CHAPTER II
Western Concept of Human Rights

The philosophy of human rights has emerged as one of the foremost issue in the west in the post cold war era. During the cold war it was argued in struggle against the Soviet Communism. After the collapse of USSR, it has been placed on the universality of human rights anchored in the western liberal tradition. This has been termed as the “post colonial approach”.

Today the issue of human rights in China has become the moral issue in the western world. The source of this new found interest how its legacy from the violent suppression of the student’s movement of 1989 by the People’s Liberation Army. The televised broadcast of the incident had shocked the people of the whole western world. This has not only showed the existing reality of Chinese totalitarian regime in controlling its citizen but also exposed their ignorance. The incident has brought the China’s human rights

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situation a domestic political issue in many of the countries, which has done knocking effect on the governmental machinery to include the China's human rights situation in their foreign policy agenda.

This new found interest in scrutinizing the China's human rights record has thrown the issue of Tibet on their agenda. The shift in attitude was also partly brought by the Dalai Lamas own political initiative and the press coverage of Lhasa demonstration.

The issue of Tibet is not only limited to the concern of activists and concerned citizens but it has also been included in the agenda of foreign policy of many countries. Various parliaments have passed resolutions to reprehend the China's human rights record in Tibet. Many support groups and information networks as well as Hollywood stars have mushroomed across the countries to provide information of human rights in Tibet. NGO's are publishing report about the mistreatment of the Tibetans. Tibet issue has become the hot topic of media and now the big theme for Hollywood. The work

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of NGOs and other support groups are also centred around the torture, arrest, detention and disappearances and publicize it to get the sympathy for the cause. The governments are also putting pressure on China to respect the Tibetan's rights of freedom of expression and political association through multilateral and bilateral diplomacy.

There are several reason which can be advanced for this but the most important reason is intellectual that is the their concept of human rights which derives its logic from the seventeenth century Anglo-American thought and their approach to its efficacy and promotion. Therefore the chapter focuses on the various aspects of the western concept of human rights on which the concern and criticism of Chinese rule in Tibet is based.

Concept

The western concepts of human rights mean 'Those moral rights which are universal and belong to all human beings at all times

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6 The term western is used not in a geographic precision but here it is concerned with liberal democratic thought of western tradition. See for more details H. Gross Espiel, 'The Evolving concept of Human Rights' in B.G.Ramcharan (ed.), Human Rights: Thirty years after the Universal Declaration (Hague, 1979), pp. 49-50.
in all situations by virtue of being born as human being, and for this they do not need any recognition from existing legal system and moral codes. The basis of this notion is 'just entitlements' that means one can make claims not legally but morally even when they are not positive rights, against those in relation to whom right is held. It refers to 'right to' rather than 'right that' which makes it stronger and takes priority over competing moral, political and legal claims in Dworkin's phrase called 'Trumps'. These concepts operate at two levels. At the one hand it empowers the individual with certain legal norms entrenching rights while at the other hand it gives legal justification by building master image philosophy of human nature of individuals and the formation of their society.


8 Ibid., p. 38.


The basis of the concept is the atomistic idea of man. Because man exists as a reality species being but differentiated from animals as having 'freedom rationality and purpose'. These differences place man in the higher position of cosmos and thought to be the essential ingredient of human dignity provided by the nature to shape his destiny on a free and equal basis. In western mind this exaltation of man is stripped from all social relations is intimately linked with the defence of human rights. Therefore, "it is hardly surprising that the Christian concept of universal God is replaced with the concept of an underlying human nature that becomes the universal basis of rights".

The philosophical implication of this development is that it changed that sequence of reasoning from 'positive law to rights' to 'positive law from rights'. This new trend in reasoning has created the civil morality as the primary and dominant form of morality and

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13 Individualization is a matter of social convention of draing boundary between man and nature. In naturalist conception individual is limited to his body and everything within it is conceived to be the integral and indivisible part of self. See Bhikhu Parekh, 'The Modern Conception of Rights and its Marxist critique' in Upendra Banxi (ed.), New Delhi, 1987, pp. 4-5.


articulated in the idiom of rights, obligations and duties as the only means to protect the human dignity. In this right based morality only rule of law creates the order and mediates the adversarial interest of individual through the independent judiciary on the principles of fair play origin. Though there is no agreement among scholars concerning its philosophical origin as true with any historical ideas but some trace it back to the Natural law of the Greek and Stoic philosophers. It had been further developed by the theologians of medieval church in particular by Thomas Aquinas in a divine law concept to get some freedom from the rulers. But it was only after the Renaissance that natural law was rested in secular, modern and individualistic terms which provided the theoretical foundation for the development of the western concept of human rights. The necessity for the reinterpretation arouse because of the power struggle between the church and the state and the individual quest


for freedom from both. The idea of free and equal individual in the state of nature has come first time from the philosophy of Hobbes, which has provided the important component of liberal notion of rights. Locke who also defined the origin of the political authority in the same way followed it but like Hobbes he did not support the absolutism rather "defines its duties and limits its extent". This doctrine of natural rights especially in its Lockean formulation has become the theoretical inspiration for both American and French Revolution and it leads to the emergence of modern state, a new era in which the role of state and individual is clearly demarcated.

State Vs Human Rights

Human potential can only be realised and expressed in a social context but in liberal's view society is just a conglomeration of individual's dealing with their own interest resultantly social order is full of chaos. This has brought the necessity of agreement to create a central authority for the regulation of social and individual

20 Michael Freeden, Rights (Buckingham, 1991), p. 11.
interactions in a peaceful and orderly manner and the outcome was the emergence of modern state as an instrument of conflict resolution and for securing common interest i.e. freedom to make choice. Under this perspective state has very limited role to play but it is the only legitimate political unit above the individual which is the sole depository of power and the only actor that can legally wield violence and use force to impose its 'will'.

This has titled the balance of power heavily in favour of state and consequently, the state is in a position to act with gross disregard of the individual's inherent dignity and his right to self determination. This goes against the 'liberal's premise that human being and posses a state of perfect freedom to decide on the choice of action and the manner for dealing with their possessions.' It is precisely for the reason to protect the individual from the coercion of the absolute state and the government that the idea of right and

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justice came into being, whose compliance is linked with their legitimacy.

First is related to the limited state. In this the power of state controlled through creating a wave of legal sphere of rights around the individual. This legal vehicle to limit the power of state is known as 'Due process of law'. It means the 'state is limited by the law in the use of its actual power and limited by some higher restraints in its use of the law'. These higher restraints are entrenched into the constitution known as fundamental rights. This has provided the basis of judicial review where any positive law can be invalidated on the ground of conflicting with these rights and moreover, legitimacy of the state is dependent on compliance with these rights.

Second is related to the legitimacy of the government which depends on taking consent from the people. It is in this formulation lies the presumption of democracy. Democracy works at two levels. At the one level it limits the government through separation of

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26 C.L.Wayper, Political Thought (Delhi, 1986), p. 44.
powers and ‘creating a system of institutional checks and balances’\textsuperscript{29} between legislature, executive and judiciary. On the other it enables the people to participate in government on equal basis. This democratic formula accepts political and ideological pluralism and multi party system, which of necessity presuppose electoral contestations in periodical elections whereas all currents political opinion can meet without discrimination of any kind, either personal or ideological.\textsuperscript{30} Therefore, the western concept of human rights is intimately linked with the development of modern state as the sole and absolute power and the recognition of the fact that the individual’s integrity requires distance from the state in making his choice. This recognition leads to the development that ‘human rights are articulated primarily as claims of any individual against the state’\textsuperscript{31} and for this various legal judicial mechanisms are devised to place the individual beyond the reach of the state. Therefore, ‘they are inseparable from the extension of western forms of government and constitutional system. Since then the main task of human rights

\begin{footnotesize}
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\item H. Gross Espiel, op. cit., p. 51.
\item Rhoda. E. Howard and Jack Donnelly, op. cit., p. 271.
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is to circumscribe and limit power, especially the state power. Later on whenever there was change in configuration of power and posed threat to human dignity, a new tool was developed to fortify the rights of individual which subsequently get fused into the concept.

This process has expanded the concept throughout the history, in consistent with the pattern and structure of the power and people’s aspirations as well as expectations. Thus to recapitulate all these points three things emerges. First is that the whole edifice of western concept is structured around egalitarian individualism i.e. individual is the most fundamental moral unit and they are morally equal. Second is that state must treat them with equal concern and equal respect, which entails the principle of personal liberty. Third is this must be guaranteed by the legal and judicial mechanism.

This has been aptly summarized by Paul Sieghart\textsuperscript{32}

(i) The principle of universal inherence: Every human being has certain rights capable of being emmerated and depoved which are not conferred on him by any ruler, not earned or acquired by purchase but which inhere in him by virtue of his humanity alone

(ii) The principle of inalienably: No Human being can be deprived of any of those rights, by the act of any ruler or even by his own act (or in a democracy even by the mill of the majority of the sovereign people)

(iii) The Rule of Law: Where rights conflict with each other, the conflict must be resolved by the consistent, independent and impartial application of just laws in accordance with the procedure.

The concept gives primacy to the individual because in western sense social good is the cumulative outcome of the individual energy and success hence "Groups" other than family has no rights and that to Group rights are understood at most the expression of the rights of the individual who comprise the Groups.33

The concept also gives primacy to civil and political rights hence in "Europe and the USA, despite pressure for the implementation of economic rights ... ideological hegemony prevails (to) regard civil and political rights... former at best remain the second order rights.34


In the domestic contexts this has been the basis of human rights concern and similar perspective has been advocated by them in international discourse. After the second world war when UN adopted its Universal Declaration of Human Rights first twenty one articles have been expressed in similar vein, because they have played an active role in the drafting stage.

Since then the focus of western human rights concern is to control and contain state action against the individual on the basis of two principal instruments — the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the International Covenant on civil and political rights. It was the main criteria used during the cold war to highlight the plight of soviet dissident. Today after the collapse of Soviet Union they are more convinced than ever of the Universality of their values that is the liberal values of human society. It is in this framework of their concern for human rights of Tibetan is based.

**Western Concern**

Though western concern with the Tibetan issues goes back to the sixties when it was raised first time in 1959. That time many
countries led by the USA\textsuperscript{35} had supported and expressed the views that People's Republic of China had suppressed the human rights of the Tibetan people. Henry Cobot Lodge of USA stated that the communists had come to Tibet not for reform but for domination. He further said that destroying the Tibetan way of life and introducing the communes was neither reform nor progress but a crime which the whole civilised world should condemn.\textsuperscript{36} Over the years they maintained the same policy and firmly supported both 1961 and 1965 UNGA Resolutions on Tibet. On 20 February 1960 US secretary of state Christian Herter made an official statement that while it has been the historical position of the United States to consider Tibet an autonomous country under the suzerainty of China, the American people have also traditionally stood for the principle of self-determination. It is the belief of United States government that this principle should apply to the people of Tibet and that they should have the determining voice in their own political destiny.\textsuperscript{37}

\textsuperscript{35} Melvyn C. Goldstein, \textit{The Snow Lion and the Dragon (China, Tibet and the Dalai Lama)}, (Berkely, 1988), p. 76.


\textsuperscript{37} \textit{Tibet in United Nations} (New Delhi), p. 277
came in 1987 when the Dalai Lama's effort had strong sympathy and support among parliamentarians, in Human rights groups and among citizens. US Congress took the lead and initiated, a variety of measures to support the Dalai Lama such as the passage of pro Tibet legislation and the invitation to the Dalai Lama to address the US Congress Human Rights Caucus. His speech was well received in the United State and ultimately on 22 December 1987, President Regan signed the (1988-89) Foreign Authorisation Law, including a non binding sense of the congress amendment that made the following points:

(i) The United States should express sympathy for those Tibetans who have suffered and died as a result of fighting, persecution, or famine over the past four decades;

(ii) The United States should make the treatment of the Tibetan people an important factor in its conduct of relations with the People's Republic of China;

40 (This has been termed as compassion industry) Thubten Samphel, "The Changing US Policy on Tibet", Tibetan Review (New Delhi), July 1993, p. 18
(iii) The Government of the People's Republic of China should respect internationally recognised human rights and end human rights violations against Tibetans.\(^{41}\)

(iv) The United States should urge the Government of the People's Republic of China to actively reciprocate the Dalai Lama's efforts to establish a constructive dialogue on the future of Tibet;

(v) Tibetan culture and religion should be preserved and the Dalai Lama should be commended for his efforts in this regard;

(vi) The United States should urge the People's Republic of China to release all political prisoners.

Since then US congress has passed many legislation which includes: The authorization of Tibetan language broadcasts on the voice of America\(^{42}\), the legislation mandating the state department Country Reports on Human Rights include a section on Tibet

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\(^{42}\) (United States Public Law, 16 February 1990), *International Resolution and Recognitions of Tibet*, op. cit., p. 69
They have also created Radio Free Asia (with a Tibet language Broadcast Section), and in 1996 included a provision in the State Department Authorization Act, calling an Special envoy for Tibet with ambassadorial status. Likewise the parliamentarians of other countries followed them and there are flurry of parliamentary resolutions, calling on government of China to respect the Human Rights of the Tibetans and their culture.

NGO's Concern

Apart from parliamentarians many western NGO's are at the forefront in mobilizing public opinion. Their main concerns are as follows:

(i). Political imprisonment and prisoners of conscience: Both Amnesty International and Asia Watch drew attention to the cases of who had not used or advocated violence who were imprisoned for their political religious or other consciously held beliefs, or their ethnic origin, sex, colour or language.

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43 Ibid., pp. 81-82
44 Ibid., pp. 85-93
45 (Amnesty International and Asia Watch are mainly active and they have produced many reports on Tibet)
(ii) Religions Repression: Both the organization publicized the cases of detention for religious practices.

(iii) Problems with criminal procedure- Both have highlighted the lack of fair trials (no publicity, insufficient provision for notice to family and preparation of a defence, lack of presumption of innocence), the lack of safeguards against public abuse, especially during the process of "Shelter and investigation", insufficient safeguards against unlimited detention without trial, absence of real independence of the judiciary, sentencing standards which include severer punishment for those who fail to confess and report, and the widespread use of "labour re-education" as a form of imprisonment at police initiative without benefit of trial.

(iv) Capital punishment- As a part of its world wide campaign against capital punishment Amnesty International criticized China for wide range of crime punishable by death including economic and other offences.

46 (Amnesty International and Asia watch they are mainly active)
(v) Prison maltreatment: This has been highlighted by both the organisation and through documenting the cases and call for their immediate end.

In addition to individual cases of political and religious repression, they (especially Asia Watch) have focussed on repression of Tibetan culture, the movement of non Tibetan population into Tibet and discrimination mainly in the field of language and education.47

**US State Department Report**

Besides the parliamentary resolutions and NGO report the United States Department has been issuing separate reports as mandated by Foreign Relations Authorization Act of 1994-95. The 1997 US State department report starts with this clarification that "The United States recognizes the Tibet Autonomous Region—hereinafter referred to as "Tibet"... to be part of the People's Republic of China. Preservation and development of Tibet's unique religions cultural and linguistic heritage and protection of its people's

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fundamental human rights continue to be of concern." The Report has been divided into three sections

(i) **Respect for the Integrity of the Person:** In this section it mentions that even during 1996 Chinese authorities have continuously violated various human rights which include death in detention, torture, arbitrary arrest, detention without public trial, detention for peaceful expression of religious and political views, intensified control on religion and on freedom of speech and the press.

The report emphasises that the authorities permit many traditional religious practices but political dissent are not tolerated and promptly suppressed, therefore any individual who has known link with the Dalai Lama or sympathy with him is being prosecuted. The recent crackdown on politically active monasteries is motivated by three goals: "to stop act of defiance, to break the political power wielded by lamas and to remove officials loyal to the Dalai Lama."

Any protest leads to the detention for the participants. During May incident at Ganden security personnel shot dead three monks among

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which 40 year old kelsang Nyendrak died of a bullet wound. Legal safeguards in detention or in imprisonment are inadequate in design and implementation. The report also document the few individual cases of death in detention (Kelsang, Thotub, Sangye Tenphel, Tenchok) and torture in detention (Yongdnung, Ngwang, Sandrol). It specially mentions the case of Ngawang Choephel, a 29 year old Tibetan ethno-musicologist and former Fulbright scholar was held in incommunicado detentions throughout 1996 and then sentenced to 18 years in prison for "espionage" under the state Security Law.

(ii) Freedom of Religion

The Government does not tolerate the religious manifestations that advocate Tibetan independence, although non political forms of worship are tolerated. Tibetan Buddhism and pro-independence activism are closely associated which got worsened recently therefore" in May the Government reportedly began a campaign to "register" and "re-educate" dissident monk at Tibet's three main monasteries Drepung, Sera and Ganden", During the campaign monks were forced to attend sessions on law patriotism and support for national unity and they were coerced to sign statements criticising
the Dalai Lama. It is because of the political reason the government not only limits the number of monks but also control the monasteries. Despite government attempts to curb their proliferation, the monasteries continue to house and train young monks, making possible the transmission of Tibetan Buddhism traditions to future generations.

(iii) Economic Development and Protection of Cultural Heritage

The report says that there are widespread discrimination against Tibetan and especially in employment. However, it emphasises that overall, government development policies have helped to raise the living standards of many ethnic Tibetans. However, rapid and ecologically inappropriate growth has also disrupted the traditional living patterns and thereby threatened traditional Tibetan culture.

The report says that the use of Tibetan language is being downgraded in every aspect of education, which is most obvious at the higher grade level. Recently there is substantial increase in urban areas of non-Tibetan population because of freer movement of the people throughout China, government sponsored development and
the prospect of economic opportunity in Tibet. Most of these migrants are professed to be temporary resident but small business run by them is becoming numerous.

Thus the report concludes that "economic development fueled by central government subsidies is modernizing parts of Tibetan society and changing traditional ways of life. While the government has made efforts in recent years to restore some of the physical structures and other aspects of Tibetan Buddhism and Tibetan culture damaged or destroyed during the cultural Revolution, repressive social and political controls continue to limit the fundamental freedoms of ethnic Tibetans.

These public concern and parliamentarian anxiety has put pressure on the government to include in their foreign policy. The Tibet issue was brought up in the United Nations Commissions in 1990 but since then every year China has managed to block it through its successful diplomatic efforts. However, western countries have also developed bilateral dialogue approach to engage China for human rights record. The first delegation, which visited China, was the Australian delegation on 14-26 July 1991 since then there are
many more delegation to Tibet. The latest in the series is European Union Delegation, which who has issued Report, detailing what are their concerns:

**EU Delegation Report**

European Union (EU) Delegation comprising the Ambassadors of Troika, Mr. Anthony Galsworthy (UK, Presidency), Mr Pierre-Louis Lorenz (Luxembourg), Dr. Gerhard Ziegler (Austria) and Endymilon Wilkinson (Commission) have visited Tibet between 1-10 May 1998 to investigate human rights in Tibet in the context of ongoing EU/China dialogue on Human Rights issues. Their visit was limited to the Lhasa area and a trip to Shigatse (including stopover in a village to observe the rural condition there). The main points of their programmes were:

(a) To have discussions with representatives of fourteen government departments and other institutions in TAR including chairman and vice chairman of the TAR and leaders of Shigatse prefecture.

b) To visit nine monasteries, nunneries and other religious sites.
c) To visit educational and health institutions (primary and middle school in Lhasa, Tibet university and maternity and child care hospital in Lhasa).

d) To have discussions with representatives of some Tibetan and foreign non-governmental organizations operating in Tibet including the Tibet Development Fund and Tibet Assistance Remote Areas.

e) To visit Drapchi Prison

The Delegation noted, with regret that all the programme items were closely supervised and all formal interviews took place in the company of the entire entourage which is the normal way of conducting such interviews in China.\(^{49}\) The request made by the delegation to have access to Gedhun Chockyi Nyima, the boy chosen by the Dalai Lama as the reincarnation of the Panchen Lama, was also turned down by the Chinese authority in spite of the clarification made by them that they are not taking any position.

\(^{49}\) Ibid., Para. 7.
(A) Religion and Religious Policy: This was the main area of their investigations for which they have asked for meetings with officials in charge of religious policy and for visits to religious institutions to investigate the conditions on ground. The delegation was worried to see low level of religious activity during their visits to religious sites, beside the Remoche Temple, where there were large number of pilgrims and worshippers. However, they were satisfied with official explanations and concluded "religious practice did seem to be proceeding undisturbed in all the religious institutions they visited. The Delegation was surprised that the Dalai Lama is still widely respected in Lhasa at least not only as religious leader but also a political figure despite the official animosity.

However, the delegation was disappointed to find the evidence that the authorities are strictly controlling religious activities of the people. The primary means to control the religious activities were the Patriotic Education Work Teams\(^50\) which had visited most of the religious institutions beginning in 1996 to educate monks and nuns in patriotism and the law. They had now almost completed their task.

\(^{50}\) Ibid., Para 20-24.
As a result of their activities 3,754 individuals had been dismissed from the monasteries, including 1,115 who were under the minimum legal age of 18.

The authorities set a limit on the number of monks and nuns in institutions and it was clear that the current figure quoted by the authorities of 46,000 monks and nuns was considered the current ceiling. The authorities are also involved in the running of religious institutions through representation on the Democratic Management committees.\textsuperscript{51}

(B) \textbf{Education}\textsuperscript{52}: In delegation's view education is critical to the modernization of Tibet. At the same time it can play a key role in preserving the Tibetan cultural identity. The delegation has shown the concern that illiteracy rate is high at 52%, although they have noted that authorities are making effects to expand the education at all levels and unlike other parts of China no school fees are levied. However, they found differences between urban and rural areas where it was still in rudimentary form despite official proclamation.

\textsuperscript{51} Ibid., Para 25-27

\textsuperscript{52} Ibid., Paras. 30-34
Therefore in their view much has to be done. In this there is need for more education in Tibetan language as much as possible. But at the same time Tibetans also need proper access to Chinese language especially for the higher education. However, they found little evidence of a strong tradition of teaching the Tibetan language and noted that the Tibetan language Department in Tibet University had not enrolled student in the current academic year allegedly because of the need to rewrite their teaching assignment.

(c) Health: Further the delegation noted with satisfaction that the life expectancy of Tibetans is now over 60 years much higher than the earlier years.

(D) Economic and Social Conditions: The delegates were also satisfied that central government continue to subsidise Tibet on a large scale, and has developed a series of preferential policies to subsidise Tibet on a large scale, and has developed a series of preferential policies to encourage investment in Tibet. Though there were no commercial preferential policies directed towards Tibetans, nevertheless the fact of economic development and the scale of
infrastructure investment was apparent. While in agriculture policies Tibetan are getting preferential treatments.

They were explained by the authorities that People's Liberation Army was not involved in mining or any other enterprising activities related to the extraction of natural resources. However, they have observed a major hydro-electric project under construction by people's Armed Police construction team on the road between Gyantse and Lhasa.

(E) Family Planning: The delegation was assured by the authorities that there are special family planning policies for Tibetans. While in the rural areas there are no absolute restrictions but government encourages no more than three children per family. Tibetans working for government departments could have two children, providing there was a three year gap between them. Therefore the family planning programme is entirely voluntary and denied any reports of coercion or forced abortion.

(F) Security Situation and Policy: The delegation met with the senior officials of justice Bureau, Security Bureau and others including the chairman of TAR and discussed with them about security
environment on variety of ways. The delegation was pleased to note that officials have provided detailed information in their briefing on the law and order situation in Tibet and on the prison system. However, in delegates view political control is very firm and tight.

The delegation also raised a number of individual cases, and asked specifically to have access to those named during their visit to Drapchi prison this request was turned down by the governor of Drapchi prison. However, later on they were given specific information about the current condition of five named prisoners. The delegation was not aware of the any disturbances during their visit to Drapchi where they did not find any visible signs of incident and environment was normal.

(G) In Migrants: The delegation has also noted it with concern that there is in-migration to Tibet, which mainly consists of Han Chinese but they also include other ethnic minorities and the official line was clear that these people are welcomed to Tibet for both economic and stability reasons. Though they claimed that there were tight restrictions on their residency and the vast majority only visited Tibet temporarily. In their opinion the net effect has been a transformation
of Lhasa and there is clear influx of businesses and entrepreneurs all of which are not directly benefiting Tibet's development.

The Delegation Conclusion: The authorities in the TAR exercise extremely tight control over the principal elements of Tibetan religion and culture. However, this was not derived from hostility to religion and culture per se. But the authorities first priority remains to combat the political expression of Tibetan nationalism and the emergence of an independent movement, which they perceive to be strongest in the religious institutions and centres of Tibetan culture.

In delegation's impression, the secondary factor is the contradiction between traditional Tibetan society and the needs of modern economic development. Therefore, they view that the authorities are not seriously motivated to intrude into the Tibetan life but it is sometimes official who have less sensitive attitude towards the Tibetan life.

In the end of their conclusive visit, the delegation met the chairman of the TAR, Gyaincain Norbu. They pressed on the subject of political prisoners and suggested him to adopt a policy of leniency because in authorities point of view the internal security environment
has improved. They also suggested that more attention needed to be paid to seeing that Tibetans, as opposed to immigrant Han Chinese, should benefit from measures designed to boost the Tibetan economy.