery had been rebuilt in 1986. An entire complex of homes and other structures were reportedly destroyed after 80 nuns were expelled in January 1998 following resistance to patriotic education sessions held at the nunnery between July and November of the previous year.¹⁵⁸ The main assembly hall was left standing although just two nuns remained after the expulsions and demolition.

DEMOLITIONS AND EXPULSIONS AT SERTHAR AND YACHEN

The demolition of homes and the expulsion of monks and nuns at two well-known Buddhist institutes in eastern Tibet, beginning in 2001, reflects the determination of the authorities to gain firm control over religious institutions in Tibetan areas. Both Serthar institute in the valley of Larung Gar and Yachen in Pelyül (Ch: *Baiyu*) county, both in Kardze (Ch: *Ganzi*) prefecture in Sichuan were known for pioneering a revival in Tibetan Buddhist scholarship and meditation following the ravages of the Cultural Revolution.¹⁶² Both institutions began as small hermitages, founded in remote valleys by a religious leader and his students, but grew to house thousands of monks and nuns from all over Tibet and China and also attracted hundreds of overseas Chinese Buddhists. News of the institutes had traveled by word of mouth and their expansion was informal and until 2001 unchecked, with new students arriving and constructing simple huts surrounding the residences of the institutes' respective religious leaders.

Religious activity at the Larung Gar attracted increasing attention from the authorities from the mid-1990s onwards, culminating in the demolitions and expulsions in

2001. In the cases of both Larung and Yachen, the apparent justification of the authorities appears to have been the 'illegality' of construction and expansion of the institute beyond 'permitted' limits, as well as the enforcement of quotas of monks and nuns. These issues relate directly to the new laws and regulations associated with the management of religion that have been introduced in Sichuan province since the late 1980s. The Chinese authorities depict these restrictions as legal enforcement of regulations that are in place to protect 'normal' religious practice. But the events at Serthar and Yachen are a clear example of how implementation of the PRC's 'policy of religious freedom' is in fact resulting in the opposite - the suppression of civil, political and religious freedoms.

Larung Gar and Yachen are both situated in the eastern Tibetan region of Kham. The late Khenpo Jigme Phuntsok established Larung Gar in a remote valley approximately 15 kilometers south of the town of Serthar. Yachen is even more remote in an area known as Tromthar, now incorporated into Pelyül county. Neither Larung or Yachen are monasteries; they can be more accurately described as

'The development of rigorous scholastic training programs at Larung [Gar], as well as the other teaching academies in eastern Tibet that he founded during the 1980s, has been a top priority for Khenpo Jigphun [who died in January 2004]. Khenpo's¹⁵⁹ revival of the devastated Buddhist systems of educational training (the Tibetan mind) has been nothing short of remarkable, and his ecumenical emphasis on monastic-centered ethics separated from political activism has offered a powerful Tibetan religious paradigm for survival in the People's Republic of China that contrasts sharply with the political activism of monks and nuns in central Tibet...Khenpo Jigphun has created a significant countermovement re-establishing the center of gravity within Tibet herself, thereby stemming the flow of authority and value toward Chinese modernity, on the one hand, and the refugee Tibetan communities, on the other...He has also managed to project an intellectual, mythic and charismatic presence capable of competing with any of the great Nyingma lamas now living or recently deceased in exile.'

- David Germano, Assistant Professor of Tibetan and Himalayan Studies in the Department of Religious Studies in the University of Virginia¹⁶⁰

a religious encampments (Tib: *chos sgar*), established with the express purpose of reviving Buddhist contemplation and scholarship. Unlike other relatively large monasteries found today in Tibet, for instance Labrang Tashikyil in Amdo, Lithang or Dzogchen in Kham, or Sera, Drepung or Ganden in Lhasa, Larung Gar and Yachen were created as entirely new religious centers, where none existed prior to 1959.

The late Khenpo Jigme Phuntsok founded Larung Gar in 1980, with about 100 students taking up residence near his home. The number of students increased throughout the 1980s, and in 1987, the 10th Panchen Lama gave official approval of Larung Gar as Buddhist Institute, certifying it as an 'academy.' Monks and nuns were free to come and go, and there were no formal admission procedures. A few hundred learned scholars that guide and provide counsel for the students while they take their main religious instruction live at the institute. The monks and nuns provide for themselves, cooking over kerosene or yak-dung stoves in their one-room adobe, stone and wood homes.



The sprawling monastic complex of Larung Gar vividly shows how far the rebirth of Buddhism had come in a few, very remote spots on the Tibetan plateau. Housing up to 10,000 students during festivals and 6,000 or more permanently, Larung Gar became not only the largest Buddhist center in all of present-day China, but also boasted an effective teaching curriculum that catered to both Tibetans and Chinese students. Large parts of Larung Gar were demolished by authorities in 2001. (Photo: ©ICT)



Larung Gar was unique and dynamic not only for its commitment to teaching Chinese alongside Tibetans, but also teaching nuns. This inclusive, non-hierarchical structure that stressed teaching and de-emphasized many rituals and traditions made Larung Gar the premier teaching institution in Tibet. Until its partial destruction in 2001, religious practice existed here more than in any other large monastery or nunnery in Tibet. (Photo: ©ICT)

The Serthar institute grew to house the house the largest concentration of monks and nuns in Tibetan areas - an estimated 6-7,000 monks and nuns including nearly a thousand Chinese students, with an increase in numbers at times of religious festivals and special teachings. Khenpo Jigme Phuntsok used to give 'cycles' of teachings that often lasted for more than a month. The numbers at Larung Gar often increased to more than 15,000, including lay devotees, when Khenpo Jigme Phuntsok gave empowerments. Khenpo Jigphun's main lineage was within the Nyingma school of Tibetan Buddhism. But he was known for his ecumenical approach and scholarship and gave transmissions from all four of the main schools of Tibetan Buddhism [Nyingma, Kagyu, Sakya and Gelug]. Khenpo Jigpun traveled in the early and mid 1990s to give teachings and meet exiled teachers, including the Dalai Lama.¹⁶⁴

A Western Buddhist scholar who has visited Larung Gar several times told ICT: 'Students who came to Larung were given a comprehensive Buddhist education that was available almost nowhere else in Tibet or China, certainly not on the scale seen at Larung. Khenpo Jigphun would give complete cycles of teachings including tantric empowerments, oral transmission of scriptures and the pith instructions on meditation. Khenpo Jigphun's primary concern was that his students, and there are now tens of thousands of them, had all the scholastic and meditative tools they needed for their spiritual path. From my experience, it seems that the Khenpo accomplished this.'

There had been attempts by the authorities to reduce the numbers of monks and nuns at Larung Gar towards the end of the 1990s, as control over religion intensified fol-

lowing the Third Work Forum and restrictions on the size of monastic institutes, monasteries and nunneries began to be implemented more stringently. But Khenpo Jigphun managed to maintain a harmonious relationship with local officials, who knew that these rulings were difficult to enforce due to the sprawling nature of the complex and the fluctuating numbers of scholars, monks and nuns there. During a visit of Chinese officials to Serthar early in 2001, Khenpo Jigphun reportedly said that because he had not invited monks or nuns to come to Serthar, it would be inappropriate for him to ask them to leave. Officials, however, continued to press Jigme Phuntsok to take the lead in encouraging his students to vacate the institute's premises before a deadline imposed by the authorities of October 2001. According to a Tibetan source from Serthar, 'This caused great mental and physical anguish to [Khenpo Jigme] who soon fell ill.'¹⁶⁵ Khenpo Jigme had not been in good physical health for some years; he had cataracts, was partially blind, and was unable to walk without support.

In June 2001 high-level officials from Beijing, including officials from the United Front Work Unit and others from the regional authorities, arrived at the institute to oversee a reduction of the population to 1,000 monks and 400 nuns and to oversee demolition of residential quarters.¹⁶⁶ Roads leading to the institute were blocked and the site was sealed off before demolition began. Most of the destruction of residential quarters took place on the lower slopes of the remote Larung valley where most of the nuns, who constitute approximately half of the encampment's population, live. Eyewitnesses reported that that some 2,000 dwellings had been destroyed since the middle of June 2001. Monks were told that those who stayed had to come

'Since the tragic news of the passing of the 10th Panchen Lama in 1989, this has been the saddest news to come from Tibet. Khenpo Jigme Phuntsok worked very hard for the preservation and promotion of the unique religious faith of all Tibetans.'

- Lodi Gyari, Special Envoy to the Dalai Lama, on the death of Khenpo Jigphun¹⁶¹

Work teams knocking down living quarters of monks and nuns. The roofing timbers were removed to prevent monks and nuns from rebuilding their quarters elsewhere. (Still photo taken from video shot at Larung Gar in summer 2001 by Tibetan monks.)



from the Serthar area and those monks and nuns from outside the area should leave.¹⁶⁷

Chinese Buddhist students were targeted first for expulsion, with nearly a thousand Chinese Buddhists reportedly forced to leave in June and July 2001. The second target of the authorities was the strong and cohesive community of Tibetan nuns. Although some monks are known to have been expelled and to have returned to their home areas, most of those expelled have been nuns. The majority of nuns who were at Larung Gar - approximately 3,000 - appear to have been forced to leave and their homes destroyed. Many of them have faced severe hardship, and there have been reliable reports of several nuns committing suicide following the demolitions. A nun from Larung, who was originally from the TAR, gave ICT the following account of her expulsion: 'They told me I must go back to my home and not to another nunnery. I told them I didn't want to leave. Then two, armed policemen entered my wood hut and threw my Buddha statue on the floor. They dragged me out of the hut and one of the policemen tossed my daily recitation book [of Buddhist scripture] into the wood stove. It is just like in the late 1960s [a reference to the Cultural Revolution].'¹⁶⁸

A visitor to the area who met nuns expelled from the institute said: 'The Chinese authorities were clearly nervous about the gathering of dedicated people in increasing numbers to devote their lives to Buddhist study and practice. The fact that a significant number of Han [Buddhist students] were among them and the repressive climate generated by the crushing of the Falun Gong movement may have added to the government's determination to deal with the situation at Serthar.'¹⁶⁹

According to reports received by ICT, as well as by viewing video documentation, several hundred Chinese and Tibetan migrant workers who had been brought into the valley carried out demolitions and were reportedly paid 250 Yuan [approx. \$ 30] for each dwelling destroyed. Workers were reportedly allowed to keep raw materials or items from inside the dwellings. Video footage exists of the destruction,

depicting police officers standing by to supervise buildings and huts being torn down, and nuns searching in their rubble of their homes for their belongings.¹⁷⁰ Armed police were spread throughout the monastic complex during the destruction.¹⁷¹

According to reports received by ICT, the crackdown was overseen by an official known as Wang Putrang ['Chief Wang'], head of the United Work Front for Sichuan province. But the ultimate orders for the demolitions and expulsions came from the highest levels in Beijing - the then President Jiang Zemin had reportedly taken a personal interest in the orders being carried out.

After the expulsions some monks and nuns quietly returned to Larung Gar. On 25 December 2002, Chinese Public Security Bureau [PSB] officials from Serthar entered Larung Gar and ordered the demolition of 200 'reconstructed' meditation huts. Monks and nuns attempted to prevent the destruction until gunshots were fired in the air, whereupon monks stoned the four PSB vehicles. There were no reports of monks or nuns being shot. Several dozen of the 200 newly built meditation huts were destroyed before the authorities left the area. In August 2002, Chinese officials made announcements and placed posters around Larung Gar declaring that no new construction of housing was allowed, and shortly thereafter built a brick wall on either side of the valley in an attempt to enclose the 'activity area' of the religious encampment.

Today, a permanent check post has been set up on the dirt road leading to Larung Gar and security personnel state that the Buddhist encampment is 'officially closed and only monks and nuns with PSB issued identity cards are allowed entrance.'¹⁷² No photography is permitted. A permanent police presence has been established in what had been the Chinese speaking students' tutorial area and makeshift printing house, comprised of a handful of computers and photocopy machines. Larung Gar monastic officials requested in late 2002 that Chinese security officials leave the building so the monks and nuns could use it. 'The elderly teachers told Chinese officials that Larung

Gar needs the building for our own purposes, and that the building was neither for them nor for rent,' a Serthar monk who arrived in exile told ICT in February 2003. 'Despite the plea, the Chinese stayed there just to watch us.' The monk also said, 'The officials who live there are responsible for counting the number of houses, attaching metal plates with numbers on the houses, giving Larung Gar monastic residence cards and generally looking after how many monks and nuns there are at Larung Gar.'

Khenpo Jigphun passed away on 7 January 2004, at a hospital in Chengdu at the age of 70. According to information received from Tibet, the Khenpo had undergone heart surgery in the beginning of 2004 in a hospital in

Chengdu after having been admitted to Chinese military hospital number 363 on 29 December 2003.¹⁷³ Khenpo Jigphun's followers wanted to allow his body to lie in state for some time, in order to give time for devotees to travel to Larung Gar to make offerings and pay respect to their teacher. But the authorities in the area insisted on carrying out the cremation of his body a fortnight after his death. Philip Pan reported in the *Washington Post* on 10 March that although police set up road-blocks across the area to discourage attendance at the ceremony, and monasteries across China were ordered to keep their monks away, still a crowd of at least 50,000 made it to Larung Gar at the time of the cremation. Many monks said they evaded the roadblocks by hiking through the mountains.

THE LEGACY OF KHENPO JIGME PHUNTSOK

A Western Buddhist scholar describes visits to Serthar over the past three years, recalling memories of teachings at Larung Gar by Khenpo Jigphun:

'It was not easy for a foreigner to meet Khenpo Jigphun and to receive teachings from him as his attendants were very skeptical of anyone from the outside.¹⁷⁴ The Khenpo was eclectic and very charismatic. His eclecticism manifested from his strictly celibate lifestyle that merged with his unorthodox mysticism. Throughout his life, Khenpo Jigphun taught his prophetic visions as well as teachings that he remembered he had received in previous lives. He was also a celebrated treasure revealer (Tib: *gter ston*), a meditation master who would "find" tantric teachings (Tib: *gter ma*) that had been



Khenpo Jigme Phuntsok Rinpoche (1933-2004) established Larung Gar in an empty, remote valley in 1980 with 100 students and in 1987 the 10th Panchen Lama gave official approval of Larung Gar as a Buddhist Institute, not as a monastery, which helped it to elude many government regulations, such as formal admissions. Khenpo's charismatic teaching and leadership and his astute political judgment built trust amongst students and local government officials until higher authorities ordered the 2001 crackdown. (Photo: ©ICT)

hidden centuries before. Yet this mystical ascetic did not just dwell in solitary meditation retreat. As one of the most learned Buddhist scholars anywhere inside or outside Tibet, he gave comprehensive traditional teachings and commentaries on the most profound Buddhist philosophical treatises.

One could not help but feel at Larung Gar the powerful sense of religious practice and discipline. On my first day there in 2000, as I walked up the parched high-plateau valley, I saw a stream of burgundy robes spilling out of the main assembly hall after a teaching by Khenpo Jigphun concluded. I still think of this image as emblematic of Khenpo Jigphun's life work, sending his students out across the Tibetan plateau and China to spread disciplined meditation and philosophical scholarship. Even shortly after the work teams left in the fall of 2001, with mounds of demolished buildings all about the encampment, the monks and nuns who were allowed to stay continued with their meditation and study, albeit feeling heart-broken. Still, the students at Larung had what they needed to continue their spiritual path, with or without a house; and now that Khenpo Jigphun has passed away, without their spiritual teacher.

Larung had a vibrancy and purpose that I have not seen elsewhere in Tibet or India. I believe the students at Larung at that time fully appreciated the uniqueness of their situation. They had a fully qualified teacher, a complete Buddhist curriculum, a secluded place for spiritual practice, a supportive community, and the time to receive the Buddhist teachings. From my limited studies of Tibetan Buddhist history, I would venture to say that Larung surpassed anything in this or the 20th century, outside or inside Tibet, including Lhasa's three great monasteries, in Buddhist scholarship and meditation erudition.'

DESTRUCTION AND DISPLACEMENT AT YACHEN ENCAMPMENT

In the fall of 2001, just months after the demolition of thousands of homes at the Larung Gar institute, Chinese authorities ordered the demolition of large parts of Yachen Gar, another large religious encampment in remote grasslands in the area known as Tromthar, now part of Pelyül (Ch: *Baiyu*) county, Kardze TAP.

The Nyingma lama Acho Khenpo Rinpoche founded Yachen in order to guide a small number of students in religious practice. At an elevation over 12,000 feet above sea level, Yachen monks and nuns use yak dung to fuel their home stoves for cooking. The small living quarters of the monks and nuns are built of mud adobe, reinforced with small timber brought in from more than 30 miles away. There is no electricity at Yachen Monastery apart from small gasoline generators. At its peak, Yachen housed around 2,500 – 3,000 students.

Monks and nuns at Yachen spent extended periods of time of meditation in solitary retreat. As one western tourist who visited the area in 2000 noted to ICT: ‘Those monks and nuns are real ascetics, living in such a remote place without any modern conveniences, just meditating and praying. Yachen is a long way from anywhere.’ Every year in the late fall, most of the students at Yachen enter a strict three-month retreat of contemplation and meditation. The demolitions of homes and continual intrusions by the work

teams have disrupted the meditating scholars’ schedule and practice, a nun from Yachen told ICT.¹⁷⁵

According to ICT interviews with four nuns who fled Yachen Gar after their homes were destroyed, work teams of five to nine officials from Pelyül came to Yachen every other week from July 2001 to the beginning of September in the same year. The nuns, who are now in exile, told ICT that officials made extensive notes and maps of the religious encampment and that during the first week of September 2001 officials arrived and painted numbers on the houses marked for destruction along with the Chinese character for ‘demolish (Ch: *chai*). Around this time the entire congregation of monks, nuns and lay people studying at Yachen were told by officials from Pelyül to gather in front of the assembly hall. They were told that only those monks and nuns from Pelyül County could remain at Yachen and that if their homes had been marked with the Chinese character *chai*, the monks and nuns themselves must destroy their home. If they did not destroy their homes, a work team would come and demolish the home and the monk or nun would be charged 200 Yuan (approx. \$ 25).

A wall notice [in both Tibetan and Chinese] from Yachen Gar posted and signed by the Pelyül County’s People’s Government stated: ‘Monks and nuns from other countries, as well as Chinese monks and nuns, must leave and return to their native places and be disconnected from Yachen Monastery.’¹⁷⁶ More than two-thirds of the monks



Local government regulations like this 1994 one are becoming more common: ‘From now on, no new monasteries are allowed to be built. In the event of the construction of a monastery without authorization ... the district authority, besides finding out the people responsible, should destroy the monastery.’ Pictured here, in September 2001, government authorities demolished 400 homes of monks at the Dechen Tahlho Ling quarter of Yachen Gar, shown in the foreground, in Kham. (Photo: ©ICT)



A monk's living quarters in Yachen Gar bears the Chinese character 'chai' meaning 'demolish.' These were painted on hundreds of monastic quarters in early September 2001 when the Pelyul County People's Government ordered to destroy parts of Yachen Gar which was deemed to have grown unacceptably large and did not have all relevant governmental approvals. (Photo: ©ICT)

and nuns at Yachen are estimated to be from outside Pelyül county. In early October, posters stated the following: 'During the thorough research and scrutiny for the care and protection of the monastery, the [Pelyül County] work team's plan shows monks and nuns living quarters inside the boundary permissible. Those [monks and nuns'] living quarters that fall beyond the boundary decided by the work team must be destroyed by the 15th September 2001. If these homes are not destroyed [by their occupants] by the aforementioned date, Pelyül County People's Government will forcefully demolish the living quarters, and in accordance with the current legal framework, legal action will be taken against those individuals who have not abided by this order.'

By October 2001, according to reports received by ICT, more than 800 living quarters of monks and nuns had been torn down and the occupants evicted by order of the county government officials. More than 250 Chinese students were also evicted from the encampment at this time.

One of the nuns who had studied at Yachen for nearly five years told ICT: 'They said we had to destroy our homes ourselves and if we didn't, then the police would come and take our belongings. So most of the nuns did wreck their homes by pushing the mud walls in. We were all crying and sobbing but what else are we supposed to do? At the meeting in front of the main prayer hall, the work teams

said we could keep all our belongings if we destroyed the house ourselves.'

A Chinese monk who communicated with ICT after he returned to his home in southeastern China said: 'The work teams have decided to destroy certain parts of the complex [at Yachen], so the nuns houses were the first to be destroyed, in an area called Pema Khandro Ling. As well as this, a monks' area close to the main assembly hall known as Dechen Tahlho Ling was completely demolished.'¹⁷⁷

Some of the Chinese students who were forced to leave Larung managed to stay at Yachen for a while to participate in teachings. One lay Chinese student gave ICT the following account of studying at Yachen after expulsion from Larung Gar:¹⁷⁸

'I had to leave Larung Gar but managed to stay at Yachen for a while. I hid when the work teams came. Not many new Chinese students came after a while because they did not know how to evade the work teams when they arrive. Yes, I was afraid of being caught (by the work teams from Pelyül) but my fear is just one of the obstacles on the path to enlightenment. I think the Chinese authorities see Larung Gar and Yachen as being just like Falun Gong, that's the problem.'

The phenomena of large numbers of Chinese Buddhists coming to Tibet to receive teachings was nowhere more evident than at Larung Gar where up to 1,000 of the 6,000 – 7,000 resident monks and nuns were Chinese, prior to their expulsion in 2001. Chinese lay Buddhist have also moved to Tibet to be near Buddhist teachers, such as this Chinese woman who now lives in Kardze Tibet Autonomous Prefecture. A scroll painting of the Chinese Buddhist diety Quan Yin (Tib: *Cherezig*) hangs on the back wall. (Photo: ©ICT)



CHINESE DEVOTEES AT LARUNG GAR AND YACHEN

More than a thousand Chinese-speaking students studied at Larung Gar, and Yachen Gar was home to more than 200 students from China, Taiwan, Singapore and Malaysia. All were expelled on order of Chinese government officials in the summer and fall of 2001. Chinese monks and nuns, wearing the traditional Chinese-style grey and yellow monastic robes or the traditional Tibetan heavy woolen maroon robes, would gather at Larung separately from the Tibetan monks and nuns to listen to the teachings which were simultaneously translated by Tibetan lamas fluent in Mandarin.

The Mandarin-speaking Tibetan lamas at both encampments oversaw the Chinese language Buddhist curriculum led by Khenpo Jigme Phuntsok [at Larung Gar] and Acho Khen Rinpoche [at Yachen Gar]. While the Tibetan and Chinese students at the different encampments followed the same teacher, some scholars admitted to ethnic tensions in the community. One Chinese nun who studied at both encampments before being expelled told ICT: ‘Some Chinese at Larung Gar say that the Chinese and Tibetan monks and nuns at Larung Gar are like shining stars in the night sky; we are both beautiful in our own space but if we collide, then there will be a large explosion. Perhaps they are right.’

When the Chinese began the destruction and student expulsions at both Larung Gar and Yachen Gar, the Chinese students were the first to be told to leave.

The same Chinese student, a doctor in his forties who had studied at Yachen for four months after he had been forced to leave Larung Gar in Serthar told ICT: ‘The [Chinese] authorities told teachers from Larung Gar and Yachen that they were forbidden to teach Vajrayana [referring to Tibetan Buddhism] to Chinese or to travel to China to teach. And they said that Chinese are forbidden to follow or receive Buddhist talks from Tibetan lamas. So many Chinese are coming to these areas where Tibetans usually live, but really the authorities don’t want us to have connection with any lamas here. The Chinese government knows that the more people believe in the Buddha the more those people will respect the Dalai Lama. So it is a threat to the government’s idea of unity if either Tibetans or Chinese believe in the Buddha.’¹⁷⁹

Despite the expulsions at Larung and Yachen Gar, increasing numbers of Chinese are traveling to remote areas of Sichuan, Gansu and Qinghai provinces to seek out a Buddhist education from Tibetan lamas. According to reports received by ICT, most appear to be middle aged, educated professionals.

According to one senior lama from the area, Tibetan lamas in these eastern regions are instructed by local officials not to communicate with Chinese who request Buddhist teachings.¹⁸⁰ Tibetan lamas have also been barred from traveling to China if they express any intention of giving

Buddhist discourses at the invitation of small groups of Chinese Buddhists.

In cities around China, clandestine study groups have been set up to study Buddhist teachings and pray, not unlike the measures underground Roman Catholics and Protestants employ to carry out their worship. Chinese students have told ICT that there is increased suspicion of them by the authorities since the crackdown on Falun Gong. A Buddhist student in Xian told ICT: ‘Indeed our study group is underground, because in this city we can’t have gatherings of more than 10 people in a private home. The authorities have told us that we can pray and meditate only at the Chan [Chinese Buddhism] Temples and not by ourselves in our homes.’

Another Chinese Buddhist student from Chengdu told ICT: ‘Buddhism is seen as superstitious by the authorities. The police don’t want anyone spreading religion or superstition so it is doubly bad.’¹⁸¹

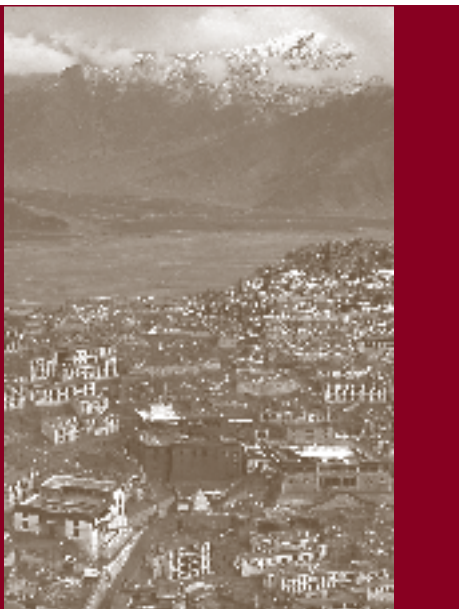
The crackdown on Falun Gong may have led to an increased level of caution among officials in Tibetan areas about Buddhist teaching with a mystical or visionary element, and nearly all the leaders of the religious encamp-

ments in eastern Tibet, including Khenpo Jigphun and Acho Khen Rinpoche, are well-known as mystics. David Germano, a Tibetology professor who spent many months at Serthar, notes that some Chinese devotees refer to Tibetan lamas as ‘Qi Gong’ masters, regarding them as being more spiritually advanced than Chinese qi gong masters. Qi Gong is a traditional Chinese Taoist set of practices that involve manipulating subtle currents of energy called ‘qi.’¹⁸²

Buddhists make up the largest body of organized religious believers in the PRC, with numbers continuing to grow throughout China.¹⁸³ More and more Chinese people are becoming interested in Tibetan Buddhism, with many becoming serious practitioners. Like Khenpo Jigme Phuntsok, Tenzin Delek Rinpoche from Lihang [Ch: *Litang*] also has some prominent Chinese supporters, notably the writer Wang Lixiong, who lives in Beijing, and who wrote articles in support of the Rinpoche following his arrest. Some Chinese intellectuals and cadres are known to have distanced themselves from – and often disapproved of – the hard-line policies against Tibetan religion and culture imposed by leaders including Chen Kuiyuan, Party Secretary of the TAR during the 1990s.

Xiao Qiang, a prominent exiled Chinese human rights activist and one of the founders of the New York-based NGO Human Rights in China [HRIC], echoes the views of many Chinese when he says: ‘There has been a moral and spiritual vacuum in Chinese society since Marxism died out and was replaced by the current capitalist authoritarian regime. People need something to feel their life has meaning and value. But when the Communist Party wiped out all the traditional Chinese religion and spiritual values [between 1950-1980], and then it dropped its own replacement or substitute [of Marxism], now Chinese people are looking for anything from Roman Catholicism to Tibetan Buddhism. More and more Chinese people have a greater interest in religion in general and in Tibetan Buddhism in particular.’

Xiao Qiang added: ‘In general, the Chinese Communist Party is extremely afraid of those religious activities which are independent of government control. Not only are they ideologically opposed to any religion in terms of Buddhism and Catholics or Christians, it’s more that they’re afraid of these types of organization that are independent of the Chinese Communist Party’s control. They have lived with this fundamental fear ever since the People’s Republic of China was founded.’¹⁸⁴



The physical destruction of monasteries and nunneries was systematic and widespread during the Cultural Revolution but since the early 1980s reconstruction of monasteries has been steady. Reconstruction requires permits and approvals from the government, and unauthorized reconstruction, such as at Ganden Monastery picture here in 1995 has led to major showdowns between villagers and government offices. (Photo:©ICT)

COMPLEX PICTURE OF RELIGIOUS EXPRESSION

A Western traveler who is studying Buddhism found a complex picture of religious expression and repression during various trips to the eastern regions of Kham and Amdo and the TAR over the past two years. The traveler gave the following account to ICT:

'At Kumbum monastery, near Xining in Qinghai province, an important highlight of the Chinese domestic tourist itinerary, I watched monks debating in one courtyard while large Chinese tour groups were led to an adjacent court yard to don "traditional" native dress such as chubas and turquoise necklaces for tourist snapshots. While monks study quietly in their small cloistered rooms, beer and cigarettes are sold in the monastery shop at the entrance. Large groups of tourists following an umbrella-wielding tour guide with a megaphone mingled with many sincere Chinese Buddhists on pilgrimage. In front of the most sacred shrine in Kumbum, of the 30 people prostrating, half dozen of them were Chinese in lay clothes. Kumbum is one of the most important monasteries in Amdo [now in Xining Municipality, Qinghai province] historically and today. Home of the founder of the Gelugpa school, Jé Tsong Khapa, exiled home of the 8th Panchen Lama, and former monastery of the recently exiled Agya Rinpoche, it is palpably politically charged.

Monks spoke to me openly about the Panchen Lama and about Gyaltzen Norbu [China's choice of Panchen Lama]. About the former, one monk told me confidently "Panchen Rinpoche, his brother and their mother and father are all in Beijing." Other monks echoed this. Regarding Gyaltzen Norbu, a few Tibetan monks told me, "Tibetan monks weren't allowed to see him when he comes" [a reference to Gyaltzen Norbu's visit to Kumbum last year] implying that the more than 20% Han and non-Tibetan monastics at Kumbum were the ones who welcomed Gyaltzen Norbu when he visited Kumbum. I was told that four different non-Tibetan ethnic groups are studying at Kumbum.

In many Tibetan owned shops, restaurants and tea houses in different areas outside the TAR there are prominent pictures of exiled lamas including the 17th Karmapa, the Dalai Lama, Sakya Trinzin Rinpoche and others, and also of the Dalai Lama.

At a historically important and fairly remote monastery, an outdoor blessing was held where lamas and Rinpoches blessed more than 1500 local people — including plain-clothes police officers who arrived in three police vehicles. In a case like this, lamas must go through months of developing connections with local officials. Apparently sometimes Public Security Bureau officials would visit monasteries to instruct on certain aspects such as registration and timing.

In the TAR, though, there are still some grounds for hope. At one religious encampment, there was a series of empowerments over several weeks given by a senior Rinpoche to hundreds of monks, nuns and laypeople. The scale and duration of this event would generally be unknown in the TAR.

The increasing business opportunities in Tibet in the last couple of years have led to noticeable changes in the larger cities, and the ways of life of some Tibetans. In cities fewer Tibetans wear traditional dress, more and more speak Chinese as it is a necessity in business in Tibet, and those who have traveled to India no longer have the same status as they did in earlier years. Many Tibetans carry mobile phones rather than prayer wheels, in an effort to keep up with the commercial changes in the "new" Tibet. Television sets are the central item in many Tibetan homes now that have replaced the traditional Buddhist altar. However even in these circumstances their devotion remains firm. The temples and monasteries are still filled at weekends and on auspicious days according to Tibetan astrology, with local businessmen and their families on pilgrimage, although there is an ever-decreasing number of monks and nuns in the monasteries and nunneries of the TAR. Even government workers, who are officially prohibited from having a Buddhist shrine in their home or make circumambulate temples, rise before sunrise on these auspicious days to do a few circumambulations and even prostrate themselves in front of the temples, albeit in an unlit temple corner. The strength of Tibetan's devotion to Buddhism and the Dalai Lama, and their ability to adapt their display of their faith, is not something Mao nor did the current leadership in Beijing anticipate in their struggle to repress and finally rid religion in Tibet. I can see in my Tibetans friends' behavior and in the way they teach their children that their devotion to the Dalai Lama and Buddhism will outlive Communist Party ideals.'

DISCORD IN TIBETAN COMMUNITY AFTER DISCOURAGEMENT OF SHUGDEN WORSHIP BY DALAI LAMA

Dorje Shugden is considered to be a powerful deity in Tibetan Buddhism. Its practitioners consider the deity as an enlightened protector of the teachings of Jé Tsong Khapa, the founder of the Gelugpa school of Tibetan Buddhism. Furthermore, by some of its practitioners, the deity is regarded as being able to inflict harm on those who stop propitiating it, or practice other teachings within Tibetan Buddhism, namely the Nyingma. The Dalai Lama on the other hand asserts that Shugden is a worldly figure, the propitiating of which serves to degenerate the rich teaching of Buddhism to a cult of spirit worship. He has said it also undermines harmonious relations between the different lineages of Tibetan Buddhism because of Shugden's antagonistic attitude towards non-Gelug Tibetan Buddhists. Shugden thus harms the overall wellbeing of the Tibetan people, the Dalai Lama has said.

The religious crux of the Dorje Shugden issue is whether the deity is a manifestation of the Buddha's enlightened activity [as many deities are considered to be] and can thus be a source of ultimate refuge or if Shugden is simply a worldly deity that when propitiated brings only satisfaction in the form of material wealth and worldly powers while promoting parochialism.

In 1996, the Dalai Lama publicly requested of Tibetans who wished to receive and follow his teachings to refrain from worshipping the deity of Dorje Shugden. The Dalai Lama had in fact privately discouraged the practice for some decades but it was only in 1996 that he went public. He advised that Dorje Shugden was detrimental to his life's longevity, the unity of Tibetan people, and by extension the cause of Tibet. The Dalai Lama's public announcement caused controversy in the Tibetan exile community, with some Tibetans going so far as to say that the Dalai Lama was denying religious freedom. The issue is still a cause of discord amongst Tibetans in exile and inside Tibet. Buddhist teachers including Sonam Phuntsok and Tenzin Delek Rinpoche¹⁸⁵ in Kham are reported to have demonstrated their loyalty to the Dalai Lama by discouraging Shugden worship.

Chinese authorities have joined in the controversy by giving direct and indirect encouragement to the propitiation of Shugden as a way to undermine the Dalai Lama. Places for Shugden worship have been encouraged inside Tibet and reports appeared in the Tibetan community in exile that the Chinese government was sponsoring activists for the Shugden cause.¹⁸⁶

PERSECUTION OF BUDDHIST TEACHERS IN KHAM

The authorities remain suspicious of individuals outside the established power structure who have influence over local populations, particularly if they are religious leaders. During the last three years, the Chinese authorities have detained several popular Tibetan Buddhist teachers who, in addition to their religious duties, have engaged in social welfare, community projects and cultural activities. In general, these religious teachers are not known to have expressed direct opposition to the Chinese state and have worked with varying degrees of cooperation with local officials in order to carry out these activities. None are known to have advocated violent resistance. They include Sonam Phuntsok, who is serving a five-year prison sentence, Tenzin Delek Rinpoche, currently sentenced to death with a two-year suspension, and Khenpo Jigme Phuntsok of Serthar. All these teachers had attracted large popular followings in various parts of Kham, and the authorities were concerned about their influence. The way that the Chinese authorities have dealt with these individuals reflects their desire to control religious expression, local community leadership and monastic influence in Tibetan areas.



Geshe Sonam Phuntsok led a long-life ceremony for the Dalai Lama in 1998 as seen in this still from a video, which was subsequently circulated in the Kardze area. ICT obtained a copy of the video and included portions of it in 'Devotion and Defiance' a 34-minute companion film to this report.

SONAM PHUNTSOK

In October 1999, several hundred people in Kardze took to the streets to protest against the detention of a popular and respected Buddhist scholar and religious leader in the Kardze area, Geshe¹⁸⁷ Sonam Phuntsok. Known for his humble nature, he taught Tibetan history and language to thousands of students in impromptu classes, as well as formal religious classes at Dargye monastery and other small monasteries in the Kardze area. Sonam Phuntsok's arrest on 24 October was linked to the authorities' concern over his influence in the area and his loyalty to the Dalai Lama. Sonam Phuntsok had led prayers for the Dalai Lama a year earlier. His assistant Sonam and another monk, former political prisoner Agyal Tsering, were also arrested, although they have both now been released. Sonam Phuntsok was sentenced to five years in prison and is reportedly being held in Ngaba prison in Maowun county (Ch: *Maoxian*) in Ngaba (Ch: *Aba*) Tibetan and Qiang Autonomous Prefecture. His scheduled release date is 10 October 2004.

On 31 October 1999, a group of Tibetans gathered outside the detention center in Kardze town to demand the release of the three detainees. Other Tibetans joined them until a crowd of several hundred built up outside the gates of the building. Security personnel firing guns into the air quickly dispersed the Tibetans; one unofficial report states that tear-gas was also used. Security in Kardze intensified following the demonstration, with military personnel being brought into the town from other areas of the county and, according to an unofficial source, strict restrictions being imposed on people entering or leaving Kardze town.

The scale of the protests on behalf of Sonam Phuntsok were unprecedented in recent years and were among the largest in Tibetan areas since the demonstrations in Lhasa in the late 1980s that led to the imposition of martial law.¹⁸⁸ According to reports received by ICT, Sonam

Phuntsok was beaten severely after being arrested, and has lost some mobility in his right arm due severe scarring from boiling water being poured on his back and arm during interrogation.

In official court documents obtained by ICT, Sonam Phuntsok was accused of a variety of 'separatist' activities including knowledge of a bomb blast at a medical clinic, although no evidence was presented in the court papers regarding his involvement in this bombing. Nearly all the charges against him concerned his connection to the Dalai Lama and activities that had taken place several years earlier. The court documents state as follows:

'In order to achieve his aim to separate the country and sabotage the unity of nationalities, the accused illegally organized a mass gathering with 2,000 participants at Puse Township of Kardze County on 30 January in 1998 to pray for the long life for the Dalai Lama, the exile who has been engaged in activities to separate the motherland. At this prayer gathering, the accused raised a giant portrait of the Dalai Lama, which was provided by the accused himself, and entered in the gathering with slogans. During the religious teaching session, the accused not only chanted long life prayers for the Dalai Lama, but also openly advocated monks and other people to believe in the Dalai Lama. At the same time, the activity of chanting long life prayers for the Dalai Lama was taped by video camera, and the tape was spread in many places. On 25 October in 1999, when our Public Security Bureau based on law took an action to control the accused, because of a few reactionary elements, over 3,000¹⁸⁹ local people attacked the township government and the police station.'

The court documents show the way in which the authorities equate loyalty to the Dalai Lama with 'separatism.'

TENZIN DELEK RINPOCHE

In December 2002, the Kardze TAP Intermediate People's Court sentenced Tenzin Delek Rinpoche, a popular and respected senior lama, to death, charging him with 'causing explosions [and] inciting the separation of the state.' He was granted a two-year suspension of his death sentence, and is currently being held in Chuandong No. 3 Prison, a high security facility more than 600 kilometers from his home in Sichuan. Tenzin Delek's alleged co-conspirator, Lobsang Dondrub, was summarily executed on 26 January 2003.¹⁹⁰

The prosecutions of Tenzin Delek and Lobsang Dondrub followed a series of bombings in western Sichuan province between 1998 and 2002. A report by Xinhua on 26 January 2003, the date of Lobsang Dondrub's execution, alleged that the two men had 'engaged in crimes of terror.' Tenzin Delek proclaimed his innocence both during the sentencing hearing, and in a tape smuggled from detention and obtained by Human Rights Watch, in which he says: 'I have been wrongly accused. I have always said we should not so much as raise a hand against another.'

The U.S. Congressional-Executive Commission on China states that the execution of Lobsang Dhondrup is 'particularly disturbing' because it was 'carried out in haste,' and 'in a manner which may have violated the laws of the People's Republic of China.' The CECC report also states that PRC officials had defaulted on commitments made to the US government during bilateral dialogue to undertake to undertake a lengthy judicial review of the case.¹⁹¹ Human Rights Watch states that many reasons remain for questioning the court's findings about Tenzin Delek and Lobsang Dondrub, and those of the courts that upheld the original sentences. The trial was procedurally flawed, the court was neither independent nor impartial, and the defendants were denied access to independent legal counsel.



Tenzin Delek Rinpoche, a very well known and highly regarded teacher, was arrested in April 2002 and sentenced to death in December 2002 with a two-year reprieve.

Lawyers chosen by members of Tenzin Delek's family were not permitted to defend him at his appeal hearing.¹⁹²

Many of Tenzin Delek's associates were detained following his arrest in April 2002, and at least two men are still in custody – Tashi Phuntsok, a monk, reportedly received a seven-year sentence, while a local resident named Taphel is serving a five-year term. Tsering Dondrub, a local resident, also received a five-year term but was released after serving only 13 months. Approximately 60 Tibetans in total were detained for periods ranging from a few days to several months from April 2002 onwards.

Tenzin Delek's conviction was the culmination of ten years of effort by the Chinese authorities to curb his influence in the local community, his loyalty to the Dalai Lama, promotion of Tibetan Buddhism, and work protecting the local environment and developing Tibetan social and cultural institutions. Tenzin Delek, who was recognized as a reincarnate lama by the Dalai Lama during a stay in India in the 1980s, had established schools for nomadic children, homes for the elderly, and had raised funds for the renovation of several monasteries. He mediated in economic conflicts among Tibetan communities and was active in campaigns against deforestation in order to protect



Tenzin Delek Rinpoche was initially held in this prison directly north of Dartsedo (Ch: *Kangding*) after his arrest. His alleged co-conspirator, Lobsang Dondrub, was summarily executed on January 26, 2003, on the hillside behind this prison, according to local officials. (Photo: ©ICT)

the local environment and people's livelihoods. He gained widespread support, and many devoted disciples, at a time when the Chinese government was aiming to reinforce secular authority, and to undermine religious influence. The consequences of Tenzin Delek's arrest have been extremely damaging to religious and cultural life in the region. In the aftermath of his arrest, and the intimidation of his followers, the religious community he had revitalized in the Lighthang area began to decline and the social projects he established have also suffered. Human Rights Watch reported in February 2004¹⁹³ that in 2000 officials took over the school of Geshe Lungpa, and in the absence of funds for its upkeep and lack of leadership, the school quickly failed. Another school's enrolment declined from 160 pupils to 30. Two homes for the elderly closed, and a health clinic was also shut down. Two of Orthok monastery's branches were closed and there are far fewer monks and nuns in residence at almost all of those that are open.¹⁹⁴ Festivals and ceremonies in the area do not attract the usual numbers of participants.

The case of Tenzin Delek exemplifies much more widespread attempts in Tibetan areas of the PRC to undermine religious leadership and activities associated with the preservation of Tibetan religion and culture.

CRACKDOWNS IN KARDZE

The region of Kardze, part of the Tibetan area of Kham, is known for being politically restive. Over the past few years, dissident activity in Kardze, a historically important center for Tibetan Buddhism, has continued against a background of increasing religious repression. The patriotic education campaign, which appears to have reached monasteries in Kardze Tibet Autonomous Prefecture in 1997, led to increased restrictions on religious practice, attempts to reduce the size of the area's monasteries and a requirement for monks and nuns to denounce the Dalai Lama - the issue which has triggered the most resistance. Dargye and nearby Kardze Gepheling monastery, both located in Kardze county, are Gelugpa monasteries known for their staunch support of the Dalai Lama.

Although it was initially chosen as the capital of the area, the remoteness and political uncertainty of Kardze county town, in addition to its lack of modern facilities, meant that Dartsedo (Ch: *Kangding*) was selected as the prefecture seat when Kardze TAP was established in 1955. Kardze was one of the strongholds of Khampa resistance during the 1950s and there remains today a strong security presence in and around the county town. Locals in Kardze town believe that the town has been denied public as-



Hundreds of Tibetans gathered outside this prison in the town of Kardze demanding the release of Geshe Sonam Phuntsok, a popular scholar and religious leader who was arrested on October 24, 1999. Authorities had become concerned about his widespread influence in the area and his loyalty to the Dalai Lama. Fellow prisoners, who spent long periods of time in these open air prisons cells pictured here, report that Sonam Phuntsok was tortured in this prison in late 1999, as were many others in September and October 2002, for participating in long life ceremonies for the Dalai Lama. Sonam Phuntsok's 5 year sentence will be over in October 2004. (Photo: ©ICT)

sistance as punishment for its political past and continued dissident activities. 'Kardze has paid for its hostility to the Chinese occupation by official neglect and particularly repressive local security forces,' state Steven Marshall and Dr. Susette Cooke, the authors of the CD Rom *Tibet Outside the Tibet Autonomous Region (TOTAR)*.¹⁹⁵ 'Its defiant cultural stance is the strongest, and only, response it can make under current circumstances. Chinese immigration and commercial development are infiltrating, resource exploitation continues, but Tibetan resistance is stronger here than in many county towns, in a tangible spirit as well as concrete manifestations in architecture, dress and religious expression.'

LONG LIFE RELIGIOUS CEREMONIES FOR DALAI LAMA TRIGGER ARRESTS

In January 2002, the Dalai Lama had to cancel a major religious ceremony in Bodhgaya, India, due to stomach illness. News quickly spread to Tibet via the US-based broadcasting services Voice of America and Radio Free Asia. Tibetans in Kardze TAP were so concerned that they took the dangerous action of organizing traditional religious ceremonies to pray for the long life of the Dalai

Lama, held during Tibetan New Year (Tib: *Losar*) in February 2002. Residents from as many as 50 hamlets and villages join together to hold a number of different long life ceremonies in different villages. The ceremonies involved monks and nuns chanting, prominent displays of photographs of the Dalai Lama, and speeches to crowds ranging from a few dozen to several hundred. Video footage was taken of some of the ceremonies, and videocassettes subsequently distributed. This proved to be a dangerous move, as local security personnel obtained copies of the videos, and over the next few months, began to use the footage to identify Tibetans and make arrests.

At least 20 detentions relating to long life prayer ceremonies for the Dalai Lama were made in Kardze town and surrounding villages as a result. Some were released after being interrogated. Reports from the region indicate that at least seven Tibetans are currently serving prison sentences for involvement in one of the prayer ceremonies, while others are in hiding or have left the area and are frightened to return to their families for fear of being detained. There are concerns for the welfare of Tibetans currently in prison following reports of maltreatment after their detention. ICT has received eyewitness accounts of routine torture of detainees at the Kardze Public Security Bureau detention center, where many of these Tibetans were interrogated. It is likely that there were more arrests than ICT has been able to confirm.

According to reports received by ICT, the crackdown began in the area in autumn 2002, after the authorities had carried out investigations into the ceremonies and acts of dissent accompanying the ceremonies. Several hundred People's Liberation Army troops arrived in the area in October 2002, and local police also set up checkpoints on all of the roads into and out of Kardze. A Tibetan source from Kardze who is now living in the West said: 'The crackdown last year has completely changed the situation in the area. Since the prayer ceremonies, people have been very scared. Several Tibetan families are left without a breadwinner because young men have been taken to prison or have had to leave. Normally you see many retired people circumambulating the pilgrimage circuit, around the temples but now you don't see this because people are so scared. These elderly people are not involved in political activities, they just want to carry on their religious practice.'¹⁹⁶

The security crackdown in Kardze in 2002 represented a further intensification of stringent security policies in place since hundreds of Tibetans took to the streets in October 1999 to protest against the detention of Sonam Phuntsok.

NOTES

- 151 1959 figure source, 'Great Victory of the Democratic Reform of Tibet,' Renmin Ribao, April 10, 1960. Source for 1976 figure 'Changing Life of Lamas,' Xinhua News Agency, 26 March, 1979.
- 152 China's Tibet, No. 5, 1994.
- 153 According to Xinhua, 'Jokhang Monastery to be better protected: Living Buddha,' 29 July 2002, "In the past, the government has lavished 300 million yuan [approx. \$ 36.58 million], along with large amounts of gold and silver, on repairing and rebuilding more than 1,700 monasteries and religious places across Tibet."
- 154 Propaganda Department of the CCP of the TAR, 'The Golden Bridge Across the New Century,' Xizang Ribao, Lhasa, in Chinese, November 1994, in SWB, 17 January 1995.
- 155 Document #15, Party Secretariat of the Lhasa City Administration Bureau, October 22, 1994. Released by the Human Rights Desk of the Tibetan Government in exile, Human Rights Update VII, February 2, 1995.
- 156 Some reports at the time indicated that money from a foreign sponsor may have been a factor in the authorities' disapproval of Drag Yerpa. The authorities take a particularly hard line against any foreign support for religious institutions in Tibet, which is not allowed (See Appendix I).
- 157 TIN News update, 'Destruction of Rakhor Nunnery,' 27 January 1999.
- 158 The title of 'Khenpo' in the Nyingma tradition indicates a high level of Buddhist scholarship, roughly analogous to the 'geshe' degree in the Gelugpa school of Tibetan Buddhism.
- 159 'Re-membering the Dismembered Body of Tibet: Contemporary Tibetan Visionary Movements in the People's Republic of China' by David Germano in the collection of essays "Buddhism in Contemporary Tibet: Religious Revival and Cultural Identity", edited by Melvyn Goldstein and Matthew T. Kapstein, University of California Press, 1998.
- 160 ICT news report, 7 January 2004, available on ICT's website at www.savetibet.org.
- 161 Larung Gar (Tib: *bla rung sgar*), is also known as Larung Buddhist school (Tib: *bla rung chos slob sa*) and by the official name Serthar Larung Academy of Buddhist Studies (Tib: *gSer thar bla rung lnga rig nang bstan slob gling*). Yachen Gar (Tib: *ya chen sgar*) is also known as Acho Gar (Tib: *a chos sgar*), named after the founder Acho Khenpo Rinpoche (Tib: *Grub dbang lung rtogs rgyal mtshan A chos mKhan po*).
- 162 The term Gar (Tib: *sgar*), as in Larung Gar and Yachen Gar, in Tibetan literally means 'encampment,' and is also used for military personnel or traders. In this context it means a religious gathering or settlement. Religious encampments have been used for centuries in Tibet, although they were usually only set up for the period of teachings, which took place often during the warm summer months.
- 163 For an account of Khenpo Jigme Phuntsok's meeting with the Dalai Lama in Dharamsala, India, see "Eminent Visitor from Tibet: Khenpo Jigme Phuntsok" in 'Chö Yang: The Voice of Tibetan Religion and Culture, Year of Tibet Edition' (1991), pp 144-151, published by the Religious and Cultural Affairs Council.
- 164 TIN News Update, 19 August 2001, 'Expulsions of nuns and students threaten survival of important Tibetan Buddhist institute.'
- 165 The United Front (Tib: *thab phyogs gcig sgyur*, Ch: *tong zhan bu*) is the CCP's organization responsible to work in alliance with non-Party and often non-Chinese sectors of the society to carry out Party policy, propaganda and public relations.
- 166 ICT interview, winter 2001.
- 167 ICT interview, winter 2001.
- 168 TIN News Update, 'Serthar teacher now in Chengdu; new information on expulsions of nuns at Buddhist institute' 8 November 2001.
- 169 The International Campaign for Tibet, Tibet Information Network and the Tibetan Center for Human Rights and Democracy have copies of video footage of demolition at Serthar.

- 170 The People's Armed Police (Ch: *wu jing*), a paramilitary unit formed from the People's Liberation Army in 1983, is responsible for internal security, border controls, and the protection of state installations, including prisons.
- 171 This is significant because nearly all areas in Sichuan province are open to tourist travel. ICT has spoken to some western travelers have reported be stopped at the check-post, while others have been to spend some hours before being told to depart.
- 172 'Charismatic Tibetan Buddhist Leader Khenpo Jigme Phuntsok Passes Away,' 7 January 2004, ICT press release.
- 173 7 January 2004 on ICT's website at www.savetibet.org.
- 174 Over the past few years Khenpo Jigpun had been under close scrutiny from the authorities and did not want to attract undue attention due to involvement with foreigners. Foreign journalists who managed to travel to Serthar were on occasion refused audiences with the Khenpo. The government is extremely sensitive to any foreign involvement in religion in Tibet. The propaganda document used in patriotic education in the TAR, and featured in Appendix I, states the following: 'While maintaining the fundamental principles of self-responsibility and self-management, friendly relations in religious matters should be established with foreigners on the basis of equality, at the same time as opposing the use made of religion by those foreigners in the hostile camp to infiltrate us. No foreign religious organization or individual whatsoever may interfere in the conduct of religious work in our country.'
- 175 ICT interview, fall 2001.
- 176 The document was obtained by ICT in November 2001.
- 177 ICT interview, fall 2001.
- 178 ICT interview, winter 2001.
- 179 ICT interview, fall 2001.
- 180 ICT interview with a senior lama in fall 2002 who teaches Chinese students in Tibetan areas on Sichuan and in China.
- 181 ICT interview, fall 2002.
- 182 David Germano writes: 'One of the Chinese monks resident in 1991 at Khenpo Jigphun's institute was in fact the son of a famous Qi Gong master in Beijing. Although qi gong secrets are often transmitted in a hereditary fashion, which was his father's desire, he had for the time being spurned the legacy to instead study Tibetan Buddhism. In discussions with him, he frequently cited the mundane concerns of Chinese qi gong masters with money, popularity and bodily feats, contrasting that to what he perceived as the more transcendent concerns and realizations of the major Tibetan Buddhist lamas....I [also] know a young Tibetan lama who recently spent several years in Shanghai, where he acquired numerous Chinese disciples.' 'Buddhism in Contemporary Tibet: Religious revival and cultural identity' edited by Melvyn C. Goldstein and Matthew T. Kapstein, University of California Press, 1998.
- 183 For a moving and informative account of a Chinese woman's journey to India to discover the roots of Buddhism see the book 'Ten Thousand Miles without a Cloud' by Sun Shuyun, Harper Collins 2003.
- 184 ICT interview, Washington D.C. April, 2003
- 185 The Human Rights Watch report 'Trials of a Tibetan Monk: The case of Tenzin Delek' (February 2004) states that when Tenzin Delek Rinpoche returned from India to Tibet in 1987, following his recognition as a reincarnate lama by the Dalai Lama, he resisted pressure in the area to join in Shugden worship and preached against the practice to the general public, monks at Lithang Gonchen monastery, and to village elders. He even announced he would not set foot in Lithang Gonchen monastery until the practice there stopped.
- 186 Isabel Hilton 'I, the Dalai Lama', Independent, 22 September 1999; David Van Biema, 'Monks vs Monks', Time Magazine, vol 151, no 18, 11 May 1998. Human Rights Watch report, 'Trials of a Tibetan Monk: The case of Tenzin Delek', February 2004, pp 44-5.
- 187 Sonam Phuntsok is frequently referred to as 'Geshe' Sonam Phuntsok, although it is not clear whether he has taken the official Geshe monastic exams.
- 188 For an account of the events leading up to martial law in 1989 see the TIN report 'A Struggle of Blood and Fire' on TIN's website.
- 189 This figure is likely to be an exaggeration
- 190 For a comprehensive and detailed account of these important cases, see 'Trials of a Tibetan monk: The case of Tenzin Delek', Human Rights Watch, February 2004, Vol 16, No 1. An analysis of the legal basis of these cases is provided in a report by the Congressional-Executive Commission on China, 'The Execution of Lobsang Dondrub and the Case against Tenzin Delek: The Law, The Courts, and the Debate on Legality', 10 February 2003. The latter report can be downloaded from www.cecc.gov.
- 191 Report by the Congressional-Executive Commission on China, 'The Execution of Lobsang Dondrub and the Case against Tenzin Delek: The Law, The Courts, and the Debate on Legality', 10 February 2003, www.cecc.gov.
- 192 'Trials of a Tibetan monk: The case of Tenzin Delek', Human Rights Watch, February 2004, Vol 16, No 1.
- 193 Ibid.
- 194 Ibid, p 28. Human Rights Watch notes that it is unclear whether the reduction in the number of monks and nuns resulted from official directives or whether they left of their own volition. One monk told HRW: 'Everyone feels that staying at the monastery is like being in jail, so many of the monks have left. Some have gone back to their families, some have joined another monastery, and some have gone on pilgrimage.' Surveillance methods reportedly included checking to see if people were saying prayers for Tenzin Delek Rinpoche or the Dalai Lama.
- 195 CD-ROM Tibet Outside the TAR (TOTAR) by Steven Marshall and Susette Cooke.
- 196 'Climate of fear in aftermath of Dalai Lama prayer ceremonies', report by Kate Saunders, 25 June 2003. The same report states that at least 20 Tibetans were imprisoned for either attending the ceremonies, using their premises to hold the ceremonies or being involved in the organization of the ceremonies. Namgyal Choephel, a farmer is in his mid-thirties, is being held in Kardze serving three years. Jampa Zangpo, a farmer in his late thirties who was a well-known figure in the local community, and 55-year old Dorje Phuntsok, a senior figure in his village of Shenyin who works in Kardze as a mechanic, are also reportedly imprisoned in Kardze. The two people involved in videoing the main ceremony in Kardze town are also reportedly in prison. An unconfirmed number of Tibetans were temporarily detained for questioning after the ceremonies, and some of them severely beaten. The detainees still in prison were beaten and kicked following their arrests; one report indicates that the physical maltreatment was carried out by PLA troops rather than local police.

集

CHAPTER 7 THE CONSEQUENCES OF DISSENT

Buddhist monks and nuns still make up the majority of political prisoners in Tibetan areas of the PRC. For all detentions documented by TIN since 1987, nearly 1300 [about 68%] have been persons with a religious occupation.¹⁹⁷ TIN's political prisoner database records 145 Tibetans as in [or likely to be in] a prison or detention center as of January 2004. Just under half are known to be serving sentences at Drapchi Prison in Lhasa, recently renamed Tibet Autonomous Region Prison (previously Tibet Autonomous Region Prison No. 1). Two thirds of the 136 male Tibetan political prisoners documented by TIN as currently imprisoned are monks, former monks, or reincarnate lamas [tulkus].¹⁹⁸

The longest serving males in the TAR are Drepung monks Ngawang Phuljung, Ngawang Gyaltzen, Ngawang Oezer, and Jamphel Jangchub. They have all been in prison for nearly 15 years and governments and human rights advocates continue to lobby for their release. Last year [2003], three monks, Choedar Dargye, Gedun Thogphel and Jampa Choephel, from Khangmar monastery in Kakhog (Ch: *Hongyuan*) county in Ngaba prefecture, Sichuan, were sentenced to 12 years for offences including painting a Tibetan flag and having photographs of the Dalai Lama. There are also concerns for two other monks detained with them - Migyur Gyatso, who is said to have received a one-year sentence, and Jamyang Oezer, who may have received an eight-year sentence and who is reported to be seriously ill, and either in hospital or at home.

ICT has received many reports of the abuse and torture of monks and nuns accused of political activism, and of prisoners who have been severely punished in prison for failing to comply with political education while in prison. The prevalence of torture as a reprisal for political or even purely religious activities is of great concern and breaches the People's Republic of China's [PRC] obligations with regard to the Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman and Degrading Treatment or Punishment [CAT]. Although the PRC ratified CAT in 1988, TIN records indicate 41 confirmed deaths arising from severe abuse under detention.¹⁹⁹ At least 29 of these deaths have been monks and nuns.

Tibetan monks and nuns who have been held in custody have given accounts to ICT of maltreatment including beatings, electric shocks, exposure to cold, and being forced to perform heavy physical labor. Tibetans who are caught attempting to escape from Tibet into Nepal, or those who are detained when entering Tibet after a period in exile, for instance in an exile monastery, often face the same treatment.

The practice of religion is forbidden in prison, although some monks and nuns still manage to carry out prayers or to smuggle in blessing cords.

An increase in recorded political imprisonment in Tibetan areas of Sichuan Province in the past year appears to be linked to increased restiveness caused by an intensification of religious repression and the persecution of popular religious leaders. According to the Tibet Information Network [TIN], this increase appears to have offset the number of expiring sentences for political offences in the TAR. The recorded decline in political prisoner numbers in the TAR reflects a change in patterns of political protest in Tibet in recent years. The hostile political and cultural environment and hard-line security policies that have been in place in Tibet since the mid-1990s have led to a decline in overt political protest, such as demonstrations for a free Tibet in the Barkor. There is also an understanding in Tibet that a term as a political prisoner is not simply a matter of giving up several years of one's life - it can result in serious injury, illness, even death. Even when a prison sentence ends the ex-prisoner is not free. Most former political prisoners continue to be perceived by the authorities as a threat to the state because of the political views that led to their imprisonment. On release they face isolation, financial hardship, fear, and a constant awareness of being under surveillance. Their suffering is intensified by the knowledge that their family and friends are also often under pressure from the authorities. Monks and nuns who serve terms of imprisonment are generally not allowed to return to their monasteries or nunneries after completing their sentence.²⁰⁰

In an analysis of political imprisonment in Tibet today, Steven D. Marshall, creator of TIN's political prisoner database, writes: 'Tibetans living in Tibet are faced with a wider environment greatly changed over the past decade, and barely recognizable compared to 20 years ago. Tibetans, like everyone, enjoy the benefits of rising prosperity and improved infrastructure. Privately, they do not suggest that they find more modern housing, higher income or well-stocked shopping arcades an acceptable trade-off for more cherished aspirations. But neither do they continue to express confidence that political protest will help realize those aspirations. Some wealthier and more urban, may emulate global trends and immerse themselves in consumerism, a norm encouraged by Chinese social, economic and development policy. But other Tibetans explore their educational, cultural, economic and political environment for opportunities that may not have existed in the political climate of a decade or two ago, or may have been spurned earlier as inadequate. The intense pressures and heightened sense of urgency faced by today's Tibetans – most notably arising from the demographic threat to Tibetan majorities posed by Chinese population influx – may have compelled an unwelcome but unavoidable pragmatism.'²⁰¹

CONDITIONS IN TIBETAN PRISONS

There are three main categories of detention facility under current Chinese law – prisons (Ch: *jianyu*); re-education through labor centers (Ch: *laojiao*) and Public Security Bureau Detention Centers (Ch: *kanshousuo*). Prisons had been labeled as reform through labor centers (Ch: *laogai*) until revision of the criminal code in recent years. There are currently three formally designated, provincially ranked prisons in the TAR – Drapchi [which has recently been renamed as TAR Prison, from TAR Prison Number One], Powo Tramo or TAR Prison No Two in Pome (Ch: *Bomi*) county in Kongpo (Ch: *Linzhi*) prefecture and Lhasa Prison, formerly known as Utritru (in the Lhasa area, north-east of the Jokhang Temple).²⁰²

Drapchi is Tibet's most notorious prison for political prisoners. A large number of deaths recorded in custody took place in Drapchi prison and are known to have resulted from severe abuse, making it the most dangerous place for a Tibetan political prisoner to be held. Powo Tramo, where the exiled Tibetan musicologist Ngawang Choephel was held before his release in January 2002²⁰³, is known for its harsh conditions and difficult forced labor linked to the forestry industry.

The TAR currently has two institutions functioning as re-education through labor centers – Trisam, located in Lhasa's western suburbs, and a second *laojiao* near

Chamdo, the capital of Chamdo prefecture. PSB detention centers are the most numerous in terms of detention facilities – every county in the TAR has a PSB Detention Center and every prefecture has a prefectural level PSB detention center. Sitru prison in Lhasa apparently functions as a high security TAR State Security Bureau (Ch: *an quan bu*) detention center – Tibetans who are suspected of threatening state security, rather than public security, and in particular lay prisoners, are often held at Sitru. Gutsa prison, the colloquial name for Lhasa's prefectural PSB detention center, is located a few kilometers east of the city center, and has held more political prisoners than any other site in the TAR in the past 15 years.

The prison system, which is designed and administered by ministries of the central government, is much the same in non-TAR Tibetan areas as it is in the TAR. Each Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture outside the TAR has at least one prefecture prison, although unlike the TAR, there are numerous forced labor production-oriented prisons. Qinghai province reportedly has the highest concentration of *laogai* in China.²⁰⁴

Severe maltreatment is most prevalent during the initial phases of detention. Many detainees report that during the investigation period, they are kept in solitary confinement. Electric shocks are administered with electric batons and often applied to the most sensitive parts of the anatomy, especially the head and face, and mouth and ears, as well as the genitals. Prisoners may be tightly handcuffed or bound for extended periods, sometimes in painfully contorted positions, and sometimes above an open stove or furnace, which often leads to collapse from heat and exhaustion. Beatings are carried out with truncheons, wood or metal rods, sticks, planks, or lengths of wire used as whips. Prisoners are frequently forced to endure prolonged periods without food, sleep or water, and periods of isolation in dark solitary cells.

Nuns who have now been released from Drapchi prison report that in the mid-1990s a new program of military-style exercises began to be conducted by People's Armed Police [PAP] personnel. In the mid-1990s, there were more than 100 women – most of whom were nuns – imprisoned for political offences in Drapchi, four times as many as three years earlier, and the prison authorities were seeking new methods to assert their authority and pressure the women to reform.²⁰⁵ The demands of drill instructors enforcing military-style exercises on the prisoners often proved impossible for the women, already weakened by the prison regime and conditions, to fulfill. The drills involved extended periods of exertion and long periods of standing outside in the courtyard. One former female prisoner told TIN: 'Sometimes we would have to stand in the sunshine



Drapchi prison in Lhasa is home to the vast majority of long-term, sentenced prisoners in the Tibet Autonomous Region. Many of Tibet's prominent monks have passed between its walls and many still remain there. (Photo: ©ICT)

for about two hours, very [straight], with a book on our head. We were not allowed to let the book fall. And then, sometimes, if it was hailing, they would ask us to lift our faces up towards the sky until the hail stopped. At times, somebody would faint or fall. But even if we called for help, they would not come and help, and no one would be allowed to help the person who had fallen. Sometimes they would beat up one or two prisoners so badly, and because they are PAP, they are trained to hit so hard that sometimes the person would be smashed against a wall, sometimes even throwing up blood, but still they wouldn't help. During the drills we really had to run like hell. Even if we had bought a fairly strong pair of shoes, they didn't last longer than about five days.'²⁰⁶

The death of 25-year old Garu nun Gyaltsen Kelsang in February 1995 has been linked to this military-style routine. Gyaltsen Kelsang was detained in June 1993 and collapsed at the end of 1994 after a session of military drills. According to a report by one of the nuns who was detained with her, Gyaltsen Kelsang was then hospitalized suffering from paralysis in her legs. She was released on medical parole into the custody of her family and died in February 1995.

ICT has received numerous reports of the inadequacy of medical care provided to political prisoners. The deprivation of basic medical care, particularly withholding treatment from political prisoners who have become seriously ill or injured, contributes to the possibility that a prisoner may become so seriously ill that they are likely to die in custody. Prisoners who survive untreated or improperly treated injury and sickness often endure permanent disability as a result.

In June 1998, five nuns died in Drapchi prison, after several weeks of maltreatment that followed the authorities' severe repression of two prison protests in May 1998.²⁰⁷ All of the nuns were close comrades in their twenties who had been imprisoned for peaceful protests; none of them had long periods left to serve. Their deaths following five weeks of severe maltreatment, and can be seen as a culmination of the harsh treatment administered over the past decade to the group of female political prisoners held in Drapchi's 'Rukhag [Unit] 3.'²⁰⁸ The precise circumstances of their deaths are still not known. The nuns were Drugkyi Pema, from Nyemo Rangjung nunnery, Khedron Yonten and Tashi Lhamo, nuns of Jewo Thekchogling, Lob-sang Wangmo, from Nego Tong nunnery, and Tsultrim Zangmo, from Phenpo.

Nyima Dragpa, a Tibetan monk in his twenties from Nyitso monastery, died in October 2003 while serving a nine-year sentence for 'splittist' activities. Dragpa had been jailed in October 2000 for putting up posters calling for Tibetan independence. He had been serving his sentence in Dawu prison, Sichuan province, in the traditional Tibetan area of Kham, his home region, and died in the hospital where he had been moved to ten days earlier. Radio Free Asia obtained a letter he had written on 1 April 2001, giving details of the maltreatment that had led to his death: '....However, ill fated that I am, before I had managed to accomplish a single objective, my precious life seemed doomed to be ended at the hands of the cruel and repressive Chinese. Last year [2000], on the 22nd of March, when I was in Lhasa, four members of the Dawu Public Security Bureau officers arrived and arrested me immediately. Right from the start, without even asking me a single question, they started beating me

like beating a drum and rendered me incapable of uttering even a word. They gave me neither a mouthful of food nor a drop of water to drink, and immediately took me in a plane back to Chengdu. Upon arrival in Chengdu, they let a few Chinese security bureau cadres beat me up. Those reincarnations of the black devil himself, in the form of Chinese cadres, pinned me down and beat me so mercilessly that I became half dead and half alive. At the time, I fell unconscious. When I regained consciousness, it was around eleven at night. I sensed that the whole of my body hurt with excruciating pain and it was impossible to move properly. In particular, I realized that both my legs had turned numb and were devoid of any sensation. Ten days after we had arrived in Dawu, they started interrogating me. Despite the intense and excruciating pain all over my body, ill fated though I was, I managed to tell them exactly everything that I deeply believe and feel in my heart, and acknowledged that I had indeed written all those posters. Therefore, last year on October 5th, the Court in Kardze Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, sentenced me to a prison term of nine years. However, I'm now in such a decrepit state that I cannot eat even a mouthful of food, and my legs, too, are rendered lame by the cruel Chinese. As such, I know that before long I am going to die.... I appeal to my fellow Tibetan brethren with whom I share the same flesh and bone, you must know and understand the truth about how China mistreats us through unreserved bullying, illegal and immoral actions. We must unite at all costs and rise up against China.²⁰⁹

Maltreatment is routine during imprisonment, and most accounts of severe beating and torture occur during the initial stages of detention, when security personnel or prison guards are seeking a 'confession'. The following account is by a former security official from eastern Tibet whose name and other identifying details has been withheld. This report gives details of an interrogation session carried out in order to 'close a case':²¹⁰

'I have terrible memories of one night on duty. I could not sleep for three days after this happened. I was in the office and the other police officers wanted a confession from a man who was being interrogated. I had a feeling, my intuition I guess, that the man was innocent [the interviewee does not specify whether this involved a political or criminal offence]. I cannot forget the manner in which he cried out, the sounds of the man being hit with an iron fire-poker made me sick. You couldn't see his face [due to disfigurement and blood] when he left the office. The police officer broke an entire chair over his head. And so sadly, the man's wife sat outside the station the entire time the beating was happening, in the freezing cold, and she could hear all the sounds that I could hear. I learned

very quickly how things work in PSB, sort of outside the law, during that posting. I think it is the same way at all the police stations. That is to say..." closing the case." If we know that the person is guilty but can't find enough evidence, then we need them to admit to the crime. If they won't admit it, then we say the case needs to be closed, and the men who finish the case are brought in. At that station, it was always the same three or four men. This is normal business. You see, we would have a certain number [quota] of criminals that we needed to catch each month. If we didn't catch enough, our pay would be docked. So the men that would finish the case helped fill that required number.

The usual method of closing the case was just beating in the head, and also electric shocks. In that small station, we had a room where the criminals would be suspended and beaten, shocked and left for long periods of time. Also, at our station, we had a big tree in the courtyard that was used to tie people to without shoes or shirts during the winter months. Usually in the morning, the man would confess to the crime. The men learn these techniques to get confessions by word of mouth; they aren't really taught how to torture people. They have such little education, they are easily influenced. Even many of the bosses who hold a lot of power are so stupid that they can't make a proper speech at our meetings. None of the bosses or officers likes lawyers because the lawyers are very educated. The police won't let the lawyers see the criminals before the criminal makes a confession. So really the lawyers aren't allowed to see them until the case has been closed.

I have heard in western countries that law enforcement doesn't use such treatments but I'm not sure how such a concept can work, not using these methods. It's the same with public sentencing too. Here in China, in the public squares the criminals are brought out and sentenced publicly. We would often have to go out and tell the common people to attend the sentencing. After the sentences were handed down, from prison terms to the death sentence, the handcuffed criminals are put in trucks and driven about the city. Then their sentence is carried out. This happens all over China.'

A NUN'S STORY

Ngawang Sangdrol, a nun in her mid-twenties, was released in October 2002 and allowed to travel to the US for medical treatment after 11 years of imprisonment. She is now living in Washington DC. She gave ICT the following account of her ordeal in prison, and her attempts to practice religion in Drapchi:

'It is common for at least one child in a Tibetan family to be sent to a monastery or nunnery to receive a religious education, and at the age of 12 I joined Garu nunnery. My family was very religious and devoted to Tibetan Buddhism, and I was happy to become a nun. I immediately fitted into the small close-knit community there. It was really from the age of 12 that I began to be aware of the truth about the way Tibetans were repressed by the Chinese, when talking to other nuns. The occupation of Tibet by China turned into something very personal for me. I became determined to do something. It wasn't because of anger. It was something deeper. One day some of the nuns were talking about making a protest against the Chinese. I decided to join the nuns in their political demonstration. We set off one morning to make our protest at a religious festival at the Norbulingka, the former summer palace of His Holiness the Dalai Lama. I was only 13, and the youngest and smallest in our group of 13 nuns. We knew that because there were going to be many people there, we would receive a lot of attention for what we were going to do. We also knew that there would be many armed Chinese police. We walked into the middle of the crowd and started shouting, 'Long live the Dalai Lama!' 'Free Tibet!' Almost immediately, Chinese police in uniform and in plain clothes dragged us away. We were forced into a truck and taken to Gutsa detention center outside the city. When we arrived at Gutsa, we were subjected to many hours of violent interrogation. The prison guards told us we were 'counter-revolutionaries' who were trying to separate Tibet from China. The interrogators beat us with iron pipes and sometimes with electric cattle prods. They attached live electric wires to our tongues. They even tied us up in a very painful 'airplane' position, where our hands were tied back and hung from the ceiling. It felt like my shoulders were being pulled out of their sockets.

It didn't matter that I was only a small child. Those men threw me around like a toy around the room. They tortured children in the same way they tortured adults. Once, when they were torturing me with electric shocks to my neck, I instinctively ripped the wire off and threw it to the ground. A Chinese guard pointed a gun to my head and said: "Now you are going to die." He was very angry. But he didn't shoot me. When they began torture sessions, I would try to stand still, hold my ground and be strong. But when they hit me on the head with iron water pipes, I couldn't help falling down.



When Ngawang Sangdrol entered Garu nunnery near Lhasa at age 12, she began to learn about the history of Tibet and at age 13 she joined a group of nuns in a peaceful pro-independence demonstration. She was arrested and savagely tortured, and would spend 12 out of the next 13 years in prison for speaking truth to prison authorities. She engaged in several protests in prison and sang songs of freedom which were smuggled out of prison on audiotapes by a Tibetan guard, resulting in lengthy sentence extensions. (Photo: ©Myra de Rooy/ICT)

The guards would constantly try to find out who were the leaders of the protest among us nuns. They would constantly try to make us accuse each other or confess that what we did on behalf of Tibet was wrong. But we would all band together to resist them. We would all tell them that we were the leader. And of course they would beat us more for that defiance. We were always cold at night and hungry.

After nine months, I was released together with the other nuns and allowed to go home. But as a former political prisoner, I wasn't allowed to return to my nunnery, so I didn't even have the support of the community of nuns. Police always watched me, and it was impossible for me to see friends for fear of causing trouble for them. All the time I wanted to be involved in political activity. This time, I think it was mainly because I had friends who were in prison, other nuns, who were still suffering, and I wanted to do something to show my solidarity with them. When I was about 15, I went with some other nuns to the Barkor area, the main Tibetan area of Lhasa. As soon as we began calling for Tibet's freedom, the police took me away once again. This time, I would not emerge from prison for 11 years.

I was sentenced and transferred to Tibet's 'Number One' prison, known as Drapchi. The regime there is hard. Every day, we had a quota of weaving for the prison carpet factory, so from the moment we woke up early in the morning we would have to work until we finished our quota, which

often took us until late in the evening. If we didn't meet the targets set by prison officials, we were beaten or food was withheld. There were spiders and huge rats in our cells, and at night the rats would crawl over us and sometimes bite us while we tried to sleep. We were all scared of the rats.

I made several protests in prison and had my sentence extended. Once, when an official Chinese delegation visited the prison, I shouted 'Freedom for Tibet!' And I told them, 'We are not permitted to show respect to our own religious leaders. Why should we show respect to Chinese officials?' As punishment, I was confined in a dark solitary cell wearing only a shirt, with no coat or blanket. The cell was very small, like being in a box. It had an open ceiling above for guards to keep watch. At night they would turn on a light and not allow me to sleep properly. I was given only a steamed flour bun and bowl of water with some vegetables in it every day to eat. Occasionally they would give me a cup of tea. I kept myself going by constantly saying my prayers, chanting silently so that the guards could not hear. I also wove some rosary (Tib: *phreng ba*) beads out of threads that I had unwound from my shirt. It was winter at the time, and so cold at night that the water in the tap in my cell would turn to ice. Every day, I was made to stand outside in the courtyard in the snow. If I slumped a little bit, I would be beaten. I responded to this by shouting again for freedom. The other nuns who saw this were worried, and they went on hunger strike in my support. After six months in solitary confinement, I was released to the normal cells.

The prison guards always told other prisoners to inform on those of us who were political prisoners at Drapchi. In one cell, a young female criminal prisoner became very friendly with the nuns, but she was under constant pressure to inform on them. She became very ill, and was in a lot of pain and bleeding from her mouth, and the guards said to her, if you think those nuns are so good and kind, then let them help you. The nuns said she needed to go to hospital, but the officials wouldn't allow this and just kept asking her to report on the nuns. But she knew the nuns were trying to help her. Her distress became so great that one day the nuns returned to the cell to find that she had hanged herself.

The worst time I ever experienced in prison was in May 1998. 1 May is 'Labor Day' in China and the prison officials had organized a ceremony to raise the Communist Party flag.²¹¹

As all the prisoners assembled, two criminal inmates began shouting freedom slogans and chanting 'Long live the Dalai Lama!' All the monks and nuns joined in. There was immediate chaos. Soldiers and armed police started grabbing prisoners and dragging them away and beating them. Three days later, the atmosphere was still tense, and prisoners were ordered to attend another ceremony organized by prison officials. We felt it was our responsibility to do something patriotic for Tibet. Prisoners at the ceremony started chanting freedom slogans, and we joined in, shouting from our cells through the bars, I remember shouting, "Don't raise Chinese flags on Tibetan land!" Prison guards started shooting at the prisoners. We could see prisoners who were shot, lying on the ground bleeding and shaking. Guards rushed into our cells and grabbed us. In the courtyard, a few of us were thrown into the middle of the screaming crowd. The police were beating us savagely with electric batons and rifle butts, and there was so much blood everywhere. I don't know how long the beating lasted, later I heard it went on for two or three hours. At one point several guards were kicking me in the head and beating my body with batons and I fell unconscious. Later, I heard that another nun, Phuntsok Peyang, had thrown herself on top of me to protect me from the beating, thinking that I would be killed. She was then beaten badly herself. Phuntsok probably saved my life.

Afterwards we were all confined in tiny solitary cells and at night the police would take various nuns, one by one, to interrogate them. Often they would have to be dragged back to their cells unconscious following torture. Five nuns, all in their twenties, who had all been imprisoned for peaceful protests against the Chinese, died a few weeks later.²¹² The authorities said it was suicide, but I believe they died due to torture. I heard that their bodies and faces were so swollen and bruised that people could hardly identify who they were.

There has been so much sadness. One of my friends, a nun, who was in prison has lost her mind, another is paralyzed from the waist down after beatings. Three more nuns who were friends of mine died after torture.

I was finally released from Drapchi in October 2002, following an international campaign on my behalf. I hadn't known while in prison that anyone knew about me or cared so much.'

NOTES

- 197 See 'Hostile Elements 3: Political Imprisonment in Tibet, 1987-2001. In the Interests of the State' by Steven D Marshall, published by Tibet Information Network, p 20.
- 198 TIN reports that the three monasteries with the most imprisoned monks are in the TAR: 12 from Ganden, eight from Drepung, and seven from Serwa Monastery in Pashoe County, Chamdo Prefecture. At least four monks are from each of the following monasteries: Achog and Khangmar, both in Kakhog (Hongyuan) County, Ngaba Tibetan and Qiang Autonomous Prefecture (T&QAP); Kardze Gepheling, in Kardze County, Kardze TAP; Serthar Buddhist Institute, in Serthar County, Kardze TAP; Themthog, in Dzogang County, Chamdo Prefecture; and Tsanden, in Sog County, Nagchu Prefecture (TAR). The other prisoners are a mix of farmers, herders, traders, tradesmen, businessmen, professionals, and students. See TIN Special Report: 'Current Trends in Tibetan Political Imprisonment Increase in Sichuan; Decline in Qinghai and Gansu,' 6 February 2004.
- 199 See 'Hostile Elements 3: Political Imprisonment in Tibet, 1987-2001. In the Interests of the State' by Steven D Marshall, published by Tibet Information Network, List 3.5a, p 51. Note these 41 are those who TIN have received confirmed information on relating to the cause of death through maltreatment. In addition to these they list 10 others for whom 'TIN information is either incomplete, inconclusive or suggests that death may not have arisen directly from abuse under detention.'
- 200 See 'Invisible Chains: Life after Release for Tibetan political prisoners', TIN, September 2001.
- 201 'In the interests of the state: Hostile Elements III Political Imprisonment in Tibet 1987-2001', TIN June 2002.
- 202 For comprehensive details of prisons in Tibet and prison conditions, see TIN's Hostile Elements series of publications.
- 203 See TIN News Update Tibetan musicologist released a month before US President's China visit, 22 January 2002.
- 204 For further information on laogai in Qinghai, see the paper 'Chinese laogai: A hidden role in developing Tibet' by Steven D. Marshall, presented to the conference "Voices from the Laogai: 50 years of surviving China's forced labour camps", 17 - 19 September 1999, American University, Washington DC, USA, organized by the Laogai Research Foundation, available for downloading at: <http://www.tibetinfo.co.uk/publications/docs/laogai.htm>.
- 205 'Rukhag 3: The nuns of Drapchi Prison' by Steven D. Marshall, TIN, September 2000.
- 206 Ibid, p 26.
- 207 For reports of the May 1998 protests at Drapchi see the Tibet Information Network and ICT websites. See also Ngawang Sangdrol's testimony later in this section.
- 208 'Rukhag 3: The Nuns of Drapchi Prison' by Steven D. Marshall, TIN 2000.
- 209 TIN News Update, Nyima Dragpa's last testimony, 10 October 2003.
- 210 ICT interview, 2001.
- 211 For further information on the events of 1 and 4 May 1998 at Drapchi prison see TIN's website www.tibetinfo.net, the Prisoners and Protests section.
- 212 For an account of the death of the nuns, see 'Rukhag 3: The Nuns of Drapchi Prison' by Steven D Marshall, TIN 2000.



SOURCEBOOK OF CURRENT CHINESE DOCUMENTS ON RELIGIOUS POLICY

DOCUMENT I

Note on translation: The copy of the original Tibetan text of these political education study materials was obtained in 2001 in Lhasa by ICT.

RULES FOR MONKS AND NUNS IN MONASTERIES [TEMPLES AND HERMITAGES]

Issued by Lhasa City Municipal Government

These rules have been framed with reference to the relevant ordinance “Lhasa city municipal government stipulation on management of monasteries [temples and hermitages]”, and all monks and nuns must observe them.

One: They must uphold the force of law, uphold the interests of the people, uphold the unity of nationalities, uphold the unification of the Motherland, and oppose Splittism.

Two: They must respect the leadership of the Party and government, respect the Socialist system, strenuously study relevant official policies and voluntarily accept the leadership and oversight of government offices at all levels.

Three: Reactionary propaganda harmful to the unification and security of the state may not be put about, and reactionary books, periodicals, audio and video recordings and other materials may not be kept hidden or passed around. Splittist activity is not permitted in any form.

Four: Having voluntarily undertaken the disciplinary training of the Democratic Management Committee [or sub-committee] of the monastery [temple or hermitage], they must actively participate in activities for the general benefit of society and the monastery, production and labor.

Five: They must listen to the disciplinary training of their scripture teacher, personal tutor and monastery officials, respect elders and nurture the young, and be cooperative and friendly.

Six: They must have sincere faith in Buddha, exert themselves in studying, and promote Buddhism by concentrated study of Buddhist teachings.

Seven: They must strenuously observe the monastic discipline, uphold monastic and religious regulations, wear robes [even] when there is no special occasion and learn noble conduct and behavior.

Eight: Since religion may not be used to impede the study of state administration, law and culture, monasteries may not run their own

institutes or classes for the study of scripture. Implanting religious ideas in the heads of minors younger than 16 must be stringently prevented.

Nine: They must safeguard state cultural artifacts, safeguard cultural relics, take good care of monastery property and finances and maintain general arrangements.

Ten: The cleanliness of the environment and of individual residents must be attended to. Keeping up the appearance of the monks and nuns and the monastery’s good reputation, they must ‘love the Nation and love the Dharma’, and strive to be good, law-abiding monks and nuns.

**Lhasa City Municipal Government Nationality
and Religious Affairs Bureau**
20th July 1997

LHASA CITY MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT MEASURES FOR THE SUPERVISION OF MONASTERIES [TEMPLES AND HERMITAGES]

Having stepped up the supervision of monasteries [temples and hermitages] under Socialist conditions, and in order to safeguard normal religious activities, the freedom of religious belief of monks and nuns and the legal rights of monasteries [etc.] and monks and nuns, this special measure in conjunction with the main points has been defined for monasteries (temples and hermitages) under the authority of the municipal government with reference to the “Ordinance on supervision of places of religious activity” by the State Council of the PRC and related specifications by both the TAR and Lhasa city governments.

Point One: By thoroughly implementing state laws and Party policy on religion totally and impeccably under the leadership of the local Peoples’ Government, and supervising monasteries [etc.] and monks and nuns according to law, efforts must be made to accommodate religion with Socialist society.

Point Two: Monks and nuns must pursue the activities of their monasteries [etc.] in accord with the state constitution, law, legal system and policy, uphold the unity of nationalities and unity of the country, oppose Splittism, uphold the power of the constitution and law, and the interests of the People.

Point Three: Under the leadership of the Peoples’ Government and its expediting offices, voluntarily accepting the oversight and supervision of the local government and agencies in charge of religion, the Democratic Management Committees of monasteries [etc.] must vigorously support the work of related agencies.

Point Four: Having put the Democratic Management system into practice and guided the masses along the path, the DMCs of monasteries [etc.] must do whatever is best to promote democracy, make decisions on major issues after collective discussion, and offer them for the scrutiny and approval of the local government and agencies in charge of religion.

DMC members must strictly observe the “Lhasa City Municipal Government rules governing the work of members of DMCs in monasteries (etc.)”

Point Five: As the basis for their main functions and management needs, monasteries [etc.] may establish positions for religious functionaries such as abbot, disciplinarian and chant master. Functionaries such as abbot, disciplinarian, chant master, personal tutor, scripture tutor and shrine keeper have responsibility to the DMC, and must fulfill their own responsibilities with the DMC’s guidance, help and support.

Point Six: Various procedures must be established for essential duties, religious assemblies, study, protection of cultural artifacts, monastic discipline, work reports and so on, in accordance with the requirements of the functioning of the monasteries [etc.]. Organized by the DMC of monks and nuns for periodic, one study session every two weeks, study of law, the legal system and of relevant policies is to be finalized. Work reports are to be delivered periodically, every 6 months, in the monastic assembly.

Point Seven: Having strictly enforced a system for the management of financial matters, a democratic style of financial management is to be implemented. The monastery’s accounts are to be announced periodically to the monks and nuns in an unsolicited and voluntary manner. The monastery’s collective income must be used principally for repair, protection of artifacts, beautification of the vicinity and so on. After that, any surplus may be used for the welfare of those learned in religion or supplementing the livelihood of resident monks and nuns with grants and donations. Apart from the essential public fund and fund for increasing production and turnover, income from agriculture, pastoralism, secondary enterprises, forestry, trade and so on is to be distributed to individuals based on the calculation of their dues. According to the specific conditions of the monastery, the distribution of income from economic activity is to be done in accordance with the basic principle of reward for labor performed. Donations received by the monastery and individual monks and nuns from ordinary believers are the property of individual recipients.

Point Eight: Monasteries may not solicit donations or appropriate property from the public or induce them to perform labor on any kind of pretext.

Point Nine: The induction of new monks and nuns into the monastery community must be carefully restricted. In the case of persons from the region who voluntarily wish to join the monastery, the procedure of examination and permission must be scrupulously followed, while it is not permitted to induct just anyone as a novice or as a monk or nun by individual decision.

Point Ten: Being citizens of the PRC, monks and nuns in monasteries may enjoy the legally prescribed rights of citizens and must also accept their obligations.

1. Everyone, whether Lama, abbot, disciplinarian, teacher, or ordinary monk or nun, is equal in political terms, and feudal distinctions of rank and special prerogatives must be eliminated.
2. Monks and nuns have the legal right to freedom of religious belief, and the right to engage in normal religious activity and accept donations.
3. Monks and nuns have the supreme responsibility to love the Nation and love the Dharma, obey rules and regulations, uphold the unification of the Motherland and the unity of nationalities, protect the interests of the People and oppose Splittism.
4. Monks and nuns are responsible for observing monastic discipline, studying and promoting religious knowledge, behaving impeccably, protecting artifacts and historic cultural relics and taking care of facilities and valuables in common use.
5. All monks and nuns must follow the “Lhasa city municipal government rules for monks and nuns in monasteries [etc.],” be united in co-operation, and friendly, respecting elders and caring for the young.

Point Eleven: Monasteries [etc.] will hold an annual competition for “Monks and nuns who excel in loving the Nation, loving the Dharma.” Those who uphold the unification of the Motherland and unity of nationalities, vigorously study relevant official policies and religious knowledge, obey rules and regulations, protect cultural artifacts, take care of common property, respect the old and nurture the young and contribute to collective work will not only be commended by the DMC as a “Monk or nun who loves the Nation and loves the Dharma”, but receive material rewards and suitable promotion. Those with special accomplishments will be proposed for commendation to the Nationality and Religious Affairs offices.

Point Twelve: In case of infractions of the “Lhasa City Municipal Government rules governing the work of members of DMCs in monasteries [etc.],” the individual’s share of offerings and rights will be withdrawn as appropriate, according to the severity of the offence. Serious matters will be dealt with criticism, punishment and expulsion.

Point Thirteen: Those abbots, disciplinarians, personal tutors, scripture teachers, shrine keepers and other functionaries who shirk their responsibilities, fail to respect relevant specifications and procedures, who incur financial losses while disregarding their responsibilities or cause other kinds of damage will not only be deprived of their rights and obliged to retribute the loss, according to circumstances, but their culpability will be investigated, and in serious cases, the decision of their case will be deferred to the relevant authorities.

Point Fourteen: In case of infractions of the “Lhasa city municipal government rules for monks and nuns in monasteries [etc.]” and the monastery’s discipline code and economic conventions, the offender’s rights will be withdrawn according to severity, and the case decided according to the relevant specifications.

Any occurrences of the type mentioned below will result in expulsion from the monastery, and where laws have been broken, the case will be passed to the relevant authorities for judgment.

1. The shouting of reactionary slogans, the pasting up of reactionary leaflets, the drawing, printing, pasting up or flying of reactionary flags, the staging of illegal demonstrations or protests, the devising or spreading of counter-revolutionary rumors, the reproduction or secret possession of reactionary propaganda materials and the establishment of secret organizations.
2. Disturbances harmful to public order.
3. Damage caused to the monastery's cultural artifacts, theft, illegal sale or moving of those artifacts without proper permission.
4. Infringements of monastic discipline.
5. Failure to respect the supervision of the DMC.
6. Infringements of state laws and regulations, and those who damage the unification of the nation and unity of nationalities.

Point Fifteen: These measures come into effect on 20th July 1997.

Lhasa City Municipal Peoples' Government
20th July 1997

DOCUMENT II

Note on translation: The Chinese and Tibetan language copy of the Reader were distributed to Party officials. ICT translated the document from Chinese. The following document originated from Shigatse Prefecture in the TAR, and was obtained by ICT in autumn 2002, just after it had been distributed to all county-level Education Offices in the TAR.

A READER FOR ADVOCATING SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY AND DOING AWAY WITH SUPERSTITIONS

by the Propaganda Department of the Committee of the Communist Party of the Tibet Autonomous Region

One: Basic Viewpoints of Marxist Materialism and Atheism

Why is it said that a Communist Party member has to be an absolute materialist?

Dialectical materialism and historical materialism are the scientific worldview, a Communist member is an advanced person who is armed with this scientific worldview. All the basic theory, basic line, basic programme and policy of our Party are formed and made under the guidance of this scientific worldview. Dialectical materialism propounds that the world is materialistic, that the mind is the product of a high development of material, is the reflection of materiality and it counteracts material. Historical materialism propounds that the development of society is not pushed forward by the force of any supernatural "gods", but is the result of the internal contradictions of society, that are the contradiction between productive force and relations of production, and the contradiction between economical base and superstructure. In the final analysis, the social productive forces determine social development, the masses create history. If the Communist member wants to organize, mobilize and lead the people to develop a productive force to create material and spiritual wealth, consistently improve peoples' lives and realize the high ideal of communism, they must hold the scientific world view and must be absolute atheists. Otherwise, they will lose the advanced quality and lose their leading qualification and ability. Our Party is leading one thousand and two hundred million people to work for the great cause of constructing a socialist, modernized and powerful country. Our Party members and cadres must hold the scientific worldview and be firm and thorough materialists. Only if this is so, can the Party have combat effectiveness, can we maintain strong spiritual strength under a complex situation, and can face the difficulties and challenges without any fear and push our cause forward.

17. Why do we strongly advocate Marxist materialism and atheism?

Marxist materialism and atheism are the essence of excellent human civilization; they are the sharp weapons of proletarian and laboring people to enable them to understand how the world transforms the world, the scientific worldview. The practice of a hundred years has already fully proved that Marxist materialism and atheism are the sciences full of vitality, and are the quintessence of the spirit of the time. They will consistently enrich and perfect their content. Marxist materialism and atheism are not only a kind of scientific knowledge but more importantly are a kind of scientific methodology and scientific attitude. As long as the masses really understand Marxist materialism and atheism and grasp them, they will not entrust their hope to so called "gods", "savior of the world Conversely they will establish the idea of "rely on oneself for everything", actively bring into play their subjective dynamic role, and to construct their

homeland and create this worldly happy life. Marxist materialism and atheism are the scientific worldview, and in the propagation of science, the propagation of Marxist materialism and atheism are also included. Only if we propagate Marxist materialism and atheism energetically, can people free themselves from the fetter of religious negative ideology, effectively get rid of disorder in society and the religious field and masses' ideology created by Dalai's splittist group. They can then control religious negative influence, do away idealism, theism and feudal superstition, eliminate harmful old ideology (*jiu si xiang*), old ethics (*jiu dao de*), old traditions (*jiu chuan tong*), and old customs (*jiu xi su*) to establish a Tibetan socialist spiritual civilization (*she hui zhu yi jing shen wen ming*) step by step. Only if we energetically propagate Marxist materialism and atheism, can we effectively carry out the strategy of developing a "prospering Tibet with science and education" (*ke jiao xing zang*), and grasp the historical chance of developing the west (*xi bu da kai fa*) extensively and popularizing science and technology, in order to improve the masses' scientific and technological quality. Because socialism was established on the ruin of a feudal serf system in our region, there are still extensive influences of idealism, theism, feudal superstition and old rules (*chen gui*) and bad custom (*lou su*) and these have been the major elements blocking the social progress of our region. In addition, the interruption and violation of the Dalai's bloc (*da lai ji tuan*) and international hostility, shows the importance and urgency of propagating Marxist materialism and atheism. Only if we educate and win over the masses with the materialist worldview and atheist ideology, we can open the way for popularizing science and technology and modern civilization. Only in this way can we free the masses from the fetter of the religious superstition and outdated modes of production and life, especially from the Dalai's bloc's interruption and violation and overcome ignorance with science, and help the masses to live healthy and happy lives, pursue a fine worldly life, and promote the fast and healthy development of the Tibetan economy.

Two: The Marxist view of the mother country (*zu guo*), nationalities (*min zu*) and religion, culture and answers to the related questions

18. What is the Marxist viewpoint of a mother country?

The viewpoint of a mother country refers to the proper viewpoint, attitude and emotion of a citizen of a country towards his or her country and the relationship between himself or herself and the country, furthermore its core content is patriotism. The viewpoint of a mother country holds the view that the country is a historical entity, and is the product of uncompromising class contradiction; Under the socialist institution the interests of the state, the collective and individual are consistent, and when there is conflict between them, the individual must obey the state and the collective. Chinese citizens' proper viewpoint of the mother country includes: every citizen is an equal member of the large Chinese family, he or she ought to love the mother country, defend the interest, fame and security of the mother country and do his or her bit for making it rich, strong and prosperous. The foremost interest of the state is to uphold the unity of the mother country as the highest principle. The enormous territory is formed through the historical activities of the Chinese nation (*zhong hua min zu*) that consists of 56 nationalities. Any place within the Chinese domain is the inseparable part of the territory of the mother country; any historical activities carried on by the 56 nationalities of China are the common activities of the Chinese nation; sovereignty of any place within the Chinese territory is the common possession of all the Chinese people. In order to establish the Marxist viewpoint of the motherland in Tibet, we first have to firmly establish the viewpoint of the motherland that Tibet is an inseparable part of China, and the

understanding that only socialism can save Tibet and develop Tibet. Tibet can have a brilliant prospect and a fine future; however it must be clearly understood that Dalai is the general source of the violation of Tibetan social stability, is the general chief of the separatist political group which attempts to make Tibet independent, is the loyal weapon of international forces opposing Chinese, is the biggest obstacle to the establishment of normal order in Tibetan Buddhism. The combat between us and Dalai's bloc is definitely not the problem of belief in religion or the problem of autonomy, but of political struggle for defending the unity of the mother country, opposing national separation, solidifying the achievement of democracy, reformation and opening. The Chinese citizens' glorious obligation is to resolutely fight against all the words and deeds that betray national interests, harm national dignity, endanger the national security, split the mother country, and to consistently increase the consciousness, be firm in defending unity, to oppose separation and do their bit for the nation making it rich, strong and prosperous.

19. What is the Marxist viewpoint of nationality?

The Marxist viewpoint of nationality is the basic viewpoint about nationalities and the problems of nationalities, the basic theory and principle that is concluded through understanding the problems of nationalities from a Marxist standpoint, viewpoint and methodology. It is a scientific basis for our Party and state to formulate nationality policy and properly solve nationality problems. The Marxist viewpoint of nationality thinks that nationality is a historical category with its process of forming, developing and dying out. Nationality is the product of a certain level of development of human social production, and there is no difference of good and bad among them. Any nationalities, no matter how big or small, how advanced or outdated are all equal, all have their brilliant history and excellent tradition, and all have done their bit for the human civilization. The existence of a nationality problem is an objective fact, and has its popularity and protracted nature. We can neither ignore the differences among the nationalities nor artificially expand the differences. Whether or not we solve the nationality problem has a great significance for the stability and development of a multi-national country. The practice of the last half-century shows that the nationality policy of China is the best nationality policy in the world. We must cherish the nationalities' unity as though cherishing our own eyes, and oppose the narrow nationalism, and carry out a resolute struggle with all the deeds which try to destroy the nationalities' unity, uphold economic construction as a central tenet, consistently speeding up the economic and cultural construction of minority regions to promote social advance and gradually realize the common prosperity of all nationalities.

20. What is the Marxist religious viewpoint?

The Marxist religious viewpoint is the basic idea that is guided by the Marxist worldview and methodology to investigate and analyze religious problems. It includes classic Marxist writers' analysis on the origin of appearance and existence of religion, the revealing of aspects of the content such as the nature, characteristic, social functions, and the inevitable law of dying out, as well as a series of principles and policy made by the Chinese Communist Party combining the Marxist religious viewpoint with the reality of our country in order to solve the religious problems of our country. The Marxist religious viewpoint has provided us with a scientific ideological weapon to correctly understand and deal with religious problems, and it is also the guide to correctly deal with and solve the religious problems of our region. The Marxist religious viewpoint holds that religion is the historical phenomenon that appeared at a certain stage of human society, and

is the product of natural and social oppression. In the socialist period, we should have comprehensively to implement and carry out the Party's religious policy and strengthen the administration of religious affairs relying on the law actively to lead the adaptation of religion to society.

21. What is the Marxist cultural viewpoint?

The Marxist cultural viewpoint is the important component of historical materialism; it is the theory based on the materialist historical idea to reveal the origin, nature, structure, and function of culture and its general law of development. Its basic viewpoint is mainly that: the productive practice of the laboring masses is the source and basis of culture; in the class society, all culture has class features and serves the economy and politics of the given class; culture has its own relatively independent form and rule of development; socialist culture has achieved through absorbing and transforming all the excellent cultural achievements of human society. The proper attitude towards traditional culture is to inherit critically the cultural heritage, taking its essence and getting rid of its dross. It is the great development of the Marxist cultural viewpoint to establish both the socialist culture of the Chinese character advanced by the Fifth Congress of the Party, and that the Chinese Communist Party should always be the progressing direction of Chinese leading culture put forward by comrade Jiang Zemin. In order to establish the Marxist cultural viewpoint, we must fight resolutely against the decayed, corrupted culture represented by Dalai which served the rulers of the feudal serf system, and we must extol and develop the culture which was created by the laboring masses, be good at reforming the old and establishing the new, make the best of and perpetuate the essence of the traditional culture to serve the great practice of constructing socialist New Tibet.

22. What is the Party's policy on the freedom of religious belief?

Free religious belief is the basic policy of the Party and the state to solve religious problems. It suggests that every citizen of our country not only has the freedom of believing in religion but also has the freedom of not believing in religion; not only cannot force others to believe in religion but also can not force others not to believe in religion; not only has the freedom to believe in this religion but also has the freedom to believe in that religion; not only has the freedom to believe in this sect, but also has the freedom to believe in that sect within the same religion; not only has the freedom of not believing in religion before but believing in it now and believing in it before but not believing in now. The constitution of our country decided that freedom of religious belief is a basic democratic right of the citizens; the state protects normal religious activities. No organ, social group or individual is allowed to force any citizen to believe in or not believe in religion; nor is it's allowed to discriminate against any citizen who believe in or does not believe in religion. In our country, the citizens, whether or not they believe in religion, are all equal in the body politic, all enjoy equal rights and obligations. It is absolutely not allowed to have inequality of rights and obligations because of the difference of beliefs. Religious people and non religious peoples, people of different religions and different religious sects should respect each other, unite with each other and dedicate themselves to the development of Chinese nationality and making the mother country powerful and prosperous.

23. Why do the Party and the state stand for freedom of religious beliefs?

Marxism holds that religion has not existed from the beginning, it is the inevitable product of a certain stage of social development, it is a social phenomenon that appeared at a certain level of develop-

ment of human thinking, its emergence, existence and demise has certain objective rules. The reason that the Party and state stand for freedom of religious beliefs is firstly out of respect for the objective rule of development, that is the demise of religion by itself, and not to eliminate religion with man made force and administrative power. In present society religion will still exist for long time because the old ideology and the old customs which are handed down from the old society can not be eliminated by the roots within a short period of time; social productive forces have not developed to the corresponding level; people still can not avoid natural disasters and overcome social contradiction; class struggle will still exist to a certain extent for long time. Secondly out of respect for the religious masses' right to choose their own beliefs, and not to hurt the religious masses' religious emotion. Religious belief is one of the basic rights of free choice of the citizens. The reason we implemented the policy of the freedom of religious belief is because we want to unite more people, let the masses really become the master of the country, and to arouse their actives for constructing socialism and creating this worldly happy life.

24. Why do we strengthen the management of religious affairs by law?

Managing religious affairs by law means that the government manages and controls the implementation of the law, regulation and policy of religion. Management by law is so that religious activities can be absorbed into the range of the law, regulation and policy, and to let the citizens' freedom of religious beliefs and legal right of religious sphere have effective legal protection. Managing religious affairs by law is the practice of developed countries in the world. This work in our region can only be strengthened but cannot be weakened. Firstly, to strengthen management of religion by law is to overcome the negative function of religion, and to bring the active function of religion into play under the socialist condition. Secondly, to the illegal criminal activities carried out in the name of religion, the government must trace and punish offenders by law. For example, Dalai's splittist group has been constantly using religion to carry out infiltration and sabotage in the region, and some temples and monasteries are directly or indirectly controlled by them and have become centers of separatist activities of the separatist force, they instigate riots and make trouble that has brought great losses to the masses' basic interest. Therefore, we must strengthen the management of religious affairs by law that includes patriotic education in the temples and monasteries, establish a normal order, and properly implement the Party's religious policy.

25. Why do we actively induce religion to adapt to socialism?

The aim of implementing the Party's policy of freedom of religion, and strengthening the management of religious affairs by law is to induce religion to adapt to socialism; to control the negative function of religion; to let the masses to be masters of their own destiny; to let the masses be free from the fetter of feudal superstition and outdated negative customs; this is our Party's basic starting point. The negative religious ideology, of obeying fate among the masses, would block them from learning scientific knowledge; pursuing this worldly happy life; block the popularizing of new ideology and new concepts; this is not consistent with the requirement of speeding up economic development and social advance. Therefore, we must pay attention to guiding and educating the masses, guide them to be masters of their own destiny, to use their own hands to change the outdated outlook and to actively dedicate themselves to the construction of socialist modernization. For guiding religious reformation, we should reform some religious doctrines and rules; guide the masses to vigorously develop production; develop education; study science and technology; try hard to construct socialist material civilization (*she hui zhu yi wu*

zhi wen ming); inherit and make the most of the positive elements of religious morality such as “induce people to do good”, and make it consistent with socialist morality.

26. Why is it said that advocating science and technology and doing away with superstition does not contradict the implementation of the policy of religious freedom?

Advocating science and doing away with superstition is a persistent standpoint of our party, and also is the path of the strengthening of all the developed countries in the world. In order to do away with superstition, we must unswervingly propagate atheism, and resolutely oppose theism. We must carry out education to encourage a scientific worldview such as Marxist materialism; promote atheism to the masses, especially to the young people; strengthen the propagation of scientific and cultural knowledge about natural phenomena, social evolution and the natural life cycle of people and disasters and happiness. In the socialist period, the cognitive and social roots of the existence of religion will still exist for a long time, therefore it is disobeying the objective rule and harmful either to prohibit religion or support and protect it through administrative means. Practice has proved that the only way to properly solve religious problems is to unite and lead the people of all nationalities all over the country, including the numerous religious people, to unswervingly go along the socialist route (*she hui zhu yi dao lu*) and realize it step by step through the development of socialist material civilization and spiritual civilization. Therefore, in accordance with Marxism, propagating atheism, advocating and valuing science, doing away with superstition and consistently carrying out the policy of religious freedom held by our Party are all organic components of the policy of our Party to deal with social problems including religious problems. They are internally consistent, and have common features and no contradictions.

27. Why can a Communist Party member not believe in religion?

A Communist Party member is undertaking the responsibility of guiding and educating the masses with advanced ideology. Firstly, it is determined by the nature of the Communist Party that a Communist member has to establish a Marxist worldview and be an atheist. As a Communist Party member, no matter which nationality one is, he or she must uphold Marxist basic belief, hold a scientific worldview of materialism, oppose all the theisms that advocate that a supernatural super-human forces determines everything; and absolutely can not believe in and blindly worship so-called spirits gods and world saviors. This has become the consistent requirement of organizational discipline. Secondly, for establishing scientific worldview, a communist member is required to observe and understand religious problems according to the Marxist religious viewpoint. Being a Communist Party member, he or she must correctly recognize that the nature of religion is that it is an upside down world view, recognize its deep root of origin and existence, conscientiously study and grasp the basic point and policy of the Marxist religious viewpoint. Thirdly, it is not contradictory that the Communist Party member cannot believe in religion but must implement the policy of religious freedom. Communist members cannot believe in religion; cannot participate in religious activities within the Party; must defend the pure and scientific features of our Party's ideal faith. Stressing this point is not only not to affect the proper implementation of the Party's religious policy, but conversely it will encourage the Party members to implement the religious policy. Fourthly, we should deal properly with the problem of minority Communist Party members who believe in religion and participate in religious activities. We must uphold the principle that Communist Party members cannot believe in religion but we must also solve the

problems of minority Party members' who believe in religion. We ought to take the strengthening of education as the first step and the Party organization ought to carry out frequent education of Marxist atheism to Party members. We should distinguish Party members' believing in religion from their participation in some nationality customary activities and resolutely deal with the Party members who still hold on to a belief in religion and will stop taking part in religious activities even after being educated according to Party discipline.

28. Why can Communist Party members not be engaged in superstitious activities?

Religious activities and superstitious activities are different and the policy of the state toward superstitious activity is to suppress it. The Party discipline does not agree at all that the Party members can believe in religion, participate in religious activities or superstitious activities. If Party members believe in religion it means basically giving up the Communist faith, and this shows that there is a problem of worldview. But, if a Party member participates in superstitious activities, it means that they are completely ignorant and opposed to science. Feudal superstition damages the physical and spiritual health of the masses, impairs production and pollutes the social atmosphere. A Communist Party member not only can not be engaged in feudal superstition, but also should actively propagate atheism and lead the masses to do away with superstition and educate those masses who are influenced by the feudal superstition. At present, some Party members would believe superstition, even be engaged in superstitious activities once there is a natural disaster or social calamity because of low quality of science and education and lack of minimal scientific knowledge. As the result of participating in such things, not only are they harmed, but they also objectively perform the negative function of advocating and promoting superstition. In addition, a minority of Party members and cadres conduct superstitious activities to greatly waste [diminish?] people's property, even accumulate wealth through using their position and power. We must deal severely with those in such a situation according to the seriousness of the situation, in addition to strengthening education.

29. Why does the government protect and repair the temples and monasteries?

Firstly, in order to carry out the Party and government policy of religious freedom and the masses' enjoying the freedom of religious beliefs, there must be a certain arena in which to carry out religious activities. It is an important condition to appropriately arrange the arena for religious activities, to implement the policy of religious freedom and normalize religious activities. Secondly, many famous temples and monasteries of our region like *Da Zhao*, *Zhashilumbu* [Tashilhunpo], *Zhebang* [Drepung], *Saja* [Sera] are of a very valuable ancient architecture, there are valuable historical relics kept in some of them. These architectural and historical relics are the precious cultural heritage of the Chinese nationality and they were the essence of the wisdom of the laborers of the past. The Party and the government should properly protect and frequently fund to repair them. This has the definite function to enable us to understand social history, understand the past and the present of China as well as strengthening the study of traditional culture. The reason for us to protect and repair the temples and monasteries is to implement the policy of religious freedom and to protect the ancient relics. It cannot be understood as advocating religion and that we have given up the critical attitude toward ghosts and spirits and superstitions. Conversely, we must energetically propagate atheism in the whole of society, do away with superstition and continuously overcome the negative influence of religion.

30. Why do we conduct patriotic education among monks and nuns in the monasteries?

Conducting patriotic education among the monks and nuns in the monasteries is an important aspect of strengthening the management of religious affairs by the government. We must consistently strengthen the patriotic education of the monks and nuns to raise the patriotic and religious awareness and eliminate unstable elements in the monasteries. Dalai's bloc has never stopped penetrating and engaging in splittist activities in our region under the support of international antagonistic forces. They use the name of religion, use monasteries as bases and monks and nuns as their vanguard and instigate disturbances again and again. A minority of lawless monks and nuns collaborated with Dalai's bloc to conduct the criminal activities of splitting the mother country and violating the stability of our region. Facing the unscrupulous violation of the splittist group, we cannot allow the monasteries to be the base of conducting division and making social disorder for the Dalai's bloc. All the monasteries should consciously accept the leadership of local government; must properly control their own monks, and be responsible to the monastery, society and the state; The monks and nuns should be religious professionals who love the country, love religion, obey the discipline and abide by the law. Only so, can normal religious activities be secure, and be beneficial to the stability and development of Tibet and the happiness of its people.

31. Why do we resolutely fight against the splittist activities of Dalai's bloc?

Unity of the country is the trend of historical development and is in accord with the interest and need of people of the whole country, but splitting hurts the common emotion and harms the basic interest of the one billion two hundred million people of the whole country. Only with unity, we can have peace and a stable social environment in which people can live peacefully and happily, but splitting would block the development and advance of society and affect people's normal production and life. Tibet has been an inseparable territory of China, anybody who wants to split Tibet from the large family of the mother country is the enemy of the one billion two hundred million Chinese people. History has already proved that Tibet can have a brilliant future, but only if it is in the large family of the mother country, under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and travels along the socialist route. Both Tibetan people and Chinese people do not agree with restoring the feudal serf system and the three major superiors' rule. The name and title of the Dalai in the history and the later political and religious position were affirmed by the central government. The fourteenth Dalai has inherited this noble position, but has no ancestors in his eyes (*mu wu zu zong*), does not think of returning the kindness of the state and nation, but unscrupulously attacks the mother country, barter away his honor for western anti-Chinese force's patronage (*mai shen tou kao*), and whole heartedly (*si xin ta di di*) makes the criminal of history. The source of instability of Tibet is mainly because of the splittist activities of Dalai's bloc. The disturbance and disorder instigated by the splittist group have severely affected the peace and stability of Tibetan society and the development of the economy and has brought only disorder, suffering and disasters to the Tibetan people. Therefore, in order to maintain the interest of the masses and maintain the stability of Tibetan society, we must resolutely oppose the splittist activities of the Dalai's bloc.

32. What is the nature of our fight with Dalai's bloc?

The nature of our fight with Dalai's bloc is not the question of belief in religion or not, nor of autonomy or not, but the question of maintaining the unity of the mother country and opposing the

splitting of the nation; it is the contradiction between the nature of ourselves and that of the enemy; it is the focused manifestation of the present Tibetan class struggle. This struggle is the continuation of the struggling between Chinese people and the attempt to split China of the imperialist invading forces for over a hundred years. Dalai wants to restore the most dark and the most cruel feudal serf system relying on the western antagonistic forces. We resolutely defend the result of democratic reform, and the thousands of freed serfs would not agree that the overturned feudal serf system should stage a comeback. As long as the Dalai's bloc does not give up the stand for splitting the mother country, our struggling with the Dalai's bloc will not be compromised, we will resolutely carry out the struggle to oppose the Dalai's bloc.

33. Why is it said that the main battlefield of our fighting with Dalai's bloc is the spiritual sphere?

Our struggling with Dalai's bloc is a political combat related to the basic interest of the state and nation, and the main battlefield is the spiritual sphere. The Dalai's bloc has no capital to openly confront us, but they are very good at starting up rumors (*zao yao*) and calumniating (*fei bang*) to confuse people. For a long time, the Dalai's bloc has been fighting us for popular feelings, the young generation, and ideological position under the cloak of religion (*pi zhe zong jiao de wai yi*) while holding the flag of "nationality" and "religion", using the means of antagonistic propagation (*fan dong xuan chuan*) and spiritual penetration (*jing shen shen tou*), spreading all kinds of rumor (*san bu ge zhong liu yan*), advocating cultural isolation (*gu chui wen hua ge li*) and scheming for political splitting (*tu mou zheng zhi fen lie*). They make use of the masses' simple religious emotion, carry out the scheme of splitting with using religion for political purposes, crazily carry out the activities of splitting the mother country, harming the basic interest of the Tibetan people. We must raise our consciousness, maintain a high level of alertness, be good at recognizing the criminal activities of the Dalai's bloc to split the mother country under the guise of holding the flags of nationality, religion and culture. We must establish a Marxist viewpoint of the mother country, nationality, religion and culture to carry out the persistent tit for tat struggle with the Dalai's bloc in the spiritual sphere.

34. Why do we resolutely outlaw the "chung la ya sui"

[translator note: this refers to celebrating the Dalai Lama's birthday]

"*Chung la ya sui*" used to be a small scale of activities to worship the earth spirit of Dalai's homeland in history. After the thirties, it gradually became fourteenth Dalai's birthday celebration, but the participants were limited to the family members of Dalai and the lamas sent from the previous Tibetan local government, no other dignitaries participated, not to mention the ordinary masses. Its scale was still very small and there was no custom of throwing *tsampa* either. The "*chung la ya sui*" activity had basically stopped naturally in the sixties and seventies, but revived again under the deliberate influence of the splittist force after 1987; and appeared as the phenomena of throwing *tsampa* to people along the road. Frequently stones, ashes, and chili powder were mixed in the *tsampa* to intentionally harm people and to cause fighting and traffic accidents, and often these political incidents gave the opportunity to distribute antagonistic leaflets, hold flags of independence and made disturbances and trouble.

The reason we want to outlaw the "*chung la ya sui*" activity is because primarily it is an illegal activity to make power for the head of the splittist group, the Dalai. Dalai is: the head of the splittist political group who scheme to make Tibet independent; the loyal weapon

of the international anti-Chinese force; the general source of social disturbances made in Tibet; the biggest obstacle blocking the establishment of normal Tibetan Buddhism. The masses are deep into exposing and criticizing Dalai, yet the “*chung la ya sui*” activity celebrates the Dalai’s birthday and makes good wishes for him. This is a sharp contrast to opposing the splittist activity that we are carrying out; it is also a sharp contrast to the establishment of spiritual civilization in order to quell the disturbances and our efforts to eliminate ignorance.. The facts show that “*chung la ya sui*” has been deliberately used by the antagonists as a weapon for the splitting force to carry out its splittist plot, antagonistic propagation and penetration, it became a part of the plot of the Dalai’s group to split the mother country that severely affected the people’s life and social stability. Secondly, all kinds of problems happened during the time of “*chung la ya sui*” activity and incidents caused by them have offended the constitution and law of the country, severely affected the masses’ normal production, life, work and studying order, affected the unity of the nationalities and so its social harm is significant. Thirdly, the numerous cadres and masses are discontented about “*chung la ya sui*” activity and are strongly demanding that the government take measures to punish and ban it. In our country, it is the most basic norm to absolutely forbid anybody or any organization, including any religion, to offend the state law, holding religious flags to harm people’s interest, split nationalities, break down the mother country’s unity. Because “*chung la ya sui*” offended these norms, so it is resolutely to be outlawed.

35. Why do we say that Tibetan culture is not equal to religious culture?

Dalai’s bloc, regardless of the facts, advocated, in order to carry out their scheme of political splittism, that Tibetan culture is Buddhist culture, that apart from Buddhist culture there is no Tibetan national culture, that Tibetan culture is joined together with religion both in form and the nature of its content. Such an assertion is a manifestation of ignorance and absurdity; not only is it unrealistic but it also belittled the ancestors of Tibetans and Tibetan nationality. As all know Buddhism emerged over 2500 years ago. The first spreading of Buddhism in Tibet was in the time of Soronzon Kanbu, but the really extensive spreading, which was the last expansion of Tibetan Buddhism, took place no more than 1000 years ago. Tibetan cultural history, the civilization of Tibet, was already more than 2100 years old counting only from Nechikanbu. From Nechikanbu to Soronzon Kanbu, there were over 32 generations covering nearly 1000 years. Can it be that the Tibetans had had no national culture for such a long historical period? In fact in that historical period, Tibet had had an extensive cultural exchange with inland and neighboring India and Nepal, and had created script and developed medicine, astronomy and a calendar, and the great medical man Yuto had appeared. So too had Yondangunbu and his famous widespread work “Four roots of medicine”. Literature and art also had got to a quite high level. “Tale of the King Geser” is one of the four great Epics of China. In recent years, a large amount of Tibetan books, historical materials and literary works that were present before the spreading of Buddhism in Tibet have been found from Dunhuang. Can these not be Tibetan national culture? Buddhism is a culture from outside. If it is said that Tibetan nationality has had a culture only after the spreading of Buddhism, is it not to say that Tibetan nationality is a nationality that has no culture of its own? Tibetan Culture has a component of religious culture, but it has more secular culture. The secular culture includes both the culture of feudal serf owners and the culture of the mass laborers. When we talk about national culture we must respect the masses, absorb cultural nutrition from the masses, we can never belittle the laborer’s culture. The motive of the splitting force to raise

the position of religion is to raise Dalai, to put the religion above the Tibetan culture. The real nature of it is to stir up conflict between nationalities, to set them against each other making use of language and culture to realize the aim of splitting the mother country. Such a splitting scheme is of evil purpose. For this we must maintain cool heads, resolutely reveal the scheme of the Dalai’s splittist group in order to defend the social situation of stability and unity that were attained with difficulty.

Three: The harm of superstitious ignorance

36. What is superstition?

Superstition is the companion of ignorance. So-called superstition, in general, refers to blind beliefs and the worship of certain people or objects. Specifically it refers to *zhan bu* (divination), *xiang shu* (physiognomy), *feng shui* (geomancy, divination to look at places for building houses and graves), *suan ming* (fortune telling through age or one of the animals of the twelve earthly branches or the ten heavenly stems etc.), *yuan meng* (interpretation of dream), *qing shen jiang xian* (inviting spirits and celestial beings), *qu bing gan gui* (getting rid of illness by expelling ghosts) and to *yao yan huo zhong* (making fallacy to delude people) and *pian qian hai ren* (cheating and harming people) of the *wu po shen han* (witches and wizards). The base of superstition is believing in supernatural and super material mysterious things, for example *shen xian gui guai* (gods, spirits, celestial beings, ghosts and monsters) and *ming yun ling hun* (fate and soul) etc., believing that such things exist in other worlds and control all the things in this world and human life and hoping to rely on them to avoid disasters and attain happiness.

37. How does the superstitious idea of people emerge?

People’s superstitious ideas have had a long history; they almost emerged along with the emergence of human beings, and came from people’s fear of an unpredictable and uncontrolled force outside the world.

In the earliest primitive society, people were living a hard life. They had not much knowledge, did not understand the things happening around them, did not know why the wind blows, why it rains, thunders, lightens, did not know why the sun rises every day from the east and sets in the west. They were totally weak in the face of natural disasters like mountain flood, hail, avalanche and drought etc., they absolutely were not able to change their fate, and thought everything was due to the power of “gods” and “spirits” while they were scared. Such a horrified mentality led to the formation of superstition. People hoped to avoid disasters and attain happiness through respect, worship and prayer to the “gods”.

At that time people knew neither the reason of birth, old age and death nor how dreaming occurred. In the dream they encounter all kinds of things, meet all kinds of people including the living and the dead. Therefore, they thought, there is not only body, but also soul, and the soul can leave the body to go everywhere. After people die, even if the body withers away, the soul still exists, the dead relatives they saw in the dream were the souls of them. When they caught a wild game, they thought the animals had pity on them and came to be eaten and they worshipped the kinds of animals they frequently caught and said those animals to be their protective gods. Even today, there are still some peoples in the world who worship wild ox and wild boar.

When it came to the class society, the laboring people suffered from the oppression of the exploiting class in addition to the oppression of nature. Under the cruel oppression, the laboring people had the misconception again that the gods were controlling the society and

people's fate. Meanwhile, the ruling class found that the superstition of ghost and gods (*gui shen mi xin*) helped them to oppress and exploit the people, and energetically propagated the superstition of ghost and gods, and made up all kinds of stories about ghosts and gods to deceive and benumb the masses. All of the above are sources of the superstitious idea.

38. Why is it said that superstition is absurd?

The reason we say that superstition is absurd is because all the superstitious talk of gods, celestial beings, ghosts and monsters, fate and soul is totally false these have never existed but were made up by people. Above all, gods do not exist.

Firstly, we will talk about the origin of gods. Ordinary people more or less can see all the things that have existed and been discovered in the world. The history of the gods is quite long and it often shows their epiphany, but who has really seen them? Gods are transformable, they might transform into all kinds of things. But before the emergence of the automobile and the plane, nobody ever heard of the gods being transformed into any automobile or plane but only into the things that existed at that time. According to superstitious sayings, trees, flowers and grasses, mankind, horses, oxen and sheep, all the things and objects were created by the gods. So why are the gods only like humans? If the gods are human, then what race of human are they and what language do they speak? Now if the gods created all things, then all the countries should have been created by them. And if so why is the god of China like Chinese people and the foreigners' god like foreigners? And the god of a place like the people of that place? Therefore, the gods are completely the production of the imagination of human beings, imagined by human beings according to their own shape.

Secondly, in the imagination of people, the gods are kind-hearted and saviors from suffering. So why can they only eliminate disasters for people who make statues of them and give some money and things? The reason why there is no other way for the gods to emerge freely except that is because otherwise, who would respect and pray to the gods? What trick can be played by the temples, monasteries and churches and the people who make a profession out of praying to the God and do not undertake production but are engaged in superstitious activities? Does it not prove that mankind is active and the gods are negative, that human beings can control gods but gods cannot control human beings? Therefore, all the so-called activities of gods are tricks played by the people.

Thirdly, concerning the ability of the gods, if it is the case that the gods are the masters of nature, then have the gods and the people who pray to the gods announced the rule of the movement of the earth, announced the eclipse of the sun and the moon? Have the gods and the people who pray to the gods analyzed the regulation of mountain flood and snow-storm? Can the gods and the people who pray to the gods turn the desert into a fine field and turn the bare mountain into a green one? While the scientists invented electric light and the solar cooker to bring people the conveniences of life, what benefits have the gods done for the people? If it is the case that the gods are the masters of human beings, who ever was born from a god and not from human parents? Human beings need to eat in order to live, otherwise they will starve. Why do the gods not allow people not to be hungry without eating? If it is said that the food is given by the gods, then can the gods drop barley and potatoes in autumn while the peasants do not sow seeds in the spring? If it is said that the gods decide whether the people are to be rich or poor, then nobody needs to work but just eating and sleeping is enough. Those superstitious deceivers

do not need to work hard to pray to the gods in order to cheat people. Is it not absurd? Therefore, the gods and the people who pray to the gods know nothing and can do nothing to change nature and society, birth and death, disasters and the fortune of people. Countless facts have proved that it is harmful to believe in superstition; only believing in science can bring a happy life to people.

39. What harmful effects does superstition have?

Firstly it harms people by the break down of family and the death of its members. Some people are already poor, but because of superstition they have to spend money to burn incense, pray to the Buddha, and ask for divination and fortune telling, and they spend money in vain. When the children are ill, they do not go to see the doctors but believe in driving out ghosts and subduing monsters, in inviting the living Buddha to give holy water to cure illness and in doing so they always make what was only a small illness into a big illness; some even lose their lives in vain and cause the family to break down.

Secondly, superstition makes people do nothing but obey fate. Superstitious people think that all things are pre-destined by the *lao tian ye* (the great heavenly grandfather) and gods and spirits, and poor life and poor health are because of such fate. It has nothing to do with an individual's hard work, and people who believe this would not actively work, they would no longer try to change the situation of the poor and those who have fallen behind in life, but wait for the compassion of the gods and Buddha. How can one live a happy life like this?

Thirdly, superstition makes people have the idea of leaving things to chance and the idea of dependency. Some people ask the gods and pray to the Buddha when they encounter disasters and do not go to see the doctors when they are ill. Some people think they have good fortune, and do some illegal activities thinking they can avoid punishment by luck but they will eat their own bitter fruit in the end.

Fourthly, superstition makes people easily deceived. There are a lot of witches, fortune tellers, *te yi gong neng da shi* ("great masters of specific abilities"), *feng shui jiang* (geomancers) and some other people who *zhuang shen nong gui* (pretend to be spirits and control ghosts) using all kinds of chances to carry out superstitious activities to cheat people of their money, even undertaking sabotage activities. Superstitious people cannot see through their deceit and are easily cheated by them.

Fifthly, superstition makes people unwilling to accept scientific knowledge. For example, the people who believe that being ill is because they offended the ghosts or spirits, have difficulty in accepting medical scientific knowledge. People who think the sun is a god would not like to use a solar cooker. The existence of superstition is harmful to popularizing and improving scientific knowledge and to the development and spreading of productive technology.

40. What are the main manifestations of a new superstition of ghosts and spirits?

Since the establishment of new China, the level of science and culture of our country has been rising step by step. However, some sediment has emerged along with the victorious advance of the socialist course and these are harming our social progress and spiritual civilization. At present the new superstition of ghost and spirits has the manifestations below: One, it violates scientific knowledge and advocates a new theism. As everyone knows, a basic achievement of natural science and materialism is that it proved that the world is a moving object, and gods and spirits do not exist. If we still believe that ghosts

and gods exist and that the soul does not die, and do not acquire knowledge by relying on our own ability and wisdom, we can never live a happy life. Two, the new theism always makes use of the flag of science, distorts the achievements of science or makes use of scientific means to realize its purpose of deceiving people. Three, it propagates the super-material, supernatural ability of *yi nian* (thought), saying that there is a mysterious and tremendous force in the human body, which can do almost anything. However, none of it can stand the test. Science has already revealed that a human being is the product of nature and society, and cannot have any supernatural ability. Those who claim to have supernatural ability in fact are the “wizards” of old who are under a new guise. Four, it peddles false science and advocates real witchcraft. They hold the flag of science, use scientific terminology, but what they do is a violation of science and the opposite of science. Five, they hold the flags of religion and engage in superstitious activities. Some superstitious activities claim to be in the category of religion, but they do not have any religious doctrine, ceremonies, or any religious ethical belief at all but break the state law and deceive the masses. Six, under the pretext that they are expanding national traditional culture, they extensively undertake superstitious activities. In recent years, some people have been making images of gods, practicing divination, and praying to the spirits for rain and medicine to deceive the community and people under the pretext of expanding national traditional culture. Seven, superstitious activities are more like economic activities, showing signs of commercialization and professionalization, and so become the means of living for some people. Eight, some intellectuals who have had a higher education also participate in superstitious activities because they have not grasped the scientific ethic and have not really understood Marxist materialism and atheism. Nine, domestic superstition and bad foreign culture like belief in the great disaster of the world and the coming of the end of the world have mixed and influenced each other. In fact there are a lot of cases that have exposed such superstitious deception, and we need to greatly strengthen propaganda and education in this area.

41. What are the differences between superstition and religion?

The difference between religion and superstition is very obvious. In its long process of development, religion has formed a series of special religious beliefs, religious emotions, and corresponding religious theory, religious regulations and complete religious ceremonies, organizations and institutions. Religion has had an important influence on the inheritance and development of human culture and has accumulated a certain degree of cultural achievement and inherited civilization. The several contemporary major religions in our country all do good works, love the country, support the policy of the Party and government and share the common fate with the state and nation. They are quite different from superstition. Everything done by the people who advocate superstition and undertake superstitious activities is nothing more than using *zhuang shen nong gui* (pretend to be spirits and control ghosts) to cheat people as a means of making a living. The organizations that undertake superstitious activities are more harmful to public security and destroy social stability. The extensive illegal activities they undertake severely harm the masses' basic interest.

The reason people are confused about the boundary between religion and superstition is mainly because the people and organizations that undertake superstitious activities usually use religious concepts and terms to disguise themselves in order to mislead the public, for example the so-called *Fa Lun Gong* started by Li Hong Zhi did use a lot of Buddhist terminology for appearance. Only if we distinguish attentively can such deceitful trickery be easily exposed. In our country,

the right of religious freedom will be maintained but the struggle against superstition cannot be softened. The masses, including all kinds of religious organizations, should consciously oppose the people who, with ulterior motives, propagate superstition using religion and illegal political activities.

42. How did Tibetan feudal serf lords deceive people using superstition?

In old Tibet, the feudal serf lords not only exploited and oppressed the laborers by every cruel means, but also deceived people with the feudal superstition and made people suffer severely from spiritual slavery. The serf lords propagated theism, and fatalism, and proclaimed that every thing in the world is created by god or Buddha, and one's lofty or lowly condition, life span, misfortune or good luck are all decided by gods. The reason why the serf lords could be domineering, riding above the serfs' heads, and why the serfs suffered cruel exploitation and oppression is because this was all ordained by fate. The three superiors used feudal superstition to control people's spirit and let them do nothing else but burn incense and prostrate themselves, pray to gods and Buddha, and be satisfied with the present situation and not resist. The aim of the serf lords is to deceive people with this and let people be exploited and oppressed in their will. However, there is opposition where there is oppression, and the serf lords' deception and numbing could not stop people's awakening. The people overturned all the reactionary rulers and liberated themselves from the superstitious ideology and became the masters of society and nature at last.

43. Why is it said that science and superstition are basically opposite?

Science and superstition are opposite, for in advocating science we must do away with superstition.

Firstly, science is the untiring exploration by human beings of nature and society, but superstition is ignorance that is fear of and submission to nature and society. Science makes people strong to be engaged in controlling and using nature to serve themselves and create this happy and satisfying worldly life. Conversely, superstition diminishes people so that they achieve nothing.

Secondly, the development of science greatly promoted the elevation of productive forces, and gradually eliminated much of people's fear about natural phenomena they did not understand before, when they were embedded in superstitious ideology. Scientific knowledge correctly explained the origin of mankind, a lot of natural phenomena and directly revealed the absurdity of superstition. The ethics and methodology of science can inspire people's creative thought and allow them to think analytically and in depth, and enable them to explore the nature and reason of the things they do not understand, consciously using scientific and practical means, and get rid of ignorance and superstition step by step.

44. What is evil faith (*xie jiao*)?

An evil faith is an evil force. An evil religious organization is an illegal organization which establishes and deifies the major leader of the religion, such as *qigong* or other names and confuses and deceives other people and expands and controls its members and harms society by making and spreading superstitious heresy. An evil faith is not a religion, because an evil faith is incompatible with religion and fundamentally opposed to the policy of religious freedom of the Party and the state. An evil faith is contrary to society, civilization, science and mankind. Most of the evil faiths make use of the dark side existing in society and of the unfulfilled desire of people to unscrupulously attack

the society, government and mankind, even oppose society and government by means of armed resistance and collective suicide. An evil faith is fundamentally different from religions, which obey the state constitution and law, and it is absolutely a poisonous social bacterium that has grown on the soil of modern civilization.

45. What are the basic features of the evil faiths?

Even if there are many different kinds of evil faiths in the world, there are some common basic features of them.

1. they are contrary to science in spreading superstition. No matter how flourishing the science is, there are always some questions that have not been answered and need further exploring. Evil faiths make use of such a situation to propagate superstition energetically. Even when some questions have been proved by science already, they still want to deny them and make up their own set of heresies with the aim of confusing people's minds.
2. they are contrary to society. The evil faiths think that reality is the source of sin and require their members to separate from society and dedicate themselves to the evil faith.
3. they publicize the "theory of the end of the world". The evil faiths rave that the world will be exterminated in a disaster; there is a way through only if people follow the heads of the evil faith to search for a paradise that does not exist at all.
4. they are contrary to human rights and humanitarianism. The evil faiths strictly control their members and deprive them of all rights and even kill them, and are the criminal organizations that are extremely contrary to human rights and humanitarianism.
5. they idolize their founders. The heads of the evil faith propagate superstition and especially superstition toward themselves and require their members to obey them unconditionally.
6. they have strict organizational discipline. Evil faiths are extremely factional organizations and not only confuse people with their crooked doctrine but also use strict discipline to control people's activities. Once one joins such an organization, he or she will lose their freedom and individuality.
7. they oppose the government and create incidents and provoke disturbances. Many evil faith organizations encourage their followers not to believe the government, not to abide by the law and regulations, and not to care about the social order; they even boldly organize criminal activities and stir up rebellions.

46. What harm is done by the evil faiths?

Firstly, an evil faith is as dangerous as world terrorism, which does extreme harm to mankind. The common aspect of the founders of the evil faiths is that they all put on the mask of world saviors and control their believers and accumulate wealth by every means possible and violate women. In Africa, the evil faith killed hundreds of children as a sacrifice in praying for rain, thus committing a monstrous crime. Not long ago, in Uganda, an evil faith organization killed several hundreds of believers secretly and the exposure of the victims was shocking. Secondly, an evil faith would control the spirit of believers with lies to make them its spiritual slaves. Because the questions science can answer are always limited, the evil spirit would take advantage of this loophole and claim for itself super power, providing the permanent solution for every problem, which not only misleads people into superstition, but also attempts to spiritually control its believers. Thirdly, evil faiths use extreme means to oppose society and severely harm society. Most of the founders of evil faiths have their own political ambitions to practice divine power ruling in the entire human world. In order to achieve their purpose, they do not hesitate to sacrifice their believers' lives to shock the world with mad acts which

are anti-social and anti-human. For example, some evil beliefs induce their believers to commit collective suicide, some release poison gas to wreak a mad revenge on society and some agitate the believers to attack the government with arms and sabotage social order etc. All of these are fanatical deeds for realizing their political ambitions, and these extreme deeds cause extreme harm to society and the people.

47. Why is it said that "Falun gong" is a genuine evil belief?

(1) "Fa Lun Gong" is an illegal organization "that was established under the false name of religion, qi gong or other names".

Li Hong-zhi, the leader of Fa Lun Gong has made his name holding the name of "qi gong." Even if he was always mentioning *qi gong* when "he was running the classes in the beginning", the thing he was doing was not the method of practicing either *qi* (air) or fitness; it could never have made the practitioners get to the goal of calming the mind and getting rid of disease and getting to be healthy. Then they belittled *qi gong* claiming "You do not need to practice such a low level of thing"; "We will talk about practicing on the high level from the beginning, and we will not call it *qi gong* any longer."

Fa Lun Gong also falsely used some scientific terms and concepts to make up a series of fallacies of "*Fa Lun Da Fa*" (great path of the wheel of Dharma). It is necessary to point out that Li Hong-zhi, on one hand, falsely used scientific terms and distorted scientific truth and disguised himself with false science to cover his fallacies in order to confuse, threaten and deceive the people; On the other hand, he also openly slanders science, belittles science and opposes science, and sneers at Darwin, who held that mankind is evolved from apes, as a "joke", and says that modern science and human knowledge has got to the extreme, "to the peak", can never develop, can not solve the problems of human society even if it does develop. All the famous people, including scientists and specialists, are "all very negligible". Only by relying on him, the "great master" (*da shi*) who can "open the divine eye (*tian mu*)", "install the wheel of Dharma" (*zhuang fa lun*), "redeem people to a higher state", can mankind turn danger into peace.

It is more obvious that the "Fa Lun Gong" falsely used religious terms and concepts to disguise itself. Li Hong-zhi named his practice with a Buddhist term "fa lun (wheel of dharma)" and also elaborately designed a symbol out of a mixture of Buddhism and Daoism. In addition, he dubiously (*bu lun bu lei*) used all kinds of religious terms in his fallacies of "the theory of the end of the world (*mo ri shuo*)", "theory of the wheel of Dharma (*fa lun shuo*)", "theory of the divine body (*fa shen shuo*)" and "theory of eliminating karma (*xiao ye shuo*)". He has stolen and falsely used all kinds of religious terms to give his talk of ghosts and monsters and fallacies a holy appearance, and thus confuse the people of the world.

(2) "Fa Lun Gong deifies Li Hong-zhi and greatly "worships the founder of cult".

Like all evil cult organizations, "Fa Lun Gong" deifies Li Hong-zhi and greatly "worships the founder of cult". In his personally made up "CV" in 1993, Li Hong-zhi says: "I was born in Gong Zhu Ling City of Ji Lin Province on 13th May 1951 and from my childhood I was separately taught practicing a path by a Buddhist great master *Quan Jue Da Shi* and completed this practice when I was only 8 years old". "When I was 12, a Daoist master, *Ba Ji Zhen Ren* came to find me and taught Daoist practice." "In 1972, I was taught again by a Buddhist master practicing the great path until I came out to the world (*chu shan* – literally means to get down from the mountain). How can the innocent people know that in the shameless lavish praise of

himself by Li Hong-zhi, except the half sentence that says “I was born in Gong Zhu Ling City”, there is no truth at all. Even the birthday has been changed by Li Hong-zhi in order to prove he “was born on the same date as the Buddha” and he is the “reincarnation of the Lord Buddha”. Later, he even stopped vaunting the name of the Lord Buddha, but claims that the level of Shakyamuni, Lao Zi and Jesus is not as high as his “the great master Li”. The only person in the world who can really take people upwards is himself, and he “left people a stair to heaven”. He is the “only” savior who “can salvage the whole of mankind to the brilliant world”.

(3) “Fa Lun Gong” implemented a strict spiritual control.

“Fa Lun Gong” adapted a set of methods to reach the goal of controlling strictly its believers’ spirits. Firstly, it shows a kind face caring for your disease, promises to satisfy your demand of health and getting rid of the disease and healing the spiritual wound to lure people to join it. After you join it, it will give you a “learning course” (*xue xi ban*), to make you not trust other people, not believe in other ideas, belief theories, books, not believe in science or medicine any longer, but you can read blindly the “canon” that Li Hong-zhi made, and read it thousands and thousands of times, again and again. If you say it does not work, he will say that “you are not sincere”, and guide you to look for the reason in yourself constantly, “self-examining” and “brain-washing” to control your spirit; and he makes you not have the slightest doubt about following steadily the “master Li”. Li Hong-zhi threatens his believers with the “theory of the end of the world” and the “theory of exploding of the earth” and leaves them in a constant state of extreme anxiety, worry and fear. He also makes his followers believe his “divine body” is anywhere anytime and keeps watching all their thoughts and acts with his “theory of divine body”.

(4) “Fa Lun Gong” made up and spread devilish fallacies.

Like all the other heads of evil cults, Li Hong-zhi made up a lot of devilish fallacies. He advocates that “there will be the end of the world soon”, and facing this great catastrophe, “the awakened ones do not care about it any longer”, “any religions and beliefs “do not work any longer either”, any government of any country “can do nothing” but “only one person of him” can control and postpone “the explosion of the earth”. Li Hongzhi also has a most harmful most popular devilish fallacy that is “the theory of eliminating karma”. Li Hongzhi has stolen the Buddhist concept of “karma” and given a distortion and explanation to it saying that if one practices “Fa Lun Gong” he or she can increase his or her “ethic” (*de*) and reduce his or her power of “karma” (*ye*), purify his or her body, “opens up his or her merit, awaken and accomplish his or her practice”, the “soul does not die out”, salvage people to the “heavenly extremely happy world”. One’s getting ill is this-worldly punishment for the karma he or she made in his or her previous lives, so getting ill and suffering is “eliminating the karma”, “returning the debt of karma from previous lives”. Therefore one could not go to the hospital to get injections, take medicine and get treatment, otherwise “he or she is not believing that practicing *gong* can cure illness”, anybody who advises you to get treatment is the “devil” (*mo*). You should be able to resist the disturbance and destruction of the “devils” to the “Fa Lun Da Fa” (great path). Harmed by this fallacy of “eliminating karma”, countless practitioners of “Fa Lun Da Fa” delayed scientific treatment and either died or were injured or became spiritually abnormal or even killed their own parents, brothers, wives, children or others and this led to lots of tragedies.

(5) “Fa Lun Gong” is a secretly associated illegal organization.

Li Hongzhi has denied that they have any organization as such saying that “Fa Lun Gong” implements “loosely managing (*song san guan li*)”, transmitting “by person to person (*ren chuan ren*), mind to mind (*xin chuan xin*)”. This only reveals the true nature of their secret society by trying to cover the clear truth. The fact has already been proved that “Fa Lun Gong”, like all the other evil religious organizations, controls its believers to do illegal activities by a strict and secretive organizational system. In Peking they have founded a “*Fa Lun Da Fa Yan Jiu Hui*” (research association of “Great Way of Fa Lun”), and Li Hongzhi himself became the president, the “only” and “supreme” head and authority. They have founded a general training centre in every province, autonomous region and city under a direct jurisdiction that founded coaching centers and practicing sites. The person in charge and core members of all levels of organizations are examined and approved or assigned by the upper level of organizations. The upper levels also have the right to recall “the ones that do not do well (*biao xian bu hao de*)”. They have established a series of internal “requirements (*yao qiu*)”, “regulations (*gui ding*)”, “norms (*biao zhun*)” and “have to-knows (*xu zhi*)” to organize the illegal organization. They do not use modern means of information but spread rumors, issue orders and incite the masses.

(6) “Fa Lun Gong” cheats people of money and wealth and commits economic crimes.

Li Hongzhi, like other heads of evil faiths, is believed to have accumulated a large amount of ill-gotten wealth and is suspected of being involved in evasion and of having committed economic crimes. According to the relevant agency’s preliminary investigation and verification, from May 1992 to the end of 1994, he has held 56 “Fa Lun Gong” training classes jointly with others and has charged over 3,000,000 Yuan in fees and has not paid tax on most of it. The main sources of Li Hongzhi’s illegal income are making, publishing, distributing, selling books, video and audio tapes, clothing and other utensils for practicing “Fa Lun Gong”. Li Hongzhi has an enormous amount of savings in the banks abroad and is suspected of committing the crime of evasion.

(7) “Fa Lun Gong” harms society.

Like all the other evil beliefs, “Fa Lun Gong” is a criminal organization that opposes real society and has inflicted severe harm on the society of our country. They have recklessly violated the implementation of state law and administrative regulations, and plotted to organize hundreds of illegal gatherings, besieged the media units, organs of the Party and government everywhere, even besieged Zhong Nan Hai, the location of the Central Committee of the Party and the State Council. They do not hesitate to push the ordinary practitioners to the ultimate anti-social act of “spill a little bit of blood” to further the political ambition of certain individuals, to compete with the Party and the people, and have provided a cause of gossip to the international anti-Chinese forces. They have stolen the secret documents of the Party and government, spied on important and secret telephone conversations of leaders and important agencies, illegally collected important materials and information of the state, with sinister intentions. Li Hongzhi’s fallacy has caused countless innocent masses to be wounded and disabled, killed and mentally disordered. According to incomplete statistics more than 1400 people have already died because of practicing “Fa Lun Gong” in the whole country.

The above facts fully prove that Li Hongzhi and the “Fa Lun Gong” organization which he operates have corrupted people’s ideology, disturbed public order, violated social stability, opposed state law, endangered people’s lives and property. The “Fa Lun Gong” has become a genuine evil religious organization that has already severely endangered the state, people and society.

50. *Is there any paradise or hell?*

Just as there are no ghosts and spirits, so also there are no so-called paradise or hell. Paradise and hell also come into being by the imagination of people. They are the products of the class societies that had oppression and exploitation. For instance, since there are monks, serf lords, aristocrats and serfs etc. in the society of feudal serfdom, people invented paradise with a jade emperor and various gods and hell with Yama (the king of hell) and various ghosts. Superstitious people say that paradise is in heaven. However, where is paradise?

Modern science has already proved that in the boundless universe, there is nothing except countless stars and interstellar matter, so naturally there is no paradise. The sun is a fireball with very high temperatures, so of course it is not a palace of any immortal. Humans have already sent up several artificial satellites into the universe but there has never been any talk of any immortal or any Buddha having lodged a protest because their peace has been disturbed. Superstitious people say that hell is under the ground, but science tells us that the earth is a huge, solid ball. It is like an egg; the crust, which is the surface of the earth, is like the eggshell, but the thickness of it is not as even as an eggshell, but thicker in some places and thinner in others. The earth’s crust is a hard layer that consists of mud, rock and minerals. The temperature at a depth of fifty kilometers below the earth’s surface is one thousand two hundred to one thousand eight hundred degrees centigrade, and it can melt rock. Another layer in depth is called the layer-in-between, and it is like the egg-white; the core of the earth is like the yolk. The earth’s core is highly dense, thick and heavy liquid rock and liquid minerals with a temperature as high as five thousand degrees. Therefore it is impossible for any “hell palace” or “hell jail” to exist. It is, then, clear that paradise and hell are nothing but the legends or myths that are made up by people and exist in the mind of superstitious people but it is absolutely impossible for them to exist in reality.

52. *Is “reincarnation” true?*

Some people believe in reincarnation, thinking that if someone does well in their lifetime, he or she will ascend to heaven after death or be reborn as a fortunate and wealthy person. If he or she does evil in their lifetime, he or she will descend into hell or be reborn as an animal. In feudal society, the rulers often made use of such sayings, to let people place their hope in the happiness of a future life, and to bear oppression and exploitation in this world in order to safeguard their rule. If it is said that people are born from ghosts that get into human womb, then there will only be the same number of people born in the world as those who died, and there can be no increase in numbers at all. Then, why is the world population getting larger and larger? For instance, the Tibetan population was only one million when Tibet was liberated peacefully, but now it has increased to over two million fifty thousand. If it is said that the animals can also be reborn into humans after their death, why is the number of animals in the world also consistently increasing? Therefore, there is no future life, and one can not gain happiness by burning incense and chanting sutras but one can get a happy life only by learning science and technology and working hard.

61. *Can “holy water” and “incense ash” heal?*

Some people do not go to the hospital to see the doctor when they are ill but go to pray to the Buddha to give them “holy water”, to ask for incense ash before the Bodhisattva statue believing that the diseases will be cured after drinking the “holy water” and eating the incense ash. This is not true because science tells us that it is a physical phenomenon for a person to be ill, it is because some germ has infected his or her body. In order to cure the disease, he or she must get an injection or take medicine to kill the germ in his or her body. Medical science tells us that the “holy water” is in fact ordinary drinking water, some even has bacteria, and the incense ash can not help either. Asking for “holy water” and incense ash not only can not cure disease but also will waste time and make the disease worse. Therefore, one must go to see the doctor when one falls ill and follow the doctor’s treatment.

62. *Are “magic incantations (shen fu)” and “spells (zhou yu)” effective?*

Some people are superstitious about “magic incantations” and “spells”, believing that if they wear a magic incantation and are frequently reciting “the six mantra (*liu zi zhen yan*)”, they can drive out the ghost and cure diseases and can be safe and at peace. Now that spirits do not exist, the incantations and spells that are supposed to have authority and will are also fake. Incantations and spells seem to be used for subduing ghosts and monsters and warding off evils and curing diseases. In fact they had often been used by the reactionary ruling class to fool and suppress the masses in history and are used by some people to deceive people’s emotions and cheat them of their money today. Real life has given us many revelations: when the People’s Liberating Army advanced into Tibet, the three landgraves generally represented by the Dalai required all the large monasteries to chant “cursing sutra” and conducted all kinds of cursing rituals, attempting to stop the peaceful liberation of Tibet. In the event their evil attempt did not succeed. When there was a snow disaster in Nagchu (*naqu*) in the winter and spring of 1997/98, some peasants and herders’ families who did not take measures of prevention and resistance but only relied on the “magic incantation” and reciting the “six mantra” suffered severe losses and their cattle and sheep died in herds when the heavy snow fell. Conversely, some people who knew science and economy had taken preventative and precautionary measures beforehand, some people had sold their animals in the market and some people had prepared food and fodder against disaster beforehand and so they greatly reduced their losses. We can see from the above that things like the “magic incantation” can not bring peace and good luck. We have to insist on the superstitious nature of incantations and curses and consistently deepen our ideology and awareness, and consciously do away with the feudal superstitions.

64. *Do “making wishes” and “fulfilling promises” work?*

When family members are ill or encounter danger, some people who believe in spirits and Buddha, do not take remedial measures to reduce the loss but go to the monasteries to “make wishes” to the Buddha or Bodhisattvas to pray for blessings and protection and promise to give the Bodhisattvas alms like butter etc. after the wish has been granted and then go back to the monastery to fulfill their promises. Buddha and Bodhisattvas are only imaginary and do not really exist. The statues of the Bodhisattvas in the monasteries and temples are made by people according to their own shape. They can not grant people’s wishes at all. The result of “making wishes” is always to delay the treatment of diseases, losing the opportunity to cure the diseases and rescue sufferers from disaster and it causes unnecessary loss. Once the wishes were granted people would keep their promises spend-

ing a lot of money even if the cure has nothing to do with the spirits or Buddha. This has a lot of negative effects on escaping poverty and becoming wealthy. Therefore, the people who are superstitious about spirits and the Buddha have to be awakened by bitter lessons and made not to place their hope in the not-existing spirits and the Buddha. “Making wishes” and “fulfilling promises” only increases the burden on individuals and family.

115. How did the new outlook of Zedang Town come about?

Zedang town in Naidung county is the birth place of Tibetan nationality. At present, there is a new trend: material and spiritual civilization prosper there and it has acquired such honorable titles as “the star of Chinese counties and towns”, “Town with the highest spiritual civilization in the whole country”. All these are due to the Party and government having led the masses of peasants and herdsmen to uphold science and resolutely do away with superstition and ignorance. In order to guide the masses to do away with the outmoded conventions and feudal superstition, and live a healthy and civilized new life, the town Party Committee and government actively carried out the activities of education and advocating knowledge of science and technology and popularizing law. They also carried out a series of activities such as “stressing civilization and establishing a new trend” to strengthen the ideological and ethical education of the masses. They formulated regulations for country people such as “standards for making civilized households” and “striving to make a scientific and technologically sensible person” and adopted effective means for the administration of situations where there is “dirt, disorder and indifference” to improve all kinds of conditions of care in homes for the old people, and the growing environment of children in the kindergarten; and preliminarily established the Zedang town as a civilized and beautiful town. Local people say with deep impression that if people do not learn science, do away with superstition and make an effort to raise the scientific and cultural standard, even if the material condition is improved, they can not create a beautiful environment for living and can not live a civilized and advanced new life.

116. Why does little Tseren not pray to the gods and Buddhas any longer?

Little Tseren's grandmother, Yangzong is a devout Buddhist. When little Tseren was nearly ready to graduate from his primary school, in order to enable her grandson to go to Tibetan class inland, the old lady often took him to the monastery to burn incense and prostrate himself and pray to the deities and spirits to bless him without any consideration of little Tseren's resistance. In the long run little Tseren was imperceptibly influenced and gradually slackened in his learning believing that everything would turn out as he wanted with the blessing of gods and Buddhas. In the event he could not pass the exams. When little Tseren was weeping silently, his teacher Zhoma told him “failure is not horrible, the crucial point is to learn from your failure.” The teacher also gave him two books “The Mystery of Nature” and “Stories of Zhang Haidi”. In the vacation, little Tseren read through the books and understood that there are no gods and spirits in the world, success depends only on hard work. Last year little Tseren was in grade three in secondary school. This year he was to enter high school. Old mother Yangzong wanted to go to the monastery with her grandson to pray to the buddhas again and said that the reason he had not had a good result in the exam last year was because he had not gone to the monastery enough. Little Tseren appreciated what his grandmother did for him but he has already knew that going there was ridiculous and useless. Then little Tseren politely said “grandmother, our country is implementing a policy of religious freedom, I respect that you believe in religion, but it is my freedom not to believe

in it and you should respect my choice.” After convincing his grandmother, little Tseren studied hard whole heartedly and eventually he has achieved his ambition and entered the Lhasa middle school with his excellent mark.

EPILOGUE

The purpose of writing the two books A reader for the education of Marxist materialism and atheism and A popularizing reader for advocating science and doing away with superstition is to implement both the spirit of central government concerning thoroughly launching the teaching of Marxist materialism and atheism and also the requirement of the Committee of the region that an opportunity be given to bring to a climax the propagation of materialism, atheism and science and the abolition of idealism, theism and feudal superstition. Its purpose is also to provide a learning material for the urgent need of the Party members and cadres and the masses at the basic level. Because of time constraints apart from the signed authors of this book, also Comrade Fang Yuguo and Liu Shiguang took part in the writing of it and Zou Wenai, Zhao Yuanzhi, Ding Yong, Zhang Xiaofeng, Yang Shuzhen and Wen Wei have read it and given their comments. In the process of writing this book, we have referred to and quoted many works of relevant specialists and scholars. Because of the limitation of this book we could not have given references to all the other works available that our readers could refer to and study.

Because of the limitation of time and our level, even if the draft of this book has been read through over and over and had many corrections, it is inevitable that there are still some inadequacies. We earnestly hope the readers will give their criticism and corrections.

DOCUMENT III

Note on translation: The copy of the handbook obtained by ICT was the official Tibetan-language version distributed in monasteries, translated from the original Chinese. The extracts printed below have been translated into English by ICT.

TAR PATRIOTIC EDUCATION FOR MONASTERIES PROPAGANDA BOOK NO.2 HANDBOOK FOR EDUCATION IN ANTI-SPLITTISM

Issued by the TAR leading committee for patriotic education in monasteries (May 2002)

Section 1: Ours is a country of many nationalities united as one

1. Our Motherland is a sacred nation

It is one of the biggest countries in the world, and the most populous, one of the 4 oldest civilizations with a 5000 year history, which invented paper, gunpowder, printing and the compass, which has produced outstanding excellence in all fields and become the treasury of world civilization.

That is the past and people today should be proud of it. Under the leadership of the CCP, the Chinese people have eradicated the '3 great rivers' of imperialism, feudalism and capitalism and become masters of their own home with the establishment of the PRC and following the path of Socialism. Not only have peoples' living standards manifestly risen, but it is taking an increasing and positive role in world affairs. The return of Hong Kong and Macao was a noble victory in the eventual re-unification of the Motherland. We were awarded the 2008 Olympic games in the first year of the new millennium, and joining the WTO demonstrates that China is on the threshold of new growth. It is presently the world's no.6 economy and is bound to improve its rating.

The central government has convened the 4th Tibet Work meeting to guide and allocate responsibilities for the development of the new society in Tibet, the 50th anniversary of Liberation celebrations were held in great style, and begun work on the Qinghai-TAR railway, giving great encouragement to the Tibetan masses. All of these brilliant achievements have given great stimulus to China's 56 minorities and the 1.3 billion children of China are striving without rest towards a renaissance of all China's nationalities and one of the most glorious epochs in our 5000-year history beckons.

2. Our Motherland is a country of many nationalities united

In today's world there are more than 2000 nationalities and more than 180 countries. Most big countries are made up of more than one nationality and countries with a single nationality are very few. Multi-nationality states are the norm in the multivaried world we live in.

Our Motherland is a big family home to 56 nationalities, and the Tibetans are 1 of the 55 minority nationalities with a great contribution to make to the achievements and development of China's nationalities. According to the 5th national census, the total population is 1.36 billion or one fifth of world population, and minority nationalities amount to more than 20 million, which illustrates an important characteristic of our nation. TAR population is currently 2, 616, 300, an increase of 430,300 or 19.1% over the 4th census of 1990. Although the minority population is small, the territory they inhabit constitute 50-60% of the nation's total. The main feature of the

population distribution of these nationalities is "Strong in heterogeneity, weak in concentration". Up to 70% of all counties nationwide are populated by at least 2 nationalities. In Yunnan and Guizhou provinces, one fifth of all rural townships are populated by a mixture of many different nationalities. The Tibetan population is distributed across four provinces (Sichuan, Qinghai, Gansu, Yunnan) and one autonomous region. In accordance with nationality policy, areas populated by minorities have been constituted as 5 autonomous regions, 30 autonomous prefectures, and 124 autonomous counties.

All 56 nationalities live in equality and united on the path of progress and the creation of such a fine state enjoying long-term stability and economic progress is a noble victory of our nationality and religion policies.

3. Our country's nationalities have built the great family of China's nationalities together

More than 2000 years have passed since the establishment of our country as a multi-national state under the Qing dynasty and most of the present 56 nationalities are sons of the Chinese soil and their mutual dependence for development and survival are inextricably linked. Most of them have come about through a long history of interaction and co-habitation between different nationalities.

For example: the gradual co-habitation of many nationalities in the lower central Yellow river valley created an ethnic group which under the Han empire united into what is called the Han nationality which, emerged from a mixture of Qiang, Yi, Mao, Li and other tribal lineages to become the nationality with the largest population in the world.

The Tibetan nationality came about through the inter-mixing of the four main ethnic groups in the Qinghai-Tibet plateau with other groups on the plateau such as the Shangshung and the ancient Qiang, and is also a nationality of many different (tribal/clan) lineages united on common premises. The long history of the development of the Tibetan nationality has involved interaction with the Mongols, the Chinese, the Hui, the Qiang, and so on, and close relations with the Monpa, Lhopa, Dengpa and Sherpa groups within the Tibet region. Some nationalities migrated into China in ancient times and became assimilated, like the Hui who were originally Arabs and Persians who came to China after the 7th century, and in the 13th century mixed with groups migrating to China from central Asia as well as Mongols, Chinese, Uighurs etc. Others migrated recently, like the Korean nationality that came after the 1820s.

The country, its economy, polity and cultural tradition, was thus developed through the interactions of various nationalities, and they are all Chinese nationalities and whether great or small they have each made their distinctive contribution. The country has mostly been governed by the Chinese nationality, but the Mongols had their Yuan dynasty and the Manchu had their Qing dynasty. Apart from the literary works of the Chinese nationality, the Tibetan Gesar epic, the Mongol Genghis legend, the 'Dream of the red house' by Manchu author Tsao Shol etc. are classics of Chinese culture. The national minorities are united, equal and prospering together under the leadership of the CCP and occupying the eastern quarter of the world with splendid pride.

4. The Tibet region is an inseparable part of China

It is clear that the Tibet region has had close relations with the sacred motherland throughout its history, and the Tibetan nationality has been interacting with other Chinese nationalities since its very formation.

The marriage of Tibetan king Song-tsen Gampo to T'ang princess Wongsing Kongjo in 641 and the marriage of T'ang princess Ky-imshing Kongjo to Tibetan king Tri-de Tsuk-tsen in 710 symbolized long-term relations of friendship between the two peoples, as did the 'Uncle-nephew' stone pillar in front of Lhasa's main temple, the (original) Potala palace and Trandruk temple in Lhoka.

With the Yuan dynasty, the Tibet area was finally incorporated under central government rule. Tibetans took central government posts and the government conducted a household census and sent personnel to establish civil and military outposts, and close cultural links were established between Tibet and the mainland. Ever since, the central government has been in charge of Tibet and managed Tibetan affairs.

- a) Since the Yuan dynasty up to the Nationalist TMAC, successive central governments have sent representatives to the Tibet locality to establish offices or take care of military or political affairs.
- b) [The Chinese names of those offices under successive dynasties.]
- c) Successive central governments reserved the power to appoint, promote and dismiss the senior leaders in the Tibet local government. The Qing dynasty governors (Amban) enjoyed fundamental powers including the recognition of important reincarnations like the Dalai and Panchen Lama-s, frontier defense, international relations, finance, currency regulation, providing for the monasteries, and so on. Furthermore, central government appointed all senior functionaries and military commanders of the Kashag government and paid them an annual salary.
- d) Without central government endorsement, the appointments of senior figures in Tibet's Buddhist hierarchy were meaningless. Ming and Yuan emperors gave titles to senior Tibetan Lamas and the Guomindang sent representatives to the enthronement ceremonies of the 14th Dalai Lama and 10th Panchen.
- e) The local government raised taxes according to central government practice and not only paid tax to the central government but enacted a transportation tax on its subjects to serve central government officials visiting Tibet, and shared responsibility for maintaining the lodgings along the route.
- f) Central government unified border security in the region and took full responsibility for it.
- g) Tibet's relations with other countries were decided by central government.
- h) Troubles caused by internal power struggles or quarrels between religious sects were dealt with by central government.

The above points clearly prove that Tibet has been constantly under central government rule since the Yuan dynasty, and undeniably an inseparable part of China.

Two: "Tibet Independence" is a plot hatched by Imperialists old and new

During more than 700 years of direct uninterrupted rule, no party has come forward to claim that Tibet is an independent nation, nor any foreigner, and even the imperialist powers were forced to admit Chinese sovereignty. In a proclamation on June 14th 1904 British foreign minister Lansdowne recognized Tibet as "a province of the Chinese

emperor's kingdom." While addressing the Indian parliament in 1954, Prime Minister Nehru said, "Tibet is an autonomous region under Chinese rule", and "During the last hundreds of years I have never heard of anyone at any time from any country who disputed China's control of Tibet."

Concerning the broad masses of Tibetans, they had been suffering the unlimited exploitation and oppression of the feudal lords since 1000 years in inhuman conditions, and under the influence of religion, did nothing about it but pray for enough food and clothing in this life and for more happiness in the next. They felt joy and happiness to gain liberation from the shackles and oppression of imperialism and after 'Democratic Reform' hundreds of thousands of serfs became masters of their own land and their livelihood increased by the day. The Tibetan people longed for social stability and through their own sacrifice struggled to build a beautiful new country in the ruins of feudalism, and are now living a great life. They are full of hope for the future and for them "Tibet Independence" means sabotaging the unity of nationalities and they struggle single-mindedly against any attempt to split up the big family of nationalities.

However for the last more than 100 years this demon has been repeatedly raising its head on the pristine roof of the world, be it foreign aggressors trying to split Tibet from China by force of arms themselves, or supporting regressive elements calling for "independence" at home and abroad, spreading rumors in the region or starting trouble in the hope of splitting up China.

That demon is the old imperialist powers and today those doing such terrible things wherever they may be are the Western anti-China forces. They are the main perpetrators and source of the political deception called "Tibet Independence" and the ones bent on confronting China. In accelerating the struggle against Splittism in our region it is necessary to expose the roots of the deceitful conspiracy to split China and promote "Tibet Independence" and clarify its historic character. Once ordinary right-thinking people can see the light and receive guidance, we firmly believe that they will join the noble struggle against Splittism in the spirit of sincere patriotism.

Imperialist attempts to split China have occurred in several phases, first through the infiltration of religion, later by armed invasion and cultivation of pro-imperialist elements within Tibet. In the 1950s, support for the uprising started by reactionary upper strata and for the Dalai clique became their main strategy, thereby hoping to internationalize the Tibet issue and make the "Tibet Independence" conspiracy a reality.

1. How Imperialists invaded Tibet and put up the deception of "Tibet Independence"

Tibet is the roof of the world and source of great rivers, and an important strategic territory, but due to physical isolation and the difficulties of travel it was still unknown to the outside world up to the 17th century.

With the industrial revolution in Europe and the rise of Capitalism, they began to look around for ways to increase capital and spread colonialism and their gaze fell upon Asia to the east. From the 17th to mid-18th centuries European colonial power expanded in Asia, and more than 10 Catholic missionary organizations based in north India started to infiltrate the Tibet region of our country, spreading religion as a means to establish links between the region and the West.

Following the establishment of the British East India Company in 1600, the British strengthened their base in India and drove off the earlier French and Portuguese colonists until they controlled the whole country. But the British colonialists were not satisfied with this and wanted to swallow Tibet to the north in their competition with the Tsar of Russia for control of Asia. Once Bengal came under the control of the East India Company in 1764, they began invading the southern Himalaya and gradually brought Bhutan, Sikkim and Nepal under their control, thus pointing the spear of aggression at Tibet itself.

In 1840 the Opium war broke out and the British used military power to force open the door to China, and the great land of China was subjected to foreign invasion. That was the main factor that strengthened British resolve to gobble up Tibet by force.

[Translator: Sections on “The British Invasion of Tibet” omitted.]

2. The villainous support by international anti-China forces for the Dalai clique’s attempt to split the Motherland

For centuries the nationalities of our country including the Tibetans have consistently opposed Imperialist aggression with great heroism and dedication, and in view of this history the Western powers realize they cannot take Tibet by force of arms alone, so their approach has evolved from naked aggression to the cultivation of pro-imperialist Splittist elements among the Tibetan upper strata using bribery and deception in order to carry the “Tibet Independence” villainy into a new era of history. The earlier goal of adding Tibet to their imperial dominion led by Britain has now become the attempt to westernize and split China by stirring up trouble in Tibet, led by the US. Their activities promoting Splittism are explained next.

a) Local separatists encouraged by international anti-China forces promoted the splitting of the Motherland and put obstacles in the path of the PLA advance into Tibet

During 1940s, with guidance and support from the US government, Splittist elements in the Tibetan aristocracy not only engaged in splitting the unity of nationalities but gradually emerged in the forefront and came into the open. Before the start of the 20th century the US government had encouraged separatists in Tibet, and had them attend the Asian conference in India under the name of an “Independent country” in flagrant violation of all international norms. At the same time, without the agreement of the Nationalist government they had the temporary diplomatic mission based in Hong Kong issue the “Tibet trade representatives” with visas, not only allowing them to visit the US to promote their Splittist activities but shamelessly leading the reactionary Tibetan aristocrats on to stage the notorious “Expel the Chinese” incident in the hope of splitting Tibet from China. According to US news broadcasts, in September 1941 an OSS mission led by Ilya Tolstoy was sent to Tibet on the pretext of researching supply routes, taking with them a letter and gifts for the Dalai Lama from President Roosevelt. After reaching Tibet they stayed there 3 long months and even made a secret request to the US government that since it was not on good terms with China it must support Tibet. In late 1943 the OSS accordingly installed wireless communications in Lhasa and even transported military supplies by air. In late 1949 the American Lowell Thomas made an investigation in Tibet as to whether “Washington could help Tibet” posing as a radio journalist, and US newspapers and magazines reported that “America is preparing to recognize Tibet as an independent country”. In early 1950 American guns and ammunition were transported to Tibet via Calcutta to ward off the PLA advance and on November

1st Secretary of State Acheson brazenly condemned the Liberation of Tibet as “armed aggression”. In the same month, after US pressured other countries, China’s intervention in Tibet was inducted into the agenda for discussion at the UN, but after the Chinese government emphatically stated its position many countries objected and the bribery did not succeed.

b) Support for the violent uprising staged by the reactionary upper class clique and Tibet local government.

An article by Jim Mahon in the American periodical “International Review” in 1951 reported that the Truman administration was trying to persuade the Dalai Lama to flee abroad in the hope that would provide the political conditions for them to attack Communist China. “Tibet, China and the US” by American author Norman Scott tells that in 1959 the CIA selected 6 youths from the Tibetans living abroad and took them to the US island of Guam for training in map-reading, telegraph operation, marksmanship and parachute jumping. Next they also trained 170 members of the “Khampa guerilla force” at Camp Hale in Colorado, and once completed, they were airdropped or snuck back into Tibet, “establishing an able resistance force” to “resist Chinese invasion”. The intended outcome of that training was quite clear, and in the classes taught by US political instructors very openly told their trainees “Such a powerful China is a major threat to the Free World. At the moment it is not wealthy, but if it becomes wealthy it might be an even bigger threat. Thus now that China is poor, it is the right moment to split it up. So first you guys should split Tibet from China, and later Xinjiang, Inner Mongolia and Manchuria will also split. In this way, eventually it will be left only with China proper, its power will be limited and it will not be able to threaten the Free World”, which expresses the hidden agenda of US policy with particular clarity.

An article in the Far Eastern Economic Review published in Hong Kong on September 5th 1975 entitled “CIA conspiracy in Tibet” told that in May 1958 2 of the first US-trained spies equipped with telegraph machine contacted rebel leader A-drugsang Gönpo Tashi at the Lhoka headquarters, made contact with the CIA, and soon after the US air-dropped weapons to the rebels in Dri-gu area (ie; Lhoka headquarters) including 20 machine guns, 2 cannon, 100 rifles, 600 grenades, 600 artillery shells and 10,000 rounds of ammunition, and also transported a lot of weapons overland to give to the rebels. In an article entitled “CIA conspiracy in Tibet” by (Li ga ran rDor khe bla) in the American “World Periodical” on February 8th 2000, there is a detailed account of the systematic support given by the CIA to the Dalai’s Splittist activities, and in an interview, the Dalai told the writer that without the CIA he could never have reached India.

c) Support for the attempts by the exiled Dalai clique to split the Motherland

After the renegade Dalai clique fled into exile, international anti-China forces led by the US not only gave them a lot of funds, had them organize the 50,000 Tibetans who fled into exile in India, Bhutan, Sikkim and Nepal and employed 10,000 of them in the “Indo-Tibet special forces” established by the US, but also arranged that they were not to become citizens of their countries of residence. Further, the UN established a refugee affairs office in Nepal that gave a lot of funds to the exile government for political, economic and military purposes. It is reported in many relevant documents how after the suppression of the violent revolt staged by the Splittists, the

CIA, Indian anti-China forces and other sympathizers of the exiled rebels gave them powerful support.

From the 1970s to the mid-'80s as China joined the UN and the US and USSR were fighting for supremacy, the policy of Western nations towards China was reformed. In 1972 the US stopped support for the Dalai clique and did not issue the Dalai a visa to visit the US. The UN also closed down its refugee affairs office. At that time, the Dalai was forced to realize that the path of Splittism was not bound to succeed and not only were those who spoke publicly about "Tibet Independence" exceedingly few, but Tibetan exiles began to advise the necessity of good relations with China and recognize it as a great country. They spoke about the common foundations of Buddhism and Communism and praised the leaders of our Party and nation on many occasions. After 1985 and especially in 1989 after there were disturbances in Beijing and violent upheaval in USSR and eastern Europe, Western countries adopted a policy of pressuring China using the so-called "ethnic", "religion" and "human rights" issues. On the one hand they gave much financial support to the Dalai clique, and on the other they gave the Dalai's Splittist activities international prominence and awarded him the Nobel peace prize, and their Splittist activities became more outrageous than before.

d) International anti-China forces led by the US step up support for the Splittist activities of the Dalai clique

From the 1980s onward, international anti-China forces led by the US made "containing China" the basis of their policy and, taking the "Tibet Issue" as an important strategic objective and overhauled their deceitful methods. Using the issues of ethnicity, religion, culture, human rights and environment they distorted the actual prevailing situation in Tibet and slandered the policies of our country toward its Tibet region, and stepped up support for the Dalai clique no end, and their "Independence" activity became even stronger, which they took as a starting point for their real aims, to attack China's stability, contain its economic development and ultimately destroy it.

In consideration of US interests in maintaining its global hegemony and regardless of the opposition of the Chinese people, they encouraged the Dalai to visit US and expanded the international standing of the Splittists. He visited US 23 times between 1979 and 2001, once every 2 or 3 years from '79 to '94, once in '94, twice in '97, thrice in '99. Starting with a meeting with President Bush on April 16th 1991, he was received by Presidents and vice-presidents and other leading politicians during his visits, and the US always use their wits to make the best of the timing of his visits. This can be seen from the fact that in 1994 he visited at the climax of a long mooted decision by the US government on whether to award MFN trade status to China, in 1997 he was invited after the US and other Western countries had yet again failed to include a motion defaming China in the agenda of the general meeting of the UNHRC in Geneva, and in 1998 he was invited just as president Clinton was about to visit China. As one member of the US establishment said "US leaders are ready to use the Dalai to serve their own interests by recognizing him as a spiritual leader", while the Dalai reckons on increasing support for Splittism by his meetings with the President and Vice President. On his 1995 visit he told US leaders that now there was no underestimating his capacity in the world and that "a hegemonic great China is a threat to us all." The Dalai clique was permitted to open representative offices in both Washington and New York, and the US even colluded by allowing them to promote their Splittist agenda as they pleased and to depute

a permanent exile government representative. On August 3rd 1997 the US State Department sent the US ambassador in India Richard. F. Celeste to meet with senior leaders of the "exile government" in Dharamsala, and in October of that year, in defiance of international law and the conventions of international relations as well as the forceful protests of the Chinese government, they announced the appointment of a "Special coordinator on Tibet" and kept promoting the official rank of that coordinator. In 1999 the Assistant Secretary of State Julia Taft was appointed coordinator, followed by Under-Secretary of State Dobriansky, and the level of support given to the Dalai clique was also raised. Senior leaders of the US State Department openly and shamelessly made slanderous remarks about China's Tibet policies and about the situation there, and exerted pressure on China in many different ways. In its annual reports on "Human rights" and "Religious freedom" the US State Department takes sides with the Dalai clique by fabricating rumors to denigrate China and frame the heinous slander that "China abuses human rights in Tibet".

Some US news media do their best to promote the Dalai clique's Splittist agenda, but in spite of the freedom of speech and press which the US always harps on about, many news media are either coaxed if not out-right incited by the government to go out of their way to support the Dalai clique by manufacturing scare stories and acting as their mouthpiece, pretending not to hear or see for themselves the real situation in Tibet. On March 26th 1991 and November 18th 1996 the government funded broadcasters VOA and RFA established Tibetan language sections and have been serving as mouthpieces for the Dalai clique. Following a decision by the Senate foreign affairs committee in September 1997 the government not only awarded VOA and RFA with funds of US\$ 8 million for 1998 and 1999, but went so far as to express the strong wish that the Tibetan service be strengthened and taken further. In January 1998 the Congress further approved funds of US\$ 24.1 million for RFA that year, a threefold (sic) increase over the US\$ 9.3 million given the previous year. Some commentators in the US print media observed that RFA was now a Congress-funded agency independent in name only. In return for comprehensive funding, the VOA and RFA are required to strengthen and further propaganda supportive of the Dalai clique. VOA has gone from broadcasting on 3 frequencies in 1991 to 13 in 1997, and after starting its broadcasts in one Tibetan dialect, it added 2 more. Previously, they broadcast for 30 minutes a day and that was increased to 3 hours. The selection of personnel and organizational matters are conducted in consultation with the clique. In the same period, RFA broadcasts were increased from 2 hours to 4 hours. By using those broadcasting agencies, they have done whatever they could to surpass the limits of slander with their made-up stories and greatly strengthened their misleading, provocative propaganda work in a shameless and unscrupulous manner.

Although for a long term the strong US financial support for the Dalai clique has been covert, it has nevertheless been reported in the media. From those reports it can be seen that at the same time political support to the clique was stepped up in the late 1980s, financial support increased every year. For a rough calculation: in the 6 (sic) years from 1989-94 alone, total economic assistance to the clique for various purposes at different times amounted to US\$8.75 million, going from only half a million in 1989 to US\$ 4.75 million in 1994. On October 1st 1998 the US media reported that "in recent years the US congress has granted US\$ 2 million to the exile government" and at the same time that "Congress is asking the Clinton administration to give them another 2 million."

Also the CIA gives the Security Department of the “exile government” US\$300,000 per year.

3. The real goal behind international anti-China forces’ support for the Dalai clique

People should wonder why international anti-China forces have been consistently and willingly funding and supporting the Dalai clique: it is profoundly related to their strategy to contain the ongoing development of our country, “Westernize” and “Split” it up.

Ever since shortly after the inception of the PRC, hostile Western powers led by the US have tried to contain China, first by military encirclement, starting with the Korean War, and then the Vietnam War, but this ended in a big defeat for them. For 20 years they isolated us economically, but through self-reliance we were able to make it through and their design was thwarted. Since the late ‘70s and the implementation of the open door policy, economic development has been proceeding apace, the country’s strength has much increased, and the task of constructing Socialism with Chinese Characteristics has developed like the waxing moon. Not wishing to see a strong Socialist China, Western anti-China forces have energetically pursued a strategy of Westernizing and Splitting China, and have taken Tibet as the most opportune ground for that policy and the Dalai clique as a useful tool. In Tibet, these forces see three weaknesses for China: first weakness, for historical, social and geographic reasons the Tibetan economic foundation is very weak and it’s rate of development is backward by national standards, second weakness, Tibet has a huge area with a small population, transport is difficult and the mainland is far away, thus a weak point in security terms, third weakness, peculiar religious and ethnic features are a weak point in the nationwide unification of nationalities. It is for these reasons that they have chosen Tibet as the starting point in their attempt to “Westernize” and “Split” China.

As for who is going to start the process, they have chosen the Dalai clique, since to begin with they are natural allies of imperialism. Most of them are reactionaries who hate Socialism and participated in a revolt against the popular will, listened only to the imperialists, sold out their own country, and wish to destroy national unity. Being succored by international anti-China forces gives them a livelihood. Second, as a ‘spiritual’ leader, the Dalai has great influence over ordinary people with religious faith, and through radio broadcasts and other means, they deceive ordinary religious people within the region, and by stirring up a wave of religious faith in the region, they hope to use it for their political purpose. Third, the Dalai was at the apex of the former feudal system, and after the overthrow of that system the country in which they lorded it over the people, rode on their necks and oppressed them at will is no more, but the former feudal lords have not given up their dream of re-establishing power.

International anti-China forces think that by using the Dalai clique they cannot lose, and that the best way to send China down is by attacking China’s internal control. After the start of the Opium war in 1840 the imperialist powers tried to undermined internal control by using force to impose unequal treaties on the Qing and Nationalist governments, enabling them to occupy China’s territory, seas and airspace. They took control of China’s customs and seaports. Now that China is growing stronger by the day, they are unable to use the illegal and forceful methods of earlier times, and have resorted to revising history under the Dalai clique’s label, using the clique to lead their attack, concocting rumors and false testimony in an attempt to internationalize the “Tibet issue”, split Tibet from China and ultimately destroy China’s internal control and unity.

Apart from disrupting internal coherence as a means to undermine China, these forces recognize the need to interfere in its internal affairs to disturb the progression of its development. Thus they interfere in our national family planning, nationality and religion policies, and the Dalai clique is precisely their tool for doing so. This tool is used to interfere first in nationality policy, second in religion policy and third to criticize China for abusing human rights, harming it’s international image.

DOCUMENT IV

Note on translation: The copy of the handbook obtained by ICT was an official Tibetan-language version distributed in monasteries, translated from the original Chinese. The extracts printed below have been translated into English by ICT.

TAR PATRIOTIC EDUCATION FOR MONASTERIES PROPAGANDA BOOK NO. 4 HANDBOOK FOR EDUCATION IN [PARTY] POLICY ON RELIGION

Issued by the TAR leading committee for patriotic education in monasteries (May 2002)

Section 1: Brief Introduction to Religion (Buddhism)

6. Why accord such importance to [official] religious work?

Religion work is an important element in the Party and state work agenda and should be taken as a priority in the advancement of the overall aims of the Party and state. Doing a good job in religion work is an issue concerning the progressive deepening of the strong ties between the Party and the masses, the development of both material and spiritual civilizations, strengthening the unity of nationalities and maintaining social stability, safeguarding state security and the unification of the Motherland, as well as our country's international relations and international reputation. Therefore, with the guidance of Deng Xiaoping Thought and the "Three Represents" of comrade Jiang Zemin, Party and government organs should deepen their research and analysis of the new state of affairs, new developments and new issues confronting our nation's religion work at the beginning of a new century, unify their thinking by fully grasping the character and nature of Socialism's starting point in tackling the religion issue, and specify responsibilities in order to re-intensify religion work and heighten its contribution to reform, development and stability.

7. What are the fundamental duties of religion work at the beginning of the new century?

The fundamental duty of religion work is to do the work (for the benefit) of the ordinary masses of believers. To be able to actualize the goals of the "Three Steps" strategy for building modernity and bring about the sacrosanct progress of China's minorities, it is necessary to forge the over-arching unity of the vast masses of believers of all China's nationalities under the banner of Patriotism. The fundamental duties of religion work at the beginning of the new century are to implement the Party's "Freedom of individual religious belief" policy in its entirety by conducting religion work on the basis of law to guide the adaptation of religion to a Socialist society, and in doing so, by maintaining the basic principle of self-responsibility, making every effort to build on the solid united front between the Party and religious personnel to deepen the safeguarding of stability and unity as a way of encouraging the construction of Socialist modernity, furthering the unification of the Motherland, and furthering the common cause of world peace.

8. What are the fundamental views and fundamental policies of the Party towards religion in the new century?

- a) As religion must go through the phases of development of initial origin, subsequent growth and eventual disappearance, it will persist for a long time within Socialist society, and it is improper for state power either to eradicate it or promote it.
- b) The right of individual religious belief is guaranteed by law. The general public has the right to believe or not to believe in it.

- c) While propaganda for the promotion of Atheism is necessary, the difference between Atheism and religion should not be simplistically identified in political terms. In political terms the need is for unity and cooperation, and in terms of personal belief, the need is for mutual respect.
- d) Taking state law as the basis, the conduct of religious work should protect routine religious activity and the rights of religious personnel according to law while preventing and punishing attempts to use religion for illegal and nefarious purposes.
- e) The contradictions posed by religion in our country are chiefly internal contradictions among the people, but under certain conditions they can also turn into antagonisms, and these two kinds of contradictions should be strenuously distinguished and dealt with appropriately.
- f) While maintaining the fundamental principles of self-responsibility and self-management, friendly relations in religious matters should be established with foreigners on the basis of equality, at the same time as opposing the use made of religion by those foreigners in the hostile camp to infiltrate us. No foreign religious organization or individual whatsoever may interfere in the conduct of religious work in our country.
- g) Patriotic religious organizations are like a bridge between Party and state and the masses of ordinary believers and we should strengthen their establishment and support the growth of their efficacy.
- h) The capacity of patriotic religious personalities to unite the masses of believers and foster social stability is a force of the greatest importance, and patriotic religious workers should be trained into a battalion of religious instructors in a planned and organized manner.
- i) Religion must be relentlessly guided in its accommodation with Socialist society. Religious personnel and the masses of believers must take on the general public's way of thinking, uniting patriotic and religious sentiment to further their activities in the sphere sanctioned by law, legal custom and policy.
- j) All religious groups and religious workers must safeguard the writ of law, safeguard the rights of the people, safeguard the unity of nationalities and safeguard the unity of the Motherland.

Section 2: The Party's Policy of Individual Freedom of Religious Belief Must Be Fully and Correctly Implemented

9. What are the theoretical foundations of the 'Freedom of individual religious belief' policy?

Being committed atheists, the Chinese Communists have no religious faith, and so it might be asked why they are in favor of a policy of freedom of religious belief. The theoretical foundations of that policy are as follows:

- a) From the Marxist point of view, religion comes into being at a certain stage of the historical development of human society, then progressively develops and eventually disappears. Given that that is its nature, its long-term persistence in Socialist society is unavoidable. Correct policy must seek truth from facts in keeping with the actual situation, in order to accord with the objective nature of material development. Our Party has made a correct recognition and understanding of the historical manifestation of religion, and on the foundation of seeing its objective nature as arising, progressing and disappearing, it is with regard to the reality of religion persisting for a long time in Socialist society that this policy has been defined.
- b) The issue of religious belief is an issue in the realm of ideas. Concerning issues in the realm of peoples' ideas and ideology, including religious belief, Communists use persuasion and education but not

force or commands. They give honest guidance but do not bully or beat people into changing their minds, using democratic means rather than coercion. Since such issues cannot be resolved through the use of force, which may even cause very great damage, and as long as there are people with religious faith, the Party and government has devised the policy of individual freedom of belief to allow people to believe in accordance with their personal choice.

- c) From the Marxist point of view, the ideological divide between religious believers and the masses of non-believers is not considered important, for the most important point is the need to unite in the same fundamental political and economic interests. As Lenin said “In our view, the practical unity of all exploited classes in the revolutionary struggle for the sake of building a Socialist paradise on earth is of even greater importance than the (mere) ideas about that paradise on which the proletariat alone are in agreement”, which shows that in spite of the differing beliefs prevailing among the masses, they are united in the wish for liberation and the pursuit of happiness. In issuing its freedom of religious belief policy, the Party has focused on the fundamental common interests of that section of the masses which believes and that section which doesn't, with the aim of uniting these two sections and inspiring all sides with the strong motivation to join together in the single aim of constructing a modern Socialism.

Marxists with no religious beliefs thus hold to a policy of freedom to believe in view of the fundamental stand taken by Marxism, taking adherence to the objective nature of things as the basis for accomplishing its agenda.

10. How did the policy of individual freedom of religious belief originate and how did it develop?

Ever since its inception, the Chinese Communist Party has been in favor of guaranteeing freedom of religious belief. It was after the Chinese Communists were able to unite the whole range of (social) forces capable of unity in the midst of the terrible struggle of the agrarian revolution [1927] that they first realized the necessity of a United Front. It was on the strength of this realization that the CCP started to implement its policy on religious belief. The anti-Japanese war [1931-45] was a period in which the Party's United Front theory and policy took on a coherent form, and at that time the Party's respect for and guarantee of freedom of religious belief united patriotic religious workers and masses of ordinary believers in common opposition to Japanese Imperialism. The Party's religion policy became an important element in the policy of a United Front of nationalities to oppose Japan. In April 1940 the North-west affairs committee of the CCP central committee set out its “Summary of the Hui nationality question” and then in July its “Summary of the Mongol question during the anti-Japanese war”, which stated that “The freedom of religious belief of the Hui masses should be respected”, and “The local traditions, customs, religion and language of the Mongols should be respected, the mobilization of the younger monks to enter productive labor should be popularized, and disparagement and discrimination against the Mongolian nationality should be opposed and stamped out.” During the war of Liberation, the Party developed its religion policy from the anti-Japanese war era even further. In his 1947 composition “Welcoming in the new wave of China's revolution”, Mao Zedong stated that all the masses, whether those with religious faith or those without had the same right of free choice and “Excepting traitors, those in conflict with the peoples' interests and counter-revolutionaries who are the object of popular anger, the entire population within the liberated zones, regardless of class background, gender or religious

belief have the right to choose”, and this was a very important supplement to the discussion of the freedom of religious belief policy in the earlier composition “On coalition government”. Similarly, Mao Zedong made a thorough exposure of the use made of religion by Imperialists in their support for wars of aggression against China when giving guidance for the resolution of the Catholic and Christian questions after the founding of the nation [1949]. The establishment of a broad United Front with reference to political affairs comprising the masses of believers and religious persons was one of the crown jewels in the victory of the Chinese revolution, as was proved by the active engagement of all our country's nationalities, under CCP leadership, in the long revolutionary war. Due to the sustained implementation of the CCP's religion policy, patriotic members of the religious side and the masses of ordinary believers strenuously supported and participated in the revolutionary struggle led by the CCP over the protracted and difficult period of the revolutionary war. They accomplished many admirable undertakings for the sake of driving back the Imperialists and smashing the “Three great mountains” [i.e.; Church, State and Nobility] and liberating whole China, and thus made an excellent contribution.

In the period of the Socialist revolution and re-construction, the Party and government not only carried on with the implementation of the policy of freedom of religious belief but developed it to new perfection in the process of implementation until they were able to turn it into a universally applicable policy. Hitherto the Party's religion work had been frustrated by the obstacles of following a mistaken path, but speaking in overall terms, in the context of the extremely good outcome of settling the religion question in our country, this was very good (i.e.; instructive) experience in all respects.

In the 5 points of the “Chinese Peoples' Political Consultative Conference Common Programme” informed by the 1949 constitution, it is stated that “Citizens of the PRC have the right to freedom of thought, speech, publication, assembly, association, correspondence, personal inviolability, residence, changing residence, religious belief and demonstration” and in point 35 it is stated that “Minority nationalities have the right to further their own languages, to perpetuate and improve their own traditions and customs, to religious belief etc.” Point 88 of the Chinese constitution agreed at the opening session of the National Peoples' Congress in 1954 states that “PRC citizens have the right to individual religious belief”, and since then the policy of freedom of religious belief has been guaranteed by the constitution. In 1952 when receiving a tribute-bearing delegation from Tibet, chairman Mao Zedong said “Having adopted a policy of protecting religion, the Communist Party grants protection to all those with religious belief and those without, to those with faith in one particular religion and those with faith in others, and respects their beliefs whatever they may be. That is the current policy and the policy we will continue to pursue henceforth.” This speech demonstrates in the first place that implementation of the CCP's freedom of religious belief policy is immutable in nature, and second that its purview has been progressively enriched and perfected.

Following the defeat of the “Gang of four” [1976] and especially the convening of the 3rd plenum of the 11th Party central committee (1978), the Party and government rectified the mistakes of the “Great Cultural Revolution”, and with its guidance on religious work quelled the disturbance and restored order, so that the correct policy of the Party and state towards religion was re-established. In February 1979 the central government removed the hats of the so-called “Followers of the capitulationist path” in United Front, nationality and religious

departments nationwide. From that time on, religious work departments at (all) levels of government were gradually re-established, and under the leadership of the Party committees and government they were endowed with a great deal of funds, materials and powers and the Party's religion policy was forcefully carried through. The activities of religious organizations were re-established over time, and monasteries and religious buildings re-opened so that religious activity could progress normally. In 1982 central government summarized the successes and reversals in the Party's religion work since the foundation of the nation [PRC] in the "Basic approach and basic policy on the religion question in our nation's Socialist era" which systematically set out the theoretical view and practical policies for settling the religion question in our country's Socialist era, and this became the guiding document, like a manifesto, for religion work in the new century.

The constitution approved that year by the 5th plenum of the 5th session of the NPC made revisions of the greatest importance to the sections concerning religion in the previous constitution and grouped them together. Among the successive constitutions, this is the clearest and most detailed specification concerning the religion issue, and its provisions are cited in the successive laws proclaimed subsequently. Citizens' rights to freedom of religious belief were thus effectively backed up by law.

The third generation of collective Party leadership with comrade Jiang Zemin at the core has made religion work an extremely high priority. At the end of 1990 the State Council convened a nationwide meeting on religious affairs, and while deliberating with a group of delegates attending it, general secretary Jiang Zemin made an important speech, and Prime Minister Li Peng also made an important speech at this meeting. Afterwards, a "CCP and State Council notification concerning some aspects of religion work to be given greater attention" was issued. This was one of the key documents concerning religion work following the 1982 revival. It stressed the need to continue and consolidate religion policy taking the actual conditions of religion work as the basis, while at the same time emphasizing the need to conduct religion policy on the basis of law in order to be able to regularize religious activity further than had previously been the case, and thus have religion work make a greater contribution to national stability and development than before. At the beginning of 1991 and the beginning of 1992 general secretary Jiang Zemin invited those in charge of national religious organizations to Zhongnanhai for consultations. At the beginning of each of the three years from 1993 to 1995 standing Politburo member and chairman of the national-level CPPCC comrade Li Ruihan, as representative of the Party central committee, again summoned those in charge of national religious organizations to Zhongnanhai for consultations. The main reason for confirming relations between the CCP and its friends in religious circles was to stress the need to make efforts in unified cooperation in political matters and mutual respect in matters of belief, and in uniting the masses of believers and non-believers on the basis of Patriotism and Socialism in the task of constructing Socialism with Chinese characteristics, as repeated many times by the central leadership.

At a meeting of the nationwide conference on religion work convened by the CCP central committee and State Council in December 2001, General Secretary Jiang Zemin made an important speech. He said that religion work was an important component of Party and government work, and stressed that it had been acknowledged as an

important area for furthering Party and state objectives. He also said that since times past the religion question was not at all an isolated one but was mixed in with the concrete dialectical contradictions of political, economic, cultural and nationality affairs, and thus particularly complicated.

11. *What have been the chief accomplishments in religion work to date?*

Following the 1990 national conference on religion work, and with reference to the profound reversal in the international political situation after the end of the Cold War and the advent of a new era in which nationality and religious issues were daily becoming more obvious concerns, the third generation of collective central leadership with comrade Jiang Zemin at the core decided on and put into place major complete and phased plans for religion work at a high level in nationwide Party and government affairs in conjunction with a new phase in the implementation of our nation's Open Door reform policy and construction of modernity, and Party and government offices at various levels unified and guided patriotic religious organizations, and their common efforts produced tangible results and new progress in religion work. After successfully implementing the policy of freedom of religious belief, the legally sanctioned rights of normal religious activity and religious groups could be safeguarded, the conduct of the state's religion work could proceed on a standard and legal path, issues associated with nationality and religious circumstances dealt with appropriately, the pursuit of Splittist activity under the banner of religion and the pursuit of such illegal and nefarious activity strictly punished. Religious functionaries were encouraged and supported in preaching the essential teachings of religion in accord with the aspiration for social progress, and new advances were made in the work of guiding the accommodation of religion to a Socialist society. The firm patriotic united front between the Party and religious functionaries was further developed day by day, and religious personages and the masses of ordinary believers energetically participated in the construction of a modern Socialist society by "Loving the Nation, Loving the Dharma", uniting for progress, and furthering the struggle against heretical organizations like the Falun Gong. By fostering the core principles of self-sufficiency and self-management, friendly external relations were established, those determined to infiltrate our nation by using religion were thwarted, and in the international struggle over human rights concerning the religion issue, the sovereignty of our nation and loyalty between its nationalities has been defended. This proves that in terms of the actual situation, the Party's religion policy is the correct one and the overall state of affairs of our nation's religious work is good.

12. *At present, what outstanding issues are in evidence in the religious sphere and religion work?*

Of the outstanding issues in the religious sphere in our country at present, some are contradictions that existed in the past and have persisted and grown under new conditions, and some are new issues that have emerged in the circumstances of the new era. Most of these are in the category of contradictions among the people, but some are by nature contradictions between our side and enemy forces. There are also those that combine characteristics of both. Their chief manifestations are as follows: in some areas, religious activity is chaotic and does not proceed in a regular manner, and for the manufacture of clay statues with religious significance in monasteries, temples or even holes in the ground i.e.; caves, and on various other pretexts, material resources are unscrupulously solicited and consumed, and although such practices have been banned, they continue to occur as before. In some areas, the special prerogatives of religious hierarchs which

were eliminated in the past are returning from the grave, quite a few instances of using religion to interfere in administration, law enforcement, education etc. have emerged, sudden occurrences of nationality and religion-related incidents harmful to social stability and incidents of impromptu gatherings arranged by word of mouth are always happening, the persistence and increase of the use of religion to infiltrate our nation from abroad, the use of religion over a long period by members of the Dalai clique and “East Turkestan” terror groups to perpetrate separatism and disruption, the use of violent intimidation, and an increase in the madman-like exploits of heretics or downright criminals carrying the banner of religion, who at the same time fail to respect the religious faith of ordinary believers, interfere in normal religious activities and attacking the legal rights of religious workers. These are the outstanding matters occurring with differing levels of intensity in different areas. There has also been some deterioration in the work of cultivating a battalion of religious teachers from the patriotic religious organizations and patriotic religious functionaries.

13. How should the Party's freedom of individual religious belief policy be fully and correctly accomplished in practice?

Freedom of individual religious belief has been a fundamental Party policy over a long period and is one of the fundamental rights given to citizens by the constitution. Respect for and assurance of the general public's right of freedom of religious belief is an important indicator of the Party's protection of the peoples' interests and respect for their human rights, and also a requirement for unity with the masses at the highest level. The main point in our implementation of the policy is to greatly enhance unity between believers and non-believers among the broad masses to combine their strength for the common goal of building Socialism with Chinese characteristics.

Freedom of individual religious belief means the freedom for all to believe or not to believe, to believe in the religion of their choice, and the sect of their choice within that religion, to change from a non-believer to a believer and vice versa.

Full and correct implementation means, on the one hand, taking on the duty of respecting the freedom of both believers and non-believers. No organization or individual whatsoever may force the people to believe or not believe, and no one may be discriminated against due to their belief or non-belief. Special concern should be given to religious believers in areas where they are a minority and vice versa. The mistaken behavior of failure to respect the peoples' religious beliefs or infringing the legal rights of religious personnel must be rectified with a determined attitude. On the other hand, it means taking on the duty of maintaining the joint exercise of rights and responsibilities. Freedom of religious belief does not mean that there is no limitation whatsoever on the conduct of religious activity. Since religious people and ordinary believers are first and foremost PRC citizens, they must put the interests of the nation and the people first, and accept responsibility for observing the constitution, law, legal code and official policy. Religion must pursue its activities within the sphere of rights and obligations specified in the constitution and legal code. No one may use religion to oppose the leadership of the Party and the Socialist system, and religious activity may not disrupt the orderly function of society, the workplace or economic life.

14. During implementation of Party and state religion policy, which type of issues must be resolved well?

a) The religious faith and regular religious activities of ordinary believers should be accorded consideration and respect. Their faith

has a deep historical background, and national law protects their right to it so it should be respected. Since patriotic religious groups, religious individuals and other social groups enjoy the same rights as ordinary citizens and their statutory rights are protected by law, they may not be discriminated against on account of their religious beliefs nor may their rights be infringed in any way, such as the right of choice, the right to undertake non-compulsory education, to employment, property ownership and so on, which must be protected.

- b) At the same time as ensuring citizens' rights to freedom of religious belief, their right not to believe must also be emphasized, and the rights and aspirations associated with it must be protected by law and respected by ordinary people. This issue requires greater attention in areas where religious believers are in the majority and within (minority) nationality communities. In recent years in some pastoralist localities nationwide, some people have forced non-believers into professing belief in religion, forced those who did not participate in religious activities to participate, discriminated against those with no belief in religion, beat them, ganged up against them and humiliated them. This is absolutely not permitted....
- c) The various religions and sects are equal in political terms. No religion may adopt a more powerful position than others, and no sect within a religion may do so either. They must respect each other and co-exist harmoniously in practice. For the bigger ones to pressurize the smaller ones, or for one sect to be intolerant of others, and the mentality of restoring the former feudal privileges of a particular religious sect and its former constituency, all of this goes against the freedom of religious belief policy.
- d) Citizens' freedom of religion belief should not be described as “Religious freedom” in which un-prescribed religious activity is pursued according to individual whims. It would be improper for the practice of freedom of belief to oppose state laws and policies, and religious activity must be pursued within the confines permitted by the national constitution, law and policy. Marx said, “Freedom means the right to do whatever is not harmful to others, and those actions which can be done by all without harming others are defined in law.” Any civilized country has its own constitution and laws, which is one of the signs that it is civilized, and government policy is one factor supplementing state laws. Legal provisions and practical policies relating to polity, economy and peoples' livelihood have been enunciated by our Party and state simultaneously with its determination of the freedom of religious belief policy, and both these and the practice of freedom of religious belief must interact on the same foundation. To say that there is ‘freedom of religious belief’ does not mean that ‘religious activity is free’, and in any modern civilized state, religious activity is subject to specific legal if not political restrictions. For example, all of the world's advanced states have enacted constitutions that clearly separate religion and politics, and at the time of American independence [1776] most of the larger religious groups adopted an attitude of sincere (loyalty) to the American government from then on. Even so, the revised draft of the first article of the 1787 American constitution says “Not being permitted to make laws in support of any particular religion, states may not profess faith in any particular religion”, specifying the separation of state and religion as before. This freedom of religious belief sets a limit to prevent religious activity from contravening the wishes of the lay public. If religious activity is conducted on the path of state law, strictly within the confines set by the national constitution and laws, citizens' rights to freedom of belief can be properly ensured and regular religious activities can

proceed unproblematically. When all citizens are equal before the law, none enjoy any special, extra-legal powers whether they are believers or not. Having everyone act in accordance with law, with legal limitations on religious activity eliminating any discrepancy, is a means to allow the long-term continuity of religion work into the new era, and is even more important in a country like ours where the legal outlook was historically somewhat lacking.

15. *In what way should citizens' rights to freedom of religious belief be respected and protected?*

Freedom of religious belief is a fundamental and long-standing policy of our Party. It is a fundamental right given to citizens by the constitution. The respect of and assurance of this right illustrates how our Party defends the interests of ordinary citizens and respects their human rights, which is a necessity for the fullest measure of unity with the masses. The crucial point of implementing the policy is to greatly enhance unity between believers and non-believers among the masses to harness their collective strength for the common aim of constructing Socialism with Chinese characteristics. Citizens have the right to believe or not to believe. The state safeguards normal religious activity. No organization or individual whatsoever can force ordinary people to practice or not to practice religious belief, nor discriminate against them on grounds of belief or non-belief. Serious consideration should be given to respecting the rights of believers in areas where they are a minority and vice versa. Cases of interference in freedom of belief, discrimination or marginalization of believers and infringements of the rights of religious groups to legally sanctioned activity must be determinedly rectified. With strenuous implementation of the policy, and correct handling of the Party's relations with religious figures and ordinary believers, the Party's mass base should be consolidated and expanded, and its capacity to galvanize and attract the masses of ordinary believers should be improved.

16. *In what way should the unification of rights and responsibilities be made continuous?*

Giving first place to the interests of the state and people, religious believers must respect its constitution, laws and policies at the same time as exercising their right to freedom of belief, and religious activities may not disrupt the orderly functioning of society, the workplace and economic life. These points should be stressed through education and guidance. No-one may use religion to oppose the leadership of the Party and Socialist system or destroy the unity of nationalities, social stability or the unification of the motherland, or use religion to harm state and collective interests or interrupt the legal rights of other citizens, to pursue criminal activity or un-regulated religious activity. Religious persons and ordinary believers should be educated in the legal means of safeguarding their legal rights and realizing their aspirations through regular institutional paths.

17. *What is the nature, foothold and crucial point of the freedom of religious belief policy?*

The nature of the policy is to render the issue of religious belief as a private matter for individual citizens. The right of freedom of belief is protected by law on the one hand, and controlled by law on the other, and so is said to be a freedom within the confines stipulated by the constitution and the law. Uniting believers and non-believers in the common aim of building Socialism is the goal of policy implementation and a basic foothold and crucial point in determining existing religious issues. It is in no way an opportunistic policy, but is a fundamental and long-term policy determined by the strategy of uniting all the country's nationalities in the common cause of building

Socialism on the foundations of Marxist-Leninist ideology. It is also a policy whose implementation will end with the voluntary (historically determined) disappearance of religion in future. Addressing the Tibet tribute-bearing mission in 1952, chairman Mao Zedong said, "The CP not only protects the rights of all believers and non-believers, and of believers in this or that particular religion, but also respects their beliefs. Its present policy is to safeguard religious freedom and that will continue to be the policy in future."

With the experience and lessons of both vindications and reversals in the religion issue, great care should be taken in the successful implementation of the policy to avoid making mistakes or the two kinds of deviation. One type of deviation is to regard religion as a tool of the exploiting class, as was done earlier, without being able to see the basic setbacks that this would cause to religion in our country, and in practice using official orders to restrict religion or even destroy it altogether. Another type of deviation is to abdicate Party leadership of religion work and Party and government management of religion work. Neither of these deviations will benefit the successful implementation of the Party's religion policy.

18. *How should religion be distinguished from superstition?*

Both religion and superstition are founded on the idea of the existence of a divine being, and both have in common a belief in and respect for deities or supernatural forces. Within primitive societies, it is very difficult to make any distinction between religion and superstition. Once human societies evolved into class societies, they developed singular, established, coherent and hierarchical religions such as Taoism, Buddhism, Islam, Christianity, Judaism, Hinduism and so on. After that, superstitious activities characterized by the miraculous elimination of obstacles alone gradually emerged as a distinct superstitious practice of worshipping deities and propitiating demons within the varieties of religion.

In implementing the policy, it is necessary to distinguish between religion and feudal superstition. In our country, feudal superstition mainly means oracles, diviners and (other) practitioners of superstition left over from feudal society who indulge in trickery and deception with bogus talk about seeking divine protection, eliminating obstacles, curing disease, making psychological and geomantic prognoses and written charms by magical power, and make money by false pretences. The practice of these feudal superstitions is destructive of social order, confusing for the mind and harmful to the health of the masses. The policy of our Party and state has clearly distinguished from start to finish between religious faith and the practice of such feudal superstition and superstitious behavior in general. In the implementation of its freedom of religious belief policy, it grants protection to normal beliefs and activities of Taoism, Buddhism, Islam, Catholicism, Christianity, whereas revival of the presently extinct reactionary feudal superstitious groups, and all activities of oracles, diviners and so on is absolutely not permitted, and all those who mislead people with nonsensical talk and take their money through deception must be stamped out by force of law. In general, we must employ the methods of education and guidance with respect to superstitious activities among the masses, and diffuse scientific knowledge to raise the level of their understanding and dispel superstitious views.

19. *How should self-control and self-management of religious groups be maintained?*

Religion work and religious groups in our country may not be used by foreign individuals or members of foreign religious groups. We

support religious personnel in their maintenance of the principles of self-control and self-management. They may conduct mutual relations with foreign religious personnel, but those with foreign affiliation may not use religious groups and religion work in our region, and the use of religion by the Dalai clique for infiltration must be strenuously opposed. Since no foreign religious groups or individuals whatsoever may establish religious organizations, facilities or occasions for religious activity, or run religious educational institutes in our region, they also may not promote religion among China's citizens, appoint religious teachers or pursue other religious activities. The principle of distinguishing economic and technical assistance from religion in collaborative work with foreigners must be maintained, and there must be no religious element involved whatsoever. Hostile foreign forces see nationality and religious issues as a key to unleash "westernization" and "fragmentation", and the Splittist Dalai clique continually use religion to incite disturbances, and in this matter we must exercise great caution. Religious personnel, teachers and ordinary believers active in the religious fora of our region must be taught to remain constantly on their guard to detect and stamp out any such infiltration they come across, and since the final outcome of such infiltration will infringe the legal rights of those fora as well as the religious personnel and teachers themselves, this has to be seen (watched).

20. How should the principle of cooperative unity in politics and mutual respect for (personal) beliefs be maintained?

Maintaining the principle of cooperative unity in politics and mutual respect for personal beliefs is the principle defining the relations between religious figures and ourselves. Patriotism and the construction of Socialism with Chinese characteristics is the foundation for bringing about cooperative unity in politics between ourselves and our religious friends, as well as the foundation for mutual understanding and respect concerning personal beliefs. When dedicated and genuine cooperative unity in politics takes practical form, relations of mutual respect can be actualized, and when there is mutual respect for beliefs, this proves that beneficial cooperative unity in politics is being consolidated and strengthened. Since the above two points are mutually dependent and cannot be uncoordinated in any respect, we must implement this principle with a firm and unwavering attitude. On the one hand, our Party and government must in real terms and with firm and unwavering attitude implement the fundamental policy of respecting and protecting citizens' rights to religious belief, protecting the conduct of normal religious activity and the legal rights of religious workers in an unchanging way over time. On the other, religious workers must in real terms and with firm and unwavering attitude pursue and maintain the conduct of religious activity within the terms of respect for CCP leadership, Socialism, the constitution, law, the legal system and official policy. With such a political foundation and conjunction of these two aspects we can achieve unity with patriotic religious figures and the broad masses of ordinary believers and continually strengthen and expand the patriotic united front in the new era.

21. How has the Party's freedom of religious belief policy been carried out in Tibet?

China is a nation of many nationalities united. China's government respects and protects the rights to religious belief of minority nationalities, their traditions and customs. The "Nationality areas autonomy law of the PRC" specifies, "The autonomous authorities of autonomous nationalities must ensure the freedom of religious belief of nationality citizens".

Tibet is an autonomous area of China's nationality regions, and the majority of people in the region believe in Tibetan Buddhism. Since Peaceful Liberation the central peoples' government and TAR government have made very great efforts in respecting and protecting the Tibetan people's freedom of religious belief and normal religious activity. It was clearly specified in the 1951 "17 point agreement" that "Having implemented the policy of freedom of religious belief in Tibet, the Tibetan people's religious faith, local traditions and so forth will be respected, monasteries will be protected, and their income will not be subjected to reform by the central government", and in 1959 when 'Democratic Reform' was implemented, the central government forcefully reiterated that "The Tibetan people's freedom of religious belief and local traditions must be respected", and the religious workers (themselves) took charge of the monasteries in accordance with the principles of democracy.

Now, under the protection of the constitution and law, people of all nationalities in Tibet have full freedom to pursue normal religious activity, and implementation of the Party's freedom of religious belief policy has been achieved in all respects. The main indicators of that are:

- a) People of all nationalities and especially the Tibetan nationality are living in accordance with their own traditions and local customs and their rights to pursue social activity are respected and assured.
- b) The broad masses of Tibetans perform the worship and offering of normal religious practice according to their own wish, and their right to participate in popular religious festivals is respected and assured.
- c) From the 1980s until the present, the state has allocated more than 300 million Yuan currency notes for the repair and maintenance of monasteries, and a large quantity of gold, silver and other precious materials.
- d) At present there are more than 1700 monasteries and places of religious activity, more than 46,000 monks and nuns, and religious festivals and other activities are observed on a regular basis.
- e) The government has continuously given high priority to strengthening the work of collecting, compiling, publishing and researching religious texts, and so many have been compiled and published.
- f) The Tibet Buddhism college founded and supervised by the TAR branch of the China Buddhist Association, scripture study classes established in the monasteries of various sects, and Beijing China Tibet Buddhism higher studies college have taken on the various responsibilities of teaching the scriptures to and giving advanced training to the monk and nun students.
- g) Belief in re-incarnate Lama-s is a particular feature of Tibetan Buddhism and they are the means of its lineal continuity, and the state respects their recognition and the rituals and historic traditions of Tibetan Buddhism concerning that.
- h) Those involved in religion work including delegates of Peoples' assemblies at various levels, CPPCC committee members, Buddhist Association staff in addition to responsible staff within the government amount to more than 600, and in their official duties and consultations they are contributing to the task of construction in Tibet like other citizens.
- i) Religious organizations and personnel in Tibet have normal friendly relations and interchange with foreign religious organizations and personnel.

In summary: the policy of freedom of religious belief has been implemented in all respects in Tibet. Now the various levels of government in Tibet do not discriminate between religions, religious schools and

ordinary believers and non-believers, various religious activities are respected and safeguarded. The monasteries have a system of democratically elected administration to decide and manage their own internal affairs, monks and nuns are freely pursuing their studies, debating, receiving teachings from Lama-s, learning rituals, teaching the faithful, giving empowerments, giving monastic vows, giving Tantric vows, guiding them to higher realms, and giving blessings, while ordinary believers are freely paying homage to holy places, circumambulating holy mountains and lakes, performing circumambulation, making offerings, giving alms, offering incense, and performing recitation, and everywhere in Tibet one can see both male and female believers are putting up prayer flags, piles of Mani stones, people performing prostrations and pilgrimages, and shrines and altar rooms in the houses of the faithful

Section Three: The Management of Religion Work Must Be Strengthened According to Law

23. What are the requisites for strengthening management of religion work according to law?

The management of religion work according to law means the administration of religion by the government, taking the constitution, relevant laws, legal practice and relevant documents as the foundation, in relation with the duties of national interest and the general interest of society, and likewise administration of general social activity in relation with the rights of religious workers. It means carefully assuring the freedom of religious belief by management according to law, and assuring the normal conduct of religious activity in a structured manner, and safeguarding the legal rights of religious organizations. The main points are safeguarding those activities that accord with the law, putting a stop to those that contravene the law, prohibiting infiltration and punishing criminal activity. Initially, the management of religion work must be conducted along the path of legality, awareness of furthering policy objectives in accord with law among religion work agencies at various levels must be strengthened, and the level of management must be continually raised. While establishing management capacity, surveillance of religious workers, ordinary believers and associated groups must be voluntarily undertaken, and by strengthening propaganda work on law, the outlook of following regulations and obeying laws among religious workers and ordinary believers must be strengthened. Second, management of the places of legal religious activities must be strengthened. Concerning that, such places must be established on the basis of granting approval following thorough investigation, such places must be legally registered, and government religion work agencies must undertake voluntarily to manage administration, these places must establish institutions of democratic management and administrative systems and operate them with thorough precision, and there must be democratic management. Patriotic and Socialist education must also be conducted in places of religious activity, the legal outlook of ordinary believers must be strengthened by propaganda education in the Party's religion policy, and statutory duties related to the public and state interest must be adhered to in places of religious activity. Third, the essentials and orders for the management of religion must be strictly enforced, and the main points in our region are to continually accomplish satisfactorily the work objectives in the management of the recognition of re-incarnations in Tibetan Buddhism, and likewise to strengthen the upbringing and education of recognized incarnations, to strengthen the management of the activities of Tibetan Buddhist monks and nuns in other areas than their native localities, resolute punishment of the use of religion for separatist and destructive causes, and to strengthen the protection of young children so that absolutely no-one is permitted to

force young children into religious belief, or pose any obstacle to the implementation of the "Law on educational responsibility" and "Law on protection of minors".

24. What are the requisites for strengthening management of religion work according to law and for setting forth the need for full conformity with the law?

Government should manage religion work on the foundation of law, the legal system and policy. Our country's law is composed of different levels of legal content such as the constitution, legal system, legal practice and departmental administrative codes. Documents embodying state and Party policy are an important foundation to be observed in the same way as actual laws. The state has made a great deal of effort in drafting laws on religion. The constitution has formulated laws of very great importance concerning the religion issue and religion work in our country, and these (questions) are also determined in relevant sections of basic laws such as general principles of common law, autonomy laws for nationality areas and criminal law. In January 1994 the State Council promulgated the "Stipulations governing the practice of religion of Chinese citizens inside and outside the PRC" (edict no.144) and the "Ordinance governing places of religious worship" (edict no.145). Having completed that edict no.145, the religious affairs bureau of the State Council announced the "Means for registration of places of religious worship" and thoughts on its implementation. At various times the TAR announced and implemented the "TAR formulation concerning the registration of places of religious worship", the "TAR practical formulation concerning annual review of places of religious worship" and the "TAR provisional means of implementation for the management of religion work." These are all detailed practical measures concerning the management of religion work according to law and as such should be strictly implemented and, following proper investigation and inspection, anything which appears in the course of implementing the law to be inconsistent with law or not sufficiently in conformity or whose potential illegality would not be detected should be completely rectified.

25. What are the requisites for this locality region to carry out fully the core governing principles of strengthening the management of religion work according to law?

The management of religion work must be strengthened in the new century even more than in the past, and by strictly implementing the main points of management for this region, carrying out the duties of (imposing) legal management on monasteries, running monasteries in a law-abiding way and bringing about legal stability in monasteries through the widespread dissemination of a responsibility system for reaching these objectives is an excellent method for the management of religion work according to law. Not only is consolidating and furthering the positive results of Patriotic education in monasteries an extremely important necessity, but deepening the anti-Splittist struggle and enabling individuals to seize their own control of the anti-Splittist struggle is also an important means.

The "Stipulations concerning the strengthening of religion work" issued by the CP central committee and State Council on the 20th January 2002 make it clear that "The division of responsibility between various levels of administration and management by local-level (officials) must be given complete effect. Since the United Front bureau has the official capacity of a Party committee its investigation and coordination of important issues concerning religion must be strengthened. Since the agencies of religion work have the official capacity of government offices and are one of the most important

administrative offices in the introduction of new laws, their management of religion work according to law should be strengthened. Since those officials with responsibility for management of religion work at township level would be charged with slightly heavier responsibilities, responsible officials should be appointed to such posts.” The responsibility system for the accomplishment of overall objectives should be widely disseminated by local officials implementing the main points of management in monasteries in conjunction with the actual situation prevailing in our region. The principle leaders of Party and government offices at various levels are the number one takers of responsibility who must specify responsibilities, allot responsibilities and take responsibility on themselves, raise the level of management efficiency and capacity, prevent any disjuncture in the style of management and make the management style of the managers at the top, those holding things together in the middle and those doing the work at the bottom like an all-catching net. The monasteries and monks and nuns must voluntarily accept the leadership and management activities of the local level Party and government

26. Why the need for the complete separation of religious and political authority?

The “combination of political and religious authority” is a reactionary and out-dated system. In the past, it disappeared with the bourgeois revolution and emergence of developed Capitalist nations in Europe, America and so on, and the system of joint political and religious power in Tibet was also brought to an end with the noble victory of Democratic Reform [1959]. Since this is a corrupt and reactionary system, it shows that this was a very dark period in the history of the nationality. Our country is a Socialist nation under a peoples’ democratic dictatorship founded on the alliance of workers and peasants and leadership of the working class. The Socialist system is the fundamental system in our country. In the case of a Socialist country, we follow the policy of separating religion from state power and separating religion from public education. In a Socialist country, religion is solely a matter of personal belief, consistent with the thorough implementation of the policy of freedom of religious belief.

Our country’s constitution clearly specifies that “No-one may commit such misbehavior as using religion to disrupt social order, harm public health, obstruct the education system and so on.” The central government’s Third Tibet Work Conference [1994] stated that “Religious activity must be conducted within the parameters of constitution and law and the use of religious pretexts to harm the unification of the Motherland, destroy the unity of nationalities, obstruct production and construction, lawful education or administrative control must never occur.”

Non-interference of religion in national political affairs means that it is not permitted to oppose the leadership of the Party and Socialist system on the pretext of promoting religious activity. It is not permitted to use religious activity and the power of religion to interfere in matters for which government offices and judicial administrative offices at various levels are responsible and obstruct regular Party and government work, or to use the power of religion to deceitfully appropriate the leadership role of government administrative offices, to use religious activity to cause dissension between nationalities, separate people on nationality lines or disrupt the unification of nationalities and the integrity of the Motherland.

Power in our country is with the people. The fundamental political system is the Peoples’ congress, and the offices through which the people exercise power are the NPC and peoples’ assemblies at local

level. The people run national affairs, economic and social undertakings and social affairs through the provisions of the constitution. While the nation’s administrative and judicial agencies are an indispensable part of the offices of state, the various religious organizations are popular organizations but not state or administrative offices let alone judicial offices. Popular organizations concerned with religion or any individual may use normal democratic or legal paths to express their own wishes, opinions or aspirations to contribute to the improvement of government affairs, but may not use religious influence to create disturbance or obstruct government affairs nor yet act as substitutes for government or judicial bodies to address grievances. If they were to do so, it would contravene the fundamental constitutional provision for the separation of religious and political authority, violate the Socialist state system and disrupt the fundamental principles of state administration, and thus go against the basic wishes and interests of the vast majority of all the country’s nationalities to which the masses of religious believers belong. Therefore, all forms of interference in the nation’s political and judicial affairs under the guise of religion must be strenuously opposed.

27. Why is it necessary to particularly emphasize that young children may not be forced into religious belief?

The reason is this: young children are still growing up and their outlook on the world is not fully formed, and since they do not have experience of scientific knowledge and social life, to instruct underage youngsters in religious doctrines when they have not been able to choose their own way of life according to their own wish and according to scientific education is the same as forcing them into religious belief, whereas seen in more serious terms, education is a major point in the development of the nation and it’s nationalities, and the rapid construction of our nation as an educated and democratic modern state is a fundamental responsibility of the masses of all nationalities in our country. To accomplish that solemn and sacred duty, a large workforce educated in the full range of modern scientific knowledge is a necessity, good whether in the field of conduct, learning or sport, with an understanding of Socialism but also culture, and since bringing China’s nationalities out of poverty and backwardness as quickly as possible and living up to our Motherland’s ideals in the future depends on it, no-one may force children younger than 18 to have religious beliefs, to take monastic vows, or study scripture in a monastery, over and above the respect and protection accorded to ordinary peoples’ freedom of religious belief. Children under 18 may not be instructed in religious doctrine, children in normal schools may not be exposed to religious propaganda, religious education classes are not permitted in schools apart from religious study institutes, monasteries and places of worship, and no-one at all may cite religious reasons to prevent the education of children in Marxism-Leninism, Mao Zedong thought, the theories of Deng Xiaoping or scientific knowledge, or disrupt the normal school curriculum. This is a basic point in the freedom of religious belief policy and is in fact compatible with respect for the general public’s right to freedom of religious belief. If education is interfered with or disrupted on religious grounds, it is not only a violation of that policy but will not assist the task of developing the education of China’s nationalities and raising the level of scientific knowledge, and will be an obstacle to progress in the construction of a modern Socialist country.

28. How should a regular disciplinary code be established in monasteries?

In forming a normal disciplinary code for monasteries in our region on the basis of relevant laws and Party policies, the following points must be taken on and carefully observed:

- (a) the respect and protection of the government for citizens' freedom of religious belief, treating all religions, sects, religious groups and places of religious activity equally, the efforts by the masses of believers and non-believers, and believers in different religions and sects to develop social stability and spiritual and material civilization in our region having forged relations of unity and mutual respect, and
- (b) the pursuit of all activities of religious groups and places of religious activity within the framework of the constitution, law, legal system and official policy, and government protection for the pursuit of religious and religion-related activities by religious workers, and
- (c) government protection for the legal rights of religious groups and places of religious activity, the voluntary acceptance by all religious groups, places of religious activity and individuals of the leadership of the Party and government and respect for the Socialist system, non-interference in state and judicial administration, school education and public education and the impermissibility of reviving the abolished feudal privileges and recruitment prerogatives of the erstwhile oppressive and exploitative system
- (d) Generally speaking, insofar as the restored and re-opened places of religious activity of the various religious and sectarian groups throughout the region suffice to meet the basic needs of the normal religious activities of the masses, no new places of religious activity may be established according to personal convenience without authorization from the TAR Peoples' government
- (e) The need for all restored and re-opened places of religious worship within the TAR to draw up the various registration documents on the basis of the specifications of state religion offices and the right of registered places of worship to legal protection
- (f) the management of places of religious activity by their local government and the rigorous devising by local governments of definitive means and systems of management for the places of religious activity for whose management they are responsible, and the actual conduct of this relationship in a good way
- (g) the need for places of religious activity not only to seek permission from their local government and relevant departments at times of important religious activities and festivals apart from their regular activities, but also to safeguard discipline for the duration of these events in collaboration with the relevant departments. In assessing the implementation of these specifications, one point is to be in accord with the prevailing situation in our region, and another is to be of benefit to the management of religion work according to law, so that in future the duty will be to implement them more thoroughly in terms of the actual context.

29. How should the internal management of monasteries be strengthened?

Internal management of monasteries is a key point in strengthening management according to law, and external management is merely an external factor. To actually carry out the responsibility for conducting religious activity in normalcy and establish a disciplinary code for normal religion activity, internal management must be strengthened. The main points in existing TAR documents concerning the internal management of monasteries are:

- (a) In monasteries with no written regulation or definite specification on numbers of monks or definition of resident monks or nuns, assemblies of monks or nuns must be firmly prohibited. Once numbers of monks and resident monks and nuns have been fixed, these must be strictly observed and limits on numbers may not be contravened just as they please. Organs of democratic management

must be established, and these can be either democratic management committees or sub-committees according to the size of the monastery and monastic population

- (b) Having organized the monks and nuns, the members of these committees or sub-committees must take the pursuit of normal religious activity, the continuity and progress of Buddhist learning and culture through study of Buddhist scripture, and the instruction of younger monks and nuns in religious knowledge and learning strictly in hand, and through single-minded study of Buddhist scripture, energetically supervise politically the patriotic and law-abiding religious workers with advanced knowledge of Buddhist doctrine
- (c) Having made up the various working procedures essential to the (functioning of the) monastery, work reports must be made periodically at general assemblies
- (d) Having tightened up their financial system, monasteries must adopt the democratic practice of periodically announcing the state of economic affairs to the resident monks and nuns. Concerning the distribution of the monastery's earnings, the principle of giving rewards according to effort must be adopted, as suited to the monastery's particular circumstances. Offerings made separately to monks and nuns by ordinary believers are their individual property, while the monastery's collective religious income must be used principally for repairs to the monastery, protection of its religious objects, beautification of its surroundings etc. with one portion going for the welfare of those with advanced religious learning, as well as supplementing the livelihood of (other) resident monks and nuns or making gifts to them, and other income should be distributed to inmates according to their work, as appropriate. Monasteries are not permitted to impose any burden on ordinary people by whatever means
- (e) Once the monasteries have instituted a study system capable of practical implementation, topical information on state policy and law must be taught, and having instituted a system for the protection of religious artifacts, they must strengthen their fire-prevention work.

All the above duties and practices are just the basic duties expected of the monasteries and Democratic Management Committees by the state religion agencies, not the internal regulation system in its entirety. The main issue whose resolution is pending these days is the inadequacy of successful implementation and inadequacy of propaganda education. Similarly, some specifications on management having been revised should be implemented even more thoroughly than before. In the conduct of Patriotic education in monasteries throughout TAR and in drafting normal regulations, each monastery in the region must create a management system in accord with its own particular situation, under the leadership of the local government, and those which have already created a system must put it into practice continually and thoroughly with regard to new duties. If internal management of the monastery is done well, a normal religious discipline will be able to take shape, it will bring satisfaction for ordinary believers, and the ordinary monks in each monastery will have stability. Therefore, ordinary monks should be informed about what can and cannot be done, what is and is not lawful, and what the standards of behavior for religious people are.

In this way, since the continual and thorough observation of the internal management system is a necessity for inducing the stability of the monastery, it can also be seen that it is a necessity for the stability of society at large, and we must regard it as an important matter and a

detail of benefit to the patriotic masses, and make efforts to turn these monasteries into noble places where the excellence of “Loving the Nation, Loving the Dharma” is observed.

30. What is the attitude of our government towards the use of religion by hostile foreign countries to perpetrate infiltration?

Reactionary political activity and propaganda aimed at turning the political power of the PRC and Socialist system on its head, destroying the social stability and unity of our country, activities and propaganda aimed at controlling our country’s religious organizations and religion work, and the illegal establishment and promotion of religious organizations and places of religious activity within our territory amounts to the use of religion by hostile foreign countries to perpetrate infiltration, and cannot be regarded as friendly interaction limited to religious matters.

Our country’s religious organizations and religion work must be prevented from coming under the influence of those in the foreign camp by conducting management of religious organizations on the core principle of self-control. The conduct of religious relations with foreigners must be disseminated in a correct and virtuous way on the basis of harmonious equality, and the evil intention of hostile forces in the religious sphere in foreign countries to exercise control over religion in our country must be thoroughly opposed. Since no foreign religious org. or individual whatsoever may interfere in our country’s religious affairs, they may not establish any agency, monastery or temple in our country for religious purposes. Relevant government departments must introduce control measures against religious periodicals, recorded audio cassettes and other propaganda materials brought in from abroad and strengthen control of these items, and those which incite opposition to the four fundamental principles, to the government and so on must be confiscated according to law. No one at all may accept religious donations or funds offered by foreign countries with the purpose of infiltration. Any religious org. or monastery or temple in our country must seek the permission of the provincial Peoples’ government or the religious affairs bureau of the State Council before accepting any substantial gift from a foreign religious org. or believer. Religious organizations must seek the permission of the provincial Peoples’ government or the religious affairs bureau of the State Council before inviting any foreign religious org. or personage, or accepting any such invitation to visit a foreign country. Any major activity involving foreigners requires State Council permission. In the case of entertaining organizations that are not explicitly religious but have a religious background, or famous religious personalities, or inviting them for tours, or even receiving them, the departments with oversight of religious affairs must be notified. In the pursuit of overseas activities or cooperation by departments concerned with trade, science and technology, culture, health, sport, tourism etc. any matters concerning the practice of religion, religious groups, or the establishment of monasteries and temples must be eliminated from any discussions on cooperation with foreign religious organizations or their subsidiary offices or related individuals.

31. What is the reason for resolutely punishing all those who pursue criminal activities while dressed in religious garb?

Together with protecting the entirety of regular religious activity and simultaneously punishing those who wear an outer layer of religious garb to destroy the unity of nationalities and pursue illegal activities, our nation also forbids the infiltrationist activities of those in the hostile camp of religious forces in foreign countries. In order to ensure the citizens’ right to freedom of religious belief, it goes without

saying that their regular religious activities must also be guaranteed. In our country there are also a small number of people who endanger state security and perpetrate illegal and wicked activities under the banner of religion. Since their activities are contrary to religion and harmful to the interests of the state and people, they must certainly be punished according to law. Doing so is not a restriction on religion but a protection of the normal religious activities of ordinary believers against harmful aggression, and not an imposition of control.

The majority of leading religious personnel and ordinary believers in our region are patriotic and law-abiding, so the basic condition is one of stability. However, it must be observed that the Splittist Dalai clique has for a long time conspired with the foreign anti-China camp and a few lawless, tradition-less people in our region to pursue illegal and wicked activities using the nationality and religion issues and wearing the outer garb of religion in the malign hope of splitting the Motherland. They are in a real sense the tool of those among the foreign opponents of China and a general breeding ground of troublemakers in Tibetan society, and have become the biggest obstacle to the establishment of a regular code of discipline for Tibetan Buddhism. This constitutes a serious breach of the interests of the state and people. In the struggle against the Dalai clique, maintaining the principles of flying the flag high, pointing the spear in the enemy’s face, correcting one’s mistakes voluntarily and the dual foundation, Splittism must be resolutely beaten back according to law so that it is never permitted to taint our thinking and the foundations of our society, and the Dalai clique is never permitted to raise a fresh upheaval in Tibet, and thus that those in the camp of foreign opponents of China are not able to achieve their deceitful conspiracy of splitting China by using the Dalai clique.

In some of the monasteries in our region, a small number of criminals in religious garb have started reactionary and illegal organizations in religious guise to pursue illegal and wicked activities, and this has had a negative influence on the productivity, livelihood, social stability and economic progress of the masses in the region, and great attention must therefore be given to devising effective methods to prevent its expansion and stamp it out altogether. The ringleaders of these illegal activities must be resolutely struck down. At the same time, care must be taken to distinguish normal religious activity in no uncertain terms from superstitious activities outside the confines of genuine religion that are injurious to the interests of the state and the peoples’ life and property, and from illegal activity contrary to the clear stipulations of the constitution, law and Party policies.

32. How should the two contradictions of different nature in religious affairs be distinguished and dealt with strictly?

At present, the main issues emergent within the religious sphere in our country are certainly contradictions among the people. However, since contradictions between the enemy and ourselves also persist, those two different types of contradiction must be firmly distinguished and dealt with appropriately. By doing a good job of clearing up contradictions among the people, it must be ensured that these do not worsen. Giving thought to enhancing the unity and trust of the majority of ordinary people at all times even in small matters, the cause of marginalizing, isolating and attacking the enemy must be furthered in a determined and precise way. By taking contradictions of a non-antagonistic nature to be contradictions of an antagonistic nature, one will not make any enemies for oneself, and the worsening of non-antagonistic contradictions will not make them into antagonistic contradictions. At the same time, by exercising great

vigilance towards occurrences of the type where a group of people use the pretext of nationality and religious issues to create an incident and raise a disturbance, these must definitely be faced with a firm attitude and dealt with by swift decisions. Most of all, attempts by the Dalai clique to split the Motherland by using religion must be resolutely beaten back. Since under the new state of affairs it is a very obvious manifestation of class struggle in the initial stage of Socialism in our country, it is also a contradiction between us and the enemy and thus in reliance on methods for dealing with contradictions of an antagonistic nature, it must be dealt with firmly. Occasionally, incidents emerge in which antagonistic and non-antagonistic contradictions are mixed together, and those who lack clear understanding of the situation will be mixed together with bad people harboring evil objectives, presenting a dilemma in the handling of affairs. Thus, by being as alert as possible with respect to religious issues and focusing on the key point of ensuring stability, strictly distinguishing contradictions of differing nature and dealing with them correctly, and doing a good job of winning people over through persuasion and education in a patient and thorough-going way, contradictions should be dealt with at grass-roots level like extinguishing a fire while it is still small.

33. How should those in the hostile camp be prevented from using nationality and religion issues to infiltrate and cause destruction in our region?

Those in the hostile camp must be prevented from using nationality and religion issues to infiltrate and cause destruction in our region by exercising skill in analyzing and dealing with nationality and religious issues. When dealing with religious issues, the focus should be on advancing the development and progress of the nationality and on consolidating unity between the masses of believers and non-believers within the nationality to enhance their capacity for building Socialism in common. Any talk of divisions among the people, destruction of the unity of the Motherland, and destruction of the unity between nationalities through excessive religious activity must be watched out for and opposed.

In today's world the most talked-about issues arise from questions of ethnicity and religion. To accomplish the objectives of Imperialism, America and some other Western countries create ethnic and religious contradictions in some countries and regions, and by interfering with them, they use unwarranted force to interfere in other countries' internal affairs to accomplish their political objective of assuming a leading role in those countries or regions. That is the principle strategy employed in the conspiracy by those in the foreign anti-China camp to "westernize" and "split up" China, and issues concerning nationality and religion are what they use as they push and shove to infiltrate our country.

In their attempt to re-gain their lost paradise, the Splittist Dalai clique sees religion as a tool in the political struggle, and has long been manufacturing the causes of instability in Tibet to bring about the splitting of the Motherland, destruction of unity between nationalities and capitulation to Western anti-China forces. This has included revising the imperial Buddhist tradition and producing false Buddhist scriptures to interfere in the business of (recognizing) the re-incarnation of Lama-s in a manner unjustified by law, manifestly and unabashedly disturbing the disciplinary rules of Tibetan Buddhism, and raising the "Gyelchen Dorjé Shukden" issue, inciting believers to offer their lives to the deity for the sake of "Tibet Independence". The struggle between ourselves and the Dalai clique is the concentrated manifestation of class struggle in Tibet in the current

period, and since it is not only a continuation of the long-standing struggle against Splittism which has gone on since the Imperialist invasion of Tibet in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, but a great struggle of life and death bound up with the unification of the Motherland and Tibet's future and destiny.

Section 4: Religion Must Be Guided Diligently in its Adaptation to Socialist Society

34. How is religion to be guided diligently in its adaptation to Socialist society?

Ever since our country arrived at the new era of open door reform and building modernity, the Party central committee and State Council gradually introduced and clarified the scientifically valid topic of "Diligently guiding religion towards an adaptation to Socialist society" on the basis of condensing all the experience of setbacks and vindications in policy since the founding of the nation [in 1949].

While on an inspection tour of Zhejiang in the early 1980s, comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out the need to coordinate the accommodation of religion. The third generation of central leadership with comrade Jiang Zemin at the core are collectively forging ahead in the theoretical and practical work on the relation between religion and Socialist society unceasingly. In comrade Jiang Zemin's speech to the 1993 national-level United Front work conference, he spoke "three words" with respect to religion issues: "By thoroughly and correctly implementing the Party's religion policy, and strengthening the management of religion work according to law, religion must be guided diligently in its adaptation to socialist society", and also stressed "Whether it is thoroughly and correctly carrying through the freedom of religion policy to the end, or whether it is managing religion work according to law, the objective is precisely to diligently guide religion in its adaptation to socialist society."

The basic stance of government religion work at various levels in Tibet is the diligent guidance of Tibetan Buddhism in its adaptation to Socialist society.

35. Why must religion definitely be adapted to Socialist society?

First, religion should accord in general terms with the prevailing needs and aspirations of the society of the time. Second, the need for adaptation is determined by the fact that the religious polity in our country was a fundamental drawback, and moreover it is determined by the fact that religion will remain for a long time under the conditions of Socialist society.

From the historical point of view, the whole capacity of religion to persist and develop in our country was a condition of its adaptation to the society of that period. There are many examples in history of particular religions eventually disappearing under the impact of the passage of time and adverse conditions. If a religion can keep pace with the passage of time, it will be able to remain and progress, but in the opposite case, once it loses its place in society or "changes its outer form", there is no other path than absorption by the world's three great religions, and that is the general nature of the endurance of religions and their adaptation to society.

The adaptation of religion to Socialist society in our country is objectively necessary and desirable for unity between the masses of believers and non-believers. The very root of the religion work of various levels of government is to advance the affairs of the masses of ordinary believers, which means striving to contribute to the empowerment of the Motherland and progress of its nationalities through

the education and unification of the masses of ordinary believers. Since there are more than 100 million ordinary religious believers in our country, the ability to guide them well in education and unity has extremely great relevance to the construction of a modern Socialism. If this issue can be resolved well, it will generate a good capacity for social progress and stability to assist in consolidating and broadening the foundation of the masses and boosting the strength of Party and government solidarity, and make an excellent contribution to the construction of Socialist modernization. If the issue is not well resolved, it will not only be damaging but will certainly generate destructive capacity. The decisive factor in whether it can be resolved well or not depends upon whether or not religion can be effectively guided in its adaptation to Socialist society, so unity between the masses of ordinary believers and non-believers must be greatly strengthened in order to combine their strength in the common goal of building Socialism with Chinese characteristics.

The adaptation of religion to Socialist society is an objective necessity for obstructing the infiltration by religious means of those in the hostile foreign camp and neutralizing various disturbances within the religious fold. Religion in our country has two kinds of effects on society, positive as well as negative and thus certainly influences the causative factors of class struggle major international disturbances within certain parameters. The continual strengthening of the infiltration of our country using religion by those in the hostile foreign camp, in time with advances and reversals in the international situation, and strengthening of the strategy of “westernizing” and “fragmenting” our country, has an influence on the unity of the Motherland, unification of the nationalities and social stability. At the same time, some of the religions in our country at present appear to be in various levels of disarray, and since the backward views and etiquette of the bygone era are apparent in varying degrees in some religions they exert a deleterious residual influence on the livelihood, productivity and ideological outlook of ordinary believers. In order to obstruct the infiltrationist activities of those in the hostile foreign camp, the determination and capacity of ordinary believers should be engaged all the more for the task of Socialist construction by maintaining the principles of self-control and the self-management of religious organizations, and neutralizing and reforming backward ideological views and antiquated forms of etiquette.

The adaptation of religion to Socialist society is an objective necessity for the long-term persistence of religion in Socialist society. The establishment of the Socialist system certainly aids in the elimination of the class origin on which religion rests, but the social origins, natural origins and origins in human understanding of the religious mode can be eliminated only over a long span of historical development. Since religion will thus persist for a long period in Socialist society, we should respect its objective nature as a social phenomenon, and should not use the force of administrative power either to eliminate it or to promote it. In diligently guiding the adaptation of religion to Socialist society, religion work should be conducted well in the spirit of unstinting continuity, focusing (both) on the present situation and future considerations. At the same time, as religion is to persist for a long period under the conditions of a Socialist society, it must ceaselessly transform itself, cast off the imprint of the old society, reform the outlook, customs and forms of respect, and old-style etiquette, as well as the activities of religious organizations, in step with social progress and reform, and adapt to the progressive Socialist society.

36. What is the point of guiding the adaptation of Tibetan Buddhism to Socialist society?

The guiding of the adaptation of Tibetan Buddhism to Socialist society can be summarized in the following points:

First: The practice of Tibetan Buddhism must be harmonized with the objectives of building modern Socialism in our country in order to make efforts in the construction of Socialism with Chinese characteristics, and bring about the progress of all China's nationalities in common.

Second: The adaptation of Tibetan Buddhism to Socialist society is a matter of Tibetan Buddhism being conducive to and adapting to the development of Socialist society, rather than Socialist society adapting to Tibetan Buddhism or other religions or sects and there is no question of any mutual support on equal terms. There must be clear understanding of this fundamental point.

Third: CCP and various levels of government having exercised the leading role in guidance, monks and nuns in the monasteries (should) voluntarily take the leadership role of various levels of government on themselves to implant the government outlook, political outlook, legal outlook and state outlook

Fourth: Adaptation requires religious people in political terms to love the Motherland, respect the Socialist system and leadership of the CCP at the same time as reforming religious practices inappropriate for a Socialist society, and they should be encouraged to practice the positive factors from Tibetan Buddhism, in the scriptural tradition, religious discipline and correct behavior in assisting the task of constructing Socialism, rather than being put to the task of abandoning the spiritual worldview and faith in religion.

37. What are the basic tasks in the adaptation of Tibetan Buddhism to Socialist society?

Historically, Tibetan Buddhism was for a long time implicated in the system of combined religious and political authority, and since the 14th Dalai's clique consistently uses Tibetan Buddhism to pursue the separatism of “Tibet Independence”, the basic requirement for adaptation of religion in Tibet is “Patriotism and obeying the law”.

The safeguarding of Patriotism and the integrity of the Motherland is the basic fundamental point, the most vital interest of China's nationalities and the most basic criterion of right and wrong, and thus also the number one consideration to be observed by all religious people under the conditions of a Socialist society. Concerning obeying the law, that means observing the constitutional provision that “No-one at all may use religion to disrupt social discipline, damage the physical well-being of citizens or obstruct the state education system.”

Monks and nuns in the monasteries must uphold and consolidate the advances achieved by the democratic reform of religious discipline, and in particular they must take a firm stance on the issue of the use of Tibetan Buddhism by the Dalai clique to pursue separatist activity, resolutely oppose the various influences devised by the Dalai clique and resolutely draw a clear distinction between themselves and the Dalai clique, clarifying their affiliation in practical terms and clearly demonstrating their support for the integrity of the Motherland and opposition to the Dalai clique. That is at present the unavoidable historic responsibility of practitioners of Tibetan Buddhism.

38. What are the main tasks to be carried out by various levels of government in our region in guiding the adaptation of Tibetan Buddhism to Socialist society?

The main tasks can be summarized as “Three inspirations and supports”: The first is to inspire and support Tibetan Buddhist religious personnel to spread the excellent customary behavior of “loving the Nation and loving the Dharma”, being united and progressive, and serving society. Religious activity should accord with and serve the highest interests of state and the common interests of all nationalities by maintaining the principle of self-control and self-management of religious organizations, religious people should take up the task of flying high the banner of safeguarding respect for law, the peoples’ interests, the unity of nationalities and unification of the nation, and they should be supported in the struggle against the use of religion for all illegal activity harmful to the interests of the Motherland and people alongside the masses of their respective nationality and in (thus) contributing to the unity of nationalities, social progress and likewise the unification of the Motherland.

The second is to inspire and support Tibetan Buddhist personnel to use the positive factors within the religious arena in support of social progress and stability. By encouraging religious people to accomplish more virtuous deeds, religious organizations should endeavor under the direction and oversight of government to increase virtuous and generally beneficial activities conducive to social progress and thus help to improve the economic growth and lifestyle of ordinary believers, so that in making more effort towards a happier existence in the present life, the masses of ordinary believers set their minds to economic construction, and not only contribute to economic and social progress but also continually raise their own standard of living.

The third is to inspire and support Tibetan Buddhist religious personalities to preach the goals of social progress as an essential religious duty and thus give depth to the adaptation of religion to Socialist society. In recent years, Patriotic education has been conducted among Tibetan Buddhist personnel, theological ideology has been promoted among Protestant religious personnel, the democratic management of religious organizations among Catholic personnel and similarly the promotion of “religious sermons” among Islamic personnel as an initial test and showcase of the compatibility of current (social and economic) undertakings with the essential practice of religion. Religious personnel are being continually encouraged and supported to take new steps and make contributions in this direction.

39. What is the explanation for saying that Tibetan Buddhism has gone through a gradual process of adaptation since the Peaceful Liberation of our region, at which time it was not adapted at all?

After the Democratic Reform in Tibet, the social system underwent a fundamental transformation, and in particular in the initial phase of Socialism with the implementation of the freedom of religious belief policy, the adaptation of religion to Socialist society was a possibility. The diligent guidance by the CCP and its government at various levels of Tibetan Buddhism along the path of adaptation to Socialist society was in accord with the objective nature of social progress. When we look in general at history since the Peaceful Liberation, there is a gradual progression of the Tibetan Buddhism in our region from non-adaptation towards relative adaptation.

Before Democratic Reform, the senior monastic clergy who were part of the former ruling class and one of the Three Feudal Lords not only owned 39.5% of Tibet’s productive resources and maintained a

65-80% rate of exploitation, but the monasteries and religious activity consumed one third of the former government’s income and half of the nobility’s income, while the income from exploitation through high-interest loans and the sale of special privileges was also a major source of monastic wealth. Religious leaders were the highest office-holders in the former local government and senior clergy were the leading members of the strategic ministries of the local government, and were in charge of one entire rank of executive office. There were even courts and dungeons equipped with instruments of punishment in the monasteries, since they had the arbitrary power to punish poor serfs and monks just as they pleased.

After Democratic Reform in 1959, after repeated consultation and discussion on the basis of the encouragement of the masses and the overall raised consciousness of Patriotic persons within the Tibetan Buddhist religious fold, the abolition of the arbitrary powers, special privileges and exploitative system of the monasteries was announced, freedom of religious belief and normal religious activities in the monasteries were ensured, and the gradual process of adaptation began. The proclamation of the universal abolition of ten feudal privileges of the monasteries included:

1. Having thoroughly and completely cleaned out all the rebel and counter-revolutionary organizations, elimination of all participants in the uprising and counter-revolutionaries within the monasteries and state confiscation of their property
2. Complete abolition of the various arbitrary and special powers held by the monasteries, including giving orders to (lay) officials and local leaders, secretly establishing courts and jails, administering punishments, keeping secret armories, confiscating the property of ordinary people, expelling ordinary people (from the locality) and interference in the conduct of litigation, voluntary marriage and the training of apprentices
3. Total abolition of the monasteries’ power to make high interest loans to serfs and poor monks and nuns
4. Confiscation according to law of all the (agricultural) estates, pastoral fiefs and productive assets of monasteries which participated in the uprising
5. Abolition of the monasteries’ arbitrary powers to impose corvee taxation on ordinary people and otherwise recruit their unpaid labor
6. Monasteries may not impose tax obligations on ordinary people by force, harass them to pay bribes or take their property by force, and abolition of all illegal commerce within monasteries and the use of force to get people to engage in trade
7. Abolition of the monasteries’ practice of “monastic conscription” among ordinary people and prohibition of any forcible induction of ordinary people to be monks or nuns by the monasteries
8. Abolition of the arbitrary exercise of power within monasteries, and of the feudal system of authority and legal system
9. Abolition of the mutual relations of feudal allegiance between monasteries
10. Abolition of all feudal privileges accorded to monasteries during religious festivals (e.g.; the great prayer festival in Lhasa).

Through the reform of the religious system, the feudal privileges and exploitative system of the monasteries was abolished, the diminution of the name (reputation) of Tibetan Buddhism caused by the feudal serf system was made good, and the system of democratic management of the monasteries was instituted, allowing for political unification, freedom of religious belief, separation of political and religious authority, and equality between different sects, which gave an impetus

to social progress in Tibet and the Tibetan people were able to enjoy in actuality the right to freedom of religious belief as specified in the “constitution”. Moreover, since the third plenum of the 11th Party central committee [1978], we have rectified the “leftist” deviations of the “Great Cultural Revolution”, and the correct conduct of religion policy by the Party and government since the establishment of the nation (1949) has been restored, the freedom of religious belief of the broad masses and normal religious activities are respected and guaranteed, and a great number of places of religious activity have been restored and re-opened, so that now there are more than 1700 in the region and more than 46,000 monks and nuns, and religion work has produced great results.

40. What is the explanation for saying that there is no way not to diligently guide the adaptation of Tibetan Buddhism to Socialist society?

In the history of development of the process of adaptation, if there were no adaptation of Tibetan Buddhism with Socialist society contradictions could arise, and if there were adaptation, a certain positive capacity with a definite role to play in Socialist society could do so. In reality, everyone knows that in recent years the Party and government have been showing extremely great concern to the utmost of their ability for the respect and protection of normal religious activity. The fact that money given for the restoration of monasteries exceeds that spent on the construction of the workplaces of the Party and government offices themselves shows the sincerity with which our Party and government have been implementing the freedom of religious belief policy. However, in the absence of any objective grounds for conflict, the Dalai clique’s most serious and extensive infiltrationist activities are in the monasteries, and monasteries in some areas, under the guidance both direct and indirect of the Dalai clique, have become headquarters for the pursuit of the Splittist activities of internal and external Splittist forces, and some monks and nuns have become the chief perpetrators of un-reconstructed Splittist activities. The principal wreckers of social stability since the disturbances of 1987 have been a faction of monks and nuns. Although basically the majority of monasteries are stable and most monks and nuns did not participate in the disturbance, one group of monks and nuns committed the crime of raising the disturbance that is anyway in contravention of their essential religious duty and religious discipline, as well as being destructive of social stability and in violation of state law. Over a period of time, religious personnel committed a series of crimes aimed at splitting the Motherland and disrupting social stability, and with the connivance of Splittist forces some monks and nuns not only created a disturbance in absolute contravention of the essential quest of religion to enhance human well-being, but went so far as to knowingly break the law and turn the peaceful and auspicious Tibetan Buddhism into a constant breeding ground of violent criminal activity.

If some monasteries and some monks and nuns are inducted into lawless, tradition-less actions against state law and become fighters’ camps for Splittist forces under the guidance of the Dalai’s side, storm shelters or trenches which no-one can register or attend to, they not only cannot become exceptional social organizations and citizens outside the constitution and law, but exert a negative influence on the masses, and if this happens there is no way to bring about long-term stability in our region. There is thus no alternative than to establish a strict code of regular discipline for Tibetan Buddhism by diligently guiding the adaptation of Tibetan Buddhism to Socialist society through repeated direction over many years of practical implementation.

41. What is the political foundation for the adaptation of Tibetan Buddhism to Socialist society?

Although this question has already been partly explained, to address it again now, concerning the “guidance of the adaptation of religion to Socialist society”, the need for adaptation of the core and the lesser branches of religious ideology has not been explained, and that is important in the adaptation of Tibetan Buddhism to the Socialist system. Where the Socialist system is concerned, while Tibetan Buddhism is certainly adapting to the Socialist system, this adaptation must also be made definite. The task of adaptation in political terms is respect for the Socialist system and the leadership of the CCP, and at the same time promotion of some of the positive factors within Tibetan Buddhist scripture and discipline and Tibetan Buddhist conduct [like the monastic rules of not stealing, not smoking, etc.] to gradually eliminate the grounds which are unhelpful to the Socialist system and unhelpful to the productivity, livelihood and physical wellbeing of the masses. If there is too much explanation about the (nature of religious) faith, it will not only be difficult to discover points of contact between Tibetan Buddhism and Socialist society, but there will be no way to discuss the “adaptation” issue. Therefore it is necessary to hold off on discussion of the different kinds of faith and devotion, and make way for unity in political terms, and for the broad masses of ordinary believers and religious personnel is “unanimity”. Of course they have their individual religious faith, (but) they are all PRC citizens, and their actual basic interests are in unanimity with the goals of Socialism and all the nation’s people. Thus the determination of the majority amongst them on a political stance of voluntarily loving the Motherland, respecting Socialism and the leadership of the CCP is also the political foundation for being able to bring about the adaptation of Tibetan Buddhism to Socialist society.

On such a foundation of united cooperation in political terms and mutual respect in terms of belief, believers and religious personnel in Tibetan Buddhism can be encouraged as far as possible to be patriotic and law-abiding and ensure social stability, and urged to bring about the unity of nationalities and the Motherland, participate in the construction of a Socialist economy, and promote the culture of the nationality, thus serving society with the best aspects of Tibetan Buddhism.

42. What is the general procedure for diligently guiding the adaptation of Tibetan Buddhism to Socialist society in the Tibet region?

At the time of Democratic Reform in Tibet [1959] a campaign called “Three Oppositions and Three Accountings” was held in all the monasteries in the region. The Three Oppositions were Opposition to the reactionary uprising, Opposition to special privileges and Opposition to exploitation, and the Three Accountings were Accounting for political damage, Accounting for class oppression and Accounting for economic exploitation. Having encouraged as much as possible the poor monks and nuns who had undergone terrible sufferings, and through their recollection of their sufferings, the corrupt nature of the feudal serf system was exposed, and having enumerated the crimes of those involved in the reactionary uprising, the poor monks and nuns were able to gain consciousness of the origin of the oppression and exploitation which had been inflicted on them.

On that basis, the government called on all the monasteries to actually follow the principle of self-sufficiency [literally “feeding oneself”]. In order to meet their own needs, most of the monasteries voluntarily and energetically followed the government’s appeal by organizing monks and nuns to plough fields and plant various crops, and

undertook work of general benefit and service, in fields, pastures and shops, while some monasteries undertook enterprises such as medical clinics and painting, carving or printing workshops, according to the particular skills of their members, thus multiplying their incomes and improving the conditions of livelihood and education for their monks and nuns, and were able to supplement the basic livelihood of each monastery's monks and nuns and the wherewithal for their development. The monks and nuns in general became self-sufficient workers in the Socialist family, and the economic burden on the masses was reduced by an ascertained measure.

43. *At present, what are the manifest inconsistencies with Socialist society in the conduct of religious activities and religion work in our region?*

1. With the support of the Western hostile camp, the Dalai clique is shamelessly using religion to pursue separatist and disruptive activities to fulfill the wicked conspiracy of splitting the Motherland, and having infiltrated the monasteries and monks and nuns, a few monasteries have come under its direct or indirect guidance and a few monks and nuns have been incited by Splittist forces have outrageously violated the essential spirit of their own religion by pursuing Splittist and disruptive activities and are fomenting trouble in full knowledge of its unjustifiability and illegality.
2. Some monasteries are reviving the abolished former relations of monastic affiliation, and some monasteries are not only interfering in administration, education, civil and legal affairs, but posing a serious obstacle to the normal social discipline and productivity and livelihood of the masses by directing the local exercise of power. Some monasteries have illegally recognized re-incarnations according to their own wishes and without requesting permission, and some monasteries have obstructed the implementation of national laws on educational responsibility by keeping school-age children at the monastery.
3. A few monks and nuns more or less under the influence of old feudal thinking are still in favor of the special privileges given to the monasteries under the system of "religious and political authority combined" of the old Tibet.
4. The regulation and democratic management rules of some monasteries' DMCs are incomplete, and while the democratic management institutions in some monasteries are disunited, incapable of carrying out their mandated functions and do not look after the monks and nuns, the monks and nuns have many different opinions. Due to the influence of Splittist forces in some monasteries, bad behavior is treated leniently and there is serious disregard for the normal religious discipline, which the broad masses of monks and nuns find extremely unwelcome.
5. In some monasteries, the monks and nuns do not observe their vows strictly, have no proper religious practice, monks do not behave like monks and nuns do not behave like nuns, and illegal and unworthy behavior takes place. Some monks and nuns violate their vows by wandering off to dance halls and not even returning at night.
6. In some areas, monasteries are built haphazardly, and some monasteries not only induct new monks and nuns with no strict regard for the relevant stipulations, but by not following procedures, even the phenomenon of monks and nuns assembling together? occurs.
7. The financial affairs of some monasteries are not properly managed, expenditure is not accounted for clearly or in detail, and financial affairs are not managed democratically or even openly.

In view of the above-mentioned obviously outstanding issues in monasteries, in 1996 the TAR Party committee and Peoples' government conducted Patriotic education in monasteries throughout the region and specified the establishment of a normal disciplinary code, and this went a good way towards gaining the confidence of the central government. This is an important requirement for the anti-Splittist struggle in Tibet, a basic measure for safeguarding stability in the Tibet region, and an essential task and fundamental undertaking in the diligent guidance of the adaptation of religion to Socialist society.

Through the conduct of Patriotic education in the monasteries in recent years, since the roots of the Dalai clique have been shaken and the ideological and social foundations of Splittism weakened, the challenges to state security and disturbances caused by law-breaking monks and nuns have been effectively stopped, haphazard monastery construction and monastic recruitment and emboldening of illegal religious activities have been completely overturned, and not only has the regular discipline of normal religious activity been made better than before, but responsibility for it has been ensured. As comrade Li Ruihan pointed out "If education had not been improved at Tashi Lhunpo in 1995, if Chatrel and the small number of other long-term henchmen of the Dalai had not been cleaned out, the work of recognizing the re-incarnation of the 10th Panchen could not have been successfully carried out in a straightforward way, and if the work of Patriotic education and the establishment of a normal disciplinary code had not been conducted in depth in the "three great monasteries" near Lhasa in recent years, the situation in Lhasa too would not be as peacefully under control as it is now. This is as good a proof as any that the conduct of Patriotic education is an absolute necessity."

SELECTED ICT PUBLICATIONS

- **Crossing the Line: *China's Railway to Lhasa, Tibet***
(2003, 69 pages)
- **Dangerous Crossing: *Conditions Impacting the Flight of Tibetan Refugees, 2002 Update***
(2003, 24 pages)
- **Jampa: *The Story of Racism in Tibet***
(2001, 110 pages)
- **A Season To Purge: *Religious Repression in Tibet***
(1996, 102 pages)
- **Nuclear Tibet: *Nuclear Weapons and Nuclear Wastes on the Tibetan Plateau***
(1993, 64 pages)

To order ICT reports or to join ICT, go to www.savetibet.org or contact one of ICT's offices.

To receive updates on religious freedom conditions and letter-writing campaign on behalf of imprisoned monks and nuns, sign up for ICT's e-mail action network at www.savetibet.org.



A report by the International Campaign for Tibet
Washington, DC | Amsterdam | Berlin
www.savetibet.org

ISBN 1-879245-25-6