

# HOLIDAY INN PULLS OUT OF TIBET!

## Tibetan Parliamentary Leader Visits Canada

Professor Samdhong Rinpoche, Chair person of the Assembly of Tibetan Peoples Deputies (ATPD), the Tibetan parliament-in-exile, visited Canada for the first time this spring and met with Tibetan communities in Montreal, Ottawa, Toronto, Calgary and Vancouver. During his visit he was also able to meet with representatives of Canada's Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, with journalists from French and English media, with Ovide Mecredi, Chief of the Assembly of First Nations and with Warren Allmand, President of the International Centre for Human Rights and Democratic Development. Because his visit took place shortly after an early federal election call, a reception planned with Members of Parliament and Senators was cancelled.

**(Full story on page 8)**

**CTC Demonstrators outside the Holiday Inn in Montreal (May 97)**

photo: CTC

### **Holiday Inn has announced that it will not renew its partnership agreement with Chinese authorities to operate a luxury hotel in Tibet.**

While Holiday Inn gave no reason for its withdrawal, the decision was no doubt influenced by the international boycott of the hotel group, launched by the UK-based Free Tibet Campaign in 1993. Demonstrations have been held at Bass PLC Annual General Meetings, international travel industry fairs and outside Holiday Inn hotels in Canada, the United States and Europe.

The boycott was organised in response to concerns that the Holiday Inn was discriminatory in its hiring practices, allowed the Chinese government to tap phones and faxes at the Hotel, distributed Chinese government censored literature... **(Continued on page 10)**

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The calendar includes 12 beautiful and original full colour photographs taken in Tibet by photographer Brian Harris of Vancouver as well as memoirs of Tibetan elders now living in India and Canada.

Proceeds from the 1998 calendar will be shared between the Canada Tibet Committee, Seva Service Foundation, the Tibetan Health and Education Organization, the Nun's Project, and the Delek Hospital Aid Foundation. (Seva Service Society's activities focus on the prevention and reversal of blindness in developing countries, particularly India and Nepal and on community development in the highlands of Guatemala.)

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# Hollywood to release 2 Tibet Films

## 7 Years in Tibet Closes World Film Festival

by Chokey Tsering

photo: Tsering Rabgey

Brad Pitt (right) with Tibetan actors on the location of *Seven Years in Tibet*.

**Brad Pitt's latest film release, *Seven Years in Tibet*, premiered as the closing event of the 22nd annual Toronto International Film Festival which took place September 4-13. The world premier of the film was attended by director Jean-Jacques Annaud and star, Brad Pitt.**

The \$70 million film, produced by Sony Corp., is based on the book *Seven Years in Tibet* by Austrian adventurer, Heinrich Harrer. The film tells the story of Harrer's escape from a British prison in India, his flight over the Himalayas to safety in Tibet and his experiences living in a society as yet untouched by the outside world. The film also relates Tibetans' early reactions to the encroachment of Chinese forces into Tibet.

Numerous  
T i b e t a n s

from around the world, including Canada, participated in the making of the film. *Seven Years* is scheduled for wide release Wednesday, Oct. 8.

### China's Reaction

The making of *Seven Years* has been slow going. Preparations began in India, but after China's vehement opposition and a million dollars worth of sets and production costs, a fearful Indian government shut-down the project. The set was then moved to the Andes region in Argentina.

But China has not used the heavy-handed intimidation techniques with Sony Corporation that it did with Disney. China struck back at Disney in vengeance after the Hol-

lywood giant decided last year to produce and distribute *Kundun* (The Presence), a film about the Dalai Lama's life written by Melissa Mathison, author of *ET: the Extraterrestrial*. Disney projects in China have now been blocked, effectively excluding it from the world's biggest undeveloped media market.

Disney will feel the sting. With its main ventures in China frozen, efforts to gain greater access for the Disney Channel through cable TV are stunted. What's more, the Chinese are not releasing new Disney films and the company has not landed a distribution deal for its videotapes.

*Kundun*'s director, Martin Scorsese, writer Mathison and *Seven Years in Tibet* director Annaud as well as Brad Pitt now join the list of celebrities banned by Chinese authorities, from visiting Tibet.

China's ardent attempts at derailing both films has done a huge service to the Tibet movement by showing the world its despotic tactics. It also shows how China links business and human rights at its convenience. *Kundun* will be on platform release December 25.

### Seven Days for Tibet

With the release of these movies come moments of extraordinary visibility for Tibet. This is an opportune time to "think globally and act locally." As a result, Tibet support groups (TSG) everywhere will participate in "Seven Days For Tibet," a week when dozens of events and campaigns will take place in order to heighten awareness and action for Tibet. Primarily, volunteers will be distributing information at movie theatres showing the film.

If you are interested in volunteering at these important events, please contact your local Canada Tibet Committee branch or Tibet support group. We need your help.

# Canadian Government sends Delegation to Tibet

by Carole Samdup

**As part of the Canada/China deal in which Canadian support for the China resolution at the UN's Commission on Human Rights was traded for a package of bilateral initiatives, representatives of the Canadian Embassy in Beijing visited Tibet at the end of May, 1997.**

## **What happened at the UN Commission on Human Rights**

Citing lack of consensus among western nations, Canada withdrew its traditional support from the China resolution at the 53rd session of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights (CHR) in April 1997, refusing to co-sponsor the mildly-worded document. In return the Government of Canada, reportedly on the urging of its Beijing Embassy officials, negotiated a series of initiatives which "... will lead to other opportunities for us to influence change in China's human rights practices."

But Canadian NGOs, in a show of solidarity, condemned the government's actions, proclaiming the Commission on Human Rights to be the most appropriate multilateral venue for addressing human rights concerns. In a joint letter sent to Lloyd Axworthy, Minister of Foreign Affairs and International Trade and a member of the Parliamentary Friends of Tibet, the Canadian Network on International Human Rights wrote, "Rather than redressing the balance of Canadian policy in the direction of our traditional respect for human rights.... our government has deserted human rights in order to promote trade."

The President of the Canadian Labour Congress, Bob White, also expressed disagreement with the Government position. White, who is chair of the Human and Trade Union Rights Committee of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) said in a public statement, "Canada's failure to support the resolution on China and human rights hurts the credibility of our country internationally, because it calls into question the Canadian government's commitment to these issues."

Human Rights Watch/Asia, issued a detailed review of China's efforts to influence

the outcome of the CHR and in a press statement, summed up the feelings of most international NGOs, "The final nails in the coffin of multilateral criticism of China's human rights record are being hammered in this week....The cause of death was money."

In response, Minister Axworthy said, in a letter dated May 27 and addressed to CTC President Thubten Samdup, "The promotion of human rights in China is an essential Canadian foreign policy objective which we pursue through all appropriate and effective avenues." (Presumably, the Commission on Human Rights is not one of those avenues.) The Minister went on to say, "While we were witnessing the dissolution of the traditional coalition that co-sponsors this resolution, Canada was able to receive unprecedented agreement on a whole package of initiatives having the potential of bringing about positive changes in human rights practices in China..... Our Ambassador to China will visit Tibet in late May, where he will raise Canadian concerns regarding human rights problems in Tibet."

## **The Visit**

The Embassy visit to Tibet in May became the first test of the bilateral agreement. Permission to conduct the visit was far from being an "unprecedented agreement", however. Canadian officials left Beijing only a couple of days following the return of a Norwegian Embassy delegation (Norway had co-sponsored the China resolution at the CHR). Furthermore, test results indicate less than substantial movement on the government's stated goal of "influencing change" in China. Rather it appeared that the terms of Canada's first attempt to implement the bilateral agreement on human rights were dictated by the Chinese themselves.

## U.S. Congressman Visits Tibet

U.S. Congressman Frank Wolf spent five days in Tibet this past August. Travelling with another Westerner fluent in Tibetan, Wolf interviewed individual Tibetans in Lhasa in order to get his own picture of life in the occupied country. Horrified by what he discovered, Wolf has published a statement, making an appeal to people to demand that China change its "bootheel subjugation" of Tibet, citing first-hand reports of relentless imprisonment, torture, religious persecution and oppression at the hand of the PRC. He is one of only two house representatives to visit Tibet since China began "its relentless (and largely successful) effort to squeeze the life and very soul out of this country, its culture and its people."

Organized at the invitation of the "State Council General Office Bureau of Religious Affairs", the intent of the visit was to assess religious freedom in Tibet and to visit Canada Fund development projects. The Canada Tibet Committee submitted a series of recommendations to Ambassador Howard Balloch before the visit which included ensuring the safety of the Panchen Lama before assessing religious freedom in Tibet. The delegation was also asked to apply the Tibetan Government in Exile's criteria for development projects in Tibet, to the Canada Fund initiatives. Copies of the criteria were forwarded to the Embassy and to DFAIT.

Other recommendations included insisting that a translator and a journalist accompany the delegation and that a report of the visit be provided to the Canada Tibet Committee. These conditions were not met. In the absence of a report it is not possible to assess whether the other recommendations were met. The visit proceeded with guides

provided by the Chinese government, and without any Canadian NGO or parliamentary representative on the delegation.

Although the Ambassador promised CTC representatives that a complete report would be provided, it has not yet materialized (as of date of printing), nor has any verbal report of the visit been shared despite phone calls to various government officials. When Canadian officials visited Tibet five years ago, under the leadership of Ambassador Bild, a report was promised but it also never materialized.

The complete lack of any information about the visit raises doubt as to whether or not it actually took place.

### Joint China/Canada Committee on Human Rights

The second step in implementation of the bilateral agreement - the establishment of a joint China/Canada Human Rights Committee, has proceeded without much public attention other than an informal consultation between NGOs and DFAIT. The unlikely committee is comprised of four Chi-

nese bureaucrats: Mr. Wang Lixian, Director General, Foreign Affairs Department's Ministry of Justice; Mr. Wu Shimin, Head of Policy Research of the State Nationalities Affairs Commission; Mr. Wang Min, Deputy Director of the International Organizations and Conferences, Ministry of Foreign Affairs; and Ms. Li Xiaomei of the International Organizations and Conferences, Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The Canadian delegation

is headed by Adele Dion, Director of the Human Rights Division of DFAIT. Ms. Dion was assisted by several government of-

*"If the Commission is now reduced to commenting only on countries which are economically weak or politically insignificant, the international system for protecting human rights is in real trouble".*

Joanna Weschler, Human Rights Watch

officials from various departments and by Canadian academic Lois Chiang of the University of Toronto.

The first meeting of the committee took place in Ottawa during the third week of July. On the agenda was the ratification of the two covenants, justice and the rule of law, minority rights and agreement on a date for the next meeting. According to a spokesperson for DFAIT, this first attempt at a dialogue on rights was discouraging and difficult.

### Let's Make a Deal: The Bilateral Agreement

Here is what Canada received in return for not co-sponsoring the China Resolution:

1. A symposium with China and other governments to discuss human rights
2. The establishment of the Joint China/Canada Human Rights Committee
3. Canada will assist in a review of China's Criminal Procedure Law and its impact
4. Canada will assist China to develop an adversarial Trial System
5. Technical assistance in the development of an Evidence Law
6. Assistance to Develop a Legal Aid System
7. An exchange of experience to promote corrections reform
8. Development of a project on implementation of China's obligations under the Convention on Torture
9. A cooperative project on Minority Affairs with the Chinese State Nationalities Affairs Commission
10. The visit to Tibet

Source: DFAIT Press Release - April 14, 1997.

# Tibetan Freedom Concert Attracts Thousands

by Chokey Tsering

On June 7 and 8, two dozen rock and hip-hop groups shook Downing Stadium on Randall's Island just outside of New York City. The musicians donated their performances for the

second annual Tibetan Freedom Concert. About 40,000 fans swarmed the stadium to see a potent line of star power including the Beastie Boys,

U2, Alanis Morissette, a Tribe Called Quest, Sonic Youth, Rancid, and members of Pearl Jam, R.E.M., Public Enemy, Oasis and more.

Traditional and modern Tibetan musicians also performed short sets. Nearby in a large tent, monks chanted prayers and worked on

a sand mandala while prayer flags fluttered overhead.

The event was organized by Adam Yauch, of the Beastie Boys, who staged a similar

event last summer in San Francisco. Proceeds went to the Milarepa Fund, a nonprofit foundation (founded by Yauch) supporting human rights and independence for Tibet.

Rapper KRS-One expressed the feeling of many of the artists, "Our purpose being here today is to say that if our parents can't get it together, then we the youth will. Hip-hop transcends all races."

## Concert CD

Performances from the Tibetan Freedom Concerts will be available on audio CD's by November, 1997. "Free Tibet" will come in a box set of three discs - one of last year's concert in San Francisco and two from this year's New York event. The set, compiled by the Milarepa Fund and produced by Capitol Records, will include a 40-page educational booklet outlining Tibetan history, culture, politics and related current issues.

For more information, contact the Milarepa Fund at: (415) 278-9889 or milarepa@milarepa.org

photo: Canada Tibet Committee

# Youth Dialogue with the Dalai Lama

Over 2500 young people, many teenagers, gathered at San Francisco's Bill Graham Civic Auditorium on June 9 to meet with the Dalai Lama. The sold-out event was a chance for youth to learn how to apply lessons of peace in an often violent existence.

The Tibetan leader also listened as the young adults picked his brain with questions about racism, poverty, gang violence and dysfunctional schools. "We are all the same," said the Dalai Lama to an attentive crowd. "Our differences - religious, cultural, rich and poor - are labels. The important thing is that we are all human, with two eyes and one nose."

The meeting opened a three-day conference on "Peace: The Power of Non-violence," featuring 80 social and community activists, including Nobel Peace Laureates Rigoberta Menchu of Guatemala and Jose Ramos-Horta of East Timor, as well as Pulitzer winning author, Alice Walker.

The students participated in workshops on conflict resolution and the development of interpersonal skills. They also took part in occasional periods of solemn meditation. The event was spearheaded by the Dalai Lama and coordinated by Tibet House, an organization dedicated to the preservation of Tibetan culture.

## Happy Birthday, CTC!

This November, the Canada Tibet Committee is proud to celebrate 10 years of support for Tibet and Tibetans. Thanks to all our volunteers and members for making this possible!

# PeaceJam 1997

## Learning to make a difference

by Erika Sullivan

photo: Erika Sullivan

The PeaceJam is a conference which brings teenagers from across North America together to learn how to become

shared by my friends. As he entered through the door at the back of the hall, two hundred bodies rose up, cheered and blocked my view. As soon as everyone was seated I could see his smiling face as he stood in front of a giant Tibetan flag. He gazed upon the crowd for thirty seconds or so, making eye contact with as many people as possible before beginning to talk to us about ecology and the human heart. As he spoke about his personal experiences in Tibet, I reflected on my own life and tried to imagine what it was like for him and how he managed to overcome the obstacles he had encountered. His whole philosophy of life is one that is truly special since you need such self-control and compassion to achieve it. Although he spoke to us a few more times during the conference, the message at the heart of everything he said was - that everyone has the right to exist and to be happy.

To give us the opportunity to follow through on what we had learned, the PeaceJam committee organized an activity where we wrote prayers for world peace on biodegradable paper, wrapped them around the roots of a flower and created a peace garden. We also did some work in the Denver Urban Garden project which was created to provide green-space in a poor neighborhood. We dug up weeds, filled cracks in the pathways and raked up glass and litter.

PeaceJam was a terrific opportunity to meet new friends, to share ideas and to learn something from a great person. I think that if each of us is determined enough, we can make a difference and maybe that is the reason that PeaceJam was created.

Erika Sullivan, Dalai Lama, Trevor Manning and Marisa Zampini at PeaceJam (missing from photo Christopher Hein)

*"I truly believe that individuals can make a difference in society. Since periods of great change come so rarely in human history, it is up to each of us to make the best of our time to help create a happier world."*

- H.H. The Dalai Lama

peacemakers and to discuss ways of improving our world. I was chosen along with three other high school students from Canada to participate in this year's conference which was held at Regis University in Denver, Colorado.

During our two days together, we heard from a number of guest speakers who spoke to us about how to resolve conflicts peacefully and how to protect our environment. We also met throughout the day in small family groups to discuss our feelings about the conference and to share our ideas and personal experiences.

The highlight of the conference was the presentation by His Holiness the Dalai Lama. Since I grew up hearing about the Dalai Lama, I was extremely excited to be able to meet him and my excitement was

**Erika Sullivan is a 16 yr. old high school senior at Villa Maria School in Montréal. Her parents are founding members of the CTC.**

# Tibetan Parliamentary Leader Visits Canada

by Carole Samdup

In 1991, His Holiness the Dalai Lama nominated Samdhong Rinpoche to the ATPD. He was subsequently elected by the Deputies as Chairman of the Assembly. In 1996 he was elected to a second term and unanimously selected to serve as Chairman once again.

In this position, Samdhong Rinpoche has ushered in democratic reforms and has institutionalized the democratic process within the exile community.

## Satyagraha

At a public lecture at the Université de Québec à Montréal (UQAM), Professor Rinpoche presented an in-depth and thought-provoking analysis of non-violent struggles throughout

history and outlined various forms of non-violent strategies which have evolved over the centuries. He also presented his proposal for non-violent action inside Tibet - Satyagraha - which he translates from the Sanskrit to English as "truth insistence". His proposal is outlined in a paper he has written entitled *Satyagraha - Truth Insistence*.

A popular movement has built up in response to the proposal. The Non-Violent Satyagraha Movement aims for the restoration of Tibet's freedom by 1998 through activities which include civil disobedience, non-cooperation and passive resistance. The plan calls for small teams of activists both from Tibetan communities in exile and from inside Tibet to initiate Satyagraha with the understanding that the personal cost may be imprisonment, torture or death. The Satyagraha activist must agree to certain required qualifications including a vow never

to harm others, never to develop anger or hatred towards the Chinese people or government officials, never to engage in violent reaction even to protect oneself, never to seek profit or fame for one's action.

The strategies will be carried out by a number of means including: the resignation of workers from enterprises administered by the Chinese government; a total boycott of goods made in China; refusal to study or teach in the Chinese language inside Tibet; to engage in peaceful demonstrations daily; to disregard directives issued by the Chinese government; non-participation in projects initiated by the Chinese government; non-participation in business ventures undertaken by Chinese entrepreneurs inside Tibet and the disregard of all unacceptable orders and directives of the Chinese government on Tibetan land.

## Referendum on the nature of Tibet's struggle

Partly because of the controversial nature of the Satyagraha proposal, His Holiness the Dalai Lama proposed in 1995, that a referendum on the course of the Tibetan political struggle be undertaken in order to solicit the views of the Tibetan people. The referendum poses four options to the diaspora regarding the future strategy of the Tibetan struggle.

Non-Tibetans are also engaged in a debate on the efficacy of the Satyagraha movement. The debate is coordinated electronically by the Transnational Radical Party (TRP) of Italy. The TRP's listserver publishes monthly opinion pieces on the strategy. To become involved, please send your essay via fax, or, preferably, via e-mail to the TRP office in Brussels (Fax 32-2-284.91.98; e-mail <pr.bruxelles@agora.stm.it>) in English, French or Italian. The length of the text should not exceed 40-50 lines.

photo: Tibet Initiative München

**Samdhong Rinpoche was born in the Tibetan province of Kham (present day Dechen Tibetan autonomous prefecture). Until China's invasion forced him to flee to India, he studied in Drepung Monastery - one of the three largest monasteries in Tibet. He received the Geshe Lharampa degree (equivalent to a doctorate) in India and joined the Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies in Benares, becoming its director in 1977.**

# The Tibetan Parliament in Exile

## A Democratic Vision

On April 29, 1959 His Holiness the Dalai Lama re-established the Tibetan Government in exile, in Mussoorie, India. It was the continuation of the government of independent Tibet. In May 1960 the exile government was moved to Dharamsala in the state of Himachal Pradesh. Since then, it has been named the Central Tibetan Administration (CTA) of His Holiness the Dalai Lama. The CTA is recognized and accepted by Tibetans, both in and outside Tibet, as their sole and legitimate government. It is also increasingly recognized as the legitimate government and true representative of the Tibetan people by parliaments around the world.

Right from its inception, the CTA set itself the twin tasks of rehabilitating Tibetan refugees and restoring the freedom of Tibet. Simultaneously, the CTA decided to experiment with modern democracy in preparation for a future free Tibet. On September 2, 1960 the Tibetan parliament-in-exile came into being. It was then known as the Commission of Tibetan People's Deputies. Later its name was changed to the Assembly of Tibetan People's Deputies (ATPD).

In 1990 His Holiness announced further democratization, increasing the Tibetan Assembly to 46 members. The Assembly was then empowered to elect the Tibetan *Kashag*, Council of Ministers, which was made answerable to it.

Following the changes made in 1990, the 11th Assembly became a full-fledged parliamentary body, with effective powers over the executive. Of its 46 members, the three Tibetan provinces of Amdo, Kham and

U-Tsang were represented by 10 deputies each, the four principle Buddhist sects by two each and two more for the traditional Bon faith of old Tibet. Additionally, two deputies were elected from the Tibetan community in Europe and one from the Tibetan community in North America. Canada Tibet Committee President, Thubten Samdup served for five years as the first North American deputy. Three eminent Tibetans were nominated by the Dalai Lama, including Professor Samdhong Rinpoche.

On June 14, 1991 the newly empowered

The change has had far-reaching repercussions. The Deputies (MPs) now discuss and lay down policies on issues that were formerly the preserve of the Dalai Lama and his advisers. The Deputies keep a close watch on foreign relations and the activities and opinions of the Tibetan diaspora.

The CTA is not designed to take power when Tibet becomes free. In the *Guidelines for Future Tibet's Polity and Basic Features of its Constitution*, His Holiness the Dalai Lama stated that the present exile government would be dissolved as soon as Tibet was

once again free. His Holiness also stated that there would be a transitional government in Tibet which would be headed by an Interim-President, elected or appointed by him. The Interim-President, in his turn, will be

*"The future Tibetan polity shall uphold the principle of non-violence and shall endeavour to be a Free Social Welfare State with its politics guided by the Dharma"*

-Charter of the Tibetans in Exile

Assembly of Tibetan People's Deputies issued the constitutional document for the exile Tibetans under the title of the Charter of the Tibetans in Exile. The Charter lays down principles for every aspect of governance for the exile community. It is unique in defining the "Nature of Tibetan Polity"; that is, its fundamental policies. "The future Tibetan polity shall uphold the principle of non-violence and shall endeavour to be a Free Social Welfare State with its politics guided by the Dharma". The Charter clarifies however, that it does not promote any form of state religion. All religious denominations are expressly assured equality before the law and this is further amplified with assurance against discrimination on "grounds of birth, sex, race, religion, language, lay or ordained, social origin, rich or poor, elected position or other status".

required to hold a general election within two years

As for himself, the Dalai Lama has reiterated, "Personally, I have made up my mind that I will not play any role in the future government of Tibet, let alone seek the Dalai Lama's traditional political position in the government... I think I will be in a better position to serve the people as an individual outside the government". The Dalai Lama has been able to instill the seeds of self-reliance in his people, to combine democratic functioning with Tibetan mores, and provide the Tibetan people with skills which will lead them to their future in a free Tibet.

Adapted by the Canada Tibet Committee from: *Tibetans in Exile: The Democratic Vision* by Ajit Bhattacharjee, published by the Tibetan Parliamentary and Policy Research Centre, New Delhi, 1994

# Third World Parliamentarian's Convention on Tibet

Attended by over 40 parliamentarians from around the world, the Third World Parliamentarian's Convention on Tibet was held in Washington D.C., from April 23-April 25. The WPCT was hosted by the ATPD and the International Campaign for Tibet. A congressional hosting committee was headed by the Hon. Benjamin Gilman, Chairman of the House Committee on International Relations.

The Canadian Parliamentary Friends of Tibet (PFT) were represented by Senator Consiglio Di Nino (PC) who has visited Tibet in 1991 and has represented the PFT at the previous two WPCT in New Delhi, India and Vilnius, Lithuania.

"I was very impressed with the commitment made by Senator Jesse Helms and the Honourable Benjamin Gilman, to have both the Senate and Congress study the Tibet issue which will bring the subject to the attention of the world." said Di Nino upon his return to Canada.

As special guest speaker, His Holiness the Dalai Lama shared his concern over the lack of progress in solving the Tibetan question. "The situation inside Tibet brings me tremendous sorrow and my most urgent objective has always been to end the suffering of the Tibetan people".

The WPCT adopted the "Washington Statement" on April 24, 1997 and an action plan directed towards both governments and parliamentarians. The statement asserts that repression in Tibet has intensified in recent years and the action plan calls upon parliamentarians to support the establishment of negotiations without pre-conditions between representatives of the Dalai Lama and the Peoples Republic of China (PRC) through a number of activities:

- establishing or joining existing Parliamentary support groups for Tibet
- convene parliamentary delegations to visit Tibet

- discuss the Tibet situation with visiting Chinese officials
  - support the Tibet Contact group within the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU)
- The action plan calls upon governments to:
- raise the question of talks between the Dalai Lama and the PRC whenever it meets with Chinese officials
  - support the establishment of a special rapporteur on Tibet to the UN's Commission on Human Rights
  - request Chinese officials to allow media access to Tibet
  - to provide financial support to Tibetan refugees

## Available from CTC Montreal

Satyagraha - Truth Insistence by Samdhong Rinpoche. (disponible en français) (for electronic versions, please check <http://www.agora.stm.it/pr>) \$2.00

The Charter of Tibetans in Exile (available in English and Tibetan) \$2.00

Guidelines for Future Tibet's Polity and Basic Features of its Constitution by His Holiness the Dalai Lama. (No charge)

The Washington Statement and Action Plan, Third World Parliamentarian's Convention on Tibet. (No charge)

Address to the World Parliamentarian's Convention on Tibet, by His Holiness the Dalai Lama (No charge)

The Five Point Peace Plan for Tibet, His Holiness the Dalai Lama. (No charge)

World Parliamentarian's Convention on Tibet, 1997 Washington Statement. (No charge)

For other articles written by Samdhong Rinpoche or publications on Tibet's parliament and democratic development, please contact the Tibetan Parliamentary Policy Research Centre, A-2/18 Safdarjung Enclave, New Delhi 110029, INDIA. email: <[tpprc@tibet.net](mailto:tpprc@tibet.net)>

# Holiday Inn Pulls Out!

by Lara Braitstein

(Continued from cover)

...misrepresented the nature of the occupation of Tibet, allowed the Public Security Bureau to run prostitution at the Hotel, and was responsible for a large portion of the Chinese government's total revenue in Tibet.

Craig Smith, Vice President of Corporate Affairs, whose letter to the Canada Tibet Committee was published in our last issue, said "The multi-year contract, under which Holiday Inn Worldwide has managed the Holiday Inn Lhasa, is due to expire this fall. Holiday Inn will not be renewing this agreement and will cease its management role at the property in October 1997."

"This is a great campaign victory for the Tibet movement internationally," said Alison Reynolds, Director of Free Tibet Campaign. "We will continue to do all we can to ensure that the Chinese do not profit financially from their illegal occupation of Tibet, and we congratulate Holiday Inn on their decision."

"Corporations have a responsibility," agreed Thubten Samdup, President of the Canada Tibet Committee, "to exercise leverage in the promotion of internationally recognized human rights and environmental standards. But they won't do it without consumer pressure. This campaign has shown that popular movements can effect change".

The North American boycott campaign was spearheaded by the Milarepa Fund, a foundation established by the Beastie Boys, a popular American music group. The boycott had been endorsed by over 100 organizations including human rights groups, trade unions and church coalitions.

It is thrilling for Tibet Support Groups and for anyone who has tried to tackle the world of business with a human rights agenda, to realize a positive result from their action. To all those who supported the campaign and joined our demonstrations - thank you and congratulations!

# The Tibet Issue and China's Soul

by X. Drew Liu

Among the overseas Chinese, the Tibet issue gets little if any attention. There is of course the problem of misinformation from the Chinese government. Thus, the condition of the lives of six million Tibetans is almost a taboo, because the issue is primarily framed in terms of whether or not Tibet should gain independence from China. But there seems to be more to it than just political discourse. The Tibetan issue has a human and a cultural side that is recognized at the bottom of the Chinese soul, though it is often suppressed in the subconscious. Many of my Tibetan friends express doubt as to whether Chinese people are willing to or are capable of understanding the sufferings of the Tibetan people. I think the answer is, on the contrary, that Chinese people are quite willing and capable.

The fact is, the Chinese people have suffered a lot from western colonial policies under which foreign intrusions devastated their culture and their communities. The imperial phenomenon is all too familiar to them. They certainly understand what racial discrimination means. At the gate of Waitan, the most popular park in Shanghai, in the 1930s and 1940s there used to hang a sign saying "No Chinese or dogs allowed." The Chinese protested against such racial discrimination on their own soil, but the park's rule remained intact because it was on land leased to the British.

What about foreign military occupation? The Chinese lost about twenty million lives under the Japanese occupation before and

during the Second World War. These memories are still fresh in the minds of the elderly Chinese population and have not been forgotten by the younger generation. Because of such memories, the Chinese people recently hailed the end of the colonial era by overwhelmingly supporting Hong Kong's return to China.

The question is, Are the Chinese willing

the rulers in Beijing, the Tibetan issue is a conflict within the soul of the Chinese nation. It is about who the Chinese are and what they are. It may be a touchstone of whether China can transcend its past on the road to a glorious future. And the result depends on which way the Chinese consciousness will turn. Will the Chinese soul be stranded in the mentality of the colonial era

where "might makes right" or will it be able to transcend that era and display its tender side of compassion and understanding, qualities which trace back to the teaching of Confucius: "Never impose on another that which you do not want for yourself" (ji suo bu yu, wu shi yu ren).

Frankly, I do not know which side will win in this soul battle. But the final result will determine to a large extent the identity of China as a nation. The Tibet issue currently is very much suppressed and rarely debated, even in the overseas Chinese community. Perhaps the issue is too disturbing and troubling to the Chinese soul, or per-

haps there is a suppressed sense of guilt for having caused the Tibetan people to suffer that is not ready to face sunlight. But whatever the reasons are, there is no excuse for further avoidance of the issue. And however painful or difficult it may be, the road has to be travelled to achieve the reconciliation with the Tibetan people. In history, the Chinese and Tibetan peoples lived peacefully side by side, and with intense cultural exchanges to their mutual benefit. Will that day dawn again in the future? I hope so.

X. Drew Liu is Executive Director of the China Strategic Institute in Washington D.C.

## Chinese students meet with the Dalai Lama in Montreal, 1990.

to inflict the same injustice which they have suffered in their own history on the Tibetan people? Historically, there have been cases when the oppressed are liberated only to become oppressive of others, and many nations who have suffered from foreign invasions become expansionist once they are strong. The Dalai Lama himself pointed out that evil always leads to more evil and more suffering, and only true human compassion can stop that vicious cycle. Indeed, for many Chinese, the lesson from their historical experience teaches that nothing matters but raw power and domination.

Thus, aside from the misinformation by

# Delinking Trade and Human Rights: an Exercise in Hypocrisy

by Lara Braitstein

*"The Government regards respect for human rights not only as a fundamental value, but also as a crucial element in the development of stable, democratic and prosperous societies at peace with each other... the essential question is how a country like Canada can most effectively influence others to respect international human rights principles. Our ultimate aim is not to punish offending governments, and certainly not their innocent citizens, but rather to influence governments to respect their people's rights.... Economic development, bilateral trade and business partnerships can improve the climate and accelerate progress in ensuring respect for human rights."*

**Government of Canada's  
Foreign Policy Statement, 1995**

Canada Tibet Committee Newsletter: **Fall 1997**

**W**e've all heard it by now. You know the story - the best way to influence a country socio-politically is to not isolate it economically. Trade begets influence, Mr. Chretien assures us, as millions upon millions of dollars roll into the coffers of Canadian businesses from the People's Republic of China: the mother of all markets. Meanwhile, human rights groups report that crackdowns and human rights abuses in China have been consistently rising.

Since President Clinton delinked China's Most Favored Nation trading status from its human rights record, a certain amount of credence has been given to the idea that a mingling of markets will bring social change. Just watch Team Canada go. Prime Minister Jean Chretien, safeguarding Canadian investments in China, has told his own country that acting as a "boy-scout" (ie: clinging to juvenile, idealistic notions like 'good deeds' and 'responsibility') will not bring any good to China, or to Canada. Citing China's habit of threatening to end all contact if anyone should dare to pry into their 'internal affairs', Chretien believes and would have us believe, that keeping quiet about human rights abuses will somehow result in Canada's charter of human rights 'rubbing-off' on China. It's a fascinating concept, and one which Tibetans know has yet to work.

Perhaps even the government knows it. This past July, Foreign Affairs Minister Lloyd Axworthy asserted his readiness to impose sanctions against Burma if its military regime doesn't start negotiating with Burmese democracy movements. And yet, only one month before that the Canadian government applauded China's appointed parliament in Hong Kong which replaced the elected one. If Team Canada's reason-

ing is sound, it seems to me that we should be rolling out the red carpet for U Ohn Gyaw, the Burmese Foreign Minister, as we did for Li Peng in Montreal back in October, 1995. After all, wouldn't being his best friend be the best way to get freedom for imprisoned democracy leader Aung San Su Kyi? I mean, it's supposed to work for the vanished Panchen Lama Gendhun Chokyi Nyima, isn't it?

When it comes to doing business with China, the Canadian government would have us believe that free trade is the first step towards a free society: free trade...free press...freedom of speech...freedom of religion...An examination of Tibet today is all it takes to quash that hope.

In an effort to quell the Tibetan 'problem,' China has recently decided to pour funds into the impoverished region, hoping that economic incentives will accomplish what years of occupation has failed to do <sup>1</sup>. This is not to say, however, that aggressive persecution of Tibetans has in any way slowed down. The Chinese government's 1997 work report for the Tibet Autonomous Region (the TAR is one region of Chinese-occupied Tibet) reported an overall increase in urban incomes, as well as an increased grain yield and industrial output <sup>2</sup>. Among its list of problems facing the economy in Tibet is the "separatist activities of the Dalai clique aided by Western hostile forces." What does this mean, exactly? "We should further strengthen the patriotic education of monks and nuns so they will love the country," states the report, which continues to assert that "the practices of wantonly building temples and lamaseries" and "indiscriminately taking in people as Buddhist monks or nuns" must be firmly stopped.

So it would seem that while Canada insists on delinking trade and human rights

in order to continue doing business with China, China insists on uniting the issues to ensure much-needed foreign investment. Canada's policy of 'delinking' only means that rather than encouraging China to adopt human rights standards, Canada is turning a blind eye to its own traditional values.

Catherine James, anthropologist and lawyer, explains it another way: "China has repeatedly warned world leaders not to meet with the Dalai Lama or it will affect their trade relationship. One such recent warning was made directly prior to the Australian PM meeting His Holiness the Dalai Lama; thus although the Clinton administration serves the Chinese agenda by severing the link between human rights and trade, the Chinese themselves link it when it suits them."<sup>3</sup>

Canadian human rights activist Edward Broadbent said, "It is a sad statement on the world we live in that virtually all democratic governments have recently paid more attention to the rights of capital than to the rights of people" He continues, "In a desperate pitch to attract international capital, many governments stifle the freedoms of their own citizens, disregard their own laws and vehemently oppose all attempts to enshrine protection for workers in trade agreements."<sup>4</sup> Prime Minister Chretien's touching sympathy for South Korean President Kim Young-sam's underhanded suppression of trade unions late in 1996 makes it all too clear just how true this

*"It is a sad statement on the world we live in that virtually all democratic governments have recently paid more attention to the rights of capital than to the rights of people"*

- Edward Broadbent

*"Many factors indicate that the economic environment in China is highly favourable for investment by Canadian companies. Among these factors:..... a recent Canadian government decision not to tie its economic relationship with China to the question of human rights."*

- Government of Canada website

statement is. "We have our problems with our unions and it seems they have their problems here," Chretien said, while dozens of Korean labour leaders were hiding in

the presumption that growth brings prosperity and democracy: it does so only if there is a strong political voice representing the rights and interests of the workers...If these

photo: Chris Kralik

protective measures are not taken, the casualties of free market forces - disaffected, unemployed and impoverished people - may ultimately resort to extremism and violence."<sup>5</sup>

It is painfully evident that human rights and trade are linked, inextricably so. The only question is whether or not governments choose to acknowledge and work with that relationship. Canada's answer to that question is clearly audible in all its hypocritical glory: it depends how much money is at stake.

Lara Braitstein is a member of CTC-Montreal and is pursuing an M.A. in Buddhist Studies at McGill University.

**Prime Minister Jean Chretien poses with His Holiness the Dalai Lama on October 2, 1990...before the election.**

a cathedral, trying to avoid being arrested for having exercised their democratic rights.

Free trade will not necessarily lead to democratisation and increased rights. Cathy James writes: "There is a crucial caveat to

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Brauchli, Marcus W. "To Integrate Tibet, China Tries Economic Lures" Dow Jones, 14 July, 1997.

<sup>2</sup> Tibet Information Network News Update, 18 July, 1997

<sup>3</sup> James, Catherine. "APEC, Globalization and Tibet" p. 17

<sup>4</sup> Broadbent, Edward. "Commerce and Conscience: Trade and Human Rights" speech dated February 8, 1995

<sup>5</sup> Ibid p. 12

# A New Prison for Lhasa

by Lara Braitstein

photo: International Campaign for Tibet

**A new prison in Lhasa adds even more capacity to the city's extensive prison system. It was photographed in May, 1997 by an ICT fact-finding mission.**

According to a report dated July 22, 1997 from the International Campaign for Tibet (ICT), a new prison has been constructed in the northern outskirts of Lhasa. It was discovered on a recent fact-finding mission to Tibet which was sponsored by the Washington-based advocacy organization.

The new prison is modern compared to others in the area and somewhat innovative. Citing higher guard towers than seen at other prisons in the area and an almost total lack of outdoor space for exercise or vegetable gardens, ICT believes that the prison may be destined for use as a higher security facility. It may also be "a city or prefectural level public security facility".

Chinese authorities are also adding new cell blocks to the nearby Outridu prison, increasing its prisoner capacity by about two or three hundred. While Lhasa's prison population is large, it was assumed that with the numerous prisons and detention facilities in the area there was sufficient room. Apparently this is not the case.

## US Creates "Coordinator" position to watch Tibet

Secretary of State Madeleine Albright announced on July 30, 1997, that a new "special coordinator" post would be established in order to oversee American policy toward Tibet. The creation of the coordinator position is reportedly a compromise response to powerful lobbies in both the Congress and the Senate which had been preparing legislation to force the appointment of an ambassador-level envoy for Tibet. Nevertheless, the Chinese government immediately condemned Albright's announcement.

The coordinator will not have the rank of ambassador, nor will it receive diplomatic recognition in Tibet. Nevertheless, according to the New York Times, the coordinator "would have a broad mandate to orchestrate the Administration's policies internally and also to meet with Tibetan officials, including the exiled leaders based in India".

U.S. President Clinton met with the Dalai Lama in April and will meet with President Jiang Zemin of China in October. The United States has repeatedly called for negotiations to commence between representatives of the two leaders.

### March For Freedom reaches United Nations

More than 500 Tibet supporters, including 125 Tibetans from Canada, demonstrated in front of the United Nations in New York city on June 14. The event marked the conclusion of the 600-mile, three month-long "March for Tibet's Independence" which began in Toronto on March 10, 1997. Led by Thubten Jigme Norbu, elder brother to the Dalai Lama, the walkers from Canada and the United States were joined by supporters in New York for the final 12 miles of the march.

Mrs. Namtso Chhoyang of Montreal, aged 59, walked the full distance from Toronto to New York. "It gives me the feeling of doing something for my homeland" she said. "In Canada we are safe, but we feel frustrated and helpless to help those inside Tibet. Walking is something I am able to do, I am happy to do it."

photo: Kay Ohta

# Where is the Panchen Lama? 8 year old boy still in detention.

On April 25, 1997 Gendhun Choekyi Nyima celebrated his 8th birthday and his second year of incommunicado detention. The whereabouts of the 11th Panchen Lama, continues to be a closely

Amnesty International considers him to be a prisoner of conscience.

Champa Chung a 50 year old monk assistant to Chadrel Rinpoche, and Samdrup a businessman accused of passing letters

between Chadrel Rinpoche and the Dalai Lama, were also sentenced to four and two years respectively. The three men had been detained in May 1995, immediately following the Dalai Lama's announcement of Gendhun Choekyi Nima as the 11th Panchen Lama but the official Chinese news agency Xinhua's announcement of the trial on May 7, 1997 was the first official acknowledgement of their de-

tention. Chinese authorities admitted holding the Panchen Lama in the Spring of 1996.

guarded secret and world governments are slow to push for guarantees of his safety. The Government of Canada has repeatedly emphasized youth as a priority issue, but does not press Chinese authorities for news of the world's youngest political prisoner.

The Panchen Lama's detention is part of the Chinese government's effort to assert control over the religious affairs of Tibet. On April 21, 1997, Chadrel Rinpoche, the 58 year old former head of the Tashilhunpo Monastery and head of the Panchen Lama search committee, was sentenced to six years imprisonment and deprivation of political rights for an additional three years. Charges against the Abbot included "conspiring to split the country" and "leaking state secrets".

## 70 Year Old Imprisoned for Peaceful Expression of Opinion

Tanak Jigme Sangpo, aged 70, has been imprisoned in Tibet since 1983 for putting up a wall poster in the Tibetan capital city of Lhasa. The poster protested the Chinese occupation. Since that time, he has been serving a 28 year sentence (extended from the original 15 years). Torture and poor prison conditions have left him weak and in poor health according to reports released by the Tibetan Centre for Human Rights and Democracy. Sangpo's eyesight is said to be deteriorating.

**WRITE TO THE CANADIAN AND CHINESE GOVERNMENTS** to register your concern for the safety of Tanak Jigme Sangpo and the Panchen Lama, his family and monks from his monastery. Your letters to the Canadian Government are postage free.

**Minister Lloyd Axworthy  
The Department of Foreign  
Affairs & International Trade  
125 Sussex Drive,  
Ottawa, ON K1A 0A6**

**Gyaltzen Norbu Zhuxi  
Xizang Zizhiqu Renmin Zhengfu  
1 Kang'angdonglu  
Lasashi 850000  
Xizang Zizhiqu  
People's Republic of China**

# Help Us to Welcome APEC to Vancouver...

This year the annual Leader's Summit of the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) will be held in Vancouver on November 24-25. In order to increase awareness about the potential dangers APEC poses to the most vulnerable sectors of society, NGOs, unions, women's organizations, environmental protection groups, human rights organizations, international solidarity groups and others have organized activities and a parallel conference.

From November 17-24, the "People's Summit on APEC" will run a series of forums covering topics which range from "Sustainability Issues Forum" to "The People Versus Poverty." The CTC will be taking part in these events, as well as ongoing Tibet-specific ones including a visit from Palden Gyatso and Ama Adhe.

If you would like to know more about these conferences or other regional efforts, contact:

In **Montreal** <lbrait1@po-box.mcgill.ca> or  
<tserc@total.net>  
In **Vancouver** <ctcvan@portal.ca>

## Actualités Tibétaines ABONNEZ-VOUS!

**Actualités Tibétaines** est un nouveau trimestriel, édité par l'Association de Soutien au Bureau du Tibet au Paris:

- pour être tenu informé de l'actualité politique et culturelle du Tibet et des Tibétains en exil,
- pour connaître les avancées diplomatiques concernant la question tibétaine, et les initiatives prises dans le monde par les gouvernements, les organisations internationales et les associations de soutien.

Pour vous abonner pour un an (4 numéros) à **Actualités Tibétaines** veuillez inclure votre paiement par chèque à l'ordre de:

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**email: tibetparis@hol.fr**

1 an abonnement normal: 160F (60\$ Canada)  
1 an abonnement de soutien: à partir de 250F (94\$ Canada)

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## Canada Tibet Committee Membership Form

- I wish to join the Canada Tibet Committee and am enclosing a \$25.00 annual membership fee (\$10.00 for students).  
 I am renewing my annual membership in the Canada Tibet Committee and am enclosing my \$25.00 fee (\$10.00 for students).  
 I wish to become a donor member and am enclosing a minimum of \$50.00  
  
 Please accept this donation to cover CTC Newsletter costs \$ \_\_\_\_\_

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Telephone Number \_\_\_\_\_ Email address \_\_\_\_\_

- I would like to volunteer

**Please mail your cheque or money order to the CTC branch in your province. (See addresses on page 2). If you do not have a CTC branch near you, kindly send your contribution to the Montreal office.**