

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20530

Form OBD-68
(Rev 10-14-76)
Formerly DJ-307
for

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DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
JAN 2 3 17 PM '79
REGISTRATION UNIT
INTERNAL SECURITY
SECTION
CRIMINAL DIVISION

AMENDMENT TO REGISTRATION STATEMENT

Pursuant to the Foreign Agents
Registration Act of 1938, as amended.

1. Name of Registrant The Office of Tibet	2. Registration No. 1699
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3. This amendment is filed to accomplish the following indicated purpose or purposes:

- To correct a deficiency in
 - Initial Statement
 - Supplemental Statement for _____
- To give a 10-day notice of a change in information as required by Section 2(b) of the Act.
- Other purpose (specify) _____
- To give notice of change in an exhibit previously filed.

4. If this amendment requires the filing of a document or documents, please list -

A copy of standard text for lecture on Tibet

5. Each item checked above must be explained below in full detail together with, where appropriate, specific reference to and identity of the item in the registration statement to which it pertains. If more space is needed, full size insert sheets may be used.

The undersigned swear(s) or affirm(s) that he has (they have) read the information set forth in this amendment and that he is (they are) familiar with the contents thereof and that such contents are in their entirety true and accurate to the best of his (their) knowledge and belief.

(Both copies of this amendment shall be signed and sworn to before a notary public or other person authorized to administer oaths by the agent, if the registrant is an individual, or by a majority of those partners, officers, directors or persons performing similar functions who are in the United States, if the registrant is an organization.)

Tenzin N. Tethong
Acting Representative of
His Holiness the Dalai Lama

Subscribed and sworn to before me at San Francisco

this 26 day of December

My commission expires 3-30-80

IRVING S. BRONSTEIN
Notary Public, State of New York
Qualified in Nassau County
No. 30-5463460
Commission Expires March 30, 1980

Standard text for lecture on Tibet

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Ladies and gentlemen:

I greatly appreciate the honor you have done to me by giving this opportunity to speak to you about the problems of Tibet. One of the great tragedies of history is being enacted in full view of the world. Tibet is being gobbled up by the People's Republic of China. A country of fewer than 10 million souls is being crushed to death by a country of 650 million people in the 1950s. Patriotism, courage, faith can perform miracles. The Tibetans love their country; they are brave; they are devoted to their religion and their spiritual and temporal leader His Holiness the Dalai Lama. Yet, one-to-sixty five is an odd that even a nation of Herculesees would find it difficult to overcome.

I would like to state here briefly the historical status of Tibet, specifically relating to the question of sovereignty. Contrary to the Chinese claim that Tibet has been part of China, it is our firm conviction that Tibet was a separate and sovereign nation-state at the time when its territorial integrity was violated by the armed forces of China. Several historical facts can be put forth in support of this contention. In the first place, I would like to point out that no power or authority was exercised by China over Tibet between 1894, when the 13th Dalai Lama assumed the reins of Government, and 1950, when the Chinese forces marched into Tibet.

This fact is clearly admitted by the Chinese government in the Preamble to the Agreement of 1951, which was drafted by the Peking Government and thrust upon Tibet under threat of further military action against its people. It is clearly acknowledged in the Preamble that Tibet and the Tibetans have been outside the pale of the authority of China for several decades. Furthermore, in the 1960 report to the International Commission of Jurists by the Legal ~~Working~~ Inquiry Committee on Tibet, the following is stated:

"The ~~view~~ view of the Committee was that Tibet was at the very least a de facto independent State when the Agreement on Peaceful Measures in Tibet was signed in 1951, and the repudiation of this agreement by the Tibetan Government in 1959 was found to be fully justified Tibet demonstrated from 1913 to 1950 the conditions of statehood as generally accepted under international law. In 1950 there was a people and a territory, and a government which functioned in that territory. From 1913-1950 foreign relations of Tibet were conducted exclusively by the Government of Tibet and countries with whom Tibet had foreign relations are shown by official documents to have treated Tibet in practice as an independent State."

According to the best of my knowledge, ~~is~~ one of the essential requirements of the sovereign status of a nation-state is the right to conclude treaties with other nation-states. If this is so, surely the Government of Tibet was in full possession of it. Tibet had a number of treaties even with China.

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To mention a few: treaty between Tibet and China in 821-822 A.D.; treaty between Tibet and Nepal in 1856; convention between Great Britain and Tibet, signed in Lhasa, Tibet's capital on Sept. 7, 1904; treaty between Tibet and Mongolia, signed in Urga in January 1913; convention between Great Britain, China and Tibet in Simla, India, signed in 1914.

I would like to invite your attention to an extremely important question which arises in the Simla convention of 1914. The Government of India contends that the boundary between Tibet and India was laid down by the Simla convention, and this convention was valid and binding only as between Tibet and the British Government. If Tibet had no international status at the time of the conclusion of the convention, it had no authority to enter into such an agreement. Therefore, it is abundantly clear that if you deny sovereign status to Tibet, you deny the validity of the Simla Convention, and, therefore, you deny the validity of the McMahon Line. On the other hand, if the McMahon Line is valid and binding, the Simla Convention must be valid and binding. And, therefore, it follows as a logical corollary that Tibet did possess sovereign and international status at the time when it concluded the Simla Convention.

I would also like to mention a few other evidence of Tibet's sovereignty:

1. During World War I, Tibet offered to send her troops to fight on the side of the British.
2. During World War II, she remained neutral despite the combined pressure brought to bear by the Governments of Great Britain, China, and the United States for permission to transport war materials and supplies to China through Tibet.

3. Tibet had her own postage and currency and had direct trade relations with her neighbors.

4. At the 1947 Asian Conference in New Delhi, the Tibetan National flag was flown side by side with other nations' ~~and~~ flags and the Tibetan delegation participated as the representatives of an independent country.

5. In 1948, a Tibetan trade delegation traveled around the world on Tibetan passports which were accepted as legal documents by the United States, the United Kingdom and other countries.

Now I would like to devote some time on the ~~the~~ invasion of Tibet by the Chinese Communists. In October 1949, followers of Mao Tse-tung defeated the ~~the~~ Chang Kai-shek and forced that regime to flee to Taiwan. Shortly after, Radio Peking ^{announced} "Tibet was part of China and that the People's Liberation Army would march into Tibet to liberate the Tibetans from foreign imperialists." To the Tibetans, "liberation of Tibet" is a ~~the~~ deadly mockery since Tibet, a free and independent country needed no liberation. Furthermore, liberation from whom? There was no foreign power in Tibet. The Tibetan Government reacted strongly, stating that the relationship between Tibet and China had been that of "priest and patron" and that Tibet had never been part of China. At the same time, the Tibetan Government appealed to other countries for help in settling the matter ^{peaceably} with the Chinese Communist.

In early 1950, the Tibetan Government dispatched a special delegation headed by the Finance Minister Mr. Shakabpa to New Delhi to negotiate with the Chinese ambassador. Indian Prime Minister Nehru was also informed of the delegation's mission. Several days of talks in Delhi did not produce satisfactory results. Finally, the Chinese ambassador

asked Mr. Shakabpa to accept the following two conditions and proceed to China in confirmation of the agreement: First, China should ~~be~~ handle matters concerning Tibetan national defence and second, Tibet should be recognized as part of China.

Shakabpa expressed his complete disagreement ^{to} the proposals; however, he agreed to convey the proposal^s to his Government in Lhasa. The Tibetan Government immediately cabled ~~the~~ Shakabpa instructing him not accept the Chinese proposals. Before Shakabpa could convey the message to the Chinese ambassador, the Communist troops ~~immediately~~ attacked the eastern part of Tibet from eight different directions on October 7, 1950. Mr. Shakabpa informed the ambassador of the Tibetan Government's instructions, and he also asked him to urge the ~~Government~~ Government of China to withdraw its troops from Tibetan soil. The Government of India was also informed of the Chinese aggression in eastern Tibet.

Subsequently the Government of Tibet appealed to the United Nations and other neighboring countries for help. Finally, Tibetan Government's efforts to bring a peaceful solution were futile. Then came the historic Tibetan National Uprising on March 10th, 1959. On that day, Tibetans from all walks of life demonstrated in the capital city of Lhasa proclaiming Tibet's independence and demanding the Chinese to leave Tibet. ~~There~~ There were two main reasons for this mass upheaval-- the resentments accumulated in more than eight years of Communist suppressions and the Chinese abortive attempt to abduct His Holiness the Dalai Lama under the pretext of an invitation for His Holiness ~~the Dalai Lama~~ to see a theatrical performance at the Chinese military headquarters in Lhasa on March 10, ~~1959~~ 1959. (8)

The invitation was an extraordinary occurrence for two reasons: first, it was not conveyed through the Kashag, Tibetan Cabinet, as it should have been; and secondly, the most unprecedented of its nature was that His Holiness the Dalai Lama was asked to come unescorted. This was an inconceivable insult to the Tibetans. Consequently, more than 30, 000 Lhasa residents marched toward Norbulinga, the Dalai Lama's summer palace, and took up positions outside the enclosures. They also established defensive posts at all the approaches. Their temper was made clear by the lynching of ^a Chinese emissary who tried to enter the palace in ^{disguise}.

The demonstration continued through the next day when 5,000 women marched in the streets and then presented an appeal to the Indian Consul General for his intervention. They were only armed with kitchen knives and sticks; but they were determined to sacrifice their lives for the defence of the nation. Thus, March 10th saw the end of unhappy relations between a captive Tibetan Government and their alien overlords. As the kindled flame was on the verge of full ~~blaze~~ blaze, His Holiness the Dalai Lama ~~left~~ left Lhasa on March 17, 1959, two days before the full-scale war broke out. The Chinese killed thousands of Tibetans during the two-day war and dissolved the Tibetan Government in Lhasa. However, His Holiness formed a new temporary Government during his flight to India. On request of His Holiness, the Government of ~~India~~ India granted political asylum to him and the exodus of Tibetan refugees. On His arrival on the Indian soil, His Holiness was given a warm welcome and telegrams and letters came from many world leaders, expressing their sympathy at the tragic events and joy at his safe arrival.

As I have mentioned earlier about the International Commission of Jurists report, in 1960, after conducting an exhaustive inquiry into the Tibetan situation, the commission charged the People's Republic of China with committing genocide in Tibet. The Legal Enquiry Committee on Tibet found that that many acts of religious persecutions had occurred. In particular, it made the finding that the crime of genocide, as defined in international law, had been committed against the Tibetans as a religious group and that this had been accomplished by (1) the killing of religious figures and (2) the forcible deportation of Tibetan children to China. The Committee used as a yardstick the Genocide Convention of 1948 adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations.

Many other acts are revealed in the ICJ's publication: Tibet and the Chinese People's Republic 1950. These acts have been designed to eradicate all forms of religious belief and practice in Tibet. Many monasteries have been destroyed or converted into Chinese military or governmental establishments. To cite an example, Ganden Monastery, the third largest monasteries in Tibet, was razed during the Cultural Revolution. This monastery was founded in 409 by Tsong-kha-pa, one of the greatest Tibetan religious scholar-saints.

In Tibet today, the Tibetans are deprived of their fundamental human rights. There is no freedom of expression and opinion, no freedom of movement, no freedom of communication between separated families. There is ~~the~~ denial of the right to self-government through freely elected representatives responsible to the people. The Tibetans are reduced to a minority and are second-class citizens in their own country. Peking ~~calls~~ calls Tibet a "paradise on earth." If that is true, why do Tibetans still flee their country, and why are visitors to Tibet so carefully selected and escorted?

Nineteen years have passed since the Chinese Army occupied Tibet. Today, when colonialism is fast disappearing from the face of the earth, it is China's colony. Some recent visitors to Tibet saw the signs of Chinese imperialism in Tibet. Professor N. Luttwak, associate director of the Washington Center ~~for~~ of Foreign Policy Research at Johns Hopkins, went to China and Tibet in 1976. In an ^{article} entitled, "Seeing China Plain" he wrote: "As in Tibet, Chinese rule in the region is in every respect a colonial phenomenon, with an astonishing conformity to type except in one critical respect. Unlike the British in India or Africa, or ~~x~~ even the French, the Chinese obviously can see no virtue in the survival of the local cultures, and still less in the survival of the local religion. Chinese colonialism is therefore oppressive not merely politically but also culturally." Prof. Luttwak added: "I asked a Chinese official resident in Tibet since 1960 how to say 'please' and 'thank you' in Tibetan. He did not know. I asked him to translate, 'move,' 'go,' and 'faster.' He ~~was~~ knew."

Tibetans have been forcibly recruited in labor gangs to construct roads, military installations and buildings. Many schools have been built, but refugees who still come out of Tibet say ~~that~~ these schools cannot be called Tibetan schools because only a little "Tibetan is taught in the beginning grades. The rest of the curriculum consists of Chinese language and history, basic arithmetic and manual labor. The thousands ~~mi~~ of kilometers of ~~roads~~ roads constructed since the Chinese takeover are mainly for military purposes, and there isn't any public transportation in Tibet.

~~Some~~ Improvement ^{is} also been made in agricultural output, but according to refugees, at the time of harvest most of the ~~kg~~ grain is taken away by the Chinese as "surplus grain sales," "State Grain Tax," "Commune development tax," "War Preparation Grain," ~~pxetc.~~ etc. And the Tibetans are left with a ~~meager~~ meager ration of between 90 to 120 kilograms of barley ~~per~~ ~~per~~ per person *per year* (R)

Despite many difficulties we have been getting information about conditions in Tibet. We consider this to be of utmost importance, because we must act according to the wishes of the majority of our people.

In fact, it ~~is~~ would be reassuring sign to us if the Chinese government stopped being selective about whom to invite. It would also be encouraging if the visitors' itinerary were not confined to Lhasa and its immediate ~~vicinity~~ vicinity. Visitors should be given freedom to talk to people in the streets and also visit places where they wish to see. In this way, they can get ~~a~~ a better picture of reality.

His Holiness the Dalai Lama has been demanding that an internationally supervised plebiscite ~~be~~ inside ~~Tibet~~ Tibet to determine whether the Tibetans in Tibet are happy/ The plebiscite should be conducted throughout Tibet and it ~~should~~ should also include in its investigative body people who can understand and speak Tibetan so that they don't need ~~to~~ depend solely on the Chinese interpreters. His Holiness has said, "I am prepared to accept whatever verdicts and recommendations such a plebiscite comes out with." His Holiness and ^{the} Tibetans in exile believe that one day we will return to our homeland. This hope is seen in the

following quote from the Dalai Lama: "No matter how strong the wind of evil may blow, the ~~flame~~ flame of truth can not be extinguished."

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