

CERS Working Paper, 2012

A critical analysis of processes of racialisation in Tibet

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Introduction

On April 19th of 2012 two Tibetan men, Choepak Kyap and Sonam set fire to themselves and consequently died in an act of protest against the oppressive Chinese rule within Tibet. This act is referred to as 'Self-immolation'. Within Tibet self-immolation is not an unusual occurrence. Since March 2011 there has been 34 acts of this kind. Such an extreme and desperate form of protest provides a stark representation of the dire suppression, exclusion and discrimination that the once autonomous Tibetan faces within modern Tibet.

This oppression was instigated In 1949 when China's People's Liberation Army invaded and subsequently occupied Tibet initiating a six-decade legacy of oppression, racial domination and racial exclusion. This report will critically explore four themes focused upon the process of racialisation with Tibet, from the background of the Chinese invasion to the resounding impact of such racial domination experienced to date. This paper opens with a thorough definition of what is meant by 'racialisation' in order to accurately approach the process of racialisation within Tibet. The first thematic focus of this paper is concerned the racial perspectives and assumptions of the Han Chinese towards the formerly indigenous Tibetans. Confucian thought, 'Han Chauvinism' and the notion of assimilation constructed a racial hierarchy prior to the 1949 invasion which has resonated throughout the Sino-Tibetan relationship ever since. The second thematic focus featured in this paper is how these racial perspectives and assumptions have, in turn, been mobilized through the medium of migration by a process referred to as 'ethnic swamping'. This chapter also incorporates a particular attention to the recent controversial construction of the Gormo-Lhasa railway. The third analytic theme concerns racial discrimination within Tibet. After briefly reviewing everyday racism, a specific attention at this point is paid to the Tibetans in prison and the racially fuelled, suppressive and discriminatory nature of the torture they experience. The final analytical theme of this paper reviews the way in which the Chinese government has utilized education as a weapon of sinicisation, indoctrination and racial exclusion through both their syllabus and admission policies.

Racialisation

In order to approach this question precisely, it is necessary to explain what is implied by the term 'Racialisation'. The definition of 'racialisation' is academically contested since, just as it is important to realize that the notion of 'race' is not a biological tenet but instead a sociological one, racialisation is not fixed, as a biological study would be. Rather, it is based upon the process by which it becomes meaningful in a particular context whether that be socially historically or political (Garner, 2009, 19);

'Narratives of "race" attempt to root culture in nature, to equate social groups with biological units, to primordialize the imagined or real congenital endowments of people' (Dikötter, 1997, 2)

As such 'racialisation' describes the process by which meaning is assigned to 'race' whether that be negative for exclusionary purposes, as visible in Tibet by way of Chinese lead racial domination, discrimination and exclusion. Alternatively, these

attachments may consist in a positive nature; this is commonly utilized by minorities in order to liberate themselves through race. 'Race' and racialisation are cultural constructs 'with no relationship to objective reality' (Dikötter, 1992, VIII). This is why a study of racialisation is limited to a nominalist approach, as such one may only describe how race has been socially and politically defined (1992, Dikötter, VIII).

A fascinating feature of the study of the process of racialisation with regards to China's classical colonial domination of Tibet is the Chinese governments overt denial that a concept of 'race', let alone racism exists amongst their people. Chinese government refutes the notion that racialised identities and racism subsists as it is, foremost, considered politically embarrassing (Dikötter, 1997, 2). On the other hand the literature of the International Campaign for Tibet describes racism within Tibet as 'rampant' (ICT, 1959, 11). This is juxtaposed by the reasoning maintained by the Chinese government; on March 30th 2007 Dainzhub Ongboin, the vice director of the State Ethnic Affairs commission referred to the 56 ethnic groups which China encompasses as 'brothers and sisters living in one family' (Xinhua News Agency, 2007). This stance is supported by several social scientists such as Charles Stafford whom purports that 'race' is not a Chinese concept maintaining that there is no translatable Chinese meaning of this 'Western' phenomena (Dikötter, 1997, 2). This, as we shall see, is a deeply fictitious statement. This is reinforced by the commonly held view that all 'race', racism and racialisation are regrettably neither new phenomena nor easily eliminated as a worldwide issue (ICT, 2001, 15). Such a stance is reinforced by Dikötter, a prominent researcher in East Asian racial discourse. Dikötter concurs that whilst an international study of racial discourse would be flawed if one were to analyse all practices in a European context, established on the notion of 'white racism', there is ample evidence, both historically and currently, that a notion of 'race' and racialisation is perceptible in East Asia. In order to develop this notion, Dikötter presents Chinese terms that have been in circulation since the late 19th century to demonstrate a representation of biologically specific units such as 'Zhongzu' which means race or breed and 'Minzu' which refers to either ones nationality or 'race' (Dikötter, 1997, 3). Further to this, Harold Isaacs maintains that racial prejudice outside of western countries outdates European colonialism, this is commonly presented as a justification for the attachment of meaning to biological differences (Isaac in Dikötter, 1992, 1). It would seem the case that, as the outcomes of the World Conference against Racism in 2001 coupled with International law prohibiting racial discrimination would suggest, the process of racialisation is very much alive, encompassing all societies at varying levels of intensity with China and Tibet no less affected than any other civilisation.

(1) Chinese racial perspective and assumptions concerning the Tibetan

The rest of this paper focuses upon the racialisation of Tibet both as a cause and a consequence of colonialism and racially centered repression pursued by the Chinese. The first analytical theme that will be addressed is the relationship between the Tibetan and the Chinese based upon negative racial perceptions and distinctions.

In 1951 the Peoples Republic of China implemented the 'seventeen-point agreement' granting China sovereignty of Tibet after the invasion and occupation of the formerly independent Tibetan empire. Anthropologists, historians and social scientists alike maintain that, amongst other factors, this colonialism and imperial domination represents the mobilization of racial attitudes and perceptions of China and Tibet. Racial distinctions are intrinsic to communities the world over and despite China's official denial of the existence and mobilization of such distinctions, such categorization is imbedded both within Chinas antiquity and present-day.

Both racial consciousness and racial distinctions were entrenched within the classics of Confucianism which formed China's core symbolic system prior to 300BC (Dikotter, 1992, 2). These classics are ceaselessly important to the study of racial relations of China and Tibet as prior to the invasion of Tibet, contact between Chinese and Tibetans, not counting those occupying border positions, were constrained (ICT, 2000, 21). There exists within Confucian classics a multiplicity of themes which are highly relevant to the current situation in Tibet. A significant theme found within the texts which predate the end of the 3rd century include the notions of ethnocentrism, unity and the construction of the 'Barbarian'.

To be ethnocentric is to assume the attitude that one's own group, or in this case country, is superior and as such judges other groups, or again in this case countries, only relatively to their own standards and values (LeVine and Campbell, 1972, 8). This is an attitude which China wholly encompasses to this day which is more accurately defined as 'Sino-centrism'.

Confucian thought constructed 'one of the great preconceptions of China's political life – the belief in the innate unity of the Chinese realm' referred to as 'tian xia' meaning 'all under heaven' (Fairbank, 1986, 10). Such a conception unknowingly attached the instinctive importance of unity and homogeneity to Chinese culture. These cultural notions have vast implications, most importantly for our purposes, this outlook creates a significant barrier between the Chinese and Tibetan culture because any cultures differing from that of the Chinese culture were, and still are, considered alien and consequently dubbed 'Barbaric'.

In accordance with the Chinese myth of cultural universalism such a 'barbarian' is invited to be 'sinicized' or culturally assimilated in order to essentially become Chinese 'hanhua' (Dikotter, 1992, 3). The Chinese 'civilizing mission' within Tibet attaches great importance and meaning to the notion of the 'barbarian' as highlighted in 2001 in a poignant speech of Hu Jintao, China's Vice President. This speech addressed the mission of assimilation concerning Tibetans as part of China's 'peaceful liberation' of Tibet drawing attention to the negative, backward and barbaric perception of the Tibetan by the Chinese;

'Turn from darkness to light, from backwardness to progress, from poverty to affluence' (Jintao, 2001)

One could argue that this assimilation method seeks to diminish racial differentiations and thus racism and has as such indeed attracted certain modern academia (Dikotter, 1992, 3). Yet this ethnocentric approach proposes to Tibetan 'aliens' they either become Chinese or remain a 'barbarian' – the choice to be assimilated or be eliminated. Such a denial of freedoms, rights and cultural expression outweigh any redeeming features of a programme of assimilation. This programme especially infringes the freedom of expression in many forms, this in turn lends to the method of cultural genocide. This process of paternalistic assimilation will be discussed further in the migration section of this paper.

This section of Jintao's speech also highlights another key theme in relation to the racialisation of Tibet commonly referred to as 'Han Chauvinism'. Han chauvinism describes the ethnocentric viewpoint that the descent and culture of the Han Chinese, formerly 'Huaxia', is superior to any other descent or culture. This attitude is displayed through the assumption that Tibetan people are eager to free themselves from such a 'backward' lifestyle and essentially 'become Chinese' through assimilation. In illustration, on January 19th 2009 Chinese government declared that March 28th would become 'Serfs Emancipation Day'. A holiday for Tibetans to

celebrate a liberation from 'serfdom' by the Chinese government.

The 'Han race' is based on the biological descent from the 'Yellow Emperor of China' Xuanyan whom is considered the first bearer of the Han race title (Law, 2012, 3). This dogmatic division is referred to as the 'Hua-yi' distinction, dividing the 'Hua' (Chinese civilization) from the 'Yi' (The Barbarian). This would seem to ostracize ethnic minorities within China until they conform to assimilation. Such a distinction owes its existence to myths of descent which instill in Han culture a sense of supremacy and privilege rendering them as descendants of the 'yellow river' (Dikötter, 1994, 404).

Contemporary Han chauvinism is ever present and is integral in understanding the current situation in Tibet. The modern social construction cause the Han to be perceived as 'advanced, clean, urban and modern and at the centre of the nation is counter-posed to the social construction of ethnically marked minority groups' (Law, 2012, 13). The dominant and chauvinistic nature of the Han maintain their cultural superiority by forcibly positioning alternative ethnic groups as inferior predetermines the creation an ethnic hierarchy (Blum in Law, 2012, 12). This attachment of negative meaning to the biology of descent of the ethnic minorities conforms precisely to the definition of racism, the concept so denied at every level of Chinese culture. Mao Zedong, the first chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, has before stated that 'Han chauvinism exists almost everywhere' (Zedong, 1986, 334) if this is the case and the term 'Han chauvinism' is merely another term disguising racism (A line of reasoning maintained by the ICT report in 2001) then it logically follows that in reality, amongst the Han, racism is everywhere.

This racism inherent to the sense of superiority instilled by Han chauvinism is exemplified through the derogatory treatment of Tibetans as the 'Barbarian', both on an everyday and more official level. This treatment ranges from 'cold stares and whispers' on the street and unqualified statements of disgust (Wangchuk in Law, 2012, 3) to harsh assimilation tactics such as torture.

The sense of superiority inherent to the Han Chinese is owed to the notion that they are a 'single, pure race' (Law, 2012, 3). However this notion was confirmed as a myth in a study in 2008 by Xie Xiaodong of Lanzhou University which found that 'no pure ethnic Han live in China' (Epoch times, 2008). This study repudiates the Chinese notion of unity whilst outlining the unjustified nature of Han chauvinism as there is no biological evidence to support such a construction of racial identities as the Han race are no more genetically similar or different to the, 100 million strong, ethnic minorities as they are between each other. Despite this, Tibetans are still condemned and the Chinese ultimately hope to assimilate them.

(2) Migration: 'Ethnic swamping', Gormo-Lhasa Railway and the Freedom of Movement Within Tibet

So far, the exploration of the Chinese perception of the ethnic minority, in particular the Tibetan, as a 'Barbarian' seeking refuge in the Unity of the Han culture provides a sturdy foundation to the progression of this paper into the theme of migration.

Human migration describes the movement of people from one place, locally or nationally, to another (Dhatta, 2003, 19). Throughout history, migration has been intimately connected with processes of racialisation from the forced transportation of African slaves in the 16th century to the more recent example of Chinese settler colonialism in our country of study, Tibet. It becomes clear that migration and the

freedom of movement within Tibet are both utilized by the Chinese communist government in order to racially dominate and discriminate against the Tibetan.

The racial perspectives that the Chinese assume of the Tibetan, surrounding the notion of the alien 'barbarian' coupled with the endorsement of unity forwarded by a culture of Han chauvinism, has since resulted in the mobilization of a nationalistic invasion and occupation of the formerly independent Tibet.

Following the invasion and occupation of the army of the Peoples Republic of China in 1950, the population of Han Chinese within Tibet has increased dramatically. This is commonly referred to as 'Ethnic swamping' which describes the process by which the colonizing state seeks to outnumber indigenous people with settlers from the inhabiting state. There are now 7.5 million Chinese to 6.5 million Tibetans whilst the Han Chinese comprise over half of the population in Lhasa. The majority thus becomes the minority within their own country.

The Chinese invasion in 1950 resulted in mass immigration of the Han Chinese. This was both politically and culturally detrimental; Politically, Tibet is now powerless yet prior to Chinese occupation, Tibet possessed both a recognized sovereign government and legal system (Free Tibet, 2011). Tibet has suffered substantially on a cultural level with academia referring to the situation caused by Chinese government as 'Cultural Genocide' (ICT, 2012). To date, there are one million Tibetan's dead and six thousand religious buildings destroyed. Such injustices are inflamed by the imprisonment and torture of thousands more.

This migration represents the mobilization and representation of racialisation within Tibet. This is most clearly demonstrated by Chinese initiatives to promote Han settlement in Tibet, the construction of Tibet's first railway and the denial of the freedom of movement for Tibetans.

Cultural assimilation refers to the process by which dominant culture seeks to absorb ethnic minorities both socially and politically. This practice has intrinsic racist overtones especially in the cases like Tibet in which cultural assimilation is established within the government policy, currently active under the demographically significant 'Large Scale Western Development Plan' programme (ICT, 2001, 75). Such a practice accedes to such racist overtones because of the justification of such assimilation. Chinese government justifies this policy by prompting age-old racist and unfair perceptions of the Tibetan as 'Backward' and 'Barbaric' whom 'eagerly hope to free themselves from the darkest feudal serfdom in the world' (PRC, 1959). These paternalistic assumptions are based upon unfounded biological theories. The Chinese consequently maintain that such a programme would be 'Improving quality of population' in order to justify sinicization (Marshall, 2001, 9). To assist in the assimilation of Tibetans in Chinese culture, mass immigration is endorsed by Chinese government through the afore mentioned 'Large Scale Western Development Plan' programme. Chinese policy has actively supported this mass migration by providing such measures as special government loans for potential Chinese settlers along with better conditions upon arrival (ICT, 2001, 75). As a result, since the Chinese occupation of Tibet in 1950, millions of Chinese settlers have immigrated to Tibet. Government policy in this area clearly has implications of a racist nature as the Chinese government is actively and openly treating the indigenous Tibetan less favourably based solely upon biological descent. The International Campaign for Tibet provides a wealth of scholarly excellence in this area. In the paper 'Jampa: The Story of Racism in Tibet' of 2001 it is noted that the Chinese government policy of mass immigration of Chinese settlers to the regional plateau that is Tibet serves to create racial conflicts (ICT, 2001, 75).

A recent mobilisation of the Chinese racial domination of the TAR or the Tibetan Autonomous Region is also visible through demographically aggressive strategies; in this instance we are concerned with the construction of the Gormo-Lhasa railway. Nearly half a century since the occupation of Tibet, the Chinese government continues to intensify their control over Tibet in the form of the 'Western Development Strategy'. This political strategy promotes and supports the initiation of large industrial projects with the Gormo-Lhasa railway being highlighted as the cornerstone of this plan (Free Tibet, 2008). The Chinese government denies that the 'Western Development Strategy' seeks to further enhance their control within the previously autonomous Tibet. However the strategy instigated by President Jiang Zemin in 1999 this railway project was to cost \$3.2 billion (ICT, 2003, 5). It has been circulated that this project may never deliver a positive rate of return. This negative financial situation develops the notion that the Gormo-Lhasa railway is an entirely political tool of Han Chinese migration with the central purpose being the assimilation within Tibet. Completed in 2007, the railway had a major impact upon the traditional capital of Lhasa with the population substantially rising from between 50,000 and 60,000 to an astounding estimated figure of 300,000 with only 100,000 of these being Tibetan (Free Tibet, 2008). Admittedly the Gormo-Lhasa railway was not the only cause of such a Han influx yet it certainly played a major role in this migration. As such Tibetans have been inundated with settlers in their own capital which aptly demonstrates the success of Chinese political dominance regarding migration. The migration caused by the quicker and more comfortable form of transport that is the Gormo-Lhasa railway caused the 14th Dalai Lama to refer to the effects of this Chinese policy as 'Cultural Genocide (Free Tibet, 2008).

Another reflection of the racial domination caused by migration is the restrictions placed upon Tibetan movement. It is important to firstly note the international perspective on the restriction of movement. Article 13 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights states that 'Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each State'. This view is further supported by Article 12 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights 'Everyone lawfully within the territory of a State shall, within that territory, have the right to liberty of movement and freedom to choose his residence'. The international stance on the freedom of movement is thus unambiguous. This perspective exists in stark contrast to the system implemented by the Chinese in Tibet. The 'Hukou' is method by which Chinese government restricts movement. This system has been weakened from its original form yet still active with the PRC (Buckingham and Chan, 2008, 604). A Tibetan must acquire what is known as a 'Hukou' in order to resettle within Tibet. It is made difficult by Chinese government for Tibetans to acquire such a document which impedes significantly upon their freedom of movement (ICT, 2001, 75). In contrast to the Tibetan experience, Chinese settlers will not find it as difficult to move in and around Tibet and more importantly settle there in the first instance because they are not as restricted by the 'Hukou' system (ICT, 2001, 75). This juxtaposition exemplifies, once again, the both exclusionary and chauvinistic attitude of the Chinese government, reflecting racial domination employed by the Chinese upon Tibetans.

(3) Racial discrimination: Everyday Racism and Torture

The mobilization of racial perspectives through the migration to Tibet has inevitably increased both cultural and racial hostility between Chinese and Tibetans. The Chinese plan to culturally absorb Tibetans is shrouded in a process of Racial discrimination and violence. Such a practice is played out in the context of colonialism and, as such, Tibetans are restricted in speaking about the issue causing it to be difficult to determine the extent of the impact of racism (ICT, 2001, 61).

Despite this, the most prominent methods of discrimination and exclusionary practices shall be explored including; everyday racism which Tibetans encounter and the violence and torture pursued against Tibetans within prisons.

Discrimination refers to disproportionate treatment of people based upon a particular grouping, whether that be formal or informal (Law, 2010, 167). Marger (2006) identifies 3 classes of discrimination set out in a hierarchical structure. Racial discrimination within Tibet corresponds to each of these three levels. This chapter will focus upon informal verbal abuse and racially centered violence.

Everyday racism proves to be an accurate guide when it comes to assessing the experience of racial conflicts within a particular country. Since the mass settlement of the Han Chinese within Tibet the racist and chauvinistic attitudes of the Han have truly revealed themselves. Confucian thought forwards the notion that the Han are a superior race. This is reflected within everyday racism in Tibet. Tibetans experience cold stares and derogatory comments as part of the racial domination within what was once their empire (Law, 2012, 22). The International Campaign for Tibet completed an interview with a Tibetan nun in 1998;

‘(The Chinese) compare us to animals, even saying we are less than animals’
(ICT,2001,61)

Such rhetoric encompasses the Han view of the Tibetan as inferior.

Marger identifies the worst form of racial discrimination to be ‘Mass societal aggression’ and ‘violent racism’ (Marger in Law, 2010,167) both of which are visible within the process of racialisation within Tibet.

One of the most prominent forms of racist violence within Tibet is the violence experienced by Tibetan prisoners. This serves as a reflection of the cultural hostility between the Chinese and the Tibetans. Communist government has utilized the process of sinicisation as a means of ‘absorbing’ both Tibetan culture and its people into the Peoples Republic of China. This Communist process is strictly opposed to behavior which threatens the legitimacy of such an institution; Smith proposes that this is mainly due to the inherent illegitimacy of such a government (Smith, 2008, 64). As a result of this, a Tibetan seen to be promoting or expressing ones self culturally is alleged to be ‘splittest’ and ‘counter revolutionary’. A crime the Chinese government perceives to be deserving of a prison sentence and ultimately torture. On the other hand the expression of Chinese culture is promoted and celebrated. Once again the Tibetan is racially excluded and discriminated against. Further to this, there are reports as recent as this month, April 2012, that people are being arrested and subsequently tortured for a mere suspicion of assisting protesters (Free Tibet, 2008). This highlights the authoritarian importance attached to both the promotion of Chinese culture and the goal of annihilation with regards to Tibetan culture. Such discrimination is intensified by the experience of the Tibetan prisoner. Despite Chinese law which states that all citizens have a right to equal treatment before the law (ICT, 2001, 72) it has been seen that the proportion of ‘counter-revolutionaries’ to common criminals is 21 times higher within China which demonstrates the Chinese priority of silencing the Tibetan people (Human Rights Watch). Tibetans, once imprisoned, become the subject of systematic torture. Different methods of torture in Tibet include, electric shock batons, instructed beatings to other prisoners, submersion in pits of sewage, hard labour and the suspension from overhead fixtures with handcuffs (Free Tibet, 2009, 3).

Torture is a political tool utilized by the Chinese government to suppress ordinary Tibetans. After a visit in 2005 Dr Manfred Nowak, the United Nations Special

Rapporteur on Torture stated that 'Torture remains widespread in Tibet'. The International Campaign for Tibet found that 37 prisoners have died since 1987 as a direct result of torture. It is the case that this torture is intrinsically connected with the process of racism and racialisation within Tibet;

'It is indisputable that when the Chinese authorities torture Tibetans, the legacy of decades of ethnic strife soon becomes part of the equation' (ICT, 2001, 72).

The torturous treatment of Tibetan within prison is a reflection and mobilization of the racial discrimination and domination pursued by the government and other institutions of China. Chinese government pursues such a tortuous route in order to induce a 'culture of fear' amongst the Tibetan population in order to fulfill the assimilation programme (Free Tibet, 2009, 9).

(4) Education: A Medium of Exclusion, Discrimination and Indoctrination

On the 25th of April 2012 the International Campaign for Tibet released a report based upon the 'Cultural Genocide' within Tibet. A critical element of this report is concerned with the role that education has had and continues to have as a tool of exclusion, discrimination and indoctrination of the Tibetan people. Throughout the 60 years of Chinese communist rule the party state has time and again utilized education as a weapon of 'sinicisation' (ICT, 2012).

The education arena within Tibet is increasingly both controlled by the dominant culture of the Han, A notion highlighted in a speech of Chinese politician Chen Kuiyuan;

'[S]chools are not a forum on freedom. Schools should be captured by socialism. We should not allow the splittest elements and religious idealism to use the classrooms to poison people's sons and daughters' (Chen Kuiyan in ICT, 2012, 72)

The study of discrimination and exclusion on racial grounds within education is particularly important because, as Dewey defines it, education is the process by which the principles, culture and habits of one group of people is passed from one generation to the next (Dewey, 1944, 3). Education is a powerful tool in terms of the shaping of both the culture and attitude of the next generation. For an outside group to interfere with the process of education has an observably detrimental effect upon both the culture and aims of the original group. China has utilized this power in a discriminatory manner in various distinctive ways an issue approached by Sharma;

The People's Republic of China makes special efforts to educate students of minorities. The dominant objective of Chinese educational policy toward minorities is assimilation through "sinicization" or colonization through "dilution."(Sharma, 2007,153)

One way in which the Chinese government has used education as a weapon of exclusion and 'cultural genocide' is through the means of language. Language is a foundation intrinsic to ones identity and culture which has been seen to be especially the case within Tibet;

'Tibetan people developed a civilizational culture characterized by its own written and spoken language' (ICT, 2012, 23)

Education policy within Tibet, since the occupation of this once autonomous region, has sought to disregard the Tibetan language as secondary (TCHRD, 2010, 33).

Mandarin Chinese has now replaced Standard Tibetan as the central language taught in Tibet. This provoked many protests. On October 19th 2010 Tibetan students from six separate schools within Qinghai protested in their thousands against such changes in the education system. These protests spread extensively with the widely reported demonstration at the University of Beijing. Similar protests have occurred since, as recent as March 2012, in which Tsering Kyi self-immolated (ICT, 2012, 102). These ongoing protests represent the detrimental effect such an educational provision would have upon the Tibetan culture.

Once again, China's official stance contradicts the actuality of events. Article 37 of the Law of the People's Republic of China states that;

'...Schools (classes and grades) and other institutions of education where most of the students come from minority nationalities shall, whenever possible, use textbooks in their own languages and use their languages as the media of instruction' (TCHRD, 2001, 33).

Despite this official stance, the Tibetan language, as one of Asia's oldest languages, is being filtered out of the Tibetan education system and therefore Tibet itself. The European Parliament's stance upon this issue reflects the international perspective, which urges a 'genuine' policy of bilingualism to be implemented on November 25th in 2010 (TCHRD, 2001, 35).

Regardless of the international stance on this issue, China continues to filter out the Tibetan language. The only way in which a child from Tibet can now be fully educated in the Tibetan language is by sending them to school in India (ICT, 2012, 101). Chinese government officials argue that if Tibetan continues to be taught within schools then Tibet will remain backward (TCHRD, 2001, 33). Such a view reflects Chinese racist attitudes and assumptions which perceive the Tibetan to be backward thereby filtering out this language in order to assist in the 'civilizing' project in Tibet. These proposed educational choices have been based upon these racial assumptions which is highly discriminatory.

Marger highlights the denial of societal opportunities to be a significant area of discrimination (Law, 2010, 167). Such societal discrimination is clearly illustrated in the area of education. This is mainly demonstrated through the financial barriers which Tibetan parents come up against. Chinese parents are being charged considerably less than Tibetan parents. Heath found that a school in Lhasa charges Tibetan children 400 'Yuan' in admission fees whilst Chinese children cost just 200 (Heath in Law, 2012, 21). This creates a financial barrier between the Tibetan and education which is not equally reflected in the treatment of Chinese children which once again illustrates the racially discriminatory treatment of the Tibetan.

Such institutional discrimination is developed by the Segregation within Tibetan schools between Chinese and Tibetan students. Segregation in terms of Race is a key indication of racist practices and discrimination which is visible within Tibet (ICT, 2001, 63). The denial of such societal opportunities through the medium of education leads to the intensification of the social exclusion and marginalisation that Tibetans experience

Conclusion

In the final analysis, the afore mentioned description of the Sino-Tibetan relationship as 'Brothers and sisters living in one family' (Xinhua News Agency, 2007) could not appear to be more absurd. This is perceptible through the racially centered

assimilation of minorities which is said to have 'reached its zenith under Chinese Communist rule' (Sharma, 2007, 150). Chinese racial perspectives and assumptions concerning the Tibetan have shaped the process of racialisation within Tibet. The Sino-centrism central to Han culture reflects Confucian thought which renders the Tibetans the 'barbarian', a view which has been seen to reverberate through the PRC. This is visible on an everyday level through everyday racism and on official level in terms of the programme of assimilation (Western development plan, seventeen point agreement), Han migration, education and the police in terms of torture. Further to this, the Chinese Government has been seen to utilize human migration in an attempt of 'ethnic swamping' with the Gormo-Lhasa railway performing as a catalyst of the Han infiltration whilst the 'hukou' system remains, albeit in a weaker form, to restrict Tibetan movement representing the suppression of the Tibetan in the PRC. Despite China's official denial of racism it has been seen that racial discrimination is rife. Everyday racism is experienced at all levels of society whilst imprisoned Tibetans experience abhorrent methods of torture based upon their race. We have seen in the final chapter the way in which education has been utilized as a medium of exclusion, discrimination and indoctrination. New generations are being stripped of the culture of their forefathers. The most injurious of these processes is the Chinese governments filtering out of the Tibetan language, an ultimate representation of the disregard of Tibetan culture. A key and persistent trend throughout the study of racialisation of Tibet is 'Han chauvinism', reflected on an official level through Chinese communism and on an lesser level through cultural pride. One of the most fascinating feature of this study is the Chinese government denial on various levels of racism which is discomfited by the blatant sinicisation methods implemented brutally within Tibet. And so, it has been seen that Chinese racial domination, exclusion and discrimination are all unbridled entities within Modern Tibet.

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