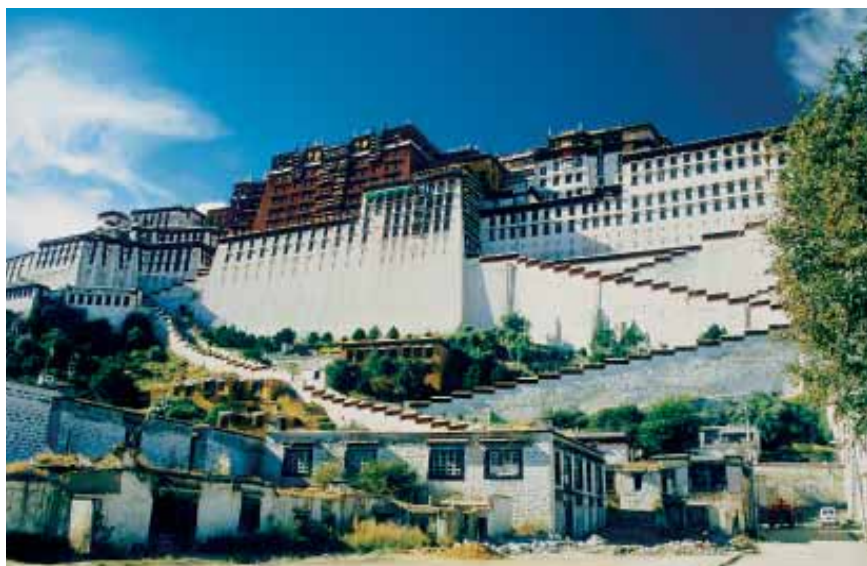


# Understanding the Issue of **TIBET**

*Support Justice for Truth and Non-Violence*



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**Tibetan Parliamentary & Policy Research Centre**

FRIEDRICH-NAUMANN-STIFTUNG  
&  
THE TIBETAN PARLIAMENTARY AND  
POLICY RESEARCH CENTRE

The Friedrich-Naumann-Stiftung (FNSSt) established in 1958 is a non-profit organization for public benefit. It promotes the liberal principle of Freedom in Human Dignity in all sectors of society, both nationally as well as internationally, in developed as well as developing countries.

The Foundation is active in more than 75 countries. In the South Asian Region comprising the SAARC countries the Foundation's work encompasses projects concerned with support for economic liberalisation; fostering regional economic co-operation in South Asia; promotion of civic rights; and environmental protection. All these activities are carried out in co-operation with local, national and international NGOs, the emphasis being on self-reliance and the setting up of democratic institutions.

Friedrich-Naumann-Stiftung in partnership with the Assembly of Tibetan People's Deputies has set up the Tibetan Parliamentary and Policy Research Centre (TPPRC) with the purpose of strengthening the Tibetan diaspora in building up a healthy democratic working ethos. The objective is to prepare the Tibetans in exile for the assumption of responsibilities that would respond to their hopes and aspirations through a framework of legislative, executive and judicial institutions based on the concept of the Tibetan polity guided by Saddharma and with a view to generating human values and considerations based on man's free will, equality, justice and non-violence. There is also the standing need to constantly remind the Tibetan diaspora of their national identity, culture and heritage and the global community of Tibet's unique contribution to the world of thought and culture.

Established in 1994, the Centre has already reached a very representative section of Tibetans residing in India and Nepal, encouraging them to get actively involved in their new democratic institutions and helping their leadership to formulate a vision for the future. Moreover, the Centre has a sound back-up programme of publications to disseminate information to build up national and international public opinion for the fulfillment of a just cause.

## I. BASIC FACTS ABOUT TIBET

**Location:** 2.5 million square kilometers in area, roughly one fourth of China's landmass with an average altitude of 12,000 feet above sea level, Tibet is the biggest and highest plateau of the world, strategically located between countries such as India, Nepal, Bhutan, Burma, China, East Turkestan and Mongolia.



**Population:** 6 million Tibetans in Tibet and about 140,000 in exile. Tibetans outnumbered by Chinese immigrants in urban Tibet.

**Language and Religion:** Native religion, Bon, was followed by the introduction of Buddhism in the 8th Century AD. Dialects changes from one region to another but the written language all over Tibet is Tibetan (*of the Tibeto-Burmese language family*).

**Political Status before 1949:** Tibet has a recorded history of over 2000 years as an independent nation. Before China's invasion, it possessed all conditions of statehood under international law; a defined territory, legitimate government exercising authority over its internal as well as external affairs and distinct population inhabiting that territory. Tibet refers to the entity composed of U-Tsang, Kham and Dhomay (Amdo) provinces. Lhasa is the capital city and the seat of Tibet's political and religious leader H.H the Dalai Lama.

**China's occupation of Tibet & its consequences:** China's invasion of Tibet started in 1949 and by 1959 forcibly occupied the whole of Tibet. The Dalai Lama, Tibet's political and spiritual leader was compelled to take refuge in India and over 80,000 Tibetan refugees followed him. As a direct result of Chinese occupation, over 1.2 million Tibetans (1out of 5) have died and over 6000 monasteries in Tibet have been destroyed.



**Divided Tibet regions today:** Out of the three traditional provinces, U-Tsang together with some

areas of western Kham, is today referred to by China as the Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR). TAR (1.2 million sq km) comprising less than half of traditional Tibet was created by China in 1965. Rest of Tibet consisting of Domey and major parts of Kham are now incorporated in to the Chinese provinces of Sichuan, Yunnan, Gansu and Qinghai province. China has divided the whole of Tibet into Tibetan Autonomous Region, Tibetan Autonomous Province, Tibetan Autonomous Prefectures and Tibetan Autonomous Counties, in a way recognizing that it is one nationality residing in all these areas for centuries.

## II. BRIEF HISTORY OF TIBET

In Sanskrit, Tibet is referred to, as 'Bhot', however, the modern name of Tibet seem to have been derived from the Mongolian *Thubet*, Chinese *Tufan*, Thai *Thibet* and Arabic *Thubbat*. Early history of Tibet, like that of any other ancient nations of the world, is shrouded in mythology. However, recent archaeological sites found in different parts of Tibet, especially at Karub, near Chamdo, a whole Neolithic village with streets and houses dating back to 5000 years old, fully established the fact that Tibetans were autochthonous and they did not come from outside the country.

Tibet's recorded history dates back to first ruler of the Yarlung, King Nyatri Tsanpo in 127 B.C. and his dynasty ruled the country till 842 A.D. The reign of the 33<sup>rd</sup> King Songtsen Gampo, the 37<sup>th</sup> King Trisong Detsen and the 40<sup>th</sup> King Tri Ralpachen is considered the Glorious Period. During this period, Tibet extended its influence over many of its neighboring countries. The 41<sup>st</sup> King Lang Darma almost wiped out Buddhism from Tibet and his assassination in 842 resulted in the disintegration of Tibet into small principalities ruled by petty chiefs warring against one another. This condition prevailed for over 400 year from 842 to 1254. This period was also the time of revival of Buddhism in Tibet.



Three Great Kings: Trisong Detsen, Songtsen Gampo & Tri Ralpachen

In the early 13th century the Mongols conquered a vast empire across Asia, and Tibet for the first time came under foreign power in 1207. However, in 1253 the great grandson of Chengis Khan, Kublai Khan offered thirteen myriarchies (*Trikhor Chusum*) of central Tibet to



The stone pillar at Zhol Lhasa, contains an account of the brief capture of Chinese capital in 763 CE, by King Trisong Detsen

Drogon Choegyal Phagpa, the nephew of Sakya Pandita as a gratitude for giving him the Vajrayana initiation. Hence the Choe-yon (Priest – Patron) relationship between Mongol Khans and Tibet's Lamas came into being. From 1254 to 1642, Tibet was ruled by a succession of different clans - Sakya Lamas, Phagmo Drupa lineage of Kagyu School, Rinpung family and Tsang.

In 1642, the Fifth Dalai Lama, Ngawang Lobsang Gyatso, with the support of Mongols assumed both spiritual and temporal authority over Tibet. He established the present Tibetan Government, known as *Gaden Phodrang*. The “priest-patron” relationship (*Choe-Yon*), continued between the Tibetan Lamas and the

Mongols, Manchus and Chinese Qing Dynasty. At all these times, the Tibetans themselves administered the whole of Tibet.

The Manchu's intervention in Tibet occurred first in 1720 and later in 1880. When the Manchu troops marched out from Lhasa, they left behind their Representative (*Amban*) but on both the occasions the Tibetans expelled all the Chinese and Manchu troops from Lhasa and elsewhere in Tibet. Such interference also was experienced at the hands of Gorkhas and British in 1786 and 1904 respectively.

From 1911 to 1949, Tibet successfully avoided foreign influences. The Great Thirteenth Dalai Lama reasserted Tibet's independence in 1913 and in the same year Tibet entered into a treaty with the Mongolians at Urga (Ulan-Bator). Tibet's sovereignty was further confirmed at Treaty of Simla (July 3, 1914), which was concluded between Tibet and British India. Tibetan trade delegations visited India, the United Kingdom, the United States and China on Tibetan passports and were received as official delegation of a sovereign state. Nepal in 1949 cited its relationship with Tibet to prove its sovereign status while applying for the UN membership. Besides, the representatives of the government of Tibet also took part in the Asian Relations Conference held in New Delhi on March 23, 1947 followed by Afro-Asian Conference held in Delhi in 1948.

The turning point in Tibet's history came in 1949, when the wave of Communism took control in China and the People's Liberation Army (PLA)



Dalai Lama coming into exile in India (March 1959)

of the Peoples Republic of China (PRC) crossed into Tibet. China made the Tibetan officials sign the so-called “17-Point Agreement for the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet” under duress in May 1951.

The 14<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama at the vulnerable age of 16 took over the Spiritual and Temporal leadership of the Tibetans during the darkest hour of Tibetan history.

China breached all the points of the agreement though Tibetans tried to live within the agreement for 9 years. Discontentment and resistance escalated from all corners of Tibet, which culminated into the massive public protests in Lhasa. The uprising was brutally crushed by the PLA, which claimed to have killed over 87,000 Tibetans between March 1959 and October 1960 in Central Tibet alone. The present Dalai Lama at the age of 24, fled to India under the protection of Tibetan guerilla forces, declared the 17 point agreement null and void, and set up the Tibetan Government in Exile in India, which is the continuation of the legitimate Government of Tibet.

### III. TIBETAN WAY OF LIFE AND IDENTITY

The advent of Buddhism in Tibet completely transformed the Tibetan way of life. People, who were otherwise once known as ruthless warriors turned into gentle practitioners of Buddhism. Tibet had only a rag-tag of an army for many centuries. Material development has been systematically neglected in favor of spiritual development.

Tibetans are broadly categorized into ‘Yulwa’- the farmers, ‘Drokpa’- the nomads, and “Sama-drok”, engaged in agro-animal husbandry. The monks and nuns in the monastic institutions constitute substantial number of Tibetan populace. Generally, Tibetans are deeply religious people. Whether literate or illiterate, every individual’s day-to-day life is guided



Tibetans prostrating in front of Jhokhang Temple



A Tibetan woman milking “Dri” female yak

by the tenets of Dharma. To have at least one son ordained as monk is a matter of prestige and good deed for the family.

Tibetan approach to nature and its environment helped maintain the fine balance between human and nature for a sustainable future. The blend of Buddhist concept of interdependence, love and compassion; and the unique Tibetan way of life in response to the extreme environmental conditions, evolved over many centuries represents a very high level of peaceful and non-violent spiritual practice and development, organized under a very sophisticated management structure

With the invasion of Tibet in 1949, the dismantling of the Tibetan civilization started. Every aspect or manifestation of the unique Tibetan way of life or identity was shredded with the intent of annihilation. China claims that Tibet is a minority member of the Chinese nation (sometimes they say, inexplicably, “family of nations”) with local variation of a common culture. However, it has no ground for such a sense when they share no common territory and no common laws (until China’s occupation of Tibet), no common language, no common sense of history or common literature, only marginal commonality of religious beliefs and no common racial type. Therefore, Tibetans are completely distinct from the Chinese people.

In exile, for nearly five decades, Tibetans under the guidance of H.H the Dalai Lama have been successful in keeping their identity alive. Though Tibetans in exile have adapted their lifestyle and economic activities as per the local conditions but the basic characteristics of Tibetans being deeply religious and strong believer of *Karma* (cause & effect) is still very much intact. Large numbers of huge monasteries, cultural and art centers, and academic institutions have been revived and are flourishing.

#### IV. PRESENT SITUATION IN TIBET

Mass immigration of Han Chinese into Tibetan areas outnumbering the 6 million Tibetans threatens the very survival of the Tibetan identity. Breakneck development projects to benefit the migrant Chinese and exploitation of Tibet’s resources, accelerates the assimilation or marginalisation of the Tibetans. Fundamental Human Rights such as freedom of speech and religion are denied. Arbitrary detentions, imprisonment and even death are commonplace for a peaceful show of resistance.

Rampant deforestation, nuclear and toxic dumping in Tibet, desertification of grasslands, big projects and overpopulation have contributed immensely in endangering the *fragile* ecology of Tibet that not only affects the neighboring countries but the world at large. Forced relocation and a new way of life, dominated by Chinese in the cities, add



to the rising resentments. The number of overt and covert peaceful demonstrations have increased dramatically. Annually, hundreds of children hazard death crossing the mighty Himalayas to come to India for better education, separated from their parents.

**Religious Freedom:** ‘Patriotic Re-education’ campaign is being widely carried out in the monastic institutions in Tibet, where Tibetans are forced to sign declarations denouncing His Holiness the Dalai Lama, failing which can result in imprisonment or other forms of punishment. Possessing an image of the Dalai Lama is today illegal in Tibet. Important religious ceremonies like Budha’s birth, Birth Celebration of His Holiness and others are restricted. China still refuse to reveal the whereabouts of 18 year old Gedhun Choekyi Nyima, who was recognized by His Holiness the Dalai Lama as the reincarnation of the 10<sup>th</sup> Panchen Lama at the age of 6 in May 1995. Atheist Chinese leadership appointed another Panchen Lama.

The “Strike Hard” campaign by the Chinese authority since 1994 resulted in the arrest of 492 monks and nuns and limited their numbers by expelling 9,977 from religious institutions.

In 2001, PRC forcibly closed down Serthar Buddhist Institute and expelled over 8000 students. After the Regulations on Religious Affairs came into force in March 2005, the PRC’s control over religious institutions in Tibet has been further tightened, resulting in more repression and persecution. The recent enforcement of Order Number 5, a new law requiring government approval for reincarnated Lamas exhibits the totalitarian, atheist regime’s absurd but pernicious design to tighten its control over Tibetan Buddhism, trying to control future life of all Lamas!

**Political Freedom:** In Tibet, China continues with its repressive policies of denying the Tibetan people freedom of expression, association, religious beliefs and legal protection. Despite China being a signatory to the International Covenant of Culture and Political Right (ICCPR), she has failed to respect the international human rights treaties and has generally ignored the UN’s frequent call to cooperate or stop human rights abuses



against Tibetans. Large number of Tibetans are sent to Chinese prisons without fair trial for exercising their basic rights. A Free Tibet slogan can land you in jail for minimum three years without proper trial and fraught with extreme physical and mental torture.

According to TCHRD's 2006 annual report, there are 116 known Tibetan political prisoners out of which 51 are serving sentences of ten years or more. The actual number of Tibetan political prisoners is much higher. Since 1987, there have been 88 known death of Tibetan political prisoners as a direct result of torture and inhuman treatment in prison. Information on political imprisonment in Tibet is generally treated as "state secret" and chargeable for "espionage", if anyone is caught with passing information.

Women make up nearly a third of the total political prisoners held in Tibet, and there have been frequent reports from prisons of extremely perverted and degrading methods of torture for the purpose of extracting confessions.

Shootings on unarmed fleeing Tibetans at Nagpa la pass, arrests during the Lithang Horse Race Festival, Poster Case at Bhora Monastery in Amdo, and entering of thousands of Chinese armed police into Drepung monastery followed by arrests of monks for the symbolic expression of joy over US Congressional Gold Medal Award to H.H the Dalai Lama are some of the recent incidents which disclose the ongoing gross Human Rights violations inside Tibet today.

Among the prominent political prisoners are Panchen Rinpoche Gedun Choekyi Nyima, Trulku Tenzin Delek and Rongye Adrak.

**Socio-Economic situation:** China is spending billions in building infrastructure in Tibet, which has impressed many who were taken on conducted tours including journalists and politicians. Beneath the polished surface of developments lie deep scars of racial discrimination and economic inequality.

All Tibetan cities and district headquarters are infested with Chinese



*11th Panchen lama  
Gedun Choekyi Nyima*



*Rongye Adrak*



*Resettlement Culture shock for Nomad*

entrepreneurs with large parts of the cities assuming a modern Chinese city outlook and the Tibetans relegated to the margins of the old part of the cities. Though some Tibetans benefit from the economic liberalization, Tibetans in general can hardly match the Chinese who are highly subsidized in

terms of capital or other facilities.

As per World Bank's old standard, more than 70 percent of Tibetans in the TAR live below the poverty line. Developments in Tibet are targeted to encourage Chinese migrants from inner China to settle in Tibet. It is estimated that city like Lhasa has as much as 70% of the Chinese population. Not only do they dominate private businesses, but also occupy most government-related employment, which is one of the largest sectors of the economy.

Information from Tibet reveals that more than 85% of shops and restaurants outside of the traditional Tibetan "Bharkor" market in Lhasa, are owned by Chinese. In addition, the tourism industry in the TAR is tightly controlled by the Communist government and heavily concentrated in the Han-dominated urban areas.

Mining and industrialization by state corporations and private investors, employs migrant Chinese. The Tibetan miners in Tsonub and Tsojang are being replaced by a majority of Han Chinese and Hui (Chinese Muslims) migrants.

Lhasa, the holy city for Tibetans is now infested with large numbers of brothels, dance bars and cheap alcohol, meant to degenerate the Tibetan way of life. Tibetan women have also resorted to prostitution alongside Chinese prostitutes. Reported HIV cases are on the rise in Tibet.

Rural Tibet constituting about 80% of Tibetans receive a meager 15%



*Sinocization of Tibetan habitat and language*

of the total subsidy. Due to wrong policies and sluggish agricultural growth, Tibetans living in rural and nomadic areas have not progressed much for the last forty years. Besides, tourism industry remains out of reach of the rural Tibetans.

Nomads inhabiting on large tracts of land are systematically being relocated into smaller compact communities. As per ITV news, it is reported that within the period of next five years 80% of the Tibetan nomads and farmers will be relocated. Nationalization of pastureland and relocation of nomads in compact communities helps the government acquire rich land and set into motion their policy to seek a solution to exercise effective control over scattered rural Tibet, which was difficult to control. The Tibetans face tremendous challenge to adjust to a new lifestyle without alternative source of living. All the above developments have created deep resentment and mistrust between the communities.

**Education:** PRC is committing cultural genocide undermining Tibetan culture by making the Tibetan language redundant in all sectors. Tibet's education system, controlled entirely by the Chinese and their Communist ideology, is directed to meet the needs of the Chinese immigrants. Tibetan students suffer from prohibitive and discriminatory fees and inadequate facilities in rural areas. The use of Chinese as the language of instruction in schools has had highly discriminatory effects on Tibetan students.

According to the 2004 China Statistical Yearbook, illiteracy rates in the TAR rose from 43.8% in 2002 to 54.9% in 2003; the proportion of the population with at least primary education dropped from 62% in 2002 to 55% in 2003. The report sites several reasons for the changes in illiteracy and education levels: a decrease in education spending, a decrease in the number of primary and vocational schools and the severe lack of schools in the TAR.

Each year hundreds of Tibetan children ranging in age from six to eighteen years cross the Himalayas seeking secular or monastic education in India. In 2006 alone, 2445 Tibetans mostly young children fled from Tibet and have registered with Tibetan Reception Centre, Dharamsala.

**Health:** Affordable and adequate health care is still not available to the majority of Tibetans. Despite frequent government proclamations that they have been pouring money into health care, official Chinese statistics shows that the GDP value of the health care sector in the TAR actually decreased between 2001 and 2003.

According to the report titled China Gender Equality and Women Development: 1995-2005, hailed by Xinhua, states that across China, the average death rate among pregnant women is 48.3 per 100,000 in 2004. In remote ethnic minority areas, such as the TAR, Xinjiang and Qinghai



*Gormo Lhasa Railway; Bringing more Chinese immigrants*

Province (northeast Tibet), the maternity death rate exceeds 100 per 100,000, with the highest being 310.4 per 100,000. The number of health centers for women and children has dropped from 3,179 in 1995 to 2,998 in 2004.

As a result of the failure of health care system to reach rural areas coupled with prohibitive medical costs, Tibetans are dying from easily treatable diseases such as diarrhea, dysentery and pneumonia.

**Economic development:** Despite economic development and urbanization in Tibet, most Tibetans have not felt themselves to be the beneficiaries of this modernization. Rather, Tibetans have felt increasingly marginalized in their own territory and see themselves as mere observers of an economic development benefiting others. This has made the ethnic “us vs. them” sentiment all the more concrete, since it is usually the Han Chinese who reaps the profits of change.

Contrary to China’s claim of development, according to Reuters, 15 Feb 2006, residents in western China’s Qinghai province have become poorer despite a project to build 13 hydropower dams along the Yellow River [Machu] for about 50 billion Yuan (\$6.2 billion). “Although they lived close to the dams, they did not have access to its water and the electricity generated, and about a fifth lived in “absolute poverty” on annual incomes of 625 Yuan or less”, said Zhou Tianyong, a professor at the Central Party School in Beijing.

In other words, while the aggregate economy of Tibet is growing rapidly, so too is marginalisation and polarisation within the provinces, through excessive control and concentration of spending, investment and ownership, thereby neglecting the basic needs of the general population, particularly in rural Tibet. As a result, the relevant socio-economic indicators - stagnant rural incomes, high rates of illiteracy, and so forth - seem only to reflect the emergence of a Tibetan underclass within the province.

Beijing’s economic development policy for the western region neglects “soft” infrastructure such as health and education provision. Further, the Gormo-Lhasa railway was built for purely political reasons as stated by the then President Jiang Zemin in 2001. Rapid modernization, urbanization,



engineered demographic transformation has become state tools to assimilate the Tibetan people and eradicate their identity.

**Environment:** Tibet, commonly known as the “roof of the world”, is one of the most environmentally strategic and sensitive regions in the world. Owing to extreme climatic conditions, the maintenance of the delicate environment and ecological balance of Tibetan plateau is vital for the survival of animal, plant and human life. Guided by Buddhist beliefs, Tibetans lived in complete harmony with nature for centuries and environmental conservation has been an essential component of daily life.

For more than four decades of reckless exploitation of Tibet’s resources left irreversible scars on Tibet’s environment.

**Deforestation:** The wholesale deforestation, under state auspices, of the eastern and southern Tibetan areas from the 1960s until at least 1998 was one of the great environmental tragedies of the last century. According to China’s own estimate, up to 80 percent of the forests in Tibet have been destroyed, thereby logging US\$ 54 billion worth of timber.

Inadequate reforestation programs and frequent fire in Tibet’s virgin forests adds more severe blow to Tibet’s fragile environment. Average temperatures in Tibet have risen 0.9 centigrade since 1980s, and its glacier coverage shrinking at 7% annually according to statistics from the Tibet weather bureau. Desertification of Tibet’s grasslands was blamed for floods in China and other neighboring countries.

The impact of the Tibetan Plateau is not only vital to the climate and hydrology of South, Southeast, and East Asia but also significant to the



global climatic pattern. Scientists have shown that the environment of the Tibetan Plateau affects the global jet streams that blow over it, which may in turn cause Pacific typhoons and the “El Nino” (warm ocean current) phenomenon, which stirs up ocean water and disrupts ecosystems in North and South America, Australia and Africa. It is also observed that there is a correlation between natural vegetation on the Tibetan Plateau and stability of the monsoon in south Asia.

**Exploitation of mineral resources:** China continues to extract various natural resources - often with foreign backing - without any environmental safeguards. Today, there are more than 126 identified minerals in Tibet with significant reserves of world’s deposits of uranium, chromite, boron, lithium, borax and iron. Presently there are 300 ore mining companies on record across Tibet. The oilfield in the northeastern region of Tibet (Qinghai) has 327.95 million tons of proven crude oil reserve and 306.4 billion cubic metres of natural gas.

**Water resources:** In the subcontinent, most of the major rivers like Indus, Yangtse, Mekong, Salween, Hwang Ho, Sutlej, Brahmaputra, Arun and Karnali originates from Tibet and flows into 10 different countries in South Asia, South East Asia and China. It is estimated that these rivers sustain the lives of 47 percent of the world’s population and 85 percent of Asia’s total population. Human interventions on nature in Tibet contribute to increase in chances of landslides, floods and draughts in the downstream regions.

In 2004, breakage of artificial lake *Parichu* in Tibet caused a major flood in Sutlej (North India). Frequent flooding of the Yarlung Tsangpo (Brahmaputra) continues to have devastating effects on India and Bangladesh. The 1998 Yangtse Flood cost a lost of \$ 37.5 billion to China. Critically, analysts speculate that the next big global crisis will be on the sharing of water resources. Thus, the impact of intervention in Tibet’s river system will affect regions far beyond Tibet. To feed the parched North, China has plans even to divert the mighty Brahmaputra.

**Nuclearisation:** Nuclear testing and weapons production, uranium mining, and dumping of hazardous waste in Tibet are causing dangerous effects on human and animal life. Diseases such as cancer and birth defects are reported to have increased in the Tibetan area like Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Amdo (Qinghai) where nuclear program is being carried out.

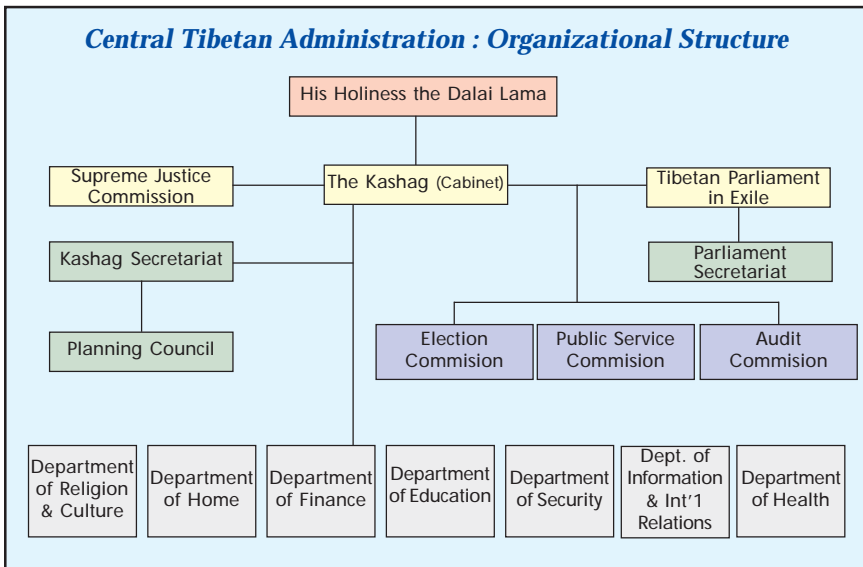
China has stationed over 300,000 troops, over 17 secret radar stations and 14 military airfields with stockpile of at least 81 ICBMs, 70 medium-range missiles and 20 intermediate range missiles. The nine nuclear missiles are based at Nyingtri in Kongpo, Lhasa, Drotsang, Siling, Terlingkha, Small Tsaidam, Large Tsaidam, Golmud and Nagchuka.

**Endangered Species:** According to a Chinese researcher, there are eighty-one endangered species on the Tibetan Plateau, which includes 39 mammals, 37 birds, 4 amphibians and one reptile. Ever since H.H the Dalai Lama made a strong appeal to Tibetans during the Kalachakra in January, 2006 in Amravati, there have been many instances of voluntary burning of thousands of animal pelts inside and outside Tibet. However, the Chinese state machinery is strongly and openly discouraging this upsurge of wild life concern in Tibet.

## V. TIBETANS IN EXILE

Tibetans adapted themselves to democratic polity soon after coming into exile, initiated and relentlessly pursued by His Holiness the Dalai Lama. The intransigent Tibetans concerned about effacement of the powers of His Holiness were veered around to appreciate and practice democracy. Today about 140,000 Tibetans in exile worldwide are administered from Dharamsala, a small hill town in the north of India, where the Central Tibetan Administration is based and His Holiness the Dalai Lama resides.

His Holiness the Dalai Lama set in motion the process of democratization immediately after coming into exile. Owing to inexperience, hard life adjusting to a new situation, networking problem with the scattered refugee community and many other reasons, the first 30 years were of slow growth. 1991 saw a fully functional parliament



adopting the Charter for the exiled Tibetans. In 2001, Tibetans in exile directly elected the Kalon Tripa (equiv: Prime Minister). Today, we have

all the basic institutions for a vibrant democracy (see chart below), conforming to the basic norms of democracy while retaining traditional Tibetan values.

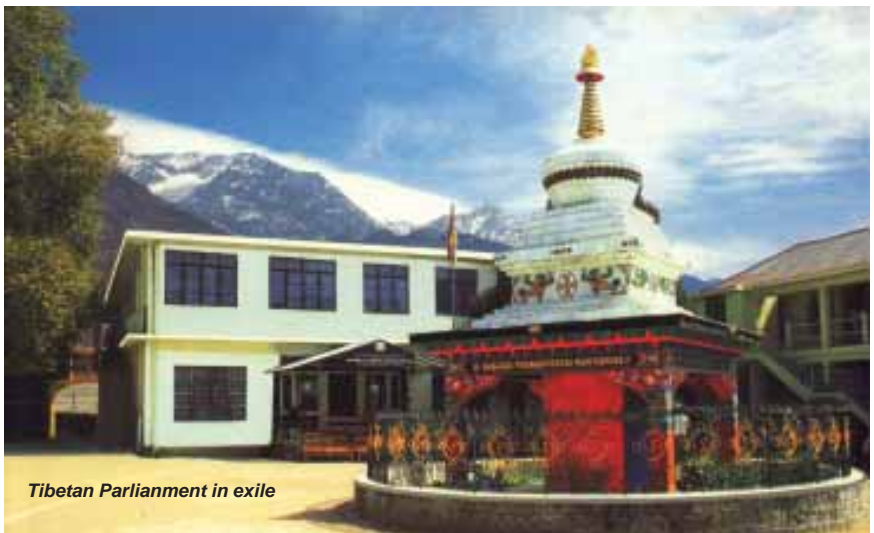
The Parliament in Exile consisting of 43 members, represents the whole of 6 million Tibetans, even though they are elected through traditional provinces, religious traditions or the regional constituencies in the case of Europe and North America. Since 1991, the members of this party-less democracy adopted the Charter, administrative, financial and other necessary rules and approved policies that suit the exiled community besides maintaining accountability of the administration.

The Kashag (Cabinet) headed by a popularly elected Kalon Tripa has seven ministers for seven departments as outlined above. The ministers are nominated by Kalon Tripa and approved by the Parliament. A network of offices worldwide and civil servants efficiently runs the administration. The fund to run the government comes from Tibetans, institutions, organizations and individuals.

The Tibetan Supreme Justice Commission headed by the Chief Justice Commissioner and two other Justice Commissioners is responsible for interpreting laws and resolving civil and administrative cases.

The Election Commission holds election of the Chief of the cabinet and members of parliament once every five years. Elections are held in one day all over the world (except inside Tibet). Local legislative elections are held every three years. The Public Service Commission recruits and trains new civil servants and the Auditor General's Office audits all the government departments.

Governmental and non-governmental Tibetan websites, online TV, newspapers, periodicals, radios, compact visual news contribute a great deal in communication and dissemination of information within the community in exile as well as inside Tibet.



*Tibetan Parliament in exile*



Tibetan non-governmental organizations based on different political ideologies and regions with its regional networks play very active social and political leadership roles in the community.

A vibrant grassroots democracy is in place. Each of the Tibetan communities has democratic positions to run the administration and elected representatives to maintain accountability of the local administration. Camp leaders, Tibetan Freedom Movements, Local Assemblies, members of the Cooperative Board of Directors are elected posts. Even the settlement administrators could be elected if people so wish.

Institutes and monasteries have keep alive the academic, intellectual and spiritual pursuit of the Tibetans. Tibetan Medical and Astrological Institute has branches at all the Tibetan Communities alongside primary health care centers. Tibetan Institute of Performing Arts is a full time institution to train and perform traditional Tibetan opera and dance forms. Traditional Tibetan Arts and Crafts are preserved and promoted through many enterprises and institutes like Norbulingka etc.

School and monastic institutions have been set up in all the Tibetan refugee settlements. The literacy rate is around 76%. Moreover compact refugee communities have greatly contributed in preserving our language, culture, religion and way of life.

Seasonal businesses, agriculture, agro-industries, handicraft exports, hospitality services form major sources of income. Young Tibetans are learning to diversify their profession.

The elder generation that came from Tibet is fast vanishing. It is the first generation who are born in Tibet and educated in India, and the second generation of Tibetans born in exile runs the government and NGOs.

Despite over 48 years in exile the undying spirit for freedom remains undiminished even with the younger generation who are born outside Tibet and have never seen their land, under the astute leadership of His Holiness the Dalai Lama.

## VI. THE NON-VIOLENT NATURE OF THE TIBETAN PEOPLE'S STRUGGLE

For nearly five decades, the Tibetan people in Tibet have resisted Chinese occupation of their homeland by various nonviolent actions. While these actions added new dimensions to the Tibetan struggle, the techniques and types of methods employed by Tibetans are purely nonviolent. The Tibetan nonviolent resistance in Tibet is highly symbolic, loosely organized and frequently, spontaneous actions in a small group.

After massive protests in 1959 against Chinese occupation of Tibet, the



Demonstration in Delhi

first major case of civil disobedience took place in Lhasa on 27 September 1987 as an immediate reaction to the Chinese rejection of the Dalai Lama's Five Point Peace Plan proposal. Since then till 1992, some 148 demonstrations took place in Tibet.

Tibetans in diaspora raises the issue of Tibet in international forums and generate awareness on Tibet through various advocacy methods such as conferences, public gatherings and media interactions etc. The Tibetan nonviolent resistance elicited sympathy and support from many individuals, organizations and governments, as non-violence becomes more and more a necessary tool to resolve conflicts in this violence-ridden world.

The fact that Tibetans have persisted with their resistance against the Chinese persecution for more than half a century is a clear sign that they are empowered continually by their own nonviolent action. This empowerment increased Tibetan political conscience and strengthened the resistance. Most importantly, the protest actions have renewed the Tibetan identity and pride and created solidarity in exile as well as inside Tibet even under repressive conditions.

**“The day when Tibetans resort to violence as a means of struggle, I will immediately renounce the leadership of the Tibetan people.” - His Holiness the 14<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama**

Thus, under the leadership of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, the nonviolent resistance of Tibetans living in and outside Tibet communicate the genuine desire of the Tibetan people for freedom in many ways and supports the Tibetan government-in-exile to lead the freedom struggle of six million Tibetans by placing before the international community, the issues of morality, nonviolence, truth and justice.

## VII. THE MIDDLE-WAY APPROACH

His Holiness the Dalai Lama has believed for a long time that the issue of Tibet should be resolved through dialogue and mutual consensus while considering the ground realities despite Tibet's de-facto independent status. In 1979, China's paramount leader, Deng Xiaoping proposed to discuss all other issues except independence, which was followed by several fact finding delegations to Tibet and two dialogue exploratory teams to Beijing. Soon after, His Holiness the Dalai Lama formally announced a policy called “the Middle Way Approach” in 1987 and the Strasbourg Proposal in 1988



*Dalai Lama receiving Nobel Peace Prize*

after due process of consultations over a long period of time with the Cabinet, parliament and many scholarly and experienced people.

The Middle-Way Approach seeks for the creation of a political entity comprising the three

traditional provinces of Tibet with a status of genuine national regional autonomy as enshrined in the Constitution of the Peoples' Republic of China. This autonomy should be governed by a popularly elected legislature and executive through democratic process and should have an independent judicial system. Other than international relations and defense, Tibetans should manage religion and culture, education, economy, health and environmental protection. This policy also strives to transform Tibet into a zone of peace and non-violence.

Though, the Chinese government did not respond positively to the proposal. However, His Holiness continues to believe that the 'Middle-Way Approach' is the most realistic and pragmatic course to resolve the issue of Tibet peacefully. In 1997, based on the outcome of the opinion poll of Tibetans in exile and suggestions received from Tibet, the then Tibetan parliament in exile passed a resolution empowering His Holiness to continue to use his discretion on the matter without seeking recourse to a referendum.



US Congressional Gold Medal Award

The Middle Way Approach seeks to address China's concern of sovereignty, unity, and stability and Tibetan concerns to safeguard our identity-language, culture and religion to promote harmonious relationship between Tibetans and Chinese on an equal footing. Thus the hallmark of the Middle-Way Approach is to resolve conflicts through peaceful and non-violent means by mutual trust and for lasting solutions in the age of integration, common interests and increasingly shrinking world.

## VIII. SINO-TIBET DIALOGUE AND CHALLENGES AHEAD

The process of a rapprochement between Tibet and China began in 1979. Since coming into exile in 1959, several Tibetan fact finding delegations were allowed to visit Tibet and attempts were made in the eighties and early nineties to negotiate with PRC. But all turned out to be one off affairs mainly due to the chauvinistic behavior of the Chinese leaders, though contacts were maintained through various channels at different points of time, the contacts broke down by 1993.

The latest 6 rounds of sustained dialogue (2002-2007) have contributed in better understanding of each other's position and in identifying the differences, yet devoid of any concrete results leading to earnest negotiations. This had led to mistrust and frustration amongst Tibetans and Tibet supporters questioning the usefulness of such a process. The Tibetan Government in Exile attempted to create a conducive environment to build trust. However the efforts are not reciprocated by China. Instead, in the last few months, leaders in China have been demonizing His Holiness the Dalai Lama for having met with Austrian and German Chancellor, Australian and Canadian Prime Minister, US President and for receiving the US Congressional Gold Medal.

### MAJOR DIFFERENCES:

**Territory of Tibet:** China claims Tibet is Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR), which is less than half of the whole of Tibet.

Tibet was divided into many administrative regions to weaken or eradicate their unique identity. The very reason for designating the territory of Tibet in the north and east of TAR as Tibet Autonomous Prefectures and Counties is a pointer to the fact that PRC recognizes all these areas as inhabited by Tibetans, of the same nationality.

His Holiness the Dalai Lama has addressed China's basic concerns on sovereignty, unity and stability. And it is only fair that China responds by acknowledging the legitimate needs of the Tibetan people to stay together under one administrative unit.

The National Constitution of China and the National Regional Autonomy Law provides for autonomous self-governments to protect and promote the language, culture, religion and unique way of life of the nationalities. Tibetan demand for a unified self-government of all the Tibetan areas is mainly to protect the identity and the Tibetan way of life, which has been politically and religiously bonded for centuries.

**Status of Tibet:** China's claim on Tibet is historical, dating back to the 13<sup>th</sup>

century and is desperate to prove its legitimacy over Tibet. China's repeated precondition for His Holiness to deny the past Independent status of Tibet belies China's faith in their own version of history. China insists on looking back into history to back its claim, while His Holiness the Dalai Lama insists on looking forward and leave history to historians.

If we look back into history, the independent status of Tibet must also be examined. Hence it will become very complex and might even need third party intervention. The way forward is earnest negotiation. In the words of His Holiness the Dalai Lama on 17 Oct 2007 at Washington, *"...Another major concern of the Chinese government is its lack of legitimacy in Tibet. While I cannot rewrite the past, a mutually agreeable solution could bring legitimacy, and I am certainly prepared to use my position and influence among the Tibetan people to bring consensus on this question..."*.

**Genuine Autonomy:** China believes that His Holiness the Dalai Lama has a hidden agenda when His Holiness speaks of looking into the future rather than the past. His Holiness the Dalai Lama has for the last 20 years consistently and publicly at various platforms around the world has been talking of genuine autonomy. However, China plays deaf.

His Holiness repeated his position again on 17 October 2007 by stating, *"...I would also like to restate here that I have no hidden agenda. My decision not to accept any political office in a future Tibet is final. Furthermore, I have no intention of using any agreement on autonomy as a stepping stone for Tibet's independence..."*.

His Holiness further added, *"...I have conveyed these thoughts to successive Chinese leaders. In particular, following the renewal of direct contact with the Chinese government in 2002, I have explained these in detail through my envoys. Despite all this, Beijing continues to allege that my "hidden agenda" is separation and restoration of Tibet's old socio-political system. Such a notion is unfounded and untrue..."*.

**Ethnic cleansing:** China fears ethnic cleansing of Chinese in Tibet if granted autonomy to the Tibetans. Genuine autonomy for Tibetans essentially means Tibetans should be the majority in the region, otherwise it makes no sense to get autonomy from a Han majority central government. His Holiness once jokingly answered to a foreign journalist "we can have China towns in Tibet as you do in your country". The accelerated rate at which Chinese businessman and émigrés move into Tibet, shoving the Tibetans to the outer fringes of the new urban life, another 15 years of engineered demographic transformation would make autonomy for Tibetans meaningless and that could lead to serious ethnic conflicts.

**China's military presence in Tibet:** China questions the implication of His Holiness' vision of a zone of non-violence and peace, which would

entail downsizing presence of military personnel and hardware. China argues as to how can China then defend its sovereignty if it comes under threat? His Holiness the Dalai Lama wishes Tibet to be the largest natural sanctuary on earth and a center of learning of peace and non-violence that is very much possible even being under PRC. A peaceful Tibet would go a long way in promoting peace in the region. Violence and repression stoke the fire of anger and deep resentment. Tibet used to be the buffer; in today's world, it could be the bridge to promote peace, harmony and stability in the region.

After the 6th round of Sino - Tibet dialogue, the Tibetan delegation in July 2007 stated that the dialogue process has reached a critical stage. Moreover it could be clearly inferred from the Press Statement that China's feet dragging do not impress the Tibetans. The futility of the whole process looms large if China does not respond positively. China may force the Tibetans to resort to more affirmative non-violent peaceful resistance if the dialogue process does not move forward. We need the support of the international community more in the coming years, to reason and put sense into the Chinese leadership to be a responsible world power and not lose this historic opportunity to negotiate with His Holiness the Dalai Lama.

**CHINA ONLY NEEDS THE POLITICAL WILL TO RESOLVE THE TIBET ISSUE PEACEFULLY.**

## **IX. WHY YOU NEED TO SUPPORT TIBET?**

**Save Tibet's unique culture and tradition:** Tibet's unique culture and tradition based on Compassion and non-violence that stresses the importance of mental peace through love and kindness to all sentient beings is facing a grave threat by the ongoing China's design to wipe off Tibet from the face of the earth. If China succeeds then it would be a great loss to the humanity as this unique culture has much to offer to the rest of the world.

**Save Tibetan People's Identity:** Massive influx of Chinese settlers into Tibet further intensified with the introduction of China-Tibet Railway in mid 2006. This development has endangered the very survival of the Tibetan identity. Each passing day, the marginalization of Tibetans increases by leaps and bounds. Therefore, time is running out. It would not be very long for the Tibetans to face the same fate as aborigines of Australia and Red Indians in America.

**Promote non-violence means to resolve conflicts:** Tibet's non-violent movement must be strengthened to empower non-violence as the means to resolve conflicts around the world in this age of violence and terrorism.

**Promote Peace and Stability in Asia:** The peaceful resolution of Tibet will help promote peace and harmony with China's neighbours. Historically

Tibet was endowed with an essential role in the maintenance of peace and stability in the region.

**Preservation of world's most volatile and strategic environment:** Given the high altitude and the extreme climatic conditions of Tibet, the damage caused to the environment and the fragile mountain ecosystem is becoming irreversible. This is a cause of great concern not only for the Tibetan people; it has much larger ramifications. More than ever before, the need to save the Tibetan Plateau from ecological devastation is urgent because it is not a question of the survival of Tibetans, but half of humanity is at stake

**Protection of basic human rights:** It is unimaginable in the 21<sup>st</sup> century to deprive someone of their basic human rights. Tibet remains one of the very few countries, which needs to be redeemed from the oppressive rulers.

**Supporting Tibet does not mean splitting China:** Supporting Tibet in no way suggests splitting China. On the other hand, it helps in unifying China and maintains its territorial integrity.

**Moral responsibility of the International community:** Issue of Tibet is a struggle against injustice, violence, falsehood and annihilation of a distinct human race. Therefore, it is now a moral question before the international community that needs to be addressed so that truth, justice and non-violence could prevail and Tibetans as a distinct identity could be saved.

Appeal by His Holiness the Dalai Lama to the international community for the continued need to support the issue of Tibet and others of the same nature on 17<sup>th</sup> October 2007, “...Many of world's problems are ultimately rooted in inequality and injustice, whether economic, political or social. Ultimately, this is a question of the well being of all of us. Whether it is the suffering of poverty in one part of the world, or whether it is the denial of freedom and basic human rights in another part, we should never perceive these events in total isolation. Eventually their repercussions will be felt everywhere. I would like to appeal to you to take a leadership role in an effective international action in addressing these problems, including the huge economic imbalance. I believe the time has now come to address all these global issues from the perspective of the oneness of humanity, and from a profound understanding of the deeply interconnected nature of our today's world...”.

## X. TIBET SUPPORT MOVEMENT ACROSS THE WORLD

Tibet support groups and Parliamentary groups for Tibet have played a significant role in creating awareness and garnering empathy for the Tibetan non-violent struggle. Many governments, organizations and individuals have invested their time and financial contribution to help develop the Tibetan refugee community in exile and Tibetans living inside Tibet.

Since the announcement of 5 Point Peace Plan and the Strasbourg Proposal in 1987 and 1988 respectively to seek a mutually beneficial solution to the issue of Tibet, and the peaceful demonstrations that resulted in the imposition of Martial Law in Tibet around the same time, there was much coverage in the international media. The attention of the world community got furthered with the conferring of the Nobel Peace Prize to His Holiness the Dalai Lama in 1989.

Since then many Tibet Support Groups and Parliamentary groups emerged at their own initiative. Today, There are about 350 Tibet Support Groups in about 67 countries and 30 parliamentary groups and individual supporters around the world. Web links of some of the prominent Tibetan Support Groups are listed below for easy access.

China abhors any kind of pressure and we feel the support from the international community has compelled the Chinese Government to dialogue with Tibetans in exile. Your support becomes all the more important in view of the critical stage of the dialogue and the upcoming Olympics in Beijing, which provides a good opportunity to pressurize China.

## **XI. SOME OF THE THINGS THAT YOU CAN DO FOR TIBET**

- 1. Form a new Parliamentary Group for Tibet or Tibet Support Group, or join an existing parliamentary group or Tibet Support Group in your region**
- 2. Lobby with your elected representatives, opinion makers and media**
  - *Bring up the issue with the concerned Minister or Secretary.*
  - *Raise the issue of Tibet in the Parliament.*
  - *Seek support from fellow representatives.*
  - *Approach and brief Parliamentary/Congressional Human Rights and Foreign Affairs Committees.*
  - *Request Head of your nation to raise the issue of Tibet with Chinese leaders*
  - *Write to Local Newspapers with news about Tibet.*
- 3. Form Local Networks and organize Tibet awareness events in your area**
- 4. Organize conferences, lectures, symposia, panel discussions, photo exhibitions on Tibet**
- 5. Invite Tibetan cultural and religious groups to your area**
- 6. Lobby with Religious leaders, Human Rights and Environmental groups**



7. **Talk to anyone who shows Interest and spread the word about Tibet through Internet**
8. **Make representations to business houses investing in Tibet**
9. **Express your concerns to the Chinese leadership in Beijing through their embassy in your country**
10. **Help build a school in rural Tibet**
11. **Help build hospitals in Tibet**
12. **Travel to Tibet, understand the situation in Tibet and demystify China's claims**
13. **Organize Parliamentary, intellectual and activists visit to Tibet**
14. **Support projects in Tibet or in exile that benefits the Tibetans**
15. **Invite prominent Tibetans or experts on Tibet to speak to your people**
16. **Promote parliamentary exchange program with Tibetan Parliament in Exile**

For further information and assistance, contact your nearest local Tibet Support Group or Tibetan community or Offices of Tibet or you may also visit the following web links:

Secretary  
**Department of Information & International Relations**  
 Central Tibetan Administration  
 Dharamshala - 176215  
 H.P, INDIA  
 Tel: +91 (01892) 222457 / 222510  
 Fax: +91 (01892) 224957  
**E-mail: [diir@gov.tibet.net](mailto:diir@gov.tibet.net)**

Representative  
**Bureau of H.H. the Dalai Lama**  
 10-B, Ring Road, Lajpat Nagar -IV  
 New Delhi -110024 INDIA  
 Tel: +91-11-26474798, 26439745  
 Fax: +91-11-26461914  
**E-mail: [bdl@airtelbroadband.in](mailto:bdl@airtelbroadband.in)**

Representative  
**The Office of Tibet**  
 241 E. 32nd Street  
 New York, NY 10016 U.S.A.  
 Tel: +1-212-213-5010  
 Fax: +1-212-779-9245

**E-mail: [otny@igc.org](mailto:otny@igc.org)**  
**[www.tibetoffice.org/en/](http://www.tibetoffice.org/en/)**

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**The Tibet Bureau**  
 Place de la Navigation 10  
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 Tel: +41-22-738-7940  
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**E-mail: [info@tibetoffice.ch](mailto:info@tibetoffice.ch)**  
**[www.tibetoffice.ch](http://www.tibetoffice.ch)**

Representative  
**Liaison Office of H.H. the Dalai Lama**  
 Hayama Building 5 (5F)  
 5-11-30 Shinjuku, Shinjuku-ku  
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 Fax: +81-3-3225-8013  
**E-mail: [lohhd1@tibethouse.jp](mailto:lohhd1@tibethouse.jp)**  
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Tel: +44-20-7722-5378  
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**Email: tsetashi@tibet.com**  
**www.tibet.com**

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14 Napier Close, Deakin  
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AUSTRALIA  
Tel: +61-2-6285-4046  
Fax: +61-2-6282-4301  
**E-mail: tiboff@bigpond.com**

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84 BD Adolphe Pinard  
75014 Paris  
FRANCE  
Tel: +33-1-46-565-453  
Fax: +33-1-46-560-818  
**E-mail: tibetparis2@orange.fr**

Representative  
**Tibet Culture & Information Centre**  
P.O.Box 161  
Moscow 103009  
RUSSIA  
Telefax: +7-495-685-3797  
**E-mail: tibet.center@ru.net**  
**www.savetibet.ru**

Representative  
**The Office of Tibet**  
P.O. Box 16812  
Lyttelton 0140  
REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA  
Tel: +27-12-664-1194  
Fax: +27-12-664-1193  
**E-mail: otsa@officeoftibet.com**  
**www.officeoftibet.com**

Representative  
**Religious Foundation of H.H. the Dalai Lama**  
10th Fl. 4 & 5, No. 189, Sector - 2  
Keelung Rd., Taipei  
TAIWAN (ROC)  
Tel: +886-2-2736-0366  
Fax: +886-2-2377-9163  
**E-mail: ottaiwan@ms75.hinet.net**  
**www.tibet.org.tw**

**The Tibet Fund**  
241 E. 32 St.  
NY, NY 10016  
Ph: 212.213.5011  
Fax: 212.213.1219  
**Email: info@tibetfund.org**  
**www.tibetfund.org**

**Milarepa Fund**  
588 Broadway, Suite 910  
New York, NY 10012 USA  
Tel: 646-822-1001  
fax: 212-274-9283  
toll-free: 1-888-MILAREPA  
**Email: milarepa@milarepa.org**  
**www.milarepa.org**

**Tibetan Nun's Project**  
2288 Fulton Street #312  
Berkeley, CA 94704  
**www.tnp.org/help/**

**Tibet Justice Center**  
2288 Fulton Street, Suite 312  
Berkeley, CA 94704 USA  
tel: 510/486-0588  
fax: 510/548-3785  
**Email: tibetjustice@tibetjustice.org**

**International Campaign for Tibet**  
1825 K St., NW, Suite 520  
Washington, DC 20006 USA  
Tel: 202-785-1515  
**www.savetibet.org**

**International Tibet Support Network**

c/o Free Tibet Campaign  
 28 Charles Square  
 London, N1 6HT  
 UK  
 Tel: +44 (0)20 7324 4605  
 Fax: +44 (0)20 7324 4606  
 Email: [itsn@tibetnetwork.org](mailto:itsn@tibetnetwork.org)

**Students for a Free Tibet**

International Headquarters:  
 602 E. 14th Street, 2nd Floor  
 New York, NY 10009 U.S.A.  
 Phone: 212-358-0071  
 Fax: 212-358-1771  
 Email: [info@studentsforafreetibet.org](mailto:info@studentsforafreetibet.org)  
[www.studentsforafreetibet.org](http://www.studentsforafreetibet.org)

**Tibetan Youth Congress**

Central Executive Committee  
 P.O. McLeod Ganj  
 Dharamsala-176219  
 (H. P.) India  
 Tel: +91-1892-221554 / 221239  
 Fax: +91-1892-221849  
 E-mail: [tyc@vsnl.com](mailto:tyc@vsnl.com)  
[www.tibetanyouthcongress.org](http://www.tibetanyouthcongress.org)

**Tibetan Women's Association,**

Central Executive Committee  
 Bhagsunath Road,  
 P.O McLeod Ganj,  
 Dharamsala-176219,  
 Kangra (H.P) India  
 Tel: 91-1892-221527,221198,  
 Fax: 91-1892-221528  
 E-mail: [tibwomen@yahoo.com](mailto:tibwomen@yahoo.com)  
[www.tibetanwomen.org](http://www.tibetanwomen.org)

**The GuChuSum Movement of Tibet**

Jogibara Road, PO McLeod Ganj  
 Dharamsala-176219  
 Himachel Pradesh, India  
 Phone: 00 91 1892 220680 / 221379  
 Fax: 00 91 1892 221379  
 Email: [info@guchusum.org](mailto:info@guchusum.org)  
[www.guchusum.org](http://www.guchusum.org)

**Tibetan Center for Human Rights and Democracy**

Top Floor, Narthang Building,  
 Gangchen Kyishong  
 Dharamsala 176 215 (HP) India  
 Phone: +91 1892 223363 / 229225  
 Fax: +91 1892 225874  
 Email: [dsala@tchrd.org](mailto:dsala@tchrd.org)  
[www.tchrd.org](http://www.tchrd.org)

**India Tibet Coordination Office**

H-10, 2nd Floor, Lajpat Nagar III,  
 New Delhi - 110024 INDIA  
 Phone: +91-11-29830578/29841569  
 Fax: +91-11-29840966  
 Email: [bharatibbat@yahoo.com](mailto:bharatibbat@yahoo.com)  
[www.indiatibet.org](http://www.indiatibet.org)

**Tibetan Parliamentary and Policy Research Centre**

H-10, 2nd Floor, Lajpat Nagar III,  
 New Delhi - 110024 INDIA  
 Phone: +91-11-29830578/29841569  
 Fax: +91-11-29840966  
 Email: [tpprc@airtelbroadband.in](mailto:tpprc@airtelbroadband.in)  
[www.tpprc.org](http://www.tpprc.org)

