

# 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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Tel.: 011-29830578  
Tele fax : 011-29840968  
E-mail : [indiatibet7@gmail.com](mailto:indiatibet7@gmail.com)  
Web : [www.indiatibet.com](http://www.indiatibet.com)

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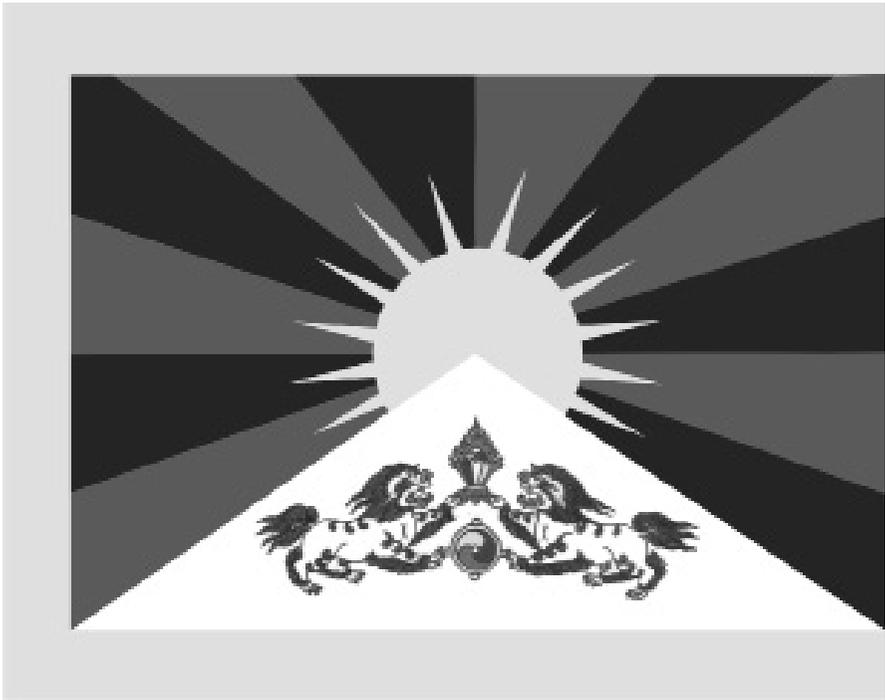
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## Tibet at a Glance

Size:	2.5 million sq. km, which includes U-Tsang, Kham and Amdo
Capital:	Lhasa
Head of the State:	His Holiness the Dalai Lama
Population:	The total Tibetan population in Tibet is 6 million. Of them, 2.09 million live in the "TAR" and the rest in the Tibetan areas outside the "TAR"
Administration:	Under Chinese rule, Tibet is divided into the following administrative units: a) Tibet Autonomous Region, b) Qinghai Province, c) Gansu Province, d) Sichuan Province, e) Yunnan Province.
Religion:	Buddhism, Bon and Islam
Language:	Tibetan (the official language)
Political Status:	Occupied country and without United Nations' representation
Average Altitude:	14,000 feet above sea level
Highest Mountain:	Jomolangma / Sagarmatha / Mount Everest (29,024 feet)
Temperature:	July: 58F and January: 24F
Major Rivers:	Tsang-po (Brahmaputra), Yangtse, Mekong, Salween, Huang-Ho, Indus and Sutlej
Economy:	Agriculture and animal husbandry.
Neighbouring Countries:	India, China, Nepal, Bhutan, Burma, Mangolia and East Turkistan,
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 kingdom continued for well over a thousand years till 41<sup>st</sup> 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 41<sup>st</sup> 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 principdoms 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.

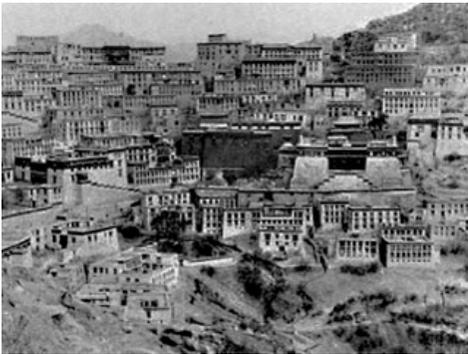
In 1358 the province of U (Central Tibet) fell into the hands of the Governor of Nedong, Changchub Gyaltsen, a monk of the Phamo Drugpa branch of Kagyud School, and for the next 86 years, eleven Lamas of the Phamo Drugpa lineage ruled Tibet.

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.

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".



*The Great Ganden Monastery*

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 Gyaltzen, 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.

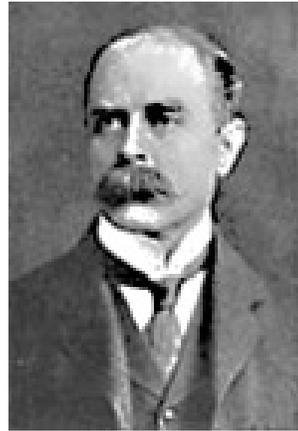
There followed an interchange of letters and presents between the Dalai Lama and the Russian Czar. This strengthened British fears about Russian involvement in Tibetan affairs. As the Russian power in Asia was growing, the British Government felt that their interest was at stake. Tibet was invaded by 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 Great 13th Dalai Lama*



*Last of the Chinese troops leaving Tibet for repatriation via India 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 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 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 14th 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 nationwide 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 lakh Tibetan refugees all over the world.



## **A brief biography of His Holiness the 14<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama**

His Holiness the 14th Dalai Lama, Tenzin Gyatso, describes himself as a simple Buddhist monk. He is the spiritual leader of Tibet. He was born on 6 July 1935, to a farming family, in a small hamlet located in Taktser, Amdo, northeastern Tibet. At the age of two, the child, then named Lhamo Dhondup, was recognized as the reincarnation of the previous 13th Dalai Lama, Thubten Gyatso. The Dalai Lamas are believed to be manifestations of Avalokiteshvara or Chenrezig, the Bodhisattva of Compassion and the patron saint of Tibet. Bodhisattvas are realized beings inspired by a wish to attain Buddhahood for the benefit of all sentient beings, who have vowed to be reborn in the world to help humanity.

### **Education in Tibet**

His Holiness began his monastic education at the age of six. The curriculum, derived from the Nalanda tradition, consisted of five major and five minor subjects. The major subjects included logic, fine arts, Sanskrit grammar, and medicine, but the greatest emphasis was given to Buddhist philosophy which was further divided into a further five categories: Prajnaparamita, 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 included poetry, drama, astrology, composition and synonyms. At 23, His Holiness sat for his final examination in Lhasa's Jokhang Temple, during the annual Great Prayer Festival (Monlam Chenmo) in 1959. He passed with honors and was awarded the Geshe Lharampa degree, equivalent to the highest doctorate in Buddhist philosophy.

### **Leadership Responsibilities**

In 1950, after China's invasion of Tibet, His Holiness was called upon to assume full political power. In 1954, he went to Beijing and met with Mao Zedong and other Chinese leaders, including Deng Xiaoping and Chou Enlai. Finally, in 1959, following 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.

In exile, the Central Tibetan Administration led by His Holiness appealed to the United Nations to consider the question of Tibet. The General Assembly adopted three resolutions on Tibet in 1959, 1961 and 1965.

### **Democratization Process**

In 1963, His Holiness presented a draft democratic constitution for Tibet, followed by a number of reforms to democratize the Tibetan administration. The new democratic constitution 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 Administration with respect to Tibetans living in exile.

In 1992, the Central Tibetan Administration published guidelines for the constitution of a future, free Tibet. It proposed that when Tibet becomes free the first task will be to set up an interim government whose immediate responsibility will be to elect a constitutional assembly to frame and adopt a democratic constitution for Tibet. His Holiness has made clear his hopes that a future Tibet, comprising the three traditional provinces of U-Tsang, Amdo and Kham, will be federal and democratic.

In May 1990, as a result of His Holiness's reforms the Tibetan administration in exile was fully democratized. The Tibetan Cabinet (Kashag), which until then had been appointed by His Holiness, was dissolved along with the

Tenth Assembly of the Tibetan People's Deputies (the Tibetan parliament in exile). In the same year, exiled Tibetans living in India and more than 33 other countries elected 46 members to an expanded Eleventh Tibetan Assembly on a one-person one-vote basis. That Assembly then elected the members of a new cabinet.

In September 2001, in a further step towards democratization the Tibetan electorate directly elected the Kalon Tripa, the Chairman of the Cabinet. The Kalon Tripa appointed his own cabinet who then had to be approved by the Tibetan Assembly. This was the first time in Tibet's long history, that the people had elected their political leaders. Since the direct election of the Kalon Tripa, the custom by which the Dalai Lamas, through the institution of the Ganden Phodrang, have held temporal as well as spiritual authority in Tibet, has come to an end. Since 2011, when he devolved his political authority to the elected leadership, His Holiness has described himself as retired.

### **Peace Initiatives**

On 21 September 1987 in an address to members of the United States Congress in Washington, DC, His Holiness proposed a Five-Point Peace Plan for Tibet as a first step towards a peaceful solution of the worsening situation in Tibet. The five points of the plan were as follows:

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.

On 15 June 1988, in an address to members of the European Parliament in Strasbourg, His Holiness further elaborated 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 be 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.

His Holiness has travelled to more than 67 countries spanning 6 continents. He has received over 150 awards, honorary doctorates, prizes, etc., in recognition of his message of peace, non-violence, inter-religious understanding, universal responsibility and compassion. He has also authored or co-authored more than 110 books. His Holiness has held discussions with heads of different religions and participated in many events promoting inter-religious harmony and understanding.

Since the mid-1980s, His Holiness has engaged in a dialogue with modern scientists, mainly in the fields of psychology, neurobiology, quantum physics and cosmology. This has led to a historic collaboration between Buddhist monks and world-renowned scientists in trying to help individuals achieve peace of mind. It has also resulted in the addition of modern science to the traditional curriculum of Tibetan monastic institutions re-established in exile..

## **Political Retirement**

On 14 March 2011 His Holiness wrote to the Assembly of Tibetan People's Deputies (Tibetan Parliament-in-exile) requesting it to relieve him of his temporal authority, since according to the Charter of the Tibetans in Exile, he was technically still the head of state. He announced that he was ending the custom by which the Dalai Lamas had wielded spiritual and political authority in Tibet. He intended, he made clear, to resume the status of the first four Dalai Lamas in concerning himself only with spiritual affairs. He confirmed that the democratically elected leadership would assume complete formal responsibility for Tibetan political affairs. The formal office and household of the Dalai Lamas, the Gaden Phodrang, would henceforth only fulfill that function.

On 29 May 2011 His Holiness signed the document formally transferring his temporal authority to the democratically elected leader. In so doing he formally put an end to the 368-year old tradition of the Dalai Lamas functioning as both the spiritual and temporal head of Tibet.

## **The Future**

As far back as 1969, His Holiness made clear that whether or not a reincarnation of the Dalai Lama should be recognized was a decision for the Tibetan people, the Mongolians and people of the Himalayan regions to make. However, in the absence of clear guidelines, there was a clear risk that, should the concerned public express a strong wish to recognise a future Dalai Lama, vested interests could exploit the situation for political ends. Therefore, on 24 September 2011, clear guidelines for the recognition of the next Dalai Lama were published, leaving no room for doubt or deception.

His Holiness has declared that when he is about ninety years old he will consult leading Lamas of Tibet's Buddhist traditions, the Tibetan public, and other concerned people with an interest in Tibetan Buddhism, and assess whether the institution of the Dalai Lama should continue after him. His statement also explored the different ways in which the recognition of a successor could be done. If it is decided that a Fifteenth Dalai Lama should be recognized, responsibility for doing so will rest primarily on the concerned officers of the Dalai Lama's Gaden Phodrang Trust. They should consult the various heads of the Tibetan Buddhist traditions and the reliable oath-bound Dharma Protectors who are linked inseparably to the lineage of the Dalai Lamas. They should seek advice and direction from these concerned parties and carry out the procedures of search and recognition in accordance with their instruction. His Holiness has stated that he will leave clear written instructions about this. He further warned that apart from a reincarnation recognized through such legitimate methods, no recognition or acceptance should be given to a candidate chosen for political ends by anyone, including agents of the People's Republic of China.

## His Holiness the 14<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama's four principle commitment

**Firstly**, as a human being, His Holiness is concerned with encouraging people to be happy—helping them understand that if their minds are upset mere physical comfort will not bring them peace, but if their minds are at peace even physical pain will not disturb their calm. He advocates the cultivation of warm-heartedness and human values such as compassion, forgiveness, tolerance, contentment and self-discipline. He says that as human beings we are all the same. We all want happiness and do not want suffering. Even people who have no religious belief can benefit if they incorporate these human values into their lives. His Holiness refers to such human values as secular ethics or universal values. He is committed to talking about the importance of such values and sharing them with everyone he meets.

**Secondly**, as a Buddhist monk, His Holiness is committed to encouraging harmony among the world's religious traditions. Despite philosophical differences between them, all major world religions have the same potential to create good human beings. It is therefore important for all religious traditions to respect one another and recognize the value of their respective traditions. The idea that there is one truth and one religion is relevant to the individual practitioner. However, with regard to the wider community, he says, there is a need to recognize that human beings observe several religions and several aspects of the truth.

**Thirdly**, His Holiness is a Tibetan and as the 'Dalai Lama' is the focus of the Tibetan people's hope and trust. Therefore, he is committed to preserving Tibetan language and culture, the heritage Tibetans received from the masters of India's Nalanda University, while also speaking up for the protection of Tibet's natural environment.

**Fourthly**, His Holiness has lately spoken of his commitment to reviving awareness of the value of ancient Indian knowledge among young Indians today. His Holiness is convinced that the rich ancient Indian understanding of the workings of the mind and emotions, as well as the techniques of mental training, such as meditation, developed by Indian traditions, are of great relevance today. Since India has a long history of logic and reasoning, he is confident that its ancient knowledge, viewed from a secular, academic perspective, can be combined with modern education. He considers that India is, in fact, specially placed to achieve this combination of ancient and modern modes of knowing in a fruitful way so that a more integrated and ethically grounded way of being in the world can be promoted within contemporary society.

## **His Holiness the Dalai Lama on his retirement from political responsibilities during a public teaching in Dharamsala on 19 March 2011**

### **His Holiness the Dalai Lama's devolution of political power.**

After coming into exile, I have made sincere efforts to establish a democratic system of governance in the last more than 40 years. The Tibetans in exile say "our democracy is a gift from His Holiness the Dalai Lama." Ten years ago, the system of electing Kalon Tripa through democratic elections was introduced rather than nomination of the candidate by the Dalai Lama, which was not correct. Since the direct election of Kalon Tripa, the system of the institution of Gaden Phodrang of the Dalai Lama as both the spiritual and temporal authority has ended. Since then I described myself as in semi-retired position.

Since then ten years have passed and the day will come for us when we have to follow a meaningful democratic system. The rule by kings and religious figures is outdated. We have to follow the trend of the free world which is that of democracy. For example in India, besides its huge population and diverse languages, religions and culture, but on the whole it remains very stable. This is because of democracy, the rule of law, free expression and media. To the contrary, China under the authoritarian rule is always facing problems. It was mentioned in a recent Chinese government's document that it is allocating more budget to maintain internal stability than national defense. This shows that they have more enemies inside rather than outside, which is a matter of shame.

The government of the People's Republic (of China) is meant to work for the people's welfare. So fulfilling the people's aspirations must come through democratic elections. If the leaders are selected through elections, it would be a matter of real pride. But to hold power at the barrel of the gun rather than through elections is immoral and outdated as well. So the system of one-man rule is not good. Therefore, it is not at all good if the Dalai Lama keeps on holding ultimate power. The Dalai Lama as the spiritual and temporal authority of Tibet did not begin during the period of the first four Dalai Lamas. It started during the time of the fifth Dalai Lama under different circumstances and the influence of the Mongol chieftain Gushri Khan. The system has brought many benefits since then. But now as we are in the 21st century, sooner or later the time for change is imminent. But if the change comes under the pressure of another person then it will be a disgrace to the former Dalai Lamas. Since the fifth Dalai Lama, Ngawang Lobsang Gyatso, the Dalai Lamas have assumed both spiritual and temporal rule over Tibet.

As I am the fourteenth in line of that institution, it is most appropriate if I on my own initiative, happily and with pride, end the dual authority of the Dalai Lama. Nobody except me can make this decision and I have made the final decision. The leadership democratically elected by the Tibetan people should take over the complete political responsibilities of Tibet. Some kind of a vestige of the dual system will remain if I am vested with the political authority in the Charter. This should change and now seems to be the time to do it.

I can talk a little about the great deal of accomplishments that I have made for the Tibetan cause, as the Tibetan people both in and outside Tibet put faith and trusts in me and there are also many people around the world who consider the Dalai Lama as someone they recognize, trust and love. So now is the right time to end the dual system of governance established during the fifth Dalai Lama and retain the kind of unanimity and recognition gained by the first four Dalai Lamas in the spiritual domain. Particularly, the third Dalai Lama received the honorific title of an ecumenical master with yellow hat. So like them I will continue to take spiritual responsibilities for the remaining part of my life.

Personally, I have been working for the promotion of moral values and religious harmony in the world. These are proving quite beneficial. Moreover, I receive many invitations from different schools and universities around the world. They are not asking me to come to preach on Buddhism as such, but to teach how to promote inner happiness and Buddhist science to which many people take interest and love to listen. So when the present Dalai Lama is in such a position, it would be a matter of great pride if the 400 year old rule of Dalai Lama as both the spiritual and temporal authority gracefully comes to an end. No one else except me can decide to end something started by the fifth Dalai Lama and my decision is final.

Recently, I received telephone calls from Tibetans inside Tibet saying they are extremely worried and feel abandoned as I am retiring. There is absolutely no need to worry. After taking retirement, I will continue to lead Tibet in spiritual affairs like the first four Dalai Lamas. Like the second Dalai Lama Gedun Gyatso, who founded the Gaden Phodrang institution and led Tibet spiritually with unanimous mandate, I will also retain that kind of spiritual leadership for the rest of my life. Perhaps if I bring no disgrace on the people and make good efforts in the future, I will continue to lead spiritually.

If such a Dalai Lama with a unanimous mandate to lead spiritual affairs abdicates the political authority, it will help sustain our exile administration and make it more progressive and robust. Similarly, the international

community, who support the Tibetan cause, will commend the Dalai Lama's sincerity for the complete democratization of the Tibetan polity. It will raise our prestige in the world. On the other hand, it will fully expose the falsehood and lies of the Chinese government that there is no Tibet problem except the issue of the Dalai Lama's personal rights. The Tibetan people inside Tibet should not feel discouraged because I have made this remarkable decision by taking in consideration the benefit of the Tibetan people in the long run. The Tibetan administration in exile will be more stable and progressive. Contrary to the system of the Chinese Communist's authoritarian rule in Tibet, our small community in exile has been able to establish a complete modern democratic system.

In the long run this decision will make our exile administration stronger and efficient. Where else, if we compare our community in exile with the authoritarian communist regime in China, we have actually become a modernized society. This is our glorious achievement. Tibetans inside Tibet should be proud of this achievement. You all should understand and realize that I am not discouraged and I have not given up on the cause of Tibet.

I am a native of the land of snows. All the six million Tibetans from the land of snows carry the common responsibility of the Tibetan cause. As for me, I am also one Tibetan from the Amdo region of Tibet, so until my death I have the responsibility of the Tibetan cause.

While I am still healthy and present amidst you all, you should take full responsibility of the Tibetan affairs. And if some problem arises that necessitates my help, then of course, I am still here. I have not given up and neither am I disheartened. The democratic system that we have followed till now can take full responsibility and after considering the many requirements and reasons, I am asking the democratic system to take full responsibility. All of you present here and all of the Tibetans in Tibet should not get disheartened. There is no reason to worry.

Just yesterday, I met a Chinese scholar who told me that he was conducting a research on the Tibetan electoral process and had also come here five years ago. He told me that this time around, Tibetans were very actively participating and fully utilizing their democratic rights. He praised the advancements that the Tibetan democratic system had made. So these developments represent our growing political awareness and the strides that we have taken in our democratic process. And so the decision to devolve my power is also a part of advancing democratization process.

Those of you from Tibet when you return and if there are people to whom you can confide then tell this to them. This may also be broadcast on the radio as

well. I have made this decision to retire after giving thorough thought over it for years and years and for the ultimate benefit of Tibet. There is no reason at all for you to be disheartened.

On the other hand, Ganden Phodrang is not being shut down. Ganden Phodrang is the institution of the Dalai Lamas and as long as I live, I will need a small institution. So, this Ganden Phodrang will still remain. What is happening is that Ganden Phodrang is relinquishing its political responsibilities.

And then, regarding the future reincarnations, of course there is no hurry as of now. But after 20 or 30 years when I am near my end, then depending mainly on the wishes of the Tibetan people and also the people of the Himalayan regions and other Buddhists who are connected to the Dalai Lamas, if they so wish then the 15th, 16th and 17th Dalai Lamas and so forth, will come. So Ganden Phodrang will still remain intact. Political changes are bound to come but such a move will lend stability. Ganden Phodrang reverting back to its role and responsibility as being the spiritual head as during the times of the second, third and fourth Dalai Lamas have great significance and reason.

In the long run, if you think about it, then this change and decision I am making has great benefits for the Tibetans. In my letter to the Tibetan Parliament, I suggested that the title of Ganden Phodrang Shung will have to be changed. Ganden Phodrang will remain but it will not take any political responsibilities as we are now a democratic establishment.

The Tibetan word 'shung' may not necessarily translate in English as government. We don't use the English word 'government' as such to describe our exile administration. At one instance during a press conference in Delhi, Rinpoche was also there, a journalist addressed Samdhong Rinpoche as the Prime Minister of the exile government. So, I instantly clarified that we don't use these titles like Tibetan 'Prime Minister' or the Tibetan 'Government-in-exile'. We call our administration the Central Tibetan Administration. Of course there are Tibetans in exile and we need an organization to look after them. This is the direct responsibility of the administration. Generally, the few of us in exile, being Tibetans, have the responsibility to articulate the aspirations of the Tibetans inside Tibet and to tell the world of the real situation inside Tibet. We have never called our administration the Tibetan exile government. Calling the administration the Ganden Phodrang Shung is another case in matter. So, the precise title is the Central Tibetan Administration whose leaders are all democratically elected.

To be true, this provides the leaders of the Tibetan autonomous areas in Tibet a reason to think. Those of us in exile, though remaining as refugees in alien

countries, have carried out a genuine electoral process. If those leaders are really capable and confident, then let the Tibetans inside Tibet democratically elect their own leaders. Whatever the case maybe in the rest of China, if we could emulate the exile system in Tibet itself then it would be very good.

So, the many political changes that I have made are based on sound reasons and of immediate and ultimate benefit for all of us. In fact, these changes will make our administration more stable and excel its development. So, there is no reason to get disheartened.

## **His Holiness the 14th Dalai Lama's interest in science, and mind and life dialogue**

The Dalai Lama's lifelong interest in science and technology dates from his childhood in Lhasa, Tibet, when he was fascinated by mechanical objects like clocks, watches, telescopes, film projectors, clockwork soldiers and motor cars, and loved to repair, disassemble and reassemble them. Once, observing the moon through a telescope as a child, he realized it was a crater pocked lump of rock and not a heavenly body emitting its own light as Tibetan cosmologists had taught him. He has also said that had he not been brought up as a monk he would probably have been an engineer. On his first trip to the west in 1973 he asked to visit Cambridge University's astrophysics department in the UK and he sought out renowned scientists such as Sir Karl Popper, David Bohm and Carl Friedrich von Weizsäcker, who taught him the basics of science.

The Dalai Lama sees important common ground between science and Buddhism in having the same approach to challenge dogma on the basis of empirical evidence that comes from observation and analysis of phenomena.

His growing wish to develop meaningful scientific dialogue to explore the Buddhism and science interface led to invitations for him to attend relevant conferences on his visits to the west, including the Alpbach Symposia on Consciousness in 1983 where he met and had discussions with the late Chilean neuroscientist Francisco J. Varela. Also in 1983, the American social entrepreneur and innovator R. Adam Engle, who had become aware of the Dalai Lama's deep interest in science, was already considering the idea of facilitating for him a serious dialogue with a selection of appropriate scientists. In 1984 Engle formally offered to the Dalai Lama's office to organize a week-long, formal dialogue for him with a suitable team of scientists, provided that the Dalai Lama would wish to fully participate in such a dialogue. Within 48 hours the Dalai Lama confirmed to Engle that he was "truly interested in participating in something substantial about science" so Engle proceeded with launching the project. Francisco Varela, having heard about Engle's proposal, then called him to tell him of his earlier discussions with the Dalai Lama and to offer his scientific collaboration to the project. Engle accepted, and Varela assisted him to assemble his team of six specialist scientists for the first 'Mind and Life' dialogue on the cognitive sciences, which was eventually held with the Dalai Lama at his residence in Dharamsala in 1987. This five-day event was so successful that at the end the Dalai Lama told Engle he would very much like to repeat it again in the future. Engle then started work on arranging a second dialogue, this time with neuroscientists in California, and the discussions from the first event were edited and published as *Mind*

and Life's first book, "Gentle Bridges: Conversations with the Dalai Lama on the Sciences of Mind".

As Mind and Life Institute's remit expanded, Engle formalized the organization as a non-profit foundation after the third dialogue, held in 1990, which initiated the undertaking of neurobiological research programmes in the United States under scientific conditions. Over the ensuing decades, as of 2014 at least 28 dialogues between the Dalai Lama and panels of various world-renowned scientists have followed, held in various countries and covering diverse themes, from the nature of consciousness to cosmology and from quantum mechanics to the neuroplasticity of the brain. Sponsors and partners in these dialogues have included the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Johns Hopkins University, the Mayo Clinic and Zurich University.

Apart from time spent teaching Buddhism and fulfilling responsibilities to his Tibetan followers, the Dalai Lama has probably spent, and continues to spend, more of his time and resources investigating the interface between Buddhism and science through the ongoing series of Mind and Life dialogues and its spin-offs than on any other single activity. As the Institute's Cofounder and the honorary chairman he has personally presided over and participated in all its dialogues, which continue to expand worldwide.

These activities have given rise to dozens of DVD sets of the dialogues and books he has authored on them such as *Ethics for the New Millennium* and *The Universe in a Single Atom*, as well as scientific papers and university research programmes. On the Tibetan and Buddhist side, science subjects have been added to the curriculum for Tibetan monastic educational institutions and scholarship. On the Western side, university and research programmes initiated by these dialogues and funded with millions of dollars in grants from the Dalai Lama Trust include the Emory-Tibet Partnership, Stanford School of Medicine's Centre for Compassion and Altruism Research and Education (CCARES) and the Centre for Investigating Healthy Minds, amongst others.

In particular, the Mind and Life Education Humanities & Social Sciences initiatives have been instrumental in developing the emerging field of Contemplative Science, by researching, for example, the effects of contemplative practice on the human brain, behavior and biology.

In his 2005 book *The Universe in a Single Atom* and elsewhere, and to mark his commitment to scientific truth and its ultimate ascendancy over religious belief, unusually for a major religious leader the Dalai Lama advises his Buddhist followers: "If scientific analysis were conclusively to demonstrate certain claims in Buddhism to be false, then we must accept the findings of

science and abandon those claims.” He has also cited examples of archaic Buddhist ideas he has abandoned himself on this basis.

These activities have even had an impact in the Chinese capital. In 2013 an ‘academic dialogue’ with a Chinese scientist, a Tibetan ‘living Buddha’ and a Professor of Religion took place in Beijing. Entitled “High-end dialogue: ancient Buddhism and modern science” it addressed the same considerations that interest the Dalai Lama, described as ‘discussing about the similarities between Buddhism and modern science’.

## **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 33<sup>rd</sup> 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** Shantarakshita & 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 was 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 was born
- 1543 Third Dalai Lama Sonam Gyatso was born.
- 1570 First Panchen Lama, Lobsang Choekyi Gyaltzen, 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 was 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 was born.
- 1708 Capuchin missionaries opened mission in Lhasa. Seventh Dalai Lama Kalsang Gyatso was born.
- 1720 Ching 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 was 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 was born
- 1816 Tenth Dalai Lama Lungtok Gyatso was born
- 1836 Eleventh Dalai Lama Khedrub Gyatso was born
- 1856 Twelfth Dalai Lama Trinley Gyatso was born.
- 1876 Thirteenth Dalai Lama Thubten Gyatso was 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 13<sup>th</sup> 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 initial, 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 was 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 Yangtze 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 War
- 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 scared 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 21:** Delivers historic Five Point Peace Plan for Tibet in Washington, D.C. to members of the U.S. Congress.  
**September 27:** pro-independence demonstration led by 21 monks broke out in Lhasa  
**October 1:** 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 9:** Chinese staged celebrations to mark the re-opening of the Potala after 5 years of renovations

**November 26:** 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 30:** 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 17:** 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 13:** Up to 30 monks arrested from Tashi Lhunpo monastery after protesting against the denunciation of Chadrel Rinpoche. All foreign tourists expelled from Shigatse.

**September 1:** 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 11:** 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 Gyaltzen 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 where abouts remain still unknown.

**1996**      **January 18:** bomb exploded at the house of Sengchen Lobsang Gyaltzen, 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 8<sup>th</sup> 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.

**4 August:** Human Rights Watch called on the Chinese

government to ensure that Dhondup Wangchen's trial met international fair-trial standards, including the right against self-incrimination, the exclusion of evidence obtained under torture or other mistreatment, and the right to be represented by a counsel of one's own choice.

**16 September:** Expressing concern over the recent events in Tibet and East Turkestan (Chinese: Xinjiang), Ms Navanethem Pillay, the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, on Tuesday called on the Chinese government to examine the underlying causes of the incidents, highlighting "discrimination and the failure to protect minority rights by the Chinese authorities".

**October 5:** US Under Secretary of State Maria Otero has been appointed as the Special Coordinator for Tibetan Issues. The formal announcement was made Thursday, 1 October, by Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton. The appointment of the Special Coordinator for Tibetan Issues is mandated by the Tibetan Policy Act of 2002 and is an indication of the United States' commitment to a negotiated resolution on Tibet that preserves the distinct religious, cultural and linguistic heritage of the Tibetan people.

**7 October:** The US Congress on Tuesday conferred its prestigious Tom Lantos Human Rights Prize award upon His Holiness the Dalai Lama for his steadfast commitment to peace, justice and reconciliation. The ceremony was held in the Capitol attended by a galaxy of top US lawmakers such as Speaker Nancy Pelosi and Senator John McCain.

2010

**January 25:** His Holiness the Dalai Lama's Special Envoy Lodi G. Gyari and Envoy Kelsang Gyaltzen will arrive in China tomorrow for discussions with the representatives of the Chinese leadership for the ninth round of dialogue.

**19 February:** President Barack Obama meets with His Holiness the Dalai Lama in the Map Room of the White House on 18 February 2010 and gave his strong support to His Holiness the Dalai Lama.

**23 August:** His Holiness the Dalai Lama is an honoured guest in India and is seen as a spiritual leader by millions of Indians, the government of India said Saturday in response to the Chinese

government's protest against His Holiness' recent meeting with Prime Minister Manmohan Singh.

**August 27:** Around 450 Tibetan delegates have gathered at the Tibetan settlement in Bylakuppe in South India's Karnataka State for the first National General meeting which began yesterday. The delegates consist of members of the Tibetan Parliament-in-Exile, members of the Kashag, representatives of the four schools of Tibetan Buddhism and Bon, representatives of local Tibetan assemblies, general public, Bod-Rangwang Denpai Legul Tsockchung, NGOs, schools, Tibetan doctors, scholars and social activists.

**September 1:** A legislation to bring Sowa-Rigpa system medicine into the country's mainstream medical system was passed in the Rajya Sabha or the upper house of the Indian Parliament on 25 August.

**15 September:** The issues of human rights abuses perpetrated against the Tibetan intellectuals and human rights defenders in Tibet have been raised at the 15th session of the UN Human Rights Council in Geneva which opened on 13 September, 2010.

**9 November:** The Sixth International Conference of Tibet Support Groups was held at Surajkund in the north Indian state of Haryana from 5th to 7th November 2010.

2011

**21 January:** The Speaker of the US House of Representatives and a bipartisan group of lawmakers expressed strong concerns over reports of human rights violations in China during their meeting with the visiting Chinese president Hu Jintao on 20 January."

**2 February:** Envoy Kelsang Gyaltzen today briefed the three official candidates for the post of Kalon Tripa on the ongoing dialogue process with the Chinese leadership. This briefing was initiated by the Envoys in consultation with Kalon Tripa and with approval of His Holiness the Dalai Lama.

**April 27:** Tibetans Elect Dr Lobsang Sangay as Kalon Tripa. In a thank you message, Dr Sangay said: "With profound humility I accept the Tibetan people's support and the post of Kalon Tripa. It is sobering to realize that nearly 50,000 people in over 30 countries voted in the recent Kalon Tripa and Chitue

elections. Your overwhelming support is humbling and I will do my utmost to live up to your expectations.

**May 30:** The 14th Tibetan Parliament-in-Exile, after three days of intense deliberation during its additional session, gave its stamp of approval for the devolution of His Holiness the Dalai Lama's administrative and political powers to the democratically elected Tibetan leaders. The Parliament today presented the amendments to His Holiness the Dalai Lama for his ratification. After giving his approval, His Holiness will fully vest the Central Tibetan Administration (CTA) and in particular its democratic leadership organs with the powers and responsibilities formerly held jointly by him and the CTA to represent and serve the whole people of Tibet.

2012

**March 2:** Expressing US Government's grave concern at the current situation in Tibet, Ms Otero said, "Lastly, the United States remains gravely concerned about recent violence and continuing tensions in Tibetan areas of China. We call on all governments including China to respect the fundamental freedoms of religion and expression of all of its citizens including members of ethnic minorities."

**March 13:** The Italian Chamber of Deputies yesterday unanimously adopted a resolution calling on the People's Republic of China to put an immediate end to stop repression in Tibet, and engage in dialogue with His Holiness the Dalai Lama's representatives to resolve the Tibet issue.

**April 3:** A group of 12 Nobel Peace Laureates — including Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Rigoberta Menchu Tum, and President Jose Ramos Horta — today sent a letter to Chinese President Hu Jintao urging him to "respect the dignity of the Tibetan people" and open "meaningful dialogue" with His Holiness the Dalai Lama and other Tibetan leaders.

**April 30:** The delegates to the Sixth World Parliamentarians' Convention on Tibet meeting in Ottawa, Canada, from 27 to 29 of April 2012 unanimously passed a resolution concerning the present critical situation inside Tibet.

**June 9:** His Holiness the Dalai Lama today inaugurated the 4th All Tibetan Support Groups Conference in Dharamsala, calling on Indians to support the preservation of Tibetan culture and

natural environment for the wider interest of entire Asia.

**June 15:** Strasbourg – The European Parliament today unanimously passed a resolution (text below) focusing on both the human rights situation in Tibet and on the cases of Tenzin Delek Rinpoche and Lobsang Dhondup, who were sentenced to death by China in suspect trial proceedings earlier this month. The sentences have sparked international outcry, as the trials have been widely characterized as unfair and politically motivated.

**September 11:** His Holiness the Dalai Lama arrived in New Delhi this morning and in the afternoon was chief guest at an event to mark the 50th anniversary of the Central Tibetan Schools Administration (CTSA). He was joined on the platform by Union Minister of Human Resource Development, Shri Kapil Sibal, Kalon Tripa Lobsang Sangay Joint Secretary and Chairman of the CTSA, Shri Apurva Chandra, and the Secretary for School Education and Literacy, Shrimati Anshu Vaishji.

**November 9:** Fresh reports coming out of Tibet say thousands of Tibetan students today took to the streets in Rebgong (Ch: Tongren) in north-eastern Tibet, where a Tibetan youth burned himself to death calling for His Holiness the Dalai Lama’s return to Tibet on Thursday.

**November 16:** Over 200 members of Tibet Support Groups from across the world participated in the three day Special International Tibet Support Groups Meeting from 16-19 November 2019 at Dharamshala, Himachal Pradesh.

**2013**

**January 30:** Various representatives from Indian political parties gathered at the Talkatora indoor stadium where the inaugural ceremony of ‘Tibetan People’s Solidarity Campaign’ was held.

**August 26:** Over 1,000 Tibet supporters from seven countries in Asia today held a rally in Delhi to express solidarity with the Tibetan people and raise concerns over environmental repercussions of China’s policies on billions of people in Asia living on river water originating from the Tibetan plateau.

**September 7:** The Task Force on Sino-Tibetan negotiations concluded its 26th session on September 7, 2013 after reviewing the developments in Tibet and China. It discussed the overall

grave situation in Tibet, including the self-immolations.

**2014**      **February 20:** Dr. Sarah Sewall was appointed today as the U.S. Under Secretary for Civilian Security, Democracy, and Human Rights. Her role also includes serving as the Special Coordinator for Tibetan issue.

**February 21:** His Holiness the Dalai Lama met with President Obama this morning at the White House. This was the third meeting between the Tibetan spiritual leader and the sitting American President. In an almost hour-long meeting, His Holiness shared his core commitment related to promotion of human values, fostering interfaith dialogue and preservation of Tibetan people's unique culture and rich tradition.

**October 21:** Ministry of Home, Government of India has formalised the much awaited "Tibetan Rehabilitation Policy 2014". Mr K. K. Pathak, Joint Secretary, Ministry of Home Affairs, handed over the copy of the 7-page policy, dated 20th October 2014, along with annexure to Hon'ble Kalon Gyari Dolma of the Central Tibetan Administration.

**December 11:** EU raised with China the denial of human rights in Tibet during the 33rd round of the EU-China Dialogue on Human Rights in Brussels.

**2015**      **August 7:** Just days before the largest gathering of Tibetans in the western hemisphere at New York on 10 July attended by President Obama's envoy Valerie Jarrett and Former House Speaker Nancy Pelosi, both Houses of the United States Congress, the Senate and the House of Representatives unanimously passed resolutions of support for Tibet and the Tibetan people.

**November 14:** "Our delegation was grateful for the opportunity to travel to Lhasa, Tibet to observe, learn and listen about life on the Tibetan plateau. "We engaged in candid talks with the Secretary of the Tibetan Autonomous Region (TAR), Chen Quanguo; Vice Party Secretary of TAR, Baima Chilin; and Party Secretary of Lhasa, Qi Zhala regarding the importance of respecting Tibet's autonomy, its ecology, and the human rights and religious freedom of its diverse people.

**2016**      **March 24:** His Holiness the Dalai Lama grace the centenary

Celebrations of Men-Tsee-Khang's (Tibetan Medical & Astro Institute's) at Thekchen Choeling, Dharamshala, Himachal Pradesh on March 24, 2016.

**May 27:** Dr Lobsang Sangay was sworn-in for a second term as Sikyong in front of His Holiness the Dalai Lama at the oath-taking ceremony today at Tsuglagkhang. The ceremony was attended by thousands of Tibetans and Tibet supporters.

**June 16:** US President Barack Obama met His Holiness the Dalai Lama in the Map Room of the White House on 15 June 2016, despite stiff objections from the Chinese government.

**September 9:** His Holiness the Dalai Lama graced the inauguration of the seventh International Conference of Tibet Support Groups at Saint-Louis University, Brussels, on Thursday, 8 September 2016.

**December 15:** European Parliament has passed an urgent resolution on the cases of Larung Gar Tibetan Buddhist Academy and Ilham Tohti at the plenary in Strasbourg, France. The resolution was proposed by the major political groups of the European Parliament namely the European People's Party (EPP), European Conservatives and Reformists (ECR), Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe (ALDE), Europe for Freedom and Direct Democracy (EFDD), the Greens/European Free Alliance and supported by the Group of the Progressive Alliance of Socialists and Democrats (S&D).

**2017**

**March 10:** To mark the 58th anniversary of the Tibetan National Uprising day on March 10, 2017. Kashag Declares 2017 as Year of Campaign for Tibet

**March 16:** Geneva: The 34th session of the UN Human Rights Council began discussion on human rights situation that require the council's attention, yesterday. Several governments including the United States of America, the European Union, Canada, France and Germany once again raised China's disregard of international standard of human rights and widespread cases of rights violation in China including Tibet and Xinjiang.

**May 9:** A bipartisan U.S. Congressional delegation led by U.S. House Democratic Leader Nancy Pelosi, arrived in

Dharamshala, the seat of the Central Tibetan Administration, today for a two-day official visit from 9 -10 May 2017. The eight-member congressional delegation met with Tibetan spiritual leader, His Holiness the Dalai Lama, afterwards, in a private audience held at His Holiness' residence.

**July 20:** Samajwadi Party leader and former Defence Minister Mulayam Singh Yadav on Wednesday raised the issue of Tibet in the Parliament. India's former Defence Minister said that India's stand on Tibet, a reference to its acceptance that the region was part of China, was a "mistake" and the time has come to support its status as an historically independent country as it had been a traditional buffer between the two big nations.

**July 28:** India's External Affairs Minister Sushma Swaraj confirmed to the Rajya Sabha yesterday that India raised the issue of Tibet and the ongoing atrocities on the Tibetan people by the Chinese government in Tibet.

**October 7:** The three-day five-fifty forum organised by the Department of Information and International Relations began today at Hotel Pavilion. Among the 180 participants include some of the top political strategists, politicians, communication experts, activists, bloggers and writers.

2018

**January 4:** The highly anticipated trial of Tibetan language rights advocate Tashi Wangchuk has ended without a verdict today. Tashi Wangchuk was put on trial for allegedly 'inciting separatism' at the Yushu Intermediate People's Court in Qinghai Province.

**February 19:** A large fire has damaged one of the holiest and most politically sensitive sites in Tibet, the Jokhang temple, stirring an outpouring of grief and concern among Tibetans.

**March 20:** A padyatra to mark the 60th year of His Holiness the Dalai Lama's arrival in India kicks off in Arunachal Pradesh on 19 March from Chuthangmo, the point of His Holiness the Dalai Lama's arrival into India in 1959 till Tezpur in Assam.

**March 31:** His Holiness the Dalai Lama today graced the 'Thank You India' event organised by the Central Tibetan Administration to mark 60 years since His Holiness' arrival in exile India. The event was attended by a host of Indian leaders

from the ruling BJP as well as the opposition Congress including cabinet minister Dr Mahesh Sharma who is the Minister of State (Independent Charge) for Culture and Tourism and Civil Aviation.

**April 27:** The US State Department issued a statement to commemorate the 29th birthday of the Panchen Lama, Gedhun Choekyi Nyima, who has been missing since the age of six. He was abducted by the Chinese government along with his family in 1995 after he was recognized as the 11th reincarnation of the Panchen Lama.

**May 1:** The 30th meeting of the Task Force on Sino-Tibetan Dialogue in Dharamshala. The meeting, which is being presided by CTA President Dr Lobsang Sangay, will review future prospects of dialogue between envoys of His Holiness the Dalai Lama and Chinese representatives in light of current political situations.

**May 24:** The Canadian government through its embassy in China yesterday issued a strong statement calling on the Chinese government for the immediate and unconditional release of Tibetan language rights advocate Tashi Wangchuk.

**July 26:** The Reciprocal Access to Tibet Act took a big step forward today when the House Judiciary Committee approved the bill unanimously. The next step is for the act to move to the floor of the House of Representatives. Under the Reciprocal Access to Tibet Act, Chinese officials responsible for discriminating against Americans who try to enter Tibet would be banned from entering the United States.

**September 3:** Representing Tibet's three traditional provinces, Tibetans from Utsang Cholka, Domey Cholka, Chushi Gangdrug based in Dharamshala, and likewise, Tibetans from Kalimpong, Gangtok, Darjeeling and Ravangla offered long life prayers (Tenshug) to His Holiness the Dalai Lama at Tsuglagkhang, the main temple in Dharamshala today. To the people gathered, His Holiness gave them assurance that he would live for hundred years to serve humanity and especially to lead the cause of Tibet under his guidance.

“As per your prayers and wishes, I assure you I would live around hundred years

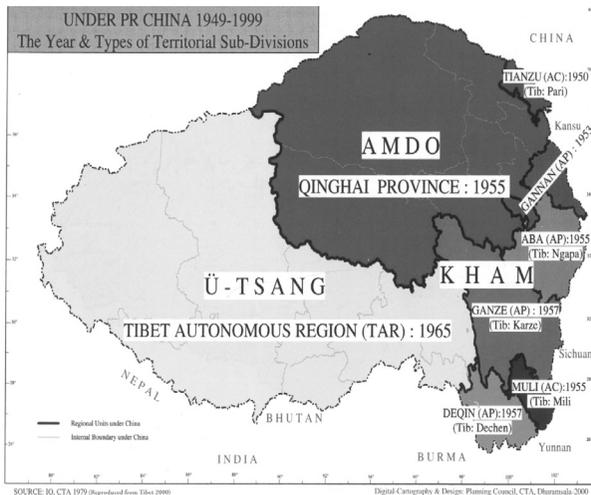
## What is Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR)

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.



**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”.

## **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.

## **Issues facing Tibet today**

Invaded by China in 1949, the independent country of Tibet was forced to face the direct loss of life that comes from military invasion and, soon after, the loss of universal freedoms that stemmed from Communist ideology and its programmes such as the Cultural Revolution (1966-76). However, it is erroneous to believe that the worst has passed. The fate of Tibet's unique national, cultural and religious identity is seriously threatened and manipulated by the Chinese.

China's policy of occupation and oppression has resulted in no more or less than the destruction of Tibet's national independence, culture and religion, environment and the universal human rights of its people. Time and time again, the infliction of this destruction sees China break international laws with impunity.

### **NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE**

With a written history of more than 2,000 years, Tibet existed as an independent sovereign state prior to Chinese rule. But having no representation in the United Nations, the world largely stood by and allowed China's occupation and destruction to happen.

### **CULTURE AND RELIGION**

China's relentless destruction of religion in Tibet saw the demise of over 6,000 monasteries and countless religious artefacts. Even today, China see the Tibetan religion and culture as the main threat to the leadership of the Communist Party. China's Third Work Forum on Tibet in 1994 and the Fourth Work Forum in 2001 have called for an array of measures to wipe out the vestige of Tibetan religion.

Denouncing Tibet's Spiritual Leaders Forced to denounce His Holiness the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama recognised by him, 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 His Holiness the Dalai Lama is today illegal in Tibet.

Since May 2005 Beijing has stepped up its efforts to attack the person of His Holiness the Dalai Lama by declaring a "fight to the death" struggle against him. Many describe this new round of vituperative campaign against the Tibetan spiritual leader as a throwback to the era of the Cultural Revolution.

In July 2007 a new regulation was introduced, according to which all

incarnate lamas or tulkus must have state approval. As well as usurping the power to recognise the Tibetan spiritual figures, Beijing hopes — through the implementation of this regulation — to rule the land and people of Tibet through state-sponsored lamas or tulkus.

### **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 the six million Tibetans are vastly outnumbered by Chinese immigrants, who are given preferential treatment in education, jobs and private enterprises. Tibetans, on the other hand, are treated as second-class citizens in their own country.

Under the guise of economic and social development, Beijing encourages the migration of Chinese population to Tibet, marginalising the Tibetans in economic, educational, political and social spheres.

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**

Chinese occupation of Tibet has seen the Tibetan language surpassed by that of the Chinese. The government is repressing Tibetan culture by making the language redundant in all sectors. Tibet's education system, controlled entirely by the Chinese and their Communist ideology, is geared to suit the needs of Chinese immigrants. Tibetan students also suffer from prohibitive and discriminatory fees and inadequate facilities in rural areas.

The deprival of meaningful education in their own homeland has forced well over 10,000 Tibetan children and youths to escape to India, where the exile Tibetan community offers them educational opportunities unimaginable in Tibet. The records of the Tibetan Reception Centre in Dharamsala reveal that from 1991 to June 2004, the Centre had hosted a total of 43,634 new arrivals from Tibet. Out of these, 59.75% were found to be children (below the age

of 13) and youths (between the age of 13 and 25). In 2006 alone, some 2,445 newly-arrived Tibetans were received at the Centre, majority of them being children below 18 years of age. The sole purpose of such a large number of young Tibetans fleeing their homeland — and more often than not negotiating a treacherous journey across the Himalayas — is to obtain a decent religious and secular education in a country far away from home.

In monasteries, 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. The “strike hard” campaign between 1996 and 1998 saw 492 monks and nuns arrested and 9,997 expelled from their religious institutions.

Zhang Qingli’s arrival at the helm in the “TAR” in May 2006 led to the scope of the “patriotic re-education” campaign being expanded from the confines of the monasteries and nunneries to encompass the wider population in Tibet, including schools. The main thrust of this campaign is to re-orient the Tibetan people’s religious faith and belief by requiring to pledge their opposition to His Holiness the Dalai Lama.

## **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 and 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 Central Tibetan Administration solemnly maintains that the Chinese government’s treatment of Tibetans in Tibet is in breach of the rights to life, liberty and security and the freedom of expression, religion, culture and education. Today, in Tibet:

- Any expression of opinion contrary to Chinese Communist Party ideology can result in arrest;
- The Chinese government has systematically covered religious institutions in an attempt to eradicate allegiance to His Holiness 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 centres despite it being in contravention of the United Nations Convention Against Torture;
- 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.
- Enforced disappearances, where a person is taken into custody and the details of his detention are not disclosed, continue to occur;
- Gedhun Choekyi Nyima, recognised by His Holiness the Dalai Lama as the 11th Panchen Lama, has been missing since 1995;
- More than 70 percent of Tibetans in Tibet now live below the poverty line;

Thousands of Tibetans continue to flee their homeland in pursuit of freedom, livelihood, and education in the exile community, where the Indian government gives facilities that the Chinese government cannot even think of, much less provide.

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

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, 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 are 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 "modernisation" plans for Tibet are seeing these forest indiscriminately destroyed. In 1959, 25.2 million hectares of forest were found in Tibet, but in 1985 the Chinese had reduced forest-cover to 13.57 million hectares. Over 46 percent of Tibet's forest has been destroyed and in some areas this figure is as high as 80 percent. Between 1959 and 1985, the Chinese removed US\$ 54 billion worth of timber from Tibet. Deforestation, and inadequate reforestation programmes, has a profound effect on wildlife and leads to soil erosion and floods in the neighbouring countries, including China itself.

### **Soil Erosion and Flooding**

Massive deforestation, mining and intensified agriculture 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, Salween and Yellow rivers cause major floods such as those Asia has experienced in recent years. This in turn causes landslides and reduces potential farming land, thus affecting half the world population which lives downstream from Tibet.

### **Global Climate 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 world-wide.

### **Extinction of Wildlife**

In 1901, His Holiness 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 has been actively encouraged. There are at least 81 endangered species on the Tibetan Plateau of which 39 are mammals, 37 birds, four amphibians and one reptile.

### **Uncontrolled Mining**

Extraction of borax, chromium, copper, gold, and uranium is being vigorously carried out 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 rapid and unregulated manner.

The new railway line to Lhasa is expected to provide easier means of exploitation of Tibet’s enormous natural resources. A survey conducted by the China Geological Survey (CGS), an agency responsible for mineral exploration under the Ministry of Land and Resources, reveals that their geologists have discovered 600 new sites of copper, iron, lead and zinc ore deposits along the route of this railway line. The survey further states that if these were exploited, it could meet China’s demands for mineral resources. Zhuang Yuxun, director of the CGS’s Department of Geological Investigation, has indicated that “the new supply [of these resources] can come to the market in two to three years”, as “the locations of the newly-discovered reserves are close to the ‘Qinghai-Tibet’ railway”.

Increased mining activities further reduces vegetation cover and thereby increases 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 militarised to the point of holding at least 500,000 Chinese troops and up to one quarter of China’s nuclear missile arsenal. The Chinese brought their first nuclear weapon onto the Tibetan Plateau in 1971. Today, it appears that the Chinese are using Tibet as a dumping ground for their and foreign nuclear waste. In 1984, China Nuclear Industry Co-operation offered western countries nuclear waste disposal facilities at US\$ 1,500 per kilogram.

Mysterious deaths of Tibetans and livestock residing close to China’s nuclear sites have been reported, as too have increases in cancer and birth defects. In addition, there has been incidences of waterway contamination where the

local Chinese population 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.

\* The term TIBET here means the whole of Tibet known as Cholka-Sum (U-Tsang, Kham and Amdo). It includes the present-day Chinese administrative areas of the so-called Tibet Autonomous Region, Qinghai Province, two Tibetan Autonomous Prefectures and one Tibetan Autonomous County in Sichuan Province, one Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture and one Tibetan Autonomous County in Gansu Province and one Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture in Yunnan Province.

# Human rights violations: The case of Tibet

## 1. Religious Repression and Cultural Genocide

Tibetan Buddhism forms the core of Tibetan way of life and is practiced by majority of Tibetans. It sets the foundation for Tibetan cultural identity. However, the Chinese government has designed policies to place restrictions on Tibetan monastic institutes. The state interference in religious affairs has reduced the space for practice of Tibetan Buddhism in the wake of State interference in religious life of Tibetan people. Monasteries are barred from giving traditional monastic education and are instead replaced with 'Patriotic Education' enforced on monks and nuns.

In mid-July this year, Chinese authorities in Kham Sershul forced Tibetan monks below the age of 16 out of their monasteries and instead, were ordered to join government run schools. As many as 200 young monks were removed from Dza Sershul Monastery, Dzachuka on July 10, 2018 according to news reports. If the monks refuse to abide, the monasteries will face closure while their administrators, the monks' religious teachers, as well as their parents will be punished, warned the authorities. The parents of the young monks were also threatened that the authorities would close the monastery if the monks refused to leave.

### **The Case of Larung Gar: Demolition and Eviction at World's Largest Buddhist Academy**

Larung Gar, one of the largest Buddhist study centers in the world is facing wide-scale demolitions under the directions of the Chinese authorities. Beginning in 2001, the institute faced severe threats of destruction and expulsion of monks, nuns and lay practitioners. In June, 2016 the Chinese authorities ordered Larung Gar to slice its population of estimated 10,000 monks, nuns and lay practitioners by half and the demolitions were subsequently carried out in the following month. This led to the forced removal of at least 4,800 residents and dismantling of homes to a similar extent. Residents were neither consulted about the demolition plan prior to the government order, nor have they received any legal remedy or corresponding compensation. The evicted monks and nuns were forced to sign a document undertaking that they will not come back to Larung Gar and that they will not join any other monastic institutes in their hometown.

Video footages received despite the crackdown on communication show nuns wailing helplessly as they watch their fellow nuns who were being shoved into buses and sent back to their hometowns. Monks and nuns were

seen weeping in grief and some losing consciousness witnessing the forced separation from their friends, while government-sponsored Chinese military trucks transport monks and nuns out of the Buddhist institutes.

The evictees were forced to undergo patriotic education exercise. Video show Tibetan nuns dressed in military uniform forced to sing the song "Chinese and Tibetans are Children of One Mother." Another video show Tibetan nuns believed to be evictees of Larung Gar performing on stage to pop songs. This is not only a violation of their monastic vows but also the highest level of humiliation a nun can face. Images received from Tibet show that the evictees were housed in concentration camps. This is also a case of revival of Cultural Revolution in Tibet and case of Cultural Genocide.

Saddened by the demolition of the institution, three Tibetan nuns— Rigzin Dolma, Tsering Dolma and Semgha, committed suicide and left notes referring to the demolitions and Government "harassment."

### **Administration of Monasteries**

The Communist government controlled Democratic Management Committee (DMCs) has taken over the administrative role of abbots, traditional heads of monastery. Human Rights Watch has reported that the Chinese authorities have established Monastery Management Committees in 1787 monasteries since November 2011. The committee is composed of state approved 'patriotic' monks and nuns, party cadres and government officials, in some cases 'trusted' Tibetan officials. It is given the responsibility of administering monasteries and imposing rules and regulation through 'Patriotic Education.' It serves as a link between the Chinese government and the Tibetan Buddhist monasteries and monitors activities and movements of monks and nuns.

A leaked document obtained by Tibetans in exile in 2015 reflects an entirely new level of repression in the monastic institutes. Document entitled "Notification of the Driru County People's Government on the need to intensify and deepen the work of cleaning up and reforming the religious institutions [For temporary implementation]" reveals the systematic efforts to convert Tibetan monastic institutions into Chinese government offices and the monastic population into Chinese Communist Party members. The document contains set of regulations that identify activities through which religious institutions will be reformed. The document says, the Chinese authorities will control all financial activities of religious institutions including offerings made to reincarnate or senior monks. Every Thursday monks and nuns at all religious institutions in Driru County are required to attend political education sessions. The Chinese authorities will keep an account of all mo-

nastic properties, and retain the sole authority to decide over their storage and repair.

### **Patriotic Education**

Patriotic re-education (or simply patriotic Education) was initially launched in Tibet in 1996 as a part of Beijing's "Strike Hard" campaign against crime and corruption. The campaign has been expanding ever since, and today it has reached to the entire region, even to the remotest part of Tibet. The core message of the campaign was that the "loyalty to the State is a pre-requisite to be a good monk or nun". Under this campaign, a Work Team (Tib: ledon rukhag), consisting both Chinese and trusted Tibetan officials, visit monasteries and nunneries and force monks and nuns to denounce His Holiness the Dalai Lama and declare their allegiance toward the Communist Party leadership through an examination, or by signing a pledge. Moreover, under "Nine Must Haves" program, which is under the umbrella of Patriotic Re-education campaign, all monasteries and nunneries must display the portrait of the Chinese communist leaders and the Chinese National flag. Any attempts to boycott the session or defy the demands of the Work Team may result in expulsion, arrest or torture.

### **Order No: 5**

On January 2007, China's State Administration of Religious Affairs issued a new regulatory measure called "Order No. 5" on "management measures for the reincarnation of living Buddhas in Tibetan Buddhism." The decree makes it compulsory for all the Tulkus (reincarnated teachers) to register and get government approval. Article 2 of the regulation says that "reincarnating living Buddhas shall not be interfered with or be under the dominion of any foreign organization or individual" and shall be (article 7) "recognized by the provincial or autonomous regional Buddhist Association or the China Buddhist Association in accordance with religious rituals and historically established systems."

## **2. Monitoring And Surveillance**

### **Restriction on Freedom of Movement: Grid-Based Surveillance**

Under the guise of "social stability maintenance," Tibet is under heavy surveillance and control. With launch of "grid-system of social management" since 2012, and imposition of over 600 "convenience police-posts" with high-tech equipment to monitor daily life, particularly of "special groups" in the region--former prisoners and those who have returned from the exile community in India, among others are under constant watch.

With already stringent measures against freedom of expression, belief, association and movement of Tibetans, the “grid system of social management” further exacerbates the situation. Under the system, a designated place is divided into smaller sub-divisions, for instance, Chengguan district in the capital city of Tibet, Lhasa, is divided into 175 divisions. The system intended to facilitate the officials to closely monitor and identify the “potential trouble makers,” and gather real-time information from the community worker stationed within the areas.

Every movement of the residents is monitored on screens in offices and information is fed to these officers by grid staff stationed in respective areas equipped with smartphones, which can upload geo-tagged photographs.

The ID cards issued are smart chip enabled. Beijing-based writer Woese mentions that on her visit to Lhasa she noticed the Chinese authorities were scanning ID cards of the Tibetans who arrived with her on the train. The ID cards are scanned around Lhasa at all the checkpoints to limit movement and that those flagged are turned back.

“All villages become fortresses, and everyone is a watchman” is the official slogan used to describe the objective of the village-based grid management teams.

### **Travel Restrictions during Buddhist Teachings**

The Chinese government has time and again imposed severe travel restrictions on Tibetans in Tibet to block them from attending Buddhist Teachings in India.

In 2017, the Chinese government imposed severe travel restrictions to block the Tibetans from attending the 34th Kalachakra Initiation—a prominent Buddhist ceremony led by His Holiness the Dalai Lama from January 2 to January 14, 2017 in Bodh Gaya, a place in India where Lord Buddha attained enlightenment. After spending years and huge amount of money to obtain passports for legal travel, thousands of Tibetan pilgrims who had come from Tibet purely to attend the spiritual gathering were ordered to return back.

According to sources, around 7000 Tibetans from Tibet had to return back to Tibet before the start of the Kalachakra Initiation owing to threat and pressure received from Chinese authorities. Authorities had threatened the family members of cutting subsidies, jobs and severe consequence if they did not before January 3, 2017, the day the Kalachakra initiations were to begin. Travel agencies in Nepal had received travel advisory circular from China, and had asked all travel agencies and airlines to cancel all travel plans and

bookings made until January 10, 2017.

Upon their return to Tibet thousands of Tibetans were detained and their passports were confiscated and destroyed. Even in 2012, more than 10,000 Tibetan pilgrims from Tibet had attended the Kalachakra and upon their return to Tibet many were jailed or detained for “re-education” in military camps.

Again in January, 2018 similar restrictions were imposed and the Chinese government refused to issue or reissue passports to Tibetans to block them from attending Buddhist Teachings led by His Holiness the Dalai Lama at Bodhgaya, India.

### **Nepal and China - Travel Restriction on Tibetans**

According to available information, Tibetans are arrested when no other witnesses are present at the border or within Nepali territory and are forcibly returned to China by Nepali authorities. Officials who work at the Department of Immigration at one of the major crossing points between China and Nepal admitted that Tibetans are occasionally forced back due to pressure from China.

Where some Tibetans who travel to India to attend Buddhist Teachings are caught by the Chinese Authorities while entering back into Tibet, they are refused re-entry even though they carry the documents proving their citizenship of China. Human Rights Watch mentioned that there have been several cases of China refusing re-entry to its own citizens of Tibetan ethnicity since 2012. In some cases, the Tibetans were simply refused entry, and had no choice but to stay in Nepal; in others they were told by Chinese police that they should go to the Chinese Embassy in New Delhi and apply for a special permit to re-enter Tibet.

### **Discriminatory Practices in Issuing Passport for Tibetans**

The United Nations’ Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD) recently concluded its review of the “combined 14<sup>th</sup> to 17<sup>th</sup> periodic reports of China” and published its concluding observations on August 30, 2018. The UN Committee in its report has raised concerns over the significant restrictions on movement of Tibetans within and beyond Tibetan Autonomous Region (TAR) and also abroad. It has further raised concerns about the entire banning of issuance of passports to Tibetans for foreign travel and has recommended China to revise its regulations and practices to ensure non-discriminatory determinations on passport applications and freedom of movement of Tibetans within and beyond TAR, and abroad.

China has heightened its restrictions on freedom of movement of Tibetan

people by denying them passports since 2012. (Annexure 1) It has been reported that in 2012, in Tibet’s Changdu (Tib: Chamdo) prefecture with a population of 650,000, only two passports were issued.

“Getting a passport is harder for a Tibetan than getting into heaven. This is one of those “preferential policies” given to us Tibetans by [China’s] central government.” – Posted by a Tibetan blogger on a Chinese-language website, October 2012

According to Human Rights Watch, since 2012, the Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR) authorities have ordered the confiscation of all ordinary passports held by registered residents of the region, over 90 percent of whom are Tibetans.

A discriminatory regulation placed two-systems in issuing passports:

1. Quick and straight-forward,
2. Extremely slow (Annexure 2)

The quick and straight-forward system is available in areas that are largely populated by Chinese majority, while the extremely slow system has been imposed in areas populated mainly by Tibetans and other religious minorities. In case of the fast-track system, a passport application only requires approval from one office—the local branch of the Exit and Entry Administration under the Ministry of Public Security—and these offices are required to issue a passport to any citizen within 15 days of an application or to explain the delay. But residents of areas under slow-track processing are subjected to extremely long delays, often lasting several years, before passports are issued, or are routinely denied for no valid reason.

**Minority Areas Excluded From Fast-Track Processing (Human Rights Watch Report)**

Provinces with prefectures that are not permitted fast-track passport processing	Number of prefectures not permitted fast-track processing	Number of prefectures not permitted fast-track processing that have substantial Tibetan or Muslim populations
Xinjiang	14	14
TAR	7	7
Jiangxi	1	0

Sichuan	2	2
Yunnan	1	1
Gansu	2	2
Qinghai	8	8
Total	36	35

**Annexure-1**

**Internal Notice issued by the TAR authorities, April 29, 2012.**

(Unofficial translation from Chinese.)

[Page 1]

TAR Party Committee General Office Document

TAR Party Committee GenOffDoc (2012) No. 22

TAR Party Committee General Office

TAR People’s Government General Office

**Notice on Printing “Suggestions on Further Strengthening Our Region’s Passport Handling, Approvals, and Issuance Management”**

All prefecture and prefecture-level city Party committees, all administrative offices and the Lhasa City People’s Government, the Regional Party committee and all departmental committees, all committees, offices, departments and bureau in the autonomous region, and all People’s collectives:

“Suggestions on Further Strengthening Our Region’s Passport Handling, Approvals and Issuance Management” has been approved by the regional Party committee and government, and is hereby issued to you in print. Please integrate realities and implement conscientiously and thoroughly.

[Page 2]

TAR Party Committee General Office

TAR People’s Government General Office

April 29, 2012

(This document has been sent to prefectural department levels, and to county Party committees and county governments.)

[Page 3]

Suggestions on Further Strengthening Our Region’s Passport Handling,

## Approvals, and Issuance Management

In order to further regulate our Region's passport handling, approvals and issuance work and in accordance with relevant national laws and regulations, and by integrating the work realities of our region, the following work suggestions are specially proposed:

### **I. Earnestly strengthen management work over citizens' handling, approvals and issuance of ordinary passports**

Using the opportunity of the national launch of ePassports in May of this year, all still-valid ordinary passports in our region shall be withdrawn without exception.

Those needing to apply for an ordinary passport shall be re-issued with an ordinary ePassport following strict review and approval.

Strictly control approvals for the issuance of ordinary passports. Ordinary passport applications and issuance shall be carried out under a system of "apply in the domicile, examine at the prefecture, unified approval by the regional Public Security Department." First, all citizens in the region without exception and in accordance with the principle of local management, when applying for an ordinary passport shall apply to the prefecture-level (prefecture-level city) public security agency where their household is registered; the regional Entry and Exit Administration of the Public Security Department shall no longer accept or handle applications. Second, ordinary passport applicants must provide a self-completed application to be delivered in person to their local village (neighborhood) committee, township (town) People's Government (neighborhood affairs office) and police station for initial examination. The police station shall submit the application materials to the township (town) People's Government (neighborhood affairs office) for review by the leaders, and report it to the county (county-level city, district) Public Security Bureau for handling. Following a review by the county (county-level city, district) Public Security Bureau, the application materials shall be sent to the county (county-level city, district) People's Government leaders for examination and approval and for them to provide their opinions. After reporting to the prefecture-level (prefecture-level city) Public Security Exit and Entry Administration, the application materials shall be delivered to the principal leaders of the prefecture-level (prefecture-level city) Public Security Bureau (Office) for examination and approval, and then reported to the principal leaders of the [prefecture] administration (Government) for review and approval. Once all formalities are complete, the prefecture-level (prefecture-level city) Public Security Entry and Exit Administration departments shall report to the Regional

Public Security Department Entry and Exit Administration for review and approval, and issuance. Upon returning to the country, passport-holders without exception must hand their passport in to the local prefecture-level (prefecture-level city) Public Security Exit and Entry Administration department for unified safe-keeping.

Strictly limit state workers holding ordinary passports. When prefecture (prefecture-level city) Public Security Exit and Entry Administration departments receive a citizen's application for an ordinary passport, an examination should be carried out of the applicant's application materials and the applicant should be interviewed to ascertain whether or not they are a state worker. On the principle of not issuing ordinary passports to state workers in our region, if an ordinary passport is required for crossing the border due to exceptional circumstances, cadres at county-level and below shall be reviewed and approved by their local prefecture (prefecture-level city) Party committee Organization Department; cadres above county level applying for an ordinary passport shall be reviewed and approved by the autonomous regional Party committee Organization Department. Upon returning to the country from traveling abroad, all passports without exception must be handed in to the passport-holder's local Organization Department at the county-level (county-level city, district) or above for unified safe-keeping.

Implement a system of persons [Ch.: renyuan] with ordinary passports signing a declaration of responsibility [Ch.: zeren shu]. When such persons collect an ordinary passport for the purpose of private foreign travel, they must sign a declaration of responsibility in person at the prefecture (prefecture-level) Public Security Exit and Entry Administration, guaranteeing that on leaving the country they will not engage in any activities that threaten national security or national interests, or other illegal criminal activities. The Public Security Exit and Entry Administration must seek out a visit with the passport holder on their return and conduct a face-to-face interview, and if any illegal activities are discovered, the passports without exception shall be canceled or declared invalid.

**II. Conscientiously carry out good work on tour group passport applications** In accordance with Article 9, Chapter II of the "Tourist Agency Regulations" promulgated by the State Council, and the provisions of Article 10, Chapter II of the "Detailed Implementation Measures," earnestly strengthen the handling of tour groups' ordinary passports.

When travel agency tour groups travel abroad, citizens from our region applying for an ordinary passport necessary for travel must carry out their passport application in strict accordance with the relevant provisions, be-

ing checked and approved one by one, and in strict accordance with the principle of “whoever checks also approves and is also responsible.” Travel agencies must sign a formal travel contract with the traveler.

When travel agencies complete their handling of passports, a responsible person shall go to the autonomous regional Tourism Bureau Supervision and Management Office to receive a “Form for a Namelist of Chinese Citizens Leaving the Country in a Tour Group,” and complete it conscientiously. Once completed by the tour group operator, the third copy of the “Form for a Namelist of Chinese Citizens Leaving the Country in a Tour Group” shall be retained by the autonomous regional Tourism Bureau Supervision and Management Office.

Strict tour-group management of passports. Regarding citizens from our Region who have participated in a tour group and applied for an ordinary passport, and upon such tour group participants’ return to the country, without exception, their passports shall be collected and handed in to the prefecture (prefecture-level city) Public Security Exit and Entry Administration department by the travel agency organizing the tour group for safe-keeping.

### **III. Further strengthen management work on the approval and issuance of public affairs passports**

Strictly strengthen management work on public affairs passports in accordance with the “Notice on Printing ‘Diplomatic Passport, Service Passport, and Public Affairs Passport Retrieval Measures’ (MFA Doc [2006] No. 60)” issued by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the “Notice on ‘Detailed Measures on the TAR Public Affairs Passports Issuance and Management Implementation’ (Experimental)” and the “Notice on the ‘TAR Public Affairs Passport Retrieval and Management Detailed Implementation Measures’ (TAR External Affairs Doc [2007] No. 53)” issued by the TAR External Affairs Office, and in accordance with the spirit of the “Notice on Printing ‘Diplomatic Passport, Service Passport and Public Affairs Passport Issuance and Management Measures’ (MFA Doc [2006] No. 23).”

All tour groups and individuals traveling abroad on public affairs who apply for a public affairs passport must handle formalities through application channels for going abroad on public affairs. Public affairs passports must be returned to the agency nominated by the issuing department within seven days of returning to the country for safe-keeping or for cancellation. Individuals or work units which delay handing in passports or who do not carry out document management provisions shall be temporarily prevented from going abroad on public service.

Strengthen passport management for foreign travel by enterprises and work units in our region, increasing the rigor of approvals for public affairs passports for going abroad on public affairs, and put an end to ordinary passport-holders going abroad to conduct public affairs.

Copies sent to:

TAR Military District Political Department, Air Force Lhasa Command Office Party

TAR Party Committee General Office Private Secretary's Office.

Printed on April 29, 2012

## **Annexure-2**

### **The 10 Stages of the Application Process for an Ordinary Passport in the TAR**

A summary based on the instructions given in Notice No. 22, April 29, 2012

Source: Human Rights Watch

Applications are submitted to the applicant's local Village (or neighborhood) Committee, Township (or Town) People's Government (or neighborhood affairs office), and police station for initial examination.

Applications are submitted by the applicant to the applicant's local police station for initial examination.

The local police station submits the application to the Township (or Town) People's Government (or neighborhood affairs office) for "review by the leaders" [Ch.: yiba shou].

The application is submitted to the County-level (county-level city, district) Public Security Bureau for review and approval.

The application is then submitted for examination and approval to the County-level (county-level city, district) People's Government leaders, who "provide their opinions" on the application.

The application is then filed with the prefecture-level Public Security Exit and Entry Administration for review and approval.

Following approval, the application is passed on to the "principal leaders" [Ch.: zhuyao lingdao] of the prefecture-level Public Security Bureau [the Exit and Entry Administration's controlling agency] for examination and approval.

The application is then submitted to the "principal leaders" in the prefecture-level government for review and approval.

The prefecture-level Public Security Exit and Entry Administration files the application with the autonomous regional Public Security Department Exit and Entry Administration for review and approval.

The autonomous regional Public Security Department Exit and Entry Administration issues the passport.

### **3. Language And Cultural Rights**

#### **Arbitrary Arrest and Detention of Language Rights Advocate:**

**Tashi Wangchuk**

**Went missing in January 2016**

**News of his arrest emerged in March 2016**

**January 2018 trial started under closed doors**

**Charged with “Inciting Separatism”**

**May 2018 Sentenced to 5 years imprisonment**

**August 2018 appeal dismissed, 5 years imprisonment upheld**

Tashi Wangchuk, a Tibetan language rights advocate was arbitrarily detained by Chinese authorities in January 2016, a few months after he appeared in a New York Times documentary about his concerns for Tibetan language and his efforts in reaching out to Chinese officials. He mainly talked about Tibetan language and culture preservation in the documentary released in November 2015.

Tashi Wangchuk remained missing for more than 2 months since January 2016. After enormous attention generated by international media outlets on his case, his family was finally informed of his arrest on 24 March 2016.

Tashi Wangchuk had travelled to Beijing in May 2015 to file a formal complaint against officials in his hometown, Kyegudo (Ch: Yushu) in Kham, Eastern Tibet now incorporated into China’s Qinghai Province, for their failure to support Tibetan language education.

He was seen explicitly expressing his concern over the deterioration of Tibetan language education in his hometown Kyegudo. Under the pretext of promoting bilingual education, the Chinese government has promoted Mandarin as the medium of instruction in Tibetan schools. He had made clear in his interviews with New York Times that he was not an advocate of Tibetan ‘independence,’ and that he was concerned about the protection and preservation of Tibetan language and culture, and called for implementation of the rights and freedoms associated with the equal protection and promotion of Tibetan language and culture, as stipulated in the Chinese

Constitution and the law on Regional National Autonomy. However, Tashi Wangchuk was charged with “inciting separatism,” and after a closed-door trial he was sentenced to 5 years imprisonment in May, 2018.

The Chinese Constitution and Law on Regional Ethnic Autonomy say that minorities have the right to use and develop spoken and written language. There are many other provisions including PRC’s compulsory education that provides language rights to minority nationalities. Despite these provisions, Tashi Wangchuk was detained and charged with political crimes for simply expressing his concern over the marginalization of Tibetan language, and for filing a lawsuit against the Chinese authorities for their failure in implementing the legal provisions.

On December 10, 2016 World Human Rights Day, the American ambassador to China, Max Baucus, released a statement in which he mentioned a number of people being held by China, including Tashi Wangchuk, who he said was “in jail for his peaceful advocacy of Tibetan language education.” He called for his immediate release.

PEN America listed Tashi Wangchuk’s case in China’s attempt to censor foreign reporting.

On August 23, 2018, Tashi Wangchuk’s lawyer Liang Xiaojun tweeted that his appeal against the sentencing was dismissed by the Appeals Court. The arguments presented by Tashi Wangchuk and his defense lawyer were rejected and his five-year sentence was upheld by the Qinghai High Court.

#### **4. Enforced Disappearances: Case Of Panchen Lama**

Chinese authorities continue to arbitrarily arrest, sentence and disappear Tibetans who express their devotion to His Holiness the Dalai Lama and advocate for Tibetan cultural and language rights and express their opinion against the Chinese policies or who attempt to publish their views. More than 730 known prisoners of conscience were detained on or after March 2008.

On 14 May 1995, His Holiness the Dalai Lama recognized Gedhun Choekyi Nyima, aged 6, as the reincarnation of the 10<sup>th</sup> Panchen Lama.

On May 17, 1995, the Chinese authorities abducted him, thus making him one of the world’s youngest prisoners of conscience. Since then, his whereabouts remain unknown. The Chinese government instead installed another young boy of the same age as their choice of the 11<sup>th</sup> Panchen Lama.

On 8 April 2011, the United Nations’ Working Group on Enforced and Involuntary Disappearances has publicly stated Gedhun Choekyi Nyima dis-

appeared in 1995 when he was six years old. The Chinese authorities have “admitted to taking him away.”

They have continually refused to divulge any information about him or his whereabouts, making his case an enforced disappearance”.

A number of human rights bodies including the UN Committee against Torture, the UN Committee on the Rights of the Child, as well as the Special Rapporteur on Freedom of Religion or Belief, have called for the Panchen Lama’s whereabouts to be made known.

This year marks 23 years since his disappearance.

## **5. Arrests And Sentencing**

### **A. Dr. Yeshi Choedon**

Yeshi Choedon, a 54-year-old retired Tibetan doctor, was arbitrary detained without valid charges during the peaceful protests by Tibetans in Lhasa in March 2008. Her family was denied the right to meet her during her detention. Later, on 7 November on the charges of ‘espionage’, Dr. Yeshi Choedon was sentenced to 15-year imprisonment by the Intermediate People’s Court in Lhasa. She was accused of leaking out information to the outside world during the peaceful protests in March 2008.

The last available news of Dr. Yeshi Choedon was in 2016 that reported that she was seriously ill due to torture in prison and hospitalized for the second time for emergency treatment. She was hospitalized earlier in 2012. Since 2016, there has been no information about her health condition and whereabouts.

A mother of two sons and a recipient of Tibet Medal of Courage, Dr. Yeshi Choedon was among the 35 world political prisoners profiled at the Geneva Summit in February, 2018 that highlighted 6 Tibetans.

### **B. Dorjee Tashi**

Dorjee Tashi, one of Tibet’s richest businessmen, known for working within the system joined the ruling Communist Party in 2003. The Chinese administration named him as one of “10 outstanding youth of Tibet.”

Tashi was handed imprisonment for life in 2010. He was sentenced in a secret trial under alleged charge of “illegal business operations”. It is believed that he was arrested after the Chinese authorities found a letter he had received from His Holiness the Dalai Lama for making a donation. Post sentencing, there is no available information on his whereabouts and well-being.

### **C. Chinese Court Sentences Tibetans for Celebrating HH the Dalai La-**

## ma's Birthday

The Intermediate Peoples' Court in Barkham, Ngaba prefecture has sentenced 10 Tibetans, both monks and laypeople, to varying terms of 5 to 14 years in prison for taking part in the 80<sup>th</sup> birthday celebration of the Tibetan spiritual leader, His Holiness the Dalai Lama in Ngaba County, incorporated in China's Sichuan Province.

List of Tibetans Sentenced to Varied Terms of five to 14 Years

S.NO	NAME	AGE	GENDER	PRISON TERM
1	Drukdra	50	Male	14 years
2	Lobsang Khedrup	44	Male	13 years
3	Lobsang Gepel	29	Male	12 years
4	Lodro	41	Male	9 years
5	Tare Key	un-known	Female	8 years
6	Wonkho Kyi	48	Female	7 years
7	Bonko Kyi	48	Male	7 years
8	Tsultrim	32	Male	6 years
9	Ajaya	un-known	Male	5 years
10	A Kyakya	35	Male	5 years

## 6. Torture And Death In Prison: Tenzin Delek Rinpoche

Tenzin Delek Rinpoche (65), a highly respected Tibetan spiritual leader and one of the most prominent Tibetan political prisoners died under suspicious circumstances on July 12, 2015, while being incarcerated in a Chinese prison in Tibet. Tibetans, global leaders and lawmakers have urged for an "international investigation" into his death.

Tenzin Delek Rinpoche was arbitrarily arrested from his monastery in April 2002, under trumped-up charges of being involved in a bomb blast in Chengdu. In 2002, he was sentenced to life imprisonment on trumped up charges and denied access to a fair trial.

Tenzin Delek, is a Buddhist religious leader and a social worker. He first came under Chinese government's scrutiny in 1987 when he returned from

India after meeting with the Dalai Lama.

As a spiritual leader, Tenzin Delek's influence extended far beyond. But it was his strong advocacy for Tibetan cultural identity and Tibet's environment that posed serious threat to China's legitimacy in Tibet. His efforts in conserving Tibet's environment by speaking against slapdash logging and mining projects, construction of old people's home and setting up of schools for orphans made him not just a spiritual leader but an environmental advocate, social activist and a visionary.

Tibetans, global leaders and lawmakers have urged for an "international investigation" into his death. Tenzin Delek's innocence was reinforced when in 2004, Human Rights Watch stated that the legal proceedings against Tenzin Delek Rinpoche had been "procedurally flawed" and he had been charged to "curb his efforts to foster Tibetan Buddhism and his work to develop Tibetan social and cultural institutions."

Tibetans in Tenzin Delek's home county of Lithang, in eastern Tibet have fearlessly made steadfast efforts to secure his release. In 2009, 40,000 Tibetan people risking arrests and even death, signed with red ink thumb impression, a petition calling for his release.

Months before his death, Tibetans across the globe marked the 13th year of Tenzin Delek Rinpoche's imprisonment and demanded that he be released on medical grounds. His family members in Tibet sought medical parole in accordance with the Chinese law, particularly the Prison Law of People's Republic of China that provides for a 'commutation from punishment and release on parole'. This effort gained considerable support from the international community, including the U.S. Congressmen Jim McGovern who called on the U.S. State Department to make his release on medical parole a priority. Tibetans were hopeful but this again was short-lived.

While demanding the release of his body, many local Tibetans sustained injuries from gunshot. His sister Dolkar Lhamo made a five-point appeal letter to the Chinese authorities citing a provision in its law that allows families to plea against cremations of prisoners. Lhamo also raised her suspicion that her brother's death may not have been natural.

Within a matter of days, the authorities secretly cremated his body in a remote high-security prison facility with the attendance of his family members, who noticed the deceased had black lips and nails — heightening their suspicion surrounding his death.

After his followers were handed over the ashes by prison authorities, the police confiscated the ashes from them at a hotel in Lunding at gunpoint

and threatened to throw it in a nearby river. A few days later, his sister and niece went missing. His niece Nyima Lhamo later escaped to India and has testified before various International Committees about the period before and after the suspicious death of Tulku Tenzin Delek Rinpochen.

Tenzin Delek's death points to China's gross violation of the principles of Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It also reflects on China's violation of the Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners adopted by the First United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders stipulating, "sick prisoners who require specialist treatment shall be transferred to specialized institutions or to civil hospitals."

## **7. Self-Immolation Protests In Tibet**

"...since we do not have freedom to voice the truth about our condition, I had to sacrifice my life to be a witness of truth to the world in general and specifically to the Chinese government and people..." Sonam Topgyal, male, 26 year-old, died after self-immolation protest on 9th July 2015.

**152 Tibetans have self-immolated in Tibet since February 27, 2009.**

**126 men, 26 women**

**130 of the 152 are known to have died following their protest**

**26 of the Tibetans who self-immolated were 18 or under**

Since 2009, 152 Tibetans have self-immolated in Tibet.<sup>1</sup> 126 of them succumbed to the injuries. The whereabouts and conditions of the surviving self-immolators remain unknown. All the self-immolators have called for 'freedom in Tibet' and 'the return of His Holiness the Dalai Lama to Tibet.'

However, instead of addressing the underlying grievances of Tibetans, the Chinese authorities have responded to these self-immolations with further repressive policies by heightening restrictions in Tibetan areas and dismissing the self-immolations as "acts of terrorism" and criminalizing the partners, friends and relatives of the self-immolators with arrests and heavy sentences.

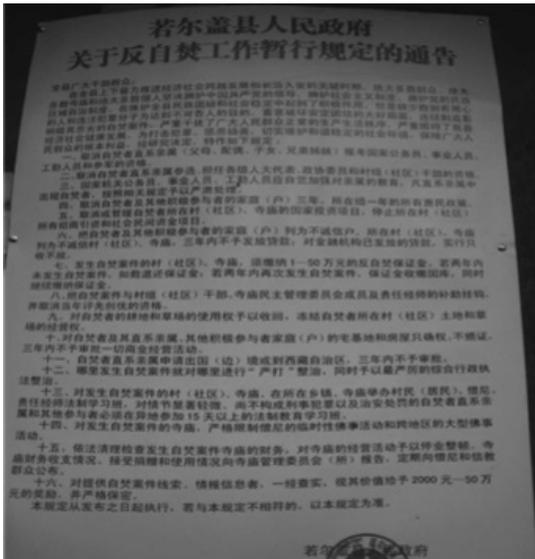
Labelling self-immolation as an "act of terrorism" incited by the "Dalai Clique", the Chinese authorities have issued guidelines (Annexure - 3) aimed at punishing family members and the relatives of the Tibetan self-immolators. The guidelines bar family members of self-immolators from travelling, applying for loans and licences, employment opportunities and governmental aid.

Till date, more than 50 Tibetans have been sentenced to imprisonment for varying prison terms under the alleged charge of having link with self-immolation protests. China's prosecutions of Tibetans in response to the self-immolation protests only exacerbates the situation instead of addressing the legitimate grievance of Tibetan people in Tibet.

“The suffering of Tibetans without basic human rights is far worse than the suffering that we endure when we set ourselves on fire...” Sonam and Choepak Kyab, both died after self-immolation protest on 19 April 2012.

### Annexure -3

#### English Translation of Dzoego County's rules in self-immolation



#### Notification on the Provisional Regulation of the Work against Self-immolation Issued by Dzoego County People's Government

To all the Government staffs and the mass in the county;

At this crucial moment when the entire county makes utmost effort for promoting leap frog expansion of economy and long-term stability, the majority of the mass, monasteries, and monks give determined adherence to the leadership of Chinese Communist Party, adherence to the Socialist System, and adherence to the system of minority regional autonomy.

All over the county they played an active role in safeguarding the national unification and social stability. However a tiny minority with ulterior motives and lawless criminals deliberately destroyed the overall stability and

unity for reaching their evil intentions. They fabricated consecutive cases of self-immolation and caused extremely impact. Regular order of production and normal life of the mass were seriously interrupted. Healthy development of economy and society got married. In order to combat the crime, in order to praise virtue and punish vice, in order to make earnest efforts for maintaining harmony and stability of social environment, and in order to protect the fundamental interest of the mass, the regulations are specifically formulated through study and decision.

Lineal consanguinity (parents, spouse, children, cousin) of the self-immolated person should be disqualified from applying national public servant, enterprise staff, worker, unit clerk, and enlistment in army.

Lineal consanguinity is disqualified from participating in the election, from deputizing National People's Congress, from member of Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, and from staff membership of village group (community).

Public servants of state organs, enterprise staffs and workers should consciously strengthen the education for their relatives. Once self-immolation occurs among their immediate relatives, the person (Note: government employed one mentioned in the context) should be dealt with seriously in accordance with the relevant regulation.

The family of the self-immolator should be disqualified from policies benefiting the people for three years, and the village group in where the self-immolated person lived should be disqualified from policies benefiting the people for one year.

The village (community) and monastery in where the self-immolator lived should disqualified or suspended from national investment projects. All the projects of investment attraction, all the social and rural capital projects should be cut off from village (community) in where the self-immolator lived.

The family (household) of self-immolator or other active participators should be list as non-honest family. The village (community) and monastery in where the self-immolator lived should be list as non-honest village and non-honest monastery. Loans should not be granted to them for three years. For the loans already granted by financial institutions should only be called in, should not grant any new loan to them.

The village (community) or monastery at where self-immolation happened should pay 10,000 to 50,000 Yuan security deposit for counter self-immolation. The security deposit will be returned in full if self-immolation does not

happen for two years. If self-immolation happen again, the security deposit will be confiscated as state treasury, simultaneously the security deposit should be continued.

Self-immolation cases should be linked to the subsidies for the cadres of village group (community), member of monastery democratic management committee and monk teacher in accountability. They should be disqualified from the selection of excellence for the year.

The rights of cultivating land and pasture should be recalled from self-immolator. The management right of land and pasture should be frozen for the village (community) in where the self-immolator lived.

Only ownership confirmation can be granted to the residential property and the house belong to the self-immolator, immediate relatives and other active participators. But certification should not be granted to their residential property and house. All their commercial operating activities should not get approval for three years.

Applications of exit the country (border) or entry to TAR, submitted by the immediate relative of self-immolator, should not get approval for three years.

Where self-immolation case happens, there should have "harsh crackdown" and punishment. Simultaneously should have comprehensive administrative law enforcement.

Legality study class should be launched for the villagers, monks, nuns, and religious teachers, whoever from the village (community) and monastery where self-immolation case happened, whoever from the township and monastery in where the self-immolator lived. If the self-immolator's case is apparently slight, not constitutes criminal offense and public security penalty, immediate relatives of self-immolator and other active participator must attend more than 15 days legality education class held in somewhere else.

For the monastery where self-immolation happened, temporary activities of Buddhist affair and inter-regional major Buddhist events should be seriously restricted.

Inspection and cleaning will be done to financial affair of the monastery where self-immolation happened in accordance with the law. Management activities of the monastery should be shut down and cleaned up. Financial income and expenses, and the statement of the donation receive and use should be reported to the Monastery Management Committee (department), and should be periodically announced to the monks, nuns and the religious believers.

If anyone reports clue and intelligence of self-immolation case, once the information get confirmed true, the informant will get an award 2,000 to 500,000 Yuan by valuating the intelligence. The process should be strictly kept confidential.

This regulation should be implemented from the day of announcement. Any other regulation discrepant to this regulation should take this regulation as criterion.

Sealed by

People's Government of Dzoege County

Dated: 8 April 2013

## **Resort to peaceful resistance against Chinese oppressive policies through Self-immolations**

During the last 60 years of occupation, the Government of China formulated numerous political initiatives in Tibet in order to completely annihilate the very identity of Tibet as a nation and its people in the form of its religion, culture, language and customs. The so-called “Democratic reforms, Quelling Rebellion, Cultural Revolution, Fight Against Ethnic Regionalism, Fight Against Dalai Splitism, Patriotic Re-education, Safeguarding Stability and Harmony, Fight Against Splitists” etc. were in fact a means to propagate military imperialism, Cultural genocide and colonialism to implement their policies which specially aim to humiliate, look down upon, degrade and discriminate against the Tibetan as a race.

As a consequence, in Tibet, the Tibetan people have initiated a series of peaceful resistance against the oppressive policies. Especially, after the wide-spread uprising in the whole of Tibet in 2008, virtual martial-law like measures have been perpetrated under which Tibetans are being subjected to severe tortures and random imprisonments. In spite of these, the spirit and bravery of the Tibetan people remains intact and resorts only to peaceful actions to demonstrate their resentment. However, the government of China remains completely oblivious to the aspirations of the Tibetan people and on the contrary, blame His Holiness for instigating the above activities in attempt to split the “Motherland” i.e. China. Due to such false insinuations, mistake policies and severe persecutions, the peoples’ resentment has intensified. Thus with the slogans calling for the Return of His Holiness the Dalai Lama to Tibet, “Freedom and Independence for Tibet” and preservation of Tibetan Religion, Cultural and Language, Tibetans have initiated the ongoing series of self-immolations as a mark of protest against the Chinese government.

This form of protest started in 2009 in Tibet with the self-immolation of Tapey, a monk in Kirti monastery. From then till the time of going to the press, 152 Tibetans have immolated themselves in Tibet. Out of which 131 people have become Martyrs. As such, the situation in Tibet is becoming more and more urgent. As of now in Tibet, those who perform the last rites of the deceased organize prayers or even visits the surviving family members of these martyrs are considered to out-law and are being arrested and imprisoned.

Even in the exiled Tibetan community around the world, the flames of self-sacrificing protest have caught on and a total of 10 self-immolations have

been witnessed so far.

Under such tragic circumstances, we appeal to the administrations, parliamentarians, organizations and individuals of the free world to

- Denounce the brutal and inhuman policies of Chinese government towards Tibetans in Tibet.
- Call upon China to immediately end the human rights violation and other repressive policies in Tibet.
- Call for an International fact-finding delegations to investigate and report on the real causes behind the self-immolations.
- Urge the Chinese government to resume dialogue with the special envoy of His Holiness the Dalai Lama for early resolution of Tibetan issue.
- Raise the issue of Tibet in the International forums and help intensify diplomatic and international pressure on the Chinese Government.

Data of self-immolations in Tibet till 07/03/2018

Total no. of deceased self-immolators 132

Total no. of physical disabled self-immolators 04

Total no. of self-immolator's conditions unknown- 18

Total no. of known self-immolators is 154

## 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 of the people of Tibet and of the autonomy which they have 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 to 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.

## Resolution adopted in the 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 Republic 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 goodwill 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 a new 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.”

## Tibetan Policy Act - 2002

### Summary

The Tibetan Policy Act of 2002 (TPA) is a core legislative measure guiding U.S. policy toward Tibet. Its stated purpose is “to support the aspirations of the Tibetan people to safeguard their distinct identity.” Among other provisions, the TPA establishes in statute the State Department position of Special Coordinator for Tibetan Issues and defines the Special Coordinator’s “central objective” as being “to promote substantive dialogue” between the government of the People’s Republic of China and Tibet’s exiled spiritual leader, the Dalai Lama, or his representatives. The Special Coordinator is also required, among other duties, to “coordinate United States Government policies, programs, and projects concerning Tibet”; “vigorously promote the policy of seeking to protect the distinct religious, cultural, linguistic, and national identity of Tibet”; and press for “improved respect for human rights.”

While the Special Coordinator coordinates Tibet-related U.S. government programs, congressional mandates and earmarked appropriations for most such programs are contained in legislation other than the TPA. The programs include assistance for nongovernmental organizations to work in Tibetan communities in China; an educational and cultural exchange program with “the people of Tibet”; Voice of America and Radio Free Asia Tibetan-language broadcasting into Tibet; assistance for Tibetan refugees in South Asia; a scholarship program for Tibetans outside Tibet; and National Endowment for Democracy programs relating to Tibet.

Congress has shown a strong interest in Tibet since the 1980s, passing dozens of laws and resolutions related to Tibet, speaking out about conditions in Tibet, and welcoming visits by the Dalai Lama and, more recently, the political head of the India-based Central Tibetan Administration. Such actions have long been a source of friction in the U.S.-China relationship. China charges that they amount to support for challenges to Chinese rule in Tibet.

Since passage of the TPA, three bills seeking to update it have passed the House of Representatives. In the 113th Congress, H.R. 4194, the House-passed Government Reports Elimination Act of 2014, would eliminate a report required by the TPA: the provision was removed in the Senate-passed bill. H.R. 2410 in the 111th Congress and H.R. 2601 in the 109th Congress both included substantial revisions to the TPA, but the Senate did not act on either bill.

If Congress again considers amending the TPA, questions it may wish to consider include:

- To what degree, if any, should policy toward Tibet be considered in the context of relations with China?
- Should Congress clarify its position on Tibet’s political status? In the early 1990s, Congress passed legislation declaring Tibet to be an “occupied country,” but subsequent legislation has often implied congressional acceptance of a status for Tibet as part of China.
- What should be the balance between U.S. programs, activities, and policies focused on the 6 million Tibetans living under Chinese Communist Party rule and those focused on the approximately 130,000-strong Tibetan diaspora?
- With dialogue between the Chinese government and the Dalai Lama’s representatives stalled since January 2010, should the TPA continue to define promotion of such dialogue as the Special Coordinator’s “central objective”



**Tibetan Policy Act**

**TIBET POLICY ACT (excerpt)**

**H.R. 1646**

**Foreign Relations Authorization Act, Fiscal Year 2003**

**P.L. 107-228**

**Subtitle B–Tibet Policy**

**SEC. 611. SHORT TITLE.**

This subtitle may be cited as ‘Tibetan Policy Act of 2002’.

**SEC. 612. STATEMENT OF PURPOSE.**

The purpose of this subtitle is to support the aspirations of the Tibetan people to safeguard their distinct identity.

**SEC. 613. TIBET NEGOTIATIONS.**

**(a) POLICY-**

(1) **IN GENERAL-** The President and the Secretary should encourage the Government of the People’s Republic of China to enter into a dialogue with the Dalai Lama or his representatives leading to a negotiated agreement on Tibet.

(2) **COMPLIANCE-** After such an agreement is reached, the President and the Secretary should work to ensure compliance with the agreement.

**(b) PERIODIC REPORTS-** Not later than 180 days after the date of the enactment of this Act, and every 12 months thereafter, the President shall

transmit to the appropriate congressional committees a report on—

- (1) the steps taken by the President and the Secretary in accordance with subsection (a) (1); and
- (2) the status of any discussions between the People’s Republic of China and the Dalai Lama or his representatives.

**SEC. 614. REPORTING ON TIBET.**

Whenever a report is transmitted to Congress under section 116 or 502B of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 (22 U.S.C. 2151m, 2304) or under section 102(b) of the International Religious Freedom Act of 1998 (22 U.S.C. 6412(b)), Tibet shall be included in such report as a separate section.

**SEC. 615. CONGRESSIONAL-EXECUTIVE COMMISSION ON THE PEOPLE’S REPUBLIC OF CHINA.**

Section 302 (h) of the U.S.-China Relations Act of 2000 (Public Law 106-286), relating to the Congressional-Executive Commission on the People’s Republic of China, is amended—

(1) by striking ‘shall include specific information’ and inserting the following: ‘shall include—

(1) specific information’;

(2) by striking the period at the end and inserting ‘; and’; and

(3) by adding at the end the following:

(2) a description of the status of negotiations between the Government of the People’s Republic of China and the Dalai Lama or his representatives, and measures taken to safeguard Tibet’s distinct historical, religious, cultural, and linguistic identity and the protection of human rights.’.

**SEC. 616. ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN TIBET.**

(a) DECLARATIONS OF POLICY- It is the policy of the United States to support economic development, cultural preservation, health care, and education and environmental sustainability for Tibetans inside Tibet. In support of this policy, the United States shall use its voice and vote to support projects designed in accordance with the principles contained in subsection (d) that are designed to raise the standard of living for the Tibetan people and assist Tibetans to become self-sufficient.

(b) INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS- The Secretary of the Treasury shall instruct the United States executive director of each international financial institution to use the voice and vote of the United States to support projects in Tibet, if the projects are designed in accordance

with the principles contained in subsection (d).

(c) EXPORT-IMPORT BANK AND TDA- The Export-Import Bank of the United States and the Trade and Development Agency should support projects proposed to be funded or otherwise supported by such entities in Tibet, if the projects are designed in accordance with the principles contained in subsection (d).

(d) TIBET PROJECT PRINCIPLES- Projects in Tibet supported by international financial institutions, other international organizations, nongovernmental organizations, and the United States entities referred to in subsection (c), should—

(1) be implemented only after conducting a thorough assessment of the needs of the Tibetan people through field visits and interviews;

(2) be preceded by cultural and environmental impact assessments;

(3) foster self-sufficiency and self-reliance of Tibetans;

(4) promote accountability of the development agencies to the Tibetan people and active participation of Tibetans in all project stages;

(5) respect Tibetan culture, traditions, and the Tibetan knowledge and wisdom about their landscape and survival techniques;

(6) be subject to on-site monitoring by the development agencies to ensure that the intended target group benefits;

(7) be implemented by development agencies prepared to use Tibetan as the working language of the projects;

(8) neither provide incentive for, nor facilitate the migration and settlement of, non-Tibetans into Tibet; and

(9) neither provide incentive for, nor facilitate the transfer of ownership of, Tibetan land or natural resources to non-Tibetans.

#### **SEC. 617. RELEASE OF PRISONERS AND ACCESS TO PRISONS.**

The President and the Secretary, in meetings with representatives of the Government of the People's Republic of China, should—

(1) request the immediate and unconditional release of all those held prisoner for expressing their political or religious views in Tibet;

(2) seek access for international humanitarian organizations to prisoners in Tibet to ensure that prisoners are not being mistreated and are receiving necessary medical care; and

(3) seek the immediate medical parole of Tibetan prisoners known to be in

serious ill health.

**SEC. 618. ESTABLISHMENT OF A UNITED STATES BRANCH OFFICE IN LHASA, TIBET.**

The Secretary should make best efforts to establish an office in Lhasa, Tibet, to monitor political, economic, and cultural developments in Tibet.

**SEC. 619. REQUIREMENT FOR TIBETAN LANGUAGE TRAINING.**

The Secretary shall ensure that Tibetan language training is available to Foreign Service officers, and that every effort is made to ensure that a Tibetan-speaking Foreign Service officer is assigned to a United States post in the People's Republic of China responsible for monitoring developments in Tibet.

**SEC. 620. RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION IN TIBET.**

(a) HIGH-LEVEL CONTACTS- Pursuant to section 105 of the International Religious Freedom Act of 1998 (22 U.S.C. 6414), the United States Ambassador to the People's Republic of China should—

(1) meet with the 11th Panchen Lama, who was taken from his home on May 17, 1995, and otherwise ascertain information concerning his whereabouts and well-being; and

(2) request that the Government of the People's Republic of China release the 11th Panchen Lama and allow him to pursue his religious studies without interference and according to tradition.

(b) PROMOTION OF INCREASED ADVOCACY- Pursuant to section 108(a) of the International Religious Freedom Act of 1998 (22 U.S.C. 6417(a)), it is the sense of Congress that representatives of the United States Government in exchanges with officials of the Government of the People's Republic of China should call for and otherwise promote the cessation of all interference by the Government of the People's Republic of China or the Communist Party in the religious affairs of the Tibetan people.

**SEC. 621. UNITED STATES SPECIAL COORDINATOR FOR TIBETAN ISSUES.**

(a) UNITED STATES SPECIAL COORDINATOR FOR TIBETAN ISSUES- There shall be within the Department a United States Special Coordinator for Tibetan Issues (in this section referred to as the 'Special Coordinator').

(b) CONSULTATION- The Secretary shall consult with the chairmen and ranking minority members of the appropriate congressional committees prior to the designation of the Special Coordinator.

(c) CENTRAL OBJECTIVE- The central objective of the Special Coordinator

is to promote substantive dialogue between the Government of the People's Republic of China and the Dalai Lama or his representatives.

(d) DUTIES AND RESPONSIBILITIES- The Special Coordinator shall—

(1) coordinate United States Government policies, programs, and projects concerning Tibet;

(2) vigorously promote the policy of seeking to protect the distinct religious, cultural, linguistic, and national identity of Tibet, and pressing for improved respect for human rights;

(3) maintain close contact with religious, cultural, and political leaders of the Tibetan people, including regular travel to Tibetan areas of the People's Republic of China, and to Tibetan refugee settlements in India and Nepal;

(4) consult with Congress on policies relevant to Tibet and the future and welfare of the Tibetan people;

(5) make efforts to establish contacts in the foreign ministries of other countries to pursue a negotiated solution for Tibet; and

(6) take all appropriate steps to ensure adequate resources, staff, and bureaucratic support to fulfill the duties and responsibilities of the Special Coordinator

The Tibetan Policy Act (TPA), a major piece of Tibet legislation, was signed into law by President George W. Bush on September 30, 2002, as part of H.R. 1646, the Foreign Relations Authorizations Act. Passage of the TPA was made possible by strong Congressional interest and the active support of Tibet advocates across the United States who contacted their congressional representatives.

The purpose of the Tibetan Policy Act is to help the Tibetans preserve their identity as a people in exile and in Tibet.

It is the most comprehensive Tibet legislation yet to be passed by the United States Congress. Combining practical initiatives with a firm expression of support for the Tibetan people, it is both programmatic and pragmatic.

Since the Chinese occupation of Tibet began more than fifty years ago, the Tibetan people have suffered widespread discrimination, religious persecution and the threat of imprisonment and torture.

Their national identity, culture and linguistic heritage have been critically endangered by Chinese government policies that encourage assimilation and Chinese resettlement.

While the Dalai Lama has said that China should neither be bullied nor

isolated, he has also made it clear that its conduct in Tibet should not be ignored.

The Tibetan Policy Act of 2002 follows this approach – speaking honestly and fairly while avoiding rhetoric that would unnecessarily provoke China – in its efforts to foster a negotiated solution to the issue of Tibet.

You can find the text of the Tibetan Policy act here as part of H.R. 1646. You can also see the Senate Cosponsors of the Tibetan Policy Act (S. 852) and the House Cosponsors of the Tibetan Policy Act (H.R. 1779).

## **Reciprocal access to Tibet Act**

In a triumph today for American citizens—including lawmakers, activists and human rights advocates concerned about the decades-long repression in Tibet—the United States Congress unanimously passed a bill that takes direct aim at the Chinese government’s unfair treatment of Americans and pushes back against its isolation of Tibet from the outside world.

The US Senate approved the Reciprocal Access to Tibet Act (H.R. 1872) on December 11, 2018. It now goes to the desk of President Trump, who is expected to sign the bill into law.

The Reciprocal Access to Tibet Act of 2018—which was introduced in the House of Representatives by Reps. Jim McGovern (D-Mass.) and Randy Hultgren (R-Ill.) and in the Senate by Marco Rubio (R-Fla.) and Tammy Baldwin (D-Wisc.)—is bipartisan legislation designed to address China’s exclusion of American journalists, diplomats and citizens from Tibet.

“The Reciprocal Access to Tibet Act is an important statement of our values, and I am happy to see it sent to the President’s desk before the end of the year,” said Sen. Robert Menendez (D-N.J.), one of 14 cosponsors of the bill. “This legislation is simply about fundamental fairness. Chinese citizens enjoy broad access to the United States, and I think that is terrific. But, it is unacceptable that the same is not true for US students, journalists or diplomats going to Tibet, including our Tibetan-American constituents just trying to visit their country of origin. If China wants its tourists, officials, journalists and other citizens to be able to travel freely across the US, American citizens must be able to travel freely in China, including Tibet. The International Campaign for Tibet should be commended for its work on this bill and for being a steadfast champion of fairness and decency for all people, including Tibetans.”

The bill received support from both sides of the aisle in Congress. “China’s repression in Tibet includes keeping out those who can shine a light on its human rights abuses against the Tibetan people,” said Sen. Rubio, who introduced the companion bill in the Senate. “We should not accept a double standard where Chinese officials can freely visit the United States while at the same time blocking our diplomats, journalists and Tibetan-Americans from visiting Tibet. I look forward to President Trump signing this bill into law that will help to restore some measure of reciprocity to America’s relationship with China.”

### **Campaign to pass the bill**

Since 2014, the International Campaign for Tibet (ICT)—in coordination with Tibetan-American associations and Tibet support groups— has led the effort

to approve the Reciprocal Access to Tibet Act. ICT is a nonprofit, membership based organization in Washington, DC that advocates for human rights and democratic freedoms for the people of Tibet.

Several thousand ICT members and American citizens contacted their members of Congress to ask them to support the bill.

“This is truly a historic moment in the United States’ support of the Tibetan people and for its strategic security interests in the region,” said ICT President Matteo Mecacci. “By passing this landmark bill, which implements the diplomatic principle of reciprocity, Congress is saying loud and clear that Tibet’s future is and will continue to be a foreign policy priority for the US. Furthermore, the American people’s overwhelming support for Tibet shows that the citizens of the free world are opposed to unfair policies that foster Beijing’s authoritarian rule and influence all over the world.”

### **What the bill does**

The bill requires the Secretary of State to assess the level of access to Tibet for US citizens within 90 days of the enactment of the legislation and to send a report to Congress identifying Chinese officials who are responsible for keeping Americans out of Tibet, a historically independent country that China has occupied for nearly 70 years. The Secretary of State will then ban those officials from receiving visas to enter the US.

The bill is predicated on the widely accepted diplomatic principle of reciprocity, based on which countries should provide equal rights to one another’s citizens.

When it comes to Tibet, Beijing does not reciprocate. Although Chinese citizens, journalists from state-sponsored propaganda outlets and bureaucrats of the Chinese Communist Party travel freely throughout the US and lobby the American government on Tibetan issues, Beijing effectively prevents American diplomats, politicians, journalists, aid workers and tourists from entering Tibet—except on strictly controlled official tours that hide the truth about the immense suffering there.

### **Human rights crisis**

Right now, a human right crisis is taking place inside Tibet. The Chinese government continues to violate the Tibetan people’s basic freedoms, arrests them for such crimes as celebrating the Dalai Lama’s birthday, tortures them for protesting peacefully and even murders them if they try to flee into exile. Hundreds of Tibetan prisoners of conscience are locked up in Chinese prisons, where torture is endemic, and have no access to any meaningful legal defense. According to the 2017 Freedom in the World Report by Freedom House, a

US think tank, Tibet is among the least free territories in the world.

Given that level of repression, it's no surprise that 155 Tibetans have resorted to the tragic act of self-immolation since 2009, lighting their own bodies on fire in a final, desperate attempt to get the world's attention.

Just a few days ago, a young Tibetan man named Drugkho lit himself on fire, reportedly calling out for freedom in Tibet as he did. Last month, a 23-year-old Tibetan named Dorbe self-immolated in the Tibetan region of Amdo, saying "May the Dalai Lama live long!" as he died.

Despite many attempts, almost no Beijing-based foreign journalists have been able to travel to Tibet to cover the remarkable stories of the self-immolators.

### **Pressuring China**

One of the effects of the Reciprocal Access to Tibet Act will be to put pressure on the Chinese government to revise its policies that prevent Americans from traveling and freely interacting with the Tibetan people by depriving Chinese officials of the privilege of traveling to the US.

The bill also reflects growing frustration among US lawmakers and the Trump Administration with Beijing's double standards and lack of respect for reciprocity when it comes to the exercise of civil liberties by US citizens in China.

Politicians from both parties and the Administration have also been increasingly outraged at Beijing's unfair policies and have demanded that the Chinese government reciprocate on issues of trade as well as access to Tibet.

### **Support for Tibetan-Americans**

Over the past year, Tibetan-Americans and Tibet supporters throughout the country have reached out to their members of Congress to ask them to speak up for access to Tibet and to support the bill. On social media, they've used the hashtag #AccessToTibet.

Bhuchung K. Tsering, Vice President of the International Campaign for Tibet, thanked Congressmen McGovern and Hultgren and Sens. Rubio and Baldwin in particular for getting the bill passed.

"The Reciprocal Access to Tibet Act will benefit all of us in the Tibetan-American community who have been cruelly denied the right to visit our families and ancestral land," Tsering said. "Now that Congress has passed the bill, it is imperative that President Trump sign it into law and that the State Department take every measure to identify and hold accountable the Chinese officials who are responsible for discriminating against Americans and Tibetans."

## Situation in Tibet

### European Parliament resolution of 14 June 2012 on the human rights situation in Tibet (2012/2685(RSP))

#### The European Parliament,

- having regard to its previous resolutions on China and Tibet, in particular its resolutions of 27 October 2011 and 25 November 2010,
  - having regard to its previous resolution of 7 April 2011 on the ban on the elections for the Tibetan government in exile in Nepal,
  - having regard to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948,
  - having regard to Article 36 of the Constitution of the People's Republic of China, which guarantees all citizens the right to freedom of religious belief,
  - having regard to Rule 110(2) and (4) of its Rules of Procedure,
- A. whereas respect for human rights, freedom of identity, culture, religion and association are founding principles of the EU and of its foreign policy;
- B. whereas the EU raised the question of Tibetan minority rights during the 31st round of the EU-China Human Rights Dialogue held in Brussels on 29 May 2012; whereas the EU China Human Rights Dialogue has not resulted in any significant improvements in the human rights situation of the Tibetans;
- C. whereas the envoys of His Holiness the Dalai Lama have approached the Government of the People's Republic of China to find a peaceful and mutually beneficial solution to the issue of Tibet; whereas the talks between the two sides have delivered no concrete results and are currently frozen;
- D. whereas the authorities of the People's Republic of China used disproportionate force while dealing with the protests of 2008 in Tibet and have, ever since, imposed restrictive security measures that curtail freedom of expression, freedom of association and freedom of belief;
- E. whereas the number of victims of the 2008 protests may have exceeded 200, the number of those detained varies from 4434 to more than 6500, and there were 831 known political prisoners in Tibet at the end of 2010, of whom 360 were judicially convicted and 12 were serving life sentences;
- F. whereas torture, including beating, use of electroshock weapons, long-term solitary confinement, starvation and other similar measures are

- reportedly used to extract confessions in the prisons of Tibet by the authorities of the People's Republic of China;
- G. whereas 38 Tibetans, mostly monks and nuns, have reportedly set themselves on fire since 2009 in protest against restrictive Chinese policies in Tibet and in support of the return of the Dalai Lama and the right to religious freedom in the Aba/Ngaba county prefecture in Sichuan Province and other parts of the Tibetan plateau;
  - H. whereas the current state of wellbeing and the whereabouts of a number of victims of self-immolation remain unknown or unclear, namely Chimey Palden, Tenpa Darje, Jamyang Palden, Lobsang Gyatso, Sona Rabyang, Dawa Tsering, Kelsang Wangchuck, Lobsang Kelsang, Lobsang Kunchok and Tapey;
  - I. whereas Gedhun Choekyi Nyima, the 11th Panchen Lama, was detained by the authorities of the People's Republic of China and has not been seen since 17 May 1995;
  - J. whereas Tibetan identity, language, culture and religion – the testimony to a historically rich civilization – are endangered by the resettlement of Han people in the historical territory of Tibet and the extermination of the traditional nomadic lifestyle of the Tibetans;
  - K. whereas the EU is in the process of appointing and laying down the mandate of the EU Special Representative for Human Rights;
  - L. whereas the European Parliament's previous calls on the Vice-President of the Commission / High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy of the EU to address the situation in Tibet with her Chinese counterparts have not delivered the expected results;
1. reiterates that the Strategic Partnership between the EU and the People's Republic of China should be based on shared principles and values;
  2. Calls on the Vice-President of the Commission / High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy of the EU to increase and intensify efforts to address the human rights situation of the Tibetans in the framework of the EU-China Human Rights Dialogue;
  3. Regrets, in this respect, the unwillingness of the Chinese authorities to hold the dialogue twice a year and their stance concerning the modalities and frequency of the meetings, with regard in particular to the strengthening of the civil society segment and the involvement of civil society in the dialogue; urges the Vice-President of the Commission / High Representative of the Union to make every effort to ensure that

the human rights dialogue is more effective and result-oriented;

4. Commends the very important and successful democratization process in the governance of Tibetans in exile by His Holiness the Dalai Lama and the recent transfer by him of his political powers and responsibilities to the democratically elected Kalon Tripa of the Central Tibetan Administration, which represents the aspirations of the Tibetan people;
5. Commends the decision of the democratically elected new Tibetan political leadership to continue to abide by the Middle-Way Policy of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, which seeks genuine autonomy for Tibetans within the People's Republic of China and within the framework of the Chinese Constitution;
6. Endorses the principles set out in the Memorandum on Genuine Autonomy for the Tibetan People, proposed by the envoys of His Holiness the Dalai Lama to their Chinese counterparts in 2008, which provide the basis for a realistic and sustainable political solution to the issue of Tibet;
7. Rejects the argument made by the Government of the People's Republic of China that the engagement of governments with His Holiness the Dalai Lama and members of the elected Tibetan leadership and the expression of support by governments for a peaceful resolution of the issue of Tibet through dialogue and negotiations constitute breaches of the 'One China Policy';
8. Calls on the authorities of the People's Republic of China to grant meaningful autonomy to the historical territory of Tibet;
9. Expresses disappointment that the Government of the People's Republic of China has been unwilling to continue the dialogue with the envoys of His Holiness the Dalai Lama since January 2010 and encourages the Chinese authorities to engage in a meaningful discussion with the representatives of the Central Tibetan Administration on the future of Tibet;
10. Insists that the authorities of the People's Republic of China respect the freedom of expression, freedom of association and freedom of belief of the Tibetans;
11. Urges the authorities of the People's Republic of China to allow an independent international investigation to be conducted into the 2008 protests and their aftermath, and calls for the release of the political prisoners;

12. Condemns any form of torture of persons in custody and invites and asks the authorities of the People's Republic of China to allow the independent international inspection of the prisons and detention centers in Tibet;
13. Reiterates its condemnation of the Chinese authorities' continued crackdown on Tibetan monasteries, and calls on the Chinese Government to guarantee freedom of religion both for the people of Tibet and for all of its citizens;
14. insists that the Chinese authorities reveal the fate and whereabouts of all the victims of self-immolations in Tibet;
15. reiterates its call to the Chinese authorities to reveal the fate and whereabouts of Gendun Choekyi Nyima, the 11th Panchen Lama;
16. Calls on the Chinese authorities to uphold the linguistic, cultural, religious and other fundamental freedoms of Tibetans and to refrain from settlement policies in favor of the Han people and to the disadvantage of the Tibetans in historical territories of Tibet, as well as from forcing Tibetan nomads to abandon their traditional lifestyle;
17. Calls on the Chinese authorities to lift all restrictions and allow unfettered access and freedom of movement throughout Tibet to independent media, journalists and human rights monitors;
18. Calls on the EU Special Representative for Human Rights, once appointed, to report regularly on the human rights situation in the People's Republic of China, in particular with regard to Tibet;
19. Urges the Vice-President of the Commission / High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy of the EU to appoint a special coordinator with a mandate to report regularly on Tibet in order to advance respect for the human rights of the Tibetan people, including their right to preserve and develop their distinctive identity and its religious, cultural and linguistic manifestations, to support constructive dialogue and negotiations between the Government of the People's Republic of China and the envoys of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, and to provide assistance to Tibetan refugees, in particular in Nepal and India;
20. Calls on the Vice-President of the Commission / High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy of the EU to address the human rights situation in Tibet at every meeting with the representatives of the People's Republic of China;
21. Instructs its President to forward this resolution to the Council, the

Commission, the Vice-President of the Commission / High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy of the EU, the governments and parliaments of the Member States, the Government and Parliament of the People's Republic of China, the Secretary-General of the United Nations, the Tibetan Government-in-exile, the Tibetan Parliament-in-exile and His Holiness the Dalai Lama.



## **European Parliament 2014-2019**

**P8\_TA(2016)0505 The cases of the Larung Gar Tibetan Buddhist Academy and of Ilham Tohti European Parliament resolution of 15 December 2016 on the cases of the Larung Gar Tibetan Buddhist Academy and Ilham Tohti (2016/3026(RSP))**

### **The European Parliament,**

- having regard to its previous resolutions on Tibet, in particular those of 25 November 2010 on Tibet: plans to make Chinese the main language of instruction, of 27 October 2011 on Tibet, in particular self-immolation by nuns and monks and of 14 June 2012 on the human rights situation in Tibet,
- having regard to its previous resolutions of 26 November 2009 on China, minority rights and application of the death penalty and of 10 March 2011 on the situation and cultural heritage in Kashgar (Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region, China),
- having regard to its resolution of 16 December 2015 on EU-China relations,
- having regard to the nine rounds of talks from 2002 to 2010 between high-ranking representatives of the Chinese government and the Dalai Lama; having regard to China's White Paper on Tibet, entitled 'Tibet's Path of Development Is Driven by an Irresistible Historical Tide' and published by China's State Council Information Office on 15 April 2015; having regard to the 2008 Memorandum and the 2009 Note on Genuine Autonomy, both presented by the Representatives of the 14th Dalai Lama,
- having regard to Article 36 of the Constitution of the People's Republic of China, which guarantees all citizens the right to freedom of religious belief and to Article 4 that upholds the rights of 'minority nationalities',
- having regard to the remarks made by Donald Tusk, President of the European Council, on 29 June 2015 at the joint press conference with

- Chinese Prime Minister Li Keqiang following the 17th EU-China Summit, in which he expressed the EU's 'concerns on freedom of expression and association in China, including the situation of the persons belonging to minorities such as Tibetans and Uighurs' and 'encouraged China to resume a meaningful dialogue with the Dalai Lama's representatives',
- having regard to the 'Sixth Tibet Work Forum' organised by the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) and held in August 2015,
  - having regard to the statement of 23 September 2014 by the EEAS Spokesperson condemning the life sentence handed out to Uighur economics professor Ilham Tohti and calling for his immediate and unconditional release,
  - having regard to the EU–China dialogue on human rights launched in 1995 and to the 34th round held in Beijing on 30 November and 1 December 2015,
  - having regard to the fact that on 11 October 2016 Ilham Tohti was awarded the Martin Ennals Award for his defence of human rights, and in September 2016 he was nominated for the Sakharov Prize for Freedom of Thought,
  - having regard to the EU-China Strategic Partnership launched in 2003 and to the European Commission and EEAS joint communication to the European Parliament and the Council of 22 June 2016 entitled 'Elements for a new EU strategy on China',
  - having regard to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights of 16 December 1966,
  - having regard to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948,
  - having regard to Rules 135(5) and 123(4) of its Rules of Procedure,
- A. whereas the promotion of and respect for human rights, democracy and the rule of law should remain at the centre the long-standing partnership between the EU and China, in line with the EU's commitment to uphold these values in its external action and China's expressed interest in adhering to these same values in its own development and international cooperation;
- B. whereas, in its development objectives, the Chinese Government has indicated that it is seeking a greater role in addressing global challenges, such as international peace and security and climate change, and increased influence over both political and economic global governance,

- and has committed to strengthening the rule of law;
- C. whereas the 17th EU-China Summit of 29 June 2015 lifted bilateral relations to a new level, and whereas in its strategic framework on human rights and democracy the EU pledges that it will place human rights at the centre of its relations with all third countries, including its strategic partners; whereas the 18th EU-China Summit of 12-13 July 2016 concluded that another round of the human rights dialogue between EU and China would be held still in 2016;
  - D. whereas China has made progress over the last decades in the realization of economic and social rights, reflecting its stated priorities regarding people's rights to subsistence and development, but its achievements in the area of political and civil rights, together with the promotion of human rights, are limited;
  - E. whereas, during 34th EU-China Dialogue on Human Rights held in Beijing on 2 December 2015, the EU raised its concerns about respect for the rights of persons belonging to minorities, especially in Tibet and Xinjiang, and about respect for freedom of religion or belief; whereas the case of Ilham Tohti was discussed during the 34th EUChina Dialogue on Human Rights;
  - F. whereas the Larung Gar Institute, the largest Tibetan Buddhist centre in the world founded in 1980, is currently facing extensive demolition by the Chinese Government with the objective of downsizing the academy by fifty percent, evicting around 4600 residents by force and destroying around 1500 dwellings; whereas according to the Chinese authorities this demolition is necessary in order to carry out 'correction and rectification';
  - G. whereas the evictees are to be forcibly enrolled in so-called 'patriotic education' exercises; whereas three nuns at the academy committed suicide in protest at the ongoing large-scale demolitions at Larung Gar;
  - H. whereas an extremely high number of Tibetans, mostly monks and nuns, have reportedly set themselves on fire since 2009 in protest against restrictive Chinese policies in Tibet and in support of the return of the Dalai Lama and the right to religious freedom in the Aba/Ngaba county prefecture in Sichuan Province and other parts of the Tibetan plateau;
  - I. whereas envoys of His Holiness the Dalai Lama have approached the Government of the People's Republic of China to find a mutually beneficial solution to the issue of Tibet; whereas no progress has been made in the resolution of the Tibetan crisis in the last few years, as the last round of talks took place in 2010 and the negotiations are currently

frozen;

- J. whereas the Uighur economics professor Ilham Tohti was sentenced to life imprisonment on 23 September 2014 on the charge of alleged separatism after being arrested in January of the same year; whereas seven of his former students were also detained and condemned to prison sentences of between three and eight years for alleged collaboration with Mr Tohti;
- K. whereas there are allegations that the due process of law was not respected, in particular with regard to the right to a proper defense;
- L. whereas the Xinjiang region, in which the Muslim Uighur ethnic minority is mainly located, has experienced repeated outbreaks of ethnic unrest and violence; whereas Ilham Tohti has always rejected separatism and violence and sought reconciliation based on respect for Uighur culture;
- 1. Urges the Chinese authorities to stop the demolition of Larung Gar and the eviction of its residents, and in this way to respect the freedom of religion in accordance with its international commitments in the field of human rights;
- 2. Calls on the Chinese authorities to initiate a dialogue and to engage constructively on developments in Larung Gar with the local community and its religious leaders, and to address concerns regarding overcrowded religious institutes by allowing Tibetans to establish more institutes and build more facilities; calls for adequate compensation and the re-housing of Tibetans who have been evicted during the demolitions in Larung Gar at the place of their choice to continue their religious activities;
- 3. Deplores the sentencing of ten Tibetans by the Intermediate People's Court in Barkham to different terms ranging from 5 to 14 years in prison for taking part in an 80th birthday celebration of His Holiness the Dalai Lama in Ngaba County;
- 4. Is deeply concerned by the deterioration of the human rights situation in Tibet which has led to an increase in the number of self-immolation cases; criticizes the increase in military displays on the Tibetan plateau that will only lead to escalating tension in the region; condemns the increase in the use of surveillance systems in Tibetan private households;
- 5. Is worried about the increasingly repressive regime faced by different minorities, in particular Tibetans and Uighurs, as additional constraints are put on the constitutional guarantees of their right to freedom of cultural expression and religious belief, and to the freedom of speech and expression, peaceful assembly and association, calling into

question China's stated commitment to the rule of law and respect for international obligations; demands that the authorities respect these fundamental freedoms;

6. Is worried about the adoption of the package of security laws and its impact on minorities in China, particularly the law on counter-terrorism that could lead to the penalization of peaceful expression of Tibetan culture and religion and the law on the management of international NGOs which will come into effect on 1 January 2017 and will place human rights groups under the strict control of the government, as this constitutes a strictly top down approach instead of encouraging partnership between local and central government and civil society;
7. Urges the Chinese Government to amend the provisions in the security law package that narrow the space for civil society organizations and tighten government control over religious practices; calls on the Chinese Government to provide and guarantee a fair and safe environment for all NGOs and human rights defenders to operate freely in the country, which could greatly complement the state delivery of social services with a bottom-up approach and contribute to the advancement of social and economic, political and civil rights;
8. Calls on the Chinese Government to resume the dialogue with Tibetan representatives, which was ended by China in 2010, in order to find an inclusive political solution to the crisis in Tibet; calls for respect for the freedoms of expression, association and religion of the Tibetan people as enshrined in the Constitution; believes that respect for minority rights is a key element of democracy and the rule of law that is indispensable for political stability;
9. Strongly condemns the imprisonment of Ilham Tohti who is serving a life sentence on alleged charges of separatism; deplores the fact that the due process of law was not respected and that he did not benefit from the right to a proper defense; urges the Chinese authorities to respect the norm of granting one visit per month for family members;
10. Calls for the immediate and unconditional release of Ilham Tohti and of his supporters detained in relation to his case; further calls for Ilham Tohti's teaching permit to be restored and for his free movement to be guaranteed within and outside China;
11. Recalls the importance of the EU raising the issue of human rights violations in China, in particular the case of minorities in Tibet and Xinjiang, at every political and human rights dialogue with the Chinese

authorities, in line with the EU's commitment to project a strong, clear and unified voice in its approach to the country, including the yearly Human Rights Dialogues; further points out that, as part of its ongoing reform process and increasing global engagement, China has opted into the international human rights framework by signing up to a wide range of international human rights treaties, and therefore calls for dialogue to be pursued with China to live up to these commitments;

12. Deplores the fact that the 35th round of the EU-China Human Rights Dialogue will probably not take place before the end of 2016, as agreed; urges the Chinese Government to agree to a high-level dialogue in the first weeks of 2017;
13. Instructs its President to forward this resolution to the Vice-President of the Commission / High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, the Council, the Commission, the governments and parliaments of the Member States, and the Government and the Parliament of the Peoples' Republic of China.



## **European Parliament 2014-2019**

**P8\_TA-PROV(2018)0014 The cases of human rights activists Wu Gan, Xie Yang, Lee Ming-che, Tashi Wangchuk and the Tibetan monk Choekyi European Parliament resolution of 18 January 2018 on the cases of the human rights activists Wu Gan, Xie Yang, Lee Ming-che and Tashi Wangchuk, and the Tibetan monk Choekyi (2018/2514(RSP))**

### **The European Parliament,**

- having regard to its previous resolutions on China, in particular those of 13 March 2014 on EU priorities for the 25th session of the UN Human Rights Council, of 16 December 2015 on EU-China relations, of 24 November 2016 on the case of Gui Minhai, jailed publisher in China, of 15 December 2016 on the cases of the Larung Gar Tibetan Buddhist Academy and Ilham Tohti, and of 6 July 2017 on the cases of Nobel laureate Liu Xiaobo and Lee Ming-che,
- having regard to the EU-China Strategic Partnership, launched in 2003, and to the joint communication from the Commission and the Vice-President of the Commission / High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy (VP/HR) of 22 June 2016 entitled 'Elements for a new EU strategy on China',
- Having regard to the EU-China Summit, held in Brussels on 1 and 2

June 2017,

- having regard to the adoption of the new National Security Law by the Standing Committee of the Chinese National People’s Congress on 1 July 2015, and the publication of the second draft of a new Foreign NGO Management Law on 5 May 2015,
  - having regard to Article 36 of the Constitution of the People’s Republic of China, which guarantees all citizens the right to freedom of religious belief, and to Article 4 thereof, which upholds the rights of minority nationalities,
  - having regard to the EU-China dialogue on human rights, launched in 1995, and to the 35th round thereof, held in Brussels on 22 and 23 June 2017,
  - having regard to the awarding of its Sakharov Prize for Freedom of Thought to Wei Jingsheng and Hu Jia in 1996 and 2008 respectively,
  - having regard to the statement by the Spokesperson for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy/European Neighbourhood Policy and Enlargement Negotiations of the European External Action Service (EEAS) of 27 December 2017 on the verdicts of Wu Gan and Xie Yang in China,
  - having regard to the Local Statement by the Delegation of the European Union on International Human Rights Day, 8 December 2017,
  - having regard to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948,
  - having regard to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights of 16 December 1966,
  - having regard to Rules 135(5) and 123(4) of its Rules of Procedure,
- A. whereas the promotion of and respect for universal human rights, democracy and the rule of law should remain at the centre of the long-standing relationship between the EU and China, in accordance with the EU’s commitment to uphold these very same values in its external action and China’s expressed interest in adhering to them in its own development and international cooperation;
- B. whereas since President Xi Jinping assumed power, the human rights situation in China has deteriorated further, with the government stepping up its hostility toward peaceful dissent, the freedoms of expression and religion, and the rule of law; whereas the Chinese authorities have detained and prosecuted hundreds of human rights defenders, lawyers and journalists;

- C. whereas on 26 December 2017, a court in Tianjin sentenced activist Wu Gan to eight years in prison on charges of subverting state power; whereas Wu Gan routinely campaigned on sensitive issues relating to the government's abuse of power, both online and offline; whereas according to his lawyer, Wu Gan rejected a deal with the authorities which would have given him a suspended sentence if he were to have admitted his guilt;
- D. whereas on the very same day in Hunan, human rights lawyer Xie Yang was also convicted but exempted from criminal penalties after he earlier pleaded guilty to subversion charges; whereas Wu Gan was arrested months before an unprecedented crackdown on human rights lawyers and defenders in 2015 that saw hundreds of people, including Xie Yang, questioned or detained nationwide over a few weeks; whereas there are allegations that Xie Yang has been tortured, beaten and threatened by interrogators;
- E. whereas on 28 November 2017, Yueyang Intermediate Court sentenced democracy activist Lee Ming-che to five years in prison after finding him guilty on charges of 'subverting State power', and stripped him of all political rights in China for two years; whereas it is likely that Lee Ming-che's public confession was made under pressure from the Chinese authorities; whereas Lee Ming-che had gone missing on 19 March 2017, after he crossed from Macau into Zhuhai in China's Guangdong province;
- F. whereas Tashi Wangchuk, a Tibetan shopkeeper and language rights advocate, was detained on 27 January 2016 after he appeared in a New York Times video advocating the right of Tibetans to learn and study in their mother tongue; whereas in March 2016 Tashi Wangchuk was charged with 'inciting separatism' and faces up to 15 years in prison, although he told the newspaper explicitly that he was not calling for Tibetan independence;
- G. whereas in 2015 the Tibetan monk Choekyi, from Phurbu monastery in Sichuan's Seda county, was jailed for celebrating the birthday of exiled spiritual leader the Dalai Lama; whereas after being charged, Choekyi was briefly held in a prison in Kangding county in Ganzi prefecture, and was finally sent to Sichuan's Mianyang prison to serve a four-year term; whereas according to media sources, Choekyi had kidney problems, jaundice, and other health-related issues which got worse because of his detention;
- H. whereas human rights lawyers have continued to face intimidation and

imprisonment, as in the cases of prominent lawyers Li Yuhan, who has been incommunicado since November 2017, and Wang Quanzhang, who was arrested in July 2015, held incommunicado for over 800 days and reportedly subjected to torture; whereas human rights defenders who are petitioners who travel to major cities to raise local issues face detention and imprisonment, as with Li Xiaoling, who has been in detention since June 2017 while continuing to suffer from a severe case of glaucoma; whereas human rights defenders who provide a platform for petitioners and other human rights defenders, such as Ding Lingjie, Liu Feiyue and Zhen Jianghua, have also been detained;

- I. whereas the Chinese Government has passed new laws, notably the State Security Law, the Counter terrorism Law, the Cyber security Law, and the Foreign NGO Management Law, that cast public activism and peaceful criticism of the government as state security threats, strengthen censorship, surveillance and the control of individuals and social groups, and deter individuals from campaigning for human rights;
  - J. whereas in the EU Strategic Framework and Action Plan on Human Rights and Democracy, the Council pledges that the EU will promote democracy, the rule of law and ‘human rights in all areas of its external action without exception’ and will ‘place human rights at the centre of its relations with all third countries, including its strategic partners’;
1. Remains highly concerned by the Chinese Government’s approach towards human rights defenders, activists and lawyers; reminds China of its responsibilities as a global power and calls on the Beijing authorities to ensure in all circumstances respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms in accordance with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other international human rights instruments signed or ratified by China; urges the Beijing authorities, moreover, to put an end to all acts of harassment against all human rights defenders in the country so that they are able to carry out their work without hindrance;
  2. Urges the Chinese authorities to release immediately and unconditionally all human rights defenders, activists, lawyers, journalists and petitioners being detained for their human rights work, and to end the ongoing crackdown against them, which is being perpetrated in the form of detention, judicial harassment and intimidation;
  3. Calls on the Government of the People’s Republic of China to release Wu Gan immediately and unconditionally, as he has been imprisoned solely for peacefully exercising his right to freedom of expression and assembly, and – pending his release – to ensure that he has regular,

unrestricted access to his family and lawyers of his choice, and is not subjected to torture or other ill-treatment; calls for a prompt, effective and impartial investigation into torture in China and for those responsible to be brought to justice;

4. emphasises the need to investigate the allegations of torture of Xie Yang;
5. Calls on the Chinese authorities to release Lee Ming-che immediately and unconditionally, and – pending his release – to ensure that he is protected from torture and other ill-treatment, and allowed access to his family, lawyers of his choice and adequate medical care;
6. Expresses its deep concern at the arrest and continued detention of Tashi Wangchuk, as well as his limited right to counsel, the lack of evidence against him and the irregularities in the criminal investigation; calls for the immediate and unconditional release of Tashi Wangchuk;
7. Calls on the Chinese authorities to release the Tibetan monk Choekyi immediately and unconditionally; urges the Chinese Government to allow his relatives and the lawyers of his choice to visit him and, in particular, to provide him with adequate medical care;
8. Calls on the Chinese Government to respect its own constitution, in particular with regard to Article 4, which protects national minorities; Article 35, which protects the freedoms of speech, the press, assembly, association, procession and demonstration; Article 36, which recognizes the right to freedom of religious belief; and Article 41, which guarantees the right to criticize and make suggestions regarding any state organ or functionary;
9. Reiterates its call on the Chinese Government to engage with His Holiness the Dalai Lama and his representatives, and expresses its support for a peaceful resolution of the issue of Tibet through dialogue and negotiations with a view to granting Tibet genuine autonomy within the framework of the Chinese Constitution;
10. Condemns, moreover, the anti-Buddhism campaigns carried out via the ‘patriotic education’ approach, including measures to state-manage Tibetan Buddhist Monasteries; is concerned that China’s criminal law is being abused to persecute Tibetans and Buddhists, whose religious activities are equated with ‘separatism’; deplores the fact that the environment for practicing Buddhism in Tibet has worsened significantly after the Tibetan protests of March 2008, with the Chinese Government adopting a more pervasive approach to ‘patriotic education’;
11. Is worried about the adoption of the package of security laws and its

impact on minorities in China, particularly the Counter terrorism Law, which could lead to the penalization of peaceful expression of Tibetan culture and religion, and the Foreign NGO Management Law, which places human rights groups under the strict control of the government, as this constitutes a strictly top-down approach instead of encouraging partnership between local and central government and civil society;

12. Emphasizes that the Chinese authorities must ensure that all those held incommunicado are immediately put in contact with their family members and lawyers, and the conditions of all those in detention must meet the standards set out in the 'Body of Principles for the Protection of All Persons under Any Form of Detention or Imprisonment', adopted by UN General Assembly resolution 43/173 of 9 December 1988, including access to medical care;
13. Is highly concerned to learn about allegations of torture of human rights activists; calls on the Chinese Government, therefore, to wholeheartedly respect the absolute and non derogable prohibition of torture and other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment, in accordance with Articles 2 and 16 of the UN Convention against Torture and other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (UNCAT), which was ratified by China on 4 October 1988;
14. Encourages the Chinese Government, as the 20th anniversary of its signature approaches, to ratify the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and to ensure its full implementation, including by ending all abusive practices and adapting its legislation as necessary;
15. Recalls that it is important that the EU raises the issue of human rights violations in China, in particular the case of minorities in Tibet and Xinjiang, at every political and human rights dialogue with the Chinese authorities, including the yearly human rights dialogues, in line with its commitment to project a strong, clear and unified voice in its approach to the country; regrets, however, the lack of concrete results from the yearly EU-China human rights dialogues; further recalls that in its ongoing reform process and increasing global engagement, China has opted into the international human rights framework by signing up to a wide range of international human rights treaties; calls, therefore, for dialogue to be pursued with China in order to honor these commitments;
16. Calls on all the Member States to adopt a firm, values-based approach towards China and expects them not to undertake unilateral initiatives or acts that might undermine the coherence, effectiveness and consistency of EU action; recalls with deep regret the failure of the EU to make a

statement on human rights in China at the UN's Human Rights Council in Geneva in June 2017; welcomes the adoption of a statement at the following session, and expects the EU to continue to mention China as a country which requires the Human Rights Council's attention for as long as it refuses to engage in meaningful rights reforms; further calls for the EU and its Member States to raise robust concerns during the forthcoming Universal Periodic Review for China and to ensure, in particular, that Chinese civil society can freely participate in the process;

17. Invites the VP/HR and the Member States to adopt the Foreign Affairs Council's conclusions on China, which stress the critical importance of human rights in the EU-China relationship and convey a clear sense of concern about the negative trends in China in this regard, together with the expectation that the Chinese authorities take specific steps in response; stresses that such conclusions would serve to bind the 28 EU Member States and EU institutions to a common message and approach with regard to human rights in China;
18. Instructs its President to forward this resolution to the Vice-President of the Commission / High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, the Council, the Commission, the governments and parliaments of the Member States, and the Government and Parliament of the People's Republic of China.

## **Issue of Tibet and its direct implications 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 few number of Indian policemen were the sole guardians to the south of the Indo-Tibetan border, now India permanently deploys many 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 spend crores of money on defense everyday to guard the Himalayas. 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 (Present Arunachal Pradesh) 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 Jadhong 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 13<sup>th</sup> 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 Sulej, 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

Head of State	His Holiness the Dalai Lama
Population	Approximately 1,28,014 [Approximate world-wide distribution: India 94,203; Nepal 13,514; Bhutan 1,298; and rest of the world 18,999 (Demographic Survey of Tibetans in Exile 2009, by Planning Commission of Central Tibetan Administration, 2010)
Constitution	Charter of the Tibetans in Exile
Government	Democratic and popularly elected
CTA	Tibetan Supreme Justice Commission; Tibetan Parliament in Exile & the Kashag (Cabinet) is the apex executive body.
Cabinet Ministries	Religion & Culture; Home Affairs; Finance, Education, Security, Information & International Relations and Health
Independent Commissions	Election Commission, Public Service Commission, Auditor General
Major NGOs	Tibetan Youth Congress (TYC), Tibetan Women's Association (TWA), National Democratic Party of Tibet (NDPT), Gu-Chu-Sum Movement
Foreign Mission	New Delhi, Kathmandu, Washington DC, London, Geneva, Moscow, Brussels, Canberra, Tokyo, Pretoria, Taipei and Sao Paulo.
Livelihood	Agriculture, agro-industries, sweater-selling business, handicraft exports, service sector.
Education	Total school enrollment is 85 to 90 percent of the school-aged children in exile. According to 2009 Demographic survey of the Planning Commission of CTA, Effective Literacy Rate of the total Tibetans in India, Nepal and Bhutan is 82.4%
Legal Status	Stateless. A few percentage of Tibetans bear foreign passports. Most hold Indian registration certificates.

## **An overview of Sino-Tibetan Dialogue**

It has been the consistent position of His Holiness the Dalai Lama that the question of Tibet must be resolved peacefully through dialogue with the best interest of the Tibetan people in mind. His Holiness already engaged the Chinese commanders in Lhasa in dialogue in 1951, immediately after China invaded Tibet, and held talks with Mao Zedong and Chou En-lai in 1954 in order to avoid confrontation and bloodshed. Following his flight to India during the bloody suppression of the Tibetan national uprising of 1959, His Holiness continued to call for a peaceful negotiated solution, but in the years of radical communist reforms and the so-called Cultural Revolution, the Chinese leadership was in no mood to dialogue.

The death of Mao Zedong and the end of Cultural Revolution ushered in a period of liberalization and open-door policy. The new Chinese leadership took a bold step of reaching out to the Tibetan leadership in exile. Towards the end of 1978, Li Juisin, the then head of the Xinhua News Agency in Hong Kong (de facto embassy of the PRC) contacted GyaloThondup, elder brother of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, and invited him for a private visit to Beijing. Thondup, in turn, sought the approval of His Holiness the Dalai Lama and visited Beijing in February-March 1979. There, he met a number of Chinese leaders, including the paramount leader Deng Xiaoping on 12 March 1979. Deng told Thondup that “apart from independence, all issues can be discussed”. He even invited the Tibetan leadership to send delegations to Tibet and see things for themselves. As a result, the exile leadership dispatched four fact-finding delegations to Tibet in 1979 and 1980. To the bafflement of China, crowds besieged the delegates wherever they went and poured out stories of “hell-on-earth” tragedies that had befallen on them and their families over the past two decades.

In 1980, Communist Party Secretary Hu Yao-bang made a historic trip to Tibet and recognized the mistakes that had been made by his government and announced major changes in policy, including the withdrawal of most Chinese cadres from Tibet. In 1981 the Chinese government expressed its willingness to allow the Dalai Lama to return to the “Motherland” (to China but not to Tibet) but refused to acknowledge the need for any political negotiations, thus attempting to reduce the Tibetan issue to the conditions for the Dalai Lama’s return. Two senior Tibetan delegations were sent to Beijing for exploratory talks in 1982 and 1984, respectively. They insisted the issue was not the Dalai Lama but the welfare of the six million Tibetans and proposed earnest political negotiations on a status short of independence for the entire Tibetan people, comprising the three provinces of U-tsang, Kham

and Amdo. But hopes for substantive talks came to an end with the firing of Hu Yao-bang (among other reasons, for his willingness to address the Tibetan issue) and the turning back of announced reforms.

The Tibetan leadership was then left with only one option: to appeal directly for the assistance of international community. Addressing the United States Congressional Human Rights Caucus on 21 September 1987, His Holiness the Dalai Lama announced his Five Point Peace Plan for Tibet. The five points are: (i) Transformation of the whole of Tibet into a zone of peace; (ii) Abandonment of China's population transfer policy which threatens the very existence of the Tibetans as a people; (iii) Respect for the Tibetan people's fundamental human rights and democratic freedoms; (iv) 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; and (v) Commencement of earnest negotiations on the future status of Tibet and of relations between the Tibetan and Chinese peoples.

His Holiness did not call for a restoration of Tibetan independence in this speech, rather he implied that a solution that would not require separation from the People's Republic of China (PRC) and would be based on cooperation. China's reaction was negative, and its criticism of the Dalai Lama blunt. This precipitated large-scale demonstrations in Tibet, which were violently repressed by the Chinese armed forces. The cycle of resistance and repression culminated in the declaration of martial law in March 1989. Despite the worsening situation in Tibet, His Holiness persisted in his efforts to seek dialogue with China.

On 15 June 1988, His Holiness the Dalai Lama elaborated on the fifth point of his Five Point Peace Plan in an address to members of the European parliament in Strasbourg, and laid out a framework for negotiations with the PRC on the future status of Tibet. In what came to be known as the Strasbourg Proposal, His Holiness called for the unification of the three provinces of Tibet and its transformation into "a self-governing democratic political entity founded on law by agreement of the people for the common good and protection of themselves and their environment, in association of the People's Republic of China." The essential characteristics of His Holiness' proposal were that Tibetans would govern themselves and be responsible for their internal affairs under a democratic system and leaders of their choice, while the government of the PRC would be responsible for foreign affairs and would be permitted to maintain a limited military presence in Tibet for defence purposes only.

Beijing's reaction to this and subsequent initiatives was mixed at best. On 23 June 1988 China's foreign ministry issued a press statement, saying that

the PRC would not accept Tibet's "independence, semi-independence or independence in disguised form". But, a few months later, on 21 September the Chinese Embassy in New Delhi told the representative of His Holiness the Dalai Lama that its government was interested in direct talks with the Dalai Lama. A press statement to this effect was issued the following day which said, "The talks may be held in Beijing, Hong Kong, or any of our embassies or consulates abroad. If the Dalai Lama finds it inconvenient to conduct talks at these places, he may choose any place he wishes." However, no foreigner, the release further added, should be involved and that the new proposal put forward by the Dalai Lama in Strasbourg could not be considered as the basis for talks. The Tibetan leadership reacted on the same day by issuing a press release, which stated, "Though we have different views and stands on many issues, we are prepared to discuss and resolve these through direct dialogues".

On 25 October 1988, the Tibetan leadership gave a message to the Chinese Embassy in New Delhi, proposing Geneva as a venue for talks. The Chinese government rejected the Tibetan choice of venue and blamed the Dalai Lama of insincerity. Refusing to accept the negotiating team proposed by the Tibetan leadership, Beijing said it would rather talk to the Dalai Lama in person.

On 28 January 1989, the Panchen Lama, one of the most influential Tibetan leaders in Tibet, passed away suddenly, and under mysterious circumstances. On 7 February China invited His Holiness the Dalai Lama to attend the Panchen Lama's cremation ceremony, due to take place on 15 February. Because of the short notice, His Holiness was unable to accept the invitation. Nevertheless, on 21 March 1991, His Holiness the Dalai Lama offered his assistance in the search for the reincarnation. Similarly, in his address to Yale University on 9 October 1991, His Holiness the Dalai Lama made a proposal to visit Tibet in the company of some senior Chinese leaders and international media. This visit, His Holiness said, would help him to ascertain the situation inside Tibet and persuade the Tibetan people in Tibet not to renounce non-violence as a means of their struggle.

In December of the same year (1991), His Holiness the Dalai Lama asked for a meeting with the Chinese Premier Li Peng during the latter's visit to New Delhi. Thereafter, on 26 February 1992, the Tibetan leadership released a document, entitled Guidelines for Future Tibet's Polity and Basic Features of its Constitution. The document states that the present Tibetan administration-in-exile will be dissolved the moment the Tibetans in exile return to Tibet, and that His Holiness the Dalai Lama will then hand over all his traditional political power to an interim government. The interim government, it explains, will be responsible for drawing up a democratic constitution, which will pave

the way for a direct election of the new government of Tibet. Even this failed to interest the Chinese leadership.

Under the circumstances, the Assembly of Tibetan People's Deputies, elected representatives of the Tibetan Diaspora, passed a resolution on 23 January 1992 stating that the Tibetan administration-in-exile should not initiate any new move for negotiations with China unless there was a positive change in the attitude of the Chinese leadership.

In April 1992, the Chinese Ambassador in New Delhi contacted Gyalo Thondup and told him that the Chinese Government's position in the past had been "conservative", but that it was willing to be "flexible" if the Tibetans were prepared to be "realistic". He invited Thondup to visit Beijing once again. But when Thondup met the Chinese leaders in Beijing in June 1992, he was treated to a litany of accusations against His Holiness the Dalai Lama. He did not hear anything signalling flexibility in Beijing's stand.

His Holiness felt that the accusations indicated the Chinese leadership's lack of understanding of his views and stand on the Tibetan issue. His Holiness, however, renewed his efforts to open dialogue by sending a personal letter and a detailed memorandum to Chinese leaders, Deng Xiaoping and Jiang Zemin, in September 1992, reiterating his preparedness to accommodate China's interest and calling for negotiations. At the end of that memorandum His Holiness stated: "The time has come now for the Chinese to show the way for Tibet and China to live together in friendship. A detailed step by step outline regarding Tibet's basic status should be spelt out. If such a clear outline is given, regardless of the possibility or non-possibility of an agreement, we Tibetans can then make a decision whether to live with China or not. If we Tibetans obtain our basic rights to our satisfaction, then we are not incapable of seeing the possible advantages of living with the Chinese."

His Holiness also decided to dispatch a three-member delegation to China to clarify his views. Beijing accepted only two members of this delegation. In June 1993 the delegates discovered in Beijing that the Chinese leadership's hardline attitude towards His Holiness had remained unchanged.

On 4 September 1993, His Holiness the Dalai Lama issued a brief press statement and released to the press the text of his letters to Deng Xiaoping and Jiang Zemin. His Holiness once again unequivocally called on the Chinese government "to start negotiations without delay and preconditions". His Holiness reiterated the Tibetan willingness to negotiate a "reasonable and just solution within the framework formulated by Mr. Deng Xiaoping" and clarified: "I have never called for negotiations on independence of Tibet." On numerous occasions since then, His Holiness made clear that he was

not seeking independence, but “genuine autonomy for Tibet within the framework of the Chinese Constitution.” This stand His Holiness most recently reiterated in the 10 March 2005 statement: “I once again want to reassure the Chinese authorities that as long as I am responsible for the affairs of Tibet we remain fully committed to the Middle Way Approach of not seeking independence for Tibet and are willing to remain within the People’s Republic of China.”

His Holiness the Dalai Lama’s tireless efforts were amply recognized with the award of the 1989 Nobel Prize for peace. Many other awards were bestowed on the Tibetan leader, but the Nobel Prize and the overwhelming reaction to it demonstrated the international community’s recognition and support for His Holiness’ steadfast commitment and activities in pursuit of a peaceful negotiated solution to the suffering of the Tibetan people.

On 27 June 1998, US President Bill Clinton and President Jiang Zemin held a live televised joint press conference in Beijing. During this TV appearance (broadcast worldwide) Clinton asked Jiang to open dialogues with the Dalai Lama. Jiang replied, “As long as the Dalai Lama makes a public commitment that Tibet is an inalienable part of China and Taiwan is a province of China, then the door to dialogue and negotiation is open.” The Taiwan issue surfaced this time as a new pre-condition to negotiation.

Then again, in a written interview to the French daily, *Le Figaro*, on 25 October 1999 President Jiang Zemin repeated all the earlier pre-conditions and added: “The Dalai Lama must truly give up his advocacy of independence of Tibet and stop his activities to split the motherland; and declare the Government of People’s Republic of China is the legitimate government representing whole China.”

Over many years His Holiness did his best to engage the Chinese leadership in an honest dialogue. Unfortunately, a lack of political will and vision on the part of the Chinese leadership resulted in their failure to reciprocate the numerous initiatives of His Holiness. Finally, in August 1993 the Tibetan leadership’s formal contact with the Chinese government came to an end.

Since then to September 2002, the two sides did not have any formal and direct contact. It was only on 9 September 2002 that Beijing hosted a four-member Tibetan delegation, headed by Special Envoy Lodi G. Gyari. During the visit, the delegates met a number of Chinese and Tibetan leaders both in China and Tibet. As outlined in the press statement issued by the delegation on their return from Beijing, the purpose of the visit was two-fold: One, to re-establish direct contacts with the leadership in Beijing and to create a conducive atmosphere for direct face-to-face meetings on a regular basis;

Two, to explain His Holiness the Dalai Lama's Middle Way Approach towards resolving the issue of Tibet.

In order to sustain the new contact, the same delegation visited China and Tibetan areas for the second time from 25 May to 8 June 2003. The visit followed the changes in leadership of the Chinese Communist Party as well as of the Chinese Government and had given the delegation the opportunity to engage extensively with the new Chinese leaders and officials responsible for Tibet and relationship with the leaders of the Tibetan people in exile. In Beijing the delegation met with Ms. Liu Yandong, head of the United Front Work Department of the Communist Party of China, Mr. Zhu Weiqun, deputy head, Mr. Chang Rongjung, the Deputy Secretary-General, and other senior officials.

The Tibetan delegation had the third round of meetings with their Chinese counterpart in Beijing in September 2004. At this meeting, both sides acknowledged the need for more substantive discussions in order to narrow down the gaps and reach a common ground. This was followed by the fourth round of meetings that took place on 30 June and 1 July 2005 at the Embassy of the People's Republic of China in Berne, Switzerland. Special Envoy Lodi G. Gyari and Envoy Kelsang Gyaltzen, accompanied by three senior assistants, Sonam N. Dagpo, NgapaTsegyam, and Bhuchung K. Tsering, met with Vice Minister Zhu Weiqun and his six-member delegation. Vice Minister Zhu declared that their direct contact with the Tibetan delegation had now become stable and an "established practice." He also conveyed to the Tibetan delegation that the Central leadership of the Chinese Communist Party attached great importance to the contact with His Holiness the Dalai Lama. The Tibetan side put forward some concrete proposals that will help build trust and confidence and move the ongoing process to a new level of engagement aimed at bringing about substantive negotiations to achieve a mutually acceptable solution to the Tibetan issue.

Meanwhile, in order to resolve the issue of Tibet on the basis of His Holiness the Dalai Lama's Middle-Way Approach, the Central Tibetan Administration (CTA) has made every effort within its power to create a conducive atmosphere for negotiations and taken a series of confidence-building measures. The CTA is committed to take these steps till the issue of Tibet is resolved through a negotiated settlement in the best interest of both the Tibetan and Chinese peoples.

## 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.

**Apr 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 Gyaltzen Gyari and Kalsang Gyaltzen 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 Gyaltzen and Kalsang Gyaltzen again visits for the second time.

**Sept. 2004**

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

**30 June-1 July 2005**

Mr. Lodi Gyari, accompanied by Mr. Kelsang Gyaltzen 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 – 5<sup>th</sup> November 2008**

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

**26 – 31<sup>st</sup> January 2010**

His Holiness the Dalai Lama's Special Envoy Lodi G. Gyari and Envoy Kelsang Gyaltsen 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 14<sup>th</sup> 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.

## **His Holiness the Dalai Lama's Address to the Members of European Parliament at Strasbourg, June 15, 1988**

We are living today in a very interdependent world. One nation's problems can no longer be solved by itself. Without a sense of universal responsibility our very survival is in danger. I have, therefore, always believed in the need for better understanding, closer cooperation and greater respect among the various nations of the world. The European Parliament is an inspiring example. Out of the chaos of war, those who were once enemies have, in a single generation, learned to co-exist and to cooperate. I am, therefore, particularly pleased and honored to address this gathering at the European Parliament.

As you know, my country – Tibet – is undergoing a very difficult period. The Tibetans – particularly those who live under Chinese occupation yearn for freedom and justice and a self-determined future, so that they are able to fully preserve their unique identity and live in peace with their neighbors.

For over a thousand years we Tibetans have adhered to spiritual and environmental values in order to maintain the delicate balance of life across the high plateau on which we live. Inspired by the Buddha's message on non-violence and compassion and protected by our mountains, we sought to respect every form of life and to abandon war as an instrument of national policy.

Our history, dating back more than two thousand years, has been one of independence. At no time, since the founding of our nation in 127 BC, have we Tibetans conceded our sovereignty to a foreign power. As with all nations, Tibet experienced periods in which our neighbors – Mongol, Manchu, Chinese, British and the Gorkhas of Nepal- sought to establish influence over us. These eras have been brief and the Tibetan people have never accepted them as constituting a loss of our national sovereignty. In fact, there have been occasions when Tibetan rulers conquered vast areas of China and other neighboring states. This, however, does not mean that we Tibetans can lay claim to these territories.

In 1949 the People's Republic of China forcibly invaded Tibet. Since that time, Tibet has endured the darkest period in its history. More than a million of our people have died as a result of the occupation. Thousands of monasteries were reduced to ruins. A generation has grown up deprived of education, economic opportunity and a sense of its own national character. Though the current Chinese leadership has implemented certain reforms, it is also promoting a massive population transfer onto the Tibetan plateau. This policy

has already reduced the six million Tibetans to a minority. Speaking for all Tibetans, I must sadly inform you, our tragedy continues.

I have always urged my people not to resort to violence in their efforts to redress their suffering. Yet I believe all people have the moral right to peacefully protest injustice. Unfortunately, the demonstrations in Tibet have been violently suppressed by the Chinese police and military. I will continue to counsel for non-violence, but unless China forsakes the brutal methods it employs, Tibetans cannot be responsible for a further deterioration in the situation.

Every Tibetan hopes and prays for the full restoration of our nation's independence. Thousands of our people have sacrificed their lives and our whole nation has suffered in this struggle. Even in recent months, Tibetans have bravely sacrificed their lives to achieve this precious goal. On the other hand, the Chinese totally fail to recognize the Tibetan people's aspirations and continue to pursue a policy of brutal suppression.

I have thought for a long time on how to achieve a realistic solution to my nation's plight. My Cabinet and I solicited the opinions of many friends and concerned persons. As a result, on September 21, 1987, at the Congressional Human Rights Caucus in Washington, DC, I announced a Five-Point Peace Plan for Tibet. In it I called for the conversion of Tibet into a zone of peace, a sanctuary in which humanity and nature can live together in harmony. I also called for respect for human rights and democratic ideals, environmental protection and a halt to the Chinese population transfer into Tibet.

The fifth point of the Peace Plan called for earnest negotiations between the Tibetans and the Chinese. We have, therefore, taken the initiative to formulate some thoughts which, we hope, may serve as a basis for resolving the issue of Tibet. I would like to take this opportunity to inform the distinguished gathering here of the main points of our thinking.

The whole of Tibet known as Cholka-Sum (U-Tsang, Kham and Amdo) should become a self-governing democratic political entity founded on law by agreement of the people for the common good and the protection of themselves and their environment, in association with the People's Republic of China.

The Government of the People's Republic of China could remain responsible for Tibet's foreign policy. The Government of Tibet should, however, develop and maintain relations, through its own Foreign Affairs Bureau, in the fields of religion, commerce, education, culture, tourism, science, sports and other non-political activities. Tibet should join international organizations

concerned with such activities.

The Government of Tibet should be founded on a constitution of basic law. The basic law should provide for a democratic system of government entrusted with the task of ensuring economic equality, social justice and protection of the environment. This means that the Government of Tibet will have the right to decide on all affairs relating to Tibet and the Tibetans.

As individual freedom is the real source and potential of any society's development, the Government of Tibet would seek to ensure this freedom by full adherence to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, including the rights to speech, assembly, and religion. Because religion constitutes the source of Tibet's national identity, and spiritual values lie at the very heart of Tibet's rich culture, it would be the special duty of the Government of Tibet to safeguard and develop its practice.

The Government should be comprised of a popularly elected Chief Executive, a bi-cameral legislative branch, and an independent judicial system. Its seat should be in Lhasa.

The social and economic system of Tibet should be determined in accordance with the wishes of the Tibetan people, bearing in mind especially the need to raise the standard of living of the entire population.

The Government of Tibet would pass strict laws to protect wildlife and plant life. The exploitation of natural resources would be carefully regulated. The manufacture, testing and stockpiling of nuclear weapons and other armaments must be prohibited, as well as the use of nuclear power and other technologies which produce hazardous waste. It would be the Government of Tibet's goal to transform Tibet into our planet's largest natural preserve.

A regional peace conference should be called to ensure that Tibet becomes a genuine sanctuary of peace through demilitarization. Until such a peace conference can be convened and demilitarization and neutralization achieved, China could have the right to maintain a restricted number of military installations in Tibet. These must be solely for defense purposes.

In order to create an atmosphere of trust conducive to fruitful negotiations, the Chinese Government should cease its human rights violations in Tibet and abandon its policy of transferring Chinese to Tibet.

These are the thoughts we have in mind. I am aware that many Tibetans will be disappointed by the moderate stand they represent. Undoubtedly, there will be much discussion in the coming months within our own community, both in Tibet and in exile. This, however, is an essential and invaluable part of any process of change. I believe these thoughts represent the most realistic

means by which to re-establish Tibet's separate identity and restore the fundamental rights of the Tibetan people while accommodating China's own interests. I would like to emphasize, however, that whatever the outcome of the negotiations with the Chinese may be, the Tibetan people themselves must be the ultimate deciding authority. Therefore, any proposal will contain a comprehensive procedural plan to ascertain the wishes of the Tibetan people in a nationwide referendum.

I would like to take this opportunity to state that I do not wish to take any active part in the Government of Tibet. Nevertheless, I will continue to work as much as I can for the well-being and happiness of the Tibetan people as long as it is necessary.

We are ready to present a proposal to the Government of the People's Republic of China based on the thoughts I have presented. A negotiating team representing the Tibetan Government has been selected. We are prepared to meet with the Chinese to discuss details of such a proposal aimed at achieving an equitable solution.

We are encouraged by the keen interest being shown in our situation by a growing number of governments and political leaders, including former President Jimmy Carter of the United States. We are also encouraged by the recent changes in China which have brought about a new group of leadership, more pragmatic and liberal.

We urge the Chinese Government and leadership to give serious and substantive consideration to the ideas I have described. Only dialogue and a willingness to look with honesty and clarity at the reality of Tibet can lead to a viable solution. We wish to conduct discussions with the Chinese Government bearing in mind the larger interests of humanity. Our proposal will therefore be made in a spirit of conciliation and we hope that the Chinese will respond accordingly.

My country's unique history and profound spiritual heritage render it ideally suited for fulfilling the role of a sanctuary of peace at the heart of Asia. Its historic status as a neutral buffer state, contributing to the stability of the entire continent, can be restored. Peace and security for Asia as well as for the world at large can be enhanced. In the future, Tibet need no longer be an occupied land, oppressed by force, unproductive and scarred by suffering. It can become a free haven where humanity and nature live in harmonious balance; a creative model for the resolution of tensions afflicting many areas throughout the world.

The Chinese leadership needs to realize that colonial rule over occupied

territories is today anachronistic. A genuine union or association can only come about voluntarily, when there is satisfactory benefit to all the parties concerned. The European Community is a clear example of this. On the other hand, even one country or community can break into two or more entities when there is a lack of trust or benefit, and when force is used as the principal means of rule.

I would like to end by making a special appeal to the honorable members of the European Parliament and through them to their respective constituencies to extend their support to our efforts. A resolution of the Tibetan problem within the framework that we propose will not only be for the mutual benefit of the Tibetan and Chinese people but will also contribute to regional and global peace and stability. I thank you for providing me the opportunity to share my thoughts with you.

# **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 or Tibetan 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 nation-

alities. 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.

*Note on the Memorandum on Genuine Autonomy for the Tibetan People was formally presented by the Envoys of His Holiness the Dalai Lama to their Chinese counterparts during the ninth round of dialogue in Beijing, PRC*

Translated from the Tibetan original

## **Note on the Memorandum on Genuine Autonomy for the Tibetan People**

### **Introduction**

This Note addresses the principal concerns and objections raised by the Chinese Central Government regarding the substance of the Memorandum on Genuine Autonomy for the Tibetan People (hereinafter 'the Memorandum') which was presented to the Government of the People's Republic of China (PRC) on October 31, 2008 at the eighth round of talks in Beijing.

Having carefully studied the responses and reactions of Minister Du Qinglin and Executive Vice-Minister Zhu Weiqun conveyed during the talks, including the written Note, and in statements made by the Chinese Central Government following the talks, it seems that some issues raised in the Memorandum may have been misunderstood, while others appear to have not been understood by the Chinese Central Government.

The Chinese Central Government maintains that the Memorandum contravenes the Constitution of the PRC as well as the 'three adherences'[1]. The Tibetan side believes that the Tibetan people's needs, as set out in the Memorandum, can be met within the framework and spirit of the Constitution and its principles on autonomy and that these proposals do not contravene or conflict with the 'three adherences'. We believe that the present Note will help to clarify this.

His Holiness the Dalai Lama started internal discussions, as early as in 1974, to find ways to resolve the future status of Tibet through an autonomy arrangement instead of seeking independence. In 1979 Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping expressed willingness to discuss and resolve all issues except the independence of Tibet. Since then His Holiness the Dalai Lama has taken numerous initiatives to bring about a mutually acceptable negotiated solution to the question of Tibet. In doing so His Holiness the Dalai Lama has steadfastly followed the Middle-Way approach, which means the pursuit of a mutually acceptable and mutually beneficial solution through negotiations, in the spirit of reconciliation and compromise. The Five-Point Peace Plan and the Strasbourg Proposal were presented in this spirit. With the failure to elicit any positive response from the Chinese Central Government to these

initiatives, along with the imposition of martial law in March 1989 and the deterioration of the situation in Tibet, His Holiness the Dalai Lama felt compelled to state in 1991 that his Strasbourg Proposal had become ineffectual. His Holiness the Dalai Lama nevertheless maintained his commitment to the Middle-Way approach.

The re-establishment of a dialogue process between the Chinese Central Government and representatives of His Holiness the Dalai Lama in 2002 provided the opportunity for each side to explain their positions and to gain a better understanding of the concerns, needs and interests of the other side. Moreover, taking into consideration the Chinese Central Government's real concerns, needs and interests, His Holiness the Dalai Lama has given much thought with due consideration to the reality of the situation. This reflects His Holiness the Dalai Lama's flexibility, openness and pragmatism and, above all, sincerity and determination to seek a mutually beneficial solution.

The Memorandum on Genuine Autonomy for the Tibetan People was prepared in response to the suggestion from the Chinese Central Government made at the seventh round of talks in July 2008. However, the Chinese Central Government's reactions and main criticisms of the Memorandum appear to be based not on the merits of that proposal which was officially presented to it, but on earlier proposals that were made public as well as other statements made at different times and contexts.

The Memorandum and the present Note strongly reemphasise that His Holiness the Dalai Lama is not seeking independence or separation but a solution within the framework of the Constitution and its principles on autonomy as reiterated many times in the past.

The Special General Meeting of the Tibetans in Diaspora held in November 2008 in Dharamsala reconfirmed for the time being the mandate for the continuation of the dialogue process with the PRC on the basis of the Middle-Way approach. On their part, members of the international community urged both sides to return to the talks. A number of them expressed the opinion that the Memorandum can form a good basis for discussion.

### **1. Respecting the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the PRC**

His Holiness the Dalai Lama has repeatedly stated that he is not seeking separation of Tibet from the People's Republic of China, and that he is not seeking independence for Tibet. He seeks a sustainable solution within the PRC. This position is stated unambiguously in the Memorandum.

The Memorandum calls for the exercise of genuine autonomy, not for independence, 'semi-independence' or 'independence in disguised form'. The

substance of the Memorandum, which explains what is meant by genuine autonomy, makes this unambiguously clear. The form and degree of autonomy proposed in the Memorandum is consistent with the principles on autonomy in the Constitution of the PRC. Autonomous regions in different parts of the world exercise the kind of self-governance that is proposed in the Memorandum, without thereby challenging or threatening the sovereignty and unity of the state of which they are a part. This is true of autonomous regions within unitary states as well as those with federal characteristics. Observers of the situation, including unbiased political leaders and scholars in the international community, have also acknowledged that the Memorandum is a call for autonomy within the PRC and not for independence or separation from the PRC.

The Chinese government's viewpoint on the history of Tibet is different from that held by Tibetans and His Holiness the Dalai Lama is fully aware that Tibetans cannot agree to it. History is a past event and it cannot be altered. However, His Holiness the Dalai Lama's position is forward-looking, not backward grasping. He does not wish to make this difference on history to be an obstacle in seeking a mutually beneficial common future within the PRC.

The Chinese Central Government's responses to the Memorandum reveal a persistent suspicion on its part that His Holiness' proposals are tactical initiatives to advance the hidden agenda of independence. His Holiness the Dalai Lama is aware of the PRC's concerns and sensitivities with regard to the legitimacy of the present situation in Tibet. For this reason His Holiness the Dalai Lama has conveyed through his Envoys and publicly stated that he stands ready to lend his moral authority to endow an autonomy agreement, once reached, with the legitimacy it will need to gain the support of the people and to be properly implemented.

## **2. Respecting the Constitution of the PRC**

The Memorandum explicitly states that the genuine autonomy sought by His Holiness the Dalai Lama for the Tibetan people is to be accommodated within the framework of the Constitution and its principles on autonomy, not outside of it.

The fundamental principle underlying the concept of national regional autonomy is to preserve and protect a minority nationality's identity, language, custom, tradition and culture in a multi-national state based on equality and cooperation. The Constitution provides for the establishment of organs of self-government where the national minorities live in concentrated communities in order for them to exercise the power of autonomy. In conformity with

this principle, the White Paper on Regional Ethnic Autonomy in Tibet (May 2004), states that minority nationalities are “arbiters of their own destiny and masters of their own affairs”.

Within the parameters of its underlying principles, a Constitution needs to be responsive to the needs of the times and adapt to new or changed circumstances. The leaders of the PRC have demonstrated the flexibility of the Constitution of the PRC in their interpretation and implementation of it, and have also enacted modifications and amendments in response to changing circumstances. If applied to the Tibetan situation, such flexibility would, as is stated in the Memorandum, indeed permit the accommodation of the Tibetan needs within the framework of the Constitution and its principles on autonomy.

### **3. Respecting the ‘three adherences’**

The position of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, as presented in the Memorandum, in no way challenges or brings into question the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party in the PRC. At the same time, it is reasonable to expect that, in order to promote unity, stability and a harmonious society, the Party would change its attitude of treating Tibetan culture, religion and identity as a threat.

The Memorandum also does not challenge the socialist system of the PRC. Nothing in it suggests a demand for a change to this system or for its exclusion from Tibetan areas. As for His Holiness the Dalai Lama’s views on socialism, it is well known that he has always favoured a socialist economy and ideology that promotes equality and benefits to uplift the poorer sections of society.

His Holiness the Dalai Lama’s call for genuine autonomy within the PRC recognises the principles on autonomy for minority nationalities contained in the Constitution of the PRC and is in line with the declared intent of those principles. As pointed out in the Memorandum, the current implementation of the provisions on autonomy, however, effectively results in the denial of genuine autonomy to the Tibetan and fails to provide for the exercise of the right of Tibetans to govern themselves and to be “masters of their own affairs.” Today, important decisions pertaining to the welfare of Tibetans are not being made by Tibetans. Implementing the proposed genuine autonomy explained in the Memorandum would ensure for the Tibetans the ability to exercise the right to true autonomy and therefore to become masters of their own affairs, in line with the Constitutional principles on autonomy.

Thus, the Memorandum for genuine autonomy does not oppose the ‘three

adherences’.

#### **4. Respecting the hierarchy and authority of the Chinese Central Government**

The proposals contained in the Memorandum in no way imply a denial of the authority of the National People’s Congress (NPC) and other organs of the Chinese Central Government. As stated in the Memorandum, the proposal fully respects the hierarchical differences between the Central Government and its organs, including the NPC, and the autonomous government of Tibet.

Any form of genuine autonomy entails a division and allocation of powers and responsibilities, including that of making laws and regulations, between the central and the autonomous local government. Of course, the power to adopt laws and regulations is limited to the areas of competency of the autonomous region. This is true in unitary states as well as in federal systems.

This principle is also recognised in the Constitution. The spirit of the Constitutional provisions on autonomy is to give autonomous regions broader decision-making authority over and above that enjoyed by ordinary provinces. But today, the requirement for prior approval by the Standing Committee of the NPC for all laws and regulations of the autonomous regions (Art. 116 of the Constitution) is exercised in a way that in fact leaves the autonomous regions with much less authority to make decisions that suit local conditions than that of the ordinary (not autonomous) provinces of China.

Whenever there is a division and allocation of decision-making power between different levels of government (between the Central Government and the autonomous government), it is important to have processes in place for consultation and cooperation. This helps to improve mutual understanding and to ensure that contradictions and possible inconsistencies in policies, laws and regulations are minimised. It also reduces the chances of disputes arising regarding the exercise of the powers allocated to these different organs of government. Such processes and mechanisms do not put the Central and autonomous governments on equal footing, nor do they imply the rejection of the leadership of the Central Government.

The important feature of entrenchment of autonomy arrangements in the Constitution or in other appropriate ways also does not imply equality of status between the central and local government nor does it restrict or weaken the authority of the former. The measure is intended to provide (legal) security to both the autonomous and the central authorities that neither can unilaterally change the basic features of the autonomy they have set up, and that a process of consultation must take place at least for fundamental

changes to be enacted.

## **5. Concerns raised by the Chinese Central Government on specific competencies referred to in the Memorandum**

### **a) Public security**

Concern was raised over the inclusion of public security aspects in the package of competencies allocated to the autonomous region in the Memorandum because the government apparently interpreted this to mean defence matters. National defence and public security are two different matters. His Holiness the Dalai Lama is clear on the point that the responsibility for national defence of the PRC is and should remain with the Central Government. This is not a competency to be exercised by the autonomous region. This is indeed the case in most autonomy arrangements. The Memorandum in fact refers specifically to “internal public order and security,” and makes the important point that the majority of the security personnel should be Tibetans, because they understand the local customs and traditions. It also helps to curb local incidents leading to disharmony among the nationalities. The Memorandum in this respect is consistent with the principle enunciated in Article 120 of the Constitution (reflected also in Article 24 of the LRNA), which states:

“The organs of self-government of the national autonomous areas may, in accordance with the military system of the state and practical local needs and with approval of the State Council, organise local public security forces for the maintenance of public order.”

It should also be emphasised in this context that the Memorandum at no point proposes the withdrawal of People’s Liberation Army (PLA) from Tibetan areas.

### **b) Language**

The protection, use, and development of the Tibetan language are one of the crucial issues for the exercise of genuine autonomy by Tibetans. The emphasis on the need to respect Tibetan as the main or principal language in the Tibetan areas is not controversial, since a similar position is expressed in the Chinese Central Government’s White Paper on Regional Ethnic Autonomy in Tibet, where it is stated that regulations adopted by the Tibet regional government prescribe that “equal attention be given to Tibetan and Han-Chinese languages in the Tibetan Autonomous region, with the Tibetan language as the major one...” (emphasis added). Moreover, the very usage of “main language” in the Memorandum clearly implies the use of other languages, too.

The absence of a demand in the Memorandum that Chinese should also be

used and taught should not be interpreted as an “exclusion” of this language, which is the principal and common language in the PRC as a whole. It should also be noted in this context that the leadership in exile has taken steps to encourage Tibetans in exile to learn Chinese.

Tibetan proposal which emphasises the study of the Tibetan people’s own language should therefore not be interpreted as being a “separatist view”.

### **c) Regulation of population migration**

The Memorandum proposes that the local government of the autonomous region should have the competency to regulate the residence, settlement and employment or economic activities of persons who wish to move to Tibetan areas from elsewhere. This is a common feature of autonomy and is certainly not without precedent in the PRC.

A number of countries have instituted systems or adopted laws to protect vulnerable regions or indigenous and minority peoples from excessive immigration from other parts of the country. The Memorandum explicitly states that it is not suggesting the expulsion of non-Tibetans who have lived in Tibetan areas for years. His Holiness the Dalai Lama and the Kashag also made this clear in earlier statements, as did the Envoys in their discussions with their Chinese counterparts. In an address to the European Parliament on December 4, 2008, His Holiness the Dalai Lama reiterated that “our intention is not to expel non-Tibetans. Our concern is the induced mass movement of primarily Han, but also some other nationalities, into many Tibetan areas, which in turn marginalises the native Tibetan population and threatens Tibet’s fragile environment.” From this it is clear that His Holiness is not at all suggesting that Tibet be inhabited by only Tibetans, with other nationalities not being able to do so. The issue concerns the appropriate division of powers regarding the regulation of transient, seasonal workers and new settlers so as to protect the vulnerable population indigenous to Tibetan areas.

In responding to the Memorandum the Chinese Central Government rejected the proposition that the autonomous authorities would regulate the entrance and economic activities of persons from other parts of the PRC in part because “in the Constitution and the Law on Regional National Autonomy there are no provisions to restrict transient population.” In fact, the Law on Regional National Autonomy, in its Article 43, explicitly mandates such a regulation: “In accordance with legal stipulations, the organs of self-government of national autonomous areas shall work out measures for control of the transient population.”

Thus, the Tibetan proposal contained in the Memorandum in this regard is

not incompatible with the Constitution.

#### **d) Religion**

The point made in the Memorandum, that Tibetans be free to practice their religion according to their own beliefs, is entirely consistent with the principles of religious freedom contained in the Constitution of the PRC. It is also consistent with the principle of separation of religion and polity adopted in many countries of the world.

Article 36 of the Constitution guarantees that no one can “compel citizens to believe in, or not to believe in any religion.” We endorse this principle but observe that today the government authorities do interfere in important ways in the ability of Tibetans to practice their religion.

The spiritual relationship between master and student and the giving of religious teachings, etc. are essential components of the Dharma practice. Restricting these is a violation of religious freedom. Similarly, the interference and direct involvement by the state and its institutions in matters of recognition of reincarnated lamas, as provided in the regulation on the management of reincarnated lamas adopted by the State on July 18, 2007 is a grave violation of the freedom of religious belief enshrined in the Constitution.

The practice of religion is widespread and fundamental to the Tibetan people. Rather than seeing Buddhist practice as a threat, concerned authorities should respect it. Traditionally or historically Buddhism has always been a major unifying and positive factor between the Tibetan and Chinese peoples.

#### **e) Single administration**

The desire of Tibetans to be governed within one autonomous region is fully in keeping with the principles on autonomy of the Constitution. The rationale for the need to respect the integrity of the Tibetan nationality is clearly stated in the Memorandum and does not mean “Greater or Smaller Tibet”. In fact, as pointed out in the Memorandum, the Law on Regional National Autonomy itself allows for this kind of modification of administrative boundaries if proper procedures are followed. Thus the proposal in no way violates the Constitution.

As the Envoys pointed out in earlier rounds of talks, many Chinese leaders, including Premier Zhou Enlai, Vice Premier Chen Yi and Party Secretary Hu Yaobang, supported the consideration of bringing all Tibetan areas under a single administration. Some of the most senior Tibetan leaders in the PRC, including the 10th Panchen Lama, Ngapo Ngawang Jigme and Bapa Phuntsok Wangyal have also called for this and affirming that doing so would be in

accordance with the PRC's Constitution and its laws. In 1956 a special committee, which included senior Communist Party member Sangye Yeshe (Tian Bao), was appointed by the Chinese Central Government to make a detailed plan for the integration of the Tibetan areas into a single autonomous region, but the work was later stopped on account of ultra-leftist elements.

The fundamental reason for the need to integrate the Tibetan areas under one administrative region is to address the deeply-felt desire of Tibetans to exercise their autonomy as a people and to protect and develop their culture and spiritual values in this context. This is also the fundamental premise and purpose of the Constitutional principles on regional national autonomy as reflected in Article 4 of the Constitution. Tibetans are concerned about the integrity of the Tibetan nationality, which the proposal respects and which the continuation of the present system does not. Their common historical heritage, spiritual and cultural identity, language and even their particular affinity to the unique Tibetan plateau environment is what binds Tibetans as one nationality. Within the PRC, Tibetans are recognized as one nationality and not several nationalities. Those Tibetans presently living in Tibet autonomous prefectures and counties incorporated into other provinces also belong to the same Tibetan nationality. Tibetans, including His Holiness the Dalai Lama, are primarily concerned about the protection and development of Tibetan culture, spiritual values, national identity and the environment. Tibetans are not asking for the expansion of Tibetan autonomous areas. They are only demanding that those areas already recognised as Tibetan autonomous areas come under a single administration, as is the case in the other autonomous regions of the PRC. So long as Tibetans do not have the opportunity to govern themselves under a single administration, preservation of Tibetan culture and way of life cannot be done effectively. Today more than half of the Tibetan population is subjected to the priorities and interests first and foremost of different provincial governments in which they have no significant role.

As explained in the Memorandum, the Tibetan people can only genuinely exercise regional national autonomy if they can have their own autonomous government, people's congress and other organs of self-government with jurisdiction over the Tibetan nationality as a whole. This principle is reflected in the Constitution, which recognises the right of minority nationalities to practice regional autonomy "in areas where they live in concentrated communities" and to "set up organs of self-government for the exercise of the power of autonomy," (Article 4). If the "state's full respect for and guarantee of the right of the minority nationalities to administer their internal affairs" solemnly declared in the preamble of the Law on Regional National Autonomy

is interpreted not to include the right to choose to form an autonomous region that encompasses the whole people in the contiguous areas where its members live in concentrated communities, the Constitutional principles on autonomy are themselves undermined.

Keeping Tibetans divided and subject to different laws and regulations denies the people the exercise of genuine autonomy and makes it difficult for them to maintain their distinct cultural identity. It is not impossible for the Central Government to make the necessary administrative adjustment when elsewhere in the PRC, notably in the case of Inner Mongolia, Ningxia and Guangxi Autonomous Regions, it has done just that.

#### **f) Political, social and economic system**

His Holiness the Dalai Lama has repeatedly and consistently stated that no one, least of all he, has any intention to restore the old political, social and economic system that existed in Tibet prior to 1959. It would be the intention of a future autonomous Tibet to further improve the social, economic and political situation of Tibetans, not to return to the past. It is disturbing and puzzling that the Chinese government persists, despite all evidence to the contrary, to accuse His Holiness the Dalai Lama and his Administration of the intention to restore the old system.

All countries and societies in the world, including China, have had political systems in the past that would be entirely unacceptable today. The old Tibetan system is no exception. The world has evolved socially and politically and has made enormous strides in terms of the recognition of human rights and standards of living. Tibetans in exile have developed their own modern democratic system as well as education and health systems and institutions. In this way, Tibetans have become citizens of the world at par with those of other countries. It is obvious that Tibetans in the PRC have also advanced under Chinese rule and improved their social, education, health and economic situation. However, the standard of living of the Tibetan people remains the most backward in the PRC and Tibetan human rights are not being respected.

#### **6. Recognising the core issue**

His Holiness the Dalai Lama and other members of the exiled leadership have no personal demands to make. His Holiness the Dalai Lama's concern is with the rights and welfare of the Tibetan people. Therefore, the fundamental issue that needs to be resolved is the faithful implementation of genuine autonomy that will enable the Tibetan people to govern themselves in accordance with their own genius and needs.

His Holiness the Dalai Lama speaks on behalf of the Tibetan people, with

whom he has a deep and historical relationship and one based on full trust. In fact, on no issue are Tibetans as completely in agreement as on their demand for the return of His Holiness the Dalai Lama to Tibet. It cannot be disputed that His Holiness the Dalai Lama legitimately represents the Tibetan people, and he is certainly viewed as their true representative and spokesperson by them. It is indeed only by means of dialogue with His Holiness the Dalai Lama that the Tibetan issue can be resolved. The recognition of this reality is important.

This emphasises the point, often made by His Holiness the Dalai Lama, that his engagement for the cause of Tibet is not for the purpose of claiming certain personal rights or political position for him, nor attempting to stake claims for the Tibetan administration in exile. Once an agreement is reached, the Tibetan Government-in-Exile will be dissolved and the Tibetans working in Tibet should carry on the main responsibility of administering Tibet. His Holiness the Dalai Lama made it clear on numerous occasions that he will not hold any political position in Tibet.

#### **7. His Holiness the Dalai Lama's co-operation**

His Holiness the Dalai Lama has offered, and remains prepared, to formally issue a statement that would serve to allay the Chinese Central Government's doubts and concerns as to his position and intentions on matters that have been identified above.

The formulation of the statement should be done after ample consultations between representatives of His Holiness the Dalai Lama and the Chinese Central Government, respectively, to ensure that such a statement would satisfy the fundamental needs of the Chinese Central Government as well as those of the Tibetan people.

It is important that both parties address any concern directly with their counterparts, and not use those issues as ways to block the dialogue process as has occurred in the past.

His Holiness the Dalai Lama is taking this initiative in the belief that it is possible to find common ground with the People's Republic of China consistent with the principles on autonomy contained in PRC's Constitution and with the interests of the Tibetan people. In that spirit, it is the expectation and hope of His Holiness the Dalai Lama that the representatives of the PRC will use the opportunity presented by the Memorandum and this Note to deepen discussion and make substantive progress in order to develop mutual understanding.

## 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 14<sup>th</sup> 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 and 1988, 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; 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.

The Sixth International Tibet Support Groups Meeting was held at Surajkund, Haryana, India from November 5-7, 2010. The 2nd Special International Tibet Support Groups conference was organized at Dharamshala, Himachal Pradesh, India from November 16-18, 2012. And the Seventh International Tibet Support Groups conference was held at Brussels, Belgium from September 8-10, 2016.

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.

On 9th and 10th February 2002 a meeting was held at Rewari, Haryana of All India Tibet Support Groups to coordinate all the efforts and build a better networking system of the TSGs to get a unified effort. To achieve this, a Core Group for Tibetan Cause was formalised which will function in close coordination with the various Tibet Support Groups in India through India Tibet Coordination Office (ITCO). Since then numerous conference and campaigns were carried out by TSGs for the just cause of Tibet and issues concerning the security of India. Hence the first All India Tibet Support Conference was held at Chandigarh, Punjab from September 5-7, 2003 with the participation of 200 Tibet Supporters in India. The second All India Tibet Support Groups conference was held at Gaya, Bihar from October 13-15, 2006. A two-day special conference of All India Tibet Support Groups was organized in Agraseen Bhawan, Chandigarh from 28 to 29 June 2008. (Due to 2008 Tibet uprising) The third All India Tibet Support Groups Meeting was held at Vishwa Yuvak Kendra in New Delhi from March 30 – 31, 2009 which had a gathering of more than 200 delegates. (The year commemorated with "Thank you India: 50 Years in Exile") The fourth was organised at Dharamshala, Himachal Pradesh from June 9-11, 2012. And the fifth All India Tibet Support Groups conference was held at Guwahati, Assam from November 2-3, 2015 with the presence of more than 150 Tibet Supporters from all over India from various Tibet Support Groups organization.

Amongst numerous support groups, India-Tibet Friendship Society (ITFS); Bharat-Tibbat Sahyog Manch (BTSM); Himalayan Committee for Action on Tibet (HIMCAT); Friends of Tibet (FoT); Students for Free Tibet (SFT-India); Himalaya Pariwar; National Campaign for Free Tibet Supports (NCFTS);

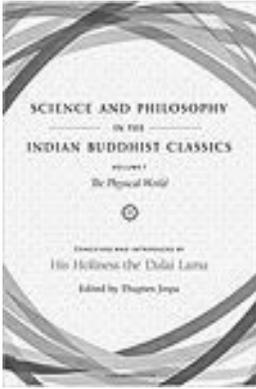
Antarashtriyā Bharat Tibbat Sahyog Samiti (ABTSS); Indo-Tibetan Friendship Association (ITFA) and Youth Liberation Front for Tibet (YLFTM) are the prominent one with having its own regional and local units.

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 parliamentarian friends of Tibet in India and across the globe, has been working with renewed energy to the Tibet cause for the past many decades. Apart from expressing solidarity and concern to the Tibet cause, parliamentarians friends of Tibet meets from time to time during the World Parliamentarian Convention on Tibet. As such the first World Parliamentarians Convention on Tibet (WPCT) was held in New Delhi, India from March 18-20, 1994. The second World Parliamentarians Convention on Tibet was held in Lithuania from May 26 to 28, 1995, the third at Washington D.C. from April 23 to 24, 1997; the fourth convention was held at Edinburgh, Scotland, on November 18 & 19, 2005; The fifth WPCT was held in Rome, Italy, on November 18-19, 2009 and the sixth World Parliamentarian Convention on Tibet was held at Ottawa, Canada from 27 to 29, April 2012.

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 meetings. 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.

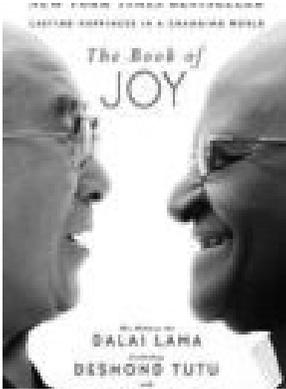


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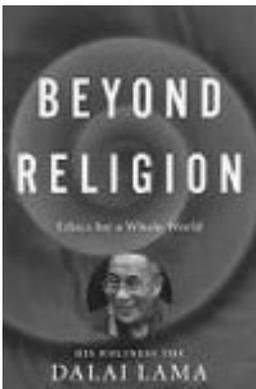


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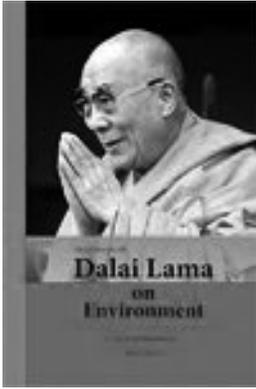


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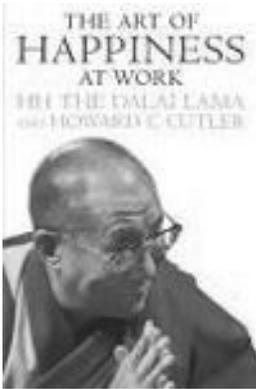


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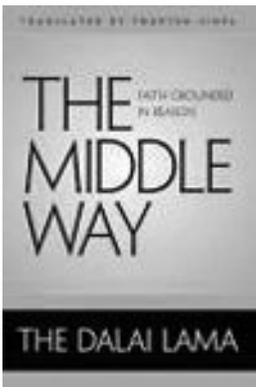


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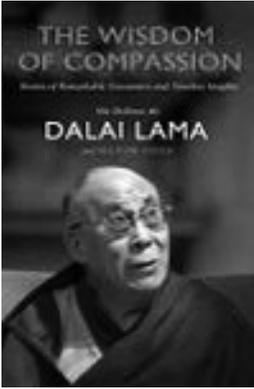


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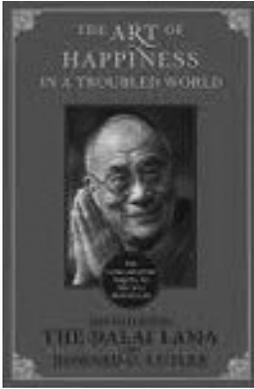


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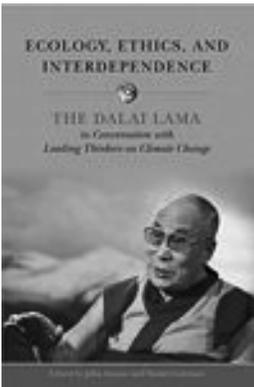


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- Write to your MPs about Tibet and ask them to raise the issue of Tibet in the parliament.
- Ask your MPs and government to support the Dalai Lama's peace initiatives for Tibet.
- Urge Government of India to facilitate a meaningful dialogue between 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.

