

# FOR TIBET

P R E S S   W A T C H

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## Bush Urges China to Pursue “More Dialogue” on Tibet

After meeting with Jiang Zemin on October 25, President George Bush said that he asked the Chinese President to pursue dialogue with Tibetan leaders to resolve the Tibetan issue.

Addressing the media following their summit at the Bush Ranch in Crawford, Texas, President Bush said that he “spoke of the importance of respecting human rights in Tibet and encouraged more dialogue with Tibetan leaders,” in reference to the recent delegation to Tibet and China led by Lodi Gyari, Special Envoy of the Dalai Lama (*October 2002 TPW*).

President Bush also raised the issue

of U.S. concern about China’s attempt to justify suppression of peaceful dissent under the guise of counterterrorism. Bush said he shared with President Jiang his views on “the importance of China freeing prisoners of conscience, giving fair treatment to peoples of faith...”

In his remarks, President Jiang Zemin did not make any reference to the issue of Tibet. However, President Jiang mentioned the following on human rights and religious freedom:

“We have also discussed human rights, religion and other issues. I told President Bush that democracy and human

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## Ngawang Sangdrol Released Ahead of Bush-Jiang Meeting

Ngawang Sangdrol, one of Tibet’s most prominent political prisoners and the longest-serving female political prisoner detained by Beijing, was released from prison on October 17 ahead of Jiang Zemin’s trip to President Bush’s Crawford, TX, ranch. Sangdrol was not due to be released until 2011.

“Ngawang Sangdrol’s release is a significant victory for human rights campaigners worldwide,” said John Ackerly, President of the International Campaign for Tibet. “Yet, as welcome as this and other recent releases are, the international

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## Dalai Lama Presents ICT Light of Truth Awards to Heinrich Harrer and late Petra Kelly



MANUELA BAUER/LOOKAT

*The Dalai Lama presents ICT’s 2002 Light of Truth Awards to Heinrich Harrer (second from left) and Erika Heinz (right), for the late Petra Kelly, in Graz, Austria. ICT-Europe Executive Director Tsering Jampa is on the far left; ICT-Germany board member Jan Anderson is at rear.*

The International Campaign for Tibet (ICT) presented the 2002 Light of Truth award to Heinrich Harrer and to Petra Kelly, in memoriam, on October 15 in Graz, Austria, for their contributions to public awareness of Tibet and Tibetans. The award was presented by His Holiness the Dalai Lama while he was in Graz to give the Kalachakra teaching and initiation.

Petra Kelly was honored for her groundbreaking work on behalf of Tibet in the German Bundestag. She co-founded the German Green Party, “Die Gruenen,” in 1979 and later became a member of the Bundestag and a prominent advocate for the rights of the Tibetan

people there. She introduced parliamentary resolutions on Tibet in 1987, 1989 and 1990, all of which passed unanimously.

Kelley’s life was tragically cut short 10 years ago, in October 1992, so Ms. Erkia Heinz, a friend of Kelly’s and the head of the Grace Kelly Cancer Foundation, which was started by Petra Kelly after her sister died from cancer as a child, accepted the award on her behalf. Reinhold Butikofer, General Secretary of the German Green Party spoke about Petra Kelly’s political involvement for Tibet.

In his remarks, His Holiness the Dalai Lama, addressing Petra Kelly’s mother and friends who were present, said he

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# TIBET

press watch



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## New Faces at ICT

As ICT's programs and governmental advocacy efforts expanded this year, we brought on several new and talented staff people.

The new Director of Government Relations at our Washington, D.C., office is **Kelley Currie**, former Co-Director of the Congressional Human Rights Caucus and Legislative Assistant for Congressman John Porter of Illinois. Congressman Porter was a leading supporter of Tibet on Capitol Hill during his twenty years in Congress. Ms. Currie also worked for the International Republican Institute as the Deputy Director for Asia Programs.



*Kelley Currie, ICT's new Director of Government Relations in Washington, D.C.*

Joining our D.C. office as Advocacy Coordinator is **Losang Rabgey**, who recently finished a Ph.D. program on Tibetan women at the University of London. Losang was born in India, grew up and Canada and has served as a consultant and advisor to many organizations.

**Susan Mizrahi** from Australia has joined the ICT-Europe office in Amsterdam as Program Coordinator. Susan just finished a master's degree and wrote her thesis on a comparison of the Tibetan and East Timorese campaigns for self-determination. Susan has worked as



*Susan Mizrahi, Program Coordinator at ICT-Europe's Amsterdam Office*

a tour guide in Tibet and China, held public relations positions and was a State Secretary for the Australia Tibet Council.

The first Director of ICT's new Berlin office, ICT Deutschland e.V., is **Dr. Gudrun Henne**, who started in mid-December. Gudrun, a native of Berlin, is a very experienced lobbyist who has worked with Greenpeace International and has worked in many European capitols, as well as with the UN system in Geneva and the European Union in Brussels.

Also joining the staff in Germany is **Dechen Pemba**, who comes on as ICT Deutschland's Program Coordinator. Just prior to joining ICT, Dechen spent six months traveling with two Tibetan nuns and former political prisoners as their translator on a speaking tour that spanned nine countries in Europe and the U.S. (*see nuns' story in March 2002 TPW*). Dechen grew up in the U.K. and Germany.



*Dechen Pemba, Program Coordinator for ICT Germany*

ICT is extremely fortunate to have these talented and dedicated individuals join our staff.

Each of them has spent considerable time in Tibet or Tibetan refugee communities in India and Nepal and have come to ICT because of their longstanding commitment to work for Tibet.


John Ackerly,  
President 



## WATCHDOG PANEL'S REPORT URGES ACTIVE U.S. ROLE ON HUMAN RIGHTS IN TIBET

The first annual report from the U.S. Congressional-Executive Commission on China, released on October 2, has a section on Tibet accompanied by several recommendations for the Congress and Administration on Tibet policy. These recommendations include:

- Increasing Congressional funding to NGOs for development programs in Tibet.
- Continuing to "urge Chinese leaders to engage in substantive dialogue with the Dalai Lama or his representatives."
- Continuing to "urge that China end restrictions on Gedun Choekyi Nyima [the 11th Panchen Lama]" and "request that representatives of international observer organizations visit the boy and his family."

*The full text of the report is available online at [www.cecc.gov](http://www.cecc.gov)* 

## STATE DEPARTMENT RELIGION REPORT SAYS RELIGIOUS REPRESSION IN TIBET REMAINS HIGH

On October 7, the U.S. Department of State released its annual report on International Religious Freedom. The report states that "the level of religious repression in Tibet remained high, and the Government's record of respect for religious freedom remained poor."

When releasing the report, Secretary of State Colin Powell said that U.S. officials "categorically reject the notion that the security or stability of any country requires the repression of members of any faith."

ICT's statement to the House International Relations Committee hearing on the report focused on the Panchen Lama's case, as well as the need for the

## Looking Ahead: Tibet in the 108<sup>th</sup> Congress

With all of the changes brought about by November's elections, at least one thing remains constant on Capitol Hill: Tibet will continue to enjoy broad-based bipartisan support in the coming 108<sup>th</sup> Congress - and there are signs that this support for Tibet could grow.


While some of the strongest proponents for Tibet in Congress, including the late Senator Paul Wellstone (D-MN), retiring Senator Jesse Helms (R-NC) and retiring Congressman Benjamin Gilman (R-NY), will be greatly missed for their steadfast support of Tibet, other long-time Tibet supporters are moving into new positions of power where their voices can be even stronger on behalf of Tibetan issues.

Congresswoman Nancy Pelosi (D-CA), long one of Tibet's strongest advocates, has moved into the powerful position of House Minority Leader, while her colleague in the House, Congressman

Christopher Cox (R-CA), will remain in the Republican leadership for the new session.

On the Senate side, Senator Mitch McConnell (R-KY), who has been helpful on key Tibet appropriations issues, will become the chairman of the Senate Foreign Operations Appropriations Subcommittee and the Majority Whip.

With so many new members in the House and Senate, as well as new committee chairs and members of the leadership, ICT will make efforts to deepen and expand the already substantial congressional support for Tibet. Throughout the next few months, ICT will be alerting its members to opportunities to engage their elected representatives in Washington.

We look forward to this new challenge and feel confident that, with the active support of ICT members, the 108<sup>th</sup> Congress will provide a number of prospects for strengthening our efforts on behalf of the Tibetan people. 

Department of State to be more consistent in its reporting on religious persecution in all Tibetan areas.

Following are the Tibet-related passages of the Religious Freedom Report:

### **On suppressing dissent in Tibet:**

"Although the authorities permit many traditional religious practices and public manifestations of belief, they promptly and forcibly suppress those activities viewed as vehicles for political dissent, such as religious activities that are perceived as advocating Tibetan independence or any form of separatism (which the Chinese Government views as 'splittist')."

### **On "patriotic education:"**


"Although the 'patriotic education' campaign begun in the mid-1990's officially has concluded, patriotic education activities continued at a lower level of intensity. Core

requirements of "patriotic education," such as the renunciation of the Dalai Lama and the acceptance of Tibet as a part of China, continue to engender resentment on the part of Tibetan Buddhists.

Many monks and nuns continue to serve prison terms for their resistance to 'patriotic education.' There were reports of the death of religious prisoners, as well as the imprisonment and abuse or torture of monks and nuns accused of political activism."

### **On the Panchen Lama:**

"The actual location of Gedun Choekyi Nyima and his family remains unknown. All requests from the international community for access to the boy to confirm his whereabouts and his well being have been refused."

*The full text of the report and the section on the Tibet Autonomous Region are available at [www.savetibet.org](http://www.savetibet.org)* 



REVERED TIBETAN ABBOT  
RESUMES TEACHINGS  
UNDER SURVEILLANCE  
BY CHINESE AUTHORITIES

# Tibetans Arrested after Organizing Prayer Ceremony for Dalai Lama

On November 4, Khenpo Jigme Phuntsok concluded a multiple-day public teaching to over 5,000 students and lay people near the monastic community known as Larung Gar Buddhist Institute near the town of Serthar in eastern Tibet (present-day Sichuan Province). Heavy Public Security Bureau (PSB) Police presence was visible during the entire period, western eyewitnesses reported to ICT.

Reports from eastern Tibet indicate that for the month preceding the public teaching, Khenpo Jigme Phuntsok taught regularly in the main temple but only to the officially sanctioned monks and nuns of Larung Gar.

The highly-respected Buddhist teacher and founder of Larung Gar had been removed by Chinese authorities during the demolition of over 3,000 homes and expulsion of over 6,000 students there beginning in June of 2001 (see July 2001 TPW).

The destruction, which was carried out by armed Chinese police and work teams, unfolded on a scale not seen since the Cultural Revolution.

Khenpo Jigme Phuntsok returned to Larung Gar in July after recovering from ill health.

Although he is now reportedly in good health, Khenpo Jigme Phuntsok is not giving audiences to monks and nuns at Larung Gar, Tibetan pilgrims or foreigners who come to this remote monastic encampment. It is not clear if these audiences are being denied by Chinese authorities or by those closely attending to Khenpo Jigme Phuntsok.

**Update on Chinese Security Presence:**

A 31-year-old monk from Larung Gar who recently arrived in Kathmandu,

Five Tibetans were arrested in the town of Kandze (Chinese: Ganzi) in Kandze Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture (Sichuan Province) on October 18, the day after 400 Peoples Liberation Army troops arrived there, sources there told ICT.

The arrival of PLA troops in Kandze and ensuing arrests come after nearly a year of investigation by Kandze police relating to a series of long-life prayer ceremonies for the Dalai Lama held in various communities in the Kandze prefecture. These ceremonies were primarily held in February, the traditional time of Tibetan New Year.

The names and ages of the arrestees are: Shamba Tsangpo, 37, a Communist party member and PRC government employee; Namgyal, 35; Kayo Dogha, 55; Tsering Dorjee, 49; Jampal, 40.

Family members attempted unsuccessfully to deliver food to the arrested men at the Kandze jail the first three days of detention. The families were not told the reasons for the detention but were told that the crimes were serious.

“Despite what looks like a thaw in Sino-Tibetan relations at the diplomatic level, the religious tolerance situation in Tibet hasn’t improved,” said John Ackerly, President of ICT. “Last year it was nuns and monks at Serthar, this year it’s lay Tibetans in Kandze.”

“In September, Chinese authorities hosted the Dalai Lama’s chief negotiator, in October they cracked down on Tibetans who prayed for the Dalai Lama’s health,” said Ackerly.

Eyewitnesses in Kandze said that

troops armed with automatic rifles marched and were bused throughout the town of Kandze and surrounding villages from October 17 to 24. During this same period, groups of 15 to 25 army personnel carried out nightly patrols and midnight training exercises in Kandze. Local Kandze police also set up checkpoints on all of the roads into and out of Kandze. It is not known whether more arrests took place after Octo-



People’s Liberation Army (PLA) troops march through Kandze. Five Tibetans were arrested the day after 400 PLA troops arrived in Kandze. Kandze monastery is on upper right.

ber 24th. The troops are believed to still be posted in Kandze.

Tibetans who were present at these long life ceremonies and subsequently fled Tibet for India told ICT that Kandze area residents carried out these ceremonies with an added sense of urgency following reports of the Dalai Lama’s ill health during the Kalachakra initiation in Bodhgaya, India in mid-January 2002.

“There were monetary collections [to sponsor the ceremonies] made in nearly all of the villages and hamlets to honor our leader the Dalai Lama,” an unnamed Tibetan from Kandze told ICT. “The main day of the prayer ceremony, nearly 500 monks participated.”

“The locals’ enthusiasm and sense of

## European Parliamentarians Urge Appointment of EP Special Representative for Tibet Issues

A European Parliamentarian (EP) Conference on Tibet held mid-November at the European Parliament in Brussels urged the Council and Commission of the European Union to appoint a Special Representative on Tibet to promote earnest negotiations to resolve the Tibetan issue.

Tibet groups in Brussels said the Conference participants felt that such an office would assist EU members to develop and implement an effective European policy on Tibet.

As the Chinese Communist Party confirmed its new leader in Beijing, the November 15 European Parliamentarian Conference on Tibet in Brussels expressed deep concern about the continuing violation of the rights of Tibetan people by the Peoples Republic of China and unanimously called upon the European Union (EU) and national governments of European countries to push for a political settlement of the long standing Sino-Tibetan issue.

A resolution adopted at this conference emphasized the above concerns by once again calling for the appointment of an EU Special Representative for Tibetan Issues as well as the implementation of past European Parliament resolutions on Tibet.

The legislators who attended the conference at the invitation of the EP's Tibet Intergroup President Mr. Thomas Mann (MEP) came from various countries across Europe.

"The EU must appoint a Special Representative for Tibetan Issues to ensure that the EU and its member States implement effective policies to promote an end to the tragic oppression of the Tibetan people," said Mr. Mann. "The creation of such a position within the U.S. Administration has visible impact on the effectiveness of U.S. policy on Tibet in its relation with China," he added.

The European Parliamentarian Conference on Tibet welcomed the renewed contact between the government of the People's Republic of China and the envoys of the Dalai Lama and called upon the new leadership in China "to immediately embark upon earnest and sincere negotiations with the object of finding a just and lasting political solution."

Delivering the keynote statement to the conference, Prof. Samdhong Rinpoche, the first democratically elected chairman of the Cabinet of the Tibetan government-in-exile said, "Europe and the European Union have a crucial role to play in resolving the Tibet issue. I believe that the appointment of an EU Special Representative for Tibetan Issues is a crucial step for a sustained and effective role for the European Union to help Tibet and China to resolve the Tibetan problem peacefully."

The conference resolution also highlighted existing mechanisms by calling on the EU to keep the performance of its human rights dialogue with the PRC under regular review in accordance with agreed benchmarks. Additional initiatives included urging all European governments and the EU to actively pursue and sponsor a resolution on the human rights situation in China and Tibet at the sessions of the UN Commission on Human Rights.

"This conference demonstrated the European Parliament's support for Tibet and the resolution it adopted demonstrates its recommitment to the Tibet issue," said Tsering Jampa, Executive Director of ICT Europe. "It also provides an excellent road map for the European Parliament's forward-thinking Tibet agenda," Jampa added. 

### TIBET RESOLUTION TEXT

*Selected Text from the resolution adopted by the European Parliamentarian Conference on Tibet, which:*

*I. Urges the Council and Commission of the European Union ... to appoint without further delay, a Special Representative for Tibetan Issues, modeled ... on the similar office of the U.S. Special Coordinator for Tibetan Issues...;*

*II. Calls on the EU and all European governments to use every opportunity to strongly impress upon the government of the PRC to build on the re-establishment of contact with the representatives of H. H. the Dalai Lama and to immediately embark upon earnest and sincere negotiations with the object of finding a just and lasting political solution;*

*III. Calls on the European Parliament and on national parliaments of European countries to initiate appropriate procedures for the recognition of the Government of Tibet in exile as the legitimate representative of Tibet and the Tibetan people if, by the 6 July 2003, no satisfactory political agreement has been reached between the government of the PRC and the Government of Tibet in exile establish a new status for Tibet;*

*IV. Calls on the EU to keep the performance of its human rights dialogue with the PRC under regular review ... ;*

*V. Urges all European governments and the Council and the Commission of the EU to reevaluate their recent lack of initiative with respect to efforts to pass resolutions at the United Nations Commission on Human Rights (UNCHR) on the situation in China and Tibet, and to actively pursue and sponsor such resolutions at the upcoming and subsequent sessions of the UNCHR, and to specifically urge the EU TROIKA to take a leadership role in this respect in 2003, 2004 and 2005;*

*VI. Calls on the EU and the national governments of European states to raise the issue of the Tibetan people's right to self determination in the Third Committee of the UN General Assembly at its next and subsequent sessions;*

*VII. Demands the release by the People's Republic of China of all Tibetan political prisoners, including the 13-year-old Panchen Lama, Gedhun Choekyi Nyima, who has been in captivity since May 1995;*

*VIII. Calls on the European Parliament, national parliaments, and the EU Commission and Council to actively monitor whether the treatment of Tibetans by the PRC authorities is affected by the privilege granted to China to host the 2008 Olympic Games; ...;*

## Eight Tibetans in New Chinese Communist Party Leadership

Eight Tibetans have found a place in the three main bodies of the 16th Communist Party of China (CPC), results of which were announced on November 14.

Three Tibetans are members of the Central Committee, another three are alternate members of the Central Committee and two are members of the Central Commission for Discipline Inspection. Dorjee Tsering, Legchok and Ragdi are new Central Committee Members.

There are a total of 198 people as members of CPC Central Committee.

Dorjee Tsering was born in 1938 and is from Amdo Labrang (Present-day Gannan Prefecture, Gansu Province). He was a member of CPC Central Commission for Discipline Inspection, and a member of the 13th and 15th CPC Central Committee.

Legchok was born in 1944 and is from Gyantse (Present-day Shigatse Prefecture, Tibet Autonomous Region or TAR). He was an alternate member of 15th CPC Central Committee. He is chairman of the TAR government.


Ragdi was born in 1938 and is from Buru County (in Present-day Nagchu Prefecture, TAR). He was an alternate member of 11th CPC Central Committee and member of the 12th to 15th CPC Central Committee. He is Chairman of Standing Committee of the Tibet Autonomous Regional People's Congress and deputy secretary of the CPC Tibet Autonomous Regional Committee.

Jampa Phuntsok, a former mayor of Lhasa City, Rinchen Gyal, believed to be from Amdo, and Guru Tsego (from Amdo Ngapa in Present-day Ngapa Prefecture, Sichuan Province) are alternate members of the CPC central Committee. There are a total of 158 people as alternate members of the CPC Central Committee.

Pema and Bhuchung are members of the Central Commission for Discipline

Inspection. There are a total of 121 people in this Commission.

Pema was born in 1946, and is from Kyekudho in Kham (Present-day Yulshul Prefecture, Qinghai Province).

Bhuchung is a vice chairman of the Standing Committee of the Tibet Autonomous Regional People's Congress. 

### HU JINTAO SUCCEEDS JIANG AS CHINA'S LEADER

Hu Jintao succeeded Jiang Zemin as the leader of China when Jiang formally relinquished his position as general secretary of the Communist Party after 13 years in power during the 16th Communist Party congress in November.

During his tenure as Party Secretary of the Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR), Hu Jintao established a record as a tough administrator of Beijing's control mechanisms in Tibet, including the use of deadly force against unarmed Tibetan protesters and the imposition of martial law in Lhasa.

Hu Jintao was appointed Party Secretary of the TAR in December 1988, a position he held, mostly in absentia, through 1992. Tibet was his final posting before Deng Xiaoping, China's paramount leader, selected him for grooming as Jiang Zemin's successor.

Hu Jintao replaced the comparatively liberal-minded and popular Wu Jinghua as TAR Party Secretary. Wu had carried out liberal policies initiated by Party General Secretary Hu Yaobang, such as reducing the number of Chinese cadres in Tibet and promoting Tibetan leadership.

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## Dalai Lama's New Taiwan Representative-Designate visits Washington, D.C.

Ngapa Tsegyam, the Dalai Lama's new Representative Designate for Taiwan, recently visited Washington, D.C. making two well-received presentations there.

On Thursday November 14, Tsegyam presented a timely lecture entitled "Tibet and Chinese Leader Hu Jintao." This lecture was co-sponsored by the Asian Studies Department of Georgetown University's Walsh School of Foreign Service. Professor James Millward of the History Department chaired the evening's discussion.

On November 16, Tsegyam participated in ICT's first Tibetan Round Table discussion, a forum designed to encourage substantive discussion among Tibetans in a more focused forum. At this well-attended Round Table, Tsegyam presented some thoughts on the need for Tibetans to assess their approach to the study of China.

A long-time Tibet and China analyst, Tsegyam presently serves as the Deputy Representative of the Dalai Lama in Taiwan and has become a keen observer and analyst of Tibet-China relations.

Tsegyam was born and educated in the Ngapa region of Tibet's northeastern province of Amdo, currently annexed to Sichuan. He spent two years in prison as a political prisoner for his pro-Tibet activities while in university. After his prison term, he left Tibet for India. In Dharamsala, he became the Director of the Research and Analysis Center at the Security Department of the Tibetan government-in-exile (TGIE). 



Ngapa Tsegyam, the Dalai Lama's new Taiwan Representative

ICT

## Milestones

## In Memoriam: Senator Paul Wellstone

Senator Paul Wellstone of Minnesota died in a plane crash on October 25 in Minnesota. He was 58. Senator Wellstone was a steadfast friend of the Tibetan people, consistently supporting legislation on Tibet in the Congress, including a resolution on the Panchen Lama and Tibet, which he introduced in April 2002.

The plane carried seven other people, including his wife, Sheila Wellstone, and their daughter, Marcia, and three staffers, all of whom were killed.

"Senator Wellstone was an unyielding advocate for human rights," said Mary Beth Markey, U.S. Executive Director of the International Campaign for Tibet.

"We count ourselves tremendously fortunate that Senator Wellstone took up interest in the Tibet issue," Markey continued.

"This is a profound loss for the world's human rights advocates and, on a personal level, for the staff of the International Campaign for Tibet. We extend our greatest sympathies and prayers to Senator Wellstone's family and staff," said Markey.

Senator Wellstone was a staunch supporter of self-determination for the Tibetan people and an admirer of the Dalai Lama's nonviolent struggle. He was very active in supporting Tibet with his constituents in Minnesota.

An uncompromising rights advocate, Senator Wellstone was consistently the sponsor of resolutions calling for the censure of China at the UN Human Rights Commission in Geneva.


In a speech introducing his resolution on Tibet on April 25, 2002, Senator Wellstone told the Senate, "I would like to commend the Tibetan people, who under the leadership of the Dalai Lama, have remained steadfast in their commitment to non-violence.

"While in other parts of the world individuals seeking freedom have employed any means available - including violence and terrorism - the Tibetans

have not altered from the path of non-violence, even while their homeland, their families, their religion, and their culture are decimated. To turn away from the Tibetan people in their hour of need, would send a message to the world that the international community does not care about what is just. I urge Tibetans to stay the course of non-violence."

Senator Wellstone was a long-standing member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and was Chairman of the South Asia Subcommittee.

Sheila Wellstone was nationally recognized for her leadership as an advocate against family violence and an effective and tireless advocate for social justice.

Senator Wellstone is survived by his sons, David and Mark, and six grandchildren Cari, Keith, Joshua, Acacia, Sydney, and Matt. 



Senator Wellstone speaking with Tibetans on the Capitol steps. ICT's Mary Beth Markey is on left.

## Tibetan Monk Dies in Chinese Labor Camp

Tibetan monk and political prisoner Lobsang Darjee died suddenly on November 19 in a Chinese labor camp.

The reform-through-labor camp where Lobsang Darjee, 37, died is located on the outskirts of Siling (Chinese: Xining) in Amdo, eastern Tibet (present-day Qinghai), according to reports from Radio Free Asia (RFA) and the Tibetan Center for Human Rights and Democracy (TCHRD).

Darjee had been held at the camp in Qinghai since October 2001.

Chinese authorities reportedly told Lobsang Darjee's family that he had died from a sudden illness.

There is speculation, however, that Darjee's death was the result of beatings or torture that he may have suffered in prison.

Lobsang Darjee was born on No-

vember 19, 1966, in Chuwa in Machen County, Golok Prefecture. When he was 21, he attended Raja Monastery.

On November 15, 1992, during the coronation ceremony for Shingsa Rinpoche, the young abbot of the Raja Monastery, Lobsang Darjee and three other monks put posters advocating Tibetan independence up on the walls of stores and buildings around the Monastery and raised two Tibetan national flags on the roof of the monastery's main hall.

Ten days, later Lobsang Darjee was arrested by Chinese authorities and was sentenced by the Chinese court of Golok Prefecture to two and an half years in prison and two years' deprivation of political rights.

Lobsang Darjee was released on May

25, 1995, but he was not allowed to return to the monastery.

However, to help ensure that the monastery's young abbot, Shingsa Rinpoche, would have the opportunity to receive a traditional Tibetan Buddhist education, Lobsang Darjee took Shingsa Rinpoche and fled to Dharamsala, India.

He and Shingsa Rinpoche later went to study at Sera Monastery in South India.

In early 2001, Chinese authorities arrested Lobsang Darjee after he returned to Tibet to visit his mother.

The Chinese court in Golok Prefecture sentenced Darjee to 15 years in prison, and he was sent to the reform-through-labor camp on the outskirts of Siling (Xining) where he died. 

## ICT Field Team Assists Refugees in Tibet-Nepal Border Region

In late November, the high season for Tibetan refugees fleeing their homeland, an ICT staffperson and an ICT member traveled to remote areas along the Tibet-Nepal border to monitor the mountain escape routes used by Tibetans fleeing Chinese-occupied Tibet.

The ICT team encountered four different groups of refugees, including one group of 26 whose members were suffering from exposure and dehydration. All of the groups had evaded Chinese border patrols on 18,000 foot high glaciated mountain passes and had been walking for sev-

eral days without food when they met the ICT team.

After administering basic first aid to the feet and face of some of the refugees, the ICT team traveled with one of the groups for several days as they wound their way down into the foothills of Nepal.

With some members of the group suffering from exhaustion, severe blistering on the toes and feet and signs of frostbite, ICT facilitated the evacuation by helicopter of several of the refugees, including two 5-year-olds and two 12-year-olds, while the others continued afoot to Kathmandu.

The recent border mission is part of ICT's ongoing human rights monitoring and refugee assistance work. During these missions, ICT conducts interviews with refugees, Nepalese police, and Nepalese resident in the mountain communities where refugees pass through. Part of the mission is to provide direct assistance, facilitate communication, and gather vital information to help Tibetans make their way to Kathmandu quickly and safely.

The Kingdom of Nepal, with assistance from the United Nations High Com-



JOSH ELMORE

*Two days after crossing a glaciated mountain pass, a group of Tibetan refugees (lower left) continues on an escape route into Nepal.*

missioner for Refugees (UNHCR), allows Tibetan refugees transit through Nepal en route to their destination in India. There are, however, regular problems with abuse, beatings, and deportations of Tibetans by Nepalese police. This season there have been no reports of deportations of Tibetan refugees.

To read more about the annual refugee exodus, see *"Dangerous Crossing, Conditions Impacting the Flight of Tibetan Refugees in 2001"* at ICT's website:

[www.savetibet.org](http://www.savetibet.org)



*ICT Member Josh Elmore administers first aid to a young Tibetan refugee.*

## KHENPO JIGME PHUNTSOK RESUMES TEACHINGS AT SERTHAR UNDER CHINESE WATCH

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 4

Nepal, has given human rights monitors there further details of the continuing Chinese presence at the monastic complex.

As many as twenty plain clothes policeman from Serthar Township have reportedly taken up permanent residency in a building at Larung Gar. The building was once used by Chinese students of Khenpo Jigme Phuntsok as a small publishing house comprised a handful of computers and photocopy machines, among other things. It ceased to be used for this purpose when all of the Chinese and foreign students were expelled from Larung Gar

last year.

The monk in Kathmandu told ICT that monastic leaders at Larung Gar had asked Chinese officials to leave the orange building three months ago.

"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," the monk said. "Despite the plea, the Chinese have stayed here just to watch us."

"The officials who live there are responsible for counting the number of houses, attaching metal plates with num-

bers on the houses, giving Larung Gar monastic residence cards and generally looking after how many monks and nuns there are at Larung Gar," the monk reported to ICT.

During the demolition of homes and expulsion of monks and nuns that began in June 2001, officials capped the number of monks at 1,000 and nuns at 400. At the time of expulsion, there were approximately 3,000 monks and 5,000 nuns at Larung Gar.

In the ensuing months, more than 3,000 wood and earthen homes were de-

CONTINUED ON PAGE 9

## Update on Serthar

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 8

stroyed and more than 6,000 monastics were forced to leave.

“Khenpo Jigme Phuntsok's activities were completely religious and non-political,” said Bhuchung Tsering, Director of ICT.

“That they were disrupted last year on order from top officials in Beijing shows that the old guard was still very much pulling the strings there.”

“We hope that the new leadership in place after this Party congress will respect and uphold the Chinese constitution's guarantee for religious freedom,” Tsering continued.

### Demolition at Larung Gar:

“A brick wall is very visible on either side of the valley and no new construction can take place beyond this wall,” the Larung Gar monk in Kathmandu told ICT.

In August, Chinese officials made announcements and placed posters around Larung Gar declaring no new construction of housing is allowed there, the monk told ICT. The space within the wall is crowded with houses and does not allow for new homes to be built.

The monk also reported that the destruction of homes has not stopped at Larung Gar. On October 15th, two makeshift houses erected by three nuns were destroyed after being spotted by officials, a nun who recently left Larung Gar told ICT.

“We tried to build a simple roof attached to the house of one of our friends during the night,” the nun said from her (undisclosed) home area.

“We didn't have permission to stay at Larung Gar but with Khenpo Jigme Phuntsok there now, we must try to remain at any cost,” the nun continued. “I've left to beg for money so I can return to Larung Gar.”

Monks at Larung Gar believe that the reason Chinese officials targeted nuns



*Cement and brick wall at Larung Gar. Chinese officials have declared that no construction is allowed below the wall (on left side). The ruins of some of the 3,000 homes that were destroyed in summer 2001 are visible to the left.*

in particular last year was the belief that nuns would return to their homes and not try to flee into exile.

“The Chinese are embarrassed when exiled monks and nuns talk about what the government does to us,” the monk in Kathmandu told ICT. “They think that monks are much more likely to leave for India and Nepal than nuns are and they don't want this. So they kicked out mostly nuns.”

Various reports received by ICT indicate a general perception among Tibetan monks and nuns at Larung Gar that last year's crackdown was the result of the ever increasing number of Chinese students, and that Chinese officials felt threatened by the large concentration of Chinese residents at Larung Gar.

At the time of expulsion, there were more than 1,000 Chinese students residing at Larung Gar, eyewitnesses told ICT.

*Note: video footage of the destruction at Serthar is available at*

*www.savetibet.org* 

## Five Tibetans Arrested in Kandze

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 4


urgency for the Dalai Lama's long life was refueled after Tibetans returning from India reported His Holiness [the Dalai Lama] could not give the Kalachakra initiation in India owing to health reasons,” Kedun, a 30 year-old Tibetan woman reported to ICT human rights monitors in Kathmandu, Nepal, in July.

“In Kandze prefecture many villages sponsored long life ceremonies for His Holiness and at these ceremonies, the Dalai Lama's photo portrait would be displayed prominently.”

Kedun left her village in Kandze prefecture after being summoned by Kandze police following her participating in a number of the long-life ceremonies.

During the largest of these ceremonies held on February 13, a number of Tibetans reportedly made speeches praising the Dalai Lama in front of a large framed photograph of the Dalai Lama; both are a defiance of official order. A VCD video was made of the ceremony and celebrations, which included picnicking and dancing. More than 100 copies of the video were distributed throughout Kandze in the following weeks.

While Chinese authorities have given no official explanation, Tibetans in Kandze told ICT that they believed the arrests were directly connected to the organization of the prayer ceremonies for the Dalai Lama.

“After we had the video for a few days, the Kandze police came to know about it,” an elderly Tibetan from Kandze told ICT. “Tibetan and Chinese police officers came house to house, shop to shop to confiscate the videos. So many people had been given them [the videos] that the police just collected them and nobody got in trouble for having them at that time.” 

## Bush Urges "More Dialogue with Tibetan Leaders" in meeting with Jiang

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

rights are the common pursuits of mankind and that China's human rights situation is at its best time, characterized by constant improvement. Regarding our differences in these areas, the Chinese side stands ready to continue exchanging views with the U.S. side on basis of mutual respect and seeking common ground while shelving differences, with a view to deepening understanding and enhancing consensus."

President Bush announced that Vice President Cheney would be visiting China next year.

Talking about overall U.S.-China relations President Bush said, "The United States seeks and is building a relationship with China that is candid, constructive and cooperative. We will continue building this relationship through contacts at many levels in months to come, including a new

dialogue on security issues."


President Jiang responded by saying, "I'm confident that, so long as the two sides persist in viewing and handling their relations from a strategic height and with a long-



"More dialogue" - The Dalai Lama's Special Envoy, Lodi Gyari, meeting with Mr. Wang Zhaoguo, Vice Chair of the Chinese National People's Political Consultative Conference and head of the United Front Work Department,\* in Beijing on September 23. (\*Wang has since been promoted to the Politburo Central Committee of the Communist Party of China; Ms. Liu Yandong replaces him)

term perspective and keep expanding cooperation and enhancing mutual trust, China-U.S. relations will be able to grow steadily and bring benefits to both peoples."

This was the third meeting of the two leaders, and the last for Jiang before stepping down as China's leader in November. The two Presidents met last year at the APEC Summit in Shanghai and in February during President Bush's visit to Beijing.

ICT held a successful postcard campaign leading up to the Crawford meeting. According to the Crawford post office, ICT members sent hundreds of postcards to Crawford every day for several weeks. ICT thanks all of the members who participated in this campaign and helped to make sure Tibet was on President Bush's agenda. 

## Released: Ngawang Sangdrol

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

community must not accept these few, high profile releases as any substitute for a sincere Chinese commitment to resolve the Tibet issue through dialogue with the Dalai Lama," Ackerly said.

"We must continue push for a fundamental shift in Chinese policy toward Tibet," Ackerly continued. "Ultimately, it is dialogue with the Dalai Lama will best serve the interests of the Tibetan and Chinese peoples."

Sangdrol's release came a week before Chinese President Jiang Zemin met with President Bush in Crawford, Texas, and is part of a recent campaign by China to change the image of its rule in Tibet, which has been marked by decades of brutality.

Sources in India said that Sangdrol's relatives there had been anticipating her release but were deeply concerned about her health.

Though she has reportedly been in poor health, Sangdrol was released on parole for good behavior, not on medical

parole as several other prominent prisoners were.

When he was asked about why Sangdrol was released on good behavior instead of medical parole, recently-released Takna Jigme Sangpo, Tibet's longest-serving political prisoner, said that he believed the Chinese government is "trying to influence others - it doesn't mean she changed her behavior or



Ngawang Sangdrol, Tibet's longest serving female political prisoner


thoughts."

In prison Sangdrol gained a reputation as a fearless advocate of Tibetan freedom. Born in 1977, she was first detained in 1987 at age 10 and again at age 13 when she spent nine months in detention without any formal charge. She was again detained in 1992 for peacefully demonstrating against Chinese rule. She has received significant international attention because her sentence was extended several times.

Both Sangdrol and her late father, Namgyal Tashi, served overlapping terms from 1992 to 1999 in Drapchi prison, notorious for harsh treatment of prisoners, for separate demonstrations.

Lodi Gyari, Special Envoy of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, said, "We welcome Ngawang Sangdrol's release as she was one the cases we have been raising with the Chinese leadership at different levels in the recent past." Gyari also said that he hopes Sangdrol will get a "thorough medical check-up and undergo treatment, in China or wherever is necessary."

Her case was taken up by the U.S. Congress, the French government, the European Parliament and many others. News of the release was first announced by John Kamm, of the Dui Hua Foundation.

In 1994, Sangdrol and 13 other nuns secretly recorded songs and poems in tribute to Tibet and the Dalai Lama. Sangdrol's sentence was extended by six years after the recordings were smuggled out of prison. 

## Dalai Lama Presents ICT Light Of Truth Awards

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

greatly appreciated Kelly's determination and sincerity in working on behalf of the Tibetan people.

He said that her contributions were indelible and that her efforts would bear fruit. He also said he was glad that there are people who are continuing her good work.

Heinrich Harrer was honored for his unparalleled mobilization of concern and sympathy for the people of Tibet, mainly through his 1952 book, *Seven Years in Tibet*. Harrer and his companion Peter Aufschnaiter lived in Lhasa after escaping from a British prisoner of war camp in India and provided the world with a final glimpse of life in an independent Tibetan state prior to the Chinese invasion. Subsequently, Harrer organized expeditions to many other parts of the globe, becoming a champion for indigenous and occupied peoples' rights. In his acceptance of the award Heinrich Harrer noted how his outlook on life was changed forever by living with the Tibetan people.

The Light of Truth Award was designed to recognize and honor individuals who have made significant contributions to public awareness of Tibet and Tibetans. The International Campaign for Tibet first gave this award in 1994 and it has become the most prestigious award in the Tibet movement. The award is an antique Tibet butter lamp symbolizing the light that each recipient has shed on the plight of the Tibetan people.


The International Campaign for Tibet will present its next Light of Truth Award to the people of India in a December ceremony in New Delhi. The award was previously scheduled for November, 2001 but was postponed due to the events of September 11. The award recognizes the People of India for providing His Holiness the Dalai Lama and the Tibet people refuge and support and enabling the distinctive Tibetan culture and



MYRA DE ROOY/ICT

*The Dalai Lama visits ICT's exhibit "No Stone Unturned: The Ongoing Search for Tibet's Panchen Lama" in Graz with ICT-Europe's Tsering Jampa.*

religious heritage to flourish.

The Board of Directors of the International Campaign for Tibet votes on whom to present the award each year and has selected notable journalists, politicians, actors, directors, philanthropists and scholars. Previous recipients include Hugh Richardson, U.S. Senator Claiborne Pell, Richard Gere, Richard Blum and Madame Danielle Mitterand. 

## HU JINTAO SUCCEEDS JIANG AS CHINA'S LEADER

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 6

Shortly after Hu was appointed to Tibet, the 10th Panchen Lama died under somewhat mysterious conditions. Hu Jintao was faced with a situation where he had no credible, senior Tibetan leader to work with while the exiled Dalai Lama, who was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize on December 10, 1989, was gaining international prominence, credibility and prestige.

In early March 1989, massive demonstrations began to resemble a popular uprising as thousands of Tibetans took to the streets. Between 40 and 130 Tibetans were killed. Hu Jintao announced the imposition of martial law in Lhasa, abruptly ending more than a decade of liberalization in Tibet. During the ensuing year of martial law, Lhasa's numerous prison facilities overflowed, and detainees were subjected to sadistic and horrifying treatment.


It is widely believed that Hu Jintao

never saw his stint in the TAR as his real work. Unlike his previous Party assignments in Gansu and Guizhou provinces, where he conducted extensive tours, Hu hardly ventured out to the Tibetan countryside. By the time Hu was named TAR Party Secretary, his eyes were set on Beijing and a bigger role.

The political highlight of Hu Jintao's stay in Tibet came in the summer of 1990 when Jiang Zemin paid a visit to demonstrate his confidence in Hu. Soon after, Hu was appointed First Secretary of the Tibet Military District CCP Committee. However, in October 1990, less than two years after his Tibet posting began, Hu left Lhasa and moved back to Beijing. For the next two years, Hu continued to hold the position of TAR Party Secretary and the Tibet 'Autonomous' Region was, in fact, governed directly from Beijing.

So far, Hu Jintao's public remarks on Tibet and the Dalai Lama have not departed from official rhetoric. On July 19, 2001 in Lhasa, Hu gave a major policy speech at the 50th anniversary celebration of China's "peaceful liberation of Tibet," where he said, "It is essential to fight unequivocally against the separatist activities by the Dalai clique and anti-China forces in the world..."

Despite Hu Jintao's record as TAR Party Secretary, many Tibetans hope that he can play a positive role in the future of Tibet. Some prominent Tibetan leaders currently serving in the TAR and other Tibetan areas maintain that since Hu has direct experience with the sentiments of Tibetans, he could be more responsive to Tibetan interests than past Chinese leaders.

*A full background on Hu Jintao is available at [www.savetibet.org](http://www.savetibet.org)* 



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*\*Please accept our sincere apologies for any mistakes or omissions.* 

## How You Can Help ICT

As this year ends, please consider expanding your support for the people of Tibet.

While ICT has made extraordinary advances this year, the economy and continuing aftereffects of September 11th have left us with a shortfall.

We need to make sure that we are prepared next year to help the process of dialogue that began this year, to secure more releases of political prisoners, and to promote the Dalai Lama's message of non-violence.

Listed below are a few ways that you can support Tibetans through gifts to ICT. All gifts to ICT are fully tax-deductible.

**End-Of-The-Year donations** can be made through personal checks or through select credit cards (Visa or Mastercard). You can also donate through our website with ICT's secure online network at [www.savetibet.org](http://www.savetibet.org).

**Monthly Friends of Tibet Giving Program** - ICT has also has a Friends of Tibet monthly-giving program. We can automatically deduct the donations from your credit card or bank account, which will make it easier for you. And, you can cancel your contribution at any time. Friends of Tibet will receive special updates on the most recent issues affecting Tibet.


**Combined Federal Campaign (CFC), The United Way & Workplace Giving** — Please consider selecting ICT for a donation this year in your CFC, United Way or workplace giving campaigns. Look for ICT in the organization handbook under "International Campaign for Tibet."

**Matching Gifts** - Your gift can be doubled or even tripled by matching gift programs that some employers offer. If your employer has a matching gift program, please consider donating to ICT in

this way.

**Planned gifts/Bequests** - A gift included in your will or living trust is one way to establish a lasting legacy. By extending your commitment to the Tibetans into the future through a bequest in your will, you can significantly help ICT's programs.

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**For more information** about these ways to give to ICT or how ICT raises and spend its funds, please feel free to contact Joel Gysan, ICT's Membership Coordinator, or our development department at (202) 785-1515 or [members@savetibet.org](mailto:members@savetibet.org) 



# Los Angeles Times

Sunday, October 27, 2002

ASIA

## Tibet Issue Is Ripe for Solving

By ORVILLE SCHELL

**B**ERKELEY — A great opportunity was lost Friday when President Bush met with Chinese President and Communist Party Chairman Jiang Zemin without taking up the situation in Tibet.

China held out a tantalizing hope last month in hosting a delegation from the Dalai Lama's government in exile on a visit to China and Tibet. Now would have been the moment to advance that initiative.

But it is still not too late to take up the challenge of resolving Tibet's status, a problem that has long bedeviled Tibetans and ethnic Chinese alike. In fact, Hu Jintao, who appears slated to assume leadership of China next month when Jiang steps down, was China's party secretary of the Tibet Autonomous Region from 1988 to 1992. Understanding the complexities of Tibet's difficult relationship with China puts him in an excellent position to distinguish the beginning of his tenure as supreme leader of China by helping to untie this Gordian knot.

If Hu fails to address issues of human rights in Tibet and the region's desire for autonomy, his country will be the worse for his lapse. In the Palestinian territories, in Kashmir, in the former Yugoslavia, we have seen how unattended conflicts with ethnic subtexts can erupt in ways that make them virtually impossible to solve. It's in China's interest not to let that happen in Tibet.

When Jiang's government met last month with Lodi Gyaltzen Gyari and Kelsang Gyaltzen, representatives of the Dalai Lama's government in exile, it seemed to indicate a new flexibility on the part of Beijing — a flexibility that will be necessary if China wants to resolve its long-standing differences with Tibet. On assuming office, Hu should follow up on this initial olive branch with further initiatives aimed at advancing the situation toward a truly durable solution.

Fortunately, Tibet is not beyond remedy. And one can hardly imagine a better way for a Chinese leader to establish himself in office than to offer a peaceful solution.

The Dalai Lama has proposed a reasonable compromise: In return for a high degree of Tibetan autonomy and permission to return home to Lhasa, his government in exile would yield to the Chinese government's claim of sovereignty and its desire to continue controlling Tibet's foreign affairs and defense.

This is clearly a win-win-win proposition. China gains the Dalai Lama's acknowledgment that Tibet is in fact a part of a multiethnic China, thereby removing the contentious issue of independence from the board. Tibet wins China's agreement to allow the Dalai Lama to return home and help stem the erosion of Tibetan Buddhism and traditional culture that, with the large influx of Han Chinese, has drawn the region ever deeper into the pull of Chinese cultural and political gravity. And the world gains by being relieved of the burden of a major point of global tension.

A solution to the Tibet problem would greatly improve China's global image. The situation in Tibet, which many around the world see as a form of quasi-colonial occupation, has been an ongoing stain on China's international reputation.

[See Tibet, Page M2]

*Orville Schell is a longtime writer about Chinese and Tibetan affairs and dean of the Graduate School of Journalism at UC Berkeley.*

## Tibet Plan Could Benefit All Sides

[Tibet, from Page M1]

Working out a solution that would facilitate the Dalai Lama's return to Tibet would not only help remove much of the stigma of the last half-century but would also allow the Dalai Lama to help soothe and manage the tensions that have built up over the years.

While the situation may appear to have been superficially quiet of late, it is no secret that smoldering resentments remain, and that these resentments could easily lead to yet another overt conflict. Should that happen, it might then be too late for the kind of peaceful reconciliation that now offers itself as a real possibility.

I have often, and only half-jokingly, noted to Chinese friends who are wary of the Tibetan government in exile that most non-Chinese world leaders would be only too happy to have the Dalai Lama as an adversary. He is, after all, renowned for his tolerance, his good sense and his compassion. Chinese officials must realize, hav-

ing recently hosted a Tibetan delegation, that in the Tibetans they have an immensely reasonable partner for negotiation.

Solving the Tibet problem in a peaceful, equitable and magnanimous way would provide an extraordinary beginning to Hu's tenure as China's leader. It would also be an astute way for China to continue cementing better relations with the U.S.

For those of us watching around the world, a creative, new solution to this long-stalemated issue would serve as a very convincing sign that China was changing, maturing and becoming more receptive to assuming a greater role on the global stage as a constructive, reliable and forward-looking power. During this time of deep anxiety over international terrorism and ethnic strife, such an expression of Chinese leadership would go a long way to impressing and reassuring the world. Hu could leave no greater legacy.

THE NEW YORK TIMES INTERNATIONAL FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 15, 2002

# Mystery Man

## At the Helm

Hu Jintao

MAN IN THE NEWS

# Mystery Man at the Helm: Hu Jintao, the New Top Leader of China

Continued From Page A1

By JOSEPH KAHN

BEIJING, Friday, Nov. 15 — Low-profile even by the hermetic standards of China's one-party system, Hu Jintao today took over the most important political position in the world's most populous nation by appealing to the one constituency that News

ers. A merchant's son, Mr. Hu survived a decade-long leadership trial by persuading elders that he was the perfect party mandarin, pragmatic and flexible, yet discreet and fiercely loyal. That he rose to the top while scarcely showing his face even as China opened its economy to the world is testimony to the unresolved contradictions of the Chinese experiment with a one-party market economy.

Mr. Hu, 58, is the enforcer who was the top official in Tibet when China imposed martial law in 1989 to quell unrest. He is the nationalist who supported anti-American protesters after a United States bomb destroyed the Chinese Embassy in Yugoslavia in 1999.

Yet he is also the innovator who installed broadband Internet access at the Communist Party school and encouraged academic debates about democracy and separation of powers. Now he will deal with the challenges of combining modernization with China's announced goal of continued one-party governance is not clear.

"People think Hu will fulfill their

Continued on Page A12

men, a term of art in Chinese politics. He reflects light or turns dark, depending on circumstances.

"What he will be like after he has steadied his position is something I don't know," Mr. Bao said. "Probably nobody knows, not even himself."

Still, some people who have met Mr. Hu said it would be a mistake to underestimate him. In 1992, when he was plucked from obscurity at the behest of Deng Xiaoping, then China's paramount leader, and given a seat on the ruling standing committee of the party's Politburo at the tender age of 48, he became both heir apparent and target No. 1.

Chinese leaders have often elevated loyal apparatchiks to towering posts and, about as often, watched them founder amid the capital's factional politics. Mr. Hu seemed to face long odds, especially after Deng died in 1987. He needed family-tuned political instincts to survive.

He has built a power base through the Communist Youth League, which he headed in the early 1980's and whose alumni now oversee important party posts nationwide. Unlike Mr. Jiang, who moved unexpectedly to Beijing to become the party chief during political turmoil in 1989 after spending his entire career in Shanghai, Mr. Hu has installed his own protégés in key national positions.

"He is a reformer who wants to accomplish things," said a party official who knows him. "He will wait for the right time to bring out his ideas."

Hu Jintao (pronounced who-jin-toe, as in towel), was born in Shanghai in 1942 in a family of itinerant sesame oil merchants. He grew up in Taizhou, about 180 miles northwest



Associated Press

joined the Politburo standing committee in 1992, he was already talking that he would succeed Mr. Jiang, who had just consolidated his own power and was seen to add China's presidency to his posts as party and military leader. Mr. Hu became Mr. Jiang's vice president in 1996.

Unlike Mr. Jiang, who speaks a bit of Russian and English, Mr. Hu is comparatively provincial. But he staked out an aggressive foreign policy position two days after the United States bombed China's embassy in Belgrade in 1999, an incident Washington says was an accident. He went on government-run television and pledged to support "all protest activities in accordance with the law." Mr. Hu's address was viewed within the party as a successful maneuver to keep control of surging nationalism.

On his maiden trip to the United States last spring, some people Mr. Hu met privately described him as personable, even funny. James E. McGreevey, the governor of New Jersey, who talked with Mr. Hu in New York, told the Chinese official that with his full head of jet-black hair, he did not look his 58 years. Mr. Hu replied, "China would be happy to share its technology in this area."

In public, though, Mr. Hu took few chances. He gave no interviews, stuck firmly to established policy and read his speeches verbatim. He sometimes recited copious statistics about agricultural policy or auto production, leaving audiences dejected.

At home, within the party, the trip was regarded as a great success.

youngest person to achieve these milestones.

Hu Jintao's career overseeing provincial affairs, first in Guizhou and then Tibet, sent mixed signals. Guizhou became a haven for liberal intellectuals who fell out of a favor during Beijing's political mood swings. In Tibet, though, he proved his willingness to use force. Shortly after he took over responsibility for the region in 1988, followers of the Dalai Lama took to the streets of Lhasa, the capital. China declared martial law, and Mr. Hu overrode three years of what human rights groups described as brutal oppression.

The crackdown appeared to earn him some credit in Beijing. When he

*The Washington Times*

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 8, 2002

# China arrests 5 Dalai Lama backers

**BELJING (AP)** — Chinese army troops moved into a Tibetan-inhabited region of western China and arrested five men after a months-long investigation into prayer ceremonies held in honor of the Dalai Lama, an overseas Tibet support group said yesterday.

The report casts doubt on what had appeared to be signs of a thaw in relations between China and the Dalai Lama, Tibet's spiritual and temporal leader who lives in exile in India. He fled Tibet in 1959 after a failed uprising against Chinese communist troops.

China considers the Dalai Lama a political meddler campaigning to overthrow Chinese rule in Tibet. But the Dalai Lama denied that yesterday during his first visit in seven years to Mongolia, whose people share centuries-old religious and cultural ties with Tibet.

"I am not seeking independence. I am seeking self-rule. I think that benefits both Chinese and Tibetan people," he said in a speech yesterday at Mongolian National University. He did not elaborate, but has previously appealed for greater Ti-

betan cultural and political autonomy.

The five men were arrested Oct. 18 in the Ganzi Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture in Sichuan province, the New York-based International Campaign for Tibet said. Authorities have not told relatives what charges they might face, saying only that the crimes were serious, the group said in a news release.

Others from the area fled to India after being summoned for questioning by police, the group said.

Ganzi, known in Tibetan as Kandze, was traditionally regarded as part of Tibet, but was placed under a neighboring province after Chinese troops occupied the Himalayan region in 1951.

The group said the arrests appeared to be related to a series of traditional Buddhist rituals held in Ganzi in February to pray for long life for the Dalai Lama.

China has released six Tibetan political prisoners this year and permitted the Dalai Lama's brother and top officials of the government in exile to visit Tibet, the first formal encounter in nine years.

Yesterday, China reopened rail traffic with Mongolia after a two-day suspension that drove up world copper prices on fears that Beijing was retaliating for the Dalai Lama's visit to the landlocked nation, a major copper producer.

China blamed unspecified "technical problems" for the suspension. But the OsterDowJones news agency quoted an executive in China's copper industry as saying Beijing suspended Mongolian imports due to the visit by the exiled Tibetan leader.

Moves by China to battle dissent have come under heightened scrutiny in the walkup to a landmark Communist Party congress that begins in Beijing today.

Amid banners and palm fronds on Tiananmen Square, security was especially tight.

"Beijing has got everything ready," the official Communist Party newspaper People's Daily said a day before the 16th Party Congress convened. "The capital at night looks resplendent, lustrous and brilliant everywhere."

## Imprisoned Tibetan nun freed nine years early

**BELJING** — A Tibetan nun imprisoned by Chinese authorities since her midteens for her political activities was freed yesterday on good behavior nine years early, a leading human rights activist said — a release that comes days before China's leader visits the United States.

It was at least the seventh release of a Tibetan political prisoner since January.

Ngawang Sangdrol, a nun who is either 24 or 25, was released from Tibet Autonomous Region Prison No. 1 and reunited with her family, said John Kamm, president of the Duihua Foundation, a human rights organization based in San Francisco.

*The Washington Times*

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 18, 2002

## INTERNATIONAL CAMPAIGN FOR TIBET

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Photography by Steve McCurry

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The calendar features the work of internationally acclaimed photographer, Steve McCurry, best known for his National Geographic cover image of an Afghan woman. Thanks to McCurry's generously donated photos, the calendar is a stunning depiction of life in Tibet.

The ICT wall calendar makes a great gift for colleagues, friends and family who support positive change in Tibet.

Simply go to our online store at [www.savetibet.org](http://www.savetibet.org) to purchase or print out an order form! Use the coupon code SMCAL3 to get your member discounted price of \$9 each. Call Van at ICT at (202) 785-1515 for information about mail in orders or bulk prices.

**SPECIAL OFFER:** Join ICT or renew your membership online at [www.savetibet.org](http://www.savetibet.org) for \$35 or more before December 31 and receive a free calendar!



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