

A HANDBOOK ON TIBET

Basic Information

“ This is the worst period in our 2000 year history. This really is the most serious period. At this time, now, there is every danger that the entire Tibetan Nation, with its own unique cultural heritage will completely disappear. The present situation is so serious that it is really a question of life and death. If death occurs, nothing is left.”

His Holiness the Dalai Lama



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TIBET AT A GLANCE

Size:	2.5 million sq. km, which means 26.04% of the total area of present China
Capital:	Lhasa
Population:	60 lakh Tibetan and an undetermined under occupation of Chinese
Religion:	Buddhism, Bon and Islam
Language:	Tibetan (the official language) Under occupation is Chinese
Major Environmental Problem:	Rampant deforestation, poaching of large mammals
Average Altitude:	14,000 feet above sea level
Highest Mountain:	Jomolangma / Sagarmatha / Mount Everest, 29,024 feet
Average Temperature:	July: 58F and January: 24F
Major Rivers:	Tsang-po (Brahmaputra), Yangtse, Mekong, Salween, Huang-Ho, Indus and Sutlej
Economy:	Tibetans: predominantly in agriculture and animal husbandry. Chinese: predominantly in government, commerce and the service sector
Provinces:	U-Tsang, Amdo and Kham
Bordering Countries:	Inner Mangolia, East Turkistan, India, Nepal, Bhutan, Burma and China
Head of the State:	His Holiness the Dalai Lama
Relationship with PRC:	Colonial



THE TIBETAN NATIONAL FLAG

ORIGIN

During the reign of the seventh-century king, Songtsen Gampo, Tibet was one of the mightiest empires in Central Asia. Tibet, then, had an army of 2,860,000 men. Each regiment of the army had its own banner. The banner of Ya-ru To regiment had a pair of snow lions facing each other, that of Ya-ru Ma a snow lion standing upright, springing upwards towards the sky, and that of U-ru To a white flame against a red background.

This tradition continued until the Thirteenth Dalai Lama designed a new banner and issued a proclamation for its adoption by all the military establishments. This banner became the present Tibetan national flag.

Explanation of the Symbolism of the Tibetan National Flag

In the centre stands a magnificent snow-clad mountain, which represents the great nation of Tibet, widely known as the Land Surrounded by Snow Mountains.

The Six red bands spread across the dark blue sky represent the original ancestors of the Tibetan people: the six tribes called Se, Mu, Dong, Tong, Dru, and Ra which in turn gave rise to the (twelve) descendants. The combination of six red bands (for the tribes) and six dark blue bands (for the sky) represents the unceasing enactment of the virtuous deeds of protection of the spiritual teachings and secular life by the black and red guardian protector deities with which Tibet has been connected since times immemorial.

At the top of the snowy mountain, the sun with its rays shining brilliantly in all directions represents the equal enjoyment of freedom, spiritual and material happiness and prosperity by all beings in the land of Tibet.

On the slopes of the mountain a pair of snow lions stands proudly, blazing with the manes of fearlessness, which represent the country's victorious accomplishment of a unified spiritual and secular life.

The beautiful and radiant three-coloured jewel held aloft represents the ever-present reverence respectfully held by the Tibetan people towards the three supreme gems, the objects of refuge: Buddha, Dharma and Sangha.

The two coloured swirling jewel held between the two lions represents the people's guarding and cherishing of the self discipline of correct ethical behavior, principally represented by the practices of the ten exalted virtues and the 16 humane modes of conduct. Lastly, the adornment with a yellow border symbolises that the teachings of the Buddha, which are like pure, refined gold and unbounded in space and time, are flourishing and spreading.

BRIEF HISTORY OF TIBET

Five hundred years before Buddha Shakyamuni came into this world i.e., circa 1063 B.C., a semi-legendary figure known as Lord Shenrab Miwo reformed the primitive animism of the Shen race and founded the Tibetan Bon religion. There were eighteen Shangshung Kings who ruled Tibet before King Nyatri Tsenpo. Tiwor Sergyi Jhagruchen was the first Shangshung King.

As the Shangshung Empire declined, a kingdom known as Bod, the present name of Tibet, came into existence at Yarlung and Chongyas valleys at the time of King Nyatri Tsenpo in 127 B.C. This lineage of Tibetan monarchy continued for well over a thousand years till 41st King Tri Wudum Tsen, more commonly known as Lang Darma.

Most illustrious of the above kings were Songtsen Gampo, Trisong Detsen and Tri-Ralpachen. They are called the Three Great Kings.

During the reign of King Trisong Detsen (755-97) the Tibetan Empire was at its peak and its army invaded China and several Central Asian countries. In 763 the Tibetans seized the then Chinese capital at Ch'ang-an (present day Xian). As the Chinese Emperor had fled, the Tibetans appointed a new Emperor. This memorable victory has been preserved for posterity in the Zhol Doring (stone pillar) in Lhasa and reads, in part:

“King Trisong Detsen, being a profound man, the breadth of his counsel was extensive, and whatever he did for the kingdom was completely successful. He conquered and held under his sway many districts and fortresses of China. The Chinese Emperor, Hehu Ki Wang and his ministers were terrified. They offered a perpetual yearly tribute of 50,000 rolls of silk and China was obliged to pay this tribute”.

During the reign of King Tri-Ralpachen (815-36) the Tibetan armies won many victories and in 821-2 a peace treaty was concluded with China. The inscription of the text of the treaty exists in three places: One outside the Chinese Emperor's palace gate in Ch'ang-an, another before the main gate of Jokhang temple in Lhasa and the third on the Tibetan-China border at Mount Guru Meru.

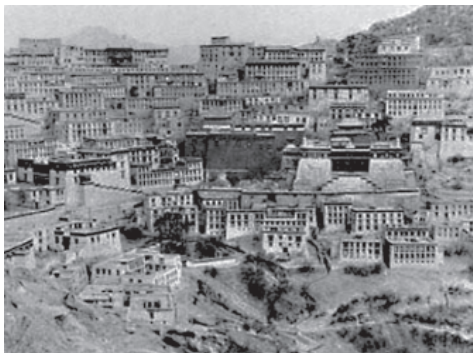
After the assassination of King Tri-Ralpachen's brother, Tibet's 41st king Tri Wudum Tsen in 842 A.D. With warring princes, lords and generals contending for power, the mighty Tibetan Empire disintegrated into many small principedoms and a dark period fell over Tibet For 405 years from 842-1247 AD.

In 1073 Konchog Gyalpo founded the Sakya monastery. The Sakya lamas grew in power and from 1254 to 1350 Tibet was ruled by a succession of 20 Sakya lamas. Sakya Kunga Gyaltsen, popularly known as Sakya Pandita, converted the Mongol Prince Godan, the ruling Khan, to Buddhism and the invading force was withdrawn.

In 1358 the province of U (Central Tibet) fell into the hands of the Governor of Nedong, Changchub Gyaltsen, a monk of the Phamo Drugpa branch of Kagyud School, and for the next 86 years, eleven Lamas of the Phamo Drugpa lineage ruled Tibet.

But, after the death of Drakpa Gyaltsen, the fifth Phamo Drugpa ruler, in 1434, power passed into the hands of the Rinpung family who were related to Drakpa Gyaltsen by marriage. From 1436 to 1566 the heads of the Rinpung family held power.

Meanwhile, Tsongkhapa Lobsang Drakpa, one of the greatest scholars of Tibet founded Gaden, the first Gelugpa monastery, in 1409 and began the Gelug lineage.



The Great Gaden Monastery

Sonam Gyatso, born in 1543, emerged as a scholar of great spiritual and temporal wisdom. He converted Altan Khan to Buddhism and the later conferred on him the title Dalai Lama meaning "Ocean of Wisdom" in 1578. As

Sonam Gyatso was third in his line, he became the Third Dalai Lama, the title being posthumously conferred on his two previous

incarnations. A close spiritual relationship developed between Tibet and Mongolia.

In 1642, the Fifth Dalai Lama, Ngawang Lobsang Gyatso, assumed both spiritual and temporal authority over Tibet. He established the present system of the Tibetan Government, known as the "Ganden Phodrang". After becoming the ruler of all Tibet, he set forth to China to demand Chinese recognition of his sovereignty. The Ming Emperor received the Dalai Lama as an independent sovereign and as an equal. It is recorded that he went out of his capital to meet the Dalai Lama and that he had an inclined pathway built over the city wall so that the Dalai Lama could enter Peking without going through a gate.

The Emperor not only accepted the Dalai Lama as an independent sovereign but also as a Divinity on Earth. In return the Dalai Lama used his influence to bring the Mongols into acknowledging the Emperor's sway in China. Henceforth, there started a Priest-Patron relationship, which brought a new element into the relations of Tibet, China and Mongolia. Another important event was the statement of the Fifth Dalai Lama that the line of the first Panchen Lama, Choekyi Gyaltsen, who was one of his tutors, would continue.

The glorious reign of the Great Fifth Dalai Lama was followed by a period of intrigue and instability. The Sixth Dalai Lama, Tsewang Gyatso, who was enthroned in 1697 refused to take interest in the affairs of state and led a frivolous life.

When Kalsang Gyatso, the reincarnation of the Sixth Dalai Lama, was discovered in Lithang, in eastern Tibet, there was a struggle among various tribes of the Mongols and the Manchus to gain control over him so that they could exercise their influence in Tibet and in this endeavor the Manchus were successful.

When the Manchu troops finally left Lhasa in 1723 they left behind a Resident or Amban ostensibly to serve the Dalai Lama but in fact, it was to look after their own interests. This was the beginning of Manchu interference in Tibetan affairs. The Manchus also put up their own nominee as the Tibetan Regent against Tibetan

wishes. A few years later the Manchu nominee was killed and then the Manchu Emperor, Yung Cheng, sent a military force and invaded Tibet for the first time.

In 1751 the Seventh Dalai Lama had written to the three Newari Kings, who ruled over the principalities of Kathmandu, Patan and Bhatgaon, protesting against their practice of adding copper to the silver coins, which they were supplying to Tibet. When Prithvi Narayan, chief of the Gurkhas, overthrew the Newari rulers he was similarly apprised of the situation and this led to the Gurkha's invasion of Tibet in 1786.

The Eighth Dalai Lama, then 26 years old, requested the Manchu Emperor, Ch'ien Lung, for temporary military assistance. The Manchu army that entered Tibet in 1792 proved more harmful to the Tibetans as they again tried to increase the power of the Manchu Resident. Further, Ch'ien Lung sent a golden urn from Peking and declared that future reincarnations of the Dalai Lama and other important lamas should be determined by putting the names of the candidates in it and extracting one at random in the presence of the Manchu Resident. This imperialist imposition was not adhered to by the Tibetans and the Thirteenth Dalai Lama publicly abolished this practice.

During this period Tibet was invaded several times and the Manchu Resident at Lhasa engaged in nefarious intrigues and meddled in Tibetan state affairs. But Tibet never lost her sovereignty. The Tibetan people regarded the Tibetan administration headed by the Dalai Lama as the only legal Government of Tibet.

The sovereignty of the Central Government of Tibet at Lhasa was most clearly illustrated in the internal war which broke out during the middle of the nineteenth century between the chieftain of Nyarong on the one side and the King of Derge and the Horpa princes on the other. The Tibetan Government sent an army, crushed the Nyarong Chief, and set up a Tibetan Governor in his place, charged him with the general supervision of the affairs of Derge and the Horpa principalities. The sovereignty of Tibet was further proved by a treaty signed with Nepal in 1856 without referring to China.

In 1876, the Thirteenth Dalai Lama, Thupten Gyatso, at the age of 19, took charge of the duties of state from Regent Choekyi Gyaltsen Kundeling. He was an outstanding personality and helped Tibet to reassert her rightful sovereignty in international affairs.

At this period the British had close and profitable ties with China. The Chinese had persuaded the British that they exercise 'suzerainty' over Tibet. Therefore, on September 13, 1876, the Sino-British Chefoo Convention, which granted Britain the 'right' of sending a mission of exploration into Tibet, was signed. The mission was abandoned when the Tibetans refused to allow them on the grounds that they did not recognize China's authority. Two more similar agreements, the Peking Convention of July 24, 1886 and the Calcutta Convention of March 17, 1890, were also repudiated by the Tibetans.

The Tibetan Government refused to have anything to do with the British who were dealing over their heads with the Chinese. This coincided with new contacts between Russia and Tibet around 1900-1.

There followed an interchange of letters and presents between the Dalai Lama and the Russian Czar. This strengthened British fears about Russian involvement in Tibetan affairs. As the Russian power in Asia was growing, the British Government felt that their interest was at stake. Tibet was invaded by a British expeditionary force under Colonel Younghusband, which entered Lhasa on August 3, 1904.

Younghusband

A treaty was signed between Tibet and Great Britain on September 7, 1904. During the British invasion, Tibet conducted her affairs as an independent country. Peking did not protest much against the British invasion of Tibet.

When the British invaded Tibet, the 13th Dalai Lama went to Mongolia. The



Manchus, who were then ruling China, made one last attempt to interfere in Tibet through the military campaigns of the infamous Chao Erhfeng. When the Dalai Lama was in Kumbum monastery in the province of Amdo, he received two messages - one from Lhasa, urging him to return with all speed as they feared for his safety and could not oppose the intruding troops of Chao Erhfeng, and the other from Peking, requesting him to visit the Chinese capital. The Dalai Lama chose to go to Peking with the hope of prevailing upon the Chinese Emperor to withdraw his troops from Tibet.

When the Dalai Lama finally returned to Lhasa in 1909, he found that, contrary to all the promises he had received in Peking, Chao Erhfeng's troops were at his heels. During the annual Monlam festival of 1910, some 2,000 Manchu and Chinese soldiers under the command of General Chung Ying entered Lhasa and indulged in carnage, rape, murder, and destruction. Once again the Dalai Lama was forced to leave Lhasa. He appointed a Regent to rule in his absence and left for the southern town of Dromo with the intention to go to British India if necessary.

In India the Dalai Lama and his ministers appealed to the British Government to help Tibet. Meanwhile the Manchu occupation force tried to subvert the Tibetan Government and to divide Tibet into Chinese provinces - exactly what, after half a century, the Communist Chinese would do.

In January 1913 a bilateral treaty was signed between Tibet and Mongolia at Urga. In that treaty both countries declared themselves free and separate from China.

The Thirteenth Dalai Lama, having returned from India in January 1913, issued a formal declaration of the complete independence of Tibet, dated the eighth day of the first month of the Water-Ox year (March 1913).

The Thirteenth Dalai Lama started international relations, introduced modern postal and telegraph services and, despite the turbulent period in which he ruled, introduced measures to modernize Tibet. *On December 17, 1933* he passed away.



The Great 13th Dalai Lama

The following year a Chinese mission arrived in Lhasa to offer condolences, but in fact they tried to settle the Sino-Tibetan border issue. After the chief delegate left, another Chinese delegate stayed back to continue discussions and was permitted to remain in Lhasa on the same footing as the Nepalese and Indian representatives. Later on he was expelled in 1949.

In September 1949, Communist China, without any provocation, invaded Eastern Tibet and captured Chamdo, the headquarters of the Governor of Eastern Tibet. On November 11, 1950, the Tibetan Government protested in the United Nations Organization against the Chinese



Last of the Chinese troops leaving Tibet for repatriation via India 1913

aggression. Although El Salvador raised the question, the Steering Committee of the General Assembly moved to postpone the issue.

Since the country was facing grave crises, barely at the age of sixteen, on November 17, 1950, His Holiness the Fourteenth Dalai Lama assumed full spiritual and temporal powers as the Head of State. On May 23, 1951 a Tibetan delegation, which had gone to Peking to hold talks on the invasion, was forced to sign the so-called "17-point Agreement on Measures for the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet", with threats of more military action in Tibet and by forging the official seals of Tibet.

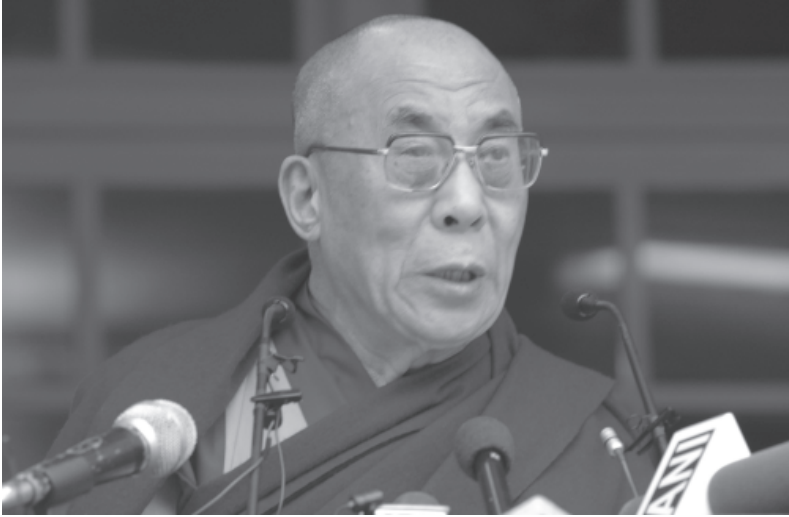
The Chinese then used this document to carry out their plans to turn Tibet into a colony of China by forcibly crushing the resistance

put up by the Tibetan people and violating every article of this unequal 'treaty' which they had imposed on the Tibetans.

On September 9, 1951 thousands of Chinese troops marched into Lhasa. The forcible occupation of Tibet was marked by systematic destruction of monasteries, suppression of religion, denial of political freedom, widespread arrests and imprisonment and massacre of innocent men, women and children.

On March 10, 1959 the nation-wide Tibetan resistance culminated in the Tibetan National Uprising against the Chinese in Lhasa. The Chinese ruthlessly and arbitrarily massacred thousands of men, women and children in the streets and many more imprisoned and deported. Monks and nuns were a prime target. Monasteries and temples were shelled.

On March 17, 1959 the Dalai Lama left Lhasa and escaped from the pursuing Chinese to seek political asylum in India. He was followed by unprecedented exodus of Tibetans into exile. Never before in their history had so many Tibetans been forced to leave their homeland under such difficult circumstances. There are now more than one hundred thirty thousand Tibetan refugees all over the world.



A Brief Biography of His Holiness The 14th Dalai Lama

His Holiness the 14th Dalai Lama, Tenzin Gyatso, is both the temporal and the spiritual leader of Tibet. He was born on 6 July 1935, to a farming family, in a small hamlet located in Taktse, Amdo, northeastern Tibet. At the age of two the child, who was named Lhamo Dhondup at that time was recognized as the reincarnation of the 13th Dalai Lama, Thubten Gyatso. The Dalai Lamas are believed to be manifestations of Avalokiteshvara or Chenrezig, the Bodhisattva of Compassion and patron saint of Tibet. Bodhisattvas are enlightened beings who have postponed their own nirvana and chosen to take rebirth in order to serve humanity.

Education in Tibet

His Holiness began his monastic education at the age of six. The curriculum consisted of five major and five minor subjects. The major subjects were logic, Tibetan art and culture, Sanskrit, medicine, and Buddhist philosophy which was further divided into a further five categories: Prajnaparimita, the perfection of wisdom; Madhyamika, the philosophy of the middle Way; Vinaya, the canon of monastic discipline; Abidharma, metaphysics; and

Pramana, logic and epistemology. The five minor subjects were poetry, music and drama, astrology, metre and phrasing, and synonyms. At 23 he sat for his final examination in the Jokhang Temple, Lhasa, during the annual Monlam (prayer) Festival in 1959. He passed with honours and was awarded the Geshe Lharampa degree, the highest-level degree equivalent to a doctorate of Buddhist philosophy.

Leadership Responsibilities

In 1950 His Holiness was called upon to assume full political power after China's invasion of Tibet in 1949. In 1954, he went to Beijing for peace talks with Mao Zedong and other Chinese leaders, including Deng Xiaoping and Chou Enlai. But finally, in 1959, with the brutal suppression of the Tibetan national uprising in Lhasa by Chinese troops, His Holiness was forced to escape into exile. Since then he has been living in Dharamsala, northern India, the seat of the Tibetan political administration in exile.

Since the Chinese invasion, His Holiness has appealed to the United Nations on the question of Tibet. The General Assembly adopted three resolutions on Tibet in 1959, 1961 and 1965.

Democratisation Process

In 1963 His Holiness presented a draft democratic constitution for Tibet that was followed by a number of reforms to democratise our administrative set-up. The new democratic constitution promulgated as a result of this reform was named "The Charter of Tibetans in Exile". The charter enshrines freedom of speech, belief, assembly and movement. It also provides detailed guidelines on the functioning of the Tibetan government with respect to those living in exile.

In 1992 His Holiness issued guidelines for future Tibet's polity and basic features of its constitution. He announced that when Tibet becomes free the immediate task would be to set up an interim government whose first responsibility will be to elect a constitutional assembly to frame and adopt Tibet's democratic constitution. On that day His Holiness would transfer all his historical and political authority to the Interim President and live

as an ordinary citizen. His Holiness also stated that he hoped that Tibet, comprising of the three traditional provinces of U-Tsang, Amdo and Kham, would be federal and democratic.

In May 1990, the reforms called for by His Holiness saw the realisation of a truly democratic administration in exile for the Tibetan community. The Tibetan Cabinet (Kashag), which till then had been appointed by His Holiness, was dissolved along with the Tenth Tibetan Assembly (parliament-in-exile). In the same year, exile Tibetans on the Indian sub-continent and in more than 33 other countries elected 46 members to the expanded Eleventh Tibetan Assembly. The Assembly, in its turn, elected the new members of the cabinet. In September 2001, a further major step in democratisation was taken when the Tibetan electorate directly elected the Kalon Tripa (Prime Minister). The Kalon Tripa in turn appointed his own cabinet who had to be approved by the Tibetan Parliament in exile. In Tibet's long history, this was the first time that the people elected the political leadership of Tibet.

Peace Initiatives

In September 1987 His Holiness proposed the Five Point Peace Plan for Tibet as the first step towards a peaceful solution to the worsening situation in Tibet. He envisaged that Tibet would become a sanctuary; a zone of peace at the heart of Asia, where all sentient beings can exist in harmony and the delicate environment can be preserved. China has so far failed to respond positively to the various peace proposals put forward by His Holiness.

The Five Point Peace Plan

In his address to members of the United States Congress in Washington, D.C. on 21 September 1987, His Holiness proposed the following peace plan, which contains five basic components:

1. Transformation of the whole of Tibet into a zone of peace.
2. Abandonment of China's population transfer policy that threatens the very existence of the Tibetans as a people.
3. Respect for the Tibetan people's fundamental human rights and democratic freedoms.

4. Restoration and protection of Tibet's natural environment and the abandonment of China's use of Tibet for the production of nuclear weapons and dumping of nuclear waste.
5. Commencement of earnest negotiations on the future status of Tibet and of relations between the Tibetan and Chinese peoples.

Strasbourg Proposal

In his address to members of the European Parliament in Strasbourg on 15 June 1988, His Holiness made another detailed proposal elaborating on the last point of the Five Point Peace Plan. He proposed talks between the Chinese and Tibetans leading to a self-governing democratic political entity for all three provinces of Tibet. This entity would be in association with the People's Republic of China and the Chinese Government would continue to remain responsible for Tibet's foreign policy and defence.

Universal Recognition

His Holiness the Dalai Lama is a man of peace. In 1989 he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for his non-violent struggle for the liberation of Tibet. He has consistently advocated policies of non-violence, even in the face of extreme aggression. He also became the first Nobel Laureate to be recognized for his concern for global environmental problems. On 17th Oct, 2007 The U.S Congressional Gold Medal, the nation's highest civilian award was conferred to His Holiness the Dalai Lama.

His Holiness has traveled to more than 62 countries spanning 6 continents. He has met with presidents, prime ministers and crowned rulers of major nations. He has held dialogues with the heads of different religions and many well-known scientists.

Since 1959 His Holiness has received over 84 awards, honorary doctorates, prizes, etc., in recognition of his message of peace, non-violence, inter-religious understanding, universal responsibility and compassion. His Holiness has also authored more than 72 books.

His Holiness describes himself as "a simple Buddhist monk".

CHRONOLOGICAL EVENTS SINCE 600 A.D

- About 600** King Namri Songtsen of Yarlung, the territory south of the Tsangpo River, begins the unification of Tibet's many kingdoms.
- About 627** Songtsen Gampo succeeded his father as Tibet's 33rd King and continued to consolidate Tibet under his rule.
- 641** Songtsen Gampo introduced Buddhism to Tibet. Having already married to three Tibetan princesses and a Nepalese princess Brikuthi. He took a Chinese princess Wen-Ch'eng as his bride. Thus created alliances with the neighboring countries.
- 670** Warfare broke out between Tibet and the T'ang dynasty of China. Tibet gained influence along trade route through central Asia
- 754** Tritsong Detsen enthroned
- About 779** Padmasambhava founded first Buddhist monastic university at Samye, fifty miles south of Lhasa. The Sanskrit Buddhist sutras and tantras "The Tripitaka" translated into Tibetan, and established Vajrayan tradition in Buddhism.
- 821-22** Treaty between Tibet and China marked by an inscription carved on a monument that stands in front of the Potala Palace
- About 836** Lang-darma succeeded Tritsug Detsen and started suppressing Buddhism in central Tibet.
- 842** Assassination of Lang-darma by a monk, followed by dispute aroused over the succession, and finally led to the disintegration of the Kingdom.
- 1207** Tibetan leaders quietly submitted to Genghis Khan.
- 1260** Kublai Khan, as emperor of China's Yuan dynasty, bestowed the title Ti-shi ("Imperial Preceptor") upon Phakpa and made Sakyapa order most powerful in Tibet.

- 1270 Kublai Khan converted to Tibetan Buddhism
- 1368 Fall of Yuan dynasty freed Tibet from dependence on China. Factions begun to struggle for the control over Tibet.
- 1391 First Dalai Lama, Gedun Drubpa, born (title conferred posthumously, when third Dalai Lama received title in 1578).
- 1447 Tashi-Lhunpo monastery, future seat of Panchen Lamas, founded by the first Dalai Lama
- 1474 Second Dalai Lama Gedun Gyatso born
- 1543 Third Dalai Lama Sonam Gyatso born.
- 1570 First Panchen Lama, Lobsang Choekyi Gyaltsen, the teacher of the fifth Dalai Lama, born. Title "Panchen" ("The Great Scholar") conferred by the fifth Dalai Lama.
- 1578 Sonam Gyatso received the title of Dalai Lama ("Ocean of Wisdom") from Mongol ruler Altan Khan
- 1589 Fourth Dalai Lama Yonten Gyatso born (great-grandson of Altan Khan).
- 1617 Fifth Dalai Lama Ngawang Lobsang Gyatso born. One of the greatest Dalai Lamas, he later re-established Tibet's independence and extends his authority to outermost Tibetan territories, reopens trade with India, and visits China.
- 1642 Gu-Shri Khan, ruler of Khoshot Mongols defeated Karma Tankyong and installed fifth Dalai Lama as the ruler of Tibet.
- 1683 Sixth Dalai Lama Tseyang Gyatso born.
- 1708 Capuchin missionaries opened mission in Lhasa. Seventh Dalai Lama Kalsang Gyatso born.
- 1720 Ch'ing dynasty emperor K'ang Hsi established his mission in Lhasa.
- 1723 Chinese withdraws from Tibet.

- 1728** Pholhawa, one of a council of ministers, after defeating Dzungars and driving out rival Tibetan nationalists, governed Tibet with Chinese support.
- 1758** Eighth Dalai Lama Jamphel Gyatso born.
- 1792** Peace agreement between Tibet and Gurkhas reached but power of Chinese representatives (Ambans) in Tibetan government increases.
- 1806** Ninth Dalai Lama Tsultrim Gyatso born
- 1816** Tenth Dalai Lama Lungtok Gyatso born
- 1836** Eleventh Dalai Lama Khedrub Gyatso born
- 1856** Twelfth Dalai Lama Trinley Gyatso born.
- 1876** Thirteenth Dalai Lama Thubten Gyatso, born (d. 1933).
- 1903-04** Colonel Francis Younghusband marched into Tibet with 3,000 British troops to Gyaum. The 13th Dalai Lama flees from the approaching army and shelters in Mongolia and in China. The British withdrew after signing the Anglo-Tibetan Convention that allows them to have Trade Agents at Gyantse and at Gartok in Western Tibet
- 1906** British accept a vaguely defined Chinese suzerainty over Tibet after invasion of eastern Tibet by Chinese troops.
- 1909** The 13th Dalai Lama returns from exile. Chinese troops occupy parts of Kham (Eastern Tibet) and the Dalai Lama appeals to Great Britain for assistance
- 1910** The Chinese Army, with 2,000 troops led by Zhao Erfeng (Chao Erh-Feng), invades Tibet and enters Lhasa. The Dalai Lama flees to India. Tibetans continue to fight Chinese until they are expelled.
- 1911** In Beijing the Qing (Manchu) Dynasty is overthrown and the Republic of China was formed under Yuan Shikai (Yuan Shih-Kai), who declared Tibet, Xinjiang

- (East Turkestan) and Mongolia to be provinces of China
- 1912** Tibet expels the Chinese. Thirteenth Dalai Lama returns to Tibet. Throughout the country Tibetans rose up against the Chinese. 12th August: the Chinese signed a Surrender Agreement with the Tibetans and were obliged to return to China via India
- 1913** Thirteenth Dalai Lama proclaims Tibet's independence.
- 1914** Tibet, Great Britain and China attended the Simla Convention as equal powers and initially, Chinese withdrew, a declaration was signed by the plenipotentiaries of Britain and Tibet.
- 1918** Tibetan troops advanced to the East and defeated the Chinese
- 1920** Sir Charles Bell was sent to Lhasa as British representative to reassure the Tibetans of British support for its self-rule and self-defense
- 1923** The Panchen Lama, distrusted for his close relations with the Chinese, owing to the dispute over his tax liability to the Tibetan Government fled to China
- 1935** Fourteenth Dalai Lama Tenzin Gyatso born
- 1940** Tenzin Gyatso, the 14th Dalai Lama was enthroned at Lhasa
- 1941-44** Tibet remained neutral during the Second World War and refused permission for the Americans or the Chinese nationalists to transport military supplies through Tibetan territory.
- 1947** Tibet send a Delegation to India, China, Britain and the USA to discuss trade and to open formal relations abroad
- 1949** In China the People's Liberation Army overpowered the Nationalists (KMT), and on October 1st, Mao Zedong proclaimed the People's Republic of China. The 10th Panchen Lama, then 11 years old,

telegraphed Mao Tsetung asking him to “unify the motherland”. The PLA announced its intention to “liberate Tibet from foreign imperialists”.

1950 The 14th Dalai Lama, then 15 years old, took over the charge of running the Government.

October 7th: the Chinese crossed the Yangtse into Central Tibet and destroyed the small garrison force at Chamdo, and claimed that Tibet had always been Chinese territory. India objected this action and Tibet filed protest with United Nations. Security Council approved British proposal to let the parties negotiate among themselves.

1951 May 23rd: The Tibetans, led by Ngapo Ngawang Jigme, sign the 17-Point Agreement, promising cultural and political autonomy but relinquishing independence and making Tibet a “national autonomous region” of China

October 24th: the agreement was ratified by the Dalai Lama and the National Assembly

1954 April 29th: India and China signs a treaty enunciating the ‘Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence’, and recognizing China’s claim over Tibet. Revolt grows in Eastern Tibet when the Chinese begin destroying monasteries and imposing collectivization. The Tibetan resistance movement and the Voluntary National Defense Army was formed.

1955 Preparatory Committee of the Tibet Autonomous Region was set up with the Dalai Lama as Chairman and Panchen Lama and Zhang Guohua as deputy chairman.

1956 Dalai Lama went to India for the Buddha Jayanti and asked Nehru that he wants to stay; Zhou Enlai and Mao promised that there would be no forced reforms in Tibet

1959 10th March: thousands of Tibetans took to the streets in Lhasa.

March 17th: The Dalai Lama fled to India; 80,000 other Tibetans followed him.

March 19th: Tibetan troops join the uprising against the Chinese.

March 23rd: Uprising suppressed. The Chinese dissolved the Tibetan local Government and imposed military Government, fronted by the Panchen Lama, and in April “democratic reforms” started. Thousands of Tibetans were executed, imprisoned, or sent to labour camps. Destruction of monasteries begun.

- 1959-1961** The ‘Great Leap Forward’ led to widespread famine, with up to 30 million believed to have died in China and many thousands in Tibet.
- 1962** October 20th: Sino - India arm conflict over border dispute
- 1965** September 9th: The PRC government formally established Tibet Autonomous Region(TAR). The Cultural Revolution begun, destroying 90% of the remaining monasteries and outlawing most Tibetan cultural traditions and religion. The UN passed a resolution supporting the Tibetan people’s right to self-determination.
- 1967** During Chinese Cultural Revolution, Tibetan temples, monasteries, libraries, and sacred monuments destroyed.
- 1976** The Cultural Revolution ended with the death of Mao Tsetung. The Chinese acknowledged “past mistakes in Tibet”, blaming them on the ultra-leftist policies of the Gang of Four.
- 1979** Deng Xiaoping initiated a policy of opening up to the outside world. China allowed a fact-finding mission to Tibet for the first time since coming into exile in 1959. The delegates are greeted by demonstrations calling for independence and the return of the Dalai Lama; many demonstrators are imprisoned.

- 1980** Party Secretary Hu Yao-bang visited Tibet and initiated liberalizations allowing some private trade, outward display of religious activities, and the recall of several thousand Chinese cadres.
- 1983** Dalai Lama sent negotiating team to Beijing, but talk collapses in 1984.
- 1987** September 21st: Delivers historic Five Point Peace Plan for Tibet in Washington, D.C. to members of the U.S. Congress.
- September 27th: pro-independence demonstration led by 21 monks broke out in Lhasa
- October 1st: Police open fired on crowd of 2-3,000 demonstrators, killing at least 9. Foreign journalists and tourists expelled.
- 1988** March 5th: Major demonstration held on last day of Monlam Festival in Lhasa; hundreds of arrests followed. Chinese policeman and several Tibetans were killed.
- June: His Holiness The Dalai Lama delivers historic Strasbourg Proposal for Tibet in Strasbourg, France to members of the European Parliament
- 1989** January 29th: Panchen Lama died whilst visiting Shigatse
- March 5th: police open fired on a small group of demonstrators in Lhasa. The demonstrations intensified involving over 10,000 people. Up to 200 people were killed by security forces before martial law was imposed in Lhasa on
- March 7th. At least 400 were arrested. The PLA took over the city and all foreign tourists, journalists and diplomats were expelled.
- October 5th: His Holiness the Dalai Lama awarded Nobel Peace Prize.
- 1990** April: expulsion of politically suspected monks and nuns from monasteries in Tibet.

May 1st: martial law was lifted. However different restrictions on foreign visitors and journalists remained in force. Small demonstrations continued in the capital but most were dealt with rapidly by increased presence of armed police.

July: Chinese Party Secretary and President Jiang Zemin visited Tibet, called for dual policy of “security and development”, ushered in “active” or low-profile policing. He was accompanied by Chi Haotian, chief of Defense Staff, suggesting that the visit has military objectives.

October: First foreign official allowed to visit a Tibetan prison.

In exile Dalai Lama was officially received by Swedish, Dutch, and French Governments, and privately by Czech and German Presidents.

1991 May 23rd: Chinese organized obligatory celebrations throughout Tibet to observe 40th Anniversary of the “Peaceful Liberation” since 1951 when the 17 Point Agreement was signed.

Tibet declared “open” to foreign investment, although this appeared to focus on investment from mainland China and overseas Chinese.

1992 March: Deng Xiaoping’s “spring tide” or call for high speed implementation of economic reforms to introduce the “socialist market economy” reached Tibet.

1993 Since April, migration of Chinese entrepreneurs and petty traders into Tibet increased noticeably.

May 24th: Major demonstration by about 1,000 Tibetans in Lhasa over price rises became a pro-independence protest, largest since 1989; police used tear gas and firearms to disperse crowd, some injured.

September: relations between the Dalai Lama and Beijing abruptly came to an end.

1994

January: Gendun Rinchen, a tourist guide released in apparent concession to international pressure

April: Wei Jingsheng, China's leading dissident, re-arrested in Beijing during visit by US Secretary of State

May 26th: Clinton announced dropping of all human rights conditions attached to China-US trade

July: Chinese leaders held the "Third National Work Conference on Tibet" in Beijing to rubber stamp implementation of even faster economic development for the "three rivers" area around Lhasa and to impose restrictions on spread of religion.

August 9th: Chinese staged celebrations to mark the re-opening of the Potala after 5 years of renovations

November 26th: UN Special Rapporteur on Religious Intolerance arrives in Lhasa, the first UN human rights visit to China. He meets Yulo and issued highly critical report, calling on China to change its constitution and release all monks and nuns from prison. On the same day official statements ordered ban on unauthorized construction of monasteries and on more people becoming monks or nuns.

1995

January to March: 16 demonstrations took place in Lhasa calling for independence and over 100 political activists were arrested.

January 30th: public denunciation campaign initiated against the Dalai Lama.

March: Over 60 monks expelled from Nalaridra monastery north of Lhasa after officials are sent to "reorganize" the monastery.

May 17th: Chinese arrest Chadrel Rinpoche, abbot of Tashi Lhunpo who headed the search team for the child Panchen Lama, Gendun Choekyi Nyima. The child and his family are removed under escort from their home, apparently to a holding place in Beijing.

Troops of 5,000 military personnel were reportedly moved into Shigatse

July 13th: Up to 30 monks arrested from Tashi Lhunpo monastery after protesting against the denunciation of Chadrel Rinpoche. All foreign tourists expelled from Shigatse.

September 1st: Chinese hold celebrations to mark the 30th anniversary of the founding of the Tibet Autonomous Region amid tight security and without any foreigners present.

November 11th: Chinese press announce that leading lamas at a closed meeting in Beijing have agreed to reject Gendun Choekyi Nyima as the Panchen Lama and to select a different child as the reincarnation of the Panchen Lama.

December: The Chinese installed 5-year old Gyaltsen Norbu as the Panchen Lama. Gendun Choekyi Nyima, who was recognized by the Dalai Lama as the Panchen Lama was condemned by China's official press for having once drowned a dog. His whereabouts remain still unknown.

1996 January 18th: bomb exploded at the house of Sengchen Lobsang Gyaltsen, main supporter of the Chinese in the Panchen Lama succession dispute.

1997 November: President Jiang Zemin of China visited U.S. Many demonstrations were held protesting against the human rights abuses in China, in particular, the repression of religion and other fundamental freedoms in Tibet.

1998 March: Six members of the Tibetan Youth Congress undertake an unto-death fast in New Delhi to pressure the United Nations to implement the ICJ recommendations. Delhi police break up the fast. One TYC supporter, Thubten Ngodup, dies from self-immolation.

- October 5: China's sign the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR).
- 1999** June: The World Bank approves a controversial US\$160 million loan to China to resettle some 58,000 Chinese farmers in Qinghai (Amdo), threatening the cultural survival of the local Tibetan nomadic people.
- 2000** Jan: The 17th Karmarpa, 14-year-old Orgyen Trinley Dorje, flees from Chinese rule in Tibet and arrives in India.
- 2001** March: The Dalai Lama announces his decision to hand over all administrative responsibilities of the exile Tibetan administration to the directly elected Prime Minister and parliament.
- On April 1, President Jiang Zemin ordered the re-launch of a "Strike Hard Campaign," in Tibet, which involved cases of arrests, torture, and long-term imprisonment for mere expression of support of Tibetan independence and the Dalai Lama.
- June: China starts the construction of a railroad between Gormu in Amdo and Lhasa.
- Sept: First direct democratic elections held by the Tibetan people for the post of Kalon Tripa (Prime Minister) in the history of Tibet.
- 2002** April 7: Tulku Tenzin Delek, a highly-respected lama in Lithang County, Karze "TAP", Sichuan Province, and his four attendants were arrested by Sichuan PSB officers on suspected involvement in a series of bomb blast incidents at Chengdu.
- 2003** June: Indian Prime Minister AB Vajpayee signs a joint Sino-Indian Agreement and says "the Tibetan Autonomous region is part of the territory of People's Republic of China"
- 2004** October 19: In its attempt to intensify hard-line policies, the People's Republic of China (PRC) has re-launched the "strike hard", first initiated in 1984,

campaign to systematically curtail Tibetan political dissent and to control religious institutions.

2006 July 1: PRC government launched the 1,956-km Gormo (Golmud)-Lhasa railway, one year ahead of the original plans, linking Tibet for the first time to China's main rail network, calling it Qinghai-Tibet Railway.

In September 30, the Chinese People's Armed Police (PAP) open fired without warning at the 71 unarmed fleeing Tibetans, resulting with one death and injured another at Nangpa La Pass, an 18,753 ft. pass close to Everest base camp. The live footage of the shooting was aired around the World.

2007 July 13: Order No 5, a decree on "Management measures for the reincarnation of living Buddhas in Tibetan Buddhism," was passed by the State Administration of Religious Affairs on July 13, 2007, and takes effect from September 1, 2007.

October 17: In a formal ceremony held on 17 October in Washington D. C., President George W. Bush presents the US Congressional Gold Medal to His Holiness the Dalai Lama. The CTA declares the day as a national holiday.

2008 March 10: Pro-independence demonstration broke out all over Tibet (in and outside TAR) after 7 monks staged a peaceful demonstration in the Barkhor area of Lhasa, the capital city of Tibet, carrying three Tibetan national flags.

April 3: More than 1,000 people have been arrested or turned themselves in to police after deadly rioting last month in the Tibetan capital of Lhasa, the city's deputy Communist Party secretary said.

June 10: The United States and the European Union draft joint declaration calling on China to have "results-orientated" talks on Tibet with the Dalai Lama's representatives.

September 17: The resolution introduced by Senators Gordon Smith (R-OR) and Russell Feingold (D-WI), which was approved unanimously by the U.S. Senate. The US Senate passed a resolution calling for earnest negotiations between the representatives of His Holiness the Dalai and the Chinese government for a mutually agreeable solution that addresses the legitimate grievances of the Tibetan people.

October 31: 'Memorandum on Genuine Autonomy for the Tibetan People' presented to the Chinese leadership during the 8th round of talks held between the representatives of Tibetan and the Chinese at Beijing.

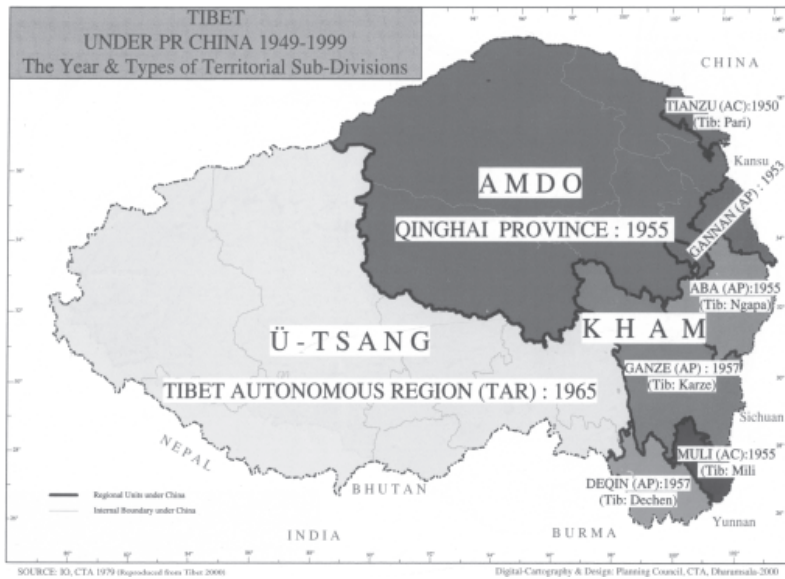
November 17 – 22: 581 delegates representing Tibetan people based in 19 different countries attended the first special general meeting on Tibet at Dharamsala.

December 10: More than 300 Chinese activists, including lawyers, writers, scholars and artists, issued an online statement 'Charter '08 calling for greater freedoms and amend to China's one-party rule.

December 12: UN Chief Ban Ki-moon urges China to pursue sincere dialogue on Tibet.

2009

March 31: A five-day 'Thank You India' festival held at New Delhi from March 26 – 31, 2009 announced the year long commemoration of 50 Years in Exile to express the Tibetan peoples' profound gratitude to the people and government of India for extending their moral and material generosity during the last 50 years.



Population: The total population in Tibet is 6 million out of this 2.03 million live in the "TAR" and the rest in the Tibetan area outside the "TAR".

WHAT IS TIBET AUTONOMOUS REGION (TAR)

This so called Tibet Autonomous Region, created in 1965 is less than half the landmass of Tibet with only one-third of the total Tibetan population (Tibet refers to the entity consisting of U-Tsang, Kham and Amdo provinces. It should not be confused to mean only the "Tibetan Autonomous Region")

Land Size: 2.5 million square kilometers, which includes U-Tsang, Kham and Amdo provinces. "Tibet Autonomous Region" consisting of U-Tsang and a small portion of Kham, is 1.2 million square Kilometers. The bulk of Tibet lies outside the "TAR".

Administration: Under Chinese rule, Tibet is divided into the following administrative units:

1. *Tibet Autonomous Region*
2. Qinghai Province.
3. Tianzu Tibetan Autonomous County and Gannan Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture in Gansu province.
4. Aba Tibetan-Qiang Autonomous Prefecture and Mili Tibetan Autonomous County in Sichuan Province.
5. Dechen Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture in Yunnan Province.

TIBET UNDER COMMUNIST CHINA'S OCCUPATION

- More than 1.2 million Tibetans have been killed.
- More than 6,000 monasteries have been destroyed.
- Thousands of Tibetans are still imprisoned for exercising their fundamental rights.
- Tibet's natural resources and fragile ecology are being irreversibly destroyed.
- There are evidences suggesting that Tibet is being used for dumping of nuclear wastes.
- In the whole of Tibet 7.5 million Chinese settlers have already outnumbered the Tibetan population of 6 million.
- Tibet, once a peaceful buffer state between India and China, has been transformed into a vast military base.

PRESENT TIBET AND ITS CRITICAL SITUATION

UNIVERSAL HUMAN RIGHTS

By the end of 1998, the People's Republic of China had signed the three covenants comprising the International Bill of Rights, but it is still far from implementing these domestically and in Tibet. Individual and collective rights abuses continue to challenge the Tibetan people in their daily lives and in the future survival of their unique cultural identity.

A case in point is the Nangpa La shooting incident of 30 September 2006 — which claimed two Tibetan lives and the arrest of some 30 Tibetans, including 14 children. Not only does this incident show the height of human rights violations taking place in Tibet, but also the impunity with which the Chinese border police commit these rights abuses. Following this tragedy, the Public Security Bureaus (PSBs) in the "TAR" have been instructed to curb illegal crossings during the first half of 2007, calling it a part of their "strike hard" campaign against splittism to ensure stability in the region. As a result, border patrolling has been strengthened and stringent methods are employed to prevent any Tibetan from escaping repression.

The Tibetan Government-in-Exile solemnly relays that the Chinese government's treatment of Tibetans in Tibet is still in breach of the rights to life, liberty and security, and the freedoms of expression, religion, culture and education. Today, in Tibet:

- Any expression of opinion contrary to Chinese Communist Party ideology can result in an arrest.
- The Chinese government has systematically covered religious institutions with police presence in an attempt to eradicate allegiance to the Dalai Lama, Tibetan nationalism and any dissention.
- Tibetans are subject to arbitrary arrest and detention.
- Those imprisoned are often denied legal representation and

Chinese legal proceedings fail to meet international standards.

- Torture still prevails in Chinese prisons and detention centers despite being in contradiction with the United Nations Convention Against Torture.
- Tibetan women are subjected to enforced sterilization, contraception and abortion procedures.
- Due to subsistence difficulties, inadequate facilities and discriminatory measures, many Tibetan children are denied access to adequate healthcare and schooling.
- The rate of imprisonment for political reasons is far greater than in other areas under Chinese rule.
- Children are not exempt from China's repression of freedom of expression. There are Tibetan political prisoners below the age of 18, and child monks and nuns are consistently dismissed from their religious institutions. China has recently declared Tibet to be non-Buddhist.
- Enforced disappearances (where a person is taken into custody and the details of their detention are not disclosed) continue to occur.
- The eighteen year-old 11th Panchen Lama has been missing since his status was announced in 1995.
- More than 70 per cent of Tibetans in Tibet now live below the poverty line.
- According to TCHRD's 2009 annual report, although it is certain that the total figures may be far greater than that documented by the Centre, a total of 1,542 known Tibetans continue to remain in detention or are serving prison sentences since spring 2008.

Continual international pressure is essential in encouraging the Chinese government to abide by the regulations of the covenants of human rights.

THE ENVIRONMENT

Situated at the heart of Asia, Tibet is one of the most environmentally strategic and sensitive regions in the world. Tibetans live in harmony with nature, guided by their Buddhist belief in the interdependence of both living and non-living elements of the earth. However with the invasion of Tibet, the consumerist and materialistic Chinese Communist ideology trampled upon this nature-friendly attitude of the Tibetan people. The past 50 years has seen widespread environmental destruction resulting in deforestation, soil erosion, and extinction of wildlife, overgrazing, uncontrolled mining and nuclear waste dumping. Today, the Chinese continue to extract various natural resources - often with foreign backing - without any environmental safeguards, and consequently Tibet is facing an environmental crisis the ramifications of which will be felt far beyond its borders.

Deforestation

Tibet boasts some of the finest quality forest reserves in the world. Having taken hundreds of years to grow, many trees stand 90 feet high with a girth of 5 feet or more. China's "development" and "modernization" plans for Tibet are seeing these forests indiscriminately destroyed. In 1959, 25.2 million hectares of forest were found in Tibet, but in 1985 the Chinese had reduced forest-coverage to 13.57 million hectares. Over 46 per cent of Tibet's forest has been destroyed and in some areas this figure is as high as 80 per cent. Between 1959 and 1985, the Chinese removed US\$54 billion worth of timber from Tibet. Deforestation, and inadequate reforestation programs, has a profound effect on wildlife and leads to soil erosion and changing global weather patterns.

Soil Erosion and Flooding

Massive deforestation, mining and intensified agricultural patterns in Tibet have led to increased soil erosion and the siltation of some of Asia's most important rivers. Siltation of the Mekong, Yangtze, Indus, Brahmaputra, Salween and Yellow rivers raises riverbeds to cause major floods such as those Asia has experienced in recent years. In 1987-88, Brahmaputra River caused 35% or more of total flooding in India. This in turn causes landslides and reduces potential farming land, thus affecting half the world's population which lives downstream from Tibet.

Melting Down of Tibet's Vast Glacier

Recently Tibetan Plateau has been named as 'The Third Pole' and 'The Water Tower of Asia' in valuing its snow capped mountains and its river sources. The Tibetan Plateau contains more than 46,000 glaciers covering an area of 105,000 sq.km, the most glaciated region on earth. According to statistics from Tibet weather bureau, average temperatures in Tibet have risen 0.9 centigrade since 1980s, and it's glacier coverage shrinking at 7% annually. Chinese researchers also claimed that even if global warming did not worsen, the region's glaciers would be reduced by nearly a third by 2050 and up to half by 2090, at the current rate. As Tibet vast glaciers are the source of its 10 major rivers and about 90% of the Tibetan rivers' runoff flows downstream to 11 different countries of South Asia. For example: The glacier, named Zepu, has lost more than 100 yards of thickness, all in the last three decades, largely because of rising temperatures in the region. Working with scientists from Ohio State University, Dr. Yao has documented similar losses all over Tibet, the largest and loftiest highlands on earth, and home to the biggest concentration of alpine glaciers anywhere.

Global Climatic Effects

Scientists have observed a correlation between natural vegetation on the Tibetan Plateau and the stability of the monsoon, which is indispensable to the bread-baskets of south Asia. Scientists have also shown that the environment of the Tibetan Plateau affects jet streams, which are related to the cause of Pacific typhoons, and the El Nino phenomenon, which has had adverse environmental effects worldwide.

Extinction of Wildlife

In 1901, the 13th Dalai Lama issued a decree banning the hunting of wild animals in Tibet. Unfortunately, the Chinese have not enforced similar restrictions and instead the "trophy-hunting" of endangered species had been actively encouraged in the last five decades. There are at least 81 endangered species on the Tibetan Plateau of which 39 are mammals, 37 birds, four amphibians and one a reptile. Perhaps the most famous of these is the Giant Panda, an animal native to Tibet yet one that is propagated by the Chinese as their national mascot.

Uncontrolled mining

Extraction of borax, chromium, salt, copper, coal, gold and uranium is being vigorously developed by the Chinese government as a means of providing raw materials for industrial growth. Seven of China's 15 key minerals are expected to run out within a decade and consequently the extraction of minerals in Tibet is increasing in a rapid and unregulated manner. Now with the arrival of railway and further plan to extent the railway network, there is great potential of increasing the extraction. Increasing mining activities further reduces vegetation cover and thereby increasing the danger for severe landslides, massive soil erosion, loss of wildlife habitat and the pollution of streams and rivers.

Nuclear waste dumping

Once a peaceful buffer state between India and China, Tibet has been militarized to the point of holding at least 300,000 Chinese troops and up to one quarter of China's nuclear arsenal. The Chinese brought their first nuclear weapon into the Tibetan Plateau in 1971. Today, it appears the Chinese are using Tibet as a dumping ground for nuclear waste. In 1984, China Nuclear Industry Corporation offered western countries nuclear waste disposal facilities at US\$1500 per kilogram.

Mysterious deaths of Tibetans and livestock residing close to China's nuclear sites have been reported. In addition, there has been incidence of waterway contamination where the local Chinese populations were officially warned against using the water but the local Tibetans were not. China continues to control the Tibetan Plateau without any regard for its fragile ecology or for the rightful inhabitants of the land.

Building Road to Mount Everest

China has now embarked on constructing a 108-km motorable road to Mount Everest, located along the Tibet-Nepal frontier, as a part of torch relay of Beijing Olympic 2008. This will directly have much greater impacts on the glaciers of the Himalayan, since this will draw in more tourists that will lead to more human activities such as constructions of hotels, consumption of more fossil fuel to reach up, more emissions and more wastes.

The Beijing – Lhasa Railway line

The railway line connecting Gormo(Golmud) to Lhasa has been operative since July 1st 2006. The Chinese government now plans to extend the railway network towards Shigatse (South-West) and Tsethang (South-East). This move will enable the Beijing government to deploy troops rapidly and easily to quell unrest in Tibet and expand its military, political and economic hegemony in the region. According to China Tibet online report, 1.37 million tourist visited TAR in the month of August 2009, generating income of 146.4 million US dollar to the PRC.

Diversion of Tibet's Mighty Rivers

China is tapping Tibet's entire river system on which lives of billions of people in the downstream region is depended. China has the greatest number of dams in world (80,000) with over 22,000 dams of large size and still is planning to build series of 13 dams on Salween river and many more on the Mekong River. A massive and environmentally hazardous project of diverting Brahmaputra River to feed the China's parched northern region has been on the news in the recent time. Such project will not only displace thousands of people but also has negative affect in the downstream region. Meanwhile, rural Tibetans continue to suffer high rates of water borne diseases, hepatitis and back pain due to inadequate village water supplies. Moreover, developments on these rivers are often carried out without consulting the downstream nations.

CULTURE AND RELIGION

China's relentless destruction of religion in Tibet saw the loss of over 6000 monasteries and countless religious artifacts during the Cultural Revolution and, today, the Communist authority's approach to religion has changed little. In 1996 the "Strike Hard" campaign was launched, specifically targeting Tibetan Buddhism. This campaign has been vehemently pursued in recent years. On 19 October 2004, in its attempt to intensify hard-line policies, the People's Republic of China (PRC) re-launched the "strike hard" campaign, first initiated in 1984, to systematically curtail Tibetan political dissent and to control religious institutions.

Denouncing Tibet's Spiritual Leaders

Under Patriotic re-education campaign, Tibetans were forced to denounce H.H the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama Gendun Choekyi Nyima recognized by H.H the Dalai Lama , Tibetans must pledge their allegiance to the Chinese government. Failure to do so can result in imprisonment or other forms of punishment. Possessing an image of the Dalai Lama is today illegal in Tibet.

Now China is tightening control over Tibetan Buddhism with a new law passed on 13 July 2007 by China's State Administration of Religious Affairs, requiring government permission for the reincarnation of lamas, thereby discarding the centuries old Tibetan tradition of religious practice. This is another attempt by communist Chinese leadership to undermine Tibetan culture and even absurdly to control the afterlife of Tibetan religious figures.

Population transfer

The continued population transfer of Chinese to Tibet in recent years has seen the Tibetans become a minority in their own land. Today 6 million Tibetans are outnumbered by 7.5 million Chinese in Tibet. This figure doesn't include millions of Chinese military personals and other unregistered Chinese immigrants. Under the guise of economic and social development, the calculated and government-encouraged population transfers have marginalized Tibetans in economic, educational, political and social spheres, and thereby threaten to quash Tibetan culture. The railway line between Gormo and Lhasa, which was officially opened in July 2006, has given further impetus to this vicious policy of flooding Tibet with Chinese migrants, and thus making it demographically impossible for the Tibetans to rise up as in the case of Inner Mongolia and Xinjiang. It is estimated that the railway brings some 5,000 to 6,000 Chinese to Lhasa everyday. Out of these, 2,000 to 3,000 return to their homes in China and the rest of them settle in Tibet indefinitely. If this trend continues unabated, it will not be long before what many perceive as Beijing's "final solution" to the question of Tibet will have achieved its desired goal.

Education

Under the rule of government of PRC, education in Tibet has deteriorated immensely as it has been treated as a vehicle to propagate and strengthen CCP's grip on Tibet. The poor condition

of the schools, low quality of teaching and designing of a curriculum to brainwash the children in socialist ideologies and discouragement of children from speaking their own language and learning their own history triggers the painful decision to flee into exile where there is an opportunity of receiving broad-based modern education.

In monasteries, the heart of Tibetan academia and debate, Chinese government “work teams” are being sent to forcibly “re-educate” monks and nuns in their political and religious beliefs. Their methods are similar to those imposed during the Cultural Revolution, between 1996 and 1998 the “Strike Hard” campaign saw 492 monks and nuns arrested and 9,977 being expelled from their religious institution by the Chinese. In July 2003, authorities closed Tsang-Sul, a privately run school in Lhasa dedicated to preserving the Tibetan language.

Economy

In an ethnically exclusionary economic growth, the development projects do not bring direct benefit to the Tibetans. The state is obsessed with projects involving resource extractions rather than the development of human capacity. This is evident in the UN Human Development Report in where Tibet’s human development index is at the bottom of all of the PRC’s provinces.

Disparities and inequality in education has resulted in the further economic marginalization of Tibetans and they are precluded from employment opportunities on account of inferior education forced upon them. Since the Chinese settlers possess advanced education and Chinese language abilities, many Tibetans are unable to compete with them in getting jobs.

The high level of illiteracy results in Tibetans being at a significant disadvantage in protecting their human rights and in enjoying the rights of citizenship. Making the matter worse is the fact that ethnic Han Chinese continue to hold top CCP positions in nearly all counties and prefectures making it ever difficult for Tibetans to have a say in decision making.

**Tibet and UN
United Nations General Assembly,
Resolution 1353 (XIV)**

Ireland and Malaya requested consideration of "The Question of Tibet" in the UN General Assembly. Resolution 1353 (XIV) was adopted by a vote of 45 to 9, with 26 abstentions.

21 October, 1959

The General Assembly,

Recalling the principles regarding fundamental human rights and freedoms set out in the Charter of the United Nations and in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted by the General Assembly on 10 December 1948,

Considering that the fundamental human rights and freedoms to which the Tibetan people, like all others, are entitled include the right to civil and religious liberty for all without distinction,

Mindful also of the distinctive cultural and religious heritage traditionally enjoyed,

Gravely concerned at reports, including the official statements of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, to the effect that the fundamental human rights and freedoms of the people of Tibet have been forcibly denied them,

Deploring the effect of these events in increasing international tension and embittering the relations between peoples at a time when earnest and positive efforts are being made by responsible leaders to reduce tension and improve international relations,

1. *Affirms* its belief that respect for the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights is essential for the evolution of a peaceful world order based on the rule of law;
2. *Calls* for respect for the fundamental human rights of the Tibetan people and for their distinctive cultural and religious life.

United Nations General Assembly, Resolution 1723 (XVI)

Malaya, Thailand, Ireland and El Salvador requested 2nd consideration of "The Question of Tibet" in the UN General Assembly. Resolution 1723 (XVI) was adopted by the General Assembly by a vote of 56 to 11, with 29 abstentions.

20 December 1961

The General Assembly,

Recalling its Resolution 1353 (XIV) of 21 October 1959 on the question of Tibet,

Gravely concerned at the continuation of events in Tibet, including the violation of the fundamental human rights of the Tibetan people and the suppression of the distinctive cultural and religious life which they have traditionally enjoyed,

Noting with deep anxiety the severe hardships which these events have inflicted on the Tibetan people, as evidenced by the large-scale exodus of Tibetan refugees to the neighbouring countries,

Considering that these events violate fundamental human rights and freedoms set out in the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, including the principle of self-determination of peoples and nations, and have the deplorable effect of increasing international tension and embittering relations between peoples,

1. *Reaffirms its conviction* that respect for the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights is essential for the evolution of a peaceful world order based on the rule of law;
2. *Solemnly renews its call* for the cessation of practices which deprive the Tibetan people of their fundamental human rights and freedoms, including the right to self-determination;

3. *Expresses the hope* that Member States will make all possible efforts, as appropriate, towards achieving the purposes of the present resolution.



United Nations General Assembly, Resolution 2079 (XX)

El Salvador, Ireland, Malaysia, Malta, Nicaragua, Philippines, and Thailand requested 3rd consideration of "The Question of Tibet" in the UN General Assembly. Resolution 2079 (XX) was adopted by the General Assembly by a vote of 43 to 26, with 22 abstentions.

18 December 1965

The General Assembly,

Bearing in mind the principles relating to human rights and fundamental freedoms set forth in the Charter of the United Nations and proclaimed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights,

Reaffirming its resolutions 1353 (XIV) of 21 October 1959 and 1723 (XVI) of 20 December 1961 on the question of Tibet,

Gravely concerned at the continued violation of the fundamental rights and freedoms of the people of Tibet and the continued suppression of their distinctive cultural and religious life, as evidenced by the exodus of refugees to the neighbouring countries,

1. *Deplores* the continued violation of the fundamental rights and freedoms of the people of Tibet;
2. *Reaffirms* that respect for the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights is essential for the evolution of a peaceful world order based on the rule of law;

3. *Declares its conviction* that the violation of human rights and fundamental freedoms in Tibet and the suppression of the distinctive cultural and religious life of its people increase international tension and embitter relations between peoples;

4. *Solemnly renews* its call for the cessation of all practices which deprive the Tibetan people of the human rights and fundamental freedoms which they have always enjoyed;

Appeals to all States to use their best endeavors to achieve the purposes of the present resolution.



INDIAN LEADERS ON TIBET

C. Rajagopalachari, the last Governor-General of India, on Tibet

Brutal Colonialism in Tibet:

The issue of Tibet is not a question of legalistic exploration as to the sovereignty of Tibet but a question of human rights, which must be decided on the plane of justice and humanity and not on the basis of any legal puzzle.

His Holiness the Dalai Lama in his message had made thing quite clear and pointed out how even on a legalistic plain there can be no doubt about the rights of the Tibetan people to rule themselves irrespective of any belonging to other nationalities. This invasion of Tibet, which resulted in His Holiness taking refuge in Indian territory is brutal colonialism. There can, therefore, be no second thoughts in the matter. All Indian people wants Tibet to be released from the grip of China.



Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the first President of Indian Republic, on Tibet

(Excerpts from his last public speech, Gandhi Maidan, Patna, 24 October, 1962)

FREEDOM is the most sacred boon. It has to be protected by all means – violent or non – violent. Therefore, Tibet has to be liberated from the iron grip of China and handed over to the Tibetans...

The Chinese invaders have plundered Tibet and destroyed its peaceful citizens. Tibet is nearer to India in religion and culture. We have to, therefore, try hard to rescue Tibet from the bloody clutches of plunderer and let its people breathe in free air. If China stealthily infiltrates our land, they should be ruthlessly turned back.

The world stands witness to the fact that India has never cast a vicious glance on any country. But in war, we have to give a fight at any place or land convenient to us in facing enemy.

When we were raising slogan of 'Hindi-Chini, Bhai-Bhai', China was busy nibbling our land and through brute betrayal captured about 12 thousand square miles of our land. It is imperative that like a disciplined nation, we should face the invaders. There is no doubt that we will clear our motherland of these invaders.



Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the first Prime Minister of India, on Tibet

(i) Address to the Lok Sabha, 7 December, 1950:

Since Tibet is not the same as China, it should ultimately be the wishes of the people of Tibet that should prevail and not any legal or constitutional arguments. That, I think, is a valid point.

I can see no difficulty in saying to the Chinese Government that whether they have suzerainty or sovereignty over Tibet, surely, according to any principles, principles they proclaim and the principles I uphold, the last voice in regard to Tibet should be the voice of the people of Tibet and of nobody else.

(ii) Statement to the Lok Sabha, 27 April, 1959:

When premier Chou En Lai came here two or three years ago, he was good enough to discuss Tibet with me at considerable length. We had a frank and full talk. He told me that while Tibet had long been a part of China, they did not consider Tibet as a province of China. The people are different from the people of China proper. Therefore, they considered Tibet as an autonomous region, which could enjoy autonomy. He told me further that it was absurd for anyone to imagine that China was going to force communism on Tibet.

(iii) **His Last Letter, 24 May, 1964:**

Dehradun

May 24, 1964

My dear Dr. Gopal Singh,

Your letter of the 20th May. It is not clear to me what we can do about Tibet in present circumstances. To have a resolution in the United Nations about Tibet will not mean much as China is not represented there. We are not indifferent to what has happened in Tibet. But we are unable to do anything effective about it.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd) Jawaharlal Nehru.



**Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, the first Deputy Prime Minister of India,
on Tibet**

(Excerpts from his letter to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru)

New Delhi

7 November, 1950

My dear Jawaharlal,

The Chinese Government has tried to delude us by professions of peaceful intentions. My own feeling is that at a crucial period they managed to instill into our ambassador a false sense of confidence in their so-called desire to settle the Tibetan problem by peaceful means.

The final action of the Chinese, in my judgment, is little short of perfidy. The tragedy of it is that the Tibetans put faith in us; they

chose to be guided by us; and we have been unable to get them out of the meshes of Chinese diplomacy or Chinese malevolence. From the latest position, it appears that we shall not be able to rescue the Dalai Lama.

It is impossible to imagine any sensible person believing in the so-called threat to China from Anglo-American machinations in Tibet.

During the last several months, outside the Russian camp, we have practically been alone in championing the cause of Chinese entry into the UN and in securing from the Americans assurances on the question of Formosa.

I doubt if we can go any further than we have done already to convince China of our good intentions, friendliness and goodwill. Their last telegram to us is an act of gross discourtesy not only in the summary way it disposes of our protest against the entry of Chinese forces into Tibet but also in the wild insinuation that our attitude is determined by foreign influences. It looks as though it is not a friend speaking in that language but a potential enemy.

We have to consider what new situation now faces us as a result of the disappearance of Tibet, as we knew, it and the expansion of China almost up to our gates. Throughout history we have seldom been worried about our northeast frontier. The Himalayas have been regarded as an impenetrable barrier against any threat from the north. We had a friendly Tibet, which gave us no trouble.

We seem to have regarded Tibetan autonomy as extending independent treaty relationship. The undefined state of the frontier and the existence on our side of the population with its affinities to Tibetans or Chinese have all the elements of potential trouble between China and ourselves.

Chinese ambitions in this respect not only cover the Himalayan slopes on our side but also include important parts of Assam. They have their ambitions in Burma also. Burma has the added difficulty that it has no McMahan Line round which to build up even the semblance of an agreement.

Our northern or north-eastern approaches consist of Nepal, Bhutan, and Sikkim, the Darjeeling [area] and tribal areas in Assam. From the point of view of communications, they are weak spots. Continuous defensive lines do not exist. There is almost an unlimited scope for infiltration.

In my judgment, the situation is one in which we cannot afford either to be complacent or to be vacillating. We must have a clear idea of what we wish to achieve and also of the methods by which we should achieve it.

Side by side with these dangers, we shall now have to face serious internal problems as well. I have already asked [H.V.R] Jenger to send to the E.A. Ministry a copy of the Intelligence Bureau's appreciation of these matters.

It is, of course, impossible for me to be exhaustive in setting out all these problems. I am, however, giving below some of the problems which, in my opinion, require early solution and around which we have to build our administrative or military policies and measures to implement them.

- a) A military and intelligence appreciation of the Chinese threat to India both on the frontier and to internal security.
- b) An examination of our military position.
- c) An appraisal of the strength of our forces.
- d) A long-term consideration of our defence needs.
- e) The question of Chinese entry into UN.
- f) The political and administrative steps which we should take to strengthen our northern and north-eastern frontiers.
- g) Measures of internal security in the border areas well as the States flanking those areas, such as U.P., Bihar, Bengal and Assam.
- h) Improvement of our communications, road, rail, air and wireless, in these areas and with the frontier outposts.

- i) The future of our mission at Lhasa and the trade posts at Gyantse and Yatung and the forces which we have in operation in Tibet to guard the trade routes.
- j) The policy in regard to the McMahon Line.

Yours,

Sd/- Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'able Shri Jawaharlal Nehru New Delhi.



Dr. Rammanohar Lohia, Eminent Socialist Leader of India, on Tibet

Chinese Invasion of Tibet, October 1950:

CHINA has invaded Tibet, which can only mean that the giant has moved to rub out the life of a child.

To call the invasion of Tibet an effort to liberate three million Tibetans is to make language lose all meaning and stop all human communication and understanding. Freedom and slavery, bravery and cowardice, loyalty and treason, truth and lie, will become synonyms.

Our friendship and esteem for the people of China will never dim, but we must state our conviction that the present government of China will not be able to wash out the infamy of this invasion and baby murder.

China's claim that she wishes to secure her western frontiers in Tibet is thoroughly mischievous. Every nation will then try to secure its frontiers all over the world. Furthermore, Tibet's ties are stronger with India than with China, ties of language and trade and culture, not to speak of the strategic affinities between India and Tibet, particularly western Tibet. The present government of China has offended not only against India's interests by mobbing into Tibet.

If the government of China takes its stand on some wholly

inoperative but technical and doubtful issue of sovereignty, let the will of the people of Tibet be ascertained in a plebiscite.

The India government will do well to advise the China government to withdraw its army and, in view of the genuine friendship between the two, to offer its services in the arranging of such a plebiscite.



Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar, the father of Indian Constitution, on Tibet

(Discussion on Panchsheel Agreement in the Parliament, 1954)

INDIA accorded recognition to China in 1949. Dr. Ambedkar wished that India should have accorded this recognition to Tibet instead of China and there would be no Sino-Indian border conflict.

Panchsheel is one of the significant parts of the Buddha Dharma. If Shri Mao had even an iota of faith in Panchsheel he would have treated the Buddhists in his country in a different manner. Panchsheel has no place in politics. The truth inherent in Panchsheel is that Morality is forever changing. There is nothing called Morality. You can abide by your promises in accordance with today's Morality and by the same propriety you may violate your own promise simply because tomorrow's Morality will have different demands...

I don't really know what is going to happen. By letting China take control over Lhasa (Tibetan Capital) the Prime Minister has in a way helped the Chinese to bring their armies on the Indian borders. Any victor who annexes Kashmir can directly reach Pathankot, and I know it for sure that he can reach the Prime Minister's House also.



Lok Nayak Jaya Prakash Narayan on Tibet

(Speech at the Indian Council of World Affairs, Sapru House, New Delhi, 10 July, 1959)

Let me make it clear that my stand on Tibet is not due to the fact that I am opposed to China and wish to see her harmed. Nothing can be farther from the truth. I have friendship at heart for China and wish her well. My stand on Tibet is based on the merits of the situation, and it is my belief that even when a friend is in the wrong, it is one's duty to tell him firmly about it. It is in that spirit that I am criticising China and opposing her action in Tibet.

Dalai Lama is the authentic voice of the people of Tibet, who worship him as no other living person is worshipped anywhere in the world.

Apart from the unique position that His Holiness commands in Tibet, the Dalai Lama has an international status and personality. Throughout the Buddhist world, and particularly in the Mongolias and China herself and other regions where the Mahayana School of Buddhism reigns, the Dalai Lama is held in the highest regard as a spiritual Master.

The main elements, as I see them, of the present situation are:

1. The Dalai Lama has proclaimed independence to be the goal of his country.
2. He has said that his government signed the 1951 Sino-Tibet Agreement because of China's armed intervention had left no alternative, and, further, that the autonomy pledged in that agreement has been forcibly abrogated by China.
3. He has disclosed the fact of large-scale and brutal repression, including massive killing and deportation of the Tibetan people by the Chinese authorities.
4. He has further disclosed that the Chinese are colonising Tibet on a vast scale.
5. He has revealed how the Chinese are attempting

deliberately to destroy the noble religion of the Buddha.

6. In spite of all that has happened, he has declared his desire for a peaceful settlement.
7. He has appealed for help from India and the world to secure justice for his country.

The first is the point of view of those who never accepted the suzerainty formula and always stood for full independence for Tibet. For them the events in Tibet and the declarations of the Dalai Lama have come only as confirmation of their own view.

The second is the point of view of those who accepted the suzerainty-with-autonomy formula. It is painful to reflect that even countries that had but recently won their own freedom accepted this formula. The right of Tibet to national freedom should have been accepted without question.

When a question was recently asked in the British Parliament about the policy of Her Majesty's Government in regard to Tibet, Mr. R. Allen, who replied for the Foreign Secretary, said: 'We have over a long period recognised Chinese suzerainty over Tibet, but only on the understanding that Tibet is regarded as autonomous'. This is still Her Majesty's Government's position. Mr. Allen has hit the nail squarely on the head: suzerainty was to be recognised only on the understanding that Tibet remained autonomous.

Well, Tibet is no longer autonomous, China has deliberately, and against the advice and warning of her friends, forcibly extinguished the autonomy of Tibet. In these changed circumstances there is hardly any difference left between those who stood for Tibetan independence and those who were not prepared to go beyond autonomy.

When a free nation is attacked it is called aggression and other nations move in concert to prevent the aggression and save the victim. In such situations the free nations unhesitatingly acknowledged their moral responsibility. Should it be otherwise in a case where the pledged autonomy of a nation is threatened or destroyed? Can an international instrument such as the Sino-

Tibetan Agreement of 1951 be only a private concern of China?

There is a third point of view from which to look at the recent happenings in Tibet. That is the human point of view. The miseries and misfortunes of the Tibetan people, the injustices and wrongs to which they have been subjected, the crimes and atrocities that have been committed there have all combined to lift up the issue to Tibet from the tangled domain of legal and constitutional disputations to that of simple, unvarnished humanity. The human issue that has been raised in Tibet is beyond all legal and constitutional and diplomatic argument. It has nothing to do with the issue of autonomy vs. independence or with the rights of China.

I have been advocating, mobilisation and informing of public opinion on the question of Tibet and the need for governments, particularly of Asia and Africa, to declare their position unequivocally. Our attempt to form an Afro-Asian Committee on Tibet is also a step in the same direction. Leaders and organisations of Asia and Africa have raised their voice individually but if they come together and speak in unison, the effect would be far greater.

We were not afraid of offending Britain and France when we condemned their action in Egypt. We are not afraid again of offending France when we so correctly uphold the right of Algeria to national independence.

As for the United Nations, it seems but proper to take up again an issue that had been dropped on grounds that have been falsified.

In this connection the question is raised of China not being a member of the UN. I have always supported the Prime Minister's stand in favour of China's admission into the UN. The Tibet affair has further strengthened me in that view. China at present is in the position of an out-law from the family of nations and is therefore not susceptible to any moral pressure of the UN. I believe China finds the present position rather convenient. On the one hand, she is under no international restraints and, on the other, she exploits American opposition to her UN membership in order to whip up war hysteria among her people by depicting almost the whole world as her enemy.

I should like, however, to make it clear that while I support China's membership to the UN, I do not think that her not being a member should stand in the way of the Tibet issue being raised in the world organisation.

I am sure that the Dalai Lama does not want to embarrass India which has given him asylum. But we on our part must appreciate his position. Let us understand that the Dalai Lama has not come to India for a change or to preach Buddhism. He has come here to fight for his country and his people. Whether he will succeed or fail is not the point. Any patriot in his position would have done the same thing.

Therefore, let us give this young man his due and not preach to him how to behave. It is a different matter what freedoms we are prepared to give him. When he said at his press conference that wherever he was with his ministers, the people of Tibet regarded them as the government of Tibet, he was only stating the truth, which no one who knows Tibet will dispute.

To expect that the Dalai Lama will forsake the cause of Tibetan freedom and confine himself purely religious pursuits is to underestimate the strength of the urge of nationalism, to misunderstand the personal character of the Dalai Lama and to forget that he traditionally combines in himself spiritual and temporal powers and functions.

Some may wonder why I have so ardently taken up the cause of Tibet. Well, firstly, because I believe in human freedom and the freedom of all peoples. I believe in the freedom of Algeria, for instance, as much as in the freedom of Tibet. Secondly, because I believe in international peace, which is impossible without international justice. Thirdly, because Tibet is our neighbour and it is our neighbourly duty to help her. Fourthly, as a Hindu I am an ardent devotee of the Lord Buddha and feel a spiritual kinship with all Buddhists. Fifthly, I came to know His Holiness the Dalai Lama, I have come deeply to respect and love him. And lastly, because I am one of those fools of history who are forever fighting for what the worldly wise consider to be lost causes.

Pandit Deen Dayal Upadhyaya on Tibet

India's Stake in Tibet's Freedom (27 April, 1959)

It is essentially our concern for the peaceful Tibetan people, and our deep resentment at the way Communists have behaved, that the people have such intense feelings. It may also be that there is the growing realization of the potential danger to our own safety and security that has led people to throng in thousands round the man whose sufferings are intimately connected with our own. It is, therefore, natural that the people eagerly look forward to future steps on the part of the Dalai Lama and the Government of India.

India is confronted with a very delicate situation in the matter. China is a friendly country. We have been friends in the past, and would like to continue so in the future.

But Tibet presented a case where altruism could be practiced only at India's cost. China agreed to preserve Tibet's autonomy – perhaps only to provide some excuse to Pandit Nehru to calm his conscience at the abject surrender of noble cause to appease the monstrous dragon. But a government wedded to totalitarian methods, could not long, keep up the façade. Tibet's autonomy was automatically atomised when the Chinese introduced their so-called “reforms” in all walks of life. How could an intensely religious and spiritual people co-exist with an utterly materialistic people with foreign modes or mores?

As a religious head, he may continue to function. But will that be sufficient to achieve the objective? It is true that the Dalai Lama, by his mere presence on the Indian soil, will serve as a focal point for the Tibetan guerrillas who, it is considered, will continue to be active in spite of the military might of the aggressor, due to the peculiar terrain of the country.

India has a stake in the matter. Tibet's autonomy is vital to us. If we cannot secure it, not only our integrity and independence will be threatened, but it may become well nigh impossible for us to continue a policy of non-alignment. So far as China's intentions are concerned, they are all well known. Already she has committed

what is known as “cartographic aggression”. Now Chou En-Lai is reported to have come forward with a suggestion that undefined boundaries between China and other Asian countries should be settled by peaceful negotiations. Obviously she does not recognize the McMahon Line, which forms the boundary line between India and Tibet.

Besides India, China has greedy eyes on Nepal, Bhutan and Sikkim. Nepal, as an independent state, is responsible for her own defence. Communist China’s activities in Tibet have posed a serious question to her rulers about Nepal’s future defences.

A strong and definite stand on the issue of Tibetan autonomy alone can set China right. Such a stand is necessary to preserve friendship between the two countries. Friendship must be based on trust and respect, equality and mutual benefit and not on fear and misunderstanding arising out of hesitation to look differences in the eye and seek an open reconciliation.

The Dalai Lama, therefore, should have all the facilities to direct his people in their fight for independence. The people of India wish it. The interests of India demand it.



RESOLUTION ADOPTED IN INDIAN PARLIAMENT

November 14, 1962

“This House notes with deep regret that, in spite of the uniform gestures of goodwill and friendship by India towards the People’s Government of China on the basis of recognition of each other’s independence, non-aggression and non-interference, and peaceful co-existence, China has betrayed this good-will and friendship and the principles of Panchsheel which had been agreed to between the two countries and has committed aggression and initiated a massive invasion of India by her armed forces.

“This House places on record its high appreciation of the valiant struggle of man and officers of our armed forces while defending our frontiers and pays its respectful homage to the martyrs who have laid down their lives in defending the honour and integrity of our motherland.

“This House also records its profound appreciation of the wonderful and spontaneous response of the people of India to the emergency and the crisis that has resulted from China’s invasion of India.

“It notes with deep gratitude this might upsurge amongst all sections of our people for harnessing all our resources towards the organization of an all-out effort to meet this grave national emergency. The flame of liberty and sacrifice has been kindled anew and a fresh dedication has taken place to the cause of India’s freedom and integrity.

“This House gratefully acknowledges the sympathy and the moral and material support received from a large number of friendly countries in this grim hour of our struggle against aggression and invasion.

“With hope and faith, this House affirms the firm resolve of the Indian people to drive out the aggressor from the sacred soil of India, however long and hard the struggle may be.”

ISSUE OF TIBET AND ITS DIRECT IMPLICATION TO INDIA

For patriotic Indians, the question of Tibet cannot be one of mere concern for the plight of the Tibetan people. Tibet's link with India goes back beyond recorded history. Speaking from India's national interest, a free Tibet will be as much beneficial to India as to the people of Tibet.

FROM 'INDIA-TIBET' BORDER TO 'INDIA-CHINA' BORDER

For centuries India and China never shared common borders. It was only in 1949 that China invaded Tibet and became a 'neighbor' of India. Tibet has been a perfect buffer between the three great Asian powers- China, India and Soviet Russia. Prior to Chinese occupation of Tibet, the 4,057 km* Indo-Tibet border used to be among the most peaceful borders in the world.

Until 1949 only 75 Indian policemen were the sole guardians to the south of the Indo-Tibetan border, now India permanently deploys seven to eight military divisions to guard the frontier.

OCCUPATION OF TIBET BY CHINA IS A CONSTANT DRAIN ON INDIAN ECONOMY

Since the occupation of Tibet by China, border between Tibet and India has become one of the most fortified regions in Asia bleeding the two most populated nations of much needed resources for development. India's daily defense expenditure to guard the Himalayas is Rupees 5 to 6 crores per day. China's could easily be much more. This daily outlay to defend the Indo-Tibetan border which is now called Sino-Indian border would go a long way providing safe drinking water, universal education and health services to the millions in rural areas.

CHINA'S DECLARED GOALS AGAINST INDIA

In 1949, late Chairman Mao declared, "Tibet is the palm of China and Ladakh, Nepal, Sikkim, Bhutan and NEFA are its fingers". China

openly claims that Arunachal Pradesh (previously known as NEFA) belongs to China. China is still occupying 40,000 square* miles of Indian Territory. (Aksai Chin, The Pangong area and Demchok in Ladakh, The Spiti area, Shipki pass, and The Nilang -Jadhang area in Himachal Pradesh, Bara Hoti area in UP, Khinzemane, Shatse, Longju and Migyitun in Arunachal Pradesh.)

** Indian PM's letter to Chinese PM on 26th Sept. 1959*

On 13th November 2006, a week ahead of the Chinese President's visit to India, Beijing's envoy to Delhi claimed Arunachal Pradesh as their territory. "In our position the whole of what you call the state of Arunachal Pradesh is Chinese territory and Tawang (district) is only one place in it and we are claiming all of that-that's our position," said Ambassador Sun Yuxi, in an exclusive interview to CNN-IBN.

CHINA USING PAKISTAN AS A PROXY AGAINST INDIA

It has been established beyond doubt that China has been promoting Pakistan as a proxy against India by helping Pakistan in its nuclear program; developing naval base at Gwadar port in the Arabian Sea. This will make India's naval defense vulnerable all along the Western coast. In fact it was only after occupying Tibet that it became possible for China to encircle India through Pakistan, Myanmar and Nepal.

CHINA'S MARKET WAR AGAINST INDIA

India's experience in the past few years has proved beyond doubt that China has waged a market war against Indian industry and business community. Consumer goods smuggled through Tibet and imported through various legal and illegal channels have resulted in closure of thousands of Indian small units, especially in the field of toys and electrical goods.

EXPLOITATION OF TIBETAN NATURAL RESOURCES

The Indian Space Research Organization (ISRO) says that the floods, which damaged large tracts in the Indian states of

Himachal Pradesh and Arunachal in 2000, were caused by China releasing excess water accumulated in man-made and natural water. Later, in 2004, breakage of artificial Lake *Parichu* in Tibet caused a major flood in Suttlej, which resulted in devastating affect in Himachal Pradesh. Mindless exploitation of Tibetan jungles and minerals has been resulting in heavy floods in Assam, costing India heavily in terms of human life, property and national assets.

THE CHINA-TIBET RAILWAY: A PERMANENT THREAT TO INDIA'S SECURITY

With the commencement of Golmud -Lhasa railway, it will augment PRC in military maneuverability, enable rapid troop deployments, facilitate the expansion of People's Liberation Army bases and potentially increase nuclear weapons stockpiles, air force and missile deployments in Tibet. This not only strengthens China's grip on Tibet but also poses great threat to India, which may cause further regional instability. The Chinese Government itself has touted the railway as a means of transport for troops, saying that not only will the railway improve the efficiency of the army, but the army will also improve the efficiency of the railway. [*Xinhuanet, 10 December 2003*]

Besides Golmud -Lhasa railway, China plans to extend railway line from Lhasa to Ngari in West Tibet (J&K border) via Shigatse and another line towards Southeastern Tibet via Tsethang and Kongpo. These railway lines will be constructed exactly parallel on the other side of India's northern and northeastern frontiers.

CHANGING DEFENSE EQUILIBRIUM

With the completion of the first leg of Gormu – Lhasa Railway project in 2006, now it enables the Chinese defense forces to deploy large number of troops and any kind of heavy arms and other gears to Indian borders at a very short notice. This is bound to make Indian defense preparation on Northern borders more vulnerable.

TIBET AS A MILITARY BASE

Today China's military arsenal is believed to include 17 secrets radar stations, eight-missile bases with at least eight intercontinental ballistic missiles, 70 medium range and 20 intermediate range missiles. Some of the missiles stored in the Tibetan plateau have a range of nearly 13000 kms, which could reach many parts of Asia. The new Gormo – Lhasa railway line enable the Beijing government to convert Tibet into a permanent defense base from where it can launch any kind of operations against India. It can also reach the Arabian Sea and Bay of Bengal through Pakistan and Myanmar.

POPULATION TRANSFER

The railway line between Gormo and Lhasa, which was officially opened in July 2006, has given further impetus to this vicious policy of flooding Tibet with Chinese migrants, and thus making it demographically impossible for the Tibetans to rise up as in the case of Inner Mongolia and Xinjiang. It is estimated that the railway brings some 5,000 to 6,000 Chinese to Lhasa everyday. Out of these, 2,000 to 3,000 return to their homes in China and the rest of them settle in Tibet indefinitely. If this trend continues unabated, it is bound to convert Tibet into a permanent colony of China, thus becoming a permanent threat to entire South Asia, especially India.

DIVERSION OF TIBET'S MIGHTY RIVERS

Having extensively contaminated its own major rivers through unbridled industrialization, China now threatens the ecological viability of river systems tied to South and Southeast Asia in its bid to meet its thirst for water and energy. The South – North Water Transfer Project of the PRC government plans to divert the Tibet's mighty rivers (Indus, Mekong, Yangtze, Yellow, Salween, Brahmaputra, Karnali and Sutlej Rivers) northward to feed the arid areas. These river waters are a lifeline to India, Bangladesh, Myanmar, Bhutan, Nepal, Cambodia, Pakistan, Laos, Thailand and Vietnam, which make up 47 percent of the global population. This

project represents a direct threat to the people living downstream. The director of the Yellow River Water Conservancy Committee said publicly that the multi-billion dollar mega-plan to divert Brahmaputra enjoys official sanction and begins in 2010. As in the past, no country is going to be more affected by Chinese plans and projects in Tibet than India.



TIBETANS IN EXILE

Population	Approximately 145,150 [Approximate world-wide distribution: India 101,242; Nepal 16,313; Bhutan 1,883; and rest of the world 25,712 (The Office of the Planning Commission's projected population in 2007, based on the annual percentage growth rate)]
Constitution	Charter of the Tibetans in Exile.
Tibetan Govt. in Exile	Governed by democratic polity rooted in Tibetan values. There is an independent judiciary, directly elected legislature and cabinet directly accountable to the parliament.
Head of State	His Holiness the Dalai Lama
Cabinet Ministries	Education, Finance, Health, Home Affairs, Information & International Relations, Religion & Culture and Security
Independent Commissions	Tibetan Supreme Justice Commission, Tibetan Central Election Commission, Public Service Commission, Audit Commission
Government Income	Annual voluntary tax, business revenue, donations
Major NGOs	Tibetan Youth Congress, Tibetan Women's Association, Tibetan Center for Human Rights and Democracy, NDPT, TPPRC, Tibetan United Asso, Gu-Chu-Sum, Do-toe Asso, Do-mey Asso, U-tsang Asso, Ngari Asso,

Offices of Tibet	Tibet's de-facto embassies are based in New Delhi, New York, London, Geneva, Paris, Brussels, Moscow, Canberra, Tokyo, Pretoria and Taipei.
Livelihood	Agriculture, agro-industries, sweater-selling business, handicraft exports, service sector.
Education	Total School enrolment is 85 to 90 percent of school age. At present there are 106 kindergartens, 87 primary level, 44 middle level, 21 secondary level and 13 senior secondary level schools, with total enrolment of over 25,000 students.
Legal Status	Stateless. A small percentage of Tibetans bear foreign passports. Most hold Indian registration certificates

DHARAMSALA BEIJING INITIATIVES UPDATED

FEB 1979

Deng Xiaoping meets Gyalo Dhondup, elder brother of the Dalai Lama, in Beijing and tells him that China is willing to discuss and resolve with Tibetans all issues other than the complete independence of Tibet. Deng also invites the exiled Tibetans to visit Tibet and see the actual situation for themselves.

AUG 1979

The Dalai Lama sends the First Fact-finding Delegation to Tibet.

MAY 1980

The Second Fact-finding delegation visits Tibet.

JUL 1980

The Third Fact-finding delegation visits Tibet.

SEP 1980

The Dalai Lama offers to send 50 trained teachers from the exile community to help the educational development of Tibet. He also suggests opening a liaison office in Lhasa to build trust between the Chinese government and Tibetans. China evades these two initiatives by asking for their deferment for the time being.

MAR 1981

The Dalai Lama writes to Deng Xiaoping, stating that the three delegations have found grievous conditions in Tibet and that “genuine efforts must be made to resolve the problem of Tibet”. The Dalai Lama suggests improving “relationship between China and Tibet as well as between Tibetans in and outside Tibet”. He agrees to defer the opening of liaison office in Tibet but insists that the teachers must be allowed in soon.

JUL 1981

CCP General Secretary Hu Yaobang replies with “China’s five-point Policy toward the Dalai Lama”. Asking “the Dalai Lama and his followers to come back”, it says: “The Dalai Lama will enjoy the

same political status and living conditions as he had before 1959. It is suggested that he will not go to live in Tibet or hold local posts there. Of course, he may go back to Tibet from time to time. His followers need not worry about their jobs and living conditions. These will only be better than before”.

APR 1982

A three-member Tibetan delegation goes to Beijing to hold exploratory talks with the Chinese leaders. The delegation meets with intransigence from the Chinese leaders.

OCT 1984

The three-member exploratory delegation visits Beijing for another round of talks. Again, no progress is made towards substantive negotiations.

JUL 1985

The Fourth Fact-finding Delegation visits northeastern Tibet.

SEP 1987

Addressing the US Congressional Human Rights Caucus, the Dalai Lama announces his Five Point Peace Plan for Tibet, asking for “the commencement of earnest negotiations on the future status of Tibet”.

JUN 1988

Speaking at the European Parliament in Strasbourg, the Dalai Lama elaborates on the Five Point Peace Plan and proposes talks leading to a “self-governing democratic political entity” for all the three provinces of Tibet. This entity, the Dalai Lama says, will be “in association with the Peoples’ Republic of China” and that Chinese government can continue to “remain responsible for Tibet’s foreign policy and defense”.

SEP 1988

Beijing announces its willingness to negotiate with Tibetans and says that the Dalai Lama can choose the date and venue for negotiations.

OCT 1988

A press statement from Dharamsala welcomes Beijing's announcement, proposing that the talks should start in Geneva in January 1989. The statement also names the members of the Tibetan negotiating team: six officials of the exile government and Dutch Lawyer Michael van Walt as their legal advisor.

NOV 1988

The Chinese government reverts to its former hard-line position and says that Strasbourg Proposal cannot be the basis for talks. China puts forward a number of other pre-conditions stating that: Beijing, Hong Kong or any other Chinese foreign mission office should be the venue for talks; the present Tibetan negotiating team is not acceptable as all its members have engaged in "splittist activities"; no foreigner should be included in the Tibetan team; and that it is interested in talking directly to the Dalai Lama or his trusted representatives, like Gyalo Dhondup.

DEC 1988

Dharamsala agrees to include Gyalo Dhondup in the negotiating team, but backs up its position on other matters.

APR 1989

Dharamsala proposes to send an exploratory mission to Hong Kong to hold further discussion on conditions set by Beijing. The exploratory mission accepts Hong Kong as the venue for preliminary talks but Beijing soon after shows no interest in holding talks.

OCT 1991

The Dalai Lama makes a fresh proposal to Beijing. Addressing Yale University, he expressed interest in visiting Tibet, accompanied by senior Chinese officials, to make an on-the-spot assessment of the actual situation in Tibet.

DEC 1991

The Dalai Lama suggests a meeting with Premier Li Peng during the latter's visit to Delhi.

JAN 1992

In view of Beijing's consistent refusal to respond positively to the Dalai Lama's proposals, the exile Tibetan Parliament passes a resolution stating that no new move for negotiations should be initiated unless there was a positive change in the Chinese leadership's attitude.

ARP 1992

The Chinese Embassy in New Delhi invited Gyalo Dhondup to visit China for talks. The Embassy says that the Chinese government's position in the past has been "conservative", but that it is willing to be "flexible" if the Tibetans are prepared to be "realistic".

JUN 1992

Dhondup visits China on the approval of the Dalai Lama, but the Chinese leadership reiterates its old, hard-line position on Tibet and makes a number of serious allegations against the Dalai Lama.

JUN 1993

Dharamsala sends a two-member delegation to China to clear the misunderstandings raised by the Chinese leaders during their meeting with Dhondup. The delegation carries a 13 points memorandum from the Dalai Lama, addressed to Deng Xiaoping and Jang Zemin. In the memorandum, the Dalai Lama chronicles his efforts to resolve the problem of Tibet through peaceful negotiations and says, "if we Tibetan obtain our basic rights to our satisfaction, then we are not incapable of seeing the possible advantages of living with the Chinese". In the same year, China severs all formal channels of communication with Dharamsala. However, informal and semi-official channels continued to remain open.

JUN 1998

Addressing a joint press conference with US President Bill Clinton in Beijing, President Jiang Zemin says that he is willing to hold negotiations with Tibetans if the Dalai Lama announces that Tibet is an inalienable part of China and recognizes Taiwan as a province of China.

MAR 1999

In his annual 10th March statement, the Dalai Lama announces that China has hardened its position on entering into dialogue with him.

SEP 2002

A four member delegation led by Lodi Gyaltsen Gyari and Kalsang Gyaltsen visits China and Tibet to re-establish contact. Dharamsala appreciated the positive gesture of the Govt. of China.

MAY 2003

Delegation lead by Gyari Lodi Gyaltsen and Kalsang Gyaltsen again visits for the second time.

Sept. 2004

Delegation led by Lodi Gyari and Kalsang Gyaltsen pays third visit.

30 June-1 July 2005

Mr. Lodi Gyari, accompanied by Mr. Kelsang Gyaltsen and three senior assistants holds fourth round of talk with the Chinese counterparts Mr. Zhu Weiqun, the Vice-Minister of the United Front, Mr. Sithar and other officials of the department at the Embassy of People's Republic of China in Berne, Switzerland.

15 Feb 2006

Mr. Lodi Gyaltsen Gyari, accompanied by Mr. Kelsang Gyaltsen and three senior aides hold fifth round of talk with the Chinese counterpart in Beijing, China.

29 Jun 2007

Special Envoy Lodi G. Gyari and Envoy Kelsang Gyaltsen, accompanied by two members of the Task Force, Sonam N. Dagpo and Bhuchung K. Tsering, visited China from June 29 to July 5, 2007 for the sixth round of discussions with the Chinese leadership.

4 May 2008

The two envoys of His Holiness the Dalai Lama held discussions with their Chinese counterparts in Schenzen, in South China.

1 July 2008

The two envoys of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, Mr Lodi Gyalsten Gyari and Mr Kelsang Gyalsten, held discussions with the representatives of the Chinese leadership in Beijing from 1 - 2 July 2008.

30 Oct – 5th November 2008

Special Envoy Lodi G. Gyari and Envoy Kelsang Gyaltzen held the eight round of talks with the representatives of the Chinese leadership in Beijing.

26 – 31st January 2010

His Holiness the Dalai Lama's Special Envoy Lodi G. Gyari and Envoy Kelsang Gyaltzen held the ninth round of talks with the representatives of the Chinese leadership in Beijing.

FIVE POINT PEACE PLAN FOR TIBET

BY HIS HOLINESS THE 14th DALAI LAMA

EXCERPTS FROM THE Address to members of the United States Congress,

Washington, D.C., September 21, 1987

I speak to you today as the leader of the Tibetan people and as a Buddhist monk devoted to the principles of a religion based on love and compassion. Above all, I am here as a human being who is destined to share this planet with you and all others as brothers and sisters.

The Tibetan people are eager to contribute to regional and world peace, and I believe they are in a unique position to do so. Traditionally, Tibetans are a peace-loving and non-violent people. Since Buddhism was introduced to Tibet over one thousand years ago, Tibetans have practised non-violence with respect to all forms of life. This attitude has also been extended to our country's international relations.

Tibet's highly strategic position in the heart of Asia, separating the continent's great powers - India, China and the USSR - has throughout history endowed it with an essential role in the maintenance of peace and stability. This is precisely why, in the past, Asia's empires went to great lengths to keep one another out of Tibet. Tibet's value as an independent buffer state was integral to the region's stability.

When the newly -formed People's Republic of China invaded Tibet in 1949/50, it created a new source of conflict. This was highlighted when, following the Tibetan national uprising against the Chinese and my flight to India in 1959, tensions between China and India escalated into the border war in 1962. Today large numbers of troops are again massed on both sides of the Himalayan border and tension is once more dangerously high.

It is China's illegal occupation of Tibet, which has given it direct access to the Indian subcontinent. The Chinese authorities have attempted to confuse the issue by claiming that Tibet has always been a part of China. This is untrue. Tibet was a fully independent state when the People's Liberation Army invaded the country in 1949/50.

Since Tibetan emperors unified Tibet, over a thousand years ago, our country was able to maintain its independence until the middle of this century.

As China's military occupation of Tibet continues, the world should remember that though Tibetans have lost their freedom, under international law Tibet today is still an independent state under illegal occupation.

I just wish to emphasise the obvious and undisputed fact that we Tibetans are a distinct people with our own culture, language, religion and history. But for China's occupation, Tibet would still, today, fulfill its natural role as a buffer state maintaining and promoting peace in Asia.

To our even greater dismay, the Chinese government misused the opportunity for a genuine dialogue. Instead of addressing the real issues facing the six million Tibetan people, China has attempted to reduce the question of Tibet to a discussion of my own personal status.

It is against this background and in response to the tremendous support and encouragement I have been given by you and other persons I have met during this trip, that I wish today to clarify the principal issues and to propose, in a spirit of openness and conciliation, a first step towards a lasting solution. I hope this may contribute to a future of friendship and cooperation with all of our neighbours, including the Chinese people.

This peace plan contains five basic components:

- 1 Transformation of the whole of Tibet into a zone of peace;
- 2 Abandonment of China's population transfer policy, which threatens the very existence of the Tibetans as a distinct people;
- 3 Respect for the Tibetan people's fundamental human rights and democratic freedoms;
- 4 Restoration and protection of Tibet's natural environment and the abandonment of China's use of Tibet for the production of nuclear weapons and dumping of nuclear waste;
- 5 Commencement of earnest negotiations on the future status of Tibet and of relations between the Tibetan and Chinese peoples.

THE MIDDLE-WAY APPROACH: A FRAMEWORK FOR RESOLVING THE ISSUE OF TIBET

Introduction

The Middle-Way Approach is proposed by His Holiness the Dalai Lama to peacefully resolve the issue of Tibet and to bring about stability and co-existence between the Tibetan and Chinese peoples based on equality and mutual co-operation. It is also a policy adopted democratically by the Central Tibetan Administration and the Tibetan people through a series of discussions held over a long time. This brief introduction to the Middle-Way policy and its history is intended for the Tibetan people inside and outside Tibet- and all those interested- to have a better understanding of the issues involved.

A. Meaning of the Middle-Way Approach

The Tibetan people do not accept the present status of Tibet under the People's Republic of China. At the same time, they do not seek independence for Tibet, which is a historical fact. Treading a middle path in between these two lies the policy and means to achieve a genuine autonomy for all Tibetans living in the three traditional provinces of Tibet within the framework of the People's Republic of China. This is called the Middle-Way Approach, a non-partisan and moderate position that safeguards the vital interests of all concerned parties- for Tibetans: the protection and preservation of their culture, religion and national identity; for the Chinese: the security and territorial integrity of the motherland; and for neighbours and other third parties: peaceful borders and international relations.

B. History of the Middle-Way Approach

Although the 17-Point Agreement between the Tibetan government and the People's Republic of China was not reached on an equal footing or through mutual consent, His Holiness the Dalai Lama- for the sake of the mutual benefit of the Tibetan and Chinese peoples-

made all possible efforts to achieve a peaceful settlement with the Chinese government for eight years since 1951. Even after His Holiness the Dalai Lama and the Kashag arrived in the Lokha region from Lhasa in 1959, he continued his efforts to achieve a negotiated settlement with the Chinese military officials. His attempts to abide by the terms of the 17-Point Agreement are analogous to the Middle-Way Approach. Unfortunately, the Chinese army unleashed a harsh military crackdown in Lhasa, Tibet's capital, and this convinced His Holiness the Dalai Lama that his hope for co-existence with the Chinese government was no longer possible. Under the circumstances, he had no other option but to seek refuge in India and work in exile for the freedom and happiness of all the Tibetan people.

Soon after his arrival in Tezpur, India, His Holiness the Dalai Lama issued a statement on 18 April 1959, explaining that the 17-Point Agreement was signed under duress and that the Chinese government had deliberately violated the terms of the Agreement. Thus from that day onwards, he declared that the agreement would be considered null and void, and he would strive for the restoration of Tibet's independence. Since then until 1979, the Central Tibetan Administration and the Tibetan people adopted a policy of seeking independence for Tibet. However, the world in general has become increasingly interdependent politically, militarily and economically. Consequently, great changes have been taking place in the independent status of countries and nationalities. In China also, changes will certainly take place and a time will come for both sides to engage in actual negotiations. Therefore, His Holiness the Dalai Lama has believed for a long time that in order to resolve the Tibetan issue through negotiations, it is more beneficial to change the policy of restoring Tibetan independence to an approach that offers mutual benefits to China as well as to Tibet.

C. The Middle-Way Approach was not Formulated Suddenly

Although this approach occurred to His Holiness the Dalai Lama a long time ago, he did not decide it arbitrarily or thrust it upon others. Since the early 1970s, he held a series of discussions on this

issue with, and solicited suggestions from, the Chairperson and Vice-Chairperson of the Assembly of Tibetan People's Deputies, the Kashag and many scholarly and experienced people. Particularly in 1979, the late Chinese paramount leader, Deng Xiaoping's proposal to His Holiness the Dalai Lama that "except independence, all other issues can be resolved through negotiations", was very much in agreement with His Holiness the Dalai Lama's long-held belief of finding a mutually-beneficial solution. Immediately, His Holiness the Dalai Lama gave a favourable response by agreeing to undertake negotiations and decided to change the policy of restoring Tibet's independence to that of the Middle-Way Approach. This decision was again taken after a due process of consultations with the then Assembly of Tibetan People's Deputies, the Kashag and many scholarly and experienced people. Therefore, this Approach is not something that has emerged all of a sudden; it has a definite history of evolution.

D. The Middle-Way Approach was Adopted Democratically

Since the decision to pursue the Middle-Way Approach and before His Holiness the Dalai Lama issued a statement in the European parliament in Strasbourg on 15 June 1988-which formed the basis of our negotiations as to what kind of autonomy was needed by the Tibetan people-a four-day special conference was organised in Dharamsala from 6 June 1988. This conference was attended by the members of the Assembly of Tibetan People's Deputies and the Kashag, public servants, all the Tibetan settlement officers and the members of the local Tibetan Assemblies, representatives from the Tibetan NGOs, newly-arrived Tibetans and special invitees. They held extensive discussions on the text of the proposal and finally endorsed it unanimously.

Since the Chinese government did not respond positively to the proposal, His Holiness the Dalai Lama again proposed in 1996 and 1997 that the Tibetan people should decide on the best possible way of realizing the cause of Tibet through a referendum. Accordingly, a preliminary opinion poll was conducted in which more than 64% of the Tibetan people expressed that there was no need to

hold a referendum, and that they would support the Middle-Way Approach, or whatever decisions His Holiness the Dalai Lama takes from time to time, in accordance with the changing political situation in China and the world at large. To this effect, the Assembly of Tibetan People's Deputies adopted a unanimous resolution on 18 September 1997 and informed His Holiness the Dalai Lama. Responding to this, His Holiness the Dalai Lama said in his 10 March statement of 1998: "...Last year, we conducted an opinion poll of the Tibetans in exile and collected suggestions from Tibet wherever possible on the proposed referendum, by which the Tibetan people were to determine the future course of our freedom struggle to their full satisfaction. Based on the outcome of this poll and suggestions from Tibet, the Assembly of Tibetan People's Deputies, our parliament in exile, passed a resolution empowering me to continue to use my discretion on the matter without seeking recourse to a referendum. I wish to thank the people of Tibet for the tremendous trust, confidence and hope they place in me. I continue to believe that my 'Middle-Way Approach' is the most realistic and pragmatic course to resolve the issue of Tibet peacefully. This approach meets the vital needs of the Tibetan people while ensuring the unity and stability of the People's Republic of China. I will, therefore, continue to pursue this course of approach with full commitment and make earnest efforts to reach out to the Chinese leadership..." This policy was, hence, adopted taking into account the opinion of the Tibetan people and a unanimous resolution passed by the Assembly of Tibetan People's Deputies.

E. Important Components of the Middle-Way Approach

1. Without seeking independence for Tibet, the Central Tibetan Administration strives for the creation of a political entity comprising the three traditional provinces of Tibet;
2. Such an entity should enjoy a status of genuine national regional autonomy;
3. This autonomy should be governed by the popularly-elected legislature and executive through a democratic process;

4. As soon as the above status is agreed upon by the Chinese government, Tibet would not seek separation from, and remain within, the People's Republic of China;
5. Until the time Tibet is transformed into a zone of peace and non-violence, the Chinese government can keep a limited number of armed forces in Tibet for its protection;
6. The Central Government of the People's Republic of China has the responsibility for the political aspects of Tibet's international relations and defence, whereas the Tibetan people should manage all other affairs pertaining to Tibet, such as religion and culture, education, economy, health, ecological and environmental protection;
7. The Chinese government should stop its policy of human rights violations in Tibet and the transfer of Chinese population into Tibetan areas;
8. To resolve the issue of Tibet, His Holiness the Dalai Lama shall take the main responsibility of sincerely pursuing negotiations and reconciliation with the Chinese government.

F. Special Characteristics of the Middle-Way Approach

Considering the fact that the unity and co-existence between the Tibetan and Chinese peoples is more important than the political requirements of the Tibetan people, His Holiness the Dalai Lama has pursued a mutually-beneficial Middle-Way policy, which is a great political step forward. Irrespective of population size, economy or military strength, the equality of nationalities means that all nationalities can co-exist on an equal footing, without any discrimination based on one nationality being superior or better than the other. As such, it is an indispensable criterion for ensuring unity among the nationalities. If the Tibetan and Chinese peoples can co-exist on an equal footing, this will serve as the basis for guaranteeing the unity of nationalities, social stability and territorial integrity of the People's Republic of China, which are of paramount importance to China. Therefore, the special characteristic of

the Middle-Way Approach is that it can achieve peace through non-violence, mutual benefit, unity of nationalities and social stability.

Conclusion

It is hoped that this brief introduction to the Middle-Way policy and its history, adopted by the Central Tibetan Administration and the Tibetan people, will receive due attention from all quarters and will help in better understanding this approach.

THE TIBET SUPPORT GROUP MOVEMENT

Right from the year of communist China's invasion of Tibet and particularly immediately after the arrival of His Holiness the 14th Dalai Lama along with thousands of his followers into forced exile in India in 1959, the Tibetan struggle has transformed itself from being specifically a Tibetan people's lonely struggle to a global struggle in which people of conscience everywhere fight to help ensure that the rights and freedoms so brutally snatched away from the Tibetan people are restored to them.

The present phase of Tibet support movement in India was inaugurated under the leadership of Jai Prakash Narayan by organizing All India Tibet Convention in Calcutta 1959 and in Delhi 1960. It was furthered by Himalaya Bachao Andolan inspired by Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia in 1960's. However having remarkably sustained for several years as a vigorous and vibrant campaign for re-establishment of a free Tibet, it remained relatively dormant during the 70s and the early 80s due to certain adverse turns of history. But after His Holiness the Dalai Lama's announcement of Strasbourg proposal, seeking genuine autonomy for Tibet, and the demonstrations by Tibetans inside Tibet in 1987, it once again bounced into an ever-enlarging virile movement seeking to help Tibetan achieve their ultimate objectives.

Today the support for Tibet has reached a critical stage. The ever-expanding Tibet movement has attracted more countries under its influence. During the first Tibet Support Group Meeting held at Dharamsala in 1990, there were delegates from 25 countries. The Second Tibet Support Group Meeting held in Bonn, Germany, in 1996 had participation of delegates from 56 countries. Since then the number of Tibet supporters internationally has increased manifold. And there is a welcome injection of young blood with the founding of the movement of Students for a Free Tibet in the United States in 1994. This has been witnessed during the Third Tibet Support Group Meeting in Berlin, Germany in May 2000 with nearly 300 Tibet supporters from all the continents participating in the conference. The fourth International TSG Conference was held in October 2003 in Prague, Czech Republic and the fifth International TSG Conference was held in May 2007 in Brussel, Belgium. A three-day 'Special International Tibet Support Groups Meeting' was convened by the Indian Core Group for Tibetan cause in view of the grave situation in Tibet followed by nation wide protest inside Tibet and the current international situation. It was attended by 100 representatives from 30 different countries, in Gurgaon, Haryana on 29 November – 1st December 2008.

In recent years, several Tibet groups have mobilized others around the globe to work on particular campaigns (the Olympics 2000, Beijing Women's Conference, World Bank and campaigns for the release of Tibetan political prisoners) to bring about positive results through the ensuing international pressure.

Back in India, Tibet Support Group movement has remarkably attained a new height by establishing more than 140 Tibet Support Groups across the country and actively engaged for the cause of the Tibetan people, which is directly concerned to the security of India. A two-day special conference of All India Tibet Support Groups was organized in Chandigarh from 28 to 29 June 2008. The third All India Tibet Support Group Meeting held in New Delhi from March 30 – 31, 2009 had a gathering of more than 200 delegates.

Amongst numerous support groups, India-Tibet Friendship Society, Bharat-Tibbat Sahyog Manch, Himalayan Committee for Action on Tibet, Friends of Tibet and Youth Liberation Front for Tibet are the prominent one with having its own regional and local units.

Apart from organizing demonstrations, seminars, lectures, exhibitions and conferences on the issue of Tibet, bringing out publications and rendering all the possible help to the Tibetan people in the local area, Tibet Support Groups have organized "Satyagrah" Truth Insistence March in Gangtok, Peace March from Bodh Gaya to Delhi, Sabarmati to Delhi and Bharat Jagran Yatra in Northern India. Members of TSGs in India have participated in Hunger Strike and also been to Jail on several occasion for the just cause of Tibet.

A support group of Indian parliamentarian called All Party Indian Parliamentarian Forum for Tibet, which has members from all the major political parties has been working with renewed energy for the past three years.

The Tibet Support Group movement has become so strategically effective that no government can ignore it much longer. A measure of its effectiveness can be gauged by the reaction of the Beijing government to every Tibet Support Group meeting. The members of Tibet Support Groups belong to a wide diversity of countries, cultural background and ideological denominations. As a matter of fact, Tibet today also enjoys support from a substantial number of Chinese who contribute meaningfully in supporting the cause of Tibet.

His Holiness the Dalai Lama once said that traditionally when we Tibetans prayed, we prayed to the three refuges: the Buddha, his teachings, and the community of monks who preserve and hand down his teachings. Now, because of Tibet's tragic political fate and our non-violent struggle, we pray to a fourth refuge, that of the international community.

What you can do for Tibet: An appeal

- Set up a new or join an existing Tibet Support Groups in your region and inform the local people about Tibet and the Tibetan people.
- Express support for the Tibetan people's right to freedom and justice by writing to newspapers and magazines.
- Write to your MPs about Tibet and ask them to raise the issue of Tibet in the parliament.
- Ask your MPs and government to support the Dalai Lama's peace initiatives for Tibet.
- Urge Government of India to facilitate a meaningful dialogue between the Government of the People's Republic of China and the Tibetan Government-in-Exile.
- Form local Networks and organize Tibet awareness events in your locality.
- Organise conferences, lectures, symposia, panel discussions and photo exhibitions on Tibet.
- Invite Tibetan cultural and religious groups to your area.