

# THE NEXT GENERATION

The state of education in Tibet today



1997



A Report by the  
Tibetan Centre for Human Rights and Democracy

## **Tibetan Centre For Human Rights and Democracy**

The Tibetan Centre for Human Rights and Democracy (TCHRD) is a non-governmental organisation founded in January 1996 and registered under the Indian Societies Registration Act on May 4, 1996. The Centre was established in response to a need for effective monitoring of the human rights situation in Tibet and the promotion of democracy in the Tibetan community. TCHRD relies primarily on testimonials provided by Tibetan refugees in India, in addition to sources within Tibet and other concerned human rights groups.

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TCHRD information is disseminated through Tibetan language broadcasting services on Voice of America, Voice of Tibet, Radio Free Asia and through various Tibetan publications.

TCHRD acknowledges the generous contributions to the preparation of this report by Alexander Emrich and Nicole Van for assistance in collection of information and of Tashi Dolma and Tsering Bhuti for translation assistance.

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## INTRODUCTION

China has a great tradition of education. Education was not only regarded as a noble virtue but for a very long time the recruitment of the highly esteemed government officials depended solely on the education of an applicant and not on his birth. During the Cultural Revolution teachers and academics were defiled as "intellectuals" and education was denigrated, yet today again the People's Republic of China (PRC) acknowledges the importance of education for a child's personal growth and for the development of the society. Since 1976 the PRC has made great investments in the field of education and the educational standard of the Chinese people has risen considerably.

For the Tibetan children who are the subject of this study, education has a particular importance. Economically, Tibetans cannot compete with the estimated 7.5 million Chinese settlers in Tibet. Chinese authorities provide Chinese with substantial financial and social benefits to encourage them to settle in Tibet, including high wages, long holidays, housing, health services and educational opportunities. The successful encouragement of Chinese immigrants means that today the Tibetan population represents a minority in their own country.

The implications of China's population transfer policy for Tibet are profound. Tibetans' strong religious traditions are in danger of being totally suppressed by a communist government which regards religion as harmful, suspects Tibetan Buddhists of "splitting the motherland" and considers the Dalai Lama, Tibet's religious and secular leader, a "criminal". As Tibetans become more and more marginalised their ancient and unique

culture is threatened with extinction as gradually their language, their history and their folk customs are superimposed with those of Chinese.

For these reasons, Tibetan children's right to education and the protection of their minority rights plays a decisive role in Tibet's future. Education must not only be available to Tibetan children, it must also satisfy their right to receive instruction on Tibet-related subjects and in Tibetan language.

Tibet has been illegally occupied by China since 1949 and is currently administered by the authorities of the PRC. By signing the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), the PRC is bound to provide the Tibetan children with an education which is consistent with the obligations of the CRC.

This report focuses on, but does not confine itself to, the rights embodied in articles 28 and 29 of the CRC - the specific rights to education. It became apparent in the course of researching education in Tibet that other rights covered in the CRC were also being violated. These rights have also therefore been referred to in this report as they were considered to be part of a broader concept of "education", the violation of which was being implemented via the educational system.

The principal part of this report is based on testimonial gathered in interviews conducted in Spring 1997 with 50 Tibetan children who had fled from Tibet in the previous two or three years and are now living in northern India. The children interviewed were not pre-chosen in any way and all were asked the same set of questions (see Appendix II). Selected interviews have been reproduced in full in Appendix III, but for reasons of security the names of all children interviewed have been withheld. Several factors mean that our study was necessarily limited: the limited number of children interviewed, the impossibility of accessing school children in Tibet, the young age of the interviewees and their potential subjectivity.

Nonetheless, the testimonial is largely supported by reports compiled by other sources on the poor state of education in Tibet. Moreover, the fact that 96% of the children interviewed had fled Tibet for reasons of education, generally under the most hazardous conditions and at great financial and personal cost to their family, indicates Tibetans' enormous dissatisfaction with the manner in which their children are being educated. Interestingly too, children from many different parts of Tibet reported a largely similar educational situation and the violations referred to appeared to be common and widespread.

**CHAPTER 1**

**International  
laws  
related to  
education**

**A. THE RIGHT TO EDUCATION IN  
INTERNATIONAL LAW**

Education is a precondition for the exercise of human rights. The enjoyment of many civil and political human rights, such as the freedom of information and expression, require a minimum level of education which includes literacy. Similarly, many economic, social and cultural rights, such as the right to choose work, to receive equal pay for equal work and to have equal access to public representation, can only be exercised in a meaningful way once a basic education has been achieved. The right to education can be characterised as an 'empowerment right' which provides the individual with control over his or her life and the power to interact meaningfully in his or her community.

At the international level the right to education has been recognised by several universal and regional instruments. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights<sup>1</sup> (UDHR) provides the foundation for the right to education. Article 26 of the UDHR states:

- 1. Everyone has the right to education. Education should be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be equally available and higher education shall be accessible to all on the basis of merit.**
- 2. Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the**

**strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.**

**(3) Parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children**

The right to education finds more specific expression in the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR)<sup>2</sup> and in the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR)<sup>3</sup>.

Article 18(4) of the ICCPR and article 13(3) of the ICESCR recognise the fundamental role of parents in directing their children's education. States Parties undertake to have respect for the liberty of parents and legal guardians "to ensure the religious and moral education of their children in conformity with their own convictions".

Article 13 of the ICESCR recognises the right of everyone to education, which "shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and the sense of its dignity, and shall strengthen the respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms." Education "shall enable all persons to participate effectively in a free society, promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations and all racial, ethnic or religious groups, and further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace." The full realisation of this right includes access to primary, secondary and tertiary levels of education.

Article 2(1) of the ICESCR creates obligations for States Parties to fulfil their duty by means of positive action: each party undertakes to take steps "to the maximum of its available resources, with a view to achieving progressively the full realization of the rights recognized in the present Covenant."

While the People's Republic of China has not yet signed or ratified either the ICCPR or the ICESCR<sup>4</sup> and are therefore not legally bound by their provisions, the conventions nevertheless represent internationally accepted standards with moral force.



## B. THE CONVENTION ON THE RIGHTS OF THE CHILD

On November 20, 1989, the international community adopted the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC). This Convention was the first international legal instrument to lay down guarantees for the human rights of the child and it is today's primary source on the human rights of the child.

The People's Republic of China (PRC) signed the CRC on August 29, 1990. On December 29, 1991, the PRC ratified the CRC, which formally took effect in China on April 1, 1992.<sup>5</sup> In 1994, in the initial report of the PRC on the CRC, the PRC described itself as "a consistent respecter and defender of children's rights".<sup>6</sup>

The CRC makes States Parties accountable for their actions towards children and calls on states to create the conditions in which children may take an active and creative part in the social and political life of their countries. The CRC explicitly codifies the child's right to education in articles 28 and 29.

Article 28 emphasises the child's right to education on the basis of equal opportunity, and the State's duty to ensure that at least primary education is made free and compulsory for every child. The access to secondary and higher education should likewise be provided on the basis of equal opportunity. Article 28 also states that the administration of school discipline is to reflect the child's human dignity and emphasises the need for international co-operation to ensure this right.

Article 29 is an affirmation of the aims of education. The State recognises that education should be directed at developing a child's personality and talents, preparing the child for active life as an adult, fostering respect for basic human rights and developing respect for the child's own cultural and national values and those of others.

Other provisions of the CRC which must be considered in the context of education are the freedom of thought and religion (article 14(1)), the freedom of expression (article 13 (1)), the principle of non-discrimination (article 2 (1)) and the protection of minority rights (article 30).

## **CHAPTER 2**

### **General background to the state of education in Tibet**

#### **A. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND**

The use of schooling as a tool to spread Communist ideology and increase China's control in Tibet is not a recent ploy. In independent Tibet over 6000 monasteries and nunneries served as Tibet's educational institutes in addition to lay schools. From 1950 onwards, the Chinese authorities opened schools in various parts of Tibet, recruiting students only from aristocratic families or linked to prominent members of the Tibetan government. Chinese authorities later recruited some bright children of poor families into the Communist party and they were sent to China for further studies. Later many of them would return as teachers, engineers, and the Communist leaders of Tibet.

As was the case in other parts of China, the spread of Communist ideology continued throughout the 1950s and 1960s and it became a major goal to send Tibetan children to study in China. In the eastern part of Tibet especially, many parents were forced to send their children, including infants, to China for further studies. At the same time, some went to China voluntarily and were kept in special schools which enjoyed good facilities. Education, however, remained an indoctrination into Communist ideology, and often included curriculum that taught that the Tibetan tradition was backward.

During the Cultural Revolution, the Marxist-Leninist-Mao Tse Tung ideology discouraged the use of minority languages and tried to suppress any sense of minority consciousness. From 1966 Tibetan culture, tradition and society were labeled as

"backward" and "blind faith" and Tibetan language, literature, arts and history were denigrated or ignored. Some time in the 1960s monk and nun teachers as well as qualified lay Tibetan teachers were ordered to leave their teaching jobs.

Education since the early 1980s took a slightly different direction but, while Communist zeal dimmed somewhat, the fundamentals of teaching remained the same.

The relaxation of travel conditions in 1984 made escapes from Tibet possible for the first time since the 1950s. The Tibetan Government-in-Exile estimates that in the ten years since 1984 between 6000 to 9000 Tibetan children and young adults have fled Tibet in order to seek educational opportunities in India and Nepal. About 5000 are reported to have joined monasteries and nunneries and around 4000 have joined lay schools in exile.

In 1996, of the 2000 Tibetans who arrived in Nepal on their way to seek exile India, approximately 45 percent were children and nearly 80 percent of these 500 or more children were sent unaccompanied by their parents in the hope that they would receive education in exile.<sup>7</sup> Some children do not even reach freedom. In December/January 1997 two young children died from illness and hypothermia attempting to reach Nepal and others have been robbed, beaten or deported by the Nepalese authorities<sup>8</sup>.

## B. STRUCTURAL FRAMEWORK

Primary level education in Tibet is the six-year *lobchung*. There are two types of *lobchung*: the *mangtsug* and *zhungtsug* schools. The *mangtsug* schools are set up by local people at the village level and receive no financial and facilitative support of any kind from the Chinese government. As a result the *mangtsug* schools are seriously lacking in resources and teaching staff and it is rare for a *mangtsug* student to complete the full six years and even more improbable that a *mangtsug* student will be able to proceed on to the middle school level.

*Zhungtsug* schools are primary schools established by the Chinese government. They are found in the Tibetan cities and county headquarter towns and benefit an urban population which consists primarily of Chinese settlers. While a transfer from *mangtsug* to *zhungtsug* school is, theoretically, possible on the basis of a public examination, in reality it is said to rely heavily on personal contacts.

Those students who complete *lobchung* schooling then have a chance to enter a *lobdring* - a six-year middle school. The *lobdring* is divided into lower middle school and higher middle school, each of three years duration, and middle school students must choose to follow either a science or arts stream. As with the case of the government-run *zhungtsug*, the *lobdring* are found in the large urban areas. Occasionally middle school branches can be found in townships but in some cases two or more counties have just one middle school between them.

After completing the lower middle school, students choose between continuing their studies or commencing vocational training. Most Tibetans are likely to choose the latter as there is hope of earlier employment and earnings for their families while, on the other side, their chance of being admitted to higher education is slim given the high number of Chinese children competing for the positions.

While the majority of the *lobchung* students are Tibetan, at the level of middle school there is a disproportionate increase in the number of Chinese students. This is due to the high drop-out rate of Tibetan students after they have completed their sixth year of *lobchung* and to the fact that those Tibetans scoring top marks for their final *lobchung* exams are sent to China for further study. Such Tibetan students, after successfully completing their lower middle school in China, are not given seats to go to higher middle school and can only continue with vocational training.

At the level of higher middle school there is an even greater jump in the number of Chinese students and classes. This results from a combination of factors: the increasingly high drop-out for Tibetan students; the choice of the majority of Tibetans who complete lower middle school to undertake vocational training; and, most significantly, the large number of Chinese students from China who manage to secure registration in Tibet through their personal connections. These students are attracted to Tibet because they have failed to secure a seat in a higher middle school in China or to boost their chance to gain a university seat in Tibet where the entrance standard is considerably lower than in China.

Admission to university is through a common entrance examination but the medium of examination is in Chinese for almost all courses.<sup>9</sup> Chinese school graduates from Tibet are able to secure the majority of seats in Tibet's universities and those universities in China intended for those who have finished schooling in Tibet.

Increasingly, Chinese students who fail to gain entrance to a university in China go to Tibet to resit their examination.

It was reported that in 1979 only 60 of the 600 "TAR" students pursuing university education in Tibet and China were Tibetan; in 1984 of the 1,984 students enrolled in Tibet's three big schools, only 666 were Tibetan and, in the same year, only 60 to 70 of the 250 students sent to universities in China were Tibetan.<sup>10</sup>

### **C. CHINA'S "LIBERATION" OF TIBET'S SCHOOLS**

The Chinese government claims to have 'liberated' the old system of Tibet and to have replaced it with a modern system. In 1992, China's State Council issued "Tibet - Its Ownership and Human Rights Situation", published as a White Paper. The White Paper claims that, "in the last four decades and more in Tibet, 18,000 students have graduated from universities and colleges; 510,000 from primary and secondary schools, and more than 15,000 cadres were trained in rotation."

It was admitted in a Chinese official publication in 1986 that; "There are only 58 middle-level schools [in the "TAR"] and out of them only 13 are real middle schools. Altogether, there are 2450 primary schools in Tibet. Out of them only 451 are funded by the government ... Only 45 percent of the children of school-going age go to primary schools. From them, 10.6 percent manage to graduate to the lower-middle school. In other words, 55 percent of the children do not even get primary-level education."<sup>11</sup>

The Chinese also argue that "the children and farmers and herdsmen enjoy free boarding and education."<sup>12</sup> This does not seem to be true in large areas inhabited by farmers and herdsmen, which constitute 95 percent of the total population of Tibet. Chinese sources admit; "At present 90 percent of farmers and herders do not receive lower middle level education".<sup>13</sup>

Despite repeated claims by China that they provide free education to Tibetan children in Tibet, Document No. 12 ("Party Affairs Communication, July 1993") of the "TAR" Party Committee - an internal party document - states that schools in Lhasa were collecting 13 different kinds of fees from students and that six of these were not authorised by law. These fees do not take into account other expenses borne by Tibetan students such as classroom furniture and teachers' gifts.

If school numbers alone are to be taken as a measure, the

access to education has indeed increased dramatically in Tibet today. In its Written Replies to the UN Committee on the Rights of the Child in 1996, the Chinese government announced that, as at the end of 1995, Tibet had 103 secondary vocational schools, 650 complete primary schools and 3300 lower primary schools in rural areas. Secondary school enrolment in Tibet was reported as 33,000 and 258,650 students were enrolled in primary schools, bringing the total number of enrolments in Tibet to a reported 70 percent of school age children.<sup>14</sup>

Yet a different picture emerges when these figures are analysed closely. Only 451 of 2451 schools, or 25 percent, were financed by the government in 1986.<sup>15</sup> The rest were *lobchung* or community-run schools which, despite claims of the Chinese government that "special funds are allocated to improve local school facilities"<sup>16</sup>, face critical financial shortages. As reported in an official Chinese publication: "Over 2000 of these [primary] schools are funded by the Government. These schools do not have a sound foundation and are not properly equipped. The level of education is either completely nil or extremely low."<sup>17</sup>

This lack of stable financial resources as well as infrastructure is reflected in the low literacy rate of Tibet, despite the claims of the Chinese government that marked improvements have been made in this field. Some sources have given figures of 73 percent or 78.3 percent illiteracy in Tibet<sup>18</sup>, contrasting with China where a rate of 15.8 percent has been given<sup>19</sup>. A 1986 Chinese government publication estimated the illiteracy rate in Tibet at 44.43 percent of the Tibetan population against more than 90 percent before the "peaceful liberation" of Tibet by China in the early 1950s<sup>20</sup> and in 1996 China declared that this figure had dropped to 40 percent<sup>21</sup>.

A claim of 60 percent literacy in Tibet is difficult to maintain when it is considered that, in 1986, 55 percent of the children were not receiving a primary-level education<sup>22</sup>. China in general has a 98.5 percent enrolment rate of primary school-age children<sup>23</sup>, whereas Tibet lags behind with only 64% enrolment rate<sup>24</sup>.

A considerable proportion of the education allocation of the "TAR" Government goes to fund those schools in China where each year Tibet's most promising primary school graduates are sent. These include the middle schools in the Chinese cities of Shanghai (Hui Nationality Middle School), Lingtong (Lingtong County Middle School, Shanxi), Beijing (Nationalities Middle School) and Chengdu (Chengdu

Nationalities Middle School, Sichuan), and the Lanzhou Meteorological Institute in Gansu province. All school facilities including buildings, equipment, food, clothing and lodging are paid for by the "TAR" Government.

In addition, it is believed that between thirty and fifty percent of the total educational spending of the "TAR" goes to the "Institute for Nationalities" located in the Xianyang locality of the Chinese city of Xian, capital of Shanxi Province<sup>25</sup>. This "Tibet University" reportedly offers the best facilities among all the schools meant for Tibetans, but it is located in China and most of its students are Chinese who completed their schooling in Tibet.

Educational outlay in Tibet also includes expenditure on separate schools and facilities for the large number of Chinese students studying in Tibet and salaries and facilities to the incoming Chinese teachers and other educational staff.

## **Chapter 3**

### **Violations concerning access to education**

#### **A. DENIAL OF ANY EDUCATION**

##### **Article 28 of the CRC:**

**1. States Parties recognise the right of the child to education, and with a view to achieving this right progressively and on the basis of equal opportunity, they shall, in particular:**

**a) make primary education compulsory and available free to all;<sup>26</sup>**

Education should allow each member of a given society to participate equally and effectively in the social, economic and political life of his or her society. This fact is applicable throughout the world in every kind of society, irrespective of political system or ideology. The PRC acknowledges in its Constitution that "Citizens of the People's Republic of China have the duty as well as the right to receive education"<sup>27</sup> and the Compulsory Education Act claims that; "[t]he State, community, schools and families shall, in accordance with the law, safeguard the right of the children and adolescents to compulsory education appropriate to their age."<sup>28</sup>

The right of the child to education, as laid down in the CRC, implies that primary education is compulsory for every child living in the territory of States Parties to the Convention. The principle of compulsory education implies that it is in the child's best interests that he or she is required to receive education up to that minimum level. Hence States Parties have the obligation to prevent the situation in which a child does not attend any primary schooling.



Interviews conducted with Tibetan children revealed that in all regions of Tibet children are refused the right to education. China itself acknowledges that 30 percent of children in Tibet receive no education at all (independent organisations put this figure at 40 percent<sup>29</sup>) while the corresponding figure for Chinese children only reaches 1.5 percent.<sup>30</sup>

One reason given by the Chinese authorities for this disparity is the remoteness of some Tibetan regions, however the children interviewed revealed that this was not the sole cause. The main factor preventing Tibetan children from attending school was an economic one; many children did in fact live near a school, but the school fees charged by the authorities were so prohibitively high that the parents could simply not afford to send their children to school. There were also cases where parents could initially afford the school fees but later had to take their children out of school as they were no longer able to afford the required fees. This is a clear violation of the Convention's requirement that primary education should be free and accessible for every child.

*"The reason for the fact that no one of our family went to school was that the school fees were too high for my parents. The lobchung (primary school) in our village cost 200 yuan a month. My parents could have never afforded that." (A20)*

*"At school the teachers demanded 50 yuan a month to sit on a chair, 50 yuan to have a table and another 25 yuan for the books. My father was a lorry driver for the Chinese government. He received only 50 yuan a month. For this money we had to buy a sack of tsampa (roasted barley) to have some food. So my parents could not afford to send me to school." (A23)*

*"My parents did not send me to school, because it was too expensive for them. The school fees for Tibetan children were about 500 yuan a month. Chinese children did not have to pay anything." (A21)*

*"There was a school in the village, but no one from my family [10 children] could go there. It was simply too expensive for my parents to pay 200 yuan per month per child. My whole*

family has never had any education at all." (A21)

*"My parents could not pay the school fees for me but the authorities did not make school free for me. I had friends who went to school. I would have liked to go to school."* (A23)

In its Written Replies to the Committee on the Rights of the Child, the PRC claims that it aims to boost primary education in Tibet.<sup>31</sup> However in some cases it is the Chinese school authorities themselves who knowingly accept that Tibetans are not able to attend primary school due to monetary reasons:

*"About once a month the Chinese soldiers came to our village for inspection. In our village there were about 20 children of whom two went to school. The rest of us worked on the fields or looked after the cattle all day. As part of their inspection the Chinese took some animals away and collected money from the village. They saw us children working in the fields all day. They have never told us that we should have gone to school."* (A19)

*"When I was eight years old, my mother decided that it was time for me to go to school. My admission to enter school was refused by the Chinese authorities. They said I could not go to school because my family had no relationships with the Chinese government. What they meant was that no one from my family worked for the Chinese government. The Chinese told us that I could only enter the primary school if we paid an enormously high entrance fee of about 10,000 yuan [equivalent to approximately US \$ 1250]. Of course my family could not afford that. So I could not go to school."* (A28)

*"I lived in a village with two hundred Tibetan families and no Chinese. There was no school in our village, not even a primary school. The next school was a whole day's walk away. It was a boarding school but this school was very expensive. In my family - I had five brothers and two sisters - no one ever went to school. Of the 10 children in the village only two went to school. The Chinese authorities never did anything to change the situation in our village."* (A26)

In the same Written Replies the PRC claims that it is changing the situation by building many new primary schools in Tibet. While

this action is generally to be welcomed it does not necessarily mean that the schooling situation for Tibetan children is improving. With the massive, state-sponsored influx of Chinese, these new settlers require new schools. These newly built schools with their modern facilities are largely withheld from Tibetan children.

## **B. DENIAL OF FREE PRIMARY EDUCATION**

Prior to the 20th century education was a privilege of the rich. Today it is commonly recognised in international conventions and national constitutions that free primary education is of benefit to all members of the society. Everyone should at least be able to read, to write and to calculate and every member of a society should have the same chance to take a responsible part in his or her society. Article 28(1) of the CRC states:

**States Parties recognise the right of the child to education, and with a view to achieving this right progressively and on the basis of equal opportunity, they shall, in particular:**

**a) make primary education compulsory and available free to all;**

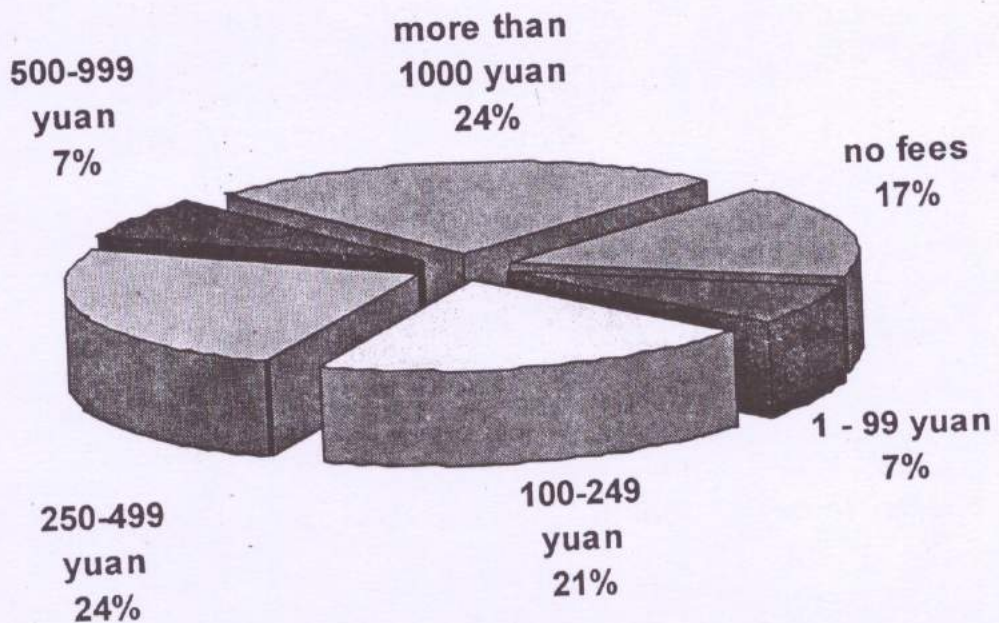
The principle of free primary education applies particularly to countries like China where there is a wide range of income. Primary education should be available to all, regardless of their personal economic situation, and China itself acknowledges in national legislation that compulsory education (into which China includes education at both the primary and the junior middle school level) shall be free of tuition fees.<sup>32</sup>

For Tibetans, free education has an even greater importance as they tend to be economically marginalised in their country. The average income of Tibetans in Tibet is much lower than that of the Chinese settlers and thus the imposition of school fees in Tibet has a far greater negative impact on Tibetans there .

The testimonies revealed that the requirement to provide free compulsory education to all is being violated throughout Tibet. Only 17 percent of the interviewed students who had received primary education in Tibet were not required to pay any school fees to the Chinese authorities. Thus, contrary to the PRC's claim that

compulsory education is free of charge and that only "miscellaneous expenses are payable"<sup>33</sup>, 83 percent of the interviewed students did in fact have to pay school fees.

Primary school fees paid varied from between 20 to over 6000 yuan a year. In 31 percent of the interviewed cases, students had to pay more than 500 yuan in primary school fees a year.



#### Yearly school fees paid by Tibetan students

Chinese authorities state that the average per capita yearly income in 1992 in rural areas was only 784 yuan.<sup>34</sup> Given that Tibet is undoubtedly a poor rural area, the levied school fees are disturbingly high. As stated, in some cases high school fees meant that parents could not afford to send their children to school at all.

*"My parents had to pay 500 yuan as a general entrance fee for my lobchung school. They also had to pay 50 yuan each year and then every day that I did not come to school they had to pay an additional 50 yuan." (A 12)*

Not only did most of the Tibetan school children have to pay very high school fees, it appears that at the same time the Chinese students (who visited the same school in the same grade) had to

pay little or no school fees.

*"We had to pay much higher fees than the Chinese. While we had to pay 70 yuan for 6 months, the Chinese students only had to pay 20 yuan." (A13)*

*"The school fees for Tibetan children were about 500 yuan a month. Chinese children did not have to pay anything." (A21)*

*"My parents had to pay 300 yuan per month for my school fees while the Chinese parents did not have to pay any school fees. Also the Chinese students received their food from the school, while my parents had to bring or give me the food so that I could eat during the school week." (A10)*

Some children were able to attend school, despite the economic hurdles of tuition fees, only to have to pay extra money in bribes and other miscellaneous fees to their school teacher.

China has reported that the "miscellaneous expenses" payable are "usually quite low for the compulsory education" and are charged "mainly to cover the cost of teaching materials". China quotes a figure of 14 to 25 yuan as the amount of miscellaneous expenses paid by an average student and declares that where, in poor areas, households find it hard to cover the miscellaneous expenses themselves, "local governments have all adopted a policy of waiving such expenses for them and offering student grants for children from families facing extreme financial difficulties."<sup>35</sup>

None of the Tibetan children interviewed reported having received grants or having had their fees waived. Thirty-nine percent of the interviewed students who had attended school in Tibet reported that they had to pay bribes to their teachers or the authorities:

*"My parents regularly gave bed sheets, food and snacks to the teachers, so that the teachers would be pleased. I do not know what would have happened if my parents would not have given these presents to the teachers." (A11)*

*"I had to pay for my books and food, for my table and chair, and for the brooms in the classroom ... I also had to pay bribes to my teachers. I gave them cards, flowers, meat*

*and butter and for the teachers' holiday we had to pay 90 yuan each. I had to buy my own school uniform." (A42)*

*"Every year I had to pay 300 yuan school fees and an additional 15 yuan for each month. If there was a broken window, or a new broom for the classroom was needed, the teachers collected money from the Tibetan students to pay for this. The Chinese students never had to pay anything. My father is dead and my mother was a beggar, so we never had a lot of money. When there was no money to pay the amounts the teacher demanded, I was afraid that the Chinese teacher would beat me up. So I would go to town and steal the money I needed." (A6)*

*"At Chinese festival days we had to bring clothes, food and money for the Chinese students. The Chinese students did not have to bring anything." (A2)*

*"Every month we had to give presents to the teachers: one pound of butter, one pound of cheese and meat. If the parents did not provide these things the teacher was much stricter with the child." (A18)*

*"The school fee was 150 yuan a year but we also had to give the teachers presents. Sometimes my mother went to school and gave the teachers a whole carton of some alcohol. The teachers could not force us to give these presents, but if we did not give them then the teacher would target us and we would be made to be unhappy in school." (A27)*

### **C. ACCESS TO SECONDARY EDUCATION**

Education is one of the measurements of a society's economic and social success. Conversely, as a society develops further and further, educational requirements similarly escalate. The CRC makes this link by allowing the development of secondary education to be progressively established.

**Art. 28(1): States Parties recognise the right of the child to education, and with a view to achieving this right**

**progressively and on the basis of equal opportunity, they shall, in particular:**

**b) encourage the development of different forms of secondary education, including general and vocational education, make them available and accessible to every child, and take appropriate measures such as the introduction of free education and offering financial assistance in case of need.** <sup>36</sup>

The CRC clearly stipulates that secondary education should be available to every child on the basis of equal opportunity. The testimonials illustrate that this is not the case in Tibet. The first inequality is based on economic factors as, based on the children's accounts, secondary education is extremely expensive in Tibet. This in itself does not represent a violation of the CRC, since it requires only that States Parties provide free secondary education progressively. However, since the Tibetan population in Tibet has a much lower average income than the Chinese population, school fees place a far higher burden on a Tibetan family than a Chinese family. None of the children referred to any case whereby a Tibetan received financial assistance from the PRC.

The second widespread inequality with regard to the right to secondary education is represented by the middle school (*lobdring*) entry examination. These entry examinations have the ostensible purpose of selecting students with the greatest academic capacity, yet the students report that they are used in Tibet to bar Tibetans from entering middle schools and to enrich the school officials.

The primary barrier to passing the examination is language. Interviewees stated that most of the entrance examinations are held completely or mostly in Chinese language. This means that Tibetans, for whom the Chinese is a foreign language, have less chance of achieving a satisfactory result than their Chinese peers.

Even if a Tibetan student has a sufficient command of the Chinese language and passes the entrance examination, this does not mean that he or she will necessarily be accepted at the school. Many students reported that it was not the academic capacity which decided whether he or she would attend a middle school but rather the amount of bribes the parents were willing and able to pay. In many cases it was not the brightest students who were admitted to the middle schools but those who paid the most money. This violates

the right of admission on the basis of equal opportunity by discriminating mainly against the Tibetan children whose average family income is much lower than that of Chinese in Tibet.

*"Since I did not speak any Chinese, I could not visit a lobdring middle school. I would have never passed the entry examination which was in Chinese." (A6)*

*"After my primary school I probably would not have been admitted to a middle school because my Chinese was not good enough. In order to pass the entrance exam for the middle school one has to be very good in Chinese." (A25)*

*"The chances for the Chinese students to enter a good middle school were better [than for Tibetans]. For them the Chinese language is their mother tongue; for the Tibetans the Chinese language is a second language." (A43)*

*"The entry exams for the lobdring were made by Chinese for Chinese. If Tibetans wanted to get into the lobdring they had to bribe the teachers. Only the children of Tibetans working for the Chinese government did not have to pay any bribes." (A3)*

*"In order to be admitted to the lobdring I had to pay a lot of bribes. First I had to bring presents for the head of the school to pass the entry examination. Later I had to bring presents to the teachers. These were all expensive presents: alcohol, spirits, fruit, perfume and that sort of thing. (A 2)*

*"To enter the lobdring middle school we had to pass entry exams. Everybody who took this exam had to write his name in pencil at the top of the exam sheet. If there was a brilliant Tibetan student, the Chinese teacher would erase the Tibetan name and put a Chinese name instead. When you paid bribes, you were sure to pass the exams, no matter how good you were." (A9)*

*"I attended a lobdring middle school for one year. In order to be accepted at my lobdring school I had to pass an entrance exam in Chinese, Tibetan and maths. I felt that the chances*



for the Chinese students to be accepted at my lobdring were much better because the parents of the Chinese students paid bribes to the teachers in order to pass the exam. So it was not the result of the exam that counted but the amount of money paid by Chinese parents to specific teachers. In the case where a Chinese student had an exam result which was not as good as that of a Tibetan student, the Chinese student was nonetheless placed above the Tibetan." (A10)

"I felt that the chances for Chinese students to attend a lobdring were higher than for the Tibetans. The Chinese students were often given better marks. I would say that the Chinese had perhaps a 80% chance to enter a lobdring while the chance of the Tibetans was only 20%." (A2)

The use of *guanxi* (connections) to get children admitted in Tibetan schools means that many low-achieving students from China are able in this way to enrol, unofficially, in the final year of Tibetan secondary schools in order to pass the secondary school graduation examination which is much lower in Tibet than in China.

These Chinese students consequently improve their chances of getting a place at university (where again the entrance examination is far less difficult than for Chinese universities) or a good job in urban areas. This influx of poor standard secondary school students further lowers the academic levels of secondary education in Tibet in addition to draining scarce resources.

#### D. ACCESS TO HIGHER EDUCATION

The Committee on the Rights of the Child has acknowledged the importance of higher education access for Tibetan children, recommending that the PRC "ensure their [the Tibetan students] access to higher education on an equal footing."<sup>37</sup> The CRC states:

**Art. 28(1): States Parties recognise the right of the child to education, and with a view to achieving this right progressively and on the basis of equal opportunity, they shall, in particular:**

**c) make higher education accessible to all on the basis**

of capacity by every appropriate means;<sup>38</sup>

As this report focuses on children (*ie.* under the age of 18 years), only one testimony relating to higher education was collected from the students interviewed:

*"Problems arose as I wanted to attend further education. The Chinese authorities did not allow me to participate in the entrance exam for a school in Lhasa. They told me that I could not do my entrance exam because my parents were Tibetan nomads and they did not have a ration card.<sup>39</sup> I felt that they treated me unfairly because many Chinese students who had lower marks than mine were able to go on with their studies. They were allowed to do the entrance exam because they had Chinese relatives in school or because their parents were rich and paid bribes to the school. The marks did not matter for further studies; it was the money and the connections that counted." (A34)*

It is clear from other reports that even at the level of tertiary education Tibetan language is being eliminated. Sources in Lhasa have reported a recent decision that the Tibetan Language Department of the University of Tibet in Lhasa will not take any new students for the academic year of 1997-98.<sup>39</sup> The reason given by the university authorities is that the syllabus is being changed and the new books required have not yet been compiled. This decision follows policy changes announced by Chinese authorities in December 1996 that the University's History of Tibet course, taught by the Tibetan Language Department, would henceforth be taught in Chinese rather than Tibetan.<sup>41</sup>

A long-standing requirement that all students pass an entrance examination in Tibetan is also said to have been dropped this year and all except one of the 17 university courses are now taught in Chinese.<sup>42</sup> These new policies come despite the fact that 80 percent of students and many of the teachers at the University of Tibet are Tibetan. They ignore both the stipulation included in the 1987 legislation that "after the year 2000" most lectures in tertiary institutions should "gradually" be in Tibetan, and one of the reasons listed for the founding of the University - "the maintenance and development of Tibetan culture and language".

The use of *guanxi* continues in the four modern universities in Tibet (Tibet University, the Institute of Nationalities, the Agriculture and Animal Husbandry College and the Tibetan Medical College). While these institutions were established to educate Tibetans, all except the Tibetan Medical Institute have a disproportionate representation of Chinese in the student body.

Systematic discrimination in favour of Chinese students is also evident in the division of courses. In Tibet University, modern subjects such as science courses are allocated 60 percent of seats although there are only 40 percent of the total applicants opting for the science course.<sup>43</sup> Such courses are typically preferred by the Chinese students while arts or humanities are predominantly left for Tibetans.

## **Chapter 4**

### **Violations concerning form of education**

#### **A. CHINESE AS THE TEACHING LANGUAGE**

Teaching is a form of communication. It is the teacher's task to communicate a certain amount of given information to the student and the student is only capable of being educated if she or he understands the language the teacher is speaking.

In most of the government-sponsored primary schools in Tibet the main teaching language is Chinese, whereas in primary schools sponsored by the local community the teaching language is mostly Tibetan. Of the survey group, 53 percent of the students who attended a primary school were taught in Chinese.

The situation is of greater concern at the middle school level. The vast majority of middle schools in Tibet use Chinese as their main teaching language. The exceptions are 40 'special schools' in Amdo (renamed by China as Qinghai) using Tibetan as their main mode of teaching. In the "TAR", there are few middle schools using Tibetan as their main teaching language. Of the interviewed students who had attended a middle school in Tibet, only 17 percent attended a middle school where the main teaching language was Tibetan.

Tibetan and Chinese are two totally different languages based on different systems of writing. Tibetan, developed in the seventh century from Sanskrit is based on an alphabetical system of scripture. In Chinese, a much older language, each word is instead represented by a particular character. Chinese is consequently very much a foreign language for Tibetan students.

Tibetan children generally do not speak any Chinese when they commence schooling. They experience many problems in following lessons and sitting exams in Chinese and are thereby placed at a constant disadvantage relative to the Chinese students. This problem is particularly striking at middle schools where the Tibetan students are shown to fall rapidly behind the Chinese students.

China's National Autonomy Law provides that even the curriculum content of schooling for minorities can be selected by the minority. Moreover, the Nationality Minority Law states that whenever the majority of students in a particular school constitute minority nationalities, then one "ought to use textbooks in the relevant minority language and the minority language as the medium of instruction."

The reality is something different in Tibet. School curricula is uniform throughout Chinese schools and Tibetans have no freedom to select the subjects or contents taught. Chinese is used as the medium of instruction with the present exception of primary schools and selected "special" secondary schools.

As a result of language disadvantages, Tibetan students are often placed together into "lower stream" classes and assigned inferior facilities and less qualified teachers. This, in turn, contributes to the high failure rate of the Tibetan students.

It was reported in 1986 that in Middle School No. 1 of Lhasa, of a total of 1,451 students, of which 933 were Tibetans, 387 Tibetans did not study any Tibetan. Of the 111 teachers, only thirty were Tibetan and a mere seven actually taught Tibetan. In Lhasa's Primary School No. 1, there were 1000 Tibetans and 900 Chinese. Two hundred Tibetans did not learn Tibetan and of the 136 teachers only 18 taught Tibetan.<sup>44</sup>

International law not only recognises the importance of language as a means of education, but also acknowledges that language can be a principal method by which people express their cultural identities. Language is also one of the minority rights explicitly recognised in article 27 of the ICCPR. By refusing to educate the Tibetan students in their mother tongue the Chinese authorities are violating both the educational and cultural rights of the children.

*"My primary school was a Chinese government school. The school had 200 Tibetan students and 37 teachers of whom 22 were Chinese. I received lessons in Tibetan, maths and Chinese. The main teaching language in school was Chinese.*

*I did not understand the Chinese language well enough so I had to ask the teacher again and again. If most of the Tibetans did not understand his explanation in Chinese he used to scold us, calling us 'dirty Tibetans' or 'stupid Tibetans' because we did not understand Chinese. (A43)*

*"I was able to follow the lessons in Chinese, but my knowledge of Chinese was not good enough to pass all the exams in Chinese. As a result of having failed Chinese I had to repeat grade 3 and grade 5 of primary school. Although I was very good in all the other subjects, my Chinese was not good enough." (A25)*

*"The general teaching language in our class was Tibetan. Besides Tibetan language classes, we had maths and some unknown language that I can't remember the name of." (A17)<sup>45</sup>*

In 1987 the "TAR", supported by the late 10th Panchen Lama, introduced legislation that prioritised Tibetan as the medium of education for Tibetan students. This policy was partly implemented at the primary school level but it was reported in May 1997 that the PRC is intending to reverse this policy.<sup>46</sup> At the middle school level, Chinese authorities in Tibet introduced four experimental classes in Tibetan-medium education but this experiment was terminated by the Chinese authorities in 1996.

No satisfying solutions to the Tibetan students' linguistic problems were apparent in the testimonials. In some cases Tibetan students who had a sufficient command of the Chinese language translated the words of the Chinese teacher to their fellow peers. One student reported:

*"The general teaching language at our school was Chinese. There were Tibetan students who could not speak any Chinese and were not able to communicate with the teachers. Since the Chinese teachers refused to speak Tibetan, Tibetan students who spoke Chinese had to translate what the teacher was saying." (A6)*

This form of teaching is clearly unsuitable for the Tibetan students. There is no direct communication between the Chinese

teacher and the Tibetan student and the translating student is limited to translating only that which he or she understands. If the translator misunderstands the teacher's lesson, his or her Tibetan peers will be given incorrect information. The translating student and those for whom s/he is translating are bound to fall behind under this system.

In some cases the Chinese teachers did not trouble themselves with the language problems of the Tibetan students. The following extracts from testimony cases reveal that the Chinese-speaking teacher cared little for the fact that some of the Tibetan students were not able to follow the lesson.

*"In the first two grades maths was taught in Tibetan. When I entered school I did not speak any Chinese and in the Chinese language class they only taught us little words. So when I entered grade three I only spoke a little Chinese. Still the maths class was held in Chinese. I did not understand anything that the Chinese teacher said and could only sit idle in class and wait for the class to finish. As a consequence I used to fail all of my maths tests. The teacher did not do anything to change the situation of the Tibetans. He just said that it was good luck for the students who spoke Chinese and that it was bad luck for those who did not speak any Chinese. In Chinese class I just passed; in Tibetan I was quite good. Today, in the TCV, I am taught maths in Tibetan, and I like it a lot." (A27)*

*"In my class there were 40 students of whom one was Chinese. Most of our teachers were Chinese and the main teaching language was Chinese. We had Tibetan language class two periods a week but even in the Tibetan language classes we had to speak Chinese." (A25)*

## **B. DISCRIMINATION AGAINST TIBETANS**

The principle of non-discrimination forms the basis of many human rights principles, particularly with regard to economic, social and cultural rights. Article 2 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights recognises the importance of this principle as does article 2(1) of the CRC, which states that:

**States Parties shall respect and ensure the rights set forth in the present Convention to each child within their jurisdiction without discrimination of any kind, irrespective of the child's or his or her parent's or legal guardian's race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national, ethnic or social origin, property, disability, birth or other status.**

The effective fulfilment of the right to education requires non-discriminatory access to public education facilities. The importance of the principle of non-discrimination with regard to educational rights finds expression in article 28(1) of the CRC which places an obligation on States Parties to recognise the right of the child to education with a view to achieving the right progressively 'on the basis of equal opportunity'. All other aspects of the child's right to education laid down in article 28 (1) of the CRC thus follow on from this fundamental tenet.

UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation) has adopted a Convention and Recommendation against Discrimination in Education which defines educational discrimination as: "any distinction, exclusion, limitation or preference which being based on race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, economic condition or birth has the purpose or effect of nullifying or impairing equality of treatment in education and in particular:

1. Of depriving any person or group of persons of access to education of any type or at any level;
2. Of limiting any person or group of persons to education of an inferior standard;
3. Of inflicting on any person or group of persons conditions which are incompatible with the dignity of man."<sup>47</sup>

Discrimination against Tibetan children in Tibet is made possible by the existence of two particular factors: that public education in Tibet is not organised by the Tibetans themselves and that Tibetans today represent a minority in their country. It has been reported that children belonging to a minority are more likely to be the victims of educational discrimination.<sup>48</sup> It has even be noted that, "experience shows that governments tend to use the system of education as a means to systematically discriminate against ethnic, religious and linguistic minorities. ...If governments wish to prevent certain groups



from equally participating in the political, social, economic or cultural life in their countries, one of the most efficient methods is to deny them equal access to education... ." <sup>49</sup>

In its Concluding Observations on China, the Committee on the Rights of the Child expresses concern "about reports that school attendance in minority areas, including the Tibet Autonomous Region is lagging behind, that quality of education is inferior and that insufficient efforts have been made to develop a bilingual education system which would include adequate teaching in Chinese. These shortcomings may make Tibetan and other minority pupils disadvantaged when applying for entry to secondary and higher level schools."<sup>50</sup> The Committee states that "Steps should be taken to protect these children [in the "TAR"] from discrimination and to ensure their access to higher education on an equal footing".<sup>51</sup>

The Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination in its Concluding Observations on China similarly expresses concern that "in secondary school and university levels children from minority nationalities are underrepresented" and that "the instruction provided on the history and culture of minority nationalities in the curricula is not adequate as compared to the education provided concerning the history and culture of persons of the Han nationality."<sup>52</sup>

Fifty-eight percent of the students interviewed reported that they had felt discriminated against in relation to Chinese students while in schools in Tibet. Some of the interviewed students went to all-Tibetan schools or all-Tibetan classes and thus had little chance of being discriminated against.

Students described various methods by which the Tibetan students were discriminated against. Firstly, the Chinese students were often provided with better books. If there were new books, these were given to the Chinese students while the Tibetans made do with the old and torn copies. There were also cases where the Tibetan students had to pay for their books while the Chinese received them for free.

*"... the Chinese students were always provided with the better books. When we asked why, we were given the excuse that the Chinese were more intelligent." (A1)*

*"The Tibetans had to pay much more for their books. They had to pay twice the price the Chinese students had to pay*

for their books." (A6)

*"The Chinese students received the better books and the better chairs, while the Tibetans received the old books and the broken chairs." (A10)*

Secondly the Chinese students were reported to have often received better furniture. If there was not enough furniture for all of the students in a school, only the Chinese students or those in classes consisting mainly of Chinese students were given the chairs and tables. Tibetan students would be required to sit on the floor or would be asked to pay for the use of a chair and a table.

*"When new Tibetan students came to our school, they had to sit on the floor. New Chinese students received right away their own chairs and tables. In the dormitory new Tibetan students had to sleep for some time on the floor, while Chinese students were always assigned a bed." (A5)*

*"We had one Chinese and one Tibetan class. If new books arrived the Chinese students were given the new books. We only received the old books from the Chinese. In class one and two the Tibetan class had no chairs and no tables to write on. We had to bring mattresses from home to sit on. The Chinese were given everything from class one on." (A15)*

*"At school the teachers demanded 50 yuan a month to sit on a chair, 50 yuan to have a table and another 25 yuan for the books." (A23)*

Another discriminatory method described was for school officials to demand payment from Tibetans for things broken at school. This practice was said to have applied to Tibetan students alone or in differentiating amounts.

*"If a Chinese student broke a chair or a book, the government would pay for the new chair or book. If we Tibetans broke anything we had to pay for it ourselves." (A15)*

*"If there was a broken window, or a new class broom was*

their social status and treatment, with a view to ensuring that children receive education of a high standard.<sup>53</sup> Nonetheless there were many cases reported of teachers either not attending their classes or, if attended, of failing to provide teaching. While this is not an obvious violation of the children's right to education, it illustrates an apathy to educating school children in Tibet that contradicts the basic principles of the CRC.

*"Often the teachers did not teach the class. He would go to a function or to attend some entertainment. As a consequence we had two or three recess periods every day." (A7)*

*"The lessons of the Tibetan teachers took place regularly, but the Chinese teachers never turned up after lunch break." (A10)*

*"The Chinese teacher would often sleep in class. For example, when we had a two-hour Chinese lesson, the teacher would give one hour and in the second hour he would sleep. This happened every day." (A1)*

*"Though we were expected to have six periods a day, most days only two periods were taught. The Tibetan teachers mostly came to class. But the Chinese teachers were away 'sick' three or four times a week. Even if they came to class, very often they would only sit in class and refuse to teach. And often the Chinese teachers would go home for the last two periods of the day." (A13)*

*"When the teachers went on their tea break, most of them did not come back to class after the break." (A29)*

It must be kept in mind too that a large number of the "teachers" in Tibet are in fact not properly qualified. It was reported by the official Tibet Review in 1986 that; "In the whole of the TAR, there are over 9000 teachers of various levels, far fewer than the actual number required. Fifty percent of these teachers are not qualified enough."<sup>54</sup>

Sometimes children themselves take on the role of "teacher". The newest addition to the teachers' department in the local *mantsug* in Nyen village in Toelung Dechen county under Lhasa City prefecture is a student who just graduated from a *zhungtsug*. Each student

must pay one yuan for this student-teacher even though he is not included on the school's list of teachers.<sup>55</sup>

#### D. DISCIPLINARY MEASURES

The issue of the suitability of corporal punishment within a child's education is not specifically addressed in the CRC. However, where corporal punishment is deemed necessary, it must, in accordance with the convention, be applied in a manner which respects the child's human dignity. Moreover, the child must be protected from mental or physical abuse, and from torture or cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment.

**Art. 28(2): States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to ensure that school discipline is administered in a manner consistent with the child's human dignity and in conformity with the present Convention.**

**Art. 19: States Parties shall take all appropriate legislative, administrative, social and educational measures to protect the child from all forms of physical or mental violence, injury or abuse, neglect or negligent treatment, maltreatment or exploitation including sexual abuse, while in the care of parent(s), legal guardian(s) or any other person who has the care of the child.**

**Art. 37: States Parties shall ensure that:**

**a) No child shall be subjected to torture or other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.**

The PRC claims that corporal punishment is de jure illegal in China. In addition to constitutional articles for the general protection of children, article 16 of China's Compulsory Education Law states "[i]t shall be forbidden to inflict physical punishment on students" and article 20 of the Rules on Implementation of the Compulsory Education Law specifies that "[t]he school and the teacher are not allowed to inflict upon students physical or covert physical punishment or other acts that violate their physical dignity."

The *de facto* situation regarding punishment in Chinese schools in Tibet appears quite different. In violation of article 28 of the CRC, teachers under the Chinese administration reportedly resort to extreme forms of punishment defiant of the most basic standards of human dignity for little or no apparent reason.

#### **i. The extent of corporal punishment**

Forty-seven per cent of the students interviewed who had visited a primary school said that they had experienced degrading, humiliating or brutal forms of corporal punishment. This did not appear to be isolated to a particular region in Tibet, nor was there any significant differentiation between urban and rural areas. Some of the students also reported that the teachers made no distinction between punishment of male and female students.

Students described a significant difference between the actions of Chinese teachers and Tibetan teachers. Chinese teachers reportedly resorted more often to severe forms of corporal punishment than Tibetan teachers and the most brutal forms of corporal punishment were committed, in the most part, by Chinese teachers.

Testimonials suggest that corporal punishment is less prevalent in *mangstug* schools (locally sponsored primary schools), which employ mainly Tibetan teachers, than in *zhungtsug* schools, (government-sponsored primary schools), which rely more on Chinese teachers.

#### **ii. Reasons for corporal punishment**

Just as the CRC does not prohibit the use of corporal punishment as a means of educational discipline, nor does it specify minimum standards whereby punishment may be applied. While the use of corporal punishment for minor misdeeds does not amount *per se* to a violation of article 28 (2) of the CRC, where punishment is regularly applied for little or no cause, this can constitute a violation of the child's human dignity.

Some children interviewed recalled that they were physically punished for any minor reason: being late to school; speaking or eating in class; neglecting their homework. Sometimes students reported being punished for no reason at all and two students reported that they were severely beaten because the teacher was in a bad mood.

*"Sometimes the teacher came to class in a bad mood. You always saw his bad mood in his face. Then he would take students and tell them to carry their chair above their head. If they dropped the chair or if they fainted he would beat them with a big stick." (A24)*

*"One of our teachers drank liqueur in the classroom. He was drunk about three times a week. Another teacher also drank alcohol in class but was not really drunk so often. In the afternoon the teacher used to sleep. When the teacher was drunk he used to beat us up. Because I was the oldest in our class, he particularly liked to beat me very badly and he would tell me that I was a "pig". The teacher could afford liqueur because the Chinese paid him well enough. He worked together with the Chinese. The Tibetan teacher helped the Chinese and therefore the Chinese gave him money." (A18)*

*"When we did not do our homework properly we were kicked and beaten with chairs. Most of the time the teachers hit us on the stomach or the back but sometimes he hit us also on the head. This was the most dangerous because often the wounds had to be stitched. Some students fainted and some had to vomit after these beatings." (A13).*

### **iii. Forms of corporal punishment**

The interviewed students reported horrifying forms of corporal punishment endured in Tibet. Even primary school students, children between 6 and 12 years, were subjected to beatings using rubber clubs, whips, belts, electric wires, chair legs, whole chairs, bamboo sticks and other instruments. The students were beaten all over the body.

*"... the Chinese teacher made us stand on a chair with bricks on our head and in our outstretched hands. When a brick fell, we were beaten. The Chinese teacher used different things to beat us with: a rubber whip, an electric wire or the leg of a chair. We were beaten all over the body. Many times I had to go to the hospital after being beaten by the Chinese*

*teacher and two or three times I had to be hospitalised. I know of a boy who had to stay two weeks in hospital because of his beatings and another boy who had two legs fractured. Girls were beaten the same way.” (A1)*

Children interviewed reported that Tibetan students were punished more harshly than the Chinese students:

*“If a Chinese and a Tibetan made the same mistakes, the Tibetan received more punishment.” (A9)*

*“The Tibetan students were beaten more severely than the Chinese students.” (A13)*

*“For the same mistake a Tibetan student would get three whips, while the Chinese student only received one whip.” (A1)*

The extent of the corporal punishments habitually bore no relation to the seriousness of the offence:

*“Very often the teacher would not come to class and so sometimes we would be walking around. If the teacher suddenly came back and caught us walking around he would punish us. He always punished me in the same way: two students took my legs, two students took my arms and then they lifted me up so that the teacher could beat me with an electric wire on my behind. This hurt very much. Once I was hurt so badly that I could not sit on a chair for three days.” (A16)*

*“The teachers punished us because we had visited a Tibetan monastery. They made us stand outside the school building from nine o'clock in the morning until six o'clock at night without any food or drink. It was very sunny and warm at that time and so it was very hard for us to stand in the bright sun all day. Luckily no one lost consciousness.” (A42)*

Children were not only beaten. They were also asked to fulfil particularly exhausting tasks. For example, it seemed to be a very common punishment to ask the students to lift heavy things:

*"When we were late in the morning we were punished in the following way. We had to take two heavy stones in our hands, lift up our arms, and kneel down in front of the class for 15 to 30 minutes. When we dropped a stone we were beaten with a belt or a stick and we had to do it again." (A9)*

*"When we were punished, we either had to carry chairs or heavy stones in our hands or we were made to run around the school ground. The Tibetan students had to run around the school ground without stopping for three hours. When a student broke down, or fainted, the teacher threw some water into his face, and, when he regained consciousness, made him run again." (A6)*

Two students reported having to kneel in front of the class in pieces of broken glass as punishment:

*"One time, on the way to the toilet, a Chinese student tripped over me accidentally. He went up to a Chinese teacher and told him that I had made him fall. The teacher made me get some sand and he mixed the sand with pieces of broken glass and water. This muddy mixture was then spread out on the floor. I had to kneel for one hour in this mud. The glass cut into my knees and into my feet. It hurt very much and my knees were bleeding. The teacher told me that if I moved because it hurt I would have to kneel for an even longer time. I still dream about it. ... I stayed in hospital for four weeks due to some infection. Another Tibetan boy had received the same punishment ... The glass had gone all the way to the bone and infected it and later the boy's leg had to be amputated from the knee down." (A4)*

*"When we did not do our homework properly, the Chinese teacher would scold us until late at night. When we returned home we were very tired and naturally we were not always able to learn our lessons for the following day. The next morning the teacher asked us about our lessons. When we did not know them the teacher took some bottles, crushed them down into little pieces of glass and put these pieces of glass on the floor of the classroom. He then made me, or a*



*group of us, kneel down in front of the class in the broken glass and walk around on our knees for the whole period of 45 minutes. Sometimes only one student had to do this, sometimes almost all of the class. Back then I was 8 years old. Afterwards I had little pieces of glass stuck under my skin so I had to go to the doctor.” (A27)*

One girl reported that teachers used punishments as a pretext to sexually abuse female students:

*“... the older senior student girls were treated differently by some Chinese teachers. I know of some cases where the Chinese teacher went in to the bedrooms of the older Tibetan girls and sexually abused the Tibetan girls. In the classroom the Chinese teachers punished the girls differently from the boys. The girls had to take off their pants and stand half-naked in the classroom so that the Chinese teacher could spank them on the naked lower half of their body. I have been lucky for I have never been sexually abused by any Chinese teacher.” (A10)*

## **E. DENIAL OF CULTURAL MINORITY RIGHTS**

Minority groups are, by their nature, more susceptible to human rights violations. Frequently under-represented or unrepresented in the larger community, they therefore lack input into national decision-making and are at risk of being assimilated into the more powerful majority group. Children of a minority represent an even more vulnerable group and are thus in particular need of protection, as recognised in the CRC:

**Art. 30: In those States in which ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities or persons of indigenous origin exist, a child belonging to such a minority or who is indigenous shall not be denied the right, in community with other members of his or her group, to enjoy his or her own culture, to profess and practice his or her own religion, or to use his or her own language.**

The massive population transfer of Chinese into Tibet has meant

that today the estimated 7.5 million Chinese settlers outnumber the 6 million Tibetans. The situation has been deemed a "cultural genocide"<sup>56</sup> as Tibetans each day lose more and more of their folk customs, their religious traditions and their language; 'sinocised' by the majority Chinese who hold the economic and political power. The need to educate Tibetan children on their cultural heritage is critical if the culture is to survive even one more generation.

Violations of Tibetan children's minority rights take many different forms. All of the children who had visited government-sponsored primary schools reported that they were not allowed to honour any Tibetan holidays except for *Losar*, the Tibetan New Year. At the same time, they were forced to celebrate Chinese holidays. This applied even in schools where there were no Chinese students at all.

Seventy-eight percent of the students who visited a government-sponsored primary school reported that they were forbidden to wear Tibetan clothes to school. This was not because there was any school uniform and children were in fact permitted to wear whatever they liked so long as it was not Tibetan-style clothing. Some students reported that they were corporally punished by their teachers for wearing Tibetan clothes to school, while others said that they had to wear Tibetan dress when Chinese officials or foreigners came to visit the school.

Suppression of Tibetans' minority rights also took the form of denying students their religious rights to visit a temple, prohibiting Tibetans at boarding school from consuming Tibetan food, and forcing Tibetan children to renounce Tibetan history or the Dalai Lama. Sometimes Tibetan students were not even allowed to read books in Tibetan language. Students also recalled the name-calling by teachers; being told that Tibetans were stupid, dirty or inferior human beings.

*"At school we were never allowed to wear Tibetan clothes. We had to wear Chinese clothes. If we wore Tibetan clothes we were punished. Only when we had to present some dances to Chinese officials were we allowed to wear Tibetan clothes. Another thing was that we were not allowed to celebrate any Tibetan holidays. The only Tibetan holiday we were allowed to celebrate was Losar, the Tibetan new year. But we had to celebrate Chinese holidays. This was OK since we got free from school." (A15)*

*"During winter time, when it was very cold, we were allowed to wear our Tibetan clothes. The teacher often called us bad names when we were wearing them, telling us that we looked backward and stupid". (A46)*

*"We always had to drink Chinese tea. We were never allowed to have Tibetan (butter) tea". (A5)*

*"If most of the Tibetans did not understand his [the teacher's] explanation in Chinese, he used to scold us. He called us 'dirty Tibetans' or 'stupid Tibetans', because we did not understand Chinese." (A43)*

*"At school the teacher asked us to renounce the Dalai Lama. If we did not do so, we feared that the authorities would arrest our parents." (A35)*

## **F. DENIAL OF RELIGIOUS RIGHTS AND FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION**

The Convention on the Rights of the Child places a strong emphasis on the child's freedom of thought and religion. It states:

**Art. 14(1): States Parties shall respect the right of the child to freedom of thought, conscience and religion...**

**Art. 30: In those states in which ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities or persons of indigenous origin exist, a child belonging to such a minority ... shall not be denied the right ... to profess and practice his or her own religion ...**

School teachers must respect a child's freedom to hold certain beliefs even where they may be contrary to the teacher's own. Children are not, by reason of their age and lack of experience, incapable of forming their own opinions on different topics and the CRC recognises that it is not the purpose of the state, and thus state educators, to repress this freedom.

Before China entered Tibet in 1949, Buddhist religion played an intrinsic role in the whole of Tibetan society. The Dalai Lama was

spiritual leader and monarch at the same time and monasteries were not only spiritual centres but also unique educational institutions. Individuals were free to practise their religious beliefs in every stage of life and the religious traditions were passed down from adult to child.

This situation has been drastically affected by Chinese occupation. In its Concluding Observations on China, the Committee on the Rights of the Child expressed "its deep concern in connection with violations of human rights of the Tibetan religious minority" and commented, "State intervention in religious principles and procedures seems to be most unfortunate for the whole generation among the Tibetan population."<sup>57</sup>

### **i. Monastic schools**

Before 1949 monastic education played a very important role in Tibet with every third child becoming a monk and attending a monastic school. Since Chinese occupation, with only 300 of Tibet's 6000 monasteries still standing and access strictly regulated by Chinese authorities, a child's desire to become a monk or nun guarantees little.

He or she must first seek Chinese authorisation and, where granted, is then subjected to a forcible "patriotic re-education campaign" within the monastery. The child must: oppose separatism; acknowledge the unity of Tibet and China; recognise the Chinese appointed Panchen Lama; deny that Tibet was or should be independent and agree that the Dalai Lama is destroying the unity of the people. Over 280 student monks under the age of 16 were expelled from their monasteries by Chinese authorities in 1996 and were thereby denied their religious education.<sup>58</sup>

Most of the students interviewed reported that it was not possible for them to visit a monastic school. Some reported that it might have been possible for them to visit a monastic school if their parents had paid very high bribes to the authorities.

*"My parents were not free to send me to the school of their choice. It was the Chinese authorities who sent us to a particular school. Even if I would have liked to attend a monastic school I would have not been allowed to do so." (A9)*

*"I know a boy who wanted to go to a monastic school but*

*the Chinese authorities would not let him. His parents had to pay a lot of money before he was allowed to attend a monastic school.” (A13)*

*“ I don’t know if I could have gone to a monastic school. A couple of years ago I probably could have gone, but since the change of policy of the Chinese it is very difficult now. In order to go to a monastic school one has to get permission from the Chinese government. They limit the maximum number of students in every monastery.” (A41)*

*“If I wanted to attend a monastic school now, in 1997, I would definitely not be allowed to do so. The Chinese changed the policy. There is a maximum number of people who are allowed to enter a monastery.” (A43)*

*“Before I left Tibet I was a monk studying Tibetan in a big monastery near Lhasa.. The Chinese police came to the monastery and told me that I was only allowed to stay if I would speak against His Holiness the Dalai Lama. I could not speak against His Holiness and so I left.” (A38)*

**ii. Public schools**

Students reported that the right to freedom of religion and thought in public schools in Tibet is repressed through a variety of methods. The PRC has adopted a policy which discredits the Dalai Lama and penalises the possession of Dalai Lama pictures. Tibetan children are prohibited from celebrating any of their religious holidays. Questions in school examinations require answers which follow certain ideological beliefs.

*“When the Chinese teacher found a Dalai Lama picture on a student, he would, even when it was still allowed to have Dalai Lama photos, put the photo into his shoes and tell us that the Dalai Lama is dirt.” (A5)*

*“The Chinese teachers in school told us ... that the Dalai Lama was bad and that he was a criminal.” (A14)*

*"The teacher told us that... 'all the Tibetans do not like the Dalai Lama. You should go home and tell your parents that the Dalai Lama is no good'." (A32)*

*"We were not able to express our opinions. They made us learn things about the life of Mao, and examined us about this. The grades in examinations depended on our answers to ideological questions about Mao and the Chinese socialism." (A4)*

*"My examinations depended on ideological questions. For example, if I were to write in my exam that China is a bad country and not a good country, I would get beaten up by my teacher." (A10)*

*"If we answered the ideological questions the wrong way, we were beaten up by the teacher." (A18)*

**Chapter 5**  
**Violations**  
**concerning**  
**the content**  
**of education**

**A. DENIAL OF EDUCATION ON TIBETAN CULTURE**

Education's purpose is not only to teach a child reading, writing, calculation and some abstract academic knowledge. It should also enable the child to understand his or her cultural heritage so that the child can grow up to be a responsible member of his or her cultural group.

The policy of population transfer by the PRC in Tibet, with the result that Tibetans have become a minority people in their own land, carries grave portents for the survival of the unique Tibetan culture. Tibetans are today outnumbered by Chinese in many urban areas of Tibet. Tibetan children growing up in a Chinese-dominated environment may not be aware that their country has not always looked like this: full of communist-style concrete apartment blocks, karaoke bars, statues of Mao Tse Tung and armed police.

A particularly striking element of the children's testimonials was the extent to which they were simply unaware of Tibet, as a free country, and of Tibetan history, pre-1949. For many it came as an absolute shock to be told, only after reaching exile, that Tibet has not always been controlled by Chinese forces, that once they spoke only in Tibetan and openly worshipped the Dalai Lama.

As a States Party to the CRC, the PRC's obligations to safeguard children's rights extends equally to the cultural rights of Tibetan children. The Committee on the Rights of the Child proposed to China, in its suggestions and recommendations, "to ensure that children in the Tibet

Autonomous Region ... are guaranteed full opportunities to develop knowledge about their own language and culture...".<sup>59</sup>

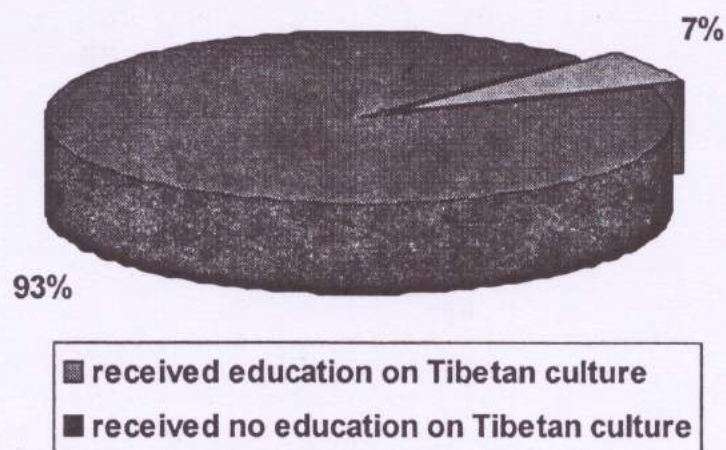
The CRC acknowledges that development of cultural identity, language and values should be incorporated into a child's education:

**Art. 29(1): States Parties agree that the education of the child shall be directed to:**

**c) the development of respect for the child's parents, his or her own cultural identity, language and values, for the national values of the country in which the child is living, the country from which he or she may originate, and for civilisations different from his or her own.**

It was found that Tibetan children attending Chinese schools received almost no education about their cultural heritage. Of 38 Tibetan children interviewed who had been to school, only three reported to have had any education on Tibetan culture, religion or history.

*Percentage of students receiving education on Tibetan culture*



Of these three, one went to a clandestine school operated by Tibetans which was not known to the Chinese authorities. Another went to a private school set up by a Tibetan Lama. This student was



later arrested for attending this school and it was closed: The third student received information on Tibet from his Tibetan teacher only under the promise not to tell anyone about it. All three cases, by violating Chinese official school policy, posed great risk to both student and teacher.

Students were also asked about subjects they had studied in their Tibetan language classes. Almost all responded that they had read only stories about Mao Tse Tung, "great Chinese men" and the Chinese Revolution. While some students said that they had read stories in school about the architecture of the Potala Palace or some fables about Lhasa, this was the only Tibet-related education mentioned. Even in Tibetan language class there was virtually no information about Tibetan culture or history.

The students who had attended a middle school were asked what history they had been taught. All responded that they were taught only about Chinese history, with no reference to a Tibetan history. Some also said that they were told that Tibet had no history of its own and was always an integral part of China. None of the children, except for the one who went to a clandestine school, received any education about the religious heritage of Tibet.

*"In our Tibetan book all the stories were about Mao and his great doings. There was nothing about Tibet, the Dalai Lama or our history. The fact that I had to learn so much about Mao made me feel awkward; I knew that Mao was not a good man and that he had done a lot of cruel things to the Tibetans, but I had to learn these things anyway. In school we had to repeat those lies word for word or we were punished. Once in a while our Tibetan teacher taught us a little about Tibet, but he was very afraid and made us promise that we would not talk to anyone about this. Once in a while I read a Tibetan book about great Tibetan men and Tibetan kings, but I had to hide these books because if I was caught both myself and the author would have been punished severely." (A27)*

*"In our Tibetan language book it said that 'our capital is Beijing'. Once I crossed out Beijing and wrote Lhasa. When the teacher read this he beat me severely." (A7)*

*"Neither my parents nor my Tibetan school teachers had ever told me anything about Tibetan culture or history. Suddenly my parents told me that it was time for me to leave Tibet and go to India. My first contact with Tibetan culture, history and religion was in the Tibetans Children's Village (TCV) in Dharamsala, India." (A12)*

*"The only Tibetan histories we read were fables about Lhasa." (A13)*

*"I did not have any subjects related to Tibetan history, culture or religion. The subjects for our Tibetan language classes came directly from Chinese books, translated into Tibetan. I would have liked to learn something about Tibetan culture; that's why I came to the TCV in India." (A25)*

*"The Rinpoche [a high lama] opened a private Tibetan school in my place. I had the opportunity to study Tibetan politics and Tibetan opera in this school for three years. After three years the Chinese authorities closed the school, telling us it was because this school made us serve Tibetan authorities as we did before 1959. The Chinese also told us that the Rinpoche who started the school was a fake Rinpoche and that he worked together with the Chinese. The Rinpoche was later put in prison by the Chinese. Two months after the school's closure I was put in prison for three days because, the Chinese told me, I had attended a very bad school. My parents had to pay bribes to get me out of prison." (A31)*

## **B. INDOCTRINATION**

The use of indoctrination is an intrinsic part of China's grand plan to sinocise Tibetans. It is most effectively used on children who, in the process of developing their thoughts and character, are most easily influenced by the opinions propounded by those in authority. Teachers have a direct, extremely influential impact on the development of a student's beliefs.

The purpose of education, on the other hand, is to allow a child to develop his or her own ideas and perceptions, as the CRC recognises:

**Art. 29(1): States Parties agree that the education shall be directed to:**

**a) The development of the child's personality, talents and mental and physical abilities to their fullest potential;**

The Convention also states that:

**Art. 14(1): States Parties shall respect the right of the child to freedom of thought, conscience and religion**

**Art. 13(1): The child shall have the right to freedom of expression**

These principles are clearly violated where education takes the form of indoctrination. A child's freedom of thought and expression is necessarily restricted by an authoritarian system which imposes its own perception of "truth" upon students and punishes the child who diverges from the official ideology.

In the situation where a student must provide fixed answers to ideological questions in an exam, the child is not free to express his or her own thoughts. The student must conform to the theory which is supported by the State or face grave repercussions.

Sixty-eight percent of students questioned said that they felt indoctrinated at school. Some of the students interviewed had attended non-Chinese schools and some may not have been aware of the indoctrination due to their young age or a limited amount of objective information received. For these reasons this figure may be unrepresentatively low.

Topics of indoctrination varied. Most students reported that they were constantly taught about the greatness of Mao Tse Tung, Li Peng, Chinese socialism and China's achievements in general. Even the Tibetan language books covered Chinese subjects almost exclusively. The possibility of children dissenting from opinions provided in school books was completely unknown. Students reported that, if they chose not to answer ideological questions "properly", they risked failure or beatings.

*"I definitely felt indoctrinated. The Chinese history classes mainly dealt with the stories of the Chinese courageous*

*kings and their kingdoms and how great China was. We always had to sing the Chinese anthem. If you did not sing, you would be severely punished.” (A41)*

*“ I felt indoctrinated at school because it was always Mao and Li Peng this and Deng Xiaoping that. Always the stories of their lives and how great they were. Every Monday morning we had to sing the Chinese national anthem. The singing of the anthem started at grade one. At that time I didn't know the Chinese national anthem at all and for this the teacher forced me to stretch out my lips and then he would hit my lips with a stick. We also had to wear red scarves when we went to school and so I would tie it a bit loose and then lose it at a certain time. My mother used to scold me when I lost my red scarf . Sometimes there was an announcement at school that on a certain day there would be a school assembly about Li Peng and then we were made to stay longer at school and listen to more stories telling us how great Li Peng was.” (A25)*

*“The teachers told us that China is the power country and that China is a good country. Once I asked my teacher to explain to us more about Tibetan history and he got so mad at me for asking this question that he hit me with a big stick on my legs and head. If you failed the political questions asked in class you would not progress to the higher class. My parents also refused to explain anything to me about Tibet because they were afraid that the Chinese would get mad. My parents told me that the things to occupy myself with were not Tibetan politics. Politics was too dangerous; I had to be satisfied with talking about clothes, food and yaks.” (A42)*

*“During the music lessons we had to sing more Chinese than Tibetan songs. We were made to sing texts like ‘Long live Communist China’ or ‘The teachers are good people and they are here to help us’. Most of the Tibetan students did not sing these songs in class and we would be punished by the teachers, even the Tibetan teachers. They hit us on our backs and heads with wooden sticks. When Deng*

*Xiaopeng died, the teacher put his picture in front of the class and told us that we had to mourn the death of the great Deng Xiaopeng. We were told that we had to cry in class but, when most of us did not cry, the teacher hit us badly with a wooden stick.” (A29)*

Tibetan students were constantly told that Tibet was an inferior country with a poor culture. Tibetan cultural values, Tibetan achievements and the Dalai Lama were constantly derogated while China was held out as the humanitarian saviour of the Tibetan people.

*“My parents have told me many stories about Tibet, the Dalai Lama, and how it was before the Chinese came. The Chinese teachers in school told us exactly the opposite: that the Dalai Lama was bad and a criminal and that Mao had freed Tibet. Because of the things my parents had told me, I knew that it was all fake.” (A13)*

*“The teacher told us that ‘China is better than all the other countries ... and all the Tibetans do not like the Dalai Lama. You should go home and tell your parents that the Dalai Lama is no good’.” (A32)*

*“The teachers told us that we Tibetans would not exist without China’s help for food.” (A46)*

In some cases, the indoctrination was so effective that students were completely unaware of it:

*“In Tibet I never realised that I was indoctrinated but when I came to India and talked to my classmates I realised that all these stories about ‘how China freed and saved Tibet from foreign influences’ were just not true.” (A44)*

*“I never felt indoctrinated during the lessons, because I never realised that there could be any explanation other than that of my teacher. I always trusted my teacher. In school no one told me anything about Tibetan culture, history or religion and my parents also never told me anything about my Tibetan background... I remember very well that I danced for Mao Tse*

*Tung's birthday party and really liked doing that." (A 34)*

### C. SENDING OF TIBETAN STUDENTS OUTSIDE TIBET

As part of their systematic sinocisation policies, Chinese authorities send many of the top-ranking graduated Tibetan primary students to China where they attend special Tibetan classes attached to local secondary schools or one of the eighteen "Tibetan Secondary Schools" in China. While Tibetan students may receive better facilities at these schools, there is absolutely no chance of receiving any Tibet-related education.

Parents who come to visit their children are given strict instructions not to discuss the situation in Tibet, and those students who wish to leave school and return to Tibet find it extremely difficult to do so. When parents insist on removing their child, they will be made to reimburse the expenses incurred thus far for the child's education and the child's ration card will not be renewed, making him ineligible to join any government school in Tibet.

As of 1996, China stated that 29 provinces and municipalities in China had formed "Inland Tibetan Classes" with a total enrolment of 12,590 Tibetan students, including 6509 of lower middle school, 1604 of senior middle school, 3195 of secondary vocational schools and 1282 of secondary normal schools.<sup>60</sup>

## Chapter 6

### Other violations

#### A. VIOLATION OF THE RIGHT OF THE FAMILY BY SPYING

The family is considered the core of society. Children are dependent on their parents and family not only for the satisfaction of their physical needs but also for emotional support and mental development. In the family children are cared for and guided towards adulthood. The fundamental role of the family in a child's well-being receives special protection in the Convention on the Right of the Child which states:

**Art. 16: No child shall be subjected to arbitrary or unlawful interference with his or her privacy, family, home, or correspondence, nor to unlawful attacks on his or her honour and reputation.**

In violation of this provision, Chinese school authorities in Tibet deliberately attempt to upset the private family life of Tibetan children. Students reported that they were asked by their teachers to spy on their parents and to report back as to whether the parents talk about political issues or the Dalai Lama, or whether they have Dalai Lama pictures in their home. Sometimes children were promised rewards and given money if they related negative information about their parents. Such actions are capable of destroying the child's family structure.

*"After 4.30 p.m. there were no more classes and we had to sit idle in the classroom. Three or four times a*

week we were asked during this time whether our parents talked about Tibetan politics or the Dalai Lama. When the children admitted that their parents spoke about these things, they were rewarded with presents - money or food. The parents were later called to meetings and sometimes then fined or put into prison.”(A1)

“My Chinese teachers regularly asked me to go home and spy on my parents. I was supposed to see if my parents were talking about Tibetan policies or religion. I would pretend to walk home and then turn back after 3 hours in order to tell the teachers that I had not heard any talk from my parents about Tibetan matters. Or I would walk home, play around for a couple of hours and then go back to school and tell my teachers that there was no proof against my parents. In both cases the teacher would beat me because he did not believe me ... They promised us 200 yuan if we found any evidence against our parents that proved they talked about subjects relating to Tibetan culture, history or religion.” (A10)

“I remember that when I was about 10 years old my teacher asked me to go home and see if there were any pictures of the Dalai Lama hanging in our house. I couldn't find any and had to tell the teacher the result of my search.”(A34)

## B. COMPULSORY NON-EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES

The Convention on the Rights of the Child attempts to protect as many aspects of a child's life as possible. Understanding that free time, leisure and play are very important to a child's full development the CRC guarantees the right to such activities:

**Art. 31(1): States Parties recognise the right of the child to rest and leisure, to engage in play and recreational activities appropriate to the age of the child...**

The CRC also acknowledges in article 32(1) that a child requires protection from economic exploitation.

Most schooling involves some non-academic activities. Children may be involved in sports and exercise, community work, social



activities and similar activities that do not form part of the child's "lessons" but nonetheless contribute to a child's overall development. However, where such activities amount to exploitation of the child or cause detriment to the child's mental or physical well-being, this constitutes a violation of the Convention's principles.

Reports of being made to clean drains, wash teachers' clothing and clean industrial areas were received from the interviewed students. In some instances the demands came not from school authorities but from the Chinese military and not just school children but the whole town had to obey.

*"Three times a week our village was inspected by Chinese soldiers. At these inspections the Chinese soldiers told the small and bigger children of our village to clean the drains. If we did not clean the drains the Chinese soldiers would hit us and the small children were hit on their back. Sometimes I had to clean the drains with my parents." (A17)*

*"The Chinese soldiers came by our village and made discipline announcements. They told us that we had to split up into groups for distribution and then took us to a place where we had to clean the drains. Our whole village had to do this. So after school time our whole school was made to clean the drains and if we did not, they would beat us up." (A18)*

*"On Sunday, about twice a month, the school told us that all the students had to clean the teachers' rooms, the factories and the streets." (A42)*

*"On Sunday sometimes we had to wash the clothes of the teachers." (A43)*

*"Our school was surrounded by four soldier camps. During the weekends after lunch the teachers told us that we had to clean the rooms of the soldiers or we would be punished." (A 44)*

*"The Chinese authorities inspected our village. They were soldiers and they told the children in our village that we must come with them and practise the work of a soldier. They made us dig and clean channels in the ground." (A 45)*

## **Chapter 7**

### **Conclusion**

It is undeniable that the People's Republic of China has improved the public school facilities in Tibet in recent years. However it is crucial to identify who exactly is receiving the benefits of these new facilities. In order to cater to the huge influx of Chinese settlers being enticed into Tibet by the Chinese authorities there was an immediate need to provide schools for the children of the settlers. Thus the majority of new schools have been built in the cities and urban areas where the Chinese live.

Roughly one third of the school-aged children in Tibet continue to receive no education at all. This is not due solely to the remoteness of some Tibetan regions, an argument frequently invoked by the PRC, but also to the prohibitively high school fees charged by the Chinese authorities. The vast majority of the interviewed Tibetan students had to pay extremely high school fees and even primary school education is not free, despite claims by the PRC.

Even when a child can afford the fees, bribes and other charges, they must frequently confront blatant discrimination making it difficult or impossible to qualify for secondary or tertiary education.

Moreover, it is not enough to simply look at the figures touted by the PRC regarding numbers of educational institutions but to consider more closely the actual content of the schooling in these institutions. It is evident from the childrens' own accounts that they benefitted little from school lessons taught in a language they could not understand or from idle class time passed without a teacher.

Tibetan children receive virtually no

education on their indigenous Tibetan culture and history at the public schools in Tibet. The phasing out of Tibetan language in Tibetan schools and universities indicates the intention of Chinese authorities to deny students the right to be taught in their mother tongue. In an attempt to "sinocise" the Tibetan people, children are targeted for indoctrination; their freedom of thought, religion and expression repressed.

If the education of the Tibetan children in Tibet continues in this way the chance of the unique and ancient Tibetan culture surviving even another generation is grim. As in any society, the children are the key to its future, and, based on the current state of affairs with regard to education, the future of Tibetan children seems to be one of undereducation, unemployment and ignorance of their Tibetan heritage. This situation serves several purposes: to keep Tibetans out of positions of economic power or political influence; to utilise Tibetan labour for the infrastructure construction required for Tibet's Chinese-engineered "economic boom"; and to assimilate the Tibetans into the great "motherland" of China.

## **Chapter 8**

### **Recommended actions**

Genuine improvements to the state of education in Tibet on the part of the Chinese authorities would undoubtedly be welcomed by the Tibetan people. However, this report indicates that Chinese-sponsored "education development" in Tibet not only fails often to benefit the Tibetans themselves, it is also being used as a political tool to strip Tibetans of their cultural rights and dignity.

Some improvements have been made, at least in the number of students in Tibet who today receive some education. Nonetheless, China's international obligations regarding the rights of children to receive an adequate education still fail to be met. The following actions are therefore recommended:

#### **Build new schools**

To ensure that education is available to children in remote areas of Tibet.

#### **Abolish school fees for primary schools**

Not only does the levy of school fees violate article 28 (1)(a) of the CRC, it also discriminates against Tibetans as they are far more likely than the Chinese settlers to come from economically disadvantaged households.

#### **Ensure equitable distribution of educational resources amongst students**

At present Tibetan students pay more and receive less than their Chinese peers. Any charges for schooling should not only be reasonable but equitable, and the distribution of books, stationery, tables and chairs must also be free from discrimination.

**Ensure fair entrance requirements for middle schools**

Entrance to secondary school should be based on equal opportunity and thereby depend on academic merit and not the amount of bribe able to be paid.

**Ensure non-discriminatory entry examinations to middle school**

Tibetans should be entitled to sit entry examinations in their mother tongue. By not allowing the use of Tibetan language, Chinese authorities discriminate against Tibetan students because their command of the Chinese language is clearly inferior to that of the Chinese students.

**Allow for education in Tibetan language**

Tibetan children will only have the chance to receive a proper education and to compete with their Chinese peers if they are taught in their native Tibetan language.

**Teach Chinese to Tibetan students as a foreign language**

Chinese is a foreign language to Tibetans. If they are not properly introduced to this language they will never have a chance to reach a sufficient level of Chinese.

**Establish more secondary schools which use Tibetan as their main teaching language**

Tibetan students must compete at middle school with native Chinese speakers and are therefore constantly disadvantaged. By introducing middle schools which use Tibetan as their main teaching language, Tibetan children receive a fair chance of completing their middle school education.

**Finance more *mangtsug* schools**

These locally sponsored schools tend to give greater attention to the cultural rights of Tibetan children than the government sponsored *zhungtsug* schools and often also use Tibetan as the main teaching language.

**Employ more Tibetan teachers**

Tibetan teachers are likely to have a better understanding of the Tibetan children's cultural background and are able to teach the Tibetan children in their mother tongue. It appears they are also

more likely than the Chinese teachers to attend their classes regularly.

### **Incorporate Tibet-related subjects into the curriculum**

By teaching Tibetan children only about Chinese matters they lack knowledge of their Tibetan history and culture. In particular, books in Tibetan should not simply be translations of Chinese books but should teach the Tibetan children about their own literary traditions.

### **Not use indoctrination as a substitute for education**

Education of children should be directed at developing his or her personal capacities and not to fuel support for a particular ideology or political agenda. The education of Tibetan children should not be used to forcibly propagate Chinese communist thought.

### **Allow freedom of expression**

In accordance with article 13(1) of the CRC, Tibetan children should be free to express opinions which differ from that of State authorities or their teachers.

### **Allow freedom of religion**

Tibetan daily life is interwoven with Buddhist spiritual practice. Denying Tibetans their religious freedom is equivalent to denying them their cultural identity. Every Tibetan child should be entitled to observe his or her religious practice, to consider the Dalai Lama as his or her spiritual leader and to carry his picture.

### **Respect Tibetan children's minority rights**

Allow Tibetan children to speak their language, eat their food, dress in their clothes and celebrate their national and religious holidays.

### **Stop sending children to China for secondary education**

Tibetan children who are sent to China for secondary education are in danger of losing their cultural identity and background.

### **Redirect education budget spending**

A significant proportion of Tibet's educational funding has been spent for Tibetan students sent to study in central China. Much of the money could be used to train teachers or improve the already existing facilities of Tibetan schools in Tibet.

**Stop the discrimination of Tibetan school children**

There should be no differentiation between Tibetan and Chinese school children with regard to teaching attention, academic grading, non-educational activities or disciplinary measures.

**Stop punishing children in brutal and degrading ways**

Children are small humans and should be treated with the same dignity to which every human is entitled. School punishment should not amount to torture, cruel or degrading treatment or affect the physical or mental well-being of the child.

**Adequate supervision of teachers**

There is an onus on Chinese authorities to ensure that schools and teachers are fulfilling their educational obligations. Teachers should be required to attend their classes and to refrain from demanding bribes and using cruel punishment techniques.

**Refrain from using students as spies against their parents**

This practice intrudes on the private life of Tibetan children and their family and threatens to disturb their family structure.

**Protect children from unlawful non-educational activities**

Tibetan children should not be subjected to economic exploitation or to activities which threaten their physical or mental well-being.

### Endnotes

1 Universal Declaration on Human Rights, adopted by United Nations General Assembly resolution 217A (III) on 10 December 1948.

2 International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1966), adopted by United Nations General Assembly resolution 2200A(XXI), 16 December 1966, entered into force on 23 March 1976.

3 International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1966), adopted by United Nations General Assembly resolution 2200A(XXI), 16 December 1966, entered into force on 3 January 1976.

4 The President of the PRC, Jiang Zemin, claimed in a press release of the PRC's mission to the UN, 8 April 1997, that the PRC will sign the ICESCR by the end of 1997.

5 China's Initial Report to the United Nations Committee on the Rights of the Child, 1994, p. 4.

6 *Ibid.*

7 Tibet Information Network News Release, February 4, 1997.

8 *Ibid.*

9 The entrance examination for university language courses has to date been conducted in Tibetan. However it was reported in TIN News Release of February 4, 1997, that this was to be replaced with Chinese examinations

10 Reported by Tashi Tsering, an English teacher at Lhasa's Tibet University, in a petition dated 20 February 1986 to the Chinese authorities; *Tibet: Proving Truth from Facts*, The Department of Information and International Relations, Central Tibetan Administration, Dharamsala : 1996 (3rd Ed.), pp. 67 -68.

11 Tibet Review (No. 2, 1986)

12 *Tibet: From 1951 to 1991*, New Star Publisher, Beijing 1991, p.82.

13 *Tibet Review*

14 Written Replies by the Government of China Concerning the List of Issues (CRC/C.12/WP.5) Received from the Committee on the Rights of the Child in Connection with the Initial Report of China (CRC/C/11/Add.7), 17 May 1996, [hereinafter "Written Replies"] reply to question 23, p. 31

15 Tibet Review, *op. cit.*

16 *Tibet: From 1951 to 1991*, *op. cit.*, p.82.

17 Tibet Review, *op. cit.*

18 The figure of 73% was given by Baroness Ewart-Biggs, "Report to the TIN British Parliamentary Debate on Tibet", 13 December 1989; an adult literacy rate of 21.7% is given in *Tibet: Proving Truth from Facts*, *op. cit.*, pp. 59-60.



19 TIN Supplement: "Material and Spiritual Construction: Economic Development and the Propaganda Offensive", London, Tibet Information Network, February 20, 1990, p.5.

20 *Tibet: 1951-1991, op. cit.*, p. 85.

21 Written Replies, *op. cit.*, reply to question 23, p. 31.

22 See text related to endnote 11.

23 Written Replies, *op. cit.*, reply to question 22, p.29.

24 This is the figure used in question 23 addressed to China by the UN Committee on the Rights of the Child, Written Replies, p.30

25 *Tibet: Proving Truth from Facts, op.cit.* p. 66.

26 Similarly, article 2 of ICESCR: The States Parties to the present Covenant recognise that, with a view to achieving the full realisation of this right: a. primary education shall be compulsory and available free for all.

27 Article 45 of the Constitution of the People's Republic of China

28 Article 4 of the Compulsory Education Act

29 "Persistent Human Rights Violations in Tibet", Amnesty International, May 1995, p. 2.

30 Written Replies, reply to question 23, p. 31.

31 *Ibid.*

32 Art. 10 of the PRC's Compulsory Education Act states: "The State shall not charge tuition fees for students attending compulsory education."

33 Written Replies, *op. cit.*, reply to question 21, p. 28.

34 *Ibid.*, reply to question 6, p. 7.

35 *Ibid.*, reply to question 21, pp. 28-29.

36 Article 2 (b) of ICESCR: "secondary education in its different forms, including technical and vocational secondary education, shall be made generally available and accessible to all by every appropriate means, and in particular by the progressive introduction of free education"

37 Committee on the Rights of the Child, Twelfth Session, "Consideration of Reports submitted by States Parties Under Article 44 of the Convention, Concluding Observations of the Committee on the Rights of the Child: China", 7 June 1996, CRC/C/15/Add.56, [hereinafter "Concluding Observations"], para. 40.

38 Article 2 (c) of ICESCR: "higher education shall be made equally accessible to all, on the basis of capacity, by every appropriate means, and in particular by the progressive introduction of free education"

39 A ration card is a type of registration card issued by the Chinese authorities with which families get their food supply.

40 Tibetan Centre for Human Rights and Democracy, Press Release, "The Sinocisation of Tibetan Students: China's Latest Suppression of Tibetan Language in Schools, 23 June 1997.

41 Tibet Information Network News Update, 31 December 1996, p.3.

42 *Ibid.*

43 *Tibet: Proving Truth from Facts, op. cit.*, p.68.

44 *Ibid.*

45 This student was taught for five years in this "unknown language".

46 World Tibet Network News, Press Release, May 7, 1997.

47 UNESCO General Conference, December 14, 1960.

48 "The International Law on the Rights of the Child", Geraldine Van Bueren, Martinus Nyhoff Publishers, 1995, p. 246.

49 "The Right to Education", Manfred Nowak, in *Economic, Social and Cultural Rights*, Asbjorn Eide, Caterina Krause, Allan Rosas (eds.), Martinus Nyhoff Publishers, 1995, p. 202.

50 Concluding Observations, *op. cit.*, para. 19

51 *Ibid.*, para. 40

52 "Consideration of Reports submitted by States Parties Under Article 9 of the Convention, Concluding Observations of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination: China", 20 August 1996, para 16.

53 CRC Initial Report of China to the Committee on the Rights of the Child, 1994, p. 35.

54 Tibet Review (No. 2, 1986).

55 Taken from an interview conducted in June 1997 in Dharamsala, India, with a former nun from Nyen village (name withheld). Full interview reproduced in TCHRD Human Rights update, Vol. II: No. 12, June 30, 1997.

56 World Parliamentarians Convention on Tibet, New Delhi, 20 March 1994: New Delhi Statement on Tibetan Freedom; *International Resolutions and Recognitions on Tibet (1959 to 1997)* (3rd Ed.), Department of Information and International Relations, Dharamsala, 1997, p.137.

57 Concluding Observations, *op. cit.*, para. 20.

58 For details see "Tibet: One More Year of Political Repression", 1996 Annual Report, Tibetan Centre for Human Rights and Democracy, Dharamsala, pp. 5-11, 38-40.

59 *Concluding Observations, op. cit.*, para. 40.

60 Written Replies, *op. cit.*, reply to question 23, p.31.

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**APPENDIX 1: TESTIMONIALS (selected)****Case # 1**

Name	: Anonymous (A1)
Age	: 14
Sex	: Male
Region	: Chamdo
Number of school years in Tibet	: 2 years
Date of interview	: April 9, 1997
Place of interview	: TCV, Dharamsala, India

**Case History**

He left Tibet in August 1995. His mother is dead and his father, who was in prison for a year and reportedly tortured, is currently living in Nepal. He came to India to receive a good education and plans to return to Tibet after class 10, when he can read and write, in order to fight for freedom.

**Testimony**

"I come from the countryside where there was only one village school I could go to. Because I already knew the alphabet a little bit, I began school at class II. We had three subjects: maths, Chinese and Tibetan. The general teaching language was Tibetan.

"We had two teachers; one was Chinese and one was Tibetan. The Chinese teacher would often sleep in class. For example, when we had a two-hour Chinese lesson, the teacher would give one hour and in the second hour he would sleep. This happened every day. The Tibetan teacher never slept in class.

"We had no subjects about Tibetan culture. Even if we learned Tibetan the texts we were presented were all about Mao and great Chinese. We were taught about the red scarf Mao ties around his neck; that it shows his blood and sweat on his scarf. Later the questions in the examinations were about Mao's life and what we thought about it. We were not allowed to honour Tibetan holidays, except for Losar, the Tibetan new year. Although we did not have a school uniform and we were allowed to wear coloured clothes, we were forbidden to wear Tibetan clothes to school.

"I felt discriminated against relative to the Chinese students. If we were given books, the Chinese students were always provided with the better books. When we asked why, we were told that the Chinese were more intelligent. The teacher used to call us names when he saw that our face was Tibetan. He told me that I was Tibetan and of no use and he made me clean the class room.

For the same mistake a Tibetan student would get three whips, while the Chinese student only received one whip. When we were

punished the Chinese teacher made us stand on a chair with bricks on our head and in our outstretched hands. When a brick fell, we were beaten. The Chinese teacher used different things to beat us with: a rubber whip, an electric wire or the leg of a chair. We were beaten all over the body. Many times I had to go to hospital after being beaten by the Chinese teacher and two or three times I had to be hospitalised. I know of a boy who had to stay two weeks in hospital because of his beatings and another boy who had two legs fractured. Girls were beaten in the same way.

"We were also beaten by the Tibetan teacher, but only if the Chinese were watching. If no Chinese was watching he would only advise us. Even if he had to beat us, he only acted as if he was striking us hard with the whip. Actually it did not hurt very much but we acted as if it hurt a lot so that the teacher would not get in trouble.

"After 4.30 p.m. there were no more classes and we had to sit idle in the classroom. Three or four times a week we were asked during this time whether our parents talked about Tibetan politics or the Dalai Lama. When the children admitted that their parents spoke about these things they were rewarded with presents - money or food. The parents were then called to meetings and sometimes were then fined or put into prison.

"My parents were not free to send me to the school of their choice. It was the Chinese who chose which school I should go to. My parents had to pay fees to send me to primary school: a yearly fee of 350 yuan and an extra monthly fee of 12 yuan. I did not have to pay any bribes to the teachers since I came from a very poor family but other students, who came from richer families, had to pay bribes. I don't think I could ever have visited a *lobdring* (middle school). I don't know anybody who ever went to a *lobdring*."

#### Case # 4

Name	: Anonymous (A 4)
Age	: 12 years
Sex	: Male
Region	: Lhasa
Number of school years in Tibet	: To 4th grade
Date of interview	: April 10, 1997
Place of interview	: TCV, Dharamsala, India

#### Case history

He left Tibet in June 1996 in order to receive education and because his parents feared that if he spoke only Chinese in school he would lose his Tibetan background. He was also afraid of ill-treatment by the

Chinese. After finishing school in India, although he would like to see his parents, he does not want to go back to Tibet unless it is a free country.

### Testimony

"I attended a chungtug school (a government established primary school) where the general teaching language was Chinese. Seventy percent of the teachers were Chinese. When I started school I did not speak any Chinese. At the beginning I was still allowed to answer the teachers in Tibetan but I had great problems in understanding what the teachers wanted of me. For two periods a day we had Tibetan language classes but there were no classes about Tibetan culture, religion or history.

"Although we were expected to have six periods each day, we were only taught two or three periods. Afterwards we had to attend class activities, like playing football or cleaning the school ground.

"I generally felt discriminated against compared to the Chinese students. If there were two books to be distributed, a new one and an old one, the Chinese student would always be issued the new book. If there was a fight between a Chinese and a Tibetan student, the Tibetan student would be punished much more severely. The Chinese girls were also treated better than the Tibetan girls. One time a Chinese girl broke a window. She only had to pay the price of a new window which was five yuan but when a Tibetan girl later broke the same window she had to pay 25 yuan.

"We were not able to express our opinions. They made us learn things about the life of Mao and examined us about this. The grades in examinations depended on our answers to ideological questions about Mao and Chinese socialism.

"We were punished severely. Sometimes we were lashed with a rubber whip; we had to pull down our pants and we were lashed on our behinds. One time, on the way to the toilet, a Chinese student tripped over me accidentally. He then went up to a Chinese teacher and told him that I had made him fall. The teacher made me get some sand. Then he mixed the sand with pieces of broken glass and water and this muddy mixture was spread out on the floor. I then had to kneel for one hour in this mud. The glass cut into my knees and into my feet. It hurt very much and my knees were bleeding. The teacher told me that if I moved because it hurt I would have to kneel for an even longer time. I still dream about it.

"When I got home and my father saw my cuts he took me to a doctor who sent me to hospital. I went to a government hospital in Lhasa and had four stitches put in my right knee [the interviewee pointed out the small scar on his knee]. I stayed in hospital for four weeks due to some infection. Another Tibetan boy had received the same punishment. As his cuts didn't look as serious as mine he didn't see a doctor and it was

ten or twelve days later, when pus had begun to build up in his knee, that he went to the same hospital where I had been. The glass had gone all the way to the bone and infected it and later the boy's leg had to be amputated from the knee down."

#### Case # 10

Name	: Anonymous (A 10)
Age	: 13 years
Sex	: Female
Region	: Kham (Dergie)
Number of school years in Tibet	: 7 years
Date of interview	: April 14, 1997
Place of interview	: TCV, Dharamsala, India

#### Case history

In September 1996 she left Tibet out of fear of more punishment by the Chinese in Tibet. She also left Tibet because her parents thought that her education would be better provided in India at the TCV (Tibetan Children's Village). During her school period in Tibet she visited a Schungtsug school and after primary school she attended a Lobdring school for one year. Her parents are both farmers and live in Tibet. Her father was put in prison by the Chinese for two years.

#### Testimony

"At my schungtsug school the general teaching language in the class was Chinese. I received lessons in Chinese, maths, geography, history and Tibetan. The Tibetan language class did not deal with any subjects related to Tibetan history, religion or culture. It dealt mainly with Chinese history, geography and Mao's life stories. Most of my teachers were Chinese.

"In my classroom the windows were broken and there was a leak in the roof. Most of the chairs were broken, but we were able to repair them ourselves. The lessons of the Tibetan teachers took place regularly, but the Chinese teachers never turned up after the school lunch break.

"I attended a lobdring middle school for one year. In order to be accepted at my lobdring school I had to pass an entrance exam in Chinese, Tibetan and maths. I felt that the chances for the Chinese students to be accepted at my lobdring were much better because the parents of the Chinese students paid bribes to the teachers in order to pass the exam. So it was not the result of the exam that counted, but the amount of money paid by Chinese parents to specific teachers. In the case where a Chinese student had an exam result which was not as good as that of a Tibetan student, the Chinese student was nonetheless



placed above the Tibetan.

"The general teaching language in my lobdring school was Chinese. I received about 5 periods a week of Tibetan language classes of which none dealt with any subjects relating to Tibet. My lobdring school was a boarding school where I stayed five days a week and during the weekend I went home to my parents' place. My parents had to pay 300 yuan per month for my school fees while the Chinese parents did not have to pay any school fees. The Chinese students received their food from the school, while my parents had to bring or give me food so that I could eat during the school week. The Chinese students received the better books and the better chairs, while the Tibetans received the old books and the broken chairs.

"Quite often I saw Tibetan children were beaten up by Chinese teachers. Specifically the older senior student girls were treated differently by some Chinese teachers. I know of some cases where the Chinese teacher went in to the bedrooms of the older Tibetan girls and sexually abused the Tibetan girls. In the classroom the Chinese teachers punished the girls differently from the boys. The girls had to take off their pants and stand half naked in the classroom so that the Chinese teacher could spank them on the naked lower half of their body. I have been lucky for I have never been sexually abused by any Chinese teacher. Other forms of punishment were to stand on your head with your legs against the wall, or to be given no lunch or to be spanked.

"My examinations depended on ideological questions. For example, if I were to write in my exam that China is not a good country, I would be beaten by my teacher".

"I was obliged to attend evening assemblies about three or four times a month. These assemblies were organised by the Chinese so that they could show us that the Chinese were improving the living standard in Tibet. Also, if some Tibetan had done something wrong, they would punish him in front of our group to show us what would happen to us if we did the same.

"My Chinese teachers regularly asked me to go home and spy on my parents. I was supposed to see if my parents were talking about Tibetan policies or religion. I would pretend to walk home and then turn back after 3 hours in order to tell the teachers that I had not heard any talk from my parents about Tibetan matters. Or I would walk home, play around for a couple of hours and then go back to school and tell my teachers that there was no proof against my parents. In both cases the teacher would beat me because he did not believe me but after a while he would stop beating me and leave me alone. They promised us 200 yuan if we found any evidence against our parents that proved they talked about subjects relating to Tibetan culture, history or religion."

**Case # 14**

Name	: Anonymous (A 14)
Age	: 14 years
Sex	: Male
Region	: Kham
Number of school years in Tibet	: 3 years
Date of interview	: April 16, 1997
Place of interview	: TCV, Dharamsala, India

**Case history**

He left Tibet in July 1996 because he was afraid of Chinese ill-treatment - his father had been in prison for two years and was badly tortured - and he hoped to receive a good education in India. His parents in Tibet live on the income of a small farm.

**Testimony**

"In our village we had a special *mangtsug* school which was founded by a high *Rinpoche* (a high Lama). The Chinese authorities did not know anything about this school. Our village was so remote that there were no Chinese living there and we had no police in my village so they could not control what was happening. We had about 100 students and 10 teachers, all Tibetan. The classrooms had no tables or chairs and we had to sit on the floor. There was also no blackboard. The teachers told us that they could not afford any of those things because they received no money from the government. We had no windows in our classroom and the only light we had was the light that came through the classroom door.

"But it was good that the Chinese knew nothing about our school so that the teachers could talk freely. They told us how Tibet was before the Chinese came and they told us about Tibetan culture and religion. I had a cousin who lived in the city and he was never taught about these things.

"Since the government did not pay any money to the school, the teachers collected money from the students and from the villagers. We had to pay 50 yuan a month. If the parents could not afford this they had to pay less.

"Our subjects were Tibetan and maths. We had normal schoolbooks in Tibetan language. At school we were allowed to wear Tibetan clothes and we honoured all of the Tibetan holidays, including the birthday of His Holiness, as well as Chinese New Year. The girls were treated equal to the boys and we did not receive corporal punishment from the teachers.

"I would have liked to attend a middle school but I could never have done so because you had to pass an entrance test in Chinese. I did not speak any Chinese and so I had no chance to attend a middle school. I came to India to get a better education."

**Case # 20**

Name	: Anonymous (A 20)
Age	: 13 years
Sex	: Female
Region	: Kham
Number of school years in Tibet	: None
Date of interview	: April 18, 1997
Place of interview	: TCV in Dharamsala, India

**Case history**

She is a farmers' daughter from the region of Kham who had always helped her parents on their farmland. She has never been to school in Tibet. She is the youngest of her family and has five brothers and four sisters. No one from her family went to school in Tibet. She left Tibet in March 1996 in order to attend the TCV in India.

**Testimony**

"The reason that no one of our family went to school was that the school fees were too high for my parents. The *lobchung* in our village cost 200 yuan a month. My parents could have never afforded that. I know that the school in our village was a *schungtsug* school because our neighbours' child went to that school. She told me that the general teaching language was Chinese at that school.

" In my village there are about 15 families and each of them has between 4 and 15 children. Only a few children from our village went to the school; in general it was just too expensive for most of the children. Our neighbours' child told me that sometimes she was punished by her teachers. They made her stand on a wall while holding heavy bricks in her arms and she had to stay like that for about one hour. I have seen her standing on that wall with the heavy bricks on her arms.

"Sometimes there was an inspection by the Chinese soldiers at night. They would fire their guns in the air and if anyone was walking around after that they would be considered a suspect - suspected of dealing in Tibetan freedom policies. Even the visit of one family member to another family could result in being put in prison. My parents were forced to work by the Chinese government. When my parents had to work for the Chinese, they were gone for a whole day. My mother was forced to work on a farm but I do not know where my father had to work for the Chinese.

"Never ever has any Chinese authority told me or my brothers and sisters or other children of our village that it was compulsory for us to attend a school.

**Case # 25**

Name	: Anonymous (A25)
Age	: 13 years
Sex	: Female
Region	: Amdo
Number of school years in Tibet	: 6 years
Date of interview	: April 21, 1997
Place of interview	: TCV Dharamsala, India

**Case history**

In May 1996 she left Tibet because of lack of opportunities to learn Tibetan. Her parents told her that it would be better for her to leave and to start learning Tibetan in a TCV in India. Her parents, who still live in Tibet, sell clothes in their shop.

**Testimony**

"I went to a Chinese government school in my village for 6 years. In my class there were 40 students of whom one was Chinese. Most of our teachers were Chinese and the main teaching language was Chinese. We had Tibetan language class two periods a week but even in the Tibetan language classes we had to speak Chinese.

"I was able to follow the lessons in Chinese but my knowledge of Chinese was not good enough to pass all the exams in Chinese. As a result of having failed Chinese I had to repeat class 3 and class 5 of primary school. Although I was very good in all the other subjects my Chinese was not good enough. Sometimes my father would teach me some Tibetan during my holidays.

"I did not have any subjects related to Tibetan history, culture or religion. The subjects for our Tibetan language classes came directly from Chinese books, translated into Tibetan. I would have liked to learn something about Tibetan culture which is why I came to the TCV in India.

"After primary school I probably would not have been admitted to a middle school because my Chinese was not good enough. In order to pass the entrance exam for the middle school one has to be very good in Chinese. The school fees that my parents had to pay were quite low but they also had to pay for lots of extra things like chairs, books or broken windows. Altogether my parents had to pay around 250 yuan a year.

"I felt generally discriminated by the teachers compared to the Chinese students who came from rich families. It was one hour walking from my house to the school and during the Winter when I was late for school the teacher made me kneel down for one hour in the snow. The food that we got from our parents looked quite poor and sometimes the Chinese students snatched our food away.

"If we had bad exam results the teachers would beat us up. He used

a long, thick stick to hit us on our hands until they had swollen up. The teachers also made us jump around the school for 5 or 6 rounds. Regularly we had to pull our pants down to be hit on our behinds.

"I felt indoctrinated at school, because it was always Mao and Li Peng this and Deng Xiaoping that. Always stories of their lives and how great they were. Every Monday morning we had to sing the Chinese national anthem. The singing of the anthem started from grade one. At that time I did not know the Chinese national anthem at all and for this the teacher forced me to stretch out my lips and then he would hit my lips with a stick. We also had to wear red scarves when we went to school and so I would tie it a bit loose and then lose it at a certain time. My mother used to scold me when I lost my red scarf. Sometimes there was an announcement at school that on a certain day there would be a school assembly about Li Peng and then we were made to stay longer at school and listen to more stories telling us how great Li Peng was."

#### Case # 27

Name	: Anonymous (A27)
Age	: 13
Sex	: Female
Region	: Lhasa
Number of school years in Tibet	: 4 years
Date of interview	: April 21, 1997
Place of interview	: TCV, Dharamsala, India

#### Case history

She was sent by her parents to India because they thought that she should get a good education, which was in their eyes not possible in China. Although her parents both have jobs they earn only 400 yuan a month. She left Tibet in June 1996 is now studying at the Tibetan Children's Village in Dharamsala.

#### Testimony

"For four years I visited a *zhungtsug* school in Tibet. Eighty percent of the teachers were Chinese. From class one to class six the students were divided up into Chinese and Tibetan classes. My subjects were Chinese, Tibetan and maths. In the first two grades maths was taught in Tibetan. When I entered school I did not speak any Chinese and in the Chinese language class they only taught us little words. So when I entered grade three I only spoke a little Chinese. Still the maths class was held in Chinese. I did not understand anything that the Chinese teacher said and so could only sit idle in class and wait for the class to

finish. As a consequence I used to fail all of my maths tests. The teacher did not do anything to change the situation of the Tibetans. He just said that it was good luck for the students who spoke Chinese and that it was bad luck for those who did not speak any Chinese. In Chinese class I just passed. In Tibetan I was quite good. Today, in the TCV, I am taught maths in Tibetan, and I like it a lot.

"We had no classes about Tibetan culture or history. In our Tibetan book all the stories were about Mao and his great doings. There was nothing about Tibet, the Dalai Lama or our history. The fact that I had to learn so much about Mao made me feel awkward; I knew that Mao was not a good man and that he had done a lot of cruel things to the Tibetans, but I had to learn these things anyway. In school we had to repeat those lies word for word or we were punished. Once in a while our Tibetan teacher taught us a little about Tibet, but he was very afraid and made us promise that we would not talk to anyone about this. Once in a while I read a Tibetan book about great Tibetan men and Tibetan kings but I had to hide these books because if I was caught with these books both myself and the author would have been punished severely.

"The Chinese teachers taught the Chinese classes better than the Tibetan classes. The Chinese teachers taught always in Chinese and of course the Chinese students understood the teacher much better than we did. Also, when the Chinese students did not understand something, they could ask the teacher questions and the teacher would repeat what he had said to the students. When the teacher spoke Chinese in our classroom, most of the students did not understand him. Yet no one dared to ask him questions for fear of punishment and the teachers never repeated anything to the Tibetan classes. Naturally the Tibetans failed more often than the Chinese and the Chinese teacher would then say that he did not understand why the Tibetan students could not understand such simple things. He also said that the Chinese were more intelligent than the Tibetans.

"When we did not do our homework properly, the Chinese teacher would scold us until late at night. When we returned home we were very tired and naturally we were not always able to learn our lessons for the following day. The next morning the teacher asked us about our lessons. When we did not know them the teacher took some bottles and crushed them down into little pieces of glass and put these pieces of glass on the floor of the classroom. He then made me, or a group of us, kneel down in front of the class in the broken glass and walk around on our knees for the whole period of 45 minutes. Sometimes only one student had to do this, sometimes almost all of the class. Back then I was eight years old. Afterwards I had little pieces of glass stuck under my skin so I had to go to the doctor.

"The school fee was 150 yuan a year but we also had to give the

teachers presents. Sometimes my mother went to school and gave the teachers a whole carton of some alcohol. The teachers could not force us to give these presents but if we did not give them then the teacher would target us and we would be made to be unhappy in school."

**Case # 29**

Name	: Anonymous (A29)
Age	: 14 years
Sex	: Male
Region	: Lhasa
Number of school years in Tibet	: 5 years
Date of interview	: April 23, 1997
Place of interview	: Reception, Dharamsala

**Case history**

He left Tibet in February 1997. His father, a businessman, and his mother, a housewife, both still live in Tibet. He has two brothers and one cousin who his parents also care for. His parents said they had too many children and could not afford the high school fees. So when they could no longer pay for his schooling they told him to leave Tibet. His parents also did not want him to receive his education under Chinese rule and told him to go to the TCV in India so that he would later be able to help his younger brothers.

**Testimony**

"I went to one of the good schools in Lhasa for five years. In our class we had 62 students, all Tibetan, and in our school there was one Chinese teacher and the rest were Tibetan. In my class the general teaching language was Tibetan. I had subjects like maths, Chinese, Tibetan, callisthenics and music. In my Tibetan language classes I never had any subjects related to Tibetan history, culture or religion.

"When the teachers went on their tea break, most of them did not come back to class after the break. In class we had to wear a red scarf around our neck and my parents had to pay extra school fees in order that I would have this scarf. Officially my parents had to pay 120 yuan for my school fees per month, but there were lots of extra costs for which my parents also had to pay, such as my exam papers, brooms, uniform and stationery. All these extra costs amounted to about 300 - 400 yuan extra per 2 to 3 months. The school fees were just too expensive for my parents. They could not afford it.

"During the music lessons we had to sing more Chinese than Tibetan songs. We were made to sing texts like 'Long live Communist China' or 'The teachers are good people and they are here to help us'. Most of the

Tibetan students did not sing these songs in class and we would be punished by the teachers, even the Tibetan teachers. They hit us on our backs and heads with wooden sticks.

"When Deng Xiaopeng died, the teacher put his picture in front of the class and told us that we had to mourn the death of the great Deng Xiaopeng. We were told that we had to cry in class but, when most of us did not cry, the teacher hit us badly with a wooden stick. A day later the teachers told all the students that that we had to attend a big assembly at the central place in our village, organised in order to let the people grieve for the death of Deng Xiaopeng. Most of the Tibetan students did not go to this meeting and for this we were badly punished by our teachers. The teachers knew if we had been at Deng's memorial and those who had not gone were really beaten up. I was among those who did not go to the assembly and the teacher hit me and my friend so badly for this that I had a cut on my head and had to be hospitalised for two days."

#### Case # 34

Name	: Anonymous (A34)
Age	: 17 years
Sex	: Female
Region	: Amdo
Number of school years in Tibet	: 10 years
Date of interview	: April 28, 1997
Place of interview	: TCV Bir, India

#### Case history

She was 14 years old when she left Tibet in July 1994. Her parents are nomads who live in Tibet. She attended a Chinese school in Tibet for ten years but when she wanted to go to Lhasa to pursue further education the Chinese authorities made it impossible for her to sit the entrance exam. She left Tibet because there was no chance for her to study any further and she had heard about the TCVs in India.

#### Testimony

"I went to school in Tibet for ten years; six years of primary school and four years of middle school. I was the only Tibetan student in my class and in both of my schools the teaching language was Chinese. The primary school and middle school were in the same building. Our school had 2000 students and 150 teachers and most of the students and teachers were Chinese.

"I understand Chinese very well and I think that Tibetan students have the same chances to study the Chinese language as the Chinese students do. In my school the Chinese teachers treated the Tibetan and



Chinese students in an equal way. I never received any lessons about Tibet or my Tibetan background. The Chinese teachers wanted us to be Chinese, so they treated us like Chinese.

"For the primary school I had to pay 150 yuan a month, plus I had to buy my own stationery. In the middle school I paid 125 yuan a month and bought my own note books but the textbooks were provided by the school. Children of Chinese officials had to pay half the price.

"I never felt indoctrinated during the lessons, because I never realised that there could be any other explanation other than that of my teacher. I always trusted my teacher. In school no one told me anything about Tibetan culture, history or religion and my parents also never told me anything about my Tibetan background.

"In school everyone wore the Chinese school uniform and the red scarf. I liked going to my school. After school time the school organised many Chinese games or other activities. I remember very well that I danced for Mao Tse Tung's birthday party and really liked doing that. During some weekends our school took care of the Chinese orphans in the village.

"I remember that when I was about 10 years old my teacher asked me to go home and see if there were any pictures of the Dalai Lama hanging in our house. I couldn't find any and had to tell the teacher the result of my search.

"Problems arose as I wanted to attend further education. The Chinese authorities did not allow me to participate in the entrance exam for a school in Lhasa. They told me that I could not sit the entrance exam because my parents were Tibetan nomads and they did not have a ration card. I felt that they treated me unfairly as many Chinese students whose marks were not as good as mine could continue with their studies. They were allowed to do the entrance exam because they had Chinese relatives in school or because their parents were rich and paid bribes to the school. The marks did not matter for further studies; it was the money and the connections that counted.

"When I came to the TCV in India I learned for the first time things about Tibet and the Chinese occupation. I know now that the Chinese influenced my thoughts. I really believed that China was the greatest country and that Mao Zedong was a great man."

**Case # 42**

Name	: Anonymous (A42)
Age	: 21 years
Sex	: Male
Region	: Amdo
Number of school years in Tibet	: 10 years
Date of interview	: April 29, 1997
Place of interview	: TCV Bir, India

**Case history**

He left Tibet when he was 18 years old. His parents are farmers and they live in Tibet. He went to a Chinese primary school for five years and to a Chinese middle school for another five years. He left Tibet because he realised that there were no chances for Tibetan students to receive Tibetan higher education.

**Testimony**

"The primary school was a Chinese government school with 15 Chinese teachers and about 1100 students of whom 1000 were Chinese. I received lessons in Chinese, Maths, Chinese history and science and all the teaching was conducted in Chinese. I never had any Tibetan in my school. The classroom looked okay; everyone had his own table and chair. The teachers came to class regularly. I did not like the Chinese school because they never explained anything about Tibetan history. They wanted the Tibetans to become like the Chinese and therefore they treated us just like the Chinese students.

"For five years I went to middle school and again all the lessons took place in Chinese. My Chinese language was good enough to follow all the lessons. The Chinese students had a better chance of entering the middle school because they had relatives who worked at the school. I have never been allowed to wear my Tibetan clothes in school. In primary school I had to wear the red scarf, but in middle school I had to exchange my red scarf for a red badge with a yellow star.

"I had to pay for my books and food, for my table and chair and for the brooms in the classroom. The official school fees for primary and middle school were about 200 yuan in summer and 200 yuan in winter. In middle school, because of all the extra costs, it was about 700 yuan for one year. I also had to pay bribes to my teachers. I gave them cards, flowers, meat and butter and for the teachers' holiday we had to pay 90 yuan each. I had to buy my own school uniform.

"Once the teachers punished us because we had visited a Tibetan monastery. They made us stand outside the school building from nine o'clock in the morning until six o'clock at night without any food or drink. It was very sunny and warm at that time and so it was very hard for us to stand in the bright sun all day. Luckily no one lost consciousness.

"The teachers told us that China is the power country and that China is a good country. Once I asked my teacher to explain to us more about Tibetan history and he got so mad at me for asking this question that he hit me with a big stick on my legs and head. If you failed the political questions asked in class you would not progress to the higher class. My parents also refused to explain anything to me about Tibet because they were afraid that the Chinese would get mad. My parents told me that the things to occupy myself with were not Tibetan politics. Politics was too

dangerous; I had to be satisfied with talking about clothes, food and yaks.

"On Sundays the school told all the students to clean the teacher's room or the factory in the village or the streets. If you did not do it you would be severely punished.

"Because I intended to go to college and because my marks were high enough, I got the opportunity to study in China. In China I visited different colleges but I didn't like any of them. The buildings were all so high and the streets were so clean. One boy in my class went to a Chinese college but I chose Lhasa for my higher education. In Lhasa I saw that all the signs from the shops and restaurants had been changed from Tibetan letters into Chinese characters. I was lucky because I knew the Chinese language and so I had a chance for a higher salary. If one only knows the Tibetan language, you can bet on it that your salary will stay low.

"I spent two months in Lhasa. I did not go directly to college as I preferred to learn more about Tibetan politics. In Lhasa I heard about the education facilities for Tibetans at the TCV in India. I realised that my chances for further education in Tibetan matters were not available in Tibet and that I had to go to India for that."

**Case # 43**

Name	: Anonymous (A43)
Age	: 19 years
Sex	: Female
Region	: Amdo
Number of school years in Tibet	: 8 years
Date of interview	: April 29, 1997
Place of interview	: TCV Bir, India

**Case history**

She left Tibet in April 1994 because she wanted to know more about democracy and to improve her chances for education about Tibetan matters. Her parents are both farmers and they still live in Tibet. She went to school in Tibet for eight years - five years in primary school and three years in middle school.

**Testimony**

"My primary school was a Chinese government school. The school had 200 Tibetan students and 37 teachers of whom 22 were Chinese. I received lessons in Tibetan, maths and Chinese. The main teaching language in school was Chinese. I did not understand the Chinese language well enough and so I had to ask the teacher again and again.

If most of the Tibetans did not understand his explanation in Chinese he used to scold us, calling us 'dirty Tibetans' or 'stupid Tibetans' because we did not understand Chinese. We would ask no more questions then because we were afraid that he would punish us.

"We received no teachings about Tibet's history or culture. All the explanations were about China's ancient history and in our classroom pictures of China's leaders hung above the black board. About two times a week the teachers did not come to class but we received no explanation as to why they did not come.

"I attended the middle school for three years. My Chinese was not good enough to pass the entrance exam but I was still able to enter the middle school. The chances for the Chinese students to enter a good middle school were better. For them the Chinese language is their mother tongue; for the Tibetans the Chinese language is a second language.

"In the middle school there were 110 teachers of whom 100 were Chinese. My middle school was a boarding school for Tibetan students only. Another middle school for Chinese students was close to our middle school. The buildings of the Chinese school were better as was their food and clothing. In our school we received Chinese food and often I found worms in my food. The facilities in our Tibetan middle school were so poor that the Tibetan students decided to demonstrate. We organised school marches through the village and, for this, the Chinese authorities closed the school for two months. One Chinese teacher told us that we should not demonstrate because 'we were the same as the Chinese'.

"During the lessons I felt that the teachers only told us good things about China. Lots of teachings were about Mao Zedong and 'being a communist is good' and 'you have democracy in Tibet'. I did not believe all these things.

"For my primary education my parents had to pay 200 yuan a year. For the notebooks, pens and ink my parents had to pay an extra 70 yuan a year. For my middle school my parents paid 600 yuan a year and another 100 yuan a year for my notebooks, dictionaries, pen and ink. Sometimes I also gave greeting cards and scarves to my teachers because I wanted to please them.

"The school told us that we had to clean the homes of Chinese families in our village. Sometimes we had to wash the clothes of our teachers. This happened on about two Sundays in each month."

**APPENDIX 2: QUESTIONNAIRE**

The following questionnaire was used as a standard minimum guide for all of the interviews. Children without a high level of English answered by means of translators. The interviews were conducted at the upper Tibetan Children's Village (TCV) in Dharamsala, the Tibetan Reception Centre in McLeod Ganj and the TCV Bir, all situated in northern India. All children, except four, requested us to maintain their anonymity for fear of reprisals of the Chinese authorities against their parents or relatives and it was decided therefore that all names would be withheld. All of the interviewed children live now in exile in India.

**Personal information**

Name [withheld]	Sex
Age	
Region	
Parents occupation and monthly income	
Classes (up to what grade) attended in Tibet	
Time of departure from Tibet	
Reasons for leaving Tibet	

**Questions concerning primary school (lobchung)**

Did you visit a Mangtsug or a Schungtsug school ?  
What percentage of the teachers were Chinese?  
What percentage of the students were Chinese?  
What was the general teaching language in your class?  
Did you have any Tibetan language classes ?  
Did you have any subjects relating to Tibetan culture/religion/history ?  
What did your classroom look like ?  
Did you understand Chinese well enough in order to follow the lessons?

**Questions concerning middle school (lobdring)**

For how many years did you visit a lobdring ?  
Did you have to pass an entry exam in order to be admitted at your lobdring?  
In what subjects did you have to pass your entrance exam?  
Was your Chinese good enough to pass your entrance exam?  
Do you think that the chances of the Chinese students were better to enter your lobdring? Why do you think so?  
What percentage of the teachers were Chinese/Tibetan?  
What percentage of the students were Chinese/Tibetan?  
What was the general teaching language in your class?  
Did you have any Tibetan language classes ?

Did you have any subjects relating to Tibetan culture/religion/history ?  
Did you have the necessary means of transport to visit your lobdring ?  
Was your Lobdring school a boarding school including food and accomodation?

#### **Questions concerning higher education**

For how many years did you receive higher education ?  
Do you think that the chances of the Chinese students were better to receive higher education? Why?  
What percentage of the teachers were Chinese?  
What percentage of the students were Chinese?  
What was the general teaching language ?  
Did you have any Tibetan language classes ?  
Did you have any subjects relating to Tibetan culture/religion/history ?

#### **General questions concerning your school period in Tibet**

Did you feel generally discriminated by the teachers? If so, how?  
Did you feel that the Chinese students were provided better books or other facilities?  
Were you called names by your teacher or fellow students?  
How were you punished by your teacher?  
Have you ever been punished by your teacher because of being Tibetan ?  
Were you ever expelled from school ?  
Did you feel that girls were treated in a different way by the teachers ?  
Have you ever felt indoctrinated during lessons? In what way?  
Did any of your exams depend on ideological questions ?  
Did you ever have to renounce your Tibetan background / the Dalai Lama ?  
Were you able to honour Tibetan holidays ?  
Were you allowed to wear Tibetan clothes in school ?  
Were your parents free to choose schools for you ?  
Were you allowed to attend a monastic school ?  
Did you receive food and accommodation at school ?  
Did you have any access to international information?  
Were you ever forced to spy on your family/neighbours ? If so, how?  
Were you obliged to visit youth groups or other political assemblies organised by the Chinese?  
What kind of school fees did your parents have to pay ? How much did the Chinese students pay?  
What is the difference between your schooling in Tibet and the TCV?  
Do you have any questions or other additions?

### APPENDIX 3: RELEVANT INTERNATIONAL LAW

#### Convention on the Rights of the Child

##### Article 13

1. The child shall have the right to freedom of expression; this right shall include freedom to seek, receive and impart information and ideas of all kinds, regardless of frontiers, either orally, in writing or in print, in the form of art, or through any other media of the child's choice.

2. The exercise of this right may be subject to certain restrictions, but these shall only be such as are provided by law and are necessary:

- a) For respect of the rights or reputations of others; or
- b) For the protection of national security or of public order (*ordre public*), or of public health or morals.

##### Article 14

1. States Parties shall respect the right of the child to freedom of thought, conscience and religion.

2. State Parties shall respect the rights and duties of the parents and, when applicable, legal guardians, to provide direction to the child in the exercise of his or her right in a manner consistent with the evolving capacities of the child.

3. Freedom to manifest one's religion or beliefs may be subject only to such limitations as are prescribed by law and are necessary to protect public safety, order, health or morals, or the fundamental rights and freedoms of others.

##### Article 15

1. States Parties recognize the rights of the child to freedom of association and to freedom of peaceful assembly.

2. No restrictions may be placed on the exercise of these rights other than those imposed in conformity with the law and which are necessary in a democratic society in the interests of national security or public safety, public order (*ordre public*), the protection of public health or morals or the protection of the rights and freedoms of others.

##### Article 16

1. No child shall be subjected to arbitrary or unlawful interference with his or her privacy, family, home or correspondence, nor to unlawful attacks on his or her honour and reputation.

2. The child has the right to the protection of the law against such interference or attacks.

**Article 19**

1. States parties shall take all appropriate legislative, administrative, social and educational measures to protect the child from all forms of physical or mental violence, injury or abuse, neglect or negligent treatment, maltreatment or exploitation, including sexual abuse, while in the care of parent(s), legal guardian(s) or any other person who has the care of the child.

2. Such protective measures should, as appropriate, include effective procedures for the establishment of social programmes to provide necessary support for the child, as well as for other forms of prevention and for identification, reporting, referral, investigation, treatment and follow-up of instances of child maltreatment described heretofore, and, as appropriate, for judicial involvement.

**Article 28**

1. States Parties recognise the right of the child to education, and with a view to achieving this right progressively and on the basis of equal opportunity, they shall, in particular:

- a) Make primary education compulsory and available free to all;
- b) Encourage the development of different forms of secondary education, including general and vocational education, make them available and accessible to every child, and take appropriate measures such as the introduction of free education and offering financial assistance in case of need.
- c) Make higher education accessible to all on the basis of capacity by every appropriate means;
- d) Make educational and vocational information and guidance available and accessible to all children;
- e) Take measures to encourage regular attendance at schools and the reduction of drop-out rates.
- f) States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to ensure that school discipline is administered in a manner consistent with the child's human dignity and in conformity with the present Convention.
- g) States Parties shall promote and encourage international co-operation in matters relating to education, in particular with a view to contributing to the elimination of ignorance and illiteracy throughout the world and facilitating access to scientific and technical knowledge and modern teaching methods. In this regard, particular account shall be taken of the needs of developing countries.

**Article 29**

1. States Parties agree that the education of the child shall be directed to:
- a) The development of the child's personality, talents and mental and physical abilities to their fullest potential;



b) The development of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, and for the principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations;

c) The development of respect for the child's parents, his or her own cultural identity, language and values, for the national values of the country in which the child is living, the country from which he or she may originate, and for civilizations different from his or her own;

d) The preparation of the child for responsible life in a free society, in the spirit of understanding, peace, tolerance, equality of sexes, and friendship among all peoples, ethnic, national and religious groups and persons of indigenous origin;

e) The development of respect for the natural environment.

2. No part of the present article or article 28 shall be construed so as to interfere with the liberty of individuals and bodies to establish and direct educational institutions, subject always to the observance of the principles set forth in paragraph 1 of the present article and to the requirements that the education given in such institutions shall conform to such minimum standards as may be laid down by the State.

**Article 37**

States Parties shall ensure that:

No child shall be subjected to torture or other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment ...

**Universal Declaration of Human Rights**

**Article 26**

1. Everyone has the right to education. Education should be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be equally available and higher education shall be accessible to all on the basis of merit.

2. Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.

3. Parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children

**International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights****Article 13**

1. The States Parties to the present Covenant recognize the right of everyone to education. They agree that education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and the sense of its dignity, and shall strengthen the respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. They further agree that education shall enable all persons to participate effectively in a free society, promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations and all racial, ethnic or religious groups, and further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.

2. The states Parties to the present Covenant recognize that, with a view to achieving the full realisation of this right:

a) primary education shall be compulsory and available free for all;  
b) secondary education in its different forms, including technical and vocational secondary education, shall be made generally available and accessible to all by every appropriate means, and in particular by the progressive introduction of free education;

c) higher education shall be made equally accessible to all, on the basis of capacity, by every appropriate means, and in particular by the progressive introduction of free education;

d) fundamental education shall be encouraged or intensified as far as possible for those persons who have not received or completed the whole period of their primary education;

e) the development of a system of schools at all levels shall be actively pursued, an adequate fellowship system shall be established, and the material conditions of teaching staff shall be continuously improved.

3. The States Parties to the present Covenant undertake to have respect for the liberty of parents and, when applicable, legal guardians to choose for their children schools, other than those established by the public authorities, which conform to such minimum educational standards as may be laid down or approved by the State and to ensure the religious and moral education of their children in conformity with their own convictions.

4. No part of this Article shall be construed so as to interfere with the liberty of individuals and bodies to establish and direct educational institutions, subject always to the observance of the principles set forth in paragraph 1 of this Article and to the requirement that the education given in such institutions shall conform to such minimum standards as may be laid down by the State.

Table of interview results

Interviewee	Sex	Age	Region	Educational	YTY fees Primary/S	YTY fees Middle S.	Bribe?	Language Primary S.	Language Middle S.	Tib. culture class	Inhumane punishment	Fled for educational	Felt discriminated	Indoctrin.	Tib. clothes	Spilling on parents	Youth groups
A1	M	14	Chamdo	2 yrs	350		N	Tibetan		N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
A2	F	14	Lhasa	8 yrs	0	4140	Y	Chinese	Chinese	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
A3	M	14	Lhasa	5 yrs	1200		N	Chinese		N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
A4	M	12	Lhasa	4 yrs	24000*		Y	Chinese	Chinese	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
A5	M	15	Lhasa	7 yrs		1600	N	Chinese	Chinese	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
A6	M	13	Lhasa	6 yrs	480		N	Chinese		N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
A7	M	12	Lhasa	6 yrs		1200	Y	Tibetan	Tibetan	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
A8	F	10	Lhasa	Yes	100		N	Tibetan		N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
A9	M	13	Kham	4 yrs	1200		N	Chinese		N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
A10	F	13	Kham	7 yrs		3600	N	Chinese	Chinese	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
A11	F	10	Kham	3 yrs	420		Y	Chinese		N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N
A12	M	10	Lhasa	2 yrs	300		N	Tibetan		N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N
A13	M	11	Kham	4 yrs	140		N	Chinese		N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
A14	M	14	Kham	3 yrs	600		N	Tibetan		N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
A15	M	11	Shigatse	5 yrs	20		N	Tibetan		N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
A16	M	12	Lhasa	4 yrs	30		Y	Tibetan		N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
A17	M	12	Thoepe	5 yrs	200		N	Tibetan		N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
A18	M	13	Thoepe	3 yrs	0		Y	Tibetan		N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
A19	F	12	Chamdo	No													
A20	F	13	Kham	No	2400**												
A21	F	13	Amdo	No	6000**												
A22	F	13	Amdo	No													
A23	F	10	Lhasa	No	1600?												
A24	F	9	Lhasa	4 yrs	1200		N	Tibetan		N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
A25	F	13	Amdo	6 yrs	300		N	Chinese		N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
A26	F	12	Kham	No													
A27	F	13	Lhasa	4 yrs	150		Y	Chinese		N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
A28	F	13	Chamdo	No													
A29	M	14	Lhasa	5 yrs	3040		N	Tibetan		N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
A30	M	13	Kham	2 yrs	840		Y	Tibetan		N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
A31	F	19	U-tsang	3 yrs		0	N		Tibetan	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
A32	M	21	Amdo	5 yrs	Herbs	Herbs	Y	Tibetan	Tibetan	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N
A33	M	21	Lhasa	10 yrs		200	N	Chinese	Chinese	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
A34	F	17	Amdo	10 yrs	1800	1500	Y	Chinese	Chinese	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
A35	F	15	Amdo	6 yrs	100		N	Chinese		N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y

Table of interview results

A36	F	21	Lhasa	5 yrs	2000		Y	Chinese		N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	
A37	N	17	Amdo	No																	N
A38	M	17	Drepung	7 yrs				Tibetan	Chinese	Some	N	Y	Y	N							N
A39	F	19	Lhasa	No								Y	Y								N
A40	F	19	Kham	No								Y	Y								
A41	M	20	Lhasa	7 yrs	0							Y	Y	Y							
A42	M	21	Amdo	10 yrs				Tibetan	Chinese	N	Y	Y	Y	Y							Y
A43	F	19	Amdo	8 yrs	270			Chinese	Chinese	N	Y	Y	Y	Y							Y
A44	M	18	Lhasa	9 yrs	450			Chinese	Chinese	N	N	Y	Y	Y							Y
A45	F	21	Lhasa	No				Tibetan	Chinese	N	N	Y	Y	Y							Y
A46	M	19	Kham	7 yrs								N									N
A47	M	20	Amdo	No	0			Tibetan	Chinese	N	Y	Y	Y	Y							Y
A48	M	20	Amdo	8 yrs	0							Y	Y								N
A49	M	19	Amdo	5 yrs				Chinese	Chinese	N	N	Y	Y	Y							Y
A50	M	20	Amdo	7 yrs	125			Tibetan	Chinese	N	N	Y	Y	Y							N

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