



**Department of Information and International Relations**  
Central Tibetan Administration



## TIBETAN NATIONAL FLAG



During the reign of the seventh-century king Songsten Gampo, Tibet was one of the mightiest empires in Central Asia. Tibet, then, had an army of about 2,860,000 men. Each regiment of the military had its own banner. The banner of the Yä-Ru Tö regiment had a pair of snow lions facing each other: that of Yä-Ru Mä, a snow lion with a bright upper border; that of Tsang-Ru-Lag, a snow lion standing upright leaping towards the sky, and that of Ü-Ru Tö, 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 military establishments. This banner became the present 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 mountains, 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 slow lions stand 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 behaviour, principally represented by the practices of the ten exalted virtues and the sixteen humane modes of conduct.
- Lastly, the adornment with a yellow border symbolises the Buddha's teachings, which are like pure, refined gold, unbounded in space and time, flourishing and spreading.

## TIBETAN NATIONAL ANTHEM

Let the radiant light shine of Buddha's wish-fulfilling gem teachings,  
the treasure chest of all hopes for happiness and benefit in both secular life  
and liberation.

O Protectors who hold the jewel of the teachings and all beings,  
nourishing them greatly, may the sum of your karmas grow full.

Firmly enduring in a diamond-hard state, guard all directions with  
compassion and love.

Above our heads may divinely appointed rule abide endowed with a hundred  
benefits

and let the power increase of fourfold auspiciousness.

May a new golden age of happiness and bliss spread throughout the three  
provinces of Tibet

and the glory expand of religious-secular rule.

By the spread of Buddha's teachings in the ten directions,  
may everyone throughout the world enjoy the glories of happiness and  
peace.

In the battle against negative forces

may the auspicious sunshine of the teachings and beings of Tibet  
and the brilliance of a myriad of radiant prosperities be ever triumphant.



## HIS HOLINESS THE 14th DALAI LAMA



### BACKGROUND

His Holiness the 14th Dalai Lama, Tenzin Gyatso, is the spiritual leader of Tibet. He was born on 6 July 1935 to a farmer's family in the village of Takster, Amdo, north-eastern Tibet. At age two, the child, then named Lhamo Dhondup, was recognised as the reincarnation of the 13th Dalai Lama, Thubten Gyatso.

The Dalai Lamas are believed to be manifestations of Avalokiteshvara or Chenrezig, the Bodhisattva of Compassion and 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.

Every Tibetan shares a deep bond with His Holiness the Dalai Lama, who

symbolises Tibet in its entirety: the beauty of the land, the purity of its rivers and lakes, the sanctity of its skies, the solidity of its mountains and the strength of its people. For Tibetans, His Holiness is the guide illuminating the path, the supreme leader, the symbol of the Tibetan identity and unity, and the voice of the Tibetan people as a whole.

## **EDUCATION IN TIBET**

His Holiness began his monastic education at the age of six. At twenty-three, His Holiness sat for his final examination in Lhasa's Jokhang Temple during the annual Monlam (prayer) Festival in 1959. He passed with honours and was awarded the Geshe Lharampa degree (the highest-level degree equivalent to a doctorate of Buddhist philosophy).

## **LEADERSHIP RESPONSIBILITIES**

In 1950, His Holiness the Dalai Lama was called upon to assume full political power following PRC's invasion of Tibet in 1949. In 1954, His Holiness went to Beijing for peace talks with Mao Zedong and other Chinese leaders, including Deng Xiaoping and Zhou Enlai. However, in 1959, with the brutal suppression of the Tibetan national uprising in Lhasa by Chinese troops, His Holiness was forced to escape into exile. Since then, he has been living in Dharamshala, in northern Indian state of Himachal Pradesh.

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.

## **DEMOCRATISATION PROCESS**

On 29 April 1959, His Holiness the Dalai Lama established the Tibetan government in exile, now called the Central Tibetan Administration (CTA), as the continuation of the Gaden Phodrang Government of independent Tibet. In 1963, His Holiness presented a draft democratic constitution for future Tibet, followed by a number of reforms to democratise the Tibetan administration. In May 1990, the radical reforms His Holiness initiated saw the realisation of a truly democratic administration for the Tibetan community in exile. The

Kashag (the highest executive body), which till then had been appointed by His Holiness, was dissolved along with the Tenth Tibetan Parliament-in-Exile (then called the Assembly of the Tibetan People's Deputies). In the same year, Tibetans in exile in the Indian sub-continent and elsewhere elected 46 members to the expanded Eleventh Tibetan Parliament-in-Exile. The parliament then elected new members of the Kashag.

The new democratic constitution promulgated as a result of this reform came to be known as 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 CTA with respect to the Tibetans living in exile.

In 2001, on the advice of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, the Tibetan parliament amended the Charter to provide for the Kalon Tripa (now called Sikyong), the highest executive authority, to be directly elected by the Tibetan people in exile. The first election for the Kalon Tripa took place in 2001.

## **POLITICAL RETIREMENT**

In his letter to the Tibetan parliament, dated 14 March 2011, His Holiness explained in detail his plan to devolve political leadership to the elected Tibetan leadership. Draft amendments to the Charter were prepared and put to deliberation in the national general meeting of Tibetans. Based on the recommendations of the general meeting, the Tibetan parliament convened an additional session to give its final approval to amend the Charter. On 29 May 2011, His Holiness signed into law the formal transfer of his temporal power to the democratically elected leader. Though His Holiness has devolved his political responsibilities to the elected Tibetan leadership, he continues to be the spiritual leader of Tibet.

## **PEACE INITIATIVES**

On 21 September 1987, in an address to the US Congress' Human Rights Caucus, His Holiness proposed the Five Point Peace Plan for Tibet as the first step towards a peaceful solution to the worsening situation in Tibet. He envisaged Tibet becoming a sanctuary, a zone of peace at the heart of Asia, where all sentient

beings can exist in harmony and the delicate environment can be preserved.

### **The Five Point Peace Plan:**

- 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 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 people.

On 15 June 1988, in an address to members of the European Parliament in Strasbourg, His Holiness made a detailed proposal elaborating on the last point of the Five-Point Peace Plan. He proposed talks between the Chinese and Tibetans leading to a self-governing democratic political entity for all three provinces of Tibet. Though China has not responded positively to the various peace proposals, His Holiness remains committed to the Middle Way Approach that seeks to find a peaceful solution to the Sino-Tibet conflict.

### **UNIVERSAL RECOGNITION**

On 10 December 1989, His Holiness was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for his nonviolent struggle for the liberation of Tibet. His Holiness has consistently advocated policies of non-violence, even in the face of extreme aggression. His Holiness also became the first Nobel Laureate to be recognised for his concern for global environmental problems.

Since 1959, His Holiness has received over 150 honorary doctorates, awards, and prizes in recognition of his message of peace, non-violence, inter-religious understanding, universal responsibility, and compassion. Today, His Holiness is globally recognised as one of the foremost spiritual leaders and advocates of peace.

He has travelled to more than 67 countries, met with presidents and prime ministers, and crowned rulers of major nations. He has held dialogues with

the heads of different religious traditions and many well-known scientists. His Holiness has also authored or co-authored more than 110 books.

In recognition of His Holiness' enduring and outstanding contributions to peace, nonviolence, human rights, and religious understanding, he was presented with the US' highest civilian award, the US Congressional Gold Medal, on 17 October 2007. His Holiness was also honoured with the 2012 Templeton Prize for his long-standing engagement with multiple dimensions of science and with people far beyond his own religious traditions.

## **PRINCIPAL COMMITMENTS OF HIS HOLINESS THE 14th DALAI LAMA**

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 recognise 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 recognise that human beings observe several religions and several aspects of the truth.

Thirdly, His Holiness is a Tibetan, and the 'Dalai Lama' is the focus of the Tibetan people's hope and trust. Therefore, he is committed to preserving the

Tibetan language and culture, the heritage Tibetans received from the masters of India's Nalanda University, while also advocating for the protection of Tibet's natural environment.

In addition, His Holiness has lately spoken of his commitment to creating greater awareness and interest in 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.

## TRADITIONS OF TIBETAN BUDDHISM AND BON

**Bon** is the native and earliest religion of Tibet. It was founded by Tompa Shenrab Mewoche and became the dominant religion until King Songtsen Gampo introduced Buddhism in the seventh century. Gradually, Buddhism became the predominant religion of Tibet. However, the Bon religion continues to thrive today with a vibrant monastic community whose discipline, dedication, and scholarship are exemplary among the exiled Tibetans.

The current spiritual centre of the Bon religion is Menri Monastery in Dolanji, Himachal Pradesh. His Eminence Gyalwa Menri Trizin is the head of the Bon religion.

**The Four Great Traditions of Tibetan Buddhism and Jonang:** Tibetan Buddhism is broadly categorised into four traditions: Nyingma, Kagyud, Sakya, and Gelug. Jonang tradition is considered a unique tradition amongst the traditions of Tibetan Buddhism. Although each tradition has its respective head, His Holiness the Dalai Lama is the ultimate spiritual head of all traditions.

**The Nyingma Tradition**, the oldest order of Tibetan Buddhism, was founded by Guru Padmasambhava, an Indian tantric adept. He came to Tibet in the eighth century at the invitation of King Trisong Detsen and hid numerous secret doctrines in various places.

These were later discovered at appropriate times and codified into the teachings of the Nyingma order. The central instruction of the Nyingma tradition is Dzogchen (The Great Completion). Vimalamitra, another Indian master and contemporary of Padmasambhava, transmitted this teaching to Tibetan scholar Nyang Tingngezin Sangpo. The Dzogchen precepts were later explained and elaborated by Longchenpa in the form of a text, which came to be known as Nying-thig (Heart's Drop). As per the 31st Bodhi Gaya Nyingma Monlam Chenmo circular dated 3 February 2020, the Chair of the Nyingma Monlam Chenmo International Foundation will lead the Nyingma tradition. His Eminence Shenchen Rabjam Rinpoche is the chair of the foundation.

**The Kagyud Tradition** was founded in the eleventh century by the Great Translator Marpa. He travelled three times to India and studied under Naropa,

one of the most accomplished Indian Vajrayana masters of the time. Marpa's principal disciple was Milarepa, who is credited with obtaining enlightenment in a single lifetime. The central practice of the Kagyud Tradition is known as the Six Yogas of Naropa.

The Kagyud Tradition gradually diversified into Four Greater sub-traditions and Eight Lesser sub-traditions. The Four Greater sub-traditions are 1) Tselpa Kagyud, 2) Phagdru Kagyud, 3) Barom Kagyud, and 4) Kamtsang Kagyud. The Eight Lesser sub-traditions are 1) Drikung Kagyud, 2) Taklung Kagyud, 3) Trophu Kagyud, 4) Drukpa Kagyud, 5) Marpa Kagyud, 6) Yelpa Kagyud, 7) Yasang Kagyud, and 8) Shugseb Kagyud.

Each sub-tradition has its own head. His Eminence Gyalwa Karmapa is the head of Kamtsang Kagyud, His Eminence Drikung Chetsang Rinpoche is the head of Drikung Kagyud, His Eminence Drukchen Rinpoche is the head of Drukpa Kagyud, His Eminence Taklung Shabdung Rinpoche is the head of Taklung Kagyud, and so on.

**The Sakya Tradition** was founded in the eleventh century by Khon Kunchog Gyalpo. Its central teaching is the doctrine of Paths and Fruits, which is derived from the tradition of Drongmi, a great translator who studied in India. Sakya Kunga Gyaltsen (1182–1253), widely known as Sakya Pandita, was the most illustrious of Sakya masters. He maintained diplomatic relations with the Mongols and saved Tibet from the Mongol army's onslaught.

Sakya Pandita's nephew, Drogon Choegyal Phagpa, was also a great Buddhist scholar. His wisdom and dignity so impressed Qublai Khan that the latter accepted him as his spiritual master and gifted him rule over all of Tibet. However, the most precious gift, as Phagpa himself perceived it, was the Khan's promise to give up the annual drowning of Chinese subjects en masse in the Chinese part of the Mongol Empire.

The Sakya Tradition consists of three sub-traditions: 1) Tsarpa, 2) Ngorpa, and 3) Sakya. The head of the Sakya Tradition is Sakya Trizin. The 43rd Sakya Trizin is His Eminence Gyana Vajra Rinpoche.

**The Gelug Tradition** was founded in the fourteenth century by Je Tsongkhapa. This tradition has its roots in the Kadampa tradition, founded by Bengali

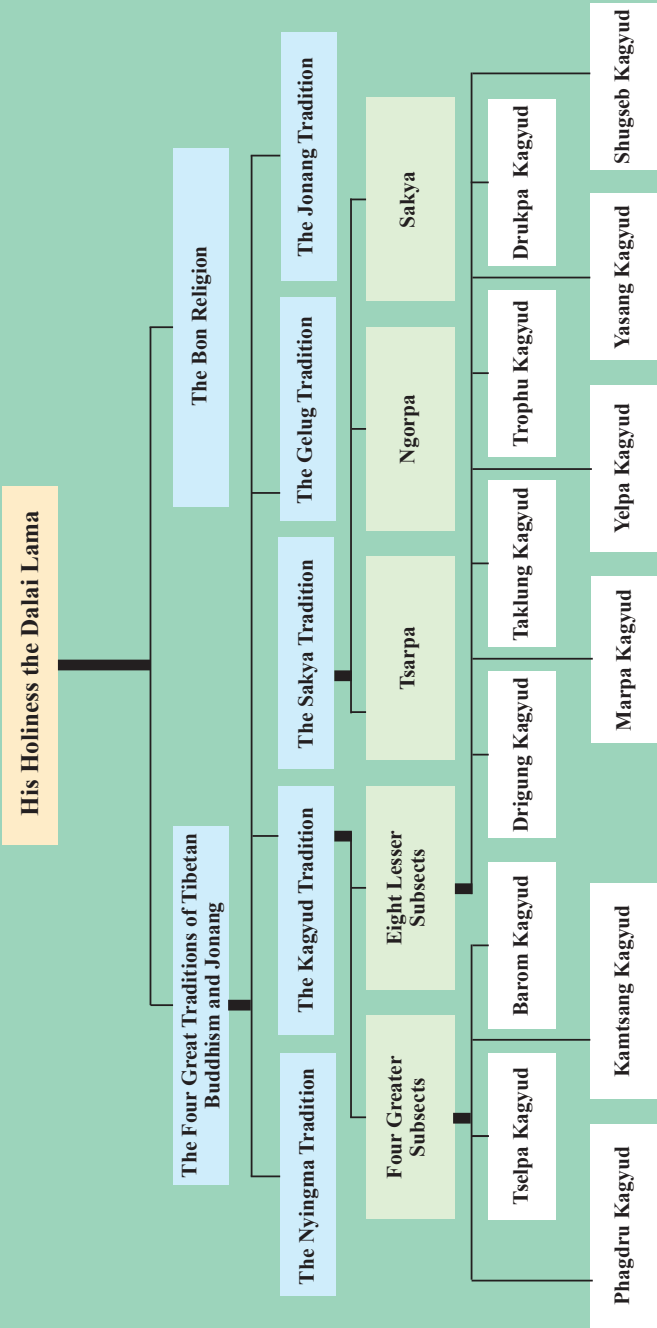
scholar Atisha Dipankara Shri Gyan. This tradition stresses the importance of strictly following the monastic discipline and scholarship as a basis for religious practice. In 1409, Tsongkhapa founded the monastic University of Gaden in Lhasa. Subsequently, two of his disciples founded Drepung and Sera monastic universities, making them the three largest monasteries in Tibet.

The head of the Gelug Tradition, known as the Gaden Tripa (Gaden Throne Holder), is appointed on the basis of scholarship and seniority. The 104th Gaden Tripa is His Eminence Jetsun Lobsang Tenzin Palsangpo.

**The Jonang Tradition** was founded by Kunpang Thukje Tsondue in Tibet in the 13th century. Notably, this tradition elucidates and emphasises the Other Emptiness of the Middle Way or Zhentong Madhyamika philosophy. This tradition is known for upholding the entire Kalachakra or Wheel of Time system, including the six unions of the completion stage practice. Born in 1575, Jetsun Kunga Nyingpo alias Jetsun Taranatha is the most prominent master of the tradition and Kalachakra system.

The Eleventh Tibetan Religious Conference, held in Dharamshala in 2011, recognised the Jonang Tradition as an independent and unique tradition amongst the traditions of Tibetan Buddhism. His Eminence Jonang Gyaltseb Rinpoche is the head of the Jonang Tradition in exile.

# The Traditions of Tibetan Buddhism and Bon



## TIBETAN DIASPORA

Population:	Approximately 135,432 [Approx. worldwide distribution: India 71,688; Nepal 10,361; Bhutan 1,213; the rest of the world 52,170] (Source: CTA Demographic Survey 2022)
Administration:	Democratic and popularly elected
Constitution:	The Charter of Tibetans-in-Exile
Judiciary:	Tibetan Supreme Justice Commission
Legislature:	Tibetan Parliament-in-Exile with 45 members (10 representatives from each of the three traditional provinces of Tibet: U-Tsang, Dhotoe and Dhomey; 2 from each of the four schools of Tibetan Buddhism and Bon religion; 2 from each of the Tibetan communities in North America and Europe, and 1 from Australasia excluding India, Nepal and Bhutan)
Executive:	The Kashag (Cabinet) is the apex executive body. Sikyong, the executive head of the Central Tibetan Administration, is elected directly by the exile population for a term of five years. The Sikyong nominates other members of the Kashag, known as Kalon (Minister), to the Tibetan parliament for approval.
Major NGOs:	Tibetan Youth Congress (TYC), Tibetan Women's Association (TWA), National Democratic Party of Tibet (NDPT), Gu-Chu-Sum Movement
Foreign Missions:	Based in New Delhi, Kathmandu, Washington D.C., Geneva, Tokyo, London, Brussels, Canberra, Moscow, Pretoria, Taipei, Sao Paulo, and the Coordinator's Office in Paris under the Office of Tibet, Brussels
Livelihood:	Agriculture, Agro-Industries, Handicraft Exports, Woolen-Garment Enterprise and Service Sector

## CENTRAL TIBETAN ADMINISTRATION

### Background

In 1949, the People's Liberation Army of China (PLA) marched into Tibet's eastern provinces of Kham and Amdo, seizing control over the eastern Tibetan headquarters in Chamdo the following year. In 1951, the Chinese government, in the name of 'Measures for the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet', forced upon the Tibetan people the so-called '17-Point Agreement'. The PLA then advanced west and brutally crushed the Tibetan National Uprising of Lhasa in 1959, culminating in the total occupation of the whole of Tibet. This forced His Holiness the Dalai Lama and some 80,000 Tibetans to escape into exile in India, Nepal and Bhutan. On his arrival in India, His Holiness

issued a press statement in Tezpur, Assam on 18 April 1959. In it His Holiness stated that the '17-Point Agreement' had been signed under pressure from the Chinese government. Then, on 20 June, His Holiness issued another press statement from his new headquarters in Mussoorie, in which he repudiated the 'Agreement' as the Chinese government had systematically violated its terms despite every possible attempt made by His Holiness and the Tibetan Government to co-exist for eight years.

On 29 April 1959, His Holiness the Dalai Lama re-established the Tibetan Government-in-Exile (TGiE), now called the Central Tibetan Administration, in the north Indian hill station of Mussoorie. In May 1960, His Holiness and the TGiE moved to Dharamshala.

The Tibetan people, both inside and outside Tibet, look to the exile administration as their legitimate representative; for this reason, and the administration's commitment to truth, non-violence, genuine democracy, and freedom as its inviolable principles, an increasing number of political leaders in governments, parliamentarians, and the general public around the world recognise the CTA as the legitimate and true representative of the Tibetan people.

Right from its inception, the CTA has set itself the twin task of restoring freedom for Tibet and sustaining the Tibetan community in exile. The CTA seeks to restore freedom for the Tibetan people by mobilising Tibetan people and our allies to reopen the Sino-Tibetan dialogue to seek genuine autonomy for the Tibetan people and to develop a sustainable Tibetan community in exile.

One of the main reforms undertaken by His Holiness was the democratisation of the exiled Tibetan polity, beginning with the creation of a parliament – then called the Commission of Tibetan People's Deputies (CTPD) on 2 September 1960. Since then, 2 September has been observed as the Tibetan Democracy Day. The Parliament gradually matured into a full-fledged legislative body and was renamed the Assembly of Tibetan People's Deputies (ATPD) in 1979. Since 2006, it is formally known as the Tibetan Parliament-in-Exile (TPiE).

In 1990, His Holiness the Dalai Lama announced further democratisation,

which increased the number of members of the parliament. The parliament was empowered to elect the Kashag (Cabinet) members, who were accountable to it. The newly empowered parliament adopted the exile Tibetan constitution called the Charter of Tibetans-in-Exile.

Similarly, the Tibetan Judiciary, known as the Tibetan Supreme Justice Commission, was instituted in 1992 under Article 62 of the Charter of Tibetans-in-Exile.

In 2001, on the advice of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, the parliament amended the Charter to provide for the direct election of the Kalon Tripa (the highest executive authority) by the exiled Tibetan population. The Kalon Tripa, in turn, would nominate the other Kalons (cabinet members) and seek the parliament's approval for their appointment. The first directly elected Kalon Tripa, Prof. Samdhong Rinpoche, took the oath of office on 5 September 2001. He was re-elected to the post of Kalon Tripa for the second time in August 2006.

On 10 March 2011, His Holiness the Dalai Lama announced his retirement from his political position and thereafter, devolved his entire political and administrative responsibilities to the elected Tibetan leadership. On 8 August 2011, Dr. Lobsang Sangay became the third directly elected Kalon Tripa. Subsequent amendments were made to the Charter to change the official title of Kalon Tripa to Sikyong (Political Leader) in September 2012. Dr. Lobsang Sangay was re-elected as the Sikyong in 2016. The Sixteenth Kashag is headed by Sikyong Penpa Tsering, who was sworn in on 27 May 2021 as the CTA's executive head and political leader.

Today, the CTA has all the departments and attributes of a free democratic administration. However, it must be noted that the CTA will be considered dissolved ipso facto when freedom is restored in Tibet.

## **CONSTITUTION**

### **The Charter of Tibetans-in-Exile**

The Charter of Tibetans-in-Exile is the supreme legal document governing the functions of the Central Tibetan Administration. It was drafted by the Constitution Redrafting Committee and referred to the Assembly of the

Tibetan People's Deputies, now called the Tibetan Parliament-in-Exile, for approval. The Assembly adopted the Charter on 14 June 1991.

Based on the spirit of the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Charter guarantees equality for all Tibetans before the law and ensures fundamental rights and freedom without discrimination based on sex, religion, race, language and social origin. It provides a clear separation of power among the three organs of the administration: the judiciary, legislature and executive.

Before the Charter came into being, the CTA functioned roughly along the lines of the draft democratic constitution for future Tibet, promulgated by His Holiness the Dalai Lama on 10 March 1963.

Over the years, amendments were made to the Charter to further democratise Tibetan polity. After His Holiness the Dalai Lama's devolution of political and administrative authority in 2011, the Charter was again amended accordingly to distribute the authority and responsibility amongst the three constitutional bodies: the judiciary, legislature and executive.

## **JUDICIARY**

### **Tibetan Supreme Justice Commission**

The Tibetan Supreme Justice Commission is the Apex judicial body of the Central Tibetan Administration. It was founded on 11 March 1992 under Article 62 of the Charter of Tibetans-in-Exile. According to the Charter, the Commission is responsible for adjudicating all civil cases within the exiled Tibetan community. The Commission, however, does not entertain any case if it is seen to be in contravention of the laws of the host countries. Similarly, the Commission does not handle criminal cases, as this is the preserve of the host governments.

The Tibetan Supreme Justice Commission is to ensure equality before the law or equal protection of the laws to all Tibetan people, irrespective of religion, race, caste, sex or place of birth. The judiciary is also a body where people can raise their grievances against the administration.

The Tibetan Supreme Justice Commission comprises the Chief Justice Commissioner and two other Justice Commissioners, all of whom are elected by the Tibetan Parliament-in-Exile from the nominated candidates submitted by a selection committee of three to five members appointed by the Chief Justice Commissioner, the Speaker and the Deputy Speaker of parliament and the Sikyong.

The Chief Justice Commissioner holds office for five years or until he/she attains the age of 65, whichever is earlier. The other two commissioners hold office till the age of 65. However, the parliament can initiate an impeachment resolution against them before the expiry of the term. All three justice commissioners have equal power and responsibility in adjudicating cases. The Chief Justice Commissioner has the added responsibility of serving as the administrative head of the Commission.

The Tibetan Justice Commission has three levels: the Supreme Justice Commission at the apex, followed by Circuit Justice Commission and Local Justice Commission. The Tibetan Circuit Justice Commission is above the Tibetan Local Justice Commission in the hierarchy, having appellate jurisdiction. The Circuit Justice Commission was formed on 28 August 2020. It is currently based in Dekyiling Tibetan Settlement, Dehradun, headed by a Circuit Justice Commissioner and assisted by a Secretary (Trim Drung) with one other subordinate staff. There are three full-fledged Local Justice Commissions functioning: the Tibetan Local Justice Commission (Northern Region) in Dehradun, the Tibetan Local Justice Commission (Southern Region) in Bylakuppe and the Tibetan Local Justice Commission in Ladakh.

Before filing a case in any of these justice commissions, the plaintiff and the defendant are required to sign a consent agreement undertaking to respect any decision that may be made by it based on the relevant laws, rules, and regulations and submit an affidavit undertaking to comply with its execution as per the Tibetan Civil Procedure Code.

The Supreme Justice Commission is serviced by the Justice Secretariat, which provides secretarial and administrative services.

## LEGISLATURE

### **Tibetan Parliament-in-Exile**

Instituted in 1960, the Tibetan Parliament-in-Exile, then called the Commission of Tibetan People's Deputies (CTPD) and later as the Assembly of the Tibetan People's Deputies (ATPD), is the unicameral and highest legislative organ of the Central Tibetan Administration. The creation of this democratically elected body was one of the major changes that His Holiness the Dalai Lama has brought about in his efforts to introduce a democratic system of administration based on a combination of traditional values and modern practices.

The parliament consists of 45 elected members: ten representatives with a minimum of two women candidates from each of the three traditional provinces of Tibet: U-Tsang, Dhotoe, and Dhomey; two representatives from each of the four schools of Tibetan Buddhism and the pre-Buddhist Bon religion; two from each of the Tibetan communities in North America and Europe; plus, one from Australasia (excluding India, Nepal, and Bhutan).

The Tibetan Parliament-in-Exile is chaired by the Speaker and the Deputy Speaker, who are elected amongst and by the members of the parliament through internal voting. The election for the members of the parliament is held every five years. Every Tibetan who is 18 years or above has the right to vote, and every Tibetan who is 25 years or above has the right to contest elections, irrespective of religion, race, caste, sex or place of birth.

Parliament sessions are held bi-annually with an interval of six months between the sessions. However, at the request of more than fifty percent of any one of the Kashag, the Tibetan Parliament-in-Exile or the Standing Committee of the parliament, the Speaker and the Deputy Speaker may jointly decide to call additional sessions of the parliament. When the parliament is not in session, there is a Standing Committee of eleven members: two members from each province and one member from each religious denomination.

As representatives of the people, the members of the parliament undertake periodic tours of Tibetan communities to assess overall conditions. On their return, they bring to the notice of the administration any specific grievances and matters needing attention.

The Tibetan Parliament-in-Exile also connects with the public through the Local Tibetan Assemblies established in major Tibetan communities in exile. The Charter provides for the formation of a Local Tibetan Assembly in every Tibetan settlement. However, Tibetans residing in permanent settlements without a settlement office and Local Tibetan Assembly may establish one if the settlement comprises 50 to 100 Tibetan families or a population of 200 to 600 Tibetan residents. The Local Tibetan Assembly supervises the activities of their respective local administrative heads and also makes rules and regulations for their respective communities according to local needs.

The Parliamentary Secretariat provides the Tibetan Parliament-in-Exile with clerical and administrative services.

## **EXECUTIVE**

### **Kashag (Cabinet)**

The Kashag is the apex executive body of the Central Tibetan Administration. It implements the laws and policies laid down by the Tibetan Parliament-in-Exile and administers the Tibetan community in exile.

Headed by Sikyong, the Kashag consists of Kalons (cabinet ministers), who head the seven ministerial departments, namely: Department of Religion and Culture, Department of Home, Department of Finance, Department of Education, Department of Security, Department of Information and International Relations, and Department of Health. Sikyong nominates his seven Kalons and seeks parliament's approval. The term of the Kashag is for five years. The Sixteenth Kashag is headed by Sikyong Penpa Tsering.

The Kashag Secretariat offers clerical and administrative support to the Kashag. It has two secretaries: the Cabinet and the Political Secretary. The Cabinet Secretary oversees administration, while the Political Secretary assists the Kashag on political matters. The Secretariat has a sub-office called the Documentation and Interim Placement Section. Its primary responsibility is to compile documents on the Tibetan struggle and reconstruction in the post-1959 period of the CTA.

## **DEPARTMENTS UNDER THE KASHAG**

### **Department of Religion and Culture**

The Department of Religion and Culture (DoRC) oversees the religious and cultural affairs of the Central Tibetan Administration. The department seeks to revive, preserve, and promote Tibetan religious and cultural heritage, which is facing the threat of extinction in Tibet under Chinese rule.

This department, then known as the Council for Religious Affairs office, was established by His Holiness the Dalai Lama on 27 April 1959, in Mussoorie. On 30 May 1960, the Council Office was shifted to Dharamshala. On 12 September 1960, it became one of the seven main departments when His Holiness the Dalai Lama formally established the CTA.

In 1982, the department was registered under the Societies Registration Act XXI of 1860 of the Government of India under the title of His Holiness the Dalai Lama's Religious and Cultural Society to legitimise its stature. It was later registered in 2018 under the Himachal Pradesh State's Society Registration Act 2006 as required.

In addition to cultural institutions working to preserve Tibetan culture and heritage, there are 292 monasteries and nunneries in India, Nepal, and Bhutan registered with the department. The department has three major sections: administrative, religion, and culture.

### **Department of Home**

The Department of Home, registered as the Central Tibetan Relief Committee (CTRC), is one of the largest departments of the Central Tibetan Administration responsible for the welfare and rehabilitation of Tibetans in Tibetan settlements in India, Nepal, and Bhutan. The department strives to meet the Tibetan people's immediate and long-term needs and strengthen the self-reliance and resilience of the Tibetan community in exile.

There are 26 Agriculture-based settlements (15 in India, 4 in Nepal, 7 in Bhutan), 20 Handicraft-based Settlements (14 in India, 6 in Nepal) and 13 clustered communities (11 in India and 2 in Nepal). Currently, there are 44

Tibetan Settlement Offices, including three Chief Representative Offices (CROs) representing CTA in the Tibetan settlements based in India, Nepal, and Bhutan, and they directly function under the Department of Home. These officers look after the administration of Tibetan settlements and scattered communities.

The three Chief Representative Offices (CROs) are based in Bengaluru, Shimla, and Ladakh. They supervise and support the settlement officers in their respective zones. The department also oversees the functioning of 17 cooperatives (15 in India and 2 in Nepal). The Federation of Tibetan Cooperatives in India was formed to make Tibetan cooperatives more sustainable and effective in the long run.

The department works in close cooperation with the government of India and international organisations involved in helping Tibetans improve their livelihoods. Employment generation and promoting self-reliance among the Tibetans has been the department's primary task since its inception.

### **Department of Finance**

The Department of Finance was instituted on 29 May 1969 with the primary objective to raise revenue and oversee the expenses of the Central Tibetan Administration.

The department formulates the CTA's annual budget and submits it to the parliament for scrutiny and approval. It is also entrusted to prepare, execute, and control its annual budget, issue green books, and manage voluntary contributions from Tibetans, various registered bodies, and projects under the department. The department mobilises financial resources to support the development efforts of Tibetans living in South Asia and acts as a nodal agency for development assistance provided by bilateral, multilateral, and other institutional funding agencies.

The primary source of income to generate revenue is the annual voluntary contribution (*dang-lang cha-ngul*) from the Tibetan community in exile. Every Tibetan living outside Tibet makes a yearly contribution of a certain sum based on one's age, work, and place of residence. All salaried Tibetans working in Tibetan

communities contribute a prescribed percentage of their salary, and those engaged in business contribute a business donation from their profit. Moreover, anyone can make additional donations to the CTA. Under the department's supervision is the Tibetan Computer Resource Centre (TCRC), which functions as the IT department of the CTA.

## **Department of Education**

The Department of Education (DoE) is responsible for the educational and welfare needs of Tibetan students in exile. It was established in 1960 to oversee the academic affairs of the Tibetan administration and community in exile. In 1959, His Holiness the Dalai Lama prioritised education and requested that then Indian Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru establish separate schools for Tibetan refugee children.

The sole purpose of establishing separate schools for Tibetans in India is to provide quality modern education while ensuring the preservation of the Tibetan language and culture. In 2004, the parliament adopted a new Basic Education Policy to inculcate a sense of universal responsibility in Tibetan youths by realising four main aims of education: Freedom, Altruism, Upholding the Heritage, and Innovation.

Currently, the department oversees 62 co-educational Tibetan schools in India and Nepal, comprising fifteen schools under Tibetan Children's Village, four schools under Tibetan Homes Foundation, 34 schools under Sambhota Tibetan Schools Society, and nine schools under Snow Lion Foundation with a total of 15,432 students and 2,087 staff. While the school administrations manage the schools autonomously, the Department of Education handles the policy guidelines, teachers and curriculum developments.

The department provides scholarships for higher education in India and Nepal. It supports Tibetan students with overseas scholarships on a merit basis and provides scholarships to needy and underprivileged children for higher education. Under the DoE, there are six major sections: Academic (Traditional and Modern), Scholarship and Sponsorship, Educational Council, Counselling and Guidance, Terminology, and Administration for an overall holistic education of Tibetan children.

## **Department of Security**

Established in 1959, the primary responsibility of this department is to ensure the security of His Holiness the Dalai Lama. The Department has a Branch Security Office in McLeod Ganj, Dharamshala, which helps elderly and special-needs Tibetans who seek renewal of their Registration Certificate (RC), Exit Permit, Police Clearance Certificate (PCC), and others from the Indian government. The Department also runs a research unit to monitor developments in Tibet and China.

The Department also oversees its Reception Centers in Dharamshala, Kathmandu and Delhi to look after new arrivals from Tibet. The new arrivals are sent to Dharamshala via Delhi upon their arrival in Nepal. The centres provide food, lodging, travel expenses, free medical facilities, and guide the new arrivals. The centre also helps new arrivals who transit from Nepal to India on a Special Entry Permit obtain the Registration Certificate after arriving in India.

## **Department of Information and International Relations**

The Department of Information and International Relations (DIIR) is responsible for disseminating information about the political, human rights and environmental conditions in Tibet to Tibetans and the international communities.

In 1960, after the Chinese occupation of Tibet, the Foreign Relations Office (Chisee-Khang) was re-established in India, and the responsibilities were delegated to the Bureau of His Holiness the Dalai Lama in Delhi in 1969. With the overwhelming demand for information on Tibet, the Information Office was established in 1971 and called the Information and Publicity Office. After a series of internal restructuring, the Foreign Relations Office in Delhi was shifted to Dharamshala and merged with the Information and Publicity Office in 1988, thus forming the 'Department of Information and International Relations (DIIR).

The DIIR has two primary divisions: the Information division and the International Relations division. The Information division consists of 3 subsections: the Audio-Visual, Tibet Museum, and the Media Bureau.

The Audio-Visual section, through the official broadcasting channel TibetTV, transmits news bulletins in multiple languages, including Tibetan, Hindi, English and Chinese, on its social media platforms. It also hosts talk shows on issues concerning Tibet and the Tibetan people, conducts interviews, covers public events of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, CTA leadership, and Tibetan institutions, and broadcasts Tibet-related documentary films by Tibetan filmmakers. The Tibet Museum aims to document, preserve, research, exhibit, and educate on all matters related to Tibet's history, culture, and Tibetan peoples' struggle for freedom. Towards these goals, the museum, aside from holding permanent and temporary exhibitions, lectures and other events such as movie screenings, undertakes travelling exhibitions throughout India and beyond. The Media Bureau has Tibetan, English, and Chinese sub-sections, which manage the official trilingual website and social media accounts, and publishes periodicals in the respective languages.

The DIIR also serves as an International Relations Office for the exile administration and liaises with governments, media, Tibet support groups and Tibetan communities outside India, Nepal and Bhutan. It operates twelve offices of Tibet that function as the official agencies of the CTA and are based in New Delhi, Kathmandu, Geneva, Washington D.C., Tokyo, London, Brussels, Canberra, Moscow, Taipei, Pretoria, Sao Paulo and the Coordinator's Office in Paris under the Office of Tibet, Brussels. The International Relations division also has a Tibet Advocacy Section, Translation and Publication Section and Protocol Section.

DIIR also supervises the Tibet Policy Institute (TPI) and the Narthang Press. The TPI serves as a think tank to assist the Kashag in identifying strategic issues and challenges for Tibet and the Tibetan people, and provides analysis or recommendations. The Institute also serves as an intellectual hub for Tibetan scholars and researchers across the globe. Narthang Press handles the printing responsibilities of the CTA.

## **Department of Health**

The Department of Health was established in December 1981 and is registered as the Tibetan Voluntary Health Association under India's Societies Registration

Act XXI 1860 and the HP Societies Registration Act 2006.

The department is responsible for providing healthcare services to Tibetans living in exile. This includes providing holistic primary healthcare services through integrated healthcare systems of both traditional and allopathic medicines. Other responsibilities include creating and expanding public healthcare programs in the community for disease prevention, promoting healthier lifestyles, and a cleaner environment.

Presently, the department operates through a network of 7 hospitals, 5 primary health centres, and 33 clinics across India and Nepal. It also operates the Ngoenga School for Tibetan Children with Special Needs.

The department renders its services through five primary programs: Tibetan Medicare System, Public Health Section, Disease Prevention Section, Support for Vulnerable Groups and Projects Section. Central Council of Tibetan Medicine (CCTM), Tibetan Medical and Astrological Institute, Delek Hospital and the Tibetan Sports Association (TNSA) are the autonomous bodies affiliated with the department.

## **CONSTITUTIONAL BODIES**

### **Election Commission**

The Election Commission is one of three autonomous constitutional bodies of the Central Tibetan Administration. Headed by the Chief Election Commissioner, the Commission conducts and oversees elections of all those specified in the Charter, including the Sikyong and the Speaker and Deputy Speaker of the Tibetan Parliament-in-Exile and its members. The Commission will also conduct voting in all cases where issues of vital importance pertaining to Tibet and the Tibetan people have to be decided through referendum.

The parliament elects the Chief Election Commissioner by voting out of the nominated candidates submitted by a selection committee of three members, set up by the Chief Justice Commissioner, the Speaker, the Deputy Speaker, and Sikyong. During the general election, two Additional Election Commissioners are elected through the same election process as the Chief Election Commissioner.

The Chief Election Commissioner holds office for a term of five years or until

he/she reaches the age of 65, whichever is earlier. The term of the two Additional Election Commissioners is from the official announcement of the date for the commencement of the Tibetan general election to the declaration of the final results of the elections. Also, all local administrative heads of the Tibetan communities are entrusted with the role of Regional Election Commissioner.

### **Public Service Commission**

The Public Service Commission (PSC) is responsible for the recruitment, training, promotion, and retirement of civil servants and thereby manages the human resources of the CTA.

The Commission comprises a chairperson and two to four other members. The Tibetan Parliament-in-Exile elects the chairperson and the members from a list of candidates submitted by a selection committee set up by the Supreme Justice Commissioner, the Speaker and the Deputy Speaker of the parliament and the Sikyong. The chairperson and the other members of the Public Service Commission hold office for a five-year term or until they reach the age of 65, whichever is earlier.

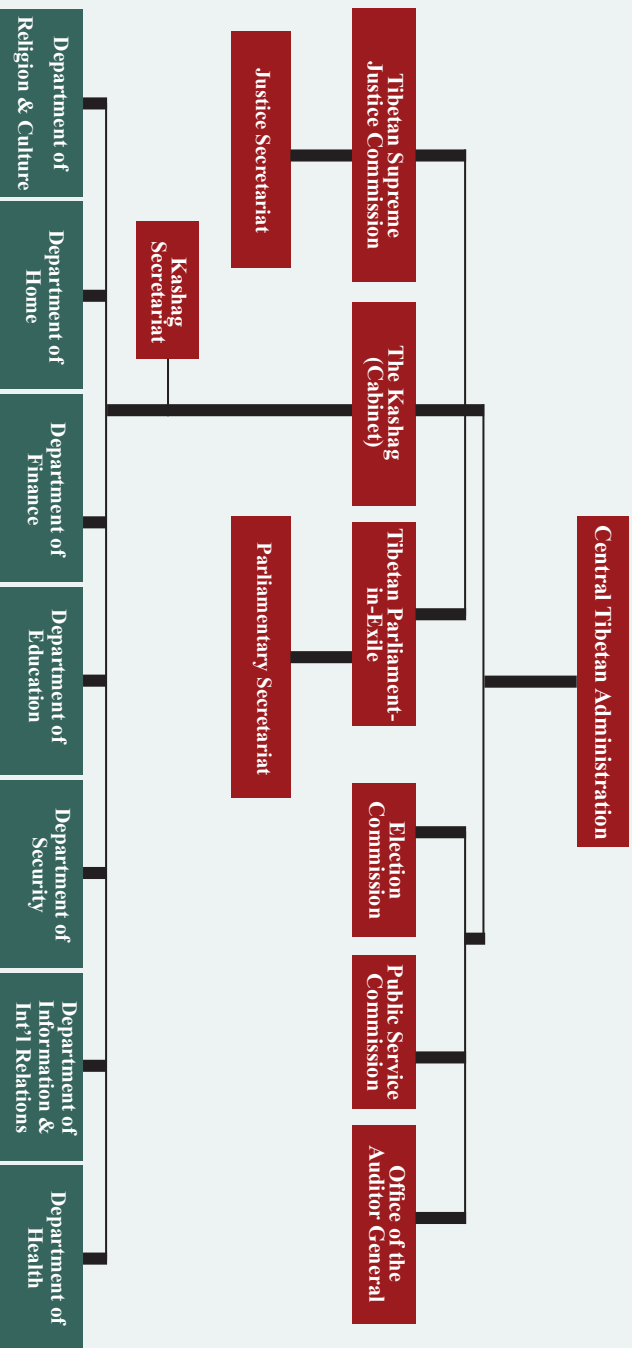
### **Office of the Auditor General**

The Office of the Auditor General is responsible for auditing the accounts of all CTA departments and their subsidiaries. It also audits the accounts of most public institutions, such as co-operatives, trading concerns, educational and cultural institutions, hospitals, and healthcare centres. The office also evaluates the efficiency, propriety and management performance. In short, this office functions as a financial watchdog of the CTA.

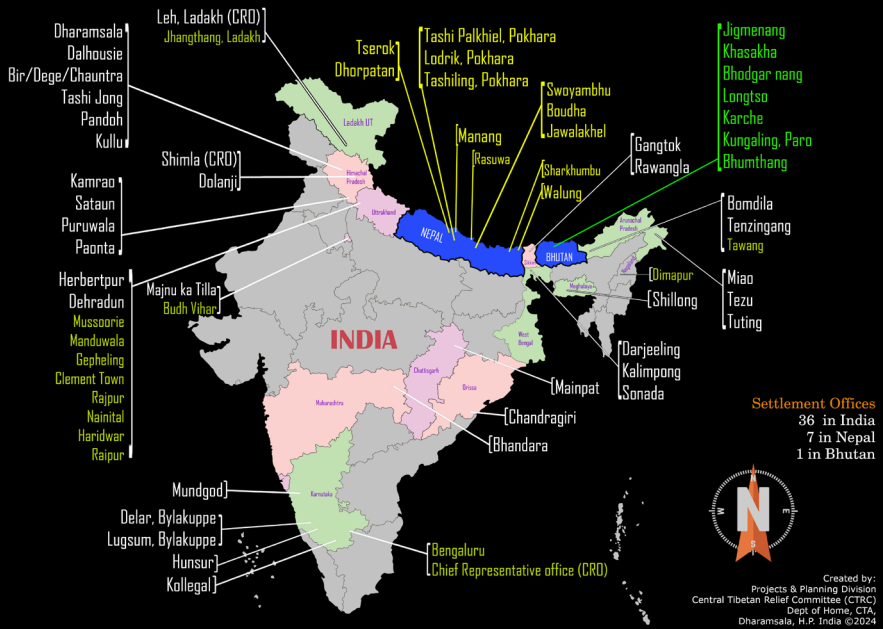
The Office of Audit General is headed by an Auditor General elected by the Tibetan Parliament-in-Exile from the nominated candidates submitted by a selection committee of three members, set up by the Chief Justice Commissioner, Speaker and Deputy Speaker of the parliament, and Sikyong.

The Auditor General holds the office for ten years or until he/she reaches the age of 65, whichever is earlier.

## ORGANISATIONAL STRUCTURE



# Tibetan Settlements in India, Nepal and Bhutan



## DHARAMSHALA AND BEIJING: INITIATIVES FOR NEGOTIATION

March 1979	Deng Xiaoping meets Gyalo Thondup, elder brother of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, in Beijing and tells him that China is willing to discuss 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.
August 1979	His Holiness the Dalai Lama sends the first fact-finding delegation to Tibet.
May 1980	The second fact-finding delegation visits Tibet
June 1980	The third fact-finding delegation visits Tibet
September 1980	His Holiness 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 initiatives by asking for their deferment for the time being.
March 1981	His Holiness 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 in accordance with the existing realities in a reasonable way”. His Holiness suggests improving the “relationship between China and Tibet as well as between Tibetans in and outside Tibet”. He agrees to defer the opening of a liaison office in Lhasa but insists that the teachers must be allowed soon.
July 1981	CCP General Secretary Hu Yaobang replies with “China’s Five-Point Policy towards the Dalai Lama”. Asking “the Dalai Lama and his followers to come back” says: “The Dalai Lama will enjoy the same political status and living conditions as he had before 1959. It is also suggested that he will not 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.”
April 1982	A three-member Tibetan delegation visits Beijing to hold exploratory talks with the Chinese leaders. The delegation meets with intransigence from the Chinese leaders.
January 1983	At the end of a teaching in Bodh Gaya, His Holiness the Dalai Lama announces his desire to visit Tibet sometime in 1985. A proposal to this effect is later officially presented to the Chinese leadership through the Chinese Embassy in New Delhi.
October 1984	The three-member exploratory delegation visits Beijing for another round of talks. Again, no progress is made towards substantive negotiations.
December 1984	His Holiness the Dalai Lama cancels his earlier proposal to visit Tibet through a formal press statement, saying that the Chinese insistence on his returning to, and staying in, Beijing “clearly indicates that there are still problems in Tibet.”
June 1985	The fourth fact-finding delegation visits north-eastern Tibet
September 1987	Addressing the US Congressional Human Rights Caucus, His Holiness the Dalai Lama announces his Five-Point Peace Plan for Tibet, asking for “the commencement of earnest negotiation on the future status of Tibet.”

June 1988	Speaking to the European Parliament in Strasbourg, His Holiness the Dalai Lama elaborates on the Five-Point Peace Plan and proposes talks leading to a “self-governing democratic political entity” for all three provinces of Tibet. This entity, His Holiness says, will be “in association with the People’s Republic of China” and that the Chinese government can continue to “remain responsible for Tibet’s foreign policy” and “maintain a restricted number of military installations in Tibet, for defence purposes.”
September 1988	Beijing announces its willingness to negotiate with Tibetans and says that His Holiness the Dalai Lama can choose the date and venue for negotiations.
October 1988	A press statement from Dharamshala welcomes Beijing’s announcement, proposing that the talks should start in Geneva in January 1989. The statement also names the six members of the Tibetan negotiating team and its three assistants, including Dutch lawyer Michael van Walt as legal advisor.
November 1988	The Chinese government reverts to its former hard-line position and says that the 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 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 His Holiness the Dalai Lama or his trusted representatives, like Gyalo Thondup.
December 1988	Dharamshala agrees to include Gyalo Thondup in the negotiating team but backs up its position on other matters.
April 1989	Dharamshala 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.
October 1991	His Holiness the Dalai Lama makes a fresh appeal to Beijing. Addressing Yale University, he expresses interest in visiting Tibet, accompanied by senior Chinese officials, to make an on-the-spot assessment of the actual situation inside Tibet.
December 1991	His Holiness the Dalai lama suggests a meeting with Premier Li Peng during the latter’s visit to Delhi.
January 1992	In view of Beijing’s consistent refusal to respond positively to His Holiness the Dalai Lama’s proposals, the Tibetan Parliament-in-Exile 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”.
April 1992	The Chinese Embassy in New Delhi invites Gyalo Thondup to visit China for talks. The Embassy says that the Chinese government’s position in the past has been “conservation”, but it is willing to be “flexible” if the Tibetans are prepared to be “realistic”.
June 1992	Gyalo Thondup makes a private visit to China, but the Chinese leadership reiterates its old, hard-line position on Tibet and makes a number of serious allegations against His Holiness the Dalai Lama.

July 1993	Dharamshala sends a two-member delegation to China to clear the misunderstandings raised by the Chinese leaders during their meeting with Gyalo Thondup. The delegation carries a 13-point memorandum from His Holiness the Dalai Lama addressed to Deng Xiaoping and Jiang Zemin. In the memorandum, His Holiness chronicles his efforts to resolve the problems of Tibet through peaceful negotiations and says, "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".
August 1993	China severs all formal channels of communication with Dharamshala. However, informal and semi-official channels continue to remain open.
October 1997	The US Administration creates a new post to oversee and report on Tibetan affairs. Gregory B. Craig is appointed the first Special Coordinator for Tibet.
June 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 His Holiness the Dalai Lama publicly announces Tibet is an inalienable part of China and recognises Taiwan as a province of China.
March 1999	In his annual 10 March statement, His Holiness the Dalai Lama announces that China has hardened its position on entering into dialogue with him.
December 1999	Beijing closes even the informal channels of communication with the Dharamshala.
July 2000	Gyalo Thondup visits Beijing and meets three United Front Officials, who express interest in talking about His Holiness the Dalai Lama's unconditional return.
September 2000	His Holiness the Dalai Lama proposes to send a delegation to Beijing with his note on the measures for resolving the issue of Tibet. China cold-shoulders his proposal.
January 2002	The envoys of His Holiness the Dalai Lama meet with the Chinese officials responsible for Tibet policy. It marks the first face-to-face meeting between the two sides since the formal contact was severed in August 1993.
September 2002	A four-member Tibetan delegation headed by the Special Envoy of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, Lodi G. Gyari, visits China for the first round of talks.
September 2002	Welcoming Beijing's positive gesture of receiving the Tibetan delegation, the Kalon Tripa Prof. Samdhong Rinpoche announces to the Tibetan Parliament-in-Exile that "the period till June 2002 would be devoted towards creating a conducive atmosphere for building on the new contacts."
October 2002	President George W. Bush signs the Tibetan Policy Act (TPA), which establishes in law the position of the Special Coordinator for Tibetan Issues at the State Department with the central objective to "promote substantive dialogue between the government of the People's Republic of China and the Dalai Lama or his representatives".
May 2003	The Tibetan delegation headed by the Special Envoy of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, Lodi G. Gyari, visits China for the second round of talks.

March 2004	In his annual 10 March statement, His Holiness the Dalai Lama expresses his willingness to meet with today's leaders of the People's Republic of China in his efforts to secure a mutually acceptable solution to the Tibetan issue.
September 2004	The Tibetan delegation headed by the Special Envoy of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, Lodi G. Gyari, visits China for the third round of talks.
June 2005	The Tibetan delegation headed by the Special Envoy of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, Lodi G. Gyari, conducts the fourth round of talks with their Chinese counterparts at the Embassy of the People's Republic of China in Berne, Switzerland.
February 2006	The Tibetan delegation headed by the Special Envoy of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, Lodi G. Gyari, visits China for the fifth round of talks.
June 2007	The Tibetan delegation headed by the Special Envoy of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, Lodi G. Gyari, visits China for the sixth round of talks.
May 2008	Special Envoy of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, Lodi G. Gyari and Kelsang Gyaltsen held an exclusive informal brainstorming session with the Executive Vice Minister of the Central United Front Work Department and its Vice Minister. The urgent meeting is held to discuss the Chinese government's crackdown on the peaceful protests in Tibet.
June/July 2008	The Tibetan delegation headed by the Special Envoy of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, Lodi G. Gyari, visits China for the seventh round of discussions with the Chinese leadership. The envoys reiterate to their counterparts that the issue at hand is the welfare of the Tibetan people and is not about the personal status and affairs of His Holiness the Dalai Lama or that of Tibetans in exile.
October/November 2008	The Tibetan delegation headed by the Special Envoy of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, Lodi G. Gyari, visits China for the eighth round of discussions with the Chinese leadership. Tibetan delegation presents the "Memorandum for Genuine Autonomy for the Tibetan people" to the Chinese leadership.
January 2010	The Tibetan delegation headed by the Special Envoy of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, Lodi G. Gyari, visits China for the ninth round of discussions with the Chinese leadership. The Tibetan delegation presents the "Note to the Memorandum" to clarify the concerns and misinterpretation on the memorandum by the Chinese leadership. The envoys call upon the Chinese side to stop the baseless accusations against His Holiness and labelling him a separatist. Instead, urge the Chinese leadership to work with him to find a mutually acceptable solution to the Tibetan problem based on the Memorandum.
June 2012	The Special Envoy of His Holiness the Dalai Lama Lodi G. Gyari and Envoy Kelsang Gyaltsen resign, expressing their utter frustration over the lack of positive response from the Chinese side to the Memorandum presented in 2008 and its Note in 2010.

## **ISSUES FACING-OCCUPIED TIBET**

Tibet existed as an independent sovereign state with a written history spanning over 2000 years. Since the military invasion of Tibet by the People's Republic of China in 1949, the Chinese government has systematically targeted and undermined the distinct cultural and national identity of the Tibetan people through its repressive policies.

The new measures in culture, religion, and education, coupled with the continued influx of Chinese settlers into Tibet, not only overwhelm Tibet's unique cultural and religious identity but also reduce Tibetans to an insignificant minority in their own land. These actions amount to a gradual process of cultural genocide.

Today, one of the greatest concerns is the Chinese government's renewed policy of "consolidating the sense of single Han national identity," aimed at the extermination and sinicisation of Tibetan culture, language, religion, and way of life.

## **RELIGIOUS REPRESSION**

The PRC's systematic targeting of religion in Tibet saw the destruction of over 6000 monasteries and the disrobing of thousands of monks and nuns following the invasion and occupation of Tibet. Since then, the Tibetan monastic community have constantly been the subject of targeted security and religious policies and persecution for their persistent resistance against the Chinese government's attempt to destroy, control, and sinicise every semblance of Tibetan national identity, including religion.

### **Physical Control of Monasteries**

CCTV cameras saturate the monasteries, both within and around their premises, monitoring every movement of Tibetan monks and nuns. Adding to this intense surveillance are the permanent police stations established inside the monasteries and regular inspections to detect any perceived "threats," including the veneration of His Holiness the Dalai Lama. Despite the strong sentiments of Tibetans, particularly the monastic community, the Chinese

government persists in anti-Dalai Lama campaigns under which possession and sharing of His Holiness' photographs, books and teachings are criminalised and Tibetans are further forced to denounce the spiritual leader. The unflinching faith of Tibetans in Tibet in His Holiness the Dalai Lama is viewed by the Chinese communist regime as an existential threat to the party's rule in Tibet.

In this already oppressive, prison-like environment, the traditional administrative role of the abbot, the head of a monastery, has been usurped by Management Committees installed directly by the government under the guise of promoting "political stability" and "harmonious monasteries."

### **Internal Control of the Tibetan Monastic Community**

During the seventh Tibet Work Forum held in 2020, Xi Jinping outlined a strategy of "governing Tibet in the new era," which called for the sinicisation of Tibetan Buddhism. The state's interference in religious affairs has severely restricted the practice of Tibetan Buddhism. Monasteries are prohibited from providing traditional monastic education and are instead subjected to intensified indoctrination programs under the banner of "patriotic education." These programs aim to control monastic thought and action, distancing them from traditional religious systems and aligning them with the party's directives. Tibetan monastics are compelled to embrace Chinese national consciousness and view Tibetan Buddhism as subordinate to the party and its leaders.

Despite the Chinese Constitution theoretically allowing religious freedom, a number of regulations have been passed in recent years, including "Measures for the Administration of Internet Religious Information Services" and "Administrative Measures for Religious Activity Venues" or "Order No 19," which marked a significant escalation in the suppression of religious freedom.

### **Appropriation of Tibetan Religious Tradition**

In 2007, the Chinese State Administration for Religious Affairs issued the 'Measures on the Management of the Reincarnation of Living Buddhas in Tibetan Buddhism', also known as Order No. 5. This order not only mandates the monastic institutions and search parties to seek approval for choosing tulkus and lamas from the Chinese government but also asserts the party's

control over the searches, testing, recognition, education, and training of religious figures. This deprives the Tibetans of their right to carry out their traditional Buddhist practices and to choose their own religious leaders.

By imposing such regulation on the Tibetan Buddhist tradition of reincarnation, the Chinese government deliberately targets the core belief system in Tibetan Buddhism and undermines the authority of legitimate Tibetan religious leaders, including His Holiness the Dalai Lama. It is important to note that the tradition of reincarnation was developed in Tibet in the 13th century, and the Tibetans have continued this tradition for centuries based on the Buddhist belief in rebirth, not by any administrative diktats.

### **The Continued Disappearance of the 11th Panchen Lama**

The 11th Panchen Lama, Jetsun Tenzin Gedhun Yeshe Trinley Phuntsok Palsangpo, also known as Gedhun Choekyi Nyima, was born on 25 April 1989. At the age of six, he was recognised by His Holiness the Dalai Lama as the reincarnation of the 10th Panchen Lama in accordance with the traditional Tibetan religious tradition on 14 May 1995. Three days later, on 17 May 1995, the Chinese authorities abducted the 11th Panchen Gedhun Choekyi Nyima along with his parents and Jadrel Rinpoche, making him one of the world's youngest prisoners of conscience. Since then, his whereabouts have remained unknown.

Despite repeated appeals from the international community, including the United Nations human rights experts and government officials, the PRC government has still not revealed his whereabouts. On 11 November 1995, the PRC government installed its own candidate, Gyaltzen Norbu, as 11th Panchen Lama, who since has failed to secure the acceptance of the Tibetan people.

### **CHINA'S EDUCATION POLICY AND MARGINALISATION OF TIBETAN LANGUAGE**

Since 1959, Chinese authorities have implemented an education system purportedly designed to “liberate the Tibetans” and free them from “backwardness.” In reality, these education policies aim to complete the

sinicisation of Tibetans by separating Tibetan children from their families and traditional culture, indoctrinating them with communist ideology and the thoughts of Chinese leaders.

### **Bi-Lingual Education Policy**

In 2010, the PRC government introduced the bilingual education policy, ostensibly promoting both Chinese and other “minority languages.” In practice, the bilingual education policy further encourages the study and use of Chinese at the expense of other languages like Tibetan.

A 2020 Human Rights Watch report revealed that authorities in the so-called “TAR,” while officially advocating for the “promotion” of both Tibetan and Chinese languages, exerted indirect pressure on primary schools, where an increasing number of ethnic Chinese teachers are teaching, to adopt Chinese-medium instruction at the expense of Tibetan. The report also revealed the allocation of an increasing number of ethnic Chinese teachers who do not speak Tibetan to positions in Tibetan schools.

Another assimilationist policy is the “Children’s Language Homophony Plan for Putonghua (Mandarin) Education for Preschool Children,” decreed by China’s Ministry of Education in 2020. It forces preschool children in Tibetan areas to learn Putonghua, depriving Tibetans of the opportunity to promote and practice their native language. If this kind of education policy is carried out for many more years in Tibet, the Tibetan language will face further marginalisation and disuse.

### **Shutdown of Schools and Ban on Private Classes**

Increasingly, over the last decade, Chinese authorities have systematically targeted local schools in Tibet and replaced them with centralised boarding schools, including for elementary-aged children. Monastery day schools, privately run Tibetan schools and other avenues for preserving Tibetan culture and language instruction have also been forced to close. Tibetan students have also been banned from participating in informal Tibetan language classes and engaging in religious activities during school breaks.

## **Colonial-style Boarding Schools**

In a 2021 report, the Tibetan Action Institute disclosed that at least 800,000 Tibetan children aged 6 to 18 are placed in colonial-style boarding schools. This number represents approximately 78% of students between the ages of 6 and 18 and does not include an unknown number of 4 and 5-year-olds living in these state-run institutions. Primarily taught in Chinese and subjected to a highly politicised curriculum, these children, who are forced to live apart from their families and communities, are at significant risk of losing their mother tongue and cultural identity while enduring emotional and psychological trauma.

Four UN experts, in a communication to China in November 2023, expressed grave concern over the Chinese government's colonial-style boarding school contributing to "their assimilation and erosion of their identity." At China's 4th UPR Cycle on 23 January 2024, 21 United Nations member states expressed serious concern over the human rights situation inside Tibet and in particular, the colonial-style boarding schools in Tibet.

## **ENVIRONMENTAL DEGRADATION**

The Tibetan Plateau, with an average elevation of more than 4000 metres above sea level, covers an area of 2.5 million square kilometres. This massive landmass, considered the highest and largest plateau on earth, is rightly referred to as "the Roof of the World." The high elevation also makes the Tibetan plateau home to the largest concentration of glaciers after the two poles, with over 46,000 glaciers. The vast presence of glaciers makes it the head source of Asia's ten largest and most important rivers, directly feeding 1.8 billion people in south and southeast Asia. A UN report issued in 2011 clearly states that Tibetan rivers support and influence the social and economic development of a fifth of the world's population.

The Tibetans, in view of their traditional respect for nature, have successfully protected the plateau for thousands of years. Since the invasion by the PRC, Tibet began to witness unprecedented environmental destruction. Deforestation,

uncontrolled mining, irresponsible damming, and unsustainable infrastructural development in Tibet have resulted in river pollution, soil erosion, flooding, landslides, and further ecological deterioration. Furthermore, the Chinese government continue to forcibly relocate Tibetan nomads, who are the real stewards of Tibet's grasslands, into state-constructed settlements, adding to the ecological and social turmoil, highlighting the devastating impact of these actions on the region's delicate ecosystem and the people who call it home. Given its global significance, the deterioration of Tibet's environment will have far-reaching consequences beyond its borders.

### **INTENSIVE SURVEILLANCE AND ARBITRARY DETENTION**

In January 2012, China introduced a new surveillance system called the "grid system of social management." In preparation for implementing the new system, cadres in plainclothes were deployed in every Tibetan village and monastery. The campaign ironically called "benefit the masses" involved sending over 21,000 communist party cadres from townships and urban areas to live in teams of four or more in each of the 5,000 villages in "TAR." Authorities expanded their network of small police posts known as "convenience" stations to every 200-300 meters in urban areas, to quickly respond to any "threat." Such surveillance in Tibet was called as setting "Nets in the sky and traps on the ground" by the Chinese authorities.

Over the years, China's surveillance system in Tibet has been growing and evolving at an unprecedented scale. The abundance of manned and unmanned checkpoints, Artificial Intelligence (AI), CCTV camera networks, and 're-education centres' under the garb of national security have added another layer of suppression to an already highly oppressive environment in Tibet. New digital surveillance efforts include mandatory DNA sample collection, Wi-Fi network monitoring, and widespread implementation of IRIS, facial, and voice recognition in an all-connected and integrated data analysis platform.

In Freedom House's 2024 report, Tibet scored zero out of 100 in freedom status, a plunge from the previous year's score of one. Aside from the strict and omnipresent surveillance apparatus, Tibetans are subjected to incommunicado

detention, arbitrary arrests, unfair trials, and arbitrary sentencing for the peaceful expression of their rights.

In 2023, three independent UN experts condemned the arrest and imprisonment of nine Tibetan environmental human rights defenders who were detained and sentenced to up to 11 years in prison for advocating the protection of Tibet's environment. The custodial death of Geshe Phende Gyatsen, a prominent Tibetan monk from Lithang, in 2023, along with those of Tenzin Nyima in 2021, Kunchok Jinpa in 2021, Chukdar in 2022, and Ngodup Tsering in 2022, highlights the extensive and systematic human rights abuses in Tibet with near-total impunity, including the routine use of torture and ill-treatment against Tibetans. Their deaths in Chinese custody are emblematic of the brutal treatment of Tibetans by the Chinese authorities.

## **SELF-IMMOLATION PROTESTS**

In 2022, an 81-year-old Tibetan named Taphun self-immolated a month after the self-immolation of Tsewang Norbu, a 25-year-old Tibetan singer. The spate of self-immolations began in 2009 following the Chinese government's massive crackdown on Tibetans after the pan-Tibet 2008 uprising. Taphun's self-immolation has brought the known number of self-immolations in Tibet to at least 157. The age of self-immolators ranges from 15 to 81, and at least 136 of the self-immolators are known to have died following their protest.

In the last painful moments of their life, they called for freedom in Tibet and the return of His Holiness the Dalai Lama to Tibet. They hoped to bring the attention of the world to the suffering of Tibetans inside Tibet through their fiery protest. The Chinese government has responded by criminalising self-immolations and imposing collective punishment on the families, friends and communities of self-immolators, deploying paramilitary forces and restricting communications and travel in areas where self-immolations have occurred.

## CHRONOLOGY OF CONTEMPORARY EVENTS

October 1949	The People's Liberation Army (PLA) marches into Tibet's north-eastern province of Amdo and the easternmost part of Kham.
October 1950	The PLA attacks Chamdo, eastern Tibet's provincial capital, with a force of 40,000 troops. The 8,000-man Tibetan army is defeated after 12 days of fighting. Indian Foreign Ministry sends a protest letter to the Chinese government. Britain and the United States express support for the Indian position.
November 1950	The Tibetan National Assembly convenes an emergency meeting and requests His Holiness the 14 <sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama, then only 15 years old, to assume full political authority as Head of State of Tibet. The Assembly also requests His Holiness to leave Lhasa for Dromo, near India's north-eastern border.
May 1951	Threatening further military invasion, China forces the Tibetan delegation in Beijing to sign the infamous "Seventeen Point Agreement on Measures for the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet".
July 1954	His Holiness the Dalai Lama visits Beijing with an entourage of officials and dignitaries.
April 1956	China sets up the Preparatory Committee for the Autonomous Region of Tibet (PCART) to replace the Tibetan Government.
November 1956	His Holiness the Dalai Lama journeys to India for the Buddha Jayanti celebration. He discusses possible asylum with Prime Minister Nehru but is persuaded to return home by Premier Zhou Enlai of China on the promise that Beijing will rectify the deteriorating situation inside Tibet.
March 1959	Tibetan National Uprising breaks out in Lhasa. China crushes the uprising, "wiping out" 87,000 Tibetans within seven months. His Holiness the Dalai Lama and some 80,000 Tibetans escape Tibet to India. Chinese Premier Zhou Enlai announces the dissolution of the Tibetan Government.
March 1959	Tibetan Women's Association is formed in Lhasa to challenge the Chinese occupation of Tibet. Over 15,000 women demonstrate against Chinese rule.
April 1959	His Holiness the Dalai Lama repudiates the "Seventeen Point Agreement" on reaching Tezpur in Assam, a north-eastern state of India. He says the "agreement" was thrust upon the "Tibetan Government and people by the threat of arms."
April 1959	Reestablishing the Tibetan Government in Mussoorie, a north Indian hill station, His Holiness the Dalai Lama declares: "Wherever I am, accompanied by my government, the Tibetan people recognise us as the Government of Tibet".
October 1959	The UN General Assembly passes its first resolution on Tibet [1353 (XIV)], calling for "respect for the fundamental human rights of the Tibetan people and their distinctive cultural and religious life".

February 1960	The first Tibetan agricultural settlement is established in Bylakuppe, a densely forested area near Mysore, South of India.
April 1960	The Tibetan Government, reestablished in Mussoorie, moves to Dharamshala, North India. It is known as the Central Tibetan Administration of His Holiness the Dalai Lama.
May 1960	The first Tibetan school in exile opens in Mussoorie. Simultaneously, a Tibetan nursery (now known as the Tibetan Children's Village) opens in Dharamshala.
June 1960	The International Commission of Jurists (ICJ) publishes its first report on Tibet, accusing China of "wanton killing of Tibetans" and "systematic disregard for their obligations under the Seventeen Point Agreement of 1951".
August 1960	The International Commission of Jurists (ICJ) publishes its second report on Tibet, which states that "acts of genocide had been committed in Tibet in an attempt to destroy the Tibetans as a religious group".
September 1960	The Tibetan Parliament-in-Exile is established under the name of the Commission of Tibetan People's Deputies.
December 1961	The UN General Assembly passes its second resolution on Tibet [1723 (XVI)], recognising the "right of the Tibetan people to self-determination".
November 1962	During his tour of Tibet, the Panchen Lama determines that 97 per cent of monasteries and nunneries in the "Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR)" and 98-99 per cent in the Tibetan areas outside the "TAR" are by now either depopulated or in ruins (Ref: "The Panchen Lama's 70,000-character petition to Mao Zedong"). Information compiled later by the CTA's Department of Religion and Culture shows that out of 6,259 monasteries and nunneries in the whole of Tibet, only eight remain undestroyed.
March 1963	His Holiness the Dalai Lama promulgates the democratic constitution for future Tibet.
March 1964	After publicly supporting His Holiness the Dalai Lama and documenting the devastation in Tibet prior to the Great Famine and Cultural Revolution in his 70,000 Character Petition, submitted to officials in 1962, the 10th Panchen lama is arrested in Lhasa and stripped of all his authority.
December 1965	The UN General Assembly passes the third resolution on Tibet [2079 (XX)], renewing its "call for the cessation of all practices which deprive the Tibetan people of human rights and fundamental freedoms".
August 1966	Mao's Cultural Revolution unleashes a further wave of death and destruction in Tibet.
July 1979	Deng Xiaoping announces a policy of liberalisation, leading to the release of thousands of Tibetan prisoners.
April 1980	China convenes the First Work Forum on Tibet to review and liberalise its religious and economic policies in Tibet.
February 1984	China holds the Second Work Forum on Tibet, which sets in motion a second phase of reforms by encouraging Chinese entrepreneurs to invest in Tibet.

June 1984	The CTA announces the death of 1.2 million Tibetans as a direct result of Chinese invasion and occupation.
September 1987	His Holiness the Dalai Lama addresses the US Congressional Human Rights Caucus and puts forward his Five-Point Peace Plan for resolving the issue of Tibet.
October 1987	Two major demonstrations against Chinese rule erupt in Lhasa.
June 1988	His Holiness the Dalai Lama announces his Strasbourg Proposal before the European Parliament. He proposes that the three provinces of Tibet should be forged into one entity, enjoying genuine autonomy, but concedes that China can continue to be responsible for Tibet's defence and foreign affairs.
January 1989	The 10th Panchen Lama passes away while on a visit to Shigatse. Five days before his death, the Panchen Lama makes a forthright public statement that Chinese rule in Tibet has brought more harm than benefit. Suspicion surrounds the cause of his death.
March 1989	China declares martial law in Tibet following three days of protests and demonstrations in Lhasa.
October 1989	His Holiness the Dalai Lama wins the Nobel Peace Prize.
May 1990	His Holiness the Dalai Lama introduces sweeping democratic reforms in the exile administration, empowering the popularly elected Tibetan parliament to elect the Kashag (cabinet).
June 1991	The Tibetan Parliament-in-Exile adopts a new democratic constitution The Charter of Tibetans-in-Exile, drawings heavily on the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights.
August 1991	UN Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities (renamed in 1999 as the UN Sub-Commission on the Promotion and Protection of Human Rights) passes "The Situation in Tibet" resolution, expressing concern at "continuing reports of violations of fundamental human rights and freedoms which threaten the distinct cultural, religious and national identity of the Tibetan people".
October 1991	U.S. President George Bush signs into law a congressional resolution declaring Tibet an occupied country.
February 1992	His Holiness the Dalai Lama issues The Guidelines for Future Tibet's Polity and Basic Features of its Constitution. He states that in a future, free Tibet, he will relinquish his powers in favour of a popularly elected government, and the Tibetan administration in exile will then be dissolved.
September 1992	China issues its first white paper on Tibet entitled Tibet: Its Ownership and Human Rights Situation, claiming "ownership" of Tibet with the dubious argument that Tibet had become an integral part of China in the 13th century.
June 1993	The CTA releases its response to the Chinese white paper of September 1992 entitled Tibet: Proving Truth from Facts.
June 1994	China's top leadership convenes the Third Work Forum on Tibet and recommends the most intensive repression on Tibetan religion and nationalism since the end of the Cultural Revolution.

May 1995	His Holiness the Dalai lama announces a six-year-old child, Jetsun Tenzin Gedhun Yeshe Trinley Phuntsok Pal Sangpo, popularly known as Gedhun Choekyi Nyima, as the reincarnation of the 10th Panchen Lama. After the announcement, Chinese officials abduct Gedhun Choekyi Nyima and enthrone an alternative child, Gyaltzen Norbu, as the 11th Panchen Lama. As of now, the whereabouts of Gedhun Choekyi Nyima and his parents are unknown.
January 1996	The Chinese authority in Tibet bans the photographs of His Holiness the Dalai Lama and Jetsun Tenzin Gedhun Yeshe Trinley Phuntsok Pal Sangpo, popularly known as Gedhun Choekyi Nyima, declaring them as “reactionary literature”.
April 1996	China begins its “Strike Hard”, “Patriotic Re-education” and “Spiritual Civilisation” campaigns in Tibet. Aimed at coercing the Tibetan people to renounce their faith in His Holiness the Dalai Lama, monasteries and nunneries are especially targeted by these campaigns.
March 1997	His Holiness the Dalai Lama embarks on his first, six-day visit to Taiwan, China remarks the visit by His Holiness and the invitation by the Taiwanese government as splittist behaviour.
December 1997	The ICJ publishes its third report on Tibet. It states that “there has been further escalation of repression in Tibet”.
February 1998	China issues its second white paper on Tibet entitled New Progress in Human Rights in the Tibetan Autonomous Region, claiming that the development of the cause of human rights in the “TAR” constitutes an “important component of the new progress being made in human rights in China as a whole”.
March 1998	Six members of the Tibetan Youth Congress undertake a unto-death fast in New Delhi to pressure the United Nations to implement the ICJ recommendations. Delhi police break up the fast. One of the TYC supporters, Thubten Ngodup, dies from self-immolation.
November 1998	Agya Rinpoche, Vice Chairman of the Chinese Buddhist Association and Vice Chairman of Qinghai Provincial Committee of Chinese People’s Political Consultative Conference, defects to the United States after disagreement with Chinese authorities over religious freedom. Expressing the reason for his escape, Agya Rinpoche says, “Had I remained in Tibet... I would have been forced to help the [Chinese] government have its choice of the Panchen Lama accepted by Tibetans”.
June 1999	The World Bank approves a controversial US\$ 160 million to China for resettling some 58,000 Chinese farmers in Amdo, threatening the cultural survival of the local nomads.
January 2000	The 17th Karmapa, Ugyen Trinley Dorjee, arrives in Dharamshala, having escaped Tibet. Days later, the Chinese authorities ordain Sonam Phuntsok, a two-year-old boy in Tibet, as the reincarnation of the seventh Reting Rinpoche and formally install him at the Reting monastery.

June 2000	Chinese information ministry convenes a meeting of propagandists and Tibetologists in Beijing to discuss new strategies for winning international public opinion on Tibetan issues. The meeting recommends strategies to lure international academics and media persons into lending their voices to the chorus of Beijing's propaganda on Tibet.
June 2000	China issues its third white paper on Tibet entitled The Development of Tibetan Culture, claiming "unprecedented development" of Tibetan language and culture during the past 40-plus years of their rule.
July 2000	Coinciding with His Holiness the Dalai Lama's birthday, the European Parliament adopts a resolution by majority vote to consider recognising Tibet's exile government if within three years China does not sign an agreement with it "on a new statute for Tibet".
June 2001	China's Fourth Work Forum on Tibet endorses the repressive policies of the Third Forum and asks for the acceleration of Tibet's integration into the Chinese economy and culture.
September 2001	Professor Samdhong Rinpoche, the first directly elected Kalon Tripa (executive head) of the Tibetan exile administration, takes the oath of office and forms a four-member cabinet.
November 2001	China issues its fourth white paper on Tibet, entitled Tibet's March toward Modernization, outlining "achievements" during the last 50 years of its rule over Tibet.
December 2001	The CTA releases a response to the Chinese white paper of November 2001 entitled Height of Darkness: Chinese Colonialism on the World's Roof, a study of the hidden agenda behind China's frantic efforts to reinforce colonialism in Tibet.
January 2002	The envoys of His Holiness the Dalai Lama meet with the Chinese officials responsible for Tibet policy. It marks the first face-to-face meeting between the two sides since the formal contact was severed in August 1993.
March 2003	China issues its fifth white paper on Tibet entitled Ecological Improvement and Environmental Protection in Tibet, claiming that "the ecological improvement and environmental protection have been an important part of the effort to modernise Tibet".
July 2003	The CTA releases a response to the Chinese white paper of March 2003 entitled Tibet 2003: State of the Environment, an objective analysis of China's latest policies on the environment and development of the Tibetan plateau.
May 2004	China issues its sixth white paper on Tibet entitled Regional Ethnic Autonomy in Tibet.
May 2005	The TYC releases a response to the Chinese white paper of May 2004 entitled Tibet: The Gap between Fact and Fabrication, arguing that the "claims of Tibet being a part of China and the existence of a meaningful autonomy and human rights there is absolutely baseless, that in reality needs no refutation".

July 2006	Chinese President Hu Jintao inaugurates the Gormo-Lhasa railway line amidst great pomp and show. In a nationally televised ceremony held in Gormo city, Hu boasts that “the project is not only a magnificent feat in China’s history of railway construction but also a miracle in the world’s railroad history.”
July 2007	China’s State Administration of Religious Affairs issues an order called Management Measures for the Reincarnation of “living Buddhas” in Tibetan Buddhism, which says all incarnate lamas or tulkus must be approved by the Chinese government. The CTA issues a statement repudiating this order.
October 2007	In a formal ceremony held on 17 October in Washington D.C., President George W. Bush presents the U.S. Congressional Gold Medal to His Holiness the Dalai Lama. The CTA declares the day as a national holiday.
March 2008	Over 300 monks commemorate the 49th anniversary of Tibet’s national uprising in Lhasa. Peaceful protests also took place in several places in Amdo and Kham.
April 2008	Jamyang Kyi, a writer and singer, is detained on 1 April. One of the first Tibetan intellectuals arrested and incarcerated. Jamyang wrote Stages of Torture, detailing her experience of torture and interrogation.
May 2008	Special Envoy of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, Lodi G. Gyari and Kelsang Gyaltzen hold an exclusive informal consultation and brainstorming session with the Executive Vice Minister of the Central United Front Work Department and its Vice Minister. The urgent meeting is held to discuss the Chinese government crackdown on peaceful protests in Tibet.
June 2008	The Chinese authorities heavily crack down on the nationwide peaceful protests in Tibet, and Beijing initiates a renewed attack on Tibetan Buddhism. On 28 June, the so-called People’s Government of Ganzi Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture issues Order No. 2, which, among other restrictions, states that monks “will be stripped of their rights as religious practitioners and expelled from their monasteries, held in custody doing re-education.”
June/July 2008	The Tibetan delegation headed by the Special Envoy of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, Lodi G. Gyari, visits China for the seventh round of discussions with the Chinese leadership.
Oct/ Nov 2008	The Tibetan delegation headed by the Special Envoy of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, Lodi G. Gyari, visits China for the eighth round of discussions with the Chinese leadership. Tibetan delegation presents the “Memorandum for Genuine Autonomy for the Tibetan People” to the Chinese leadership.
November 2008	A Special General Meeting of Tibetans is held to discuss the critical situation in Tibet. A special International Tibetan Support Groups Meeting was also held.
December 2008	Since March 2008, over 371 Tibetans have been jailed; 4657 Tibetans were either arrested or detained; 990 Tibetans have disappeared, and 1294 have been injured during the peaceful protests.

February 2009	The Chinese government releases a paper titled The Key Task to Improve the Overall Security Situation in 2009, which orders unprecedented security restrictions and clampdown on any protests. It further endorses continuation of ‘Strike Hard’ campaign.
February 2009	Tapey, a monk from Kirti Monastery in Ngaba Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, self-immolates in protest against the cancellation of religious services at his monastery by the local Chinese authority. Tapey’s self-immolation is the first known case of such protests by Tibetans in Tibet.
March 2009	Ahead of the 50th anniversary of the Tibetan people’s uprising of 1959, the Chinese authorities carry extensive search for ‘suspicious characters’. According to the South China Morning Post, the police have not spared “a single hotel, guesthouse or local” in Lhasa. All foreigners are banned from travelling to the city. Major monasteries are sealed, and intellectuals and bloggers are arrested.
December 2009	Eleven Tibetans are arrested following the production and distribution of the VCD Chag Trum Marpo or Bloody Omens, which features images of Chinese repression and Tibetans killed after the March 2008 peaceful protests.
January 2010	The Tibetan delegation, headed by the Special Envoy of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, Lodi G. Gyari, visits China for the ninth round of discussions with the Chinese leadership. The Envoys present a “Note to the Memorandum” to the Chinese side to clarify the concerns and misinterpretation of the Memorandum by the Chinese leadership. They urge the Chinese side to stop baseless accusations against His Holiness the Dalai Lama, and to work with him to find a mutually acceptable solution to the Tibetan problem.
April 2010	Powerful earthquake strikes Kyegudo in northeastern Tibet, killing hundreds of Tibetans. In solidarity, Tibetans in exile hold special prayers and raise relief funds.
October 2010	The Chinese authorities in Amdo issue a new language policy to switch the medium of instruction in schools from Tibetan to Mandarin Chinese, thus attacking the very foundation of Tibetan religion and culture.
March 2011	His Holiness the Dalai Lama issues a statement to the Tibetan parliament regarding the devolution of his political authority to the elected leadership.
May 2011	A Tibetan National General Meeting is held. The meeting unanimously resolves to beseech His Holiness the Dalai Lama to assume the role of ceremonial head of state, which His Holiness subsequently refuses. The Tibetan Parliament-in-Exile holds an additional session and amends the Charter to put into effect the devolution of His Holiness’ political authority to the democratically elected leaders.
August 2011	His Holiness the Dalai Lama hands over his political authority to Dr. Lobsang Sangay, popularly-elected Kalon Tripa.
February 2012	In the wake of further self-immolations followed by violent crackdowns by Chinese security forces, the Tibetan Parliament-in-Exile strongly urges the international community to take more responsibility.

June 2012	Special Envoy of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, Lodi G. Gyari and Envoy Kelsang Gyaltzen resign, expressing their utter frustration over the lack of positive response from the Chinese to the Memorandum and its Note, and the deteriorating situation inside Tibet since 2008 leading to the increasing cases of self-immolation by Tibetans.
September 2012	The Tibetan parliament amends the title of Kalon Tripa to Sikyong (Tibetan Political Leader). Dr Lobsang Sangay ratifies the amendment to change the official title.
November 2012	UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, Ms. Navi Pillay, issues a statement, strongly urging the Chinese government to “promptly address the longstanding grievances that have led to an alarming escalation in desperate forms of protest, including self-immolations, in Tibetan areas.”
January 2013	The CTA releases a white paper, Why is Tibet Burning, on the fundamental reasons behind the occurrences of self-immolations in Tibet.
March 2013	Tibetan writer, blogger and activist Tsering Woeser, held under house arrest in Beijing, was prevented from travelling to the US to receive the 2013 International Women of Courage Award granted by the US State Department.
October 2013	UN member states urge China to improve the human rights situation in Tibet during the 17th session of the Universal Periodic Review. States raise their concerns about the deteriorating human rights situation in Tibet; emphasising China’s systematic attempts to undermine the rights to freedom of religion, culture, and expression.
February 2014	US President Barack Obama meets with His Holiness the Dalai Lama in Washington DC. President Obama reiterates US Support for the Middle Way Approach and continued dialogue between the representatives of His Holiness and the Chinese government to resolve long-standing differences.
April 2015	China issues a white paper on Tibet entitled Tibet’s Path of Development is Driven by an Irresistible Historical Tide.
July 2015	Tenzin Delek Rinpoche, a highly respected Tibetan spiritual leader and one of the most prominent Tibetan political prisoners, dies in a Chinese prison while serving life imprisonment.
August 2015	PRC’s President Xi Jinping presides over the sixth Work Forum on Tibet held in Beijing. The top Chinese leadership attends the meeting.
September 2015	China celebrates the 50th anniversary of the establishment of the so-called “Tibet Autonomous Region”. It carries out strong media publicity to make claims about having brought great progress in Tibet.
September 2015	The CTA releases a response to the Chinese white paper of April 2015 entitled Tibet was not Part of China but Middle Way Remains a Viable Solution, challenging Beijing’s claims that the legitimacy of His Holiness the 14th Dalai Lama of Tibet rests on the Chinese Communist Party’s recognition and approval and reiterating its commitment to the Middle Way Approach.
January 2016	Human Rights Watch reports the indefinite extension of “village-based cadre teams,” an intensive surveillance program due to end in 2014, in villages across the so-called “TAR” by the Chinese authorities.

January 2016	U.S. President Obama meets His Holiness the Dalai Lama at the White House. The President lauds His Holiness' commitment to peace and nonviolence and expresses support for the Middle Way approach.
August 2016	Seventy-two U.S. lawmakers led by Congressman Jim McGovern write to President Obama, calling him to prioritise Tibet in his final months in office.
March 2017	Kashag declares 2017 as the Year of Campaign for Tibet to galvanise the global Tibetan movement to resolve the Sino-Tibet conflict.
December 2017	U.S. House Committee on Foreign Affairs' Subcommittee on Asia and the Pacific holds a hearing on U.S Tibet policy.
February 2018	The local government of the so-called "TAR" issues a circular listing 22 illegal activities, calling on the Tibetan public to provide information on the activities of what they labelled as "criminal gangs connected to the separatist forces of the Dalai Lama."
May 2018	China sentences Tibetan language advocate Tashi Wangchuk to 5 years for "inciting separatism".
July 2018	China issues a white paper titled "Ecological Progress on the Qinghai-Tibet Plateau."
December 2018	US President Donald Trump signs the Reciprocal Access to Tibet Act of 2018.
December 2018	CTA issues response to China's white paper on Tibet's environment titled 'Central Tibetan Administration's Response to the People's Republic of China's White Paper on Tibet's Ecology, 2018.'
March 2019	China issues a white paper on Tibet titled "Democratic Reform in Tibet: Sixty Years On."
March 2019	The Foreign Correspondents' Club of China releases a position paper calling on China to give reporters unfettered access to the so-called "TAR" and other Tibetan areas.
May 2019	Chinese authorities in Golog, in the traditional Amdo province, order all primary and middle schools in the Golog Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture to stop teaching the Tibetan language. The new directive mandates the medium for teaching classes other than Tibetan language in Chinese.
June 2019	Chinese authorities in Palyul County in the so-called Karze "Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture" resume expulsion of Tibetan monks and nuns from Yachen Gar. Sources reveal that close to 3,500 nuns and monks have already been forced out of Yachen Gar.
September 2019	The Tibetan Parliament-in-Exile reaffirms the supreme spiritual authority of His Holiness the Dalai Lama over Tibetan Buddhism while condemning China's politicisation and interference in the sacred institution of the Tibetan reincarnation in a resolution unanimously passed at the 8th session of the 16th TPiE.
October 2019	Around 340 Tibetan community leaders and representatives from 24 countries converge for the 3rd Special General Meeting convened by the Kashag and Tibetan Parliament-in-Exile in Dharamshala.

November 2019	The 14th Tibetan Religious Conference passes a special resolution affirming the karmic bond between the Dalai Lamas and the Tibetan people, and the authority over the Fourteenth Dalai Lama's reincarnation lies solely with His Holiness the Fourteenth Dalai Lama himself.
January 2020	The Chinese State Administration for Religious Affairs (SARA) issues regulation titled Measures for the Administration of Religious Groups, set to come into effect on 1st of February 2020.
January 2020	The so-called "TAR" Congress adopts "Regulations on the Establishment of a Model Area for Ethnic Unity and Progress in the Tibet Autonomous Region," set to come into effect on 1st May 2020.
March 2020	Human Rights Watch releases a report titled "China's Bilingual Education' Policy in Tibet" highlighting the diminishing use of the Tibetan language and the threat to the Tibetan-medium school in Tibet.
July 2020	US Secretary of State Mike Pompeo announces visa sanctions against PRC officials involved in restricting foreigners' access to Tibet under the Reciprocal Access to Tibet Act of 2018.
August 2020	China holds the 7th Central Symposium on Tibet Works in Beijing. Xi Jinping lays out four key policy directions on Tibet, including combatting 'separatism' and Sinicizing Tibetan Buddhism.
December 2020	The US Congress passed the Tibetan Policy and Support Act of 2020, built on the landmark Tibetan Policy Act of 2002.
May 2021	The G7 Foreign Ministers' Communique on China calls on it to respect human rights and fundamental freedom while expressing concern over human rights violations and abuses, including in Tibet.
May 2021	China publishes a white paper on Tibet titled "Tibet Since 1951: Liberation, Development and Prosperity."
June 2021	In a joint statement following the conclusion of the EU-US summit, the EU and the United States raise shared concerns about China's human rights violations in Tibet.
August 2021	The Kashag announces the withdrawal of the Task Force on Sino-Tibetan Negotiations and the formation of the Permanent Strategy Committee.
September 2021	CTA issues official response to China's recently released white paper "Tibet since 1951: Liberation, Development, and Prosperity" titled "Tibet: 70 Years of Occupation and Oppression."
February 2022	Chinese authorities arbitrarily detain around a dozen Tibetans following its crackdown in Dragko County in Kham Karze, resulting in the demolition of a monastic school, Buddhist statues, 45 giant prayer wheels and the taking down and burning of prayer flags.
September 2022	Human Rights Watch reports mass DNA collection from Tibetans, including kindergarten children, without their parent's consent as part of a "crime detection" campaign.
September 2022	Lhasa's municipal government admits to mishandling the COVID-19 outbreak in Tibet's capital. The Vice Mayor of the city apologises at a press conference.

September 2022	The Kashag issues a statement on its position on the issue of reincarnation of His Holiness the 14th Dalai Lama.
November 2022	UN Experts, in a joint communication with China, express grave concern over China's policy of acculturation and assimilation of Tibet culture in Tibet, including the colonial-style residential schools.
December 2022	Canadian House of Commons unanimously passes a motion endorsing the Middle Way Approach and supporting the resumption of dialogue between the Tibetan representatives and the Chinese government.
April 2023	The Kashag, under the leadership of Sikyong Penpa Tsering, launches vision paper titled Securing Tibet's Future.
April 2023	A group of six UN experts jointly issue a press release, following a joint communication sent to China, expressing concerns over so-called vocational training and forced labour transfer programmes in Tibet.
May 2023	The Czech Republic Senate adopts a resolution expressing deep concern over forced assimilation of Tibetan children and relentless interference with religious freedom in Tibet by China.
July 2023	PRC's State Administration of Religious Affairs announces Order Number 19, "Measures for the Administration of Venue for Religious Activity Sites", set to be enforced from 1 September 2023.
December 2023	European Parliament adopts resolution on the 'abduction of Tibetan children and forced assimilation practices through Chinese boarding schools in Tibet' calling for immediate abolishment of the boarding school system and urges member states and the Council to adopt similar targeted sanctions as the US.
January 2024	At China's fourth Universal Periodic Review (UPR) cycle, 21 countries raise serious concerns regarding Tibet's human rights situation, resulting in 23 recommendations.
February 2024	The US House of Representatives passes Promoting a Resolution to the Tibet-China Dispute Act (HR 533).
February 2024	Mass arrests of Tibetans are reported in Dege county in Kardze "Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture" following days of peaceful protests and appeals by local Tibetans to stop the construction of Kamtok (Ch: Gangtuo) dam on the upper reaches of the Drichu (Yangtze) river and the forced resettlement of the Tibetans. The construction of the dam will submerge two villages and as well as six monasteries along the riverbanks.
March 2024	The European Union (EU), in its statement at the 55th session of the UN Human Rights Council, expresses grave concerns over the dire human rights situation in Tibet, highlighting forced assimilation of Tibetan children in Chinese state-run boarding schools and mass DNA collections from Tibetans.
March 2024	His Holiness the Dalai Lama is presented the Relics of Lord Buddha by Most Venerable Dr Waskaduwe Mahindawansa Maha Nayaka Thero, head of Amarapura Samuddha Sasanodaya, Sri Lanka.

May 2024	Delegation from the Central Tibetan Administration attends Taiwan's presidential inauguration in Taiwan.
May 2024	The US Senate unanimously passes S.138 titled "Promoting a Resolution to the Tibet-China Dispute Act."

## How You Can Help

1. Learn about Tibet. Hundreds of books on Tibetan politics, religion and culture are available to help you stay well-informed.
2. Join a Tibet Support Group near you. For information on Tibet Support Groups, visit [www.tibetnetwork.org](http://www.tibetnetwork.org)
3. Write to your local and federal politicians asking for their views on the Sino-Tibet conflict and encourage them to help facilitate constructive dialogue between the representatives of His Holiness the Dalai Lama and the Chinese government.
4. Initiate Tibet-awareness projects in your locality. There is a lot you can do.

### **Here are some examples to help foster ideas for your own events:**

- Organise lectures or seminars discussing different facets of Tibetan culture, history, religion, medicine, art or the political situation.
  - Send petitions to the heads of governments and the United Nations in support of the Tibetan cause.
  - Arrange film festivals-many films have been made on Tibet.
  - Organize exhibitions related to Tibet in your local library, museum or gallery.
5. Share information on Tibet, including the situation inside Tibet, by word of mouth, in letters to newspaper editors and through local radio stations.
  6. Work with a local Tibetan community if you are near one.

## FURTHER READING

### **Political History**

- My Land and My People by His Holiness the Dalai Lama
- Freedom in Exile by His Holiness the Dalai Lama
- In Exile from the Land of Snows by John Avedon
- Portrait of a Dalai Lama: The Life and Times of the Great Thirteenth by

Charles Bell

- Tears of Blood by Mary Craig
- Fire Under the Snow by Palden Gyatso
- Seven Years in Tibet by Heinrich Harrer
- Tibet: The Road Ahead by Dawa Norbu
- Tibet and its History by Hugh E. Richardson
- Tibet: The Facts published by the Tibetan Young Buddhist Association
- Tibet: A Political History by Tsepon W. D. Shakabpa
- Dragon in the Land of Snows by Tsering Shakya
- Tibet Under Communist China: 50 Years published by DIIR

### **Tibet in Law**

- The Status of Tibet by Michael C. van Walt van Praag
- Tibet Brief 20/20 by Michael C. van Walt van Praag

### **Culture and Religion**

- Beyond Religion: Ethics for a Whole World by His Holiness the Dalai Lama
- Ethics for the New Millennium by His Holiness the Dalai Lama
- The Cultural History of Tibet by David Snellgrove and Hugh Richardson
- Introduction of Tibetan Buddhism John Powers

### **Tibet on the Internet:**

Many websites provide further information and up-to-date news on the situation in Tibet. Below are the official websites of the Central Tibetan Administration in different languages:

**Tibetan:** [www.bod.asia](http://www.bod.asia)

**Chinese:** [www.tibet.com/cn](http://www.tibet.com/cn)

**Spanish:** [www.spanish.tibetoffice.org](http://www.spanish.tibetoffice.org)

**Russian:** [www.savetibet.ru](http://www.savetibet.ru)

**English:** [www.tibet.net](http://www.tibet.net)

**Hindi:** [www.indiatibet.net](http://www.indiatibet.net)

**Japanese:** [www.tibethouse.jp](http://www.tibethouse.jp)

**German:** [www.tibetoffice.ch](http://www.tibetoffice.ch)

## Offices of Tibet:

The Offices of Tibet are the official agencies of His Holiness the Dalai Lama and the Central Tibetan Administration. They establish contacts with governments, parliamentarians, Tibet Support Groups, non-governmental organisations and human rights groups and keep them posted on recent developments in Tibet. They also help to coordinate the exchange of information between individuals and organisations working for the welfare of the Tibetan people. They can also help you get in touch with Tibet Support Groups near you.

<p><b>India</b> Bureau of H.H. the Dalai Lama, 10-B Ring Road, Lajpat Nagar-IV, New Delhi-110024, India E-mail: <a href="mailto:rep.in@tibet.net">rep.in@tibet.net</a> <a href="http://www.tibetbureau.in">www.tibetbureau.in</a></p>	<p><b>Nepal</b> Tibetan Refugee Welfare Office Galden Khangsar PO Box 310, Lazimpat, Kathmandu, Nepal E-Mail: <a href="mailto:rep.np@tibet.net">rep.np@tibet.net</a></p>	<p><b>Switzerland</b> The Tibet Bureau Place de la Navigation 10, CH-1201 Geneva, Switzerland E-mail: <a href="mailto:rep.ch@tibet.net">rep.ch@tibet.net</a> <a href="http://www.tibetoffice.ch">www.tibetoffice.ch</a></p>	
<p><b>U.S.A</b> The office of Tibet 1228, 17<sup>th</sup> Street NW, Washington DC-20036, U.S.A E-mail: <a href="mailto:rep.us@tibet.net">rep.us@tibet.net</a> <a href="http://www.tibetoffice.org">www.tibetoffice.org</a></p>	<p><b>Japan</b> Liaison Office of H.H the Dalai Lama, Tibet House Nishi Ochiai 3-26-1 Shinjuku-Ku, Tokyo-1610031, Japan E-mail: <a href="mailto:rep.jp@tibet.net">rep.jp@tibet.net</a> <a href="http://www.tibethouse.jp">www.tibethouse.jp</a></p>	<p><b>The United Kingdom</b> The Office of Tibet 1 Culworth Street, London NW8 7AF, London NW87AF, U.K E-mail: <a href="mailto:rep.uk@tibet.net">rep.uk@tibet.net</a></p>	
<p><b>Belgium</b> Bureau du Tibet Avenue des Arts/Kunstlaan 24 1000 Brussels, Belgium E-mail: <a href="mailto:rep.be@tibet.net">rep.be@tibet.net</a></p>	<p><b>Australia</b> Tibet Information Office 8/13 Napier, Close Deakin, Canberra ACT 2600, Australia E-mail: <a href="mailto:rep.au@tibet.net">rep.au@tibet.net</a> <a href="http://www.tibetoffice.com.au">www.tibetoffice.com.au</a></p>	<p><b>Russia</b> Tibet Culture and Information Centre Butyrskaya dom 9, Apt: 27, Korpus 1 Moscow 127015, Russian Federation E-mail: <a href="mailto:rep.ru@tibet.net">rep.ru@tibet.net</a> <a href="http://www.savetibet.ru">www.savetibet.ru</a></p>	
<p><b>Brazil (Latin America)</b> Tibet House Brazil, Alameda Lorena 349, Jardim Paulista, São Paulo-SP01424-001 Brazil E-mail: <a href="mailto:latin@tibet.net">latin@tibet.net</a> <a href="http://www.spanish.tibetoffice.org">www.spanish.tibetoffice.org</a></p>	<p><b>South Africa</b> The Office of Tibet PO Box 16812, 38 Union Avenue Lyttelton, Centurion, 0157 South Africa E-mail: <a href="mailto:rep.sa@tibet.net">rep.sa@tibet.net</a> <a href="http://www.officeoftibet.com">www.officeoftibet.com</a></p>	<p><b>Taiwan</b> Tibet Religious Foundation of H.H. the Dalai Lama, 10<sup>th</sup> Fl. 4&amp;5, No: 189, Section 2, Keelung Rd, Taipei City 11054, Taiwan E-mail: <a href="mailto:rep.tw@tibet.net">rep.tw@tibet.net</a> <a href="http://www.tibet.org.tw">www.tibet.org.tw</a></p>	
<p><b>France</b> Bureau du Tibet 84, Boulevard Adolphe Pinard 75014 Paris, France E-mail: <a href="mailto:franceburea@tibet.net">franceburea@tibet.net</a></p>			

