

THE NEXT DALAI LAMA

COLLECTED STATEMENTS, WRITINGS AND DOCUMENTS

མཆོག་ལ་དབང་སྐྱུ་ཕྱེད་རྗེས་མའི་སྐོར་གྱི་ཡོངས་ཁྱབ་བསྒྲགས་གཏམ་དང་།
དཔུང་ཚོམ། ཡིག་ཆ་ཕྱོགས་བསྒྲིགས།



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Asia Freedom Institute (AFI) promotes democracy, human rights and religious freedom in China and Tibet; and strengthens Tibetan democracy in exile. It works towards educating the public and strengthening the community of people and organizations working on democracy and human rights issues related to China and Tibet.

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སྒྲིབ་སྒྲེང་།

ཕྱི་ལོ་ ༡༩༥༤ ལོའི་ཟླ་བ་དགུ་པའི་ནང་ཡུལ་དབང་སྐུ་ཕྱེད་བཅུ་བཞི་པ་ཆེན་པོ་མཆོག་མའོ་ཙོ་རུང་གིས་པེ་ཅིང་དུ་སྤྱོད་ལེན་ཞུ་སྐབས་ནི་ཅིན་ཕིང་ནི་བྱིས་པ་རྒྱུད་རྒྱུ་ཞིག་རེད། སྤྱིར་ཨ་རིའི་སྤྱི་འཛིན་བཙུན་ཅན་གྱི་དུས་ཡུན་ལས་རིང་བར་ཡུལ་དབང་ཁོང་གིས་བོད་དང་བོད་མིའི་དབུ་འཕྱིད་མཛད་ཡོད། ༡༩༥༢ ལོར་ཨ་རིའི་སྤྱི་འཛིན་སྐུ་ཕྱེད་ལོ་གཉིས་པ་Roosevelt ཅུ་སེ་མེལ་ཏེ་མཆོག་གིས་ཡུལ་དབང་སྐུ་ཕྱེད་བཅུ་བཞི་པ་མཆོག་ལ་ཕྱག་ཡིག་ཅིག་དང་རྒྱ་ཆོད་ཅིག་ཕྱག་རྟགས་སུ་ཡུལ། མ་ཟད་བོད་ཀྱི་དབུ་འཕྱིད་ཁོང་ནི་རྒྱ་གར་གྱི་ལས་ཤོག་སྤྱི་འཛིན་མོ་རྟེན་གྱི་སྤྱི་འཛིན་རིམ་བྱོན་བཅུ་བཞི་ཅན་དང་མཉམ་དུ་མཇལ་མོལ་བྱས་པ་ལྟར་གནད་ཐོབ་པའི་དབུ་འཕྱིད་གཅིག་ལུ་དེ་ཡིན་ཞེས་སྒྲིབ་ཀྱང་ཆོག ཡུལ་དབང་བཅུ་བཞི་པ་མཆོག་ནི་ཀུ་ལྷ་སྤྱི་གཉེར་ཁང་གི་“ ཐུན་མིན་གྱི་བསམ་གཞིག་ Think Different ”ཅས་པའི་དྲིལ་བསྐྱགས་བྱེད་སྒོའི་ཁོད་དུ་Einstein ཞེས་པའི་དྲེད་དང་ Gandhi རྟག་ནི། Picasso དེ་ཁོ་ཁོས་བཅས་དང་ལྟན་དུ་བཀོད་ཡོད་ལ། ཁོང་རྣམ་པར་ “འགྲོ་བ་མིའི་རིགས་ལ་ཡར་སྐུལ་” གནད་མཁན་ཞེས་ཆེ་བཟོད་བྱས་ཡོད། “Time Magazine” ཞེས་པའི་དུས་དེབ་ནང་ཡུལ་དབང་ཁོང་ལ་སེམས་པ་ཆེན་པོ་ཐུན་དྲིའི་བསམ་གྲོའི་རྒྱན་འཛིན་པ་ཞེས་ཆེ་བཟོད་ཞུས་ཡོད།

ཡུལ་དབང་བཅུ་བཞི་པ་མཆོག་དགུང་གྲངས་ ༨༠ ལ་ཉེ་བར་ཕེབས་ཟིན་མོད། མགོན་པོ་གང་ཉིད་ཀྱི་སྐུ་གཟུགས་བདེ་ཐང་དང་གནས་ལུས་ཡིན། མགོན་པོ་གང་ཉིད་མཆོག་དགུང་ལོ་ཇི་མཐོར་འགྲོ་བཞིན་པ་དང་བཅུ་བཞི་པ་ཡང་སྤྱི་འཛིན་ལ་དོ་སྣང་ཇི་ཆེར་དང་གཞུང་འབྲེལ་མི་སྣ། ཆབ་སྤྱི་པ། གསར་འགོད་པ། མཁས་དབང་སོགས་ཀྱིས་བྱིས་བསྐྱར་བྱ་ཡུལ་གྱི་སྒྲིབ་གཞི་གལ་གནད་ཅན་ཞིག་དུ་བྱུར་ཡོད། བོད་མི་རྣམས་ལ་མཆོན་ན་དེ་ཉིད་སྤྱོད་འཆབ་སྐྱེ་གཞི་ཞིག་ཀྱང་ཆགས་ཡོད། རྒྱ་ནག་གཞུང་གིས་ཡུལ་དབང་མ་འོངས་ཡང་སྤྱི་འཛིན་ཐུབ་པ་ཡིན་ན་དེ་ནི་བོད་དུ་དབང་བསྐྱར་བར་ངོས་ལེན་ཐོབ་རྒྱུའི་གོ་སྐབས་ཤིག་ཡིན་པ་ཤེས་ནས་ ཡུལ་དབང་ཡང་སྤྱི་འཛིན་མ་འོངས་པར་དུ་བོད་ནང་འཕྱུངས་དགོས་པ་དང་དེས་པར་དུ་པེ་ཅིང་གཞུང་གིས་ཆོག་མཆན་ཐོབ་དགོས་ཚུལ་བསྐྱར་སྒྲིབ་ཡང་སྤྱི་འཛིན་ཡོད། རྒྱ་ནག་གཞུང་གིས་མ་འོངས་པར་རང་གི་འདོད་མོས་ལྟར་ཡུལ་དབང་སྤྱི་འཛིན་མི་ཞིག་ཆེད་དུ་བཀོད་འདོམས་བྱ་རྒྱུའི་འཆར་གཞི་ངན་པ་དེ་ནི་ཨ་ཤི་ཡ་དང་རྒྱལ་སྤྱིའི་ནང་པའི་ཆོགས་སྤྱོད་ཁག་གིས་སེམས་ཁུར་བྱ་ཡུལ་ཞིག་དུ་བྱུར་ཡོད། རྒྱ་གར་གྱི་ལོ་དང་། མ་ཤིང་ཏེན་ཏེ་སི། ལུ་ལན་སྤྱོད་སོགས་ཀྱི་གཞུང་འབྲེལ་མི་སྣས་ཀྱང་ཡུལ་དབང་ཡང་སྤྱི་འཛིན་པའི་ཆོགས་སྤྱོད་ཡོད། ཡུལ་དབང་སྐུ་ཕྱེད་བཅུ་བཞི་པ་ཆེན་པོ་མཆོག་གིས་ཡང་སྤྱི་འཛིན་གནད་དོན་དེའི་ཐད་ཕྱི་ལོ་ ༢༠༡༡ ཟླ་ ༨ པའི་ཆོས་ ༢༤ ཉིན་སྤེལ་བའི་ཡོངས་ཁྲབ་གསལ་བསྐྱགས་ནང་། “ངོས་རང་རྒྱུ་ལྷན་གྱི་དགུང་གྲངས་ཅན་དུ་སོན་སྐབས་ཆོས་བརྒྱུད་སྤྱོད་ཁག་དང་། བོད་མིས་མཆོན་འབྲེལ་ཡོད་དང་ཐུན་མཐོང་གིས་ལ་གོ་བསྐྱར་གྱིས་ཡུལ་དབང་སྐུ་ཕྱེད་རྒྱུན་མཐུན་དགོས་མིན་བསྐྱར་ཞིབ་དང་ཐག་གཅོད་བྱེད་འཆར་ཡིན།” ཅས་ཁ་གསལ་གསུངས་ཡོད།

ཡུལ་དབང་སྐུ་ཕྱེད་རྒྱུན་མཐོན་གྱི་ཡོངས་ཁྲབ་བསྐྱགས་གཤམ་དང་། དཔུང་ཚོམ། ཡིག་ཆ་ཕྱོགས་བསྐྱིགས་བྱས་པ་འདི་དག་གིས་ཡུལ་དབང་སྐུ་ཕྱེད་བཅུ་བཞི་པའི་ཡང་སྤྱི་འཛིན་གནད་དོན་ཐད་དོ་སྣང་ཇི་ཆེར་འཕེལ་བཞིན་པ་མཆོན་ཐུབ། ཡིག་ཆ་འདི་ནི་ཨ་ཤི་ཡ་རང་དབང་ཆོགས་སྤྱོད་ཡང་སྤྱི་འཛིན་འཆར་ཁོངས་སུ་འགྲེམས་སྤེལ་བྱས་ཡོད། གོང་སྤྱོད་ཡང་སྤྱི་འཛིན་གནད་དོན་ཐད་ཆོགས་པ་མང་པོས་དོ་སྣང་ཆེར་བསྐྱེད་ཐོག་བསམ་ཚུལ་དང་ལངས་ཕྱོགས་གང་ཡིན་པ་རྣམས་གསལ་སྟོན་བྱས་ཡོད། ཡིག་ཆ་འདིར་ཨིན་ཡིག་མ་ཡིག་ནང་ཡོངས་གྲགས་སུ་ལྟ་སྟོན་ཐུབ་པའི་ཉམས་ཞིབ་ཀྱི་རྒྱ་ཆ་རྣམས་ལས་བཟོད་དོན་དང་སྤྱོད་མོལ་གྱི་ཆ་ཤས་ཅན་ཞིག་ཅི་ཐུབ་ཀྱི་བསྐྱར་བྱས་ཡོད། ཡིག་ཆ་འདི་ཡི་དགོས་དམིགས་གཙོ་བོ་ནི་ཨ་རིའི་སྤྱི་འཛིན་ཟུར་པ་ཨོ་ལྷ་མ་ལས་ཤོག་སྐབས་ཀྱི་ཕོ་བྲང་དཀར་པོའི་གཞུང་འབྲེལ་མི་སྣ་གྱི་གཅིག་གིས་འགྲེལ་བཟོད་གནད་བ་བཞིན་ཨ་རི་དང་རྒྱ་ནག་གི་གནད་དོན་ནམ་རྒྱ་གར་དང་རྒྱ་ནག་གི་གནད་དོན་ཅན་མིན་པར། གོ་ལ་ཁྱོད་ཡོངས་ཀྱི་སྤྱོད་འཆབ་སྐྱེ་གཞིའི་གནད་དོན་ཞིག་ཡིན་པ་དང་ཉེ་བར་མཁོ་བའི་ལུང་འདྲན་རྒྱ་ཆར་ཕན་སྐྱོད་འདོན་སྤེལ་བྱས།

དེ་ཡང་ཞི་བདེ་དང་ཡར་རྒྱས་ལྟེ་གནས་ཁང་དང་ཟུང་འབྲེལ་གྱིས་ཤོག་ནས་འགྲེམས་སྤེལ་བྱས་པའི་ཡིག་ཆ་ཞིག་ཡིན། ཨ་ཤི་ཡ་རང་དབང་ཆོགས་སྤྱོད་དབུ་འཛིན་དང་ཚོམ་སྐྱིག་པ་གཅིག་ཕྱོགས་དབུ་དཀར་ཆོང་སྐལ་དོར། ཉམས་ཞིབ་པ་གཙོ་བོ་བསྐྱར་འཛིན་སྟོན་མཛེས།

ཡང་སྤྱི་འཛིན་ཀྱི་ལས་འཆར་ནི་ཨ་ཤི་ཡ་རང་དབང་ཆོགས་སྤྱོད་འདི་ཡི་ལོ་མང་གི་ཤོག་མའི་ལས་འཆར་གལ་ཆེ་ཞིག་སྟེ། བོད་ཀྱི་སྤྱོད་ཆེན་རྣམས་ཀྱི་ཡང་སྤྱི་འཛིན་གྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཡིག་ཆ་ཁག་ལ་ཉམས་ཞིབ་དང་། རྒྱ་ནག་གཞུང་གིས་བོད་མིའི་ཆོས་དད་དང་དབང་ལ་ཆབས་ཆེད་བདོག་རོལ་བྱས་ཏེ་བྲིམས་ལུགས་གཤན་འབབས་ཀྱིས་སྤེལ་རྒྱུན་ཡང་སྤྱི་འཛིན་ལམ་ལུགས་ལ་ཐེ་ཅུས་ཇི་ལྟར་བྱེད་བཞིན་པར་མི་དམངས་ལ་གོ་རྟོགས་སྤེལ་ཐུབ་པའི་སྤྱོད་འགྲེམས་སྤེལ་བྱས་པ་ཞིག་ཡིན།

I. Preface

Xi Jinping was just a toddler when the 14th Dalai Lama was received by Mao Zedong in Beijing in September 1954. The Dalai Lama's leadership of Tibet and the Tibetan people has overlapped with 15 American presidents. President Roosevelt wrote a letter and sent a pocket watch gift to the Dalai Lama in 1942. The Tibetan leader is perhaps the only person to have met all 14 Indian Prime Ministers prior to the current Prime Minister Modi. The Dalai Lama was one of the iconic 20th century figures along with others like Einstein, Gandhi and Picasso to appear in Apple's "Think Different" advertising campaign. These figures were described as helping "push the human race forward." Time Magazine named the 14th Dalai Lama as Gandhi's spiritual heir.

Tenzin Gyatso, the current Dalai Lama, is now almost 90 years old. Though he continues to be in good health, his advancing age has triggered growing interest in his succession and this issue has become a dominant topic of discussion for government officials, politicians, the press, scholars and others. There is deep anxiety amongst Tibetans. The Chinese government, acutely aware that control over the next Dalai Lama presents an opportunity to legitimize their rule of Tibet, has blatantly interfered and reiterated the next Dalai Lama must be reborn in Tibet and his successor must be approved by Beijing. There is concern amongst the larger Buddhist community in Asia and globally over China's intent to co-opt the process and impose its candidate. Government officials in New Delhi, Washington, DC, Ulaanbaatar and elsewhere are closely following developments with interest and unease over the broader geopolitical implications of the 14th Dalai Lama's succession. The Dalai Lama in his September 24, 2011 statement said "when I am about ninety I will consult the high Lamas of the Tibetan Buddhist traditions, the Tibetan public, and other concerned people who follow Tibetan Buddhism, and re-evaluate whether the institution of the Dalai Lama should continue or not. On that basis we will take a decision."

The Next Dalai Lama. Collected Statements, Writings and Documents is proof of the rising interest on the issue of the succession of the 14th Dalai Lama. This document, a publication of Asia Freedom Institute's *Project Reincarnation*, documents the burgeoning content related to the 14th Dalai Lama's succession. There are multiple parties with interest in the issue. What is being said and how are views and positions being articulated? This publication captures a portion of the content and public discourse through an extensive open-source research of materials, primarily in English, in the public domain. The core objective is to document what a former senior White House official under President Obama defined as "not just a U.S. and China issue or an India and China issue, but an issue of global concern" and develop a reference source on this important issue.

This publication is a collaborative project with the Center for Peace and Development. Kelsang Aukatsang, President of the Asia Freedom Institute (AFI), served as the editor. Tenzin Donzey was the lead researcher.

Project Reincarnation is an initiative of AFI involving research and educating the public on the issue of reincarnations of important Tibetan Buddhist monks; and how the Chinese government interference in the reincarnation process constitutes a grave violation of the rights to religious freedom of the Tibetan people.



II. Statements by the Dalai Lama

A. 2011 Statement by the 14th Dalai Lama

(Translated from the original Tibetan)

Introduction

My fellow Tibetans, both in and outside Tibet, all those who follow the Tibetan Buddhist tradition, and everyone who has a connection to Tibet and Tibetans: due to the foresight of our ancient kings, ministers and scholar-adepts, the complete teaching of the Buddha, comprising the scriptural and experiential teachings of the Three Vehicles and the Four Sets of Tantra and their related subjects and disciplines flourished widely in the Land of Snow. Tibet has served as a source of Buddhist and related cultural traditions for the world. In particular, it has contributed significantly to the happiness of countless beings in Asia, including those in China, Tibet and Mongolia.

In the course of upholding the Buddhist tradition in Tibet, we evolved a unique Tibetan tradition of recognizing the reincarnations of scholar-adepts that has been of immense help to both the Dharma and sentient beings, particularly to the monastic community.

Since the omniscient Gedun Gyatso was recognized and confirmed as the reincarnation of Gedun Drub in the fifteenth century and the Gaden Phodrang Labrang (the Dalai Lama's institution) was established, successive reincarnations have been recognized. The third in the line, Sonam Gyatso, was given the title of the Dalai Lama. The Fifth Dalai Lama, Ngawang Lobsang Gyatso, established the Gaden Phodrang Government in 1642, becoming the spiritual and political head of Tibet. For more than 600 years since Gedun Drub, a series of unmistakable reincarnations

has been recognised in the lineage of the Dalai Lama.

The Dalai Lamas have functioned as both the political and spiritual leaders of Tibet for 369 years since 1642. I have now voluntarily brought this to an end, proud and satisfied that we can pursue the kind of democratic system of government flourishing elsewhere in the world. In fact, as far back as 1969, I made clear that concerned people should decide whether the Dalai Lama's reincarnations should continue in the future. However, in the absence of clear guidelines, should the concerned public express a strong wish for the Dalai Lamas to continue, there is an obvious risk of vested political interests misusing the reincarnation system to fulfill their own political agenda. Therefore, while I remain physically and mentally fit, it seems important to me that we draw up clear guidelines to recognise the next Dalai Lama, so that there is no room for doubt or deception. For these guidelines to be fully comprehensible, it is essential to understand the system of Tulku recognition and the basic concepts behind it. Therefore, I shall briefly explain them below.

Past and Future Lives

In order to accept reincarnation or the reality of Tulkus, we need to accept the existence of past and future lives. Sentient beings come to this present life from their previous lives and take rebirth again after death. This kind of continuous rebirth is accepted by all the ancient Indian spiritual traditions and schools of philosophy, except the Charvakas, who were a materialist movement. Some modern thinkers deny past and future lives on the premise that we cannot see them. Others do not draw such clear cut conclusions on this basis.

Although many religious traditions accept rebirth, they differ in their views of what it is that is reborn, how it is reborn, and how it passes

through the transitional period between two lives. Some religious traditions accept the prospect of future life, but reject the idea of past lives.

Generally, Buddhists believe that there is no beginning to birth and that once we achieve liberation from the cycle of existence by overcoming our karma and destructive emotions, we will not be reborn under the sway of these conditions. Therefore, Buddhists believe that there is an end to being reborn as a result of karma and destructive emotions, but most Buddhist philosophical schools do not accept that the mind-stream comes to an end. To reject past and future rebirth would contradict the Buddhist concept of the ground, path and result, which must be explained on the basis of the disciplined or undisciplined mind. If we accept this argument, logically, we would also have to accept that the world and its inhabitants come about without causes and conditions. Therefore, as long as you are a Buddhist, it is necessary to accept past and future rebirth.

For those who remember their past lives, rebirth is a clear experience. However, most ordinary beings forget their past lives as they go through the process of death, intermediate state and rebirth. As past and future rebirths are slightly obscure to them, we need to use evidence-based logic to prove past and future rebirths to them.

There are many different logical arguments given in the words of the Buddha and subsequent commentaries to prove the existence of past and future lives. In brief, they come down to four points: the logic that things are preceded by things of a similar type, the logic that things are preceded by a substantial cause, the logic that the mind has gained familiarity with things in the past, and the logic of having gained experience of things in the past.

Ultimately all these arguments are based on the idea that the nature of the mind, its clarity and awareness, must have clarity and awareness as its substantial cause. It cannot have any other entity such as an inanimate object as its substantial cause. This is self-evident. Through logical analysis we infer that a new stream of clarity and awareness cannot come about without causes or from unrelated causes. While we observe that mind cannot be produced in a laboratory, we also infer that nothing can eliminate the continuity of subtle clarity and awareness.

As far as I know, no modern psychologist, physicist, or neuroscientist has been able to observe or predict the production of mind either from matter or without cause.

There are people who can remember their immediate past life or even many past lives, as well as being able to recognise places and relatives from those lives. This is not just something that happened in the past. Even today there are many people in the East and West, who can recall incidents and experiences from their past lives. Denying this is not an honest and impartial way of doing research, because it runs counter to this evidence. The Tibetan system of recognising reincarnations is an authentic mode of investigation based on people's recollection of their past lives.

How Rebirth Takes Place

There are two ways in which someone can take rebirth after death: rebirth under the sway of karma and destructive emotions and rebirth through the power of compassion and prayer. Regarding the first, due to ignorance negative and positive karma are created and their imprints remain on the consciousness. These are reactivated through craving and grasping, propelling us into the next life. We then take rebirth involuntarily in higher or lower realms. This is the way ordinary beings circle incessantly through existence like the turning



of a wheel. Even under such circumstances ordinary beings can engage diligently with a positive aspiration in virtuous practices in their day-to-day lives. They familiarise themselves with virtue that at the time of death can be reactivated providing the means for them to take rebirth in a higher realm of existence. On the other hand, superior Bodhisattvas, who have attained the path of seeing, are not reborn through the force of their karma and destructive emotions, but due to the power of their compassion for sentient beings and based on their prayers to benefit others. They are able to choose their place and time of birth as well as their future parents. Such a rebirth, which is solely for the benefit of others, is rebirth through the force of compassion and prayer.

The Meaning of Tulku

It seems the Tibetan custom of applying the epithet 'Tulku' (Buddha's Emanation Body) to recognized reincarnations began when devotees used it as an honorary title, but it has since become a common expression. In general, the term Tulku refers to a particular aspect of the Buddha, one of the three or four described in the Sutra Vehicle. According to this explanation of these aspects of the Buddha, a person who is totally bound by destructive emotions and karma has the potential to achieve the Truth Body (Dharmakaya), comprising the Wisdom Truth Body and Nature Truth Body. The former refers to the enlightened mind of a Buddha, which sees everything directly and precisely, as it is, in an instant. It has been cleared of all destructive emotions, as well as their imprints, through the accumulation of merit and wisdom over a long period of time. The latter, the Nature Truth Body, refers to the empty nature of that all-knowing enlightened mind. These two together are aspects of the Buddhas for themselves. However, as they are not directly accessible to others, but only amongst the

Buddhas themselves, it is imperative that the Buddhas manifest in physical forms that are accessible to sentient beings in order to help them. Hence, the ultimate physical aspect of a Buddha is the Body of Complete Enjoyment (Sambhogakaya), which is accessible to superior Bodhisattvas, and has five definite qualifications such as residing in the Akanishta Heaven. And from the Body of Complete Enjoyment are manifested the myriad Emanation Bodies or Tulkus (Nirmanakaya), of the Buddhas, which appear as gods or humans and are accessible even to ordinary beings. These two physical aspects of the Buddha are termed Form Bodies, which are meant for others.

The Emanation Body is three-fold: a) the Supreme Emanation Body like Shakyamuni Buddha, the historical Buddha, who manifested the twelve deeds of a Buddha such as being born in the place he chose and so forth; b) the Artistic Emanation Body which serves others by appearing as craftsmen, artists and so on; and c) the Incarnate Emanation Body, according to which Buddhas appear in various forms such as human beings, deities, rivers, bridges, medicinal plants, and trees to help sentient beings. Of these three types of Emanation Body, the reincarnations of spiritual masters recognized and known as 'Tulkus' in Tibet come under the third category. Among these Tulkus there may be many who are truly qualified Incarnate Emanation Bodies of the Buddhas, but this does not necessarily apply to all of them. Amongst the Tulkus of Tibet there may be those who are reincarnations of superior Bodhisattvas, Bodhisattvas on the paths of accumulation and preparation, as well as masters who are evidently yet to enter these Bodhisattva paths. Therefore, the title of Tulku is given to reincarnate Lamas either on the grounds of their resembling enlightened beings or through their connection to certain qualities of enlightened beings.

As Jamyang Khyentse Wangpo said:

“Reincarnation is what happens when someone takes rebirth after the predecessor’s passing away; emanation is when manifestations take place without the source’s passing away.”

Recognition of Reincarnations

The practice of recognizing who is who by identifying someone’s previous life occurred even when Shakyamuni Buddha himself was alive. Many accounts are found in the four Agama Sections of the Vinaya Pitaka, the Jataka Stories, the Sutra of the Wise and Foolish, the Sutra of One Hundred Karmas and so on, in which the Tathagata revealed the workings of karma, recounting innumerable stories about how the effects of certain karmas created in a past life are experienced by a person in his or her present life. Also, in the life stories of Indian masters, who lived after the Buddha, many reveal their previous places of birth. There are many such stories, but the system of recognizing and numbering their reincarnations did not occur in India.

The System of Recognizing Reincarnations in Tibet

Past and future lives were asserted in the indigenous Tibetan Bon tradition before the arrival of Buddhism. And since the spread of Buddhism in Tibet, virtually all Tibetans have believed in past and future lives. Investigating the reincarnations of many spiritual masters who upheld the Dharma, as well as the custom of praying devotedly to them, flourished everywhere in Tibet. Many authentic scriptures, indigenous Tibetan books such as the Mani Kabum and the Fivefold Kathang Teachings and others like the The Books of Kadam Disciples and the Jewel Garland: Responses to Queries, which were recounted by the glorious, incomparable Indian master Dipankara Atisha in the 11th century in Tibet, tell stories of the reincarnations of Arya Avalokiteshvara,

the Bodhisattva of compassion. However, the present tradition of formally recognizing the reincarnations of masters first began in the early 13th century with the recognition of Karmapa Pagshi as the reincarnation of Karmapa Dusum Khyenpa by his disciples in accordance with his prediction. Since then, there have been seventeen Karmapa incarnations over more than nine hundred years. Similarly, since the recognition of Kunga Sangmo as the reincarnation of Khandro Choekyi Dronme in the 15th century there have been more than ten incarnations of Samding Dorje Phagmo. So, among the Tulkus recognized in Tibet there are monastic and lay tantric practitioners, male and female. This system of recognizing the reincarnations gradually spread to other Tibetan Buddhist traditions, and Bon, in Tibet. Today, there are recognized Tulkus in all the Tibetan Buddhist traditions, the Sakya, Geluk, Kagyu and Nyingma, as well as Jonang and Bodong, who serve the Dharma. It is also evident that amongst these Tulkus some are a disgrace.

The omniscient Gedun Drub, who was a direct disciple of Je Tsongkhapa, founded Tashi Lhunpo Monastery in Tsang and took care of his students. He passed away in 1474 at the age of 84. Although initially no efforts were made to identify his reincarnation, people were obliged to recognize a child named Sangye Chophel, who had been born in Tanak, Tsang (1476), because of what he had to say about his amazing and flawless recollections of his past life. Since then, a tradition began of searching for and recognizing the successive reincarnations of the Dalai Lamas by the Gaden Phodrang Labrang and later the Gaden Phodrang Government.

The Way of Recognizing Reincarnations

After the system of recognizing Tulkus came into being, various procedures for going about it began to develop and grow. Among



these some of the most important involve the predecessor's predictive letter and other instructions and indications that might occur; the reincarnation reliably recounting his previous life and speaking about it; identifying possessions belonging to the predecessor and recognizing people who had been close to him. Apart from these, additional methods include asking reliable spiritual masters for their divination as well as seeking the predictions of mundane oracles, who appear through mediums in trance, and observing the visions that manifest in sacred lakes of protectors like Lhamoi Latso, a sacred lake south of Lhasa.

When there happens to be more than one prospective candidate for recognition as a Tulku, and it becomes difficult to decide, there is a practice of making the final decision by divination employing the dough-ball method (zen tak) before a sacred image while calling upon the power of truth.

Emanation Before the Passing Away of the Predecessor (ma-dhey tulku)

Usually a reincarnation has to be someone's taking rebirth as a human being after previously passing away. Ordinary sentient beings generally cannot manifest an emanation before death (ma-dhey tulku), but superior Bodhisattvas, who can manifest themselves in hundreds or thousands of bodies simultaneously, can manifest an emanation before death. Within the Tibetan system of recognizing Tulkus there are emanations who belong to the same mind-stream as the predecessor, emanations who are connected to others through the power of karma and prayers, and emanations who come as a result of blessings and appointment.

The main purpose of the appearance of a reincarnation is to continue the predecessor's unfinished work to serve Dharma and beings. In the case of a Lama who is an ordinary being,

instead of having a reincarnation belonging to the same mind-stream, someone else with connections to that Lama through pure karma and prayers may be recognized as his or her emanation. Alternatively it is possible for the Lama to appoint a successor who is either his disciple or someone young who is to be recognized as his emanation. Since these options are possible in the case of an ordinary being, an emanation before death that is not of the same mind-stream is feasible. In some cases one high Lama may have several reincarnations simultaneously, such as incarnations of body, speech and mind and so on. In recent times, there have been well-known emanations before death such as Dudjom Jigdral Yeshe Dorje and Chogye Trichen Ngawang Khyenrab.

Using the Golden Urn

As the degenerate age gets worse, and as more reincarnations of high Lamas are being recognized, some of them for political motives, increasing numbers have been recognized through inappropriate and questionable means, as a result of which huge damage has been done to the Dharma.

During the conflict between Tibet and the Gurkhas (1791-93) the Tibetan Government had to call on Manchu military support. Consequently the Gurkha military was expelled from Tibet, but afterwards Manchu officials made a 29-point proposal on the pretext of making the Tibetan Government's administration more efficient. This proposal included the suggestion of picking lots from a Golden Urn to decide on the recognition of the reincarnations of the Dalai Lamas, Panchen Lamas and Hutuktus, a Mongolian title given to high Lamas. Therefore, this procedure was followed in the case of recognizing some reincarnations of the Dalai Lama, Panchen Lama and other high Lamas. The ritual to be followed was written by the Eighth Dalai Lama Jampel Gyatso. Even after such a system

had been introduced, this procedure was dispensed with for the Ninth, Thirteenth and myself, the Fourteenth Dalai Lama.

Even in the case of the Tenth Dalai Lama, the authentic reincarnation had already been found and in reality this procedure was not followed, but in order to humor the Manchus it was merely announced that this procedure had been observed.

The Golden Urn system was actually used only in the cases of the Eleventh and Twelfth Dalai Lamas. However, the Twelfth Dalai Lama had already been recognized before the procedure was employed. Therefore, there has only been one occasion when a Dalai Lama was recognized by using this method. Likewise, among the reincarnations of the Panchen Lama, apart from the Eighth and the Ninth, there have been no instances of this method being employed. This system was imposed by the Manchus, but Tibetans had no faith in it because it lacked any spiritual quality. However, if it were to be used honestly, it seems that we could consider it as similar to the manner of divination employing the dough-ball method (zen tak).

In 1880, during the recognition of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama as the reincarnation of the Twelfth, traces of the Priest-Patron relationship between Tibet and the Manchus still existed. He was recognized as the unmistakable reincarnation by the Eighth Panchen Lama, the predictions of the Nechung and Samye oracles and by observing visions that appeared in Lhamoi Latso, therefore the Golden Urn procedure was not followed. This can be clearly understood from the Thirteenth Dalai Lama's final testament of the Water-Monkey Year (1933) in which he states:

"As you all know, I was selected not in the customary way of picking lots from the golden urn, but my selection was foretold and divined. In accordance with these

divinations and prophecies I was recognized as the reincarnation of the Dalai Lama and enthroned."

When I was recognized as the Fourteenth incarnation of the Dalai Lama in 1939, the Priest-Patron relationship between Tibet and China had already come to an end. Therefore, there was no question of any need to confirm the reincarnation by employing the Golden Urn. It is well-known that the then Regent of Tibet and the Tibetan National Assembly had followed the procedure for recognizing the Dalai Lama's reincarnation taking account of the predictions of high Lamas, oracles and the visions seen in Lhamoi Latso; the Chinese had no involvement in it whatever. Nevertheless, some concerned officials of the Guomintang later cunningly spread lies in the newspapers claiming that they had agreed to forego the use of the Golden Urn and that Wu Chungtsin presided over my enthronement, and so on. This lie was exposed by Ngabo Ngawang Jigme, the Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, who the People's Republic of China considered to be a most progressive person, at the Second Session of the Fifth People's Congress of the Tibet Autonomous Region (31st July 1989). This is clear, when, at the end of his speech, in which he gave a detailed explanation of events and presented documentary evidence, he demanded:

"What need is there for the Communist Party to follow suit and continue the lies of the Guomintang?"

Deceptive Strategy and False Hopes

In the recent past, there have been cases of irresponsible managers of wealthy Lama-estates who indulged in improper methods to recognize reincarnations, which have undermined the Dharma, the monastic community and our society. Moreover, since the Manchu era Chinese political



authorities repeatedly engaged in various deceitful means using Buddhism, Buddhist masters and Tulkus as tools to fulfill their political ends as they involved themselves in Tibetan and Mongolian affairs. Today, the authoritarian rulers of the People's Republic of China, who as communists reject religion, but still involve themselves in religious affairs, have imposed a so-called re-education campaign and declared the so-called Order No. Five, concerning the control and recognition of reincarnations, which came into force on 1st September 2007. This is outrageous and disgraceful. The enforcement of various inappropriate methods for recognizing reincarnations to eradicate our unique Tibetan cultural traditions is doing damage that will be difficult to repair.

Moreover, they say they are waiting for my death and will recognize a Fifteenth Dalai Lama of their choice. It is clear from their recent rules and regulations and subsequent declarations that they have a detailed strategy to deceive Tibetans, followers of the Tibetan Buddhist tradition and the world community. Therefore, as I have a responsibility to protect the Dharma and sentient beings and counter such detrimental schemes, I make the following declaration.

The Next Incarnation of the Dalai Lama

As I mentioned earlier, reincarnation is a phenomenon which should take place either through the voluntary choice of the concerned person or at least on the strength of his or her karma, merit and prayers. Therefore, the person who reincarnates has sole legitimate authority over where and how he or she takes rebirth and how that reincarnation is to be recognized. It is a reality that no one else can force the person concerned, or manipulate him or her. It is particularly inappropriate for Chinese communists, who explicitly reject even the idea of past and future lives, let alone

the concept of reincarnate Tulkus, to meddle in the system of reincarnation and especially the reincarnations of the Dalai Lamas and Panchen Lamas. Such brazen meddling contradicts their own political ideology and reveals their double standards. Should this situation continue in the future, it will be impossible for Tibetans and those who follow the Tibetan Buddhist tradition to acknowledge or accept it.

When I am about ninety I will consult the high Lamas of the Tibetan Buddhist traditions, the Tibetan public, and other concerned people who follow Tibetan Buddhism, and re-evaluate whether the institution of the Dalai Lama should continue or not. On that basis we will take a decision. If it is decided that the reincarnation of the Dalai Lama should continue and there is a need for the Fifteenth Dalai Lama to be recognized, responsibility for doing so will primarily rest on the concerned officers of the Dalai Lama's Gaden Phodrang Trust. They should consult the various heads of the Tibetan Buddhist traditions and the reliable oath-bound Dharma Protectors who are linked inseparably to the lineage of the Dalai Lamas. They should seek advice and direction from these concerned beings and carry out the procedures of search and recognition in accordance with past tradition. I shall leave clear written instructions about this. Bear in mind that, apart from the reincarnation recognized through such legitimate methods, no recognition or acceptance should be given to a candidate chosen for political ends by anyone, including those in the People's Republic of China.

The Dalai Lama
Dharamsala

September 24, 2011

(Source: www.dalailama.com. Also, in Annex)

B. Selected Interviews by the 14th Dalai Lama

Videos:

- "Dalai Lama's Successor May Come From India." YouTube, uploaded by South China Morning Post, 18 Mar. 2019. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=V45yL-rqsVo>
- "Tenzin Gyatso, The 14th Dalai Lama, On Relations With China, Inner Peace & More." YouTube, uploaded by Time, 7 Mar. 2019. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qhhe07B99iE>
- "Dalai Lama Says Choice of Successor is Up to Him, Not China." YouTube, uploaded by AP Archive, 30 Jul. 2015. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=psxUtKpfw3Y>
- "I May be the Last, Says Dalai Lama." YouTube, uploaded by BBC News, 17 Dec. 2014. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5cHPz2afEWY>
- The Dalai Lama on Why Reincarnation is Not Important. YouTube, uploaded by The Week, 10 Jul. 2019. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uqOMZP6HPP8&t=77s>.

Print:

- The Week. "Reincarnation' isn't important, says the Dalai Lama." Interview by Namrata Biji Ahuja, 6 Jul. 2019. <https://www.theweek.in/theweek/cover/2019/07/05/exclusive-interview-reincarnation-isnt-important-says-the-dalai-lama.html>
- Gupta, Shishir. 'My body is Tibetan but spiritually I'm Indian,' says the Dalai Lama. Hindustan Times. December 25, 2018. <https://www.hindustantimes.com/india-news/my-body-is-tibetan-but-spiritually-i-m-an-indian-says-the-dalai-lama/story-JmKwGqf86pOwsGHuYO4RUP.html>
- Nikkei Asia. "Dalai Lama leaves the succession question 'up to the Tibetan

people." Interview by Satoshi Iwaki, 25 Nov. 2014. <https://asia.nikkei.com/Politics/Dalai-Lama-leaves-the-succession-question-up-to-the-Tibetan-people>

- Eigendorf, Jörg. "In meinen Träumen werde ich 113 Jahre alt." Welt am Sonntag, 9 Sep. 2014. <https://www.welt.de/politik/ausland/article132019000/In-meinen-Traeumen-werde-ich-113-Jahre-alt.html>
- Perry, Alex. "A Conversation with the Dalai Lama", Time, October 18, 2004 <https://content.time.com/time/subscriber/article/0,33009,725176,00.html>

C. Statements by the Gaden Phodrang

1. Statement of Samdhong Rinpoche at the 8th Meeting of Tibetan Religious Leaders (May 2, 2008)

We responded to the directive [Order No. Five issued by China's State Religious Affairs Bureau issued in July 2007 and which took effect in September 2007] on the recognition of incarnate lamas both in writing and orally. We urged and advised Tibetans in Tibet not to accept or implement the directive. There is provision in the Chinese constitution that states if any law, regulation or directive passed by the central government is not suitable for local autonomous regions then local authorities have the option of disregarding the directive, making amendments and formulating alternatives that are more acceptable. Though local authorities currently holding political power don't have the capacity and courage to challenge such central government directives, the public must strongly remind the local authorities to do so.

The statement by CTA's Department for Religious Affairs [issued on October 7, 2007 in response to China's Order No. Five] was issued

with the hope of reminding authorities in Tibet to implement the constitutional provisions and rights that come with the Chinese government claim of providing autonomy for Tibetans and Tibet. Also, the CTA statement was issued after close consultation with and approval by all the high lamas of all the religious traditions.

(The above is a translated excerpt from Samdhong Rinpoche's speech in Tibetan made at the 8th meeting of Tibetan religious leaders held in Dharamsala on May 2, 2008. The full transcript of the speech was published on Samdhong Rinpoche's website on June 10, 2014.

Source: www.samdhongrinpoche.com Also, in Annex)

2. Gaden Phodrang Clarification. (September 9, 2014)

An official at Gaden Phodrang told VOA Tibetan that the report in Welt am Sonntag which contained the following quote from the Dalai Lama, "We had a Dalai Lama for almost five centuries. The 14th Dalai Lama now is very popular. Let us then finish with a popular Dalai Lama," is incomplete and that the quotation was a brief comment from a much longer and fuller response to a question on reincarnation in which the Dalai Lama stated that the ultimate decision on whether the institution of the Dalai Lama should continue or cease to exist would be up to the Tibetan people.

(Source: "Last Dalai Lama' Report in German Newspaper Misleading." VOA Tibetan - English. 9 Sep. 2014, https://www.voatibetan.com/a/24_43709.html)

3. Statement by Lodi Gyaltsen Gyari, the Special Envoy of the Dalai Lama. (August 15, 2007)

These stringent new measures [Order No. Five issued by China's State Religious Affairs Bureau issued in July 2007] strike at the heart of Tibetan religious identity. They will only create further resentment among the Tibetan people and cannot override the Party's lack of legitimacy in the religious sphere.

(Source: Famularo, Julia. Spinning the Wheel: Policy Implications of the Dalai Lama's Reincarnation. p.15. Project 2049 Institute. January 30, 2012)

III. Statement by Tibetan Religious Leaders

A. Statement by The 10th Panchen Lama

"The Seventh Dalai Lama was born before the death of the Sixth. From the point of view of our spiritual tradition, there is no need for a full year to pass before the reincarnation is born. A realized being can manifest himself in many forms at the same time. He need not rely on the passage of his previous body's consciousness. In Buddhism, it is possible for tulkus to be born before the death of the previous body or a very long time after the death of the previous body. It is not impossible."

(The above statement is quoted in Isabel Hilton's book "The Search for the Panchen Lama" [P. 282]. The author's source is Tibet Information Network Doc 15. The same statement is also published in the CTA publication "The Heart of The Panchen Lama [Major Speeches and a petition: 1962-1989]." Page 41. The CTA document has a chapter titled "On Recognition of Tulkus" which is a translation from the Tibetan transcription of the late Panchen Lama's taped statement at Tashilhunpo Monastery, Shigatse, on 24 January, three days before his death on 28 January 1989)

B. Statement of 42nd Sakya Trizin Ratna Vajra Rinpoche

"His Holiness has the sole authority to decide on his reincarnation. I am positive that His Holiness will provide clear guidance and direction regarding this after a few years."

(The above statement is an excerpt from a June 26, 2019 interview with [Radio Free Asia](http://RadioFreeAsia.org))

C. Statement of Ganden Tripa Rinpoche

The tradition of reincarnation originated in Tibet from Karmapa after Karmapa Pakshi was recognized as the reincarnation of Karmapa

Dusum Khyenpa some eight hundred years ago. If the reincarnation brings the same benefit to sentient beings as their predecessor then it is extremely useful. This also serves the purpose of reincarnation. The question of misuse becomes possible when you fail to recognize the authentic reincarnation, largely when the one who is recognizing fails to recognize the unmistakable reincarnation. What China is doing is political gimmicks, that has no basis in facts. Many have even sacrificed their own lives. However, instead of sacrificing our precious lives, we must contribute in whatever way we could to serve the cause of dharma and sentient beings.

(Ganden Tripa Rinpoche is the head of The Gelug School of Tibetan Buddhism. Above statement is sourced from: Ahuja, Namrata. "What the Tibetan High Lamas have to say about Dalai Lama's reincarnation." The Week, 25 Jan. 2020, theweek.in)

D. Statement of The 17th Karmapa Ogyen Trinley Dorje

"In Tibetan traditions, we don't talk much about the reincarnation of a living master. However, now many questions are being generated. In my view, it is only the Dalai Lama himself who should decide about his future reincarnation. So I am confident and have full trust in his decision. There are many presumptive statements and guess works, but I am not worried."

(The 17th Karmapa Ogyen Trinley Dorje is the head of Karma Kagyu School of Tibetan Buddhism. The above statement is an excerpt from an April 15, 2015 interview with Radio Free Asia.)

E. Statement of Drikung Chetsang Rinpoche

Whether the reincarnation of His Holiness the Dalai Lama will be born or not is a matter that will be decided only by His Holiness himself and no one else. It is only to be expected that the tradition of the continuance of the lineage of the Dalai Lamas through successive

reincarnations shall remain for the sake of the people of Tibet and Buddhism.

(Drikung Chetsang Rinpoche is the head of The Drikung Kagyu School of Tibetan Buddhism. Above statement is sourced from: Ahuja, Namrata. "What the Tibetan High Lamas have to say about Dalai Lama's reincarnation." The Week, 25 Jan. 2020, theweek.in)

F. Statement of Menri Trizin

Generally speaking, the patron saint of Tibet is Chenrezig – Avolokiteshvara or the Bodhisattva of Compassion – and His Holiness the Dalai Lama is believed to be a manifestation of the Chenrezig. Thus, in my opinion, the Tibetan people, as well as all religious traditions of Tibet, are united in their belief that as long as the sufferings of the sentient beings inside Tibet are not alleviated, the reincarnation of the Dalai Lama will continue to be reborn. His Holiness the 14th Dalai Lama has already devolved the political authority of Gaden Phodrang. Therefore, his reincarnation is strictly a religious matter.

(Menri Trizin is the head of Yungdrung Bon. Above statement is sourced from: Ahuja, Namrata. "What the Tibetan High Lamas have to say about Dalai Lama's reincarnation." The Week, 25 Jan. 2020, theweek.in)

G. Statement by Shechen Rabjam Rinpoche

The recognition of reincarnate lamas was and still is a practice unique to the various traditions of Buddhism in the Himalayan regions. The succession of Dalai Lamas, including the Fourteenth Dalai Lama, is a part of this tradition.

Throughout their successive incarnations, The Dalai Lamas have worked for the general and spiritual welfare of the Tibetan people. In particular, the His Holiness Fourteenth Dalai Lama is universally recognised for his outstanding contributions to world peace and religious harmony, a person whose humanitarian activities are wide-ranging and all-encompassing.

Regarding the finding, recognition, and subsequent education of the reincarnation of the H H Fourteenth Dalai Lama, I believe we must adhere to the advice, direction, and decisions made by the present Dalai Lama to ensure the continuity of this wonderful legacy.

(Shechen Rabjam Rinpoche is a noted master of the Nyingma School of Tibetan Buddhism. Above statement was provided to the Asia Freedom Institute on February 13, 2024. Also, in Annex)

IV. Statements and Actions by The Central Tibetan Administration (CTA)

A. CTA's Position on the Issue of Reincarnation of The 14th Dalai Lama

The government of the People's Republic of China adopted the so-called law on 'Management Measures for the Reincarnation of Living Buddhas in Tibetan Buddhism' in 2007. Since then, the PRC has taken over the management of all monastic administrations and in particular, took complete control over the power to recognise reincarnated Lamas/Living Buddhas, and continue to use it to meet their political ends.

Moreover, the PRC government, in real time, conducts workshops, discussion forums, talk shows and uses various means to promote a false narrative on the issue of reincarnation in general; and on the reincarnation of the present Dalai Lama in particular. These activities are conducted on all the ordained and laity throughout Tibet.

It is also a fact that the issue of reincarnation of His Holiness the Dalai Lama continues to be discussed within our community and without as well. Therefore, The Kashag/Cabinet of the

Central Tibetan Administration felt the need to present this Position Paper for everyone's information.

- *The Kashag has firm belief that His Holiness will live to the ripe age of 113 as per propitious prescience and the repeated assurances of His Holiness the Dalai Lama.*
- *The system of recognizing reincarnated spiritual beings is a religious practice unique to Tibetan Buddhism. The fundamental thought behind this philosophy is to accept the principle of life after death.*
- *While extending our sincere appreciation and thankfulness to those freedom loving democratic countries around the world, including the United States of America for their complete endorsement of His Holiness's thoughts on this matter; we will pursue with due diligence to obtain similar support from as many like-minded countries as possible.*
- *With regards to the reincarnation of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, His Holiness's repeated statements since 1969, the official pronouncement of September 24, 2011, or any guidance in future is inherently discretionary. No government nor any individual has the right to interfere on this matter.*
- *This religious activity should be conducted as per the responsibilities that His Holiness enshrines and entrusts, We have full confidence in the leadership of the Central Tibetan Administration at the time to take responsibility as entrusted.*
- *The Kashag is in the process of working on other related matters that need to be addressed concerning this issue.*

May all be assured

The Kashag

September 29, 2022

(Source: [Original Statement](#) Also, in Annex)

B. March 10th 2023 Statement of the 17th Tibetan Parliament-In-Exile

The government of China has been continuous in interfering in and making abusive misuse of the unique Tibetan Buddhist tradition of the process for the discovery and recognition of the religiously important reincarnations of its Tulku figures. It has trampled on the customary Tibetan Buddhist practice of the discovery and recognition of reincarnations of religious leaders by passing regulations that are actually in direct contradiction with its previous assurances. In particular, China has already been carrying out preparations for the installation of its own candidate for the reincarnation of the present Dalai Lama. Through its official media, China has been proclaiming to the world the imperative of its claimed right to install its own choice of the reincarnation of the present Dalai Lama. To the government of China this is nothing but a matter of asserting of political power, for it keeps reiterating this assertion of right in a sort of mad tantrum while having no factual basis whatsoever to sustain its claim. The reality is that in the traditional Tibetan practice for the discovery and recognition of the reincarnations of tulkus, the decision resides in the concerned religious leader alone. Any claim of anyone else being entitled to interfere with it in a coercive manner is totally baseless in as much as there is no scope for any such meddling. In particular, in the case of the reincarnation of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, speeches have been given on successive occasions, clearly expressing his wishes. It goes without saying that these alone will be the basis on which Tibetans both in Tibet and in exile as well as the entire people in the international community will exercise their right of recognition of his reincarnation.

(The above statement is an excerpt from a longer statement issued by the 17th Tibetan Parliament in Exile. Source: tibetanparliament.org)

C. CTA Response to China's 'Order No. 5' (October 7, 2007)

Joint Statement to Repudiate the so-called Order no. 5 of China's State Administration of Religious Affairs on Management Measures for the Reincarnation of 'Living Buddhas' in Tibetan Buddhism.

Ludicrous and unwarranted as it is, China's State Administration of Religious Affairs has come out with a document called the order no. 5, containing 14 articles on Management Measures for the Reincarnation of 'Living Buddhas' in Tibetan Buddhism which, it said, will take effect on 1 September. Replete with contradictory statements and wild claims, the document reflects the ulterior or true motives of the Chinese leadership. Since it will serve as a big tool for the Chinese government to brutally repress the innocent Tibetans under their tyrannical rule and will also be recorded as a gross historical misrepresentation we feel it is necessary to issue a statement, repudiating this document through a brief analysis of its contents.

- *Religious freedom, as it is universally accepted or practised, means that all citizens can believe, or not believe, in any religion; that a believer can, according to his or her will, practise and propagate his or her religion; and especially that there should be no state or political interference whatsoever in religious affairs. These days, it is generally observed that in all countries save the theocracies the state does not meddle, or exercise control over, any of its citizen's religious activities. The People's Republic of China (PRC) does not only claim that it is an atheist state, but has also included freedom of religious belief among the fundamental rights of the people in its constitution. And yet it continues to forcibly interfere in the religious activities of all religions of the country, according to*



its political needs. This is something that all humanity, and especially all religious believers, should take great care to confront with.

- The document says that it guarantees the “citizens’ freedom of religious belief” and “respect Tibetan Buddhism’s practice of inheriting ‘Living Buddha’ positions”. This is a shameless statement, since it is very obvious that the order is but a means to trample upon the Tibetan people’s religious freedom, as well as Tibetan Buddhism’s practice of inheriting “Living Buddha” positions. During the last many centuries since the recognition of Tulkus (or the “Living Buddhas”) came into being, the principal disciples of the concerned lamas and the responsible officials of their spiritual seats have freely recognised their reincarnating beings, based on the latter’s faith in and spiritual bond with the former. Never was there an occasion when they had to seek approval from the state or its functionaries. Recognition of Tulkus is something that can neither be appointed from above, nor be elected by the general populace, or be bestowed upon someone as “titles” or “positions”. Since the task involved is to search for the place where the previous being has taken rebirth, it must be recognised through the prognostic signs demonstrated by the concerned reincarnating beings, in consultation with the lamas or protective deities gifted with intuitive powers, and through other traditional or religious methods of testing. Going by the religious and social norms, it is crystal clear that this cannot be done at all by the state or any political organisation.
- Highly-realised beings take rebirth for the benefit of the Dharma and sentient beings. As such, their meritorious service is not incumbent upon the state’s approval, or the formal recognition accorded by it.

Therefore simply by issuing an order on measures for the recognition of Tulkus, it cannot fulfill the order’s twin purpose of undermining or diluting Tibetan Buddhism, and exercising control over the hearts and minds of the Tibetan people through state-sponsored “Living Buddhas”. This will soon become clear to those who call the shots in Beijing, for today it is quite obvious to all whether the Tibetan people accept, or how much respect and devotion they have for, the high lamas anointed by the Chinese communist government.

- The document says that “the ‘Living Buddhas’ who have historically been recognised by drawing lots from the Golden Urn shall have their reincarnating souls recognised” by this very tradition. This shows the means employed by Communist China to meet its selfish ends. To cite an example, the Chinese government has while disregarding history or tradition, and acting according to the political needs of the times made two different decisions by firstly, trying to determine the reincarnation of the 9th Panchen Lama without resorting to the Golden Urn method; and secondly, even though the reincarnation of the 10th Panchen Lama was already determined through the traditional or religious system, China had issued strict instructions that the Golden Urn method be evoked, but even then the rituals associated with the Golden Urn were not properly followed. Moreover, they did not include in it the names of all the candidates and forced their own list of candidates. Everybody knows that the whole selection procedure was a farce, devoid of even the semblance of religious, traditional, historical and moral considerations.
- The document further says that the “reincarnating living Buddhas shall not be interfered with or be under the dominion

of any foreign organisation or individual". This reflects the principal objective of the order, as does the ultimate motive of the Chinese government. At present His Holiness the Dalai Lama, the supreme leader of the entire Tibetan Buddhist world and the heads of the four schools of Tibetan Buddhism as well as the traditional Bon religion are all residing in exile. If a system is instituted, whereby all of them were to be denied the right to offer guidance, and have the ultimate say, in matters relating to the recognition of Tulkus in their respective schools, it will completely jeopardise the unique tradition, or the religious system, of recognising Tulkus. It will also increase the number of fake Tulkus, enjoying the so-called state recognition. This, in turn, will erase the great faith and respect the common people have for the Tulkus, thus greatly contributing to the destruction and dilution of Tibetan Buddhism. Moreover, through the implementation of this order, the Buddhist followers in Tibet will be estranged from their lamas. It will, in particular, pave the way for the state to anoint fake reincarnations of high-ranking Tibetan lamas, disregarding those true incarnate Tulkus who are born outside the country, or in other country. It must, however, be emphasised that anyone would know that this evil design of theirs will never lead to fruition; they are simply engaging themselves in wishful thinking.

- While implementing these measures, the most important thing to note is that the document does not specify the basis on which the decisions in granting approval to, and recognition of, Tulkus will be taken. As such, will the concerned officials of the Religious Affairs Bureaus of the National People's Congresses of the provincial and regional levels, the National Religious Affairs Bureau and the State Council who are supposed to be the competent authorities

in this respect give approval to recognise, and accord state recognition to, a Tulku after having determined confidently that the inheritance lineage of the Tulku is real; that his lineage has continued to the present day; and that he is the true reincarnating soul of the previous lama? Or will they follow their whims in giving approval and according state recognition? If the former is true, then does it not prove that those at the helm of China's communist government have accepted, and are actually practising, the Buddhist philosophy. In which case, they must categorically state that they have abandoned their communist ideology of viewing religion as opium that obstructs the development of society and that it is a blind faith. Whereas if the latter is true, then is it not an incontrovertible evidence of the fact that the PRC's overall policy on religion, including these measures for managing Tulkus, is nothing but a deceitful lie. However, this lie will not at all be able to fool the Tibetans and the people of the world.

- Due to the reasons cited above, the heads of all the religious schools of Tibetan Buddhism; the monks, nuns, mantra holders and other lay followers of the respective schools and the Department of Religion and Culture of the Central Tibetan Administration collectively issue this statement repudiating the so-called order no. 5 of China's State Administration of Religious Affairs that it is against the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights and the PRC's constitution; that it is against history and the aspiration of the broad masses of people who believe in Tibetan Buddhism. Furthermore, it is a new weapon employed by the Chinese government to undermine Tibetan Buddhism, and to insult and oppress the Tibetan people. At the same time, we would like to make an emphatic appeal to the Tibetans in general; and



especially to the Tibetan leaders, officials, party cadres and the general public in the so-called Tibet Autonomous Region as well as other Tibetan autonomous prefectures and counties that as provided for in the PRC's Law on Regional National Autonomy: "If a resolution, decision, order or instruction of a state organ at a higher level does not suit the conditions in a national autonomous area, the organ of self-government of the area may ...cease implementing it after reporting to and receiving the approval of the state organ at a higher level," they should impress upon their legitimate authorities that this order is not in keeping with the actual prevailing situation of the Tibetan autonomous areas, and so they should be allowed to repudiate, and halt the implementation of this order.

Kalon for Religion and Culture
Central Tibetan Administration

(Source: www.tibet.net)

D. Resolutions From The 3rd Special General Meeting of Tibetans Held by the CTA in Dharamsala, India (October 3-5, 2019)

PREAMBLE (Language on reincarnation):

Regarding the process for the discovery and recognition of the reincarnation of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, there is a well-established, unique historical tradition for the recognition of reincarnations in Tibetan Buddhism which dates back from the very early part of the 13th century and it is fully preserved to this day.

The relationship between successive Dalai Lamas and the Tibetan people has been akin to that between head and neck, or, as it were, between the body and its shadow, and therefore never ever separable. Hence it is only to be expected that the tradition of the continuance of the lineage of the Dalai

Lamas through successive reincarnations should remain for the sake of the people of the Snowland of Tibet. Therefore through this Special General Meeting the 340 delegates who have come from 24 counties as representatives of the general Tibetan public sees it as imperative to adopt a resolution which thus follows hereunder.

RESOLUTIONS:

- *That this Special General Meeting prays with unchangeable resolve that His Holiness the Great Fourteen Dalai Lama, the unsurpassable leader who is like the eyes on the foreheads and the heart in the bosoms of all the tsampa-eating subjects of the Tibetan nation may continue on as their ultimate protector-refuge of utmost recourse both for this and their future lives for a hundred aeons.*
- *That on behalf of all the Tibetan people presently living in Tibet and in exile, this Special General Meeting prays with a single-minded devotion, and in a single voice, that for as long as sentient beings remain extant on the Snowland of Tibet, the lineage of successive reincarnations of His Holiness the Dalai Lama may continue with imperativeness for the sake of the dharma and the sentient beings of this land.*
- *That this Special General Meeting is of the position that with regard to the process for the discovery and recognition of the reincarnation of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, the entire task and power lies in His Holiness Himself and the duly empowered responsible officials of the Gaden Phodrang Trust of the Dalai Lama and in no way in any other entity, be it any nation, any government, any organization of whatever description, or any private individual.*
- *That this Special General Meeting is resolute in rejecting outright the efforts made and*

still being made by the government of China in the process for the discovery and recognition of reincarnations in Tibetan Buddhism in general and especially its coercive Order No. 5 declared in 2007 on the question of the recognition of reincarnations of tulkus and lamas in Tibetan Buddhism through which it sought to plot its interference in the recognition of the reincarnation of His Holiness the Dalai Lama and this resolution has been unanimously so adopted.

Such opinions and suggestions endorsed by the different committees of this Special General Meeting as well as such of those opinions and suggestions submitted by the wider general Tibetan public as are available in writing will be examined and on that basis implemented by the Kashag and the Tibetan Parliament in Exile. Resolved accordingly by unanimous decision of the Third Special General Meeting of Tibetans on this the 7th day of the 8th month of the Earth-Hog Tibetan Royal Year 2146, corresponding to the 5th of October 2019.

Pema Jungney
Speaker, Tibetan Parliament in Exile

Acharya Yeshe Phuntsok
Deputy-Speaker, Tibetan Parliament in Exile

(Source: www.tibet.net. [Download](#) the Full Document.
Also, in Annex)

E. Resolution of The Tibetan Parliament-In-Exile (October 11, 2019)

PREAMBLE (Language on reincarnation):

It has been 70 years since the Communist Party of China began to govern China after it established on the 1st of October in 1949 what it called the People's Republic of China. Under the armed invasion and accompanying

violent repression of the communist Chinese government, the entire territory and the natural and human resources of the great independent nation of Tibet was, through course of time, brought under the dominion of the occupation rule. As a result, His Holiness the Dalai Lama, the supreme temporal head and spiritual leader of Tibet, was compelled to travel to India for refuge, along with many tens of thousands of other Tibetan people. Over the last more than 60 years, there has been no change whatsoever in the policy of violent repression and brutal persecution pursued by the government of China on the issue of Tibet. In addition, on the one hand China maintains that His Holiness the Dalai Lama is a separatist, the head of the 'Dalai separatist clique' and thereby issues all sorts of blasphemous as well as libelous remarks and vile epithets against Him. On the other hand, it has issued documents such as the State Religious Affairs Bureau Order No. 5 which lays down Measures on the Management of the Reincarnation of Living Buddhas and thereby greatly increased its interference in the process for the recognition of His reincarnation in recent years. On that basis, it has taken to subject the lamas, tulkus and other religious figures in Tibet to special training courses. Through such and various other means as well, the government of China has strengthened its interferences by taking direct charge of matters concerned with the process for the recognition of the reincarnation of His Holiness the Dalai Lama and this remains an ever growing intrusive trend.

RESOLUTION (Five resolutions adopted. The first one is on reincarnation):

- *His Holiness the Dalai Lama, the unsurpassable leader of the Tibetan people, is like the eyes on the forehead and the hearts in the bosoms of all sentient beings in general in the Snowland of Tibet and especially of all of the Tibetan people in Tibet and in exile with whom He is connected*



by a special bond of devotional vows that continues from lifetime after lifetime. Hence the leadership of the Chinese government should bring an end to its separatist campaign activities of blasphemy and defamation being carried out against Him. All powers to take decisions pertaining to the process for the discovery and recognition of the reincarnation of His Holiness the Dalai Lama lie exclusively in His Holiness Himself and the duly empowered trustees of the Gaden Phodrang Foundation of the Dalai Lama. The Tibetan Parliament in Exile remains emphatic that the leadership of the atheist communist Chinese government can never have that power.

(The above resolution was adopted with unanimous approval at the 8th session of the 16th Tibetan Parliament-in-Exile on September 20, 2019. Source: tibetanparliament.org. Download the Full Document in Tibetan. Also, in Annex)

F. Resolution of The 14th Tibetan Religious Conference Held by The CTA in Dharamsala, India (November 27-29, 2019)

- The Karmic bond between the Dalai Lamas and the Tibetan people have been inseparable and the present status of the Tibetan people being extremely critical, all Tibetans genuinely wish for the continuation of the Institution and Reincarnation of the Dalai Lama in the future. We therefore strongly supplicate to His Holiness the XIV Dalai Lama for the same.
- The authority of decision concerning the way and the manner in which the next reincarnation of the XIV Dalai Lama should appear solely rests with His Holiness the XIV

Dalai Lama himself. No government or otherwise will have such authority. If the Government of the People's Republic of China for political ends chooses a candidate for the Dalai Lama, the Tibetan people will not recognize and respect that candidate.

- Regarding the method of recognizing the future reincarnations of the Dalai Lama, the same unique Tibetan traditional method, which has been continuously used until now, will be followed. This method conforms to the basic philosophy and tenets of the Buddhist dharma and originated in Tibet over 800 years ago. (Source: tibet.net)

G. March 10th 2012 Statement of The 14th Kashag

The Tibetan people and current Kashag are extremely blessed to have the continuing presence and wisdom of His Holiness the great 14th Dalai Lama. The Kashag extends absolute support to the historic statement issued on September 24, 2011 by His Holiness concerning his reincarnation. We believe His Holiness alone has the right to determine his reincarnation, and that the communist Tibetan people and current Kashag are extremely blessed to have the continuing presence and wisdom of His Holiness the great 14th Dalai Lama. The Kashag extends absolute support to the historic statement issued on September 24, 2011 by His Holiness concerning his reincarnation. We believe His Holiness alone has the right to determine his reincarnation, and that the communist government of China has absolutely no say or role in this matter.

(The above statement is an excerpt from a longer statement issued by the 14th Kashag. Source: tibet.net)

V. Statements by The United Nations (UN)

Letter to the Government of the People's Republic of China (PRC) From the UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights. (June 2, 2024)

REFERENCE: AL CHN 12/2020
2 June 2020

Excellency,

We have the honour to address you in our capacities as Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances; Working Group on Arbitrary Detention; Special Rapporteur in the field of cultural rights; Special Rapporteur on minority issues; and Special Rapporteur on freedom of religion or belief, pursuant to Human Rights Council resolutions 36/6, 42/22, 37/12, 34/6 and 40/10.

In this connection, we would like to bring to the attention of your Excellency's Government information we have received concerning the continued enforced disappearance of Gedhun Cheokyi Nyima, and the regulation of reincarnation of Tibetan living Buddhas against the religious traditions and practices of the Tibetan Buddhist minority. The 17 May 2020 marked 25 years since the disappearance of Gedhun Cheokyi Nyima.

The case of Gedhun Cheokyi Nyima has previously been raised with your Excellency's Government by Special Procedures mandate holders in CHN 13/2005 and CHN 12/2007. We thank your Excellency's Government for the replies received to these communications.

We would also like to recall that the case of Gedhun Cheokyi Nyima has also been treated under the humanitarian mandate of the Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances.

Furthermore, Special Rapporteurs on freedom of religion or belief have raised concerns on the measures taken by the authorities to manage the search, identification and the reincarnation of Buddhist Lamas in 1991 (E/CN.4/1992/52, para 22), 1996 (E/CN.4/1996/95, para 40) and 2006 (E/CN.4/2006/5/Add.1, paras 94-95).

According to the information received:

On 14 May 1995, Mr. Gedhun Cheokyi Nyima, then six years of age, was recognized as the 11th reincarnation of the Panchen Lama by the Dalai Lama. Shortly after this date, Mr. Nyima and his parents were taken away from their village by members of the Chinese Government. The 17 May 2020 marked 25 years since the disappearance of Gedhun Cheokyi Nyima.

The Government of China has confirmed that he was taken away with his family but has refused to provide precise information on his fate and whereabouts despite multiple requests. The Government initially indicated he was being held in "government protection," and later that he was living a normal life. During this period, he has reportedly been deprived of the religious education in Tibetan Buddhism.

Following the disappearance of Mr. Gedhun Cheokyi Nyima, the Chinese Government attempted to nominate and appoint their preferred choice of individual as the eleventh Panchen Lama. Moreover, the authorities also attempted to regulate the appointment of Tibetan religious leaders, which went against the intrinsic beliefs and religious traditions of Tibetan Buddhists. In 2007, the Government issued the "State Religious Affairs Bureau Order No.5 (Bureau Order)" that specifically laid down measures in managing the reincarnation of Tibetan living Buddha. In article 2 of Bureau Order, it was stressed that "living Buddha reincarnations should respect and protect the principles of the unification of



the state, protecting the unity of the minorities, protecting religious concord and social harmony, and protecting the normal order of Tibetan Buddhism". In articles 3 and 4, the Bureau Order set the conditions for the application of reincarnation of living Buddha and also granted authority to local Governments to decide if a reincarnation is permissible. In the rest of the Bureau Order, it detailed various procedures for receiving the Buddhist Association of China's opinion and the State's permission or approval for reincarnation.

In 2016, the Chinese Government published an online database of the State-approved Tibetan Buddhist reincarnations with over 1300 biographies of living Buddhas residing in the country as provided by the Buddhist Association of China. The regulation of reincarnation is enhanced subsequently in article 36 of the Religious Affairs Regulations 2017, which provides that: "the succession of living Buddhas in Tibetan Buddhism is to be conducted under the guidance of Buddhist groups and in accordance with the religious rites and historical conventions, and is to be reported for approval to the religious affairs department of people's governments at the provincial level or above or to a people's government at the provincial level or above". Many Tibetan Buddhists have expressed their concerns about the regulation of reincarnation as it undermines the Tibetan religious traditions and practices while such regulation allow the State to interfere in the choice of their religious leaders. Furthermore, there is fear that the Chinese authority will identify and appoint the successor of the current (fourteenth) Dalai Lama against the Tibetan traditions and the wish of Tibetan Buddhist communities.

Without prejudging the accuracy of this information, we express grave concern at the continued refusal by the Government of China to disclose precisely the whereabouts of

Gedhun Cheokyi Nyima. We are also particularly concerned that the regulation of reincarnation of Tibetan living Buddhas may interfere and possibly undermines, in a discriminatory way, the religious traditions and practices of the Tibetan Buddhist minority.

Should these allegations be confirmed, they would contravene international human rights law provisions, such as the prohibition against discrimination, the right to recognition as a person before the law and to its equal protection without discrimination, the right not be deprived arbitrarily of one's liberty, the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion and to freely participate in cultural life in accordance with articles 2, 3, 6, 7, 9, 18 and 27 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and article 15 of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. The continued enforced disappearance of Mr. Gedhun Cheokyi Nyima for the past 25 years contravenes several articles of the United Nations Declaration on the Protection of All Persons from Enforced Disappearances including articles 2 and 7.

The disappearance of Mr. Gedhun Cheokyi Nyima has been raised with your Excellency's Government multiple times by Special Procedures mandate holders. The UN Committee on the Rights of the Child (CRC) has also requested China to allow an independent expert to visit Mr. Gedhun Cheokyi Nyima to confirm his whereabouts and verify the fulfilment of his rights (CRC/C/SR.299 and CRC/C/CHN/CO/3-4). We note that your Excellency's Government has expressed on several occasions its support for the international community's efforts to eliminate and prevent enforced disappearances, including at the Human Rights Council. We thus reiterate our demand for your Excellency's Government to provide prompt and detailed information on Mr. Gedhun Cheokyi Nyima's whereabouts and we endorse the CRC's

recommendation to allow an independent monitor to visit him to confirm his whereabouts and the extent to which he is able to enjoy and exercise his rights. We also appeal to your Excellency's Government to ensure that Tibetan Buddhists are able to freely practice their religion, traditions and culture without interference.

In connection with the above alleged facts and concerns, please refer to the Annex on Reference to international human rights law attached to this letter which cites international human rights instruments and standards relevant to these allegations.

As it is our responsibility, under the mandates provided to us by the Human Rights Council, to seek to clarify all cases brought to our attention, we would be grateful for your observations on the following matters:

- *Please provide any additional information and/or comment(s) you may have on the above-mentioned allegations.*
- *Please provide prompt and detailed information on the fate and whereabouts of Mr. Gedhun Cheekyi Nyima.*
- *Please explain how the regulation of reincarnation of living Buddhas is compatible with the protection of freedom of religion or belief and the protection of religious minorities without discrimination under international human rights law.*

This communication and any response received from your Excellency's Government will be made public via the communications reporting website within 60 days. They will also subsequently be made available in the usual report to be presented to the Human Rights Council.

We may publicly express our concerns in the near future in this case. We have been communicating repeatedly with the

Government of China to clarify the fate and whereabouts of Mr. Gedhun Cheekyi Nyima for the past 25 years, thus far, without a satisfactory response. We also believe that the regulatory framework applied to religious communities, should not interfere or undermine the right of these communities to follow their beliefs and traditions. Any public expression of concern on our part will indicate that we have been in contact with your Excellency's Government's to clarify the issue/s in question.

Please accept, Excellency, the assurances of our highest consideration.

Luciano Hazan

Chair-Rapporteur of the Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances

Elina Steinerte

Vice-Chair of the Working Group on Arbitrary Detention

Karima Bennouna

Special Rapporteur in the field of cultural rights

Fernand de Varennes

Special Rapporteur on minority issues

Ahmed Shaheed

Special Rapporteur on freedom of religion or belief

(Source: spcommreports.ohchr.org Also, in Annex)

VI. Statements and Actions of The U.S. Government

A. Tibet Policy and Support Act of 2020

(Part of Consolidated Appropriations Act, 2021. Became Public Law 116-260. December 27, 2020. Subtitle E – Tibetan Policy and Support Act of 2020.)



SEC. 342. STATEMENT OF POLICY REGARDING THE
SUCCESSION OR REINCARNATION OF THE DALAI
LAMA.

(a) FINDINGS – Congress finds the following:

1. Tibetan Buddhism is practiced in many countries including Bhutan, India, Mongolia, Nepal, the People's Republic of China, the Russian Federation, and the United States, yet the Government of the People's Republic of China has repeatedly insisted on its role in managing the selection of Tibet's next spiritual leader, the Dalai Lama, through actions such as those described in the "Measures on the Management of the Reincarnation of Living Buddhas" in 2007.
2. On March 19, 2019, Chinese Ministry of Affairs spokesperson reiterated that the "reincarnation of living Buddhas including the Dalai Lama must comply with Chinese laws and regulations and follow religious rituals and historical conventions".
3. The Government of the People's Republic of China has interfered in the process of recognizing a successor or reincarnation of Tibetan Buddhist leaders, including in 1995 by arbitrarily detaining Gedhun Choekyi Nyima, a 6-year old boy who was identified as the 11th Panchen Lama, and purporting to install its own candidate as the Panchen Lama.
4. The 14th Dalai Lama, Tenzin Gyatso, issued a statement on September 24, 2011, explaining the traditions and spiritual precepts of the selection of Dalai Lamas, setting forth his views on the considerations and process for selecting his successor, and providing a response to the Chinese government's claims that only the Chinese government has the ultimate authority in the selection process of the Dalai Lama.
5. The 14th Dalai Lama said in his statement that the person who reincarnates has sole legitimate authority over where and how he or she takes rebirth and how that reincarnation is to be recognized and if there is a need for a 15th Dalai Lama to be recognized, then the responsibility shall primarily rest with the officers of the Dalai Lama's Gaden Phodrang Trust, who will be informed by the written instructions of the 14th Dalai Lama.
6. Since 2011, the 14th Dalai Lama has reiterated publicly on numerous occasions that decisions on the successions, emanations, or reincarnations of the Dalai Lama belong to the Tibetan Buddhist faith community alone.
7. On June 8, 2015, the United States House of Representatives unanimously approved House Resolution 337 which calls on the United States Government to "underscore that government interference in the Tibetan reincarnation process is a violation of the internationally recognized right to religious freedom . . . and to highlight the fact that other countries besides China have long Tibetan Buddhist traditions, and that matters related to reincarnations in Tibetan Buddhism are of keen interest to Tibetan Buddhist populations worldwide".
8. On April 25, 2018, the United States Senate unanimously approved Senate Resolution 429 which "expresses its sense that the identification and installation of Tibetan Buddhist religious leaders, including a future 15th Dalai Lama, is a matter that should be determined solely within the Tibetan Buddhist faith community, in accordance with the inalienable right to religious freedom".
9. The Department of State's Report on International Religious Freedom for 2018 reported on policies and efforts of the

Government of the People's Republic of China to exert control over the selection of Tibetan Buddhist religious leaders, including reincarnate lamas, and stated that (United States) officials underscored that decisions on the reincarnation of the Dalai Lama should be made solely by faith leaders."

(b) STATEMENT OF POLICY. – It is the policy of the United States that—

- 1. Decisions regarding the selection, education, and veneration of Tibetan Buddhist religious leaders are exclusively spiritual matters that should be made by the appropriate religious authorities within the Tibetan Buddhist tradition and in the context of the will of practitioners of Tibetan Buddhism;*
- 2. The wishes of the 14th Dalai Lama, including any written instructions, should play a key role in the selection, education, and veneration of a future 15th Dalai Lama; and*
- 3. Interference by the Government of the People's Republic of China or any other government in the process of recognizing a successor or reincarnation of the 14th Dalai Lama and any future Dalai Lamas would represent a clear abuse of the right to religious freedom of Tibetan Buddhists and the Tibetan people.*

(c) HOLDING CHINESE OFFICIALS RESPONSIBLE FOR RELIGIOUS FREEDOM ABUSES TARGETING TIBETAN BUDDHISTS—

It is the policy of the United States to take all appropriate measures to hold accountable senior officials of the Government of the People's Republic of China or the Chinese Communist Party who directly interfere with the identification and installation of the future 15th Dalai Lama of Tibetan Buddhism, successor to the 14th Dalai Lama, including by—

- 1. Imposing sanctions pursuant to the Global Magnitsky Human Rights Accountability Act (22 U.S.C. 2656 note); and*
- 2. Prohibiting admission to the United States under section 212(a)(2)(G) of the Immigration and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1182(a)(2)(G)).*

(d) DEPARTMENT OF STATE PROGRAMMING TO PROMOTE RELIGIOUS FREEDOM FOR TIBETAN BUDDHISTS—

Consistent with section 401 of the Frank R. Wolf International Religious Freedom Act (Public Law 114–281; 130 Stat. 1436), the Ambassador-at-Large for International Religious Freedom should support efforts to protect and promote international religious freedom in China and for programs to protect Tibetan Buddhism in China and elsewhere.

(Source: [Download](#) full text of the Tibet Policy and Support Act of 2020. Also, in Annex)

B. Department of State Authorities Act, Fiscal Year 2017, Improvements Act. Public Law 115–94. (February 14, 2017)

SEC. 13. RESTORATION OF TIBET REPORT

(b) PERIODIC REPORTS.—Not later than 180 days after the date of the enactment of the Department of State Authorities Act, Fiscal Year 2017, Improvements Act, and annually thereafter until December 31, 2021, the President shall transmit to the appropriate congressional committees a report on—

- 1. (1) the steps taken by the President and the Secretary in accordance with subsection (a)(1) to implement the Tibetan Policy Act of 2002; and*
- 2. (2) the status of any discussions between the People's Republic of China and the Dalai Lama or his representatives or a*



successor selected by a method of the 14th Dalai Lama's own choosing or the representatives of such successor.

(Source: [Department of State Authorities Act, Fiscal Year 2017, Improvements Act](#))

C. Statement of Antony J. Blinken, US Secretary of State on the Occasion of the Dalai Lama's 88th Birthday. (July 6, 2023)

"I extend my warmest wishes to His Holiness the Dalai Lama on the occasion of his 88th birthday, an auspicious day for the Tibetan community. His Holiness's kindness and humility serve as an inspiration to many around the world, and I have deep admiration for his ongoing commitment to peace and nonviolence. Today, may we reflect on his messages of compassion and tolerance as we reaffirm our commitment to upholding the human rights of all people, including those of the Tibetan community.

The United States is unwavering in our commitment to support the linguistic, cultural, and religious identity of Tibetans, including the ability to freely choose and venerate their religious leaders without interference."

(Source: [Statement of Secretary Blinken](#). Also, in Annex)

D. United States Special Coordinator for Tibetan Issues, Uzra Zeya's Remarks at the State Department 2023 Losar Reception

"The PRC continues to implement draconian systems of control that seek to "Sinicize" the Tibetan population. It interferes in the succession process of Tibetan Buddhist lamas, including the Dalai Lama, both within the PRC and throughout the region."

(Source: [Statement of Under Secretary Zeya](#))

E. Remarks of Uzra Zeya, United States Special Coordinator for Tibetan Issues. (October 4, 2022)

"My friends, we are gathered here today at a critical moment for Tibet and the survival of its distinct religious, cultural, and linguistic heritage. PRC authorities continue to wage a campaign of repression against the Tibetan community. There is perhaps no better issue that exemplifies the ramifications of these policies than the Dalai Lama's succession. PRC authorities have made clear they have every intention of co-opting the succession process of Tibetan Buddhist lamas, including His Holiness. The PRC views this co-optation as critical to eroding international support for Tibet and completing its forcible "Sinicization" of the six million Tibetans in the PRC. PRC authorities have shown they are willing to act with cruelty when any succession process falls outside the bounds of their control. Twenty-seven years ago, the PRC abducted the 11th Panchen Lama, Gedhun Choekyi Nyima, who at the time was six years old. The PRC then selected and promoted a state proxy who is not recognized by the Tibetan community.

As you will hear from our panelists and as detailed in the International Tibet Network's research, PRC interference in Tibetan Buddhism extends well beyond PRC borders and has global implications. In fact, PRC policies on the succession issue are part of broader efforts to reshape and undermine human rights globally, including through transnational repression and acts targeting the right to freedom of religion or belief.

The importance of this issue, its ramifications for the preservation of Tibet's rich religious traditions, the dignity of the global Tibetan community, and the protection of the human rights and fundamental freedoms that we all hold dear, deserves the international community's urgent attention.

The United States will continue to call out PRC authorities for their repression against the Tibetan community.”

(Source: Uzra Zeya spoke at a side event of the 51st Session of the Human Rights Council. The event hosted by the US Mission in Geneva was titled “The Global Implications of the Dalai Lama’s Succession” where a report by the International Tibet Network: “Tibet, the Dalai Lama, and the Geopolitics of Reincarnation” was also launched. Above are excerpts from her remarks: Full Statement of Under Secretary Uzra Zeya)

F. U.S. Department of State. Office of International Religious Freedom. 2022 Report on International Religious Freedom: China–Tibet

The government exerted control over the selection of Tibetan Buddhist lamas. Authorities harassed Tibetan families for maintaining contact with relatives living abroad. Officials routinely made public statements denigrating the Dalai Lama and promoting the Sinicization of Tibetan Buddhism.

U.S. officials underscored that decisions on the succession of the Dalai Lama should be made solely by the Tibetan people, free from interference.

According to media and NGO reports, the CCP continued to maintain a list of state-approved “living buddhas.” In 2018, the BAC announced its database contained 1,311 “living buddhas” it deemed “authentic.” The Dalai Lama was reportedly not on the list. The database reportedly overlapped with the database required by the 2021 Administrative Measures for Religious Clergy, which also included monks who were not “living buddhas.” According to sources, every individual on the official reincarnation database received political training in state ideology, entirely separate from religious training, that emphasized that their career and role in the religious community depended on motivating followers “to love the Party, love the country and social stability

maintenance work, as well as fight against ‘separatism’ and the Dalai Lama.

(Source: Full 2022 Report on International Religious Freedom: China–Tibet)

G. Remarks of Robert Destro, United States Special Coordinator for Tibetan Issues. (December 4, 2020)

“It is no accident that the Chinese Communist Party claims the right to direct the selection of the next Dalai Lama, and through that process to remake or in its words to “Sinicize” Tibetan Buddhism in its own Communist image.

The Communist Party has stated clearly that it should control the succession of the Dalai Lama, the spiritual leader of Tibetan Buddhists all around the world, just because there are Buddhists in China. There are roughly as many Catholics in China. Mark my words, when the opportunity presents itself, the Communist Party will by the same logic join the list of governments in history that have claimed the right to influence the election of the next Pope. You can bet as night follows day, that will be the claim.

The United States rejects attempts by any government to limit the freedom of all religious communities to choose their own leaders, define their own doctrines, and to preserve the internal coherence of their faith. On this point, the United States is completely unified: Republicans, Democrats, Executive, Congress, the Supreme Court of the United States. We all understand that religions have the right to control their own leadership and the United States government understands that the Communist Party’s attempt to control world religions and decisions of sovereign nation states is a major threat to global peace and stability.”

(Source: Robert Destro spoke at a virtual event hosted by Ambassador Andrew Bremberg, permanent representative of the United States of America to the



Office of the United Nations. The event was titled: “Religious Freedom in Tibet: The Appointment of Buddhist Leaders and the Succession of the Dalai Lama.” US Ambassador-at-Large for International Religious Freedom Sam Brownback and CTA President Lobsang Sangay also spoke at the event. Above are excerpts from his remarks. [Full Statement of Robert Destro](#). [YouTube Video of the Event](#))

H. Statement of Samuel D. Brownback, U.S. Ambassador at Large for International Religious Freedom. (October 28, 2019)

The chief purpose of their visit as they mentioned during their welcome reception is to send a clear message to the world particularly China that, “the United States government supports the Tibetan people, the Dalai Lama and that the role of picking a successor to the Dalai Lama belongs to the Tibetan Buddhist system, the Dalai Lama and other Tibetan Buddhist leaders. It does not belong to anybody else, not any government or any entity.” (Source: [tibet.net](#))

(Ambassador Samuel Brownback met with the Dalai Lama in Dharamsala on October 28, 2019 and made the above statement)

VII. Bills and Resolutions in The United States Congress

A. S.138

[Promoting a Resolution to the Tibet-China Conflict Act](#) (Bill. 01/30/2023) Companion House of Representatives Bill: [H.R.533](#)

SEC. 6. AVAILABILITY OF AMOUNTS TO COUNTER DISINFORMATION ABOUT TIBET.

Amounts authorized to be appropriated or otherwise made available to carry out section 201(c) of the Asia Reassurance Initiative Act of 2018 (22 U.S.C. 2292 et seq.) are authorized to

be made available to counter disinformation about Tibet from the Government of the People’s Republic of China and the Chinese Communist Party, including disinformation about the history of Tibet, the Tibetan people, and Tibetan institutions including that of the Dalai Lama.

(The above legislation was also introduced in the 117th Congress in both the [Senate](#) and [House of Representatives](#)) (Source: [congress.gov](#))

B. H.R.3524

[Ensuring American Global Leadership and Engagement Act](#) (Bill. 05/25/2021) Companion Senate Bill: [S.1169](#)

SEC. 307. UNITED STATES POLICY AND INTERNATIONAL ENGAGEMENT ON THE SUCCESSION OR REINCARNATION OF THE DALAI LAMA AND RELIGIOUS FREEDOM OF TIBETAN BUDDHISTS.

(a) Reaffirmation of Policy.—

It is the policy of the United States, as provided under section 342(b) of division FF of the Consolidated Appropriations Act, 2021 (Public Law 116–260), that any “interference by the Government of the People’s Republic of China or any other government in the process of recognizing a successor or reincarnation of the 14th Dalai Lama and any future Dalai Lamas would represent a clear abuse of the right to religious freedom of Tibetan Buddhists and the Tibetan people”.

(b) International Efforts To Protect Religious Freedom Of Tibetan Buddhists.—The Secretary of State should engage with United States allies and partners to—

- Support Tibetan Buddhist religious leaders’ sole religious authority to identify and install the 15th Dalai Lama;
- Oppose claims by the Government of the People’s Republic of China (PRC) that the

PRC has the authority to decide for Tibetan Buddhists the 15th Dalai Lama; and

- *Reject interference by the Government of the PRC in the religious freedom of Tibetan Buddhists. (Source: [congress.gov](https://www.congress.gov))*

C. S.1260

United States Innovation and Competition Act of 2021 (Bill. 04/20/2021) Companion House of Representatives Bill: [H.R. 4521](#)

(The two bills have the same language on reincarnation as H.R.3524 and S.1169)

D. S.2539

Tibetan Policy and Support Act of 2019 (Bill 09/24/2019) Companion House of Representative Bill: [H.R.4331](#)

There is significant language on the reincarnation and succession of the Dalai Lama. Some of the language mirrors the one in the Tibet Policy and Support Act of 2020. (Source: [Language related to the succession or reincarnation of the Dalai Lama](#))

E. S.Res.752

A Resolution Condemning the Chinese Communist Party's Use of Forced Labor and Other Coercive Measures to Destroy Religious Freedom in Tibet. (Resolution. 10/22/2020)

Condemning the Chinese Communist Party's use of forced labor and other coercive measures to destroy religious freedom in Tibet.

Whereas the Chinese Communist Party has long persecuted Tibetans for their religious beliefs, including by illegitimately claiming authority to designate the Dalai Lama's successor, destroying religious institutions, and arbitrarily detaining, disappearing, and torturing Tibetans in order to compel adherence to "normal religious activities", as sanctioned by the Party.

Resolved, That the Senate—

- *Condemns the Chinese Communist Party's campaign against religious freedom in Tibet, including its plainly illegitimate efforts to designate the next Dalai Lama, which is a matter that should be determined solely within the Tibetan Buddhist faith community.*

F. S.4629

America LEADS Act (Bill. 09/17/2020)

The text of the bill has detailed language on reincarnation and institution of the Dalai Lama some of which is in the Tibet Policy and Support Act of 2020 (Source: [congress.gov](https://www.congress.gov))

G. S.Res.408

A resolution commemorating the 59th anniversary of Tibet's 1959 uprising as "Tibetan Rights Day", and expressing support for the human rights and religious freedom of the Tibetan people and the Tibetan Buddhist faith community. (Resolution. 02/15/2018)

Related Resolutions: [S.Res.429](#) (03/08/2018). [H.Res.743](#) (02/16/2018)

Commemorating the 59th anniversary of Tibet's 1959 uprising as "Tibetan Rights Day", and expressing support for the human rights and religious freedom of the Tibetan people and the Tibetan Buddhist faith community.

Whereas, in 2011, the 14th Dalai Lama declared that the responsibility for identifying a future 15th Dalai Lama will rest with officials of the Dalai Lama's private office and that "apart from the reincarnation recognized through such legitimate methods, no recognition or acceptance should be given to a candidate chosen for political ends by anyone, including those in the People's Republic of China".



Resolved, That the Senate –

- (4) Expresses its sense that the identification and installation of Tibetan Buddhist religious leaders, including a future 15th Dalai Lama, is a matter that should be determined solely within the Tibetan Buddhist faith community, in accordance with the inalienable right to religious freedom.
- (5) Expresses its sense that any attempt by the Government of the People's Republic of China to identify or install its own candidate as a Tibetan Buddhist religious leader, including a future 15th Dalai Lama, is invalid interference in the right to religious freedom of Tibetan Buddhists around the world, including in Tibet as well as the United States and elsewhere.

H. Congressional-Executive Commission on China (CECC)

H.1 CECC Annual Report 2022

The PRC continued to restrict, and seek to control, the religious practices of Tibetans, the majority of whom practice Tibetan Buddhism. Authorities in Tibetan areas issued prohibitions on forms of religious worship, particularly during major religious events or around the times of politically sensitive anniversaries, and restricted access to Tibetan Buddhist religious institutions. The PRC continued to assert control over the process of selection and recognition of Tibetan Buddhist reincarnated teachers, including the Dalai Lama (Excerpts from the Executive Summary) (Source: Full CECC 2022 Report)

H.2 Statement of Senator Marco Rubio on the Passage of the Tibetan Policy and Support Act. (December 22, 2020)

"Passage of the Tibetan Policy and Support Act sends an important message that the United States stands with the Tibetan people and against any effort by the Chinese Communist Party to interfere with the religious process of identifying Tibetan Buddhist leaders, such as the Dalai Lama." (Source: cecc.gov)

H.3 Letter From Senator Jeff Merkeley and Representative James McGovern, the Chairman and Cochair Respectively of the CECC to the US House and Senate Leadership Urging Members of Congress to include "Robust Provisions on Human Rights Principles" in the Legislation That Eventually Became the CHIPS Act of 2022. (March 28, 2022)

CECC recommendations in the final bill included the following:

- Ensuring proper rank of the Special Coordinator for Tibetan Issues and establishment of a Tibet Unit at the U.S. Embassy in Beijing (Sec. 30308 of COMPETES, Sec. 3306 of USICA) and reaffirming the policy any interference from the PRC in the process of recognizing a successor reincarnation of the Dalai Lama is a clear abuse of the rights of religious freedom of Tibetan Buddhists and people (Sec. 30309 of COMPETES, Sec. 3307 of USICA) (Source: cecc.gov)

VIII. Statements by Leaders of India

A. Statement of R K Khrimey, National Convenor of Core Group for Tibetan Cause India (CGTCI) and Former MP. (November 20, 2023)

China has raised the issue of approving the next Dalai Lama which is a serious matter. Approval of the next reincarnation of the Dalai Lama is an institutional matter and there is no rule for China to approve it. (Source: PRC can't approve Dalai Lama's next reincarnation, says Khrimey. Arunachal Observer. November 20, 2023

<https://arunachalobserver.org/2023/11/20/prc-cant-approve-dalai-lamas-next-reincarnation-says-khrimey/>

B. Statement of the All Party Indian Parliamentary Forum for Tibet (APIPFT). (August 20, 2022)

The forum met earlier this month where convener Sujeet Kumar expressed his objection to "the intervention of the Chinese Communist regime in the reincarnation of His Holiness the 14th Dalai Lama," highlighting that only the Dalai Lama and the Tibetan people have the right to choose in the matter. According to the minutes of the meeting acquired by the Indian Express, senior BJP leader and former Bihar Deputy Chief Minister Sushil Kumar Modi proposed a bill on the lines of the 'Tibetan Policy Support Act' that was passed in the US.

Kumar has also prepared a Private Member's Bill seeking a Tibet Policy Act, which asks the government to appoint a special coordinator within the Ministry of External Affairs for Tibetan-related issues, to promote "substantive dialogue between the Chinese government and the Dalai Lama and his representatives or democratically-elected leaders of the Tibetan community, among other things".

The special coordinator, the Bill says, should establish international diplomatic coalition to

oppose any move by the Chinese government to "select, educate, and venerate Tibetan Buddhist religious leaders in a manner inconsistent with Tibetan Buddhism in which the succession or identification of Tibetan Buddhist lamas, including the Dalai Lama, should occur without interference, in a manner consistent with Tibetan Buddhists' beliefs."

(Above is an extract from an article that appeared in The Indian Express on August 20, 2022. Source:

Matthew, Liz. All-party MP group to seek Bharat Ratna for Dalai Lama. The Indian Express. August 20, 2022

<https://indianexpress.com/article/political-pulse/all-party-mp-group-to-seek-bharat-ratna-for-dalai-lama-8100611/>

C. Statement of Amitabh Mathur, Former Adviser on Tibet Affairs to the Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India. (July 13, 2021)

"It is imperative that the Government of India should declare without further delay that reincarnation of the Dalai Lama is a religious matter which is to be decided by HHDL and the Tibetans and the Indian government will honour his wishes. This has been unequivocally stated in the US government's Tibet Policy and Support Act. The Act seeks to sanction officials who would interfere in the process of Dalai Lama's reincarnation. India should be seen as the centripetal force in safeguarding the sanctity of the process and firmly oppose outside interference and influence. This will remove doubts and anxiety from the minds of Tibetans whether the 15th will be welcome in India and Indian support will continue after the 14th is no more." (Source: www.deepstrat.in)

D. Remarks of Nirupama Rao, Former Indian Foreign Secretary and India's



Ambassador to the United States. (April 24, 2017)

"We are stakeholders because we cannot abandon the interests of the Tibetans who live in India. The window is open during the lifetime of His Holiness the Dalai Lama. Our position should be that the religious and cultural sanctity of the process of succession should be respected and upheld above all. We should be flag bearers on this aspect." (Source: [India Today](#))

IX. Statements by The European Union (EU) and European Parliament

A. Statement by Josep Borrell, EU Foreign Affairs Chief and Vice-President of the European Commission. (June 19, 2023)

"The European Union has persistently expressed its concerns about the dire human rights situation in Tibet, notably on restrictions on the freedom of religion or belief. The EU is determined to address these concerns not just in public, but directly with the Chinese authorities, including at the highest political level.

During her recent visit to China on 6 April 2023, the President of the Commission raised the EU's human rights concerns with President Xi and Premier Li.

When meeting his counterparts, including in the framework of past sessions of the EU-China strategic dialogue, High Representative has raised the same concerns, which are also expressed officially in multilateral fora. The EU remains of the view that the selection of religious leaders should happen without any government interference and in full respect of religious norms.

In the framework of the EU-China human rights dialogue, the European External Action Service repeatedly expressed the position that China needs to respect the succession process of the Dalai Lama. This was also recalled during the 38th EU-China human rights dialogue that was held in Brussels on 17 February 2023. High Representative/Vice-President Borrell follows this issue and remains committed to reiterating the EU's position as events so require."

(The above is a written response by Mr. Josep Borrell to the question of the MEPs Mikuláš Peksa, Antoni Comín i Oliveres, Carles Puigdemont i Casamajó, Clara Ponsatí Obiols, Miriam Lexmann, Markéta Gregorová, Fabio Massimo Castaldo, Reinhard Bütikofer, Hannes Heide, Aušra Maldeikienė, Salima Yenbou). (Source: www.europarl.europa.eu)

B. Question for the High Representative and VP of the European Commission in the European Parliament. (April 24, 2023)

On the occasion of the 34th birthday of the 11th Panchen Lama, the second most important religious figure in Tibetan Buddhism, we wish to express our concern over his abduction by the authorities of the People's Republic of China (PRC) on 17 May 1995.

28 years on, the PRC authorities continue to deny members of the international community and Tibetans access to the Panchen Lama. The PRC authorities have not provided proof that he is alive, have not accounted for his whereabouts and have prevented him from exercising his fundamental freedoms.

The Panchen Lama's abduction raises concerns about the safety of other central figures of Tibetan Buddhism, such as His Holiness the 14th Dalai Lama.

In view of this:

- *Has the Vice-President of the Commission / High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy (VP/HR) discussed the disappearance of the 11th Panchen Lama with his Chinese counterparts at any point in the past?*
- *Will the VP/HR bring up the Panchen Lama's enforced disappearance during the upcoming EU-China strategic dialogue?*
- *Will the European External Action Service consider adopting an official position, similar to the bill adopted by the US, stating that the Dalai Lama's succession is a strictly religious matter, to be decided upon only by the Dalai Lama and the Tibetan Buddhist community?*

(The above question in the European Parliament was submitted to Joseph Borrell Fontelles, Vice-President of the European Commission by MEPs Mikuláš Peksa, Antoni Comín i Oliveres, Carles Puigdemont i Casamajó, Clara Ponsatí Obiols, Miriam Lexmann, Markéta Gregorová, Fabio Massimo Castaldo, Reinhard Bütikofer, Hannes Heide, Aušra Maldeikienė, Salima Yenbou). (Source: www.europarl.europa.eu)

C. European Parliament Resolution. (December 14, 2023)

6. Reiterates its call on the Chinese Government to reengage with the representatives of the 14th Dalai Lama to establish genuine autonomy for Tibetans within China; urges the Chinese authorities to release the Panchen Lama and refrain from interfering in the designation of the Tibetan spiritual leader.

(The above language is from the European Parliament resolution of 14 December 2023 on the abduction of Tibetan children and forced assimilation practices through Chinese boarding schools in Tibet (2023/3025(RSP)) P9_TA(2023)0479.) (Source: www.europarl.europa.eu Also, in Annex)

D. Remarks by Mikuláš Peksa, Head of European Parliamentary Delegation to Dharamsala. (March 10, 2023)

"I think India, Europe, the U.S and all the democratic countries in this world are showing interest in the process of reincarnation of His Holiness. It is a religious matter and there can be no interference coming from any governments which means it should be solely under the discretion of the Central Tibetan Administration. His Holiness and CTA as the legitimate authority in recognising the reincarnation of the current Dalai Lama."

(European Parliament MP Mikuláš Peksa along with MEP Salima Yenbo, MEP Hannes Heide, and MEP Aušra Maldeikienė visited Dharamsala in March 2023.) (Source: [TibetTV Youtube](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=...). Tibet.net)

E. Article by Members of the Inter-Parliamentary Alliance on China (IPAC) and Members of the European and National Parliaments. (June 15, 2020)

Although Tibetans are famously nonviolent, the future of Tibet will likely be turbulent if China stays on its current course. The Dalai Lama—who has lived in exile since China's occupation of Tibet began—will turn 85 this year, and Beijing has already announced that it plans to name his successor once he eventually passes away.

The Dalai Lama is one of the main reasons why Tibetans have refrained from a violent uprising against their Chinese oppressors. But with him gone, and Beijing installing an illegitimate successor, Tibet could easily descend into mass unrest with the potential to destabilize the wider region. European officials and parliamentarians have already voiced concerns about that, but for its part, Beijing claims the outside world has no right to get involved.



(The above article appeared in [Euractiv](#) on June 15, 2020. 21 members of the European Parliament and 36 members of national parliaments including 8 members of the Inter-Parliamentary Alliance on China [IPAC] were signatories to the article.) (Source: [ipac.global](#))

F. Statement by Josep Borrell Fontelles, High Representative and Vice-President of the European Commission. (April 3, 2020)

“The European Union has regularly expressed concerns about restrictions on freedom of religion or belief and has called on China to respect the rights of persons belonging to minorities, in particular in Xinjiang and Tibet. This position was publicly expressed in the United Nations Human Rights Council (UNHRC) and in the Third Committee of the United Nations General Assembly and was also raised bilaterally in contacts with the Chinese authorities. In the framework of the human rights dialogue between the EU and China, the European Union has consistently indicated that it expects China to respect the Dalai Lama’s succession, in accordance with Tibetan Buddhist standards. This position was also recalled at the previous meeting on 1 April 2019. The European Union will continue to express its position on this issue.”

(The above is a written response by Mr. Josep Borrell Fontelles to a question from MEPs Petras Auštrevičius, Aušra Maldeikienė, Hannes Heide, Francisco Guerreiro, and Petra De Sutter)(Source:[www.europarl.europa.eu](#), [Tibet.net](#))

G. ‘Question for the High Representative and VP of the European Commission in the European Parliament. (February 11, 2020)

In recent years, the Chinese Government has on several occasions made clear its intention

to intervene in the reincarnation of the Tibetan spiritual leader the Dalai Lama. This position not only ignores the Tibetans’ centuries-long history of selecting the Dalai Lama without foreign interference, but also violates their fundamental right to religious freedom, including their right to select their religious teachers and leaders according to their traditional religious customs.

In reaction, the Tibetan Policy and Support Act of 2019 was introduced in the US Congress, stating that the appointment of a future Dalai Lama and other Tibetan Buddhist leaders can only be decided by the Tibetan Buddhist faith community. The Dutch and Belgian [1] Ministers of Foreign Affairs share this view.

What is the position of the European Union on the issue of the succession of the Dalai Lama?

What concrete measures does the EU intend to take in order to address this issue?

(The above question in the European Parliament was submitted to Joseph Borrell Fontelles by MEPs Petras Auštrevičius, Aušra Maldeikienė, Hannes Heide, Francisco Guerreiro, Petra De Sutter). (Source: [www.europarl.europa.eu](#))

X. Statements by Foreign Governments and Parliaments

A. Australia

1. Statement by Senator Dean Smith. (November 15, 2023)

The present Dalai Lama turned 88 this year, and in the Buddhist tradition it is the task of the Panchen Lama to identify his reincarnated person when he passes on. Since the disappearance of the 11th Panchen Lama in 1995, Beijing has sought to dominate this sacred process, undermining a centuries-old

custom which, for the first time in the history of Buddhism, risks being influenced by government bureaucracy and interests rather than time honoured sacred tradition. This is just one aspect of the broader suppression of the freedom of Buddhists in Tibet, who have been regularly obstructed and whose ranks of monks and other clergy have been vetted by the government. (Source: parlinfo.aph.gov.au)

2. Question by Senator Janet Rice, Co-Chair of the Australian All-Party Parliamentary Group Tibet (AAPPGT) in the Australian Parliament. (September 4, 2023)

My question is to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Senator Wong, about Tibet. Decisions regarding the selection, education and veneration of Tibetan Buddhist religious leaders are exclusively spiritual matters that should be made by the appropriate religious authorities within the Tibetan Buddhist tradition and in the context of the will of practitioners of Tibetan Buddhism. Minister, in your conversations with representatives of the Chinese government, what are you doing to ensure that these practices are protected in Tibet and to ensure that the Chinese government does not have a role in the selection of the next Dalai Lama? (Source: parlinfo.aph.gov.au)

3. Remarks by Penny Wong, Foreign Minister of Australia. (September 4, 2023)

I thank Senator Rice for her question, and I also acknowledge that she is one of the co-chairs of the Australian All Party Parliamentary Friends of Tibet, as are my colleague Ms Templeman and, I think, Senator Dean Smith. Thank you for your work in that context. As I said to representatives of the Tibetan community with whom I met today—and I've met with a number of them previously—it's a very important part of engagement to have parliamentary groups whose members are

able as parliamentarians to engage with members of the community and to make statements. I understand that statements were made, although obviously I wasn't present at your media conference.

It is the case that we are concerned about the erosion of rights and freedoms in Tibet, and we, in our engagement with our counterparts at a number of levels, continue to raise concerns with the representatives of the Chinese government about the erosion of rights and freedoms in Tibet. We are gravely concerned by disturbing reports of the separation of Tibetan children from their families, the detention of Tibetans for peaceful expression of political views and the suppression of Tibetan religious expression, as well as what are described as excessive security measures.

We have raised our concerns with counterparts, and I would say that this is the first time an Australian government has done this. Australia raised our concerns in our national statement at the Human Rights Council in March, and I again say that that is the first time an Australian government has done that. In part, I would credit not just the Parliamentary Friends but also members of the community for their advocacy. (Source: parlinfo.aph.gov.au)

4. Statement by Senator Jordon Steele-John in the Australian Parliament. (June 20, 2023)

I particularly want to lend my support to the sections going to the absolute importance of the selection, education and veneration of Tibetan Buddhist religious leaders being treated exclusively as spiritual matters dealt with by the appropriate religious authorities within the Tibetan Buddhist tradition, and in the context of the will of the practitioners of Tibetan Buddhism. It is critical that the Chinese government does not interfere with the



process of selecting the next Dalai Lama, and that this process is done in accordance with Tibetan Buddhist traditions, principles and practice. The Chinese government has indicated that it intends to control the process, and this isn't new; they kidnapped the then six-year-old Panchen Lama some 28 years ago and he hasn't been seen since. (Source: parlinfo.aph.gov.au)

5. Remarks by Senator Janet Rice, Co-Chair of the Australian All-Party Parliamentary Group Tibet (AAPPGT) in the Australian Parliament. (June 20, 2023)

There are many in this parliament, including all members of the Greens, who are very concerned at the actions of the Chinese government that have violated religious freedom in Tibet. As part of that approach the Chinese government have committed a prolonged attack on the Dalai Lama and have done everything they can to diminish his power. Tibetans inside and outside of Tibet continue to be persecuted by Chinese authorities for their culture and their beliefs and have become a minority in their own country.

Particularly worrying is that the Chinese government have made it very clear that they intend to interfere with the succession of the Dalai Lama. It is enshrined now in Chinese law that the Chinese government must approve all reincarnations of senior Buddhist Lamas, including the Dalai Lama. The Chinese government have form in this regard. Gedhun Choekyi Nyima, the Panchen Lama, the second most senior figure in Tibetan Buddhism, was taken by the Chinese government 28 years ago, at only six years old. Many human rights organisations call him the youngest political prisoner in the world. His whereabouts are still unknown. I've consistently noted my concerns about the disappearance of the Panchen Lama. I will continue to push for the Australian parliament to only recognise a Dalai Lama

appointed by Tibetan Buddhist traditions and practices without interference by the Chinese government. (Source: parlinfo.aph.gov.au)

6. Statement by MP Sophie Scamps in the Australian Parliament. (June 20, 2023)

Another most critical of issues for the Tibetan people is the plan of the Chinese government to intervene in the succession of the 14th Dalai Lama. The succession process is a deeply religious, centuries-old right that lies at the heart of Tibetan Buddhist tradition. It is unthinkable that this process could be usurped or interfered with in any way for political reasons. The right to religious freedom is as a central tenet of both our democracies, and it is my hope that Australia will continue to stand up for the religious rights of the people of Tibet. (Source: parlinfo.aph.gov.au)

B. Belgium

1. Joint Statement by Belgian MPs Els Van Hoof and Samuel Cogolati. (April 25, 2023)

"We strongly support Tibetan people's right to freedom of religion, cultural and linguistic identity, including Tibetan's right to select their own spiritual leaders according to their beliefs without government interference.

Thus we condemn the Chinese government's interference in the selection and recognition of the reincarnation of His Holiness the 14th Dalai Lama. They further state that the system of recognising reincarnated spiritual beings is a religious practice unique to Tibetan Buddhism and should solely be the prerogative of the present Dalai Lama himself and no one else." (Source: tibetoffice.eu Also, in Annex)

2. Remarks by Philippe Goffin, Foreign Affairs and Defense Minister Belgium. (January 21, 2020)

Concerning the Dalai Lama's reincarnation as a religious leader and based on the principle of freedom of religion, it logically belongs to

the Tibetan religious community to name his successor without interference from temporal authorities.

(Philippe Goffin served as Belgium's Minister of Foreign Affairs and Defence from November 30, 2019 to October 1, 2020. The above remarks were in response to a question from Member of Parliament Samuel Cogolati on the Belgium government's position on succession of the Dalai Lama.) (Source: lachambre.be)

C. Canada

1. Statement by MP Garnett Genuis in the Canadian Parliament. (December 13, 2022)

"Despite being an officially atheist power, the CCP presumes to be able to make binding decisions about the reincarnation of Buddhist lamas so as to control their succession. This is an obvious political power move aimed at laying the groundwork to install a pliant, fake Dalai Lama in the future, but how can the CCP logically both reject the idea of reincarnation and claim to be the authority on reincarnation? These attempts to claim control over the Dalai Lama's prospective succession are part of a broader attack on religious freedom, as well as other fundamental freedoms, in Tibet and within the Tibetan diaspora." (Source: ourcommons.ca)

2. Letter From 21 Canadian MPs and Senator. (May 21, 2020)

"The enforced disappearance of Gedhun Choekyi Nyima and his family members is a continuous crime not just against him, his family and the Tibetan people, but also against every individual who believes in the sanctity of human rights. It is an interference in the sacred Buddhist traditions of recognizing the reincarnation of lamas and sets a dangerous precedent for possible interference in the process of identifying the reincarnations of future Dalai Lamas."

(The above is an excerpt from a May 21, 2020 letter to Prime Minister Justin Trudeau. The letter was written to

mark the 25th anniversary of the disappearance of 11th Panchen Lama – Gedhun Choekyi Nyima.). (Source: canadatibet.com Also, in Annex)

3. Motion on Tibet by Senator Thanh Hai Ngo, Canadian Parliament. (February 26, 2020)

This Senate Motion, introduced on Wednesday, February 26, 2020, seeks to raise awareness of the serious and recurring human rights abuses committed against the Tibetan people at the hands of the Chinese Communist, and to consequently urge greater action from the Canadian Government.

Text [on reincarnation] of the Motion on Tibet

(b) respect the religious rights of the Tibetan people and stop interference in the process of recognizing a successor or reincarnation of the 14th Dalai Lama;

Notwithstanding that Tibetan Buddhism is practiced in many countries including Bhutan, India, Mongolia, Nepal, the People's Republic of China, the Russian Federation, the United States, and Canada, the Government of the People's Republic of China has repeatedly insisted on its role in managing the selection of Tibet's next spiritual leader, the Dalai Lama, through actions such as those described in the "Measures on the Management of the Reincarnation of Living Buddhas" in 2007."

On March 19, 2019, Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs spokesperson reiterated that the "reincarnation of living Buddhas including the Dalai Lama must comply with Chinese laws and regulations and follow religious rituals and historical conventions".

The Government of the People's Republic of China has interfered in the process of recognizing a successor or reincarnation of Tibetan Buddhist leaders, including in 1995 by arbitrarily detaining Gedhun Choekyi Nyima, a 6-year old boy who was identified as the 11th



Panchen Lama, and purporting to install its own candidate as the Panchen Lama. The 14th Dalai Lama, Tenzin Gyatso, issued a statement on September 24, 2011, explaining the traditions and spiritual precepts of the selection of Dalai Lamas, setting forth his views on the considerations and process for selecting his successor, and providing a response to the Chinese government's claims that only the Chinese government has the ultimate authority in the selection process of the Dalai Lama. The 14th Dalai Lama said in his statement that the person who reincarnates has sole legitimate authority over where and how he or she takes rebirth and how that reincarnation is to be recognized and if there is a need for a 15th Dalai Lama to be recognized, then the responsibility shall primarily rest with the officers of the Dalai Lama's Gaden Phodrang Trust, who will be informed by the written instructions of the 14th Dalai Lama.

Since 2011, the 14th Dalai Lama has reiterated publicly on numerous occasions that decisions on the successions, emanations, or reincarnations of the Dalai Lama belongs to the Tibetan Buddhist faith community alone. (Source: <https://honourablengco.ca/motion-on-tibet/>)

D. Czech Republic

1. Resolution of the Czech Senate Committee. (May 30, 2023)

(English Translation Of The Resolution. Two out of the six resolutions was on the reincarnation of the Dalai Lama)

COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION, SCIENCE, CULTURE, HUMAN RIGHTS AND PETITIONS

RESOLUTION of the 8th meeting held on 30 May 2023 on the forced assimilation of Tibetan children in residential schools in the

People's Republic of China and the Chinese Government's interference with the religious freedoms of Tibetans

- *Expresses its opposition to the action of the People's Republic of China regarding the reincarnation of the Tibetan Dalai Lama*
- *Is concerned that the traditional practice of selecting and recognising the reincarnation of Tibetan clerics, including the Dalai Lama, has been disrupted and influenced by the intervention of the Chinese authorities. This situation constitutes a serious obstacle to the freedom of religion and belief of the Tibetan people. (Source: senatprotibet.cz)*

2. Statement of the Czech Senate for Tibet – The Parliamentary group. (March 10, 2023)

In view of the fact that:

- *According to the Tibetan Buddhist belief system, the Dalai Lama, upon his death, may choose to reincarnate to benefit humanity; 14 persons have been recognized as Dalai Lama, each selected according to the spiritual traditions and practices of Tibetan Buddhism.*
- *In a 2011 statement, the 14th (current) Dalai Lama, Tenzin Gyatso, who will be 88 years old on 6 July 2023, affirmed his sole authority over his reincarnation, adding that if the decision is made to continue the institution of the Dalai Lama, the responsibility for doing so will be borne primarily by his office, the Gaden Phodrang Trust, based on his written instructions.*
- *In violation of Tibetan religious rules, the government of the People's Republic of China has passed a series of laws and regulations to legitimize its intention to control the succession of the Dalai Lama. These include, in particular, the 2007 "Measures for Controlling Reincarnations of Living Buddhas in Tibetan Buddhism"*

(Regulation No. 5), according to which reincarnations of Tibetan Buddhist tulkus must obtain government approval or they are illegal or invalid.

- *The government of the People's Republic of China has in the past interfered with the process of recognising reincarnations of Tibetan Buddhist leaders, including in 1995 abducting and still holding in an unknown location Gedhun Chokyi Nyima, a six-year-old boy who was designated by Tibetan tradition as the 11th Panchen Lama (the second most important religious figure after the Dalai Lama), and installing in his place its own Communist Party-designated candidate;*
- *In a communication to the Chinese government dated 2 June 2020, five UN Special Rapporteurs and Working Groups reiterated that "the freedom of religion or belief of the Tibetan Buddhist minority includes the right to determine their spiritual and religious leaders in accordance with their own religious traditions and practices, as guaranteed by Article 18 of the Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms."*
- *Several governments, including the governments of the United States, the Netherlands, Belgium and Germany, have officially declared that it is within the power of the Tibetan religious community to choose the future Dalai Lama; the EU High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Vice-President of the EU Commission, Josep Borrell, has also stated that "the selection of religious leaders should take place without any government interference and with respect for religious norms".*

We are issuing this statement:

We call on the People's Republic of China to respect the freedom of religion of the Tibetan

people, including the reincarnation system of Tibetan Buddhism, and to stop interfering in the reincarnation process, including the Dalai Lama.

We call on the Government of the People's Republic of China to promote substantive dialogue with the Dalai Lama or his representatives on the future of Tibet and its genuine autonomy.

We call on the Government of the People's Republic of China to reveal the fate of Gedhun Chokyi Nyima – the 11th Panchen Lama and release him.

We urge the Government of the People's Republic of China, like other governments, to adopt a statement that decisions regarding the installation of Tibetan Buddhist religious leaders, including the future Dalai Lama, are solely a spiritual matter to be made by the Tibetan Buddhist community and the current 14th Dalai Lama without interference from the Government of the People's Republic of China.

We recommend that the GOC consider any Chinese government official involved in the installation of a Chinese government-approved candidate for the future 15th Dalai Lama as a human rights violator and support his inclusion on the list of persons subject to sanctions under the EU's global human rights sanctions measures.

We are forwarding this statement to the Prime Minister for consideration and to the President of the Republic and the Minister of Foreign Affairs for information. (Source: savetibet.eu)

E. Germany

1. Statement of Niels Annen, Minister of State in the Foreign Office. (February 26, 2020)

The federal government is of the opinion that religious communities may regulate their own affairs autonomously. This includes the right to choose their own religious leaders. The federal

government respects the Dalai Lama as the head of Tibetan Buddhism.

(The above statement is a translation of the original statement in German. Source: dserver.bunvwttag.de p. 26).

2. Statement by the Committee on Human Rights and Humanitarian Aid on the 60th anniversary of the Tibetan uprising. (March 10, 2019)

The Committee for Human Rights and Humanitarian Aid of the German Bundestag supports this non-violent way for the Tibetan people to express their will for self-determination in this form and calls on the Chinese government to respect the legitimate rights of the Tibetans, in particular their culture and religion and to ensure. Human rights violations against religious minorities in the People's Republic of China and the ever-increasing interference with religious life and personal freedom must be stopped immediately. The Committee calls on the Chinese government to immediately end the repression against the Tibetan people and to resume dialogue with the legitimate representatives of the Tibetans. (Source: bundestag.de)

3. Report From the Federal Government on the Global Situation of Freedom of Religion and Belief. (June 9, 2016)

The Chinese government is encroaching on the Tibetans' right to self-government when it declares the election of the Dalai Lama and other tulkus to be a political matter. Thus a core element that characterizes Tibetan Buddhism is compromised.

(The above is a Google translation of "In das Selbstverwaltungsrecht der Tibeter greift die chinesische Regierung dadurch ein, dass sie die Wahl des Dalai Lama und anderer Tulkus zur politischen Angelegenheit erklärt und damit ein den tibetischen Buddhismus prägendes Kernstück beeinträchtigt." Source: dserver.bundestag.de p.30)

F. Japan

1. Resolution in the House of Representatives Regarding Serious Human Rights Situation in Xinjiang Uighur, Tibet, Southern Mongolia and Hong Kong. (February 1, 2022)

The Government of Japan should, with this understanding, first gather information in order to ascertain the full scope of this serious human rights situation. This should be done based on fundamental values including freedom, democracy and the rule of law while respecting the culture, traditions and autonomy of ethnic groups. At the same time, the government should, in cooperation with the international community, monitor the serious human rights situation and employ comprehensive measures to help those people in need. (Source: shugiin.go.jp)

2. Message from Hirofumi Shimomura, Chairman of All Party Japanese Parliamentary Group for Tibet. (June 22, 2022)

"Currently, in China, the Chinese authorities continue to impose severe restrictions on Tibetans and other ethnic minorities, and United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights Bachelet, who visited China in May of this year, said that the Tibetan people's linguistic and religious It points out that it is important that Tibetans' religious and cultural identity be protected, that Tibetans fully and freely participate in decisions regarding their religious life, and that dialogue with the Chinese side be held." (Source: tibethouse.jp)

(Above is a Google translation of the original message in Japanese)

G. Lithuania

Remarks by Arunas Valinskas, Member of the Lithuanian Parliament. (March 10, 2023)

The reincarnation of the 14th Dalai Lama is "as a matter of wider principles of religious liberty and freedom of conscience whether it's reincarnation or just the matter of Tibetans

to practice their religion.” The issue needs to be seen as “as a matter of wider principles of religious liberty and freedom of conscience whether it’s reincarnation or just the matter of Tibetans to practice their religion.”

(MP Valinskas was part of a delegation of European parliamentary members who visited Dharamsala in March 2023.) (Source: [TibetTV Youtube](#))

H. Mexico

Remarks by Salvador Caro Cabrera on half of Parliamentary Delegation from Mexico. (March 10, 2023)

“Mexico must support the Tibet cause in the multilateral organization. That’s our job. That’s why we are here. We are worried about the possibility and intention of China to try to influence the reincarnation process. We make today the declaration to express that we condemn any intent of China to try to be part of that process. The system, the religious institution of Tibet, must be respected to the extreme. That is very important for the harmony of Tibet and the harmony of the world.” (Source: [TibetTV Youtube](#))

I. Sweden

Motion of the Swedish Parliamentary Friendship Group for Tibet in the Swedish Parliament (Sveriges Riksdag). (October 4, 2023)

Proposal for a Resolution of the Riksdag

The Riksdag supports the motion that the Swedish governmentshouldworktoensurethat the choice of the Dalai Lama’s reincarnation is a religious and a Tibetan matter and convey this to the government.

Justification

The Dalai Lama is the supreme spiritual leader of Tibetan Buddhism and a symbol of Tibetan national identity and independence. The current Dalai Lama, Tenzin Gyatso, has also

inspired millions of people with his eternal pursuit of a peaceful middle ground in the relationship between Tibet’s exiled population and China. Although his own ambition is to remain for many more years, the day will come when Tenzin Gyatso is no longer with us and a new Dalai Lama needs to be appointed.

The issue of the selection of the Dalai Lama is complex with political, religious and cultural dimensions. China has been clear about its intentions to influence this selection, including by legislating that its government must approve all reincarnations of senior Buddhist lamas. Although the Dalai Lama is part of Chinese culture and history, the selection should be free from political influence. It is up to the outside world to take a stand. In the United States, the Tibetan Policy and Support Act clearly states that the Chinese Communist Party should not influence the religious process. Sweden’s government should also work to ensure that the selection of the Dalai Lama is a purely religious and Tibetan matter.

(The above is a google translation of motion 2023/24:1529 was submitted by MPs Marie Nicholson and Johanna Hornberger on October 4, 2023 and supported by the Swedish Parliament. Source: www.riksdagen.se)

J. United Kingdom

1. Statement of Anne-Marie Trevelyan, Minister of State [Foreign, Commonwealth and Development Office]. (December 14, 2023)

“The UK views the Dalai Lama as a respected spiritual leader, and as such he has visited the UK on a number of occasions and we will continue to do all that we can to encourage freedoms for religious and cultural expression in Tibet and across China. We view the appointment of the next Dalai Lama as a matter for the relevant religious authorities to decide in line with those freedoms of religion and belief.” (Source: hansard.parliament.uk)



(The above statement was made at Westminster Hall debate on persecution of Buddhists in Tibet on December 14, 2023. The debate was led by Jim Shannon MP)

2. Remarks of MP Jim Shannon. (December 14, 2023)

"Chinese leaders from the Tibet Autonomous Region are visiting the likes of Nepal, Bhutan and Thailand and seeking to claim the authority of the Dalai Lama and his reincarnation. Very clearly, from a Buddhist point of view, the Government must stand with His Holiness and affirm his total authority over his reincarnation—this is not something that the Chinese Government can give as if they were the Santa Claus of Christmas. Buddhists have control of a Dalai Lama; the Chinese do not." (Source: hansard.parliament.uk)

3. Remarks of MP Fiona Bruce. (December 14, 2023)

"The PRC's cultural erasure throughout Tibet, including efforts to 'Sinicize' Tibetan Buddhism and interfere in the selection process of Tibetan Buddhist lamas, including the Dalai Lama, are alarmingly widespread." (Source: hansard.parliament.uk)

K. The Netherlands

1. Letter From The Minister of Foreign Affairs to the Chairman of the House of Representatives of the Dutch Parliament [States General]. (November 11, 2019)

There is increased police presence and surveillance in Tibet, especially in urban areas and in and around temples. The government is concerned about interference by the Chinese government in religious affairs. The Dalai Lama's reincarnation process is subject to Chinese law, according to Chinese authorities. The position of this government is that it is up to the Tibetan religious community itself to appoint a future successor to the successor to a successor to the Dalai Lama. The government

also encourages China to maintain dialogue with representatives of the Tibetan community inside and outside China. The government notes that, taken as a whole, Chinese policy in Tibet has a strongly restrictive effect on religious and cultural freedoms in Tibet, as well as on the privacy of Tibetan Buddhists in particular.

(The above excerpt is a translation from the November 11, 2019 letter of Stef Blok, the Minister of Foreign Affairs. Source: parlementairemonitor.nl)

XI. Statements by Buddhist Associations

A. Statement of Deputy Secretary General of Asian Buddhist Conference for Peace (ABCP). (January 19, 2024)

"This is a purely spiritual issue, to be decided by at his holiness or his people identified by him and there is an established system or a practice to do this. It must be followed. Certainly wish his holiness many, many more years. This is not the time to talk about the reincarnation while he's still there. But whenever it happens, it will be, it will happen in the true spirit of the Dalai Lama institution. It certainly cannot be decided by politicians."

(Source: ANI. Successor is for Dalai Lama Himself to Decide: Asian Buddhist Conference for Peace General Secy. The Print. January 19, 2024 theprint.in)

B. Statement of the 12th Asian Buddhist Conference for Peace (ABCP). New Delhi, India. (January 17-18, 2024)

That with regard to the reincarnation of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, His Holiness' repeated statements since 1969, the official pronouncement of September 24, 2011, or any guidance in future is inherently discretionary.

No government nor any individual has the right to interfere in this matter. This religious activity has to be conducted as per the responsibilities that His Holiness the Dalai Lama enshrines and entrusts.

The 12th General Assembly of the Asian Buddhist Conference for Peace recognizes the significance of the continuation of Gaden Phodrang institution. (Source: tibet.net Also, in Annex)

C. Statement of The Unified Vietnamese Buddhist Congregation in Europe. (November 30, 2023)

On the occasion of the historic World Buddhist Conference in Bodhgaya from 20-23 December, 2023, we, the Unified Vietnamese Buddhist Congregation in Europe condemn in the strongest possible terms the interference of the People's Republic of China (PRC) in Tibetan Buddhist affairs, namely the recognition of the reincarnation of high lamas, including His Holiness the 14th Dalai Lama of Tibet.

It is a contradiction for a government that calls itself atheist to decide the fate of a spiritual leader.

We believe the system of recognising reincarnated spiritual beings is a practice unique to Tibetan Buddhism and should be the sole prerogative of His Holiness the Dalai Lama and no one else.

We therefore call on the government of the PRC to stop interfering in Tibetan Buddhist affairs and respect the rights of the Tibetans to freedom of religion or belief.

Similarly, we urge the people of the international community not to recognise the reincarnation of His Holiness the Dalai Lama appointed by the PRC. (Source: tibet.net Also, in Annex)

D. Statement of the European Buddhist Union, Brussels, Belgium. (September 24, 2023)

The Council of the European Buddhist Union, on the occasion of the Annual General meeting in Brussels of 24 September 2023, has adopted the following declaration:

- *We urge the Chinese government to implement Articles 10 and 11 of the Law on Autonomy of Ethnic Areas of the People's Republic of China, which guarantees the freedom of language and religion of ethnic minorities.*
- *We call on the Chinese government not to interfere in Tibetan Buddhist affairs, not to dismantle Tibetan Buddhist monasteries and Buddhist statues, and not to interfere in the recognition of reincarnations of high Lamas and in the organization of monasteries.*
- *We affirm that the selection of reincarnations of Tibetan Lamas, including the future 15th Dalai Lama, is the prerogative of the Tibetan people and the Dalai Lama's Office.*
- *Future Tibetan reincarnated Lamas, including the Dalai Lama, should be selected by the Tibetan people according to their spiritual tradition. We urge the international community not to recognize any Lama selected and appointed by the Chinese authority.*
- *We call on the Chinese government to resume negotiations with the Dalai Lama in order to find peaceful solutions that serve the common interests of both the Tibetan and Chinese peoples. (Source: savetibet.eu Also, in Annex)*



E. Statement of the First Australia Tibetan Buddhist Centres Conference, Sydney, Australia. (March 26, 2023)

The conference statement of consensus included the following:

The selection, education and veneration of the Tibetan Buddhist leaders are exclusively religious matters and recognises defining the process of recognition of the Dalai Lama's reincarnation is solely the prerogative of the present Dalai Lama himself and no one else. (Source: tibet.net)

F. Statement of Japan Buddhist Conference for World Federation. (December 27, 2022)

His Holiness the 14th Dalai Lama celebrated his 87th birthday on July 6, 2022. His Holiness's succession issue is once again attracting the world's attention.

We, the Japanese Buddhists, believe that the succession of the Dalai Lama should be decided by the Tibetans based on Tibetan Buddhist culture and history.

The People's Republic of China (PRC), which controls the Tibetan Autonomous Region, enacted the "Measures for the Administration of the Reincarnation of Venerable Tibetan Buddhas" in 2007, and the PRC government claims authority to select the reincarnation of the Dalai Lama.

However, the national policy of the People's Republic of China is communism, and communism is based on the principle of non-religion. It is a contradiction to allow people who don't believe in religion to decide who the religious leader of the country will be.

His Holiness the 14th Dalai Lama has stated, "It is highly unworthy for political authorities, who

do not even recognize the existence of previous and next lives, to forcibly intervene in the recognition (of Tibetan Buddhist leaders).

Religious matters should be decided in accordance with religious values, and people who do not have religious values should not interfere. This is what it means to respect freedom of religion.

The Chinese government has protested Indian Prime Minister Modi's call to congratulate His Holiness the 14th Dalai Lama on his birthday, saying that it was an interference in their internal affairs.

If the suppression of religion in Tibet is true, it is a serious challenge to human rights, a value shared by many countries around the world.

His Holiness the 14th Dalai Lama is a Nobel Peace Prize laureate. The Tibetan government-in-exile's struggle for freedom for its people is extremely peaceful and non-violent. It is an action in accordance with the common values of freedom and human rights in the world.

From this perspective, we support the claims of His Holiness the 14th Dalai Lama and the Tibetan people.

World Federation of Buddhist Associations in Japan

Secretary General Eikan Mizutani

(Above is a DeepL translation of the original statement in Japanese)

(Source: https://drive.google.com/file/d/1WmzRzDfqQbYlF9Up5qEVF2YPvImh7nZ0/view?usp=drive_link Also, in Annex)

G. Statement of the Ladakh Buddhist Association. (December 21, 2022)

"The Dalai Lama is the supreme spiritual leader of all the Buddhists, not only in the Himalayan region but in other countries. He has said the birth of the new Lama will neither be in China

nor in Chinese-controlled Tibet. So it is his holiness who will decide it and the Chinese Communist Party is not any religious party to decide about our faith."

(Source: Wani, Ashraf. *China Can't Choose Next Dalai Lama: Ladakh Buddhist Association*. India Today. December 21, 2022 indiatoday.in)

H. Statement of the Indian Himalayan Council of the Nalanda Buddhist Tradition (IHCNBT), New Delhi, India. (December 20, 2022)

The Indian Himalayan Council of the Nalanda Buddhist Tradition (IHCNBT) resolved the following points at its governing council meeting on 20th December 2022.

Resolution 1:

Due to the special karmic bond between the Dalai Lamas and the people of the Himalayan region and the incomparable contribution of His Holiness the 14th Dalai Lama to preserve, promote, and strengthen the religio-cultural sphere of the region, we, the Himalayan Council of the Nalanda Buddhist Tradition (IHCNBT), The Indian National Sangha Council unanimously resolved that the continuation of the Dalai Lama institution and reincarnation of the Dalai Lama are deeply cherished aspirations of all Himalayan Buddhists. In the Himalayas, we pray that His Holiness the XIV Dalai Lama lives a long and healthy life and that the Dalai Lama institution endures for many centuries.

Resolution 2:

The cultural and devotional methods and process of recognizing the reincarnation of the Dalai Lamas are deeply religious and cultural affairs followed with much rigour in Nalanda Tibetan Buddhism. Thus the system of recognizing reincarnated spiritual beings is a religious practice unique to Nalanda Buddhism and the philosophy of the principle

of life after death. No government or any individual has the right to interfere in this matter. This religious activity has to be conducted as per the responsibilities that His Holiness the Dalai Lama enshrines and entrusts. The sole authority of the reincarnation of His Holiness The Dalai Lama is Gaden Phodrang Institution. No one – including China – should interfere with such a holy and devotional process.

Resolution 3:

We further resolve that, if the government of the People's Republic of China, for political ends, chooses a candidate for the Dalai Lama, the people of the Himalayas will never accept it, never pay devotional obeisance to such a political appointee, and publicly denounce such moves by anyone. (Source: www.ihcnbtorg.in Also, in Annex)

I. Statement of the 13th Executive Committee Meeting of the Asian Buddhist Conference for Peace (ABCP), Colombo, Sri Lanka. (January 14, 2021)

The Asian Buddhist Conference for Peace (ABCP) Executive Council meeting supported the statement made by Ven. Karma Gelek, President, National Centre, Department of Religion and Culture, CTA with regard to the following 3-point resolution on the future status of the Dalai Lama institution:

- *To continue the Institution and Reincarnation of the Dalai Lama in the future;*
- *The incumbent XIV Dalai Lama to be the sole authority of how the next reincarnation of the Dalai Lama should return, and the Tibetan people never to recognize any Dalai Lama reincarnation candidate chosen and installed by the Chinese government; and*



- To employ the eight centuries old unique Tibetan traditional method in searching and recognizing the next Dalai Lama. (Source: www.abcp.mn/executive-council Also, in Annex)

J. Declaration of the Third Europe Tibetan Buddhism Conference, Belgium (December 8, 2019)

The Third Europe Tibetan Buddhist Conference was held in Yeuntlenling, Huy, Belgium from December 7-8, 2019 and discussed at length the vital issue of the reincarnation of the Dalai Lamas.

The undersigned Buddhist Centres in Europe have unanimously resolved in this regard to declare:

- *Our deep gratitude to the passing of 3-point Special Resolution of the Tibetan religious leaders at the 14th Tibetan Buddhist Conference in Dharamshala, India on November 27, 2019 in India on the issue of the reincarnation of His Holiness the Dalai Lama.*
- *To reiterate and make it categorically clear that China has not only suppressed Buddhism in Tibet but has been using all means to control it. In 2007 it had announced the so-called Article 5, which seeks to regulate the recognition of reincarnation of Tibetan Buddhism. We strongly condemn and reject such measures. Recognition of reincarnation is intrinsically a religious matter. Communist China has no role in it.*
- *That more important and specifically China has deviously sought to bring under its control the search of future Dalai Lama. We believe Tibetan Buddhism has reached a critical crossroad. It is therefore imperative for us to plead His Holiness the Dalai Lama for the continuation of the institution of the Dalai Lama. As to the recognition of*

reincarnation of His Holiness the Dalai Lama and Gaden Phodrang Trust have the sole power and responsibility and nobody else.

(Source: tibet.net Also, in Annex)

XII. Statements by International NGOs

A. The Brookings Institution: Ryan Haas. Director, John L. Thornton China Center. (January 24, 2024)

On the sensitive question of reincarnation, it is interesting. It is the only issue in the world I can think of where I've had a conversation in the Oval Office about the topic of reincarnation, but it has come up. And I think our view is that this is not an issue that should be decided by anyone outside of the Buddhist community and the Dalai Lama and his closest advisers.

And so, the Dalai Lama, his life will end at some point and this question will become very salient. I think that we as a community deserve to be having this conversation now so that we all have clarity on our respective views. And so, it's not just a U.S. and China issue or an India and China issue, but an issue of global concern. Because that is, I think, the magnitude of and significance of it.

(Source: <https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2023/12/Global-India-Hass-20240124.pdf>)

B. Freedom House: Freedom in the World 2023. Tibet

The Chinese government has asserted its intention to select the successor of the current Dalai Lama, who turned 87 in July 2022, and has intervened into Tibetan tradition by appointing their own Panchen Lama, a religious figure who plays an important role in identifying the reincarnation of the Dalai Lama, according to Tibetan Buddhist rituals.

(Source: <https://freedomhouse.org/country/tibet/freedom-world/2023>)

C. American Enterprise Institute: Michael Rubin, Senior Fellow. (November 29, 2022)

American policymakers can repeatedly call out and stigmatize those who subordinate the purity of faith for the privilege of power and rank. It should name, shame, and sanction every member of the Buddhist Association of China and make clear that accepting the bribes Beijing offers is not a path to power but rather to ridicule. The Buddhist bloc and the free world cannot allow China any say in recognition of the fifteenth Dalai Lama. A Dalai Lama who acts as a rubber stamp for the most murderous and anti-Buddhist regime in recent centuries would be an affront to justice and religion.

(Source: Rubin, Michael. *Reject the CCP's Effort to Co-opt Buddhism*. *The National Interest*. November 29, 2022. <https://nationalinterest.org/feature/reject-ccp%E2%80%99s-effort-co-opt-buddhism-205949>)

D. Human Rights Watch: Chinese Authorities Double Down on Tibetan Reincarnations. Communist Party Aims to Control Dalai Lama Selection. (December 15, 2021)

"Since 2007, Chinese authorities have imposed regulations limiting the recognition of reincarnate lamas, which include most of the religious leaders in Tibetan Buddhism. These provisions specify that reincarnations may not be recognized without state approval and must be born within China's borders. High-ranking incarnations must be selected using the "Golden Urn," an 18th century Chinese lottery system that had scarcely been used by Tibetans until 2007, when the party mandated it as the only legal way to select top-ranking lamas."

(Source: <https://www.hrw.org/news/2021/12/15/chinese-authorities-double-down-tibetan-reincarnations>)

E. Observer Research Foundation (India): Harsh Pant, Vice President – Studies and Foreign Policy. (July 14, 2021)

The younger generation of Tibetans are dissatisfied with India's incoherent approach while many in India question the utility of a policy that doesn't seem reciprocal at all. If in the past India's position was tied to the hope that such a policy would result in a broader normalization of Sino-Indian ties and an eventual resolution of the border dispute, those hopes have been belied repeatedly by Chinese malevolent behavior. Deference to China has turned out to be a useless proposition. It is time that New Delhi follows up Modi's opening with a policy response that challenges China on its own turf, galvanizes the Tibetan spiritual leadership on the question of succession and mobilises global opinion on this issue.

(Source: Pant, Harsh. *We Had a One China Policy For Long. It's Time For a Relook*. Observer Research Foundation. July 14, 2021.) <https://www.orfonline.org/research/we-had-a-one-china-policy-for-long-its-time-for-a-relook>

F. Takshashila Institution (India): Lt. General Prakash Menon, Director, Strategic Studies Programme. (June 1, 2021)

China's approach to politically appropriate and impose a Dalai Lama must therefore be condemned by India for it is an issue that has universal connotations and not only limited to the Tibetans. It is akin to an outside entity unilaterally imposing the Pope on the Roman Catholics without involving the Vatican. China will weaponise succession

(Source: Menon, Prakash. *US shifting its Tibet stance. When will India end its silence?* *The Print*. June 1, 2021.)

<https://theprint.in/opinion/us-shifting-its-tibet-stance-when-will-india-end-its-silence/669209/>



G. Center For Strategic & International Studies (CSIS): Michael Green, Senior Adviser and Henry A. Kissinger Chair. (February 8, 2021)

China has said under its law, the reincarnated Dalai Lama will be decided or approved by Beijing, basically by the Chinese Communist Party, which Marx must be rolling over in his grave. There have been hints even from His Holiness that the next Dalai Lama could be discovered in India. Which would raise again all these geopolitical questions. I spent two summers ago in Mongolia. One of the biggest concerns for the government there is the reincarnation of the Dalai Lama in Mongolia, which would be very popular among the Mongolian people...So, it's a transnational issue if you will. (Excerpt from a podcast episode hosted by Michael Green)

(Source: Green Michael. *A Game Winning Piece? The Dalai Lama and Geopolitics of Tibet. The Asia Chess Board. Podcast. February 8, 2021* <https://www.csis.org/podcasts/asia-chessboard/game-winning-piece-dalai-lama-and-geopolitics-tibet>)

H. Center for Policy Research (India): Brahma Chellaney, Professor Emeritus. (January 13, 2021)

While the Tibetans pray for the long life of the present Dalai Lama, Xi is waiting impatiently for him to die so that he can install a puppet as his successor, in the way China has captured the Panchen Lama institution. To frustrate his plan, India should tacitly help Tibetan exiles find, appoint and protect his successor. The Dalai Lama has said his "reincarnation will appear in a free country," which could mean in India's Tibetan-Buddhist Himalayan regions.

(Source: Chellaney, Brahma. *Wake-up call on Tibet: America's Tibet law should spur New Delhi to reclaim lost leverage on China. Times of India. January 13, 2021.* <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/blogs/toi-edit-page/wake-up-call-on-tibet-americas-tibet-law-should-spur-new-delhi-to-reclaim-lost-leverage-on-china/>)

I. Observer Research Foundation (India): Manoj Josh, Distinguished Fellow. (April 10, 2017)

The Chinese seem to realise that they could never rule Tibet without the Dalai Lama's spiritual authority. Given the current relationship between China and the Dalai Lama, you can be sure that the Dalai Lama, even if he decides to "reincarnate", will not choose to do so in any Chinese controlled area. So, we are likely to see a Dalai Lama selected by the Chinese, who will have little respect among the Tibetans, or possibly another one in an area outside Chinese control, say, Mongolia or India, who will not be able to exercise his authority in Tibet, which explains the Chinese anger whenever the Dalai Lama visits any of these places.

This reincarnation issue is perhaps also the reason why China has of late been insistently pressing its claim to Tawang. What the Chinese worry about now is the prospect of a Dalai Lama reincarnating in Tawang and its environs and establishing his spiritual authority over the Tibetans.

(Source: Joshi, Manoj. *Is the Dalai Lama's 'reincarnation' in Arunachal Pradesh the real worry for the Chinese? Observer Research Foundation. April 10, 2017.* <https://www.orfonline.org/research/is-the-dalai-lamas-reincarnation-in-arunachal-pradesh-the-real-worry-for-the-chinese>)

J. Amnesty International: Nicholas Bequelin. Regional Director for East Asia, Amnesty International. (December 11, 2015)

"This living-Buddha database and the whole policy toward reincarnation is clearly a preemptive move by the government to control what happens after this Dalai Lama. They want to get ahead of the issue and prepare the ground for when the Dalai Lama dies."

(Source: Beech, Hannah. *China's Database of 'Living Buddhas' Is the Latest Attempt to Control Tibetan*

Affairs. Time. December 11, 2015. <https://time.com/4145552/china-tibet-living-buddha-dalai-lama/>

K. Council on Foreign Relations: Daniel Markey, Adjunct Senior Fellow. (November 18, 2015)

The Dalai Lama, who turned eighty in July 2015, has further stoked Chinese concerns by publicly hinting that he could name his successor before he dies and that his next incarnation might live outside Tibet and beyond Beijing's control, where he could lead a new generation of protests for Tibetan political autonomy. One location often mentioned as a potential birthplace for the next Dalai Lama is Tawang in Arunachal Pradesh, home to an important Buddhist monastery. That territory is held by India but claimed by China as "Southern Tibet," making it a top potential flashpoint for protests and the spillover of a China-India crisis from the Tibetan dispute.

(Source: Markey, Daniel. *Armed Confrontation Between China and India. Contingency Planning Memorandum No. 27. Council on Foreign Relations. November 18, 2015.* <https://www.cfr.org/report/armed-confrontation-between-china-and-india>)

L. National Endowment for Democracy: Carl Gershman Opinion Piece for the Washington Post. (July 6, 2015)

With the Dalai Lama turning 80, a contest is already developing over his succession. In Tibetan Buddhism, reincarnation is a fundamental tenet, and only the Dalai Lama has the authority to choose whether and through whom he will reincarnate. Yet Beijing has already approved guidelines giving the communist government control of the process. This contest takes place against the background of Chinese authorities having kidnapped in 1995 the 6-year-old boy identified

by the Dalai Lama as the incarnation of the Panchen Lama, the second most important figure in Tibetan Buddhism, and replaced him with another boy.

The fact that the Chinese-imposed Panchen Lama continues to be categorically rejected by Tibetans should indicate how inflammatory it would be if Beijing tried to impose its choice for the next Dalai Lama.

(Source: <https://www.ned.org/tibets-tough-road-ahead/>)

M. Project 2049 Institute. Julia Famularo. (January 30, 2012)

As a result of his seminal role and close association with the Tibetan cause, what happens after the Dalai Lama dies is a matter of concern to not only the Tibet people and Tibetan Buddhist practitioners, but also the CCP. Chinese leaders have already attempted to enshrine their preferred selection process for the designation of high-level reincarnate Tibetan Buddhist religious figures, including the Panchen Lama and Dalai Lama lineages. Beijing has also moved to place greater pressure on India to withdraw its support for the Tibetan exile administration, which it has hosted in Dharamsalasince 1960. By examining the selection process and analyzing how this aspect of Chinese policy in Tibet affects its relationship with the United States and India, one can gain a greater understanding of Beijing's potential strategy towards the future of Tibet and how this issue looms as a potential source of instability in the region.

(Source: *Spinning the Wheel: Policy Implications of the Dalai Lama's Reincarnation. Project 2049 Institute. January 30, 2012* <https://project2049.net/2011/01/30/spinning-the-wheel-policy-implications-of-the-dalai-lamas-reincarnation/>)



XIII. Statements by International Tibet Groups

A. International Campaign for Tibet [United States]. (December 13, 2023)

It is the firm belief of the International Campaign for Tibet that the institution of the Dalai Lama continues to lead the Tibetan people to a meaningful resolution of their issue and more importantly for the preservation and promotion of the Tibetan Buddhist culture and tradition. Tibetans and practitioners of Tibetan spiritual traditions strongly support the continuation of the institution of the Dalai Lama.

(Source: www.savetibet.org Also, in Annex)

B. Tibet Initiative Deutschland: Kelsang Gyaltsen. Advisory Board Member. (August 23, 2023)

Who chooses the next Dalai Lama is primarily a religious question. Therefore, the Tibetan religious institutions and authorities are responsible for this. The Chinese communist leadership insists that it wants to determine the reincarnation of the Dalai Lama. This is pure power politics and another sign of the disrespect and disregard it shows for the religious traditions, norms and values of Tibetan Buddhism. We must also see it in the context of the policy that Beijing has been pursuing for decades: the Sinicization of Tibetan culture.

(Source: www.tibet-initiative.de)

C. Japan Tibet Support Groups. Resolution. (February 13, 2023)

We, the representatives and members of the Japan Tibet Support Group, hereby announce that on this day, February 12, 2023, we have resolved to make the following statement:

The Chinese Communist Party leadership must stop human rights violations in Tibet and

allow Tibetans to exercise their fundamental human rights.

The Chinese Communist Party leadership must stop the forced brainwashing of Tibetan children under the pretext of educating them in boarding schools under communist conditions.

The Chinese Communist Party leadership should implement the Ethnic Minority Law and allow ethnic minorities full freedom to use and preserve their own languages.

The Chinese Communist Party leadership, which does not believe in religion, must stop interfering with the religion of the Tibetan people and claiming the right to choose the reincarnation of Tibetan senior monks and the Dalai Lama.

We, the representatives and members of the Japan Tibet Support Group (Tibet Support Group), will never recognize the lamas and Dalai Lamas appointed by the Chinese Communist Party leadership.

(Source: www.tibethouse.jp)

D. Free Tibet [United Kingdom] (2023)

In defiance of the deeply held wishes of the Tibetan people, China's government plans to appoint its own candidate as the next Dalai Lama. The role has historically been filled by identifying the reincarnation of the previous Dalai Lama after his death. The current 14th Dalai Lama has made clear that no Chinese appointed Dalai Lama will be the legitimate leader of Tibetan Buddhism.

China already punishes Tibetans for practicing their religion as they choose. Its aim is to force a puppet Dalai Lama on Tibetans to neutralise Tibetan Buddhism's independence and cement its hold on Tibet. It also hopes to undermine worldwide support for the Tibetan cause. Interfering in the selection of the Dalai

Lama is a political act, a profound insult to the Tibetan people's culture, desires and beliefs and a gross abuse of their religious freedom. It is vital that China understands that its plan will fail.

(Source: www.freetibet.org)

E. International Campaign for Tibet [United States]: Bhuchung Tsering, Interim President. (December 14, 2022)

In recent years, particularly following the assumption of office by President Xi Jinping, the Chinese government's policy on Tibetan religion has moved from total destruction of Tibetan religious institutions and systems to one of insidious control in an attempt to serve its own political objectives, which includes Sinicizing Tibetan Buddhism and co-opting the right to determine Tibetan Buddhists' own leaders and modes of practice.

Since China has not been able to place the present Dalai Lama under its control, its transparent plan is to ensure the next will be subservient to the Communist Party of China. Not only do the Chinese government's claims completely disregard centuries-old Tibetan religious tradition; they also violate the universal principle of religious freedom.

By attempting to select the next Dalai Lama, the Chinese government also aims to extend its control over Tibetan Buddhism with clear geopolitical implications even on many Tibetan Buddhist institutions in the Indian subcontinent, Mongolia and other parts of the world where there are followers. If not challenged vigorously by free countries, this decision would affect the religious freedom, not only of Tibetans, but also of millions of followers of Tibetan Buddhism worldwide.

(Source: www.savetibet.org)

F. International Tibet Network [United States]. (October 4, 2022)

Beijing's struggle to appropriate and control the reincarnation system strikes at the heart of Tibetan religious identity. Reincarnation is central to Tibetan Buddhist belief and practice rooted in the concept of the cycle of birth, death, and rebirth.

China's 'Sinicization' of Tibetan Buddhism and its interference in the reincarnation system has far-reaching implications and seeks to finally break and reshape Tibetan identity. Sinicized Tibetan Buddhism aims to break the deep connection of Tibetan people with the Dalai Lama and involves a dystopian system of high-tech surveillance and policing of monasteries and nunneries.

(Source: www.tibetnetwork.org)

G. Joint Report of the Tibet Advocacy Coalition and Free Tibet Submitted to The UN Special Rapporteur on Freedom Of Religion or Belief [United States]. (July 11, 2022)

China's strategy to exert control over Tibetan Buddhist reincarnation includes an insistence that it is the prerogative of China to recognise the next Dalai Lama, and is designed to target not only Tibetans but also the broader international community, as a means to secure authority in occupied Tibet, and build influence and dominance across the Tibetan Buddhist world.

Tibet Advocacy Coalition and Free Tibet encourages the Special Rapporteur on Freedom of Religion or Belief to make the following recommendations to the Chinese authorities:

- *Affirm support for the 14th Dalai Lama as the legitimate authority on his succession;*
- *Oppose any effort by the Government of the People's Republic of China to select*



and appoint Tibetan Buddhist religious leaders, including any future Dalai Lama, by adopting national legislation;

- Immediately repeal the Religious Affairs Regulations of 2017, including Article 36 which requires that the succession of living Buddhas in Tibetan Buddhism is approved by the Chinese Communist Party;
- Immediately repeal the “Measures on the Management of the Reincarnation of Living Buddhas in Tibetan Buddhism” which violate international human rights law and standards, including by requiring Chinese state approval for Tibetan Buddhist reincarnations, and declaring any recognition outside the PRC as illegal in an effort invalidate reincarnation lineages;
- Provide proof of the whereabouts and well-being of Gedhun Choekyi Nyima, the 11th Panchen Lama of Tibet, and call for an independent monitor to be given immediate access to corroborate his situation and the extent to which he is able to enjoy and exercise his rights.

(Source: www.ohchr.org)

H. 8th World Parliamentary Convention on Tibet. Washington, DC [United States] (June 22-23, 2022)

Declaration: The participants call on parliaments to take coordinated action to affirm and endorse the exclusive right of the Dalai Lama and the Gaden Phodrang, the Tibetan people, and the Tibetan Buddhist community to select and appoint the incarnation of the next Dalai Lama and other senior Lamas and firmly reject the PRC’s declared intention to do so as a violation of religious freedom.

(Source: www.tibetanparliament.org)

I. Australia Tibet Council. (2022)

The Australian Government makes a strong commitment to protect the office of the Dalai Lama and the religious rights and freedoms of the Tibetan people by adopting the policy that the succession of Tibetan Buddhist leaders, including the succession of the Dalai Lama, be left solely to Tibetan Buddhists to decide, without interference from the Chinese Government.

(Recommendation to the Australian government

Source: atc.org)

J. Tibetan Youth Congress [India]. (2022)

In our increasingly interconnected world, the teachings and principles of His Holiness the 14th Dalai Lama possess the potential to transcend cultural and religious boundaries, fostering dialogue, understanding, and harmony. The institution’s influence extends far beyond Tibet, reaching individuals from diverse backgrounds seeking guidance, inner transformation, and a deeper sense of purpose. All members of the Tibetan Youth Congress unanimously agreed and expressed the wish that His Holiness the 14th Dalai Lama will continue to guide and bless Tibetans and individuals of other faiths globally. The Chinese have no legal or religious rights to interfere in recognizing the next Dalai Lama. The sole authority in recognizing the 15th Dalai Lama rests with His Holiness the Dalai Lama and his institution.

(Above is a statement from TYC’s Conference on the Relevance and Significance of the Dalai Lama Institution held in Dharamshala from 24-25 August, 2022.

Source: Statement was provided by TYC www.tibetanyouthcongress.org)

K. 8th International Conference of Tibet Support Groups, Dharamshala, India. (November 3–5, 2019)

Declaration: Supporting the decision of the 3rd Special General Meeting of the Tibetans in Dharamshala in October, we insist that all decisions regarding the reincarnation of the 14th Dalai Lama are the exclusive responsibility of His Holiness the Dalai Lama and his Gaden Phodrang Trust. Any interference in this process by the PRC authorities and any attempt at selecting or appointing a Dalai Lama by the Chinese government will have no legitimacy and should be condemned and subjected to sanctions by the international community.”

(Source: www.tibet.net Also, in Annex)

L. The Riga Declaration by 7th World Parliamentary Convention on Tibet, Riga, Latvia. (May 10, 2019)

We, the delegations to the 7th World Parliamentarians’ Convention on Tibet meeting in Riga, Latvia, from 7–10 May 2019;

Appreciating the strong participation from countries all over the world at the Convention,

WE THEREFORE:

Affirm that the Buddhist practice of identifying and recognising the reincarnation of Dalai Lamas and Tulkus is a religious matter that should not be subject to external political interference by the government of the PRC.

(Source: www.tibetanparliament.org Also, in Annex)

M. Tibet Fund [United States] (May 2019)

At present, since China continues its relentless campaign to sabotage and erode His Holiness’s international standing, the institution and the reincarnation process could become

vulnerable to manipulation and external political control.

(Source: www.tibetfund.org)

N. Students for a Free Tibet [United States]. (April 25, 2019)

The abduction of the Panchen Lama provides a preview of China’s plan to interfere in the eventual reincarnation of the Dalai Lama.

(Source: www.studentsforafreetibet.org)

O. Tibetan Women’s Association [India]. (March 16, 2016)

The Chinese government recently launched an online database of legal living Buddha’s which they say is to counter fake living Buddha’s that were using donations to support pro – independence activities in Tibet. The Tibetan Women’s Association strongly opposes the Chinese plan to mislead the world Buddhist population and will not accept the list as it does not feature the name of Tibetan spiritual leader, His Holiness the Dalai Lama. Moreover, the Communist Chinese does not believe in religion and according to them, religion is poison. Therefore, the Chinese have neither the legitimacy nor credibility in the spiritual matters of Tibet.

(Source: www.tibetanwomen.org)

XIV. Statement by Chinese Organizations and Scholars

A. Joint Statement of Canada-based Chinese Organizations, Toronto, Canada. (December 2, 2019)

His Holiness the Dalai Lama’s great wisdom and compassion have won the recognition and respect of the entire world. His Middle Way policy has gained more and more understanding and support of Chinese from mainland China and overseas. Recently, the CCP stepped up efforts to interfere with the



reincarnation of His Holiness and stated that his reincarnation must be certified by them. The CCP's statement was not only met with resolute resistance from the Tibetans but also caused great anxiety and opposition in the Chinese world. Taking the opportunity of Sino-Tibet Dialogue event, Canadian Chinese organizations issued a statement and appealed to Chinese around the world to support:

- *The reincarnation of the Dalai Lama is purely a religious right of Tibetans and decision rights of His Holiness himself. The Chinese authorities have no right to interfere.*
- *The CCP, as an atheist and an entity advocating violence since occupying Tibet in 1959, has continued to suppress and persecute Tibetans. Destruction of Tibetan culture history, religious belief, language, lifestyle, and environment has been carried out relentlessly. The CCP must stop all these practices.*
- *The relations between Tibetans and Han Chinese have a long history. The CCP continue to destroy and intensify ethnic issues and has a long term plan of creating the ethnic issue. We respect and support the Dalai Lama's efforts to promote the development of Tibetan-Chinese relations. As His Holiness said: Although the official dialogue with the Chinese government stagnates, the dialogue between Tibetan and Chinese people is increasing.*
- *We respect and support the "Middle Way" proposed by His Holiness the Dalai Lama. The future direction and positioning of Tibet should be determined by the Tibetans.*

The above joint statement was supported by: Human Rights Watch in China, China Democratic Party Canadian committee, Canadian Hong Kong Link, New Hong Kong

Cultural Club, Canadian Alliance supports Hong Kong (Preparatory Committee), Canada based Federation for a Democratic China, Movement for Democracy in China (Calgary), Vancouver Society of Freedom, Democracy & Human Rights for China, The Alliance of Guard of Canadian Values, and Canadian Coalition Against Communism

(The above is an English translation of the original statement in Chinese)

(Source: tibet.net)

B. Joint Statement of New York Sino-Tibet Dialogue – 2019. US. (December 24, 2019)

1. The reincarnation of the Dalai Lama is purely a Tibetan religious affair and the Dalai Lama himself has the sole legitimate authority on it, and the CCP has no right to interfere. Throughout the history of Tibetan Buddhism, the tradition of Lamas to choose their successor has existed. The Dalai Lama is fully entitled to designate his own successor. During the Qing dynasty, Manchu emperors interfered in the reincarnation of the Dalai Lama by means of the Golden Urn. The only exception, the 11th Dalai Lama went through the Golden Urn process but subsequent Dalai Lamas were recognized as reincarnations through rituals of Tibetan Buddhism and have not subscribed to the Golden Urn rule. The 14th Dalai Lama was similarly determined without going through the Golden Urn rule. As the Dalai Lama previously stated, "The CCP is an atheist who criticizes religions, especially treating Buddhism as a sign of ignorance, backwardness, and has always accused me of being a devil. It is reasonable if they say 'no' to allowing the devil to reincarnate, but now the CCP is clamoring to get reincarnation of the devil for themselves." It's out of the question, ridiculously illogical. The CCP is attempting to appoint reincarnation by meddling with

His Holiness the Dalai Lama's authority in this matter. This is a brutal violation of the rights of Tibetan Buddhists within Tibet and all around the world. It is illegal and invalid.

(Source: www.tibet.net)

XV. Statements by PRC Government and The Chinese Communist Party (CCP)

A. State Council Information Office. White Paper on Tibet. CPC Policies on the Governance of Xizang in the New Era: Approach and Achievements. (November 2023)

Reincarnation of living Buddhas is a practice recognized and respected by the government at all levels. In 2007, the State-Issued Measures on the Management of the Reincarnation of Living Buddhas of Tibetan Buddhism stipulated the principles that should be followed, the conditions that should be met, and the application and approval procedures that should be implemented. It also specified that reincarnated Tibetan living Buddhas, including Dalai Lamas and Panchen Rinpoches, must be looked for within the country, decided through the practice of lot-drawing from the golden urn, and receive approval from the central government. The reincarnation of living Buddhas has been carried out in an orderly manner ever since. In 2016, an online system has been launched to help obtain information about living Buddhas. By the end of 2022, 93 newly reincarnated living Buddhas have been approved and recognized.

(Source: www.english.scio.gov.cn)

B. Statement by Wang Wenbin, Chinese Foreign Ministry Spokesperson. (April 26, 2022)

"We firmly oppose the US interfering in China's internal affairs under the guise of so-called "religious freedom" and Tibet-related issues. The Chinese government pursues a policy of freedom of religious belief, which of course also includes respecting and protecting the reincarnation of living Buddhas in Tibetan Buddhism. Regarding the reincarnation of great living Buddhas such as the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama, complete methods and procedures have been formed over hundreds of years, which need to be customized according to history, religious rituals, and abide by China's national laws."

(Source: www.mfa.gov.cn)

C. The Permanent Mission of the PRC to the UN at Geneva. Response Letter to the High Commissioner for Human Rights. (July 8, 2020)

The Chinese Government pursues a policy of freedom of religion and belief; the Tibetan people's freedom of religion and belief is fully guaranteed, of course including respect for and the maintenance of the Tibetan Buddhist tradition of the reincarnation of the living Buddha. The lineage of the living Buddha, the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama, was formed and developed in Tibet, China. Their religious status and titles were also established by the central Government. The reincarnation of the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama is by nature an internal affair of China and there is no room here for any foreign meddling.

(Source: [PRC Response to UNHCR Letter](#) Also, in Annex)

(The above excerpt is from a July 8, 2024 letter from the Chinese mission in Geneva responding to a June 2, 2024 letter from the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights)



**D. Statement by Zhu Weiqun,
Head of the Ethnic and Religious
Affairs Committee of the National
Committee of the Chinese People's
Political Consultative Conference.
(December 3, 2015)**

The reincarnation of the Dalai Lama has to be endorsed by the central government, not by any other side, including the Dalai Lama himself."

The 14th Dalai Lama's attempt to end the reincarnation system is meant to mislead the central government and the public in order to retain the title within the clique and serve their separatist purposes.

(Source: www.m.tibet.cn)

**E. Statement by Champa Phuntsok,
Chairman of the Tibet Autonomous
Region. (March 12, 2009)**

The reincarnation of the Dalai Lama, like that of any Grand Living Buddha, must follow historical conventions and required religious rituals, and, more importantly among the traditions, approval from the central government.

If the Dalai Lama does not follow the convention for political or other purposes, I believe his reincarnation would not be acknowledged by religious people in Tibet, and the central government will never approve it.

(Source: www.china.org.cn)

**F. Measures on The Management
of The Reincarnation Of Living
Buddhas In Tibetan Buddhism. State
Administration for Religious Affairs.
(July 19, 2007)**

The following is a translation prepared by the International Campaign for Tibet (ICT). The Chinese text is available in the annex

State Religious Affairs Bureau Order

Order No. Five

These "Management measures for the reincarnation of living Buddhas in Tibetan Buddhism" were passed at the administrative affairs conference of the State Administration of Religious Affairs on July 13, 2007, and will be implemented on September 1, 2007.

Bureau Director, Ye Xiaowen

July 18, 2007

Article 1:

These measures have been formulated in accordance with the "Regulations on Religious Affairs" in order to guarantee citizens' freedom of religious belief, to respect Tibetan Buddhism's practice of inheriting living Buddha positions, and to regulate the management of living Buddha reincarnation affairs.

Article 2:

Reincarnating living Buddhas should respect and protect the principles of the unification of the state, protecting the unity of the minorities, protecting religious concord and social harmony, and protecting the normal order of Tibetan Buddhism.

Reincarnating living Buddhas should respect the religious rituals and historically established systems of Tibetan Buddhism, but may not re-establish feudal privileges which have already been abolished.

Reincarnating living Buddhas shall not be interfered with or be under the dominion of any foreign organization or individual.

Article 3:

Reincarnating living Buddhas should have the following conditions:

- *A majority of local religious believers and the monastery management organization must request the reincarnation;*

- *The inheritance lineage should be real and have continued to the present day;*
- *The monastery applying for the living Buddha reincarnation must be the monastery at which the living Buddha monk is registered, it must be registered as a Tibetan Buddhist place of religious activity, and it must have the ability to train and raise living Buddhas.*

Article 4:

Applicants to be reincarnating living Buddhas who have any of the following conditions may not be reincarnated:

- *Reincarnations which are not regulated by the religious doctrine of Tibetan Buddhism;*
- *Those in city-level people's governments and above with delineated districts, which ordered no reincarnations to be permitted.*

Article 5:

Reincarnating living Buddhas should carry out application and approval procedures. The application and approval procedure is: the management organization at the monastery applying for the living Buddha reincarnation where the monk is registered, or the local Buddhist Association, should submit applications for reincarnations to the local religious affairs departments at the level of people's government above county-level; once the people's government above county-level has made suggestions, the people's government religious affairs department reports upwards, and examination and approval shall be made by the provincial or autonomous regional people's government religious affairs department. Living Buddha reincarnations who have a relatively large impact shall be reported to the provincial or autonomous regional people's government for approval; those with a great impact shall be reported to the State Administration for Religious Affairs for approval; those with a particularly great impact shall be reported to the State Council for approval.

Verification and authorization of the living Buddha application should solicit the opinions of the corresponding Buddhist Association.

Article 6:

When there is debate over the size of a living Buddha's impact, the China Buddhist Association shall officiate, and report to the State Administration of Religious Affairs to be put on the record.

Article 7:

Once an application for a living Buddha's reincarnation has received approval, depending on the size of the living Buddha's impact, the corresponding Buddhist Association shall establish a reincarnation guidance team; the management organization at the monastery where the living Buddha is registered, or the corresponding Buddhist Association, shall establish a search team to look for the reincarnate soul child, and search affairs shall be carried out under the leadership of the guidance team.

The reincarnate soul child shall be recognized by the provincial or autonomous regional Buddhist Association or the China Buddhist Association in accordance with religious rituals and historically established systems.

No group or individual may without authorization carry out any activities related to searching for or recognizing reincarnating living Buddha soul children.

Article 8:

Living Buddhas which have historically been recognized by drawing lots from the golden urn shall have their reincarnating soul children recognized by drawing lots from the golden urn.

Requests not to use drawing lots from the golden urn shall be reported by the provincial

or autonomous regional people's government religious affairs departments to the State Administration of Religious Affairs for approval; cases with a particularly large impact shall be reported to the State Council for approval.

Article 9:

Once a reincarnating living Buddha soul child has been recognized, it shall be reported the provincial or autonomous regional people's government religious affairs department for approval; those with a great impact shall be reported to the State Administration for Religious Affairs for approval; those with a particularly great impact shall be reported to the State Council for approval.

Reincarnating living Buddhas who have been approved by the provincial or autonomous regional people's government religious affairs departments or by the autonomous regional people's government shall be reported to the State Administration of Religious Affairs to be put on record.

Article 10:

When the reincarnating living Buddha is installed, a representative of the approving authority shall read out the documents of approval, and the corresponding Buddhist Association shall issue a living Buddha permit.

Living Buddha permits shall uniformly be issued by the China Buddhist Association and reported to the State Administration of Religious Affairs to be put on record.

Article 11:

Persons and units who are responsible for being in contravention of these measures and who without authority carry out living Buddha reincarnation affairs, shall be dealt administrative sanction by the people's government religious affairs departments in accordance with stipulations in the "Regulations on Religious Affairs"; when a crime has been constituted, criminal responsibility shall be pursued.

Article 12:

When the reincarnating living Buddha has been installed the management organization at the monastery where he is registered shall formulate a training plan, recommend a scripture teacher, and submit the plan to the local Buddhist Association, which shall report upward to the provincial or autonomous regional people's government religious affairs department for approval.

Article 13:

Provinces and autonomous regions which are involved in affairs of reincarnating living Buddhas may formulate and implement detailed measures in accordance these measures, and report them to the State Administration of Religious Affairs to be put on record.

Article 14:

These measures shall be implemented from September 1, 2007.

(Source: www.cecc.gov Also, in Annex)

XVI. Selected Media and Articles

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XVIII. Annex

A. List of Dalai Lamas


Title	Name	Birth	Place of Birth	Year of Death	Age at Death	Notes
1st Dalai Lama	Gedun Drupa	1391	Tsang, Central Tibet	1474	84	Born to a nomadic family. Title was given posthumously. Founded the Tashi Lhunpo monastery in 1447.
2nd Dalai Lama	Gedun Gyatso	1475	Tsang, Central Tibet	1542	67	Born to a father who was a well-known tantric practitioner of the Nyingma school. Title was given posthumously.
3rd Dalai Lama	Sonam Gyatso	1543	Tolung, Near Lhasa	1588	44-45	Born to a wealthy family. Received the title from the Mongolian king Altan Khan. The first Dalai Lama to be called by that title in his lifetime. Founded Kumbum, Lithang and Namgyal monasteries.
4th Dalai Lama	Yonten Gyatso	1589	Mongolia	1617	27-28	Born to a Mongol tribal chief and a grandson of Altan Khan. Came to Tibet only in 1601 at the age of 12. First non-Tibetan recognised as the Dalai Lama
5th Dalai Lama	Ngawang Lobsang Gyatso	1617	Tsang, Central Tibet	1682	64-65	Born to a noble family. Known as "The Great Fifth." Started the construction of the Potala Palace. Visited China in 1649. Was the first Dalai Lama to assume political rule of Tibet. Desi Sangya Gyatso kept the death of the 5th Dalai Lama a secret for almost 15 years.
6th Dalai Lama	Tsangyang Gyatso	1683	Mon Tawang, India	1706	22-23	Enthroned in 1697. His identity was kept a secret until 1697. Renounced monastic life. Composed songs and poems. He was invited to visit China in 1706, but died on the way.
7th Dalai Lama	Kelsang Gyatso	1708	Lithang, Kham	1757	48-49	Enthroned in 1720. He established the Kashag (cabinet of Tibetan government) and abolished the post of Desi
8th Dalai Lama	Jamphel Gyatso	1758	Tsang, SW Tibet	1804	45-46	Enthroned in 1762. He built the Norbulingka Park and Palace. In 1790, the Gurkhas of Nepal invaded Southern Tibet and were driven out in 1791.
9th Dalai Lama	Lungtok Gyatso	1805	Kham	1815	9	Enthroned in 1810. The only Dalai Lama to die in childhood. His reincarnated successor would not be recognized for eight years.
10th Dalai Lama	Tsultrim Gyatso	1816	Lithan, Kham	1837	22	Enthroned in 1822. Died at the age of 22.
11th Dalai Lama	Khedrup Gyatso	1838	Minyak, Kham	1856	18	Enthroned in 1842. Born in the same village as the 7th Dalai Lama. Enthroned in 1842. Died at the age of 18. Nepalese-Tibetan war erupted (1855-56) and ended with the Treaty of Thapathali.
12th Dalai Lama	Trinley Gyatso	1856	Lhoka, Utsang	1875	20	Enthroned in 1860. Died before his 20th birthday.
13th Dalai Lama	Thubten Gyatso	1876	Langdun, Utsang	1933	58	Enthroned in 1879. Went into exile to Mongolia in 1904 to escape the British invasion. Returned in 1909. Went into exile to India in 1910 to escape the Chinese invasion. Returned in 1913 and declared independence for Tibet.
14th Dalai Lama	Tenzin Gyatso	1935	Amdo, NE Tibet			Enthroned in 1940. Went into exile to India in 1959 to escape the Chinese invasion. He transferred his political responsibilities to an elected leadership on March 14, 2011 and gave up his role as the political leader of the Tibetan people. He has traveled to more than 50 countries including 9 visits to Mongolia, 8 visits to Arunachal Pradesh and 23 to Ladakh.


Notes:

1. Sources: a) dalailama.com. b) Treasuryoflives.org.





2. According to the 10th Panchen Lama, the seventh Dalai Lama was born before the death of the sixth Dalai Lama. He stated premature and belated birth of reincarnation is possible in Buddhism and explained realized being can manifest himself in many forms at the same time. (Source: Isabel Hilton, The Search for the Panchen Lama. p. 282)


B: Original Documents


ENGLISH 



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THE 14TH DALAI LAMA
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News

Statement of His Holiness the Fourteenth Dalai Lama, Tenzin Gyatso, on the Issue of His Reincarnation

September 24, 2011

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(Translated from the Tibetan)

Introduction

My fellow Tibetans, both in and outside Tibet, all those who follow the Tibetan Buddhist tradition, and everyone who has a connection to Tibet and Tibetans: due to the foresight of our ancient kings, ministers and scholar-adepts, the complete teaching of the Buddha, comprising the scriptural and experiential teachings of the Three Vehicles and the Four Sets of Tantra and their related subjects and disciplines flourished widely in the Land of Snow. Tibet has served as a source of Buddhist and related cultural traditions for the world. In particular, it has contributed significantly to the happiness of countless beings in Asia, including those in China, Tibet and Mongolia.

In the course of upholding the Buddhist tradition in Tibet, we evolved a unique Tibetan tradition of recognizing the reincarnations of scholar-adepts that has been of immense help to both the Dharma and sentient beings, particularly to the monastic community.

Since the omniscient Gedun Gyatso was recognized and confirmed as the reincarnation of Gedun Drub in the fifteenth century and the Gaden Phodrang Labrang (the Dalai Lama's institution) was established, successive reincarnations have been recognized. The third in the line, Sonam Gyatso, was given the title of the Dalai Lama. The Fifth Dalai Lama, Ngawang Lobsang Gyatso, established the Gaden Phodrang Government in 1642, becoming the spiritual and political head of Tibet. For more than 600 years since Gedun Drub, a series of unmistakable reincarnations has been recognised in the lineage of the Dalai Lama.

The Dalai Lamas have functioned as both the political and spiritual leaders of Tibet for 369 years since 1642. I have now voluntarily brought this to an end, proud and satisfied that we can pursue the kind of democratic system of government flourishing elsewhere in the world. In fact, as far back as 1969, I made clear that concerned people should decide whether the Dalai Lama's reincarnations should continue in the future. However, in the absence of clear guidelines, should the concerned public express a strong wish for the Dalai Lamas to continue, there is an obvious risk of vested political interests misusing the reincarnation system to fulfil their own political agenda. Therefore, while I remain physically and mentally fit, it seems important to me that we draw up clear guidelines to recognise the next Dalai Lama, so that there is no room for doubt or deception. For these guidelines to be fully comprehensible, it is essential to understand the system of Tulku recognition and the basic concepts behind it. Therefore, I shall briefly explain them below.

Past and future lives

In order to accept reincarnation or the reality of Tulkus, we need to accept the existence of past and future lives. Sentient beings come to this present life from their previous lives and take rebirth again after death. This kind of continuous rebirth is accepted by all the ancient Indian spiritual traditions and schools of philosophy, except the Charvakas, who were a materialist movement. Some modern thinkers deny past and future lives on



the premise that we cannot see them. Others do not draw such clear cut conclusions on this basis.

Although many religious traditions accept rebirth, they differ in their views of what it is that is reborn, how it is reborn, and how it passes through the transitional period between two lives. Some religious traditions accept the prospect of future life, but reject the idea of past lives.

Generally, Buddhists believe that there is no beginning to birth and that once we achieve liberation from the cycle of existence by overcoming our karma and destructive emotions, we will not be reborn under the sway of these conditions. Therefore, Buddhists believe that there is an end to being reborn as a result of karma and destructive emotions, but most Buddhist philosophical schools do not accept that the mind-stream comes to an end. To reject past and future rebirth would contradict the Buddhist concept of the ground, path and result, which must be explained on the basis of the disciplined or undisciplined mind. If we accept this argument, logically, we would also have to accept that the world and its inhabitants come about without causes and conditions. Therefore, as long as you are a Buddhist, it is necessary to accept past and future rebirth.

For those who remember their past lives, rebirth is a clear experience. However, most ordinary beings forget their past lives as they go through the process of death, intermediate state and rebirth. As past and future rebirths are slightly obscure to them, we need to use evidence-based logic to prove past and future rebirths to them.

There are many different logical arguments given in the words of the Buddha and subsequent commentaries to prove the existence of past and future lives. In brief, they come down to four points: the logic that things are preceded by things of a similar type, the logic that things are preceded by a substantial cause, the logic that the mind has gained familiarity with things in the past, and the logic of having gained experience of things in the past.

Ultimately all these arguments are based on the idea that the nature of the mind, its clarity and awareness, must have clarity and awareness as its substantial cause. It cannot have any other entity such as an inanimate object as its substantial cause. This is self-evident. Through logical analysis we infer that a new stream of clarity and awareness cannot come about without causes or from unrelated causes. While we observe that mind cannot be produced in a laboratory, we also infer that nothing can eliminate the continuity of subtle clarity and awareness.

As far as I know, no modern psychologist, physicist, or neuroscientist has been able to observe or predict the production of mind either from matter or without cause.

There are people who can remember their immediate past life or even many past lives, as well as being able to recognise places and relatives from those lives. This is not just something that happened in the past. Even today there are many people in the East and West, who can recall incidents and experiences from their past lives. Denying this is not an honest and impartial way of doing research, because it runs counter to this evidence. The Tibetan system of recognising reincarnations is an authentic mode of investigation based on people's recollection of their past lives.

How rebirth takes place

There are two ways in which someone can take rebirth after death: rebirth under the sway of karma and destructive emotions and rebirth through the power of compassion and prayer. Regarding the first, due to ignorance negative and positive karma are created and their imprints remain on the consciousness. These are reactivated through craving and grasping, propelling us into the next life. We then take rebirth involuntarily in higher or lower realms. This is the way ordinary beings circle incessantly through existence like the turning of a wheel. Even under such circumstances ordinary beings can engage diligently with a positive aspiration in virtuous practices in their day-to-day lives. They familiarise themselves with virtue that at the time of death can be reactivated providing the means for them to take rebirth in a higher realm of existence. On the other hand, superior Bodhisattvas, who have attained the path of seeing, are not reborn through the force of their karma and destructive emotions, but due to the power of their compassion for sentient beings and based on their prayers to benefit others. They are able to choose their place and time of birth as well as their future parents.

Such a rebirth, which is solely for the benefit of others, is rebirth through the force of compassion and prayer.

The meaning of Tulku

It seems the Tibetan custom of applying the epithet 'Tulku' (Buddha's Emanation Body) to recognized reincarnations began when devotees used it as an honorary title, but it has since become a common expression. In general, the term Tulku refers to a particular aspect of the Buddha, one of the three or four described in the Sutra Vehicle. According to this explanation of these aspects of the Buddha, a person who is totally bound by destructive emotions and karma has the potential to achieve the Truth Body (Dharmakaya), comprising the Wisdom Truth Body and Nature Truth Body. The former refers to the enlightened mind of a Buddha, which sees everything directly and precisely, as it is, in an instant. It has been cleared of all destructive emotions, as well as their imprints, through the accumulation of merit and wisdom over a long period of time. The latter, the Nature Truth Body, refers to the empty nature of that all-knowing enlightened mind. These two together are aspects of the Buddhas for themselves. However, as they are not directly accessible to others, but only amongst the Buddhas themselves, it is imperative that the Buddhas manifest in physical forms that are accessible to sentient beings in order to help them. Hence, the ultimate physical aspect of a Buddha is the Body of Complete Enjoyment (Sambhogakaya), which is accessible to superior Bodhisattvas, and has five definite qualifications such as residing in the Akanishta Heaven. And from the Body of Complete Enjoyment are manifested the myriad Emanation Bodies or Tulkus (Nirmanakaya), of the Buddhas, which appear as gods or humans and are accessible even to ordinary beings. These two physical aspects of the Buddha are termed Form Bodies, which are meant for others.

The Emanation Body is three-fold: a) the Supreme Emanation Body like Shakyamuni Buddha, the historical Buddha, who manifested the twelve deeds of a Buddha such as being born in the place he chose and so forth; b) the Artistic Emanation Body which serves others by appearing as craftsmen, artists and so on; and c) the Incarnate Emanation Body, according to which Buddhas appear in various forms such as human beings, deities, rivers, bridges, medicinal plants, and trees to help sentient beings. Of these three types of Emanation Body, the reincarnations of spiritual masters recognized and known as 'Tulkus' in Tibet come under the third category. Among these Tulkus there may be many who are truly qualified Incarnate Emanation Bodies of the Buddhas, but this does not necessarily apply to all of them. Amongst the Tulkus of Tibet there may be those who are reincarnations of superior Bodhisattvas, Bodhisattvas on the paths of accumulation and preparation, as well as masters who are evidently yet to enter these Bodhisattva paths. Therefore, the title of Tulku is given to reincarnate Lamas either on the grounds of their resembling enlightened beings or through their connection to certain qualities of enlightened beings.

As Jamyang Khyentse Wangpo said:

"Reincarnation is what happens when someone takes rebirth after the predecessor's passing away; emanation is when manifestations take place without the source's passing away."

Recognition of Reincarnations

The practice of recognizing who is who by identifying someone's previous life occurred even when Shakyamuni Buddha himself was alive. Many accounts are found in the four Agama Sections of the Vinaya Pitaka, the Jataka Stories, the Sutra of the Wise and Foolish, the Sutra of One Hundred Karmas and so on, in which the Tathagata revealed the workings of karma, recounting innumerable stories about how the effects of certain karmas created in a past life are experienced by a person in his or her present life. Also, in the life stories of Indian masters, who lived after the Buddha, many reveal their previous places of birth. There are many such stories, but the system of recognizing and numbering their reincarnations did not occur in India.

The system of recognizing reincarnations in Tibet

Past and future lives were asserted in the indigenous Tibetan Bon tradition before the arrival of Buddhism. And since the spread of Buddhism in Tibet, virtually all Tibetans have believed in past and future lives. Investigating the reincarnations of many spiritual masters who upheld the Dharma, as well as the custom of praying devotedly to them, flourished everywhere in Tibet. Many authentic scriptures, indigenous Tibetan books such as the Mani Kabum and the Fivefold Kathang Teachings and others like the The Books of Kadam Disciples and



the Jewel Garland: Responses to Queries, which were recounted by the glorious, incomparable Indian master Dipankara Atisha in the 11th century in Tibet, tell stories of the reincarnations of Arya Avalokiteshvara, the Bodhisattva of compassion. However, the present tradition of formally recognizing the reincarnations of masters first began in the early 13th century with the recognition of Karmapa Pagshi as the reincarnation of Karmapa Dusum Khyenpa by his disciples in accordance with his prediction. Since then, there have been seventeen Karmapa incarnations over more than nine hundred years. Similarly, since the recognition of Kunga Sangmo as the reincarnation of Khandro Choekyi Dronme in the 15th century there have been more than ten incarnations of Samding Dorje Phagmo. So, among the Tulkus recognized in Tibet there are monastics and lay tantric practitioners, male and female. This system of recognizing the reincarnations gradually spread to other Tibetan Buddhist traditions, and Bon, in Tibet. Today, there are recognized Tulkus in all the Tibetan Buddhist traditions, the Sakya, Geluk, Kagyu and Nyingma, as well as Jonang and Bodong, who serve the Dharma. It is also evident that amongst these Tulkus some are a disgrace.

The omniscient Gedun Drub, who was a direct disciple of Je Tsongkhapa, founded Tashi Lhunpo Monastery in Tsang and took care of his students. He passed away in 1474 at the age of 84. Although initially no efforts were made to identify his reincarnation, people were obliged to recognize a child named Sangye Chophel, who had been born in Tanak, Tsang (1476), because of what he had to say about his amazing and flawless recollections of his past life. Since then, a tradition began of searching for and recognizing the successive reincarnations of the Dalai Lamas by the Gaden Phodrang Labrang and later the Gaden Phodrang Government.

The ways of recognizing reincarnations

After the system of recognizing Tulkus came into being, various procedures for going about it began to develop and grow. Among these some of the most important involve the predecessor's predictive letter and other instructions and indications that might occur; the reincarnation's reliably recounting his previous life and speaking about it; identifying possessions belonging to the predecessor and recognizing people who had been close to him. Apart from these, additional methods include asking reliable spiritual masters for their divination as well as seeking the predictions of mundane oracles, who appear through mediums in trance, and observing the visions that manifest in sacred lakes of protectors like Lhamoi Latso, a sacred lake south of Lhasa.

When there happens to be more than one prospective candidate for recognition as a Tulku, and it becomes difficult to decide, there is a practice of making the final decision by divination employing the dough-ball method (zen tak) before a sacred image while calling upon the power of truth.

Emanation before the passing away of the predecessor (*ma-dhey tulku*)

Usually a reincarnation has to be someone's taking rebirth as a human being after previously passing away. Ordinary sentient beings generally cannot manifest an emanation before death (*ma-dhey tulku*), but superior Bodhisattvas, who can manifest themselves in hundreds or thousands of bodies simultaneously, can manifest an emanation before death. Within the Tibetan system of recognizing Tulkus there are emanations who belong to the same mind-stream as the predecessor, emanations who are connected to others through the power of karma and prayers, and emanations who come as a result of blessings and appointment.

The main purpose of the appearance of a reincarnation is to continue the predecessor's unfinished work to serve Dharma and beings. In the case of a Lama who is an ordinary being, instead of having a reincarnation belonging to the same mind-stream, someone else with connections to that Lama through pure karma and prayers may be recognized as his or her emanation. Alternatively it is possible for the Lama to appoint a successor who is either his disciple or someone young who is to be recognized as his emanation. Since these options are possible in the case of an ordinary being, an emanation before death that is not of the same mind-stream is feasible. In some cases one high Lama may have several reincarnations simultaneously, such as incarnations of body, speech and mind and so on. In recent times, there have been well-known emanations before death such as Dudjom Jigdral Yeshe Dorje and Chogye Trichen Ngawang Khyenrab.

Using the Golden Urn

As the degenerate age gets worse, and as more reincarnations of high Lamas are being recognized, some of

them for political motives, increasing numbers have been recognized through inappropriate and questionable means, as a result of which huge damage has been done to the Dharma.

During the conflict between Tibet and the Gurkhas (1791-93) the Tibetan Government had to call on Manchu military support. Consequently the Gurkha military was expelled from Tibet, but afterwards Manchu officials made a 29-point proposal on the pretext of making the Tibetan Government's administration more efficient. This proposal included the suggestion of picking lots from a Golden Urn to decide on the recognition of the reincarnations of the Dalai Lamas, Panchen Lamas and Hutuktus, a Mongolian title given to high Lamas. Therefore, this procedure was followed in the case of recognizing some reincarnations of the Dalai Lama, Panchen Lama and other high Lamas. The ritual to be followed was written by the Eighth Dalai Lama Jampel Gyatso. Even after such a system had been introduced, this procedure was dispensed with for the Ninth, Thirteenth and myself, the Fourteenth Dalai Lama.

Even in the case of the Tenth Dalai Lama, the authentic reincarnation had already been found and in reality this procedure was not followed, but in order to humour the Manchus it was merely announced that this procedure had been observed.

The Golden Urn system was actually used only in the cases of the Eleventh and Twelfth Dalai Lamas. However, the Twelfth Dalai Lama had already been recognized before the procedure was employed. Therefore, there has only been one occasion when a Dalai Lama was recognized by using this method. Likewise, among the reincarnations of the Panchen Lama, apart from the Eighth and the Ninth, there have been no instances of this method being employed. This system was imposed by the Manchus, but Tibetans had no faith in it because it lacked any spiritual quality. However, if it were to be used honestly, it seems that we could consider it as similar to the manner of divination employing the dough-ball method (zen tak).

In 1880, during the recognition of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama as the reincarnation of the Twelfth, traces of the Priest-Patron relationship between Tibet and the Manchus still existed. He was recognized as the unmistakable reincarnation by the Eighth Panchen Lama, the predictions of the Nechung and Samye oracles and by observing visions that appeared in Lhamoi Latso, therefore the Golden Urn procedure was not followed. This can be clearly understood from the Thirteenth Dalai Lama's final testament of the Water-Monkey Year (1933) in which he states:

"As you all know, I was selected not in the customary way of picking lots from the golden urn, but my selection was foretold and divined. In accordance with these divinations and prophecies I was recognized as the reincarnation of the Dalai Lama and enthroned."

When I was recognized as the Fourteenth incarnation of the Dalai Lama in 1939, the Priest-Patron relationship between Tibet and China had already come to an end. Therefore, there was no question of any need to confirm the reincarnation by employing the Golden Urn. It is well-known that the then Regent of Tibet and the Tibetan National Assembly had followed the procedure for recognizing the Dalai Lama's reincarnation taking account of the predictions of high Lamas, oracles and the visions seen in Lhamoi Latso; the Chinese had no involvement in it whatever. Nevertheless, some concerned officials of the Guomintang later cunningly spread lies in the newspapers claiming that they had agreed to forego the use of the Golden Urn and that Wu Chung-tsin presided over my enthronement, and so on. This lie was exposed by Ngabo Ngawang Jigme, the Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, who the People's Republic of China considered to be a most progressive person, at the Second Session of the Fifth People's Congress of the Tibet Autonomous Region (31st July 1989). This is clear, when, at the end of his speech, in which he gave a detailed explanation of events and presented documentary evidence, he demanded:

"What need is there for the Communist Party to follow suit and continue the lies of the Guomintang?"

Deceptive strategy and false hopes

In the recent past, there have been cases of irresponsible managers of wealthy Lama-estates who indulged in improper methods to recognize reincarnations, which have undermined the Dharma, the monastic community and our society. Moreover, since the Manchu era Chinese political authorities repeatedly engaged in various



deceitful means using Buddhism, Buddhist masters and Tulkus as tools to fulfil their political ends as they involved themselves in Tibetan and Mongolian affairs. Today, the authoritarian rulers of the People's Republic of China, who as communists reject religion, but still involve themselves in religious affairs, have imposed a so-called re-education campaign and declared the so-called Order No. Five, concerning the control and recognition of reincarnations, which came into force on 1st September 2007. This is outrageous and disgraceful. The enforcement of various inappropriate methods for recognizing reincarnations to eradicate our unique Tibetan cultural traditions is doing damage that will be difficult to repair.

Moreover, they say they are waiting for my death and will recognize a Fifteenth Dalai Lama of their choice. It is clear from their recent rules and regulations and subsequent declarations that they have a detailed strategy to deceive Tibetans, followers of the Tibetan Buddhist tradition and the world community. Therefore, as I have a responsibility to protect the Dharma and sentient beings and counter such detrimental schemes, I make the following declaration.

The next incarnation of the Dalai Lama

As I mentioned earlier, reincarnation is a phenomenon which should take place either through the voluntary choice of the concerned person or at least on the strength of his or her karma, merit and prayers. Therefore, the person who reincarnates has sole legitimate authority over where and how he or she takes rebirth and how that reincarnation is to be recognized. It is a reality that no one else can force the person concerned, or manipulate him or her. It is particularly inappropriate for Chinese communists, who explicitly reject even the idea of past and future lives, let alone the concept of reincarnate Tulkus, to meddle in the system of reincarnation and especially the reincarnations of the Dalai Lamas and Panchen Lamas. Such brazen meddling contradicts their own political ideology and reveals their double standards. Should this situation continue in the future, it will be impossible for Tibetans and those who follow the Tibetan Buddhist tradition to acknowledge or accept it.

When I am about ninety I will consult the high Lamas of the Tibetan Buddhist traditions, the Tibetan public, and other concerned people who follow Tibetan Buddhism, and re-evaluate whether the institution of the Dalai Lama should continue or not. On that basis we will take a decision. If it is decided that the reincarnation of the Dalai Lama should continue and there is a need for the Fifteenth Dalai Lama to be recognized, responsibility for doing so will primarily rest on the concerned officers of the Dalai Lama's Gaden Phodrang Trust. They should consult the various heads of the Tibetan Buddhist traditions and the reliable oath-bound Dharma Protectors who are linked inseparably to the lineage of the Dalai Lamas. They should seek advice and direction from these concerned beings and carry out the procedures of search and recognition in accordance with past tradition. I shall leave clear written instructions about this. Bear in mind that, apart from the reincarnation recognized through such legitimate methods, no recognition or acceptance should be given to a candidate chosen for political ends by anyone, including those in the People's Republic of China.

The Dalai Lama

Dharamsala

September 24, 2011



བཀའ་འཁུར་གྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་

མཛུགས་སྐྱོང་གི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་

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- [illegible]

པར་བརྟན། ད་ལྟ་ནས་ང་ཚོས་བསམ་གཞིག་ནན་པོས་ཚོས་ལྷགས་ཚོས་བརྒྱུད་བཅས་པའི་དབྱིངས་ཚད་ལྡན་ཚང་མ་འཛོལ་བཞུགས་པའི་སྐབས་འདིར་བརྟན་པོ་བཟོ་དགོས་ཏེ་ཅང་གལ་ཆེར་མཐོང་བས། ཚང་མས་གལ་གནད་ཆེན་པོར་གཞིགས་ནས་མ་འོངས་པར་བོད་མིའི་བྱ་ཚགས་ཀྱིས་ཚད་ལྡན་ལག་བསྟར་བྱེད་པའི་ལམ་སྟོན་གསལ་པོ་ཞིག་ཚུགས་འདུ་འདྲིའི་ཐོག་ནས་ཐུགས་ཐག་ཚད་ན་སྟོས་མེད་དང་། གལ་སྲིད་དུ་འབྱུང་བའི་འཇུག་དང་བཀའ་བསྟར་གནད་དགོས་རིགས་བྱུང་ཆོད་ཅིང་ཚོགས་འདུ་འདྲིའི་ཐོག་ནས་ཐོག་མའི་གཞི་ཅི་ཞིག་བཏིང་ཐུབ་ན་དེ་ནས་སྤྱི་མཐུན་ཉམས་ཞིབ་དང་། བཀའ་སྟོབས་དགོངས་སྒྲོལ་ཞུ་མཁུ་གི་ལམ་སྟོན་ལྟར་ཉམས་ཉེ་བར་མ་ཐོགས་པར་ང་ཚོའི་ངོས་ནས་ལངས་ཕྱོགས་གསལ་པོ་དང་བརྟན་པོ་ཞིག་གཅིག་གྱུར་ཐོག་ནས་ལག་ལེན་བསྟར་བྱ་ཡོད་པ་ཞིག་བཟོ་བྱེད་ཐུབ་པའི་རེ་བ་ཞུ་བྱུ་ཡིན། གོང་དུ་ཚོས་རིག་བཀའ་སྟོན་གྱིས་ཞུས་པ་ལྟར་དེ་ནི་བཀའ་བསྟར་གནད་ཀྱི་དོན་ཚན་གལ་ཆེ་ཤོས་ཤིག་ཡིན།

བོད་བརྒྱུད་ནང་བསྟན་ལ་འཛམ་གླིང་འདྲིར་དམིགས་བསལ་གལ་ཆེན་པོ་ཞིག་དང་། ཚང་མས་མོས་མཐུན་བསྟན་བཟོ་བྱེད་ཞུ་བའི་གཞི་ཅི་གཙོ་བོ་ནི་བསྟན་པ་བཤད་སྟབས་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་འཛིན་པའི་ལམ་སྟོན་བོད་དུ་དར་བ་དེ་ལས་བྱུང་ཞིང་། བོད་བརྒྱུད་ནང་བསྟན་ལས་གཞན་པའི་ནང་བསྟན་རྒྱ་འཛིན་ཚང་མར་ཐེག་པ་ཆེ་ཆུང་ཕྱགས་དང་བཅས་པའི་མདོ་རྒྱུད་ཡོངས་ཚོགས་ལ་ཐོས་བསམ་སྟོན་གསུམ་མཐར་ཕྱིན་པ་བྱེད་པའི་ལམ་སྟོན་ཏེ་ལམ་མེད་པ་སྟེ་བྱེད། བོད་བརྒྱུད་ནང་བསྟན་དེའང་མ་འོངས་པར་རྒྱ་ནག་ནས་བྱུང་བར་བཤད་སྟབས་ལ་མ་བྱེད་པ་དང་། སྟབས་ལྟར་ལེན་དེ་སྟོག་པ་ཐོས་བསམ་གྱིས་རྒྱབ་འཕྲོགས་པ་ཞིག་དགོས། དེས་ན་ཤུགས་ཀྱི་སྤྱི་མཐུན་མགོན་ཆེན་པོས་རིས་སྤྱི་མཆད་པའི་བཤད་སྟབས་ཀྱི་སྟེ་ཚང་མར་བཤད་བྱ་དང་སྟོབས་གཉེར་བྱེད་སྟངས་སྤེལ་བཟང་པོ་མ་ཉམས་པར་དགོས་རྒྱུར་ཐུགས་ལག་ལེན་པོ་གཞིགས་ཀྱི་ཡོད།

བར་ལམ་སྟོབས་གཉེར་ཉམས་ཆག་འགོ་བའི་སྤྱི་མཐུན་མང་པོ་ཡོད་ཀྱང་། ཉམས་ཆག་མེད་པར་ཐུར་ལས་སྟག་པ་ཡོད་སྟངས་མཐུན་མཐུན་ཡང་མི་ཉུང་བ་ཞིག་ཡོད་པར་བརྟན། དངོས་ཐོག་བདེན་འཛིན་གྱི་ལམ་ནས་ཉམས་ཆག་ཕྱིན་འདུག་གམ་མི་འདུག་གམ་ཏེ་ཕྱིན་ཡོད་ན་གང་དང་གང་གི་ཐོག་ལ་ཕྱིན་པ། དེ་ཆོ་ཉམས་པ་སོར་རྒྱུ་བྱུ་ཞིག་ཐབས་ལམ་གང་ཡོད་བཅས་ཀྱི་ཐོག་ཞིབ་འཇུག་ཆེད་མཁས་དབང་བསྟན་པའི་ཉམས་ཞིབ་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་ཐོག་སྟོན་པའི་ལམ་ཁྱེད་ཀྱི་སྤྱི་མཐུན་ལེན་པ་དང་། ཡོད་ན་མེད་པ་དང་། ཡོད་ན་ཡོད་པའི་རྒྱ་རྒྱུ་གང་ལ་ཐུག་པ། དེ་དག་སེལ་ཐབས་གང་བྱེད་ཀྱི་ཡོད་པ་བཅས་ཆ་ཚང་ཞིག་བྱུང་སོང་། དེ་དག་ཕྱག་ལེན་དུ་བསྟར་སྐབས་ཚོས་ལྷགས་ཚོས་བརྒྱུད་ཡོངས་སྤྱི་མཐུན་ལས་གཞིག་གྱུར་གྱིས་ལེན་བསྟར་བྱེད་པ་དགོས་པ་ནི་ཏེ་ཅང་གལ་ཆེར་པོ་འདུག་སོ་སོའི་ཚོས་བརྒྱུད་དང་འབྲེལ་བ་ཡོད་པའི་དགོངས་འཆར་ཚང་མ་སོ་སོའི་ཚོས་སྤྱི་མཐུན་ལྷག་ཀྱི་ལག་བསྟར་གནད་ཀྱི་སྟེ་ཚན་ནས་པ་ཚོའི་ལམ་སྟོན་གྱི་འོག་ལ་འགོ་བྱེད་པ་ཞིག་སྤྱི་མཐུན་ལྷག་ཀྱི་ཚོས་པ་དང་། ཚང་མའི་ཐུགས་ལ་བབས་པ། ལག་ལེན་དུ་བསྟར་བའི་བཤད་སྟབས་ཀྱི་དེ་ཉེ་ཆོས་ནས་པ་ཚོས་ལྷན་ཆོགས་འདྲིའི་ཐོག་ནས་སོ་ཚོས་ཉམས་ཞིབ་བྱས་ཏེ་ཕུལ་བའི་བྱེད་དོན་སྟོན་ཐོ་འདྲིའི་ནང་ཕྱག་ལེན་དུ་བསྟར་བྱེད་པ་དང་མི་བྱེད་པ། འོས་པ་དང་མི་འོས་པ་གང་འདུག་གཞིགས་དགོས་ན་གཞིགས་རྒྱུ་དང་། དེ་རྒྱུ་ཕྱག་བསྟར་འོས་པ་རྣམས་ཕྱག་བསྟར་གནད་ཕྱོགས་བསྟར་བདག་སྤྱི་ཆེན་ནས་པ་ཚོས་ཐུགས་ཁུར་ཉམས་ཞིབ་ལྷག་ཀྱི་ལག་ལེན་བསྟར་དགོས་པ་མ་ཟད། དུས་ནས་དུས་སྤྱི་མཐུན་ལེན་བསྟར་བའི་ཉེར་ལེན་ལ་བརྟན་ནས་པ་ཚོས་ཐོག་མཐུན་ཡོད་དམ་མེད། མ་འོངས་པར་འདི་ལས་གཞན་པའི་ཐབས་ལམ་ཇི་དགོ་རྣམས་ཚོས་དོན་ལས་ཁྱེད་ཀྱི་མཐུན་འབྱུར་འོག་སྤྱི་མཐུན་འགོ་བྱེད་ཐུབ་ན་བོད་ཀྱི་བསྟན་པ་ལ་ཕན་མི་ཡོང་ངམ་སྟུམ། དེས་ན་འདྲིའི་ཐོག་ཞིབ་ཚོགས་པོས་བཀའ་བསྟར་གནད་ཚོགས་གནང་ཞུ་བྱུ་ཡིན།

བོད་བརྒྱུད་ནང་བསྟན་གྱི་འདུལ་བའི་ཐོས་རྒྱུ་དེ་གཞི་ཐམས་ཅད་ཡོད་པར་སྤྱི་བའི་སྤྱི་མཐུན་རེད། འོན་ཀྱང་གཞི་སྤྱི་དགོས་མའི་ཐོས་རྒྱུ་བོད་དུ་ཐོག་མ་ནས་པར་མེད་ལ། ད་ལྟ་འཛམ་གླིང་འདྲིར་ཆད་ཟིན། འཁོར་རྣམ་བཞི་ཡོངས་སྤྱི་མཐུན་པའི་ཕྱིར་དང་། ལྷག་པར་དུས་རབས་ཉེར་གཅིག་པ་འདིར་བྱུང་མེད་སྟོན་ཐུན་པ་མང་པོ་ཚོས་སྟོན་ལྷགས་རྒྱུའི་འདུན་པ་ཡོད་པ། བསྟན་མའི་སྤྱི་མཐུན་ནའང་གང་མང་པོར་དེ་སྟོན་བོད་དུ་ཡོད་པ་ལས་ཀྱང་ཏེ་ཅང་མང་བ་བཅས་ལ་བརྟན། དེས་འབྱུང་དང་འདུན་པ་ཡོད་པའི་བྱུང་མེད་ཆོར་བསྟན་པར་ཚོགས་པའི་དགོས་པ་འདི་དངོས་པོ་འཛོལ་བྱེད་པ་ན་བསྟན་པ་ལ་ཕན་པ་ལས་མི་གཞོན་པའི་ཡིད་ཆེས་ཡོད། དེ་ལྟར་ཤུགས་ཀྱི་སྤྱི་མཐུན་མགོན་ཆེན་པོའི་ལམ་སྟོན་འོག་འདས་པའི་ལོ་ཉི་ཤུ་ལས་མས་ཤིང་ཚོས་དོན་ལས་ཁྱེད་ཀྱི་དགོས་པའི་ཐོས་པའི་ཐོས་རྒྱུ་བསྟར་གསོ་བྱེད་ཐབས་ཡོད་མེད་སྟོན་ཞིབ་འཇུག་རྒྱུ་རིང་བྱས་ཏེ་བསྟོན་པའི་གཞི་བརྒྱབས་པ་དང་། འདི་ལོ་འོང་ཚོགས་ཆེན་འདི་མ་ཚོགས་པའི་ཐོས་པ་ཉེན་གཉིས་ཤིང་འདུལ་བ་འཛིན་པ་མང་པོ་ཞིག་གང་ན་འདྲིན་ཞུས་ནས་ཚོགས་འདུ་ཞིག་ཚོགས་ཤིང་། ཐོག་མའི་འཆར་གཞི་ལ་ཚོགས་འདུ་དེའི་བྱེད་དོན་རྣམས་སྟོན་ཆོགས་འདིར་འབྲལ་བྱུ་རེད། འོན་ཀྱང་གྲུབ་དོན་དེ་ཐག་ཚད་པ་དང་ངེས་པ་རྟོག་པ་ཞིག་བྱུང་མི་འདུག་པས་གནས་སྐབས་ཕྱིར་འཐེན་བྱ་དགོས་བྱུང་སོང་། དེའི་ཐོག་ཚོས་རིག་ལས་ཁྱེད་དུ་འབྱུང་བའི་བསྟར་དང་། དགོ་སྟོང་། དཔེ་ཆ་བསྟར་དགོས་པ་རྣམས་བསྟར་དུ་བསྟན་ནས་ཤིང་པོར་མ་ཐོགས་པར་ཐག་གཅོད་ཅིག་ཡོང་བའི་རེ་བ་ཡོད།

ཆོས་ལུགས་ལྟན་འགྲུབ་ཀྱི་སྒྲིལ་ལྷན་ཁག་གི་ཆོས་ལུགས་ཆོས་བརྒྱུད་དང་བཅས་པའི་ཆོས་ཚགས་ཁག་ཏུ་བཞག་པའི་གོས་ཚད་ལག་ནས་ལག་ལེན་བསྟར་
 གྱུ་བསྐྱེད་པ་དང་། བསྟར་མ་བྱུང་པའི་རིགས་གལ་ཆེ་བ་ལྟར་ཡོད་ཅིང་། དེ་ཚོའི་ཐོག་ལ་བསྟར་བདག་ཟླ་ཆེན་ནས་པའི་བཀའ་སློབ་ལམ་སྟོན་བྱུང་ན་ལག་ལེན་
 བསྟར་གྱུར་པ་ན་ཐོགས་ཡོང་བ་འདུག་པས་དགོངས་བཞེས་གནང་རོགས་གནང་ཞུ་གྱིན་ཡིན།
 ད་ལྟོ་དུས་ཚོད་གཉན་འཕྲང་ཆེན་པོ་ཞིག་ལ་ཆོགས་འདུ་འདི་ཆོགས་པར་བཞེས། ཆོགས་འདུའི་གོ་སྒྲིག་དང་། ཟླ་སྟེན་ནས་པ་ཚོ་ལོ་བས་བཞུགས་ཀྱི་གྲ་སྒྲིག་
 ཐམས་ཅད་འདོད་པ་ལེངས་པ་ཞིག་བྱུང་མེད་པས་བཞོད་བཞེས་གནང་རོགས་ཞུ་གྱིན་ཡིན།
 མ་འོངས་བོད་ཀྱི་མཐར་ཐུག་མདུན་ལམ་དང་། ད་ལྟོ་འགན་སྐབས་ལ་བོད་དུ་ཚད་ལས་འདས་པའི་དཀའ་ལྷག་ཐོབ་བཞིན་པ་རྒྱལ་ཁབ་ནས་ལྟར་དུ་
 མཚན་མས་ཆད་པའི་ཆེད་དུ་བཅུན་ཚུལ་གཞུང་གིས་ཞུ་བྱ་གང་ཡོད་དང་། དེ་མིན་ཆོས་ཕྱོགས་ནས་ཞབས་རིམ་བསྐྱབ་དགོས་པ། དེ་བཞིན་སྤྱི་མཐུན་བསྐྱོད་ནམས་
 གསོག་པའི་ལས་ཅི་ལྟར་བྱ་དགོས་པ་དེ་ཚོའི་ཐོག་ལ་འདྲ་ཆེན་ནས་པ་ཚོ་འདི་གར་ལོ་བས་བསྟར་བཀའ་སློབ་ལམ་སྟོན་གནང་ཆེ་པ་ན་ཐོགས་ཆེན་པོ་ཡོང་བ་
 འདུག་ཆད་མ་ལ་སློ་གསུམ་གུས་པས་གུས་ཕྱག་དང་བཀྱིན་རྒྱུ་ཡིན། ཐུགས་རྗེ་ཆེ།



ཏྲུ་ སྒྲིག་བརྒྱན།


ཏྲུ་ ཟླ་ལྷན།

ཏྲུ་ པར་མཛོད།

ཏྲུ་ རོ་དེ།



དེ་ལས་མཛད། >>



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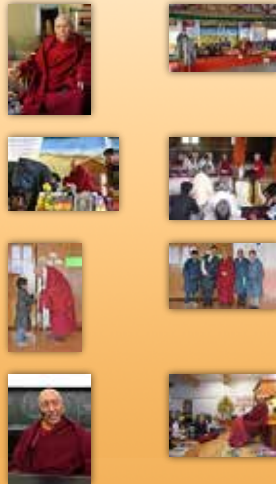
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3. Shechen Rabjam Rinpoche Letter



Statement of the 7th Shechen Rabjam Rinpoche,

The recognition of reincarnate lamas was and still is a practice unique to the various traditions of Buddhism in the Himalayan regions. The succession of Dalai Lamas, including the Fourteenth Dalai Lama, is a part of this tradition.

Throughout their successive incarnations, The Dalai Lamas have worked for the general and spiritual welfare of the Tibetan people. In particular, the His Holiness Fourteenth Dalai Lama is universally recognised for his outstanding contributions to world peace and religious harmony, a person whose humanitarian activities are wide-ranging and all-encompassing.

Regarding the finding, recognition, and subsequent education of the reincarnation of the H H Fourteenth Dalai Lama, I believe we must adhere to the advice, direction, and decisions made by the present Dalai Lama to ensure the continuity of this wonderful legacy.

7th Shechen Rabjam



4. Kashag Statement

ཀམ་མག་



KASHAG

Kashag's Position on the Issue of Reincarnation of His Holiness the 14th Dalai Lama

The government of the People's Republic of China adopted the so-called law on 'Management Measures for the Reincarnation of Living Buddhas in Tibetan Buddhism' in 2007. Since then, the PRC has taken over the management of all monastic administrations and in particular, took complete control over the power to recognise reincarnated Lamas/Living Buddhas, and continue to use it to meet their political ends.

Moreover, the PRC government, in real time, conducts workshops, discussion forums, talk shows and uses various means to promote a false narrative on the issue of reincarnation in general; and on the reincarnation of the present Dalai Lama in particular. These activities are conducted on all the ordained and laity throughout Tibet.

It is also a fact that the issue of reincarnation of His Holiness the Dalai Lama continues to be discussed within our community and without as well. Therefore, The Kashag/Cabinet of the Central Tibetan Administration felt the need to present this Position Paper for everyone's information.

1. The Kashag has firm belief that His Holiness will live to the ripe age of 113 as per propitious prescience and the repeated assurances of His Holiness the Dalai Lama.
2. The system of recognising reincarnated spiritual beings is a religious practice unique to Tibetan Buddhism. The fundamental thought behind this philosophy is to accept the principle of life after death.
3. While extending our sincere appreciation and thankfulness to those freedom loving democratic countries around the world, including the United States of America for their complete endorsement of His Holiness's thoughts on this matter; we will pursue with due diligence to obtain similar support from as many like-minded countries as possible.
4. With regards to the reincarnation of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, His Holiness's repeated statements since 1969, the official pronouncement of September 24, 2011, or any guidance in future is inherently discretionary. No government nor any individual has the right to interfere on this matter.
5. This religious activity should be conducted as per the responsibilities that His Holiness enshrines and entrusts. We have full confidence in the leadership of the Central Tibetan Administration at the time to take responsibility as entrusted.
6. The Kashag is in the process of working on other related matters that need to be addressed concerning this issue.

May all be assured.

The Kashag
September 29, 2022



Central Tibetan Administration of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, Dharamsala - 176215, Distt. Kangra, H.P., INDIA
Tele : (91) 01892 - 222218 or 222713 Fax : (91) 01892 - 224914 Email : kashag@gov.tibet.net

5. Resolution of CTA Special Meeting'



༡༣། འབཅའ་བྲིམས་དོན་ཚན་ ༡༩ པའི་འོག་དམིགས་བསལ་ཚོགས་ཆེན་ཐེངས་གསུམ་པ་ཕྱི་ལོ་

༢༠༡༩ ཟླ་ ༡༠ ཚེས་ ༣ རུས་ ༥ བར།

དམིགས་བསལ་ཚོགས་ཆེན་གསུམ་པའི་གྲོས་ཚད་ཁག།

བརྗོད་གཞི་གཉིས་པ་ལ་རྒྱལ་དབང་ལ་སྐྱེ་བྱེད་ན་རིམ་དང་ཐོད་མི་མང་དབང་གི་འབྲེལ་ལམ་ཐད།

ཐོན་ཐེངས།

༡༣། །ཕྱར་བཅས་སྤྱི་ཞིའི་གཙོག་ཆུན་རྒྱལ་ཀྲུང་སྤྱི་མེད་རང་ག་བྱུགས་འཕགས་མཆོག་སྤྱན་རས་
གཟིགས་དབང་ལཱ་ཉིད་བསྐལ་བ་གངས་མེད་མང་པོར་བསོད་ནམས་དང་ཡེ་ཤེས་གི་ཚོགས་ཚོགས་སྤྱི་
ཕྱེད་ས་གསུམ་མཛད་ཅིང་། སྤྱི་བ་གཉིས་བག་ཆགས་དང་བཅས་བ་བཅད་ནས་ཕྱེད་ཕྱེ་ཆེ་ཆུན་མི་ཆད་
པའི་འབྲིན་ལས་འཛིག་རྟེན་ཡོངས་ལ་ཁྲབ་བར་མཛད་པའི་དེ་བཞིན་གཤེགས་པ་འོད་ཟེར་ཀྱན་འཕགས་
དཔལ་བཅུགས་རྒྱལ་པོའི་རོ་བོར་མངོན་པར་ཚོགས་པར་སངས་རྒྱས་ཐེན་ཡང་། གདུལ་བྱའི་ཁམས་མོས་
དང་འཆོམས་བ་གང་ལ་གང་འདུལ་གི་སྤྱལ་པའི་རོལ་བ་བསམ་བཞོན་གི་ཡུལ་ལས་འདས་པའི་སྒོ་ནས་
སེམས་ཅན་གི་དོན་མཛད་པའི་དང་ཚུལ་ནི། རི་རྒྱུད་དུ། རྣམ་མཁའི་ལམ་གི་རྗེས་སུ་སོང་བའི་འཛིག་རྟེན་
རྒྱ་ཆེན་མཐའ་མ་མཆིས། །དེ་ལྟ་མོད་གི་སེམས་ཅན་གངས་མཚུངས་ཁྱོད་གི་སྤྱལ་བ་དེ་སྤྱི་ཅིག །རབ་ཏུ་
སྤྱོ་ཡང་བ་སྤྱིའི་ཅེ་ཅམ་གཡོ་སྤྱུམ་བཞིན་བ་མ་ཡིན་ཏེ། །ཆར་སྤྱིན་ལས་ནི་ཆུ་ཆར་བཞིན་དུ་འབད་པའི་
རྟོགས་པ་མངའ་མ་ལགས། །ཞེས་གསུངས་བ་བཞིན་སྤྱལ་པའི་རྒྱོས་གར་མཐའ་དག་ནི་བསམ་བཞོན་གི་
ཡུལ་ལས་འགོངས་ཤིང་། འོན་ཀྱང་བྱན་སོང་གདུལ་བྱའི་སྤང་རོར་འཕགས་ཡུལ་དུ་གསལ་བྱེད་སོ་བྱུག་
ཐོན་ནས་འགོ་དོན་དཔག་མེད་བསྐྱེད་པ་སྤྱི་དང་། བྱེ་བྱག་ཏུ་རྒྱལ་དང་རྒྱལ་སྤྱུས་གཞན་གི་གདུལ་བྱར་མ་
གྱུར་པའི་ཐོད་གངས་ཅན་སྤྱོད་པའི་གདུལ་བྱར་བཞེས་པའི་ཚུལ་ནི། ཐོན་གི་དུས་སངས་རྒྱས་འོད་མའི་



ཚལ་དུ་བཞུགས་པའི་ཆེ། ཞལ་འཇུག་པར་མཛད་པའི་འོད་ཟེར་གྱིས་བོད་ཡུལ་བཀའ་བཀའ། བྱང་སེམས་
ཕྱི་བ་མེལ་གྱིས་སངས་རྒྱུ་འཇུག་པར་མཛད་པའི་རྒྱ་དང་རྒྱུ་གང་ཡིན་པའི་སྐོར་བཀའ་འདི་ཞུས་པར།
སངས་རྒྱུ་གྱིས་དུས་གསུམ་སངས་རྒྱུ་གྱི་གདུལ་བྱར་མ་གྱུར་པའི་མཐའ་འཁོབ་ཁ་བ་ཅན་གྱི་རྒྱལ་
ཁམས་དེར། འཕགས་པ་སྤྱན་རས་གཟིགས་ཀྱི་ཐུགས་མེ་བཀའ་འདི་ལས་དམ་པའི་ཆོས་ཀྱི་ཉི་མ་ཤར་བ་
ལྟར་རྒྱུ་པར་འགྱུར། དེ་ཡང་སངས་རྒྱུ་གཞན་གྱིས་མ་ཐུལ་བར་སྤྱན་རས་གཟིགས་ཁོན་ས་འདུལ་ཐུབ་
པའི་རྒྱ་མཚན་ནི། སྤྱན་གྱི་ཆེ། སངས་རྒྱུ་སྤྱོད་གི་སྤྱན་སྤར་འཕགས་པ་སྤྱན་རས་གཟིགས་ཀྱིས། མཐའ་
འཁོབ་གདུལ་དཀའི་སེམས་ཅན་དེ་དག་ཀྱི་། བདག་གིས་ཐར་པའི་ལམ་དུ་འདུལ་གྱུར་ཅིག ། ཅེས་སོགས་
དམ་བཅའ་མཛད་དོ། ། ཞེས་བཀའ་བསྩལ་བ་དང་། གཞན་ཡང་བཀའ་གདམས་སྒྲེགས་བམ་ལས། རི་སྐད་དུ།
མཁའ་འགྲོ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་དོན་མེད་ལྟར། ། ཤར་དོན་མེད་ཀྱི་བྱང་ཕྱོགས་ན། ། གནས་ལུར་རྒྱལ་བོད་ཅེས་བྱ་བ་
ཡོད། ། རི་མཐོན་པོ་གནས་ཀྱི་ཀ་བ་ཡོད། ། མཆོད་མའ་པོ་གཡུ་ཡི་མཆུ་ཡོད། ། གངས་དཀར་པོ་ཤེལ་གྱི་
མཆོད་ཉེན་ཡོད། ། སྤར་སེར་པོ་གསེར་གྱི་ལྷན་པོ་ཡོད། ། རི་ཞིམ་པོ་སྤྱན་གྱི་བདུག་སྤོས་ཡོད། ། ཅེས་དང་།
ཀྱི་གངས་རིའི་མགོན་པོ་སྤྱན་རས་གཟིགས། ། གནས་དེ་ན་ཁྱོད་ཀྱི་ཞིང་ཁམས་ཡོད། ། ཞིང་དེ་ན་ཁྱོད་ཀྱི་
གདུལ་བྱ་ཡོད། ། སོགས་མདོ་རྒྱུད་དུ་མ་ནས་ལུང་བསྟན་པ་ལྟར་བོད་གངས་ཅན་གྱི་ལྷོངས་སུ་ཐོག་མར་
མའི་འགྲོ་བ་སྤེལ། བར་དུ་ཐང་ཐིང་གིས་བསྐྱེད་པ། མཐར་ཆོས་ཀྱིས་སྤྱན་པར་མཛད་པ་སྟེ། དེ་ཡང་
རིགས་ཀྱི་ཕྱི་སོ་སྤྱི་བྱང་རྒྱུ་སེམས་དཔལ། བོད་རྒྱལ་ཐོག་མ་གཉའ་ཁྱི་བཅན་པོ་ནས་ཆོས་རྒྱལ་མེས་
དཔོན་རྣམས་གཙོ་བོ་ལོ་པར་བྱང་རྒྱུ་སེམས་དཔལ་ལྱིས་བོད་ཡུལ་སྤྱན་པའི་སྤྱིང་དུ་དམ་ཆོས་
ཀྱི་སྤར་བ་དཀར་པོས་བོད་འབངས་རྣམས་འཕུལ་ཡུན་པན་བདེའི་དཔལ་ལ་སྦྱོར་བར་མཛད།

དེ་ནས་མེ་ཚོང་ཁ་པའི་དངོས་སྤོབ་ཐམས་ཅད་མཆོན་པ་ལ་རྒྱལ་དབང་སྐྱེ་ཐེང་དང་པོ་མེ་དགེ་འདུན་གྱུབ་པ་
དཔལ་བཟང་པོ་མཆོན་ནི་བཀའ་གདམས་སྒྲེགས་བམ་ལས། སྤྱན་རས་གཟིགས་དབང་བཟང་པོར་
སྤེལ། ། ཞེས་གསུངས་པ་ལྟར་སྤོབ་བཅོན་དུར་སྤྱིག་གར་གྱི་རྣམ་པར་རོལ་ཉེ་སྐྱེ་ཐེང་བཞི་པ་བར་ཞུ་སེར་
རིང་ལུགས་གཙོ་བོར་གྱུར་པའི་རིང་ལུགས་ཡོངས་ལ་དག་སྤྱང་གིས་བསྟན་པ་གཙོ་བོར་འཛིན་ཅིང་བོད་
སོག་ཡུལ་གྱུ་ཀྱན་ལ་རྒྱལ་བསྟན་གསལ་བར་མཛད།

དེ་བཞིན་འཇམ་དཔལ་ཅ་རྒྱུད་ལས། སྤྱན་པའི་བསྟན་པ་ས་སྟེང་དུ། ། དུས་མཐར་འཛིག་ཅིང་ཉམས་པ་
ན། ། སྤོབ་བཅོན་རྒྱལ་པོའི་ལྷུ་གྱིས་ནི། ། འབྱུང་བར་འབྱུར་བར་ཐེ་ཆོས་མེད། ། ཅེས་གསུངས་པ་བཞིན།

བོད་འབངས་ཀྱི་ལ་བསྟན་ཆབ་སྲིད་མི་རིགས་དང་བཅས་པ་བྱངས་ཟད་ཀྱི་ནད་པ་སྤྱོད་པས་བོད་པ་ལྟར་
 ཆེས་ཉམ་ཐག་པའི་གནས་སྐབས་སུ། ལགོང་ས་ལ་ཀྱུ་ལ་དབང་ལུ་པ་ཆེན་པོའི་གཞུང་དགའ་བ་བརྒྱ་ལྟ་པའི་
 ཆབ་སྲིད་གཏུགས་དཀར་གྱི་ཁྱིམ་བསལ་འོག་ཆབ་འབངས་བདེ་བར་བསྐྱངས་པ་ནས་བྱུང་བཀའ་འིན་ཆོ་
 མེད་ལས་སྐྱེད་བཅུ་གསུམ་པ་ཆེན་པོའི་བར་བྱས་པ་གཟིགས་བཀའ་འིན་གཞལ་དུ་མེད་ཅིང་། ཟུང་པར་དུ་
 ལས་སྐྱེད་མགོན་ཐུགས་མེད་གཉེར་ཆེན་གང་ཉིད་སྐྱེད་མོང་མ་ནམས་ཀྱིས་ཐུགས་སྐྱེད་དམ་བཅའ་བཅན་
 པོས་བོད་ཁ་བ་ཅན་གྱི་སྟོད་བཅུད་སྤྱི་དང་ཆབ་སྲིད་ཀྱི་མཛད་པ་འཕྲོ་སྐྱོང་ཀྱི་དོན་དུ་བསམ་བཞིན་སྐྱེད་
 སྲིད་པ་བྱུང་སྟེ་ལ་ཀྱུ་ལ་བའི་གསེར་ཁྱིམ་ཅོད་མེད་དུ་བྱོན་ཏེ་ཆབ་སྲིད་སྐྱེད་ཟད་མར་མེད་ངང་ཆུ་དུ་གྱུར་
 སྐབས་ཇི་ལྟར་གསོལ་བ་བཏབ་པ་བཞིན་ཆོས་སྲིད་ལུགས་གཉིས་ཀྱི་ཐུགས་འགན་བདག་གིར་བཞེས་
 གནང་ཡོད།

ལགོང་ས་ལས་ཐུགས་མགོན་ཆེན་པོའི་ཡང་སྲིད་ངོས་འཛིན་གནང་བྱོགས་ནི་ད་ལྟའི་ཆེད་གཉེར་ཡང་སྲིད་
 ངོས་འཛིན་གྱི་ད་སྟོན་འདིའི་ཐོག་མ་ཕྱི་ལོ་བརྒྱ་ཐག་བཅུ་གསུམ་གྱི་འགོ་སྟོད་ནས་བརྒྱད་ཡོང་བའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་
 རང་བཞིན་ལྟར་པའི་བོད་བརྒྱུད་ནང་བསྟན་གྱི་ཡང་སྲིད་ངོས་འཛིན་ལྷ་ཀྱུ་འི་སྟོན་ཐུན་མོང་མ་ཡིན་པ་
 ཞིག་ཡིན།

ལགོང་ས་ལས་ཐུགས་མགོན་ཆེན་པོ་སྐྱེད་ན་རིམ་དང་བོད་མི་མང་དབར་གྱི་འབྲེལ་བ་ནི་མགོ་དང་མཛེང་
 པའས་ལུས་དང་ཁྱིམ་མ་བཞིན་བྲལ་ཐབས་ཡི་ནས་མེད་པ་ཞིག་ཡིན་པས་ཏུ་ལའི་བླ་མའི་སྐྱེད་ན་རིམ་གྱི་
 ལམ་སྟོན་འདི་ང་ཆོ་བོད་ཁ་བ་ཅན་གྱི་མི་མང་ལ་སྤུ་སྤྱུག་གནས་དགོས་པ་ཞིག་ཡིན་སྟབས། ད་རེས་ཀྱི་
 དམིགས་བསལ་ཆོགས་ཆེན་འདི་བརྒྱུད་བོད་མི་མང་ཆོགས་ཀྱི་སྐྱེ་ཆབ་ཁྱིམ་ཀྱུ་ལ་ཁབ་ ༥༠ ལས་ཆོགས་
 བཅར་བ་གངས་ ༥༠ ལྟར་འཛོམས་ཀྱིས་གྲོས་ཆོད་ཅིག་འཛིན་དགོས་པ་དུས་ཀྱི་དགོས་མཁོར་མཐོང་།

གྲོས་ཆོད།

- ༡༩ བོད་འབངས་ཡོངས་ཀྱི་དབྱལ་བའི་མིག་དང་ཁོག་པའི་སྤྱི་ལྟ་བུའི་བླ་ན་མེད་པའི་དབྱ་ཁྱིམ་སྤྱི་ནོར་
 ལགོང་ས་ལས་ཐུགས་མགོན་ལ་ཀྱུ་ལ་དབང་སྐྱེད་བཅུ་བཞི་པ་ཆེན་པོ་མཆོག་ལ་ཞབས་བད་བསྐྱལ་



- མ་བརྒྱུ་ཕྱག་བར་བོད་མི་ཅམ་ཟན་ཡོངས་ཀྱི་འདི་བྱི་གཉིས་ཀྱི་མགོན་སྐྱབས་དབང་པོ་ཉེན་དམ་པར་
སྤྲོད་པུ་བཞུགས་གནང་ཡོང་བའི་གསོལ་བ་ཕུར་ཚུགས་སུ་འདེབས་ཀྱི་ཡིན།
- ༡༽ རི་སྤྱོད་བོད་ཁ་བ་ཅན་གྱི་འགྲོ་བ་ནམ་གནས་ཀྱི་བར་དུ་ཡ་རྒྱལ་དབང་སྐུ་ཐེང་རིམ་བྱོན་ནམས་བོད་
གངས་ཅན་པའི་བསྐྱར་དང་འགྲོ་བའི་དོན་དུ་དེས་པེབས་ཡོང་བ་ཆོགས་ཆེན་འདིའི་ཐོག་ནས་བོད་
གཞིས་བྱེས་གཉིས་ཀྱི་ཆབ་ཞུས་ཏེ་མ་གྲིན་དབང་ས་གཅིག་གྲུར་གྱིས་གསོལ་བ་ཅེ་གཅིག་ཏུ་
འདེབས་ཀྱི།
- ༢༽ ཡ་རྒྱལ་བའི་ཡང་སྤྱོད་དོས་འཛིན་གནང་ཀྱི་འགན་དབང་ཆ་ཆང་སྤྱི་ནོར་ཡ་གོང་ས་ཡ་སྐབས་
མགོན་ཆེན་པོ་མཆོག་སྐུ་ཉིད་དང་། ཡ་གོང་ས་རྒྱ་ལའི་སྐུ་མའི་སྐུ་བྱང་དགའ་ལྡན་པོ་བྱང་ཡིད་ཆེས་
དགེ་ཅའི་དབང་ལྡན་འགན་འཛིན་ཁོ་ནར་ཡོད་པ་ལས། གཞན་རྒྱལ་ཁབ་དང་། གཞུང་། སྤྱིག་
འཛུགས། མི་སྣེར་བཅས་སུ་ལའང་མེད།
- ༣༽ རྒྱ་ནག་གཞུང་གིས་དེ་སྔོན་བོད་བརྒྱུད་ནང་བསྐྱར་གྱི་སྐུ་ལ་སྐུ་དོས་འཛིན་བྱས་པ་སྤྱི་དང་ལྷག་པར་
དུ་བྱི་ལོ་ ༢༠༠༥ ལོར་གཏན་ལ་བབ་པའི་སྐུ་སྐུ་དོས་འཛིན་བྱེད་ཚུགས་ཀྱི་བཅའ་བཀའ་ཡང་ལུ་
པའི་ཁྲིམས་ཡིག་བརྒྱད། ཡ་རྒྱལ་བའི་ཡང་སྤྱོད་དོས་འཛིན་བྱེད་ཚུགས་ཐད་རྒྱ་ས་ངན་བཏོན་དང་
འདོན་བཞིན་པ་དེར་དགག་པ་མཐའ་གཅིག་ཏུ་བྱ་རྒྱུ་ཡིན་པ་བཅས་ཀྱི་སྤྱི་མོས་གྲོས་ཆོད་དུ།

བཟོད་གཞི་དང་མོ་བོད་མིའི་སྤྱིག་འཛུགས་ཀྱི་ལུ་དང་ལུ་བརྩའི་ལས་འཆར་ཐད།
ཆོགས་རྒྱུང་སོ་སོའི་རྒྱལ་གཉེར་ཁག་དང་རྒྱ་ཆའི་མང་ཆོགས་ཀྱི་དགོངས་འཆར་ཡིག་ཐོག་ཏུ་གང་ཡོད་པ་
ནམས་བཀའ་སྤྱི་གཉིས་ནས་བཀའ་བསྐུར་དབྱེད་ཞིབ་ཀྱིས་ལག་བསྐྱར་གནང་རྒྱུའི་སྤྱི་མོས་གྲོས་ཆོད་དུ།
བོད་རྒྱལ་ལོ་ ༢༠༡༤ རབ་གནས་ས་ལག་བོད་ཆུ་ ༤ པའི་ཆེས་ ༥ བྱི་ལོ་ ༢༠༡༤ ཆུ་ ༡༠ ཆེས་ ༥ ལ།

བོད་མི་མང་སྤྱི་འཐུས་ལྷན་ཆོགས་ཀྱི་ཆོགས་གཙོ་བོ་ལྷ་འབྲུང་གནས་མཆོག་

བོད་མི་མང་སྤྱི་འཐུས་ལྷན་ཆོགས་ཀྱི་ཆོགས་གཞིན་ཡུཅུ་ཡེ་ཤེས་ལྷན་ཆོགས་མཆོག་

The Third Special General Meeting Held Under the Provisions of Article 59 of the Charter of Tibetans in Exile From 3 to 5 October 2019*

Resolutions of the Third Special General Meeting

The Second Agenda Item on the relationship between the lineage of His Holiness the Dalai Lamas and the Tibetan people

Preamble

the Bodhisattva Chenrezig, the crown ornament of the material world and the spiritual realm, the embodiment of the compassion of all the Buddhas, had, for many countless aeons attained the trio of accomplishment, maturation, and perfection of accumulation of merit and wisdom and in that milieu tackled the twin obscurations of delusive obscuration to liberation and obstructions to omniscience to get rid of even a predisposing latency of it as he carried out an endless stream of Bodhisattva deeds of such immense magnitude as to encompass the entire universe. He had thereby already attained complete Buddhahood to enter the stage of nirvana. Nevertheless, in keeping with the disposition, inclination, and temperament of the sentient beings, he performed miraculous deeds by unimaginable means to carry out such roles as were appropriate to tame their obscured minds. With regard to his carrying out of such role-play miracles to tame sentient beings to such extent, it is thus stated of him: "The universe is as vast as the unfathomable expanse of the space / And your miracle emanations have numbered as many as the countless number of sentient beings that inhabit it. / Even though having made miraculous manifestations of such enormous numbers, not even the tip of a tiny hair on your body even so much as twitched, / For it was with effortless spontaneity, like that of the condensed clouds giving way to rainfall, that you accomplished your deeds." As thus stated and the like, the totality of the deeds of the Bodhisattva Chenrezig in his various countless miracle manifestations in the past are immense beyond imagination. However, with regard to such of his inestimable range of deeds as had been carried out within the conception of those to be tamed in the general context of the holy land of India ever since the thirty-six alphabet based system of writing came into being there, and in the particular case of the Snowland of Tibet, which did not constitute an object for taming by other Buddhas and their spiritual heirs, and over which he assumed responsibility as its patron deity, the story is told thus: Long in the distant past, when the Buddha resided in a bamboo grove, a light of great luminosity filled Tibet which brought a smile on his face. The bodhisattva Sarvanivarana Viskambin asked the Buddha for an explanation of the causes and conditions underlying his act of smiling. And the Buddha replied that the wild and outlying peripheral snowland of Tibet which had failed to be covered by any of the Buddhas of the three time realms for spiritual salvage has, thanks to the benevolence and great kindness of the Bodhisattva Chenrezig, turned into a place where the Buddhist religion will flourish all across with the luminosity like that of a rising sun. And there was a special reason why where all other Buddhas had failed, only Chenrezig succeeded in taming the beings of the wild and outlying peripheral snowland of Tibet. This goes further back in time when in the presence of a gathering of a thousand Buddhas, the Bodhisattva Chenrezig took a vow. He prayed to vouch for an undertaking that concerning the entirety of the sentient beings of that wild and outlying



peripheral land who present the greatest challenge for taming, may he succeed in guiding them towards the path to spiritual salvation. Such was the kind of pledge he took, as it has thus been stated. Besides, the Kadham Legbham texts collection thus states: As it was said, “The Dakinis have said in their Vajra songs, that / In the northward direction of the sacred Bodh Gaya, / There is a ghost land called Tibet, / With pillars of mountains so high as to hold up the sky, / With lowland lakes of turquoise mandalas, / With Snow mountains of crystal temples, / With grasslands of yellowness resembling heaps of gold, / And with the aroma of herbal incense wafting the land.” Likewise, the texts also say: “O! Lord of the Snow Mountains Chenrezig, / In that sacred realm lies your abode, / And in that abode are your disciple-subjects.” Thus, as prophesied in numerous sutra and tantra texts, the Bodhisattva Chenrezig first originated and spread out the human race, then nurtured his offspring with worldly material things in the next stage, and finally brought them to spiritual maturation in the last stage. The lineage began with the ancestry of a Bodhisattva monkey mother. Then in the later stage he came as the first king of Tibet Nyatri Tsenpo. From him, and through successive rulers, including as the trio of the great Buddhist kings Songtsen Gampo, Trisong Detsen and Tri Ralpachen, he also came as Bodhisattva translators and scholars who illuminated the land of Tibet that was otherwise darkened by the obscuration of ignorance with the moonlight of Buddhist religion. The subjects of Tibet were thereby drawn to both immediate and long-term zeniths of welfare, prosperity and bliss.

Then the Bodhisattva Chenrezig made an appearance as the principal disciple of Je Tsongkhapa, the omniscient His Holiness the First Dalai Lama Gedhun Drubpa Pal-Zangpo. Regarding him, the Kadham Legbham texts collection thus states: “The Bodhisattva Chenrezig then emanated as Pal Zangpo incarnate.” As thus stated, Gedhun Drubpa Pal-Zangpo made the appearance of being a persevering observer of the vows of an ordained maroon-robed monk in carrying out his noble deeds. And up to the fourth reincarnate lineage, the Bodhisattva Chenrezig immersed himself mainly in being the principal upholder of the Yellow-hat Gelug tradition of Tibetan Buddhism as well as of the other traditions of Tibetan Buddhism by means of his pure vision perceptions. On that basis he illuminated the entire lands of Tibet and Mongolia with the light of Buddhist religious teachings.

As regards the timeliness of the appearance of His Holiness, the protector refuge of incomparable kindness, it is thus stated in the Manjushri Root Tantra text: “When the teachings of the Buddha on the earth / Reaches the end of its time and declines, / Then, Like the kingly observer of precepts, / Shall (he) indubitably appear.” When the whole body of Tibet – its subjects, nationhood, religion, and governance – stood sapped of all its strength and vitality, abandoned in utter helplessness as if by a doctor of an incurable patient, His Holiness the Great Fifth Dalai Lama appeared and established the Ganden (the hundred-fold happiness-characterized) Phodrang under the comforting shade of the white parasol of whose government system the wellbeing of the Tibetan subjects were ensured. Since then, until the period of the incomparable His Holiness the Great Thirteenth Dalai Lama, the gratitude for the kindness and care received by the Tibetan nation and people has been immeasurable. In particular, the successive previous Dalai Lamas, all great treasuries of compassion, firmly adhered to their oaths of kindness and continued to care for the Snowland of Tibet as regards

both its geographical territory and its natural and human constituents, as well as for the governance of the nation by deliberately assuming earthly manifestations. In that state, each ascended the throne as His Holiness the Dalai Lama without any sort of controversy. They took charge of their state responsibilities as prayed for in both the spiritual and temporal aspects at times when the governance of the nation had dissipated like a butter lamp that had stopped burning because of the complete exhaustion of its fuel of oil.

Regarding the process for the discovery and recognition of the reincarnation of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, there is a well-established, unique historical tradition for the recognition of reincarnations in Tibetan Buddhism which dates back from the very early part of the 13th century and it is fully preserved to this day.

The relationship between successive Dalai Lamas and the Tibetan people has been akin to that between head and neck, or, as it were, between the body and its shadow, and therefore never ever separable. Hence it is only to be expected that the tradition of the continuance of the lineage of the Dalai Lamas through successive reincarnations should remain for the sake of the people of the Snowland of Tibet. Therefore through this Special General Meeting the 340 delegates who have come from 24 counties as representatives of the general Tibetan public sees it as imperative to adopt a resolution which thus follows hereunder.

Resolutions

- 1) That this Special General Meeting prays with unchangeable resolve that His Holiness the Great Fourteen Dalai Lama, the unsurpassable leader who is like the eyes on the foreheads and the heart in the bosoms of all the tsampa-eating subjects of the Tibetan nation may continue on as their ultimate protector-refuge of utmost recourse both for this and their future lives for a hundred aeons.
- 2) That on behalf of all the Tibetan people presently living in Tibet and in exile, this Special General Meeting prays with a single-minded devotion, and in a single voice, that for as long as sentient beings remain extant on the Snowland of Tibet, the lineage of successive reincarnations of His Holiness the Dalai Lama may continue with imperativeness for the sake of the dharma and the sentient beings of this land.
- 3) That this Special General Meeting is of the position that with regard to the process for the discovery and recognition of the reincarnation of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, the entire task and power lies in His Holiness Himself and the duly empowered responsible officials of the Gaden Phodrang Trust of the Dalai Lama and in no way in any other entity, be it any nation, any government, any organization of whatever description, or any private individual.
- 4) That this Special General Meeting is resolute in rejecting outright the efforts made and still being made by the government of China in the process for the discovery and recognition of reincarnations in Tibetan Buddhism in general and especially its coercive Order No. 5 declared in 2007 on the question of the recognition of reincarnations of tulkus and lamas in Tibetan



Buddhism through which it sought to plot its interference in the recognition of the reincarnation of His Holiness the Dalai Lama and this resolution has been unanimously so adopted.

That with regard to the first item on the agenda of this Special General Meeting, which is on the Five Fifty Vision of the Central Tibetan Administration

Such opinions and suggestions endorsed by the different committees of this Special General Meeting as well as such of those opinions and suggestions submitted by the wider general Tibetan public as are available in writing will be examined and on that basis implemented by the Kashag and the Tibetan Parliament in Exile. Resolved accordingly by unanimous decision of the Third Special General Meeting of Tibetans on this the 7th day of the 8th month of the Earth-Hog Tibetan Royal Year 2146, corresponding to the 5th of October 2019.

Pema Jungney
Speaker, Tibetan Parliament in Exile

Acharya Yeshe Phuntsok
Deputy-Speaker, Tibetan Parliament in Exile

* In case of any discrepancy between this English translation and its Tibetan original, the latter should be considered authoritative and final for all purposes.



བོད་མི་མང་སྤྱི་འཐུས་ལྷན་ཚོགས།

༡༡། རྒྱ་བས་བཅུ་དྲུག་པའི་བོད་མི་མང་སྤྱི་འཐུས་ལྷན་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་ཁྲོས་ཚོགས་
ཚོགས་དུས་བརྒྱད་པའི་ཐོག་གཏན་འབེབས་གནང་བའི་ཁྲོས་ཚོད་ཁག

སྤྱི་ལོ་ ༢༠༡༤ ཟླ་ ༤ ཚེས་ ༢༠ རྒྱས་ཚེས་ ༢༠ བར།

ཡིག་ཆ་མང་། ༡༩

ལྷན་ཟེང་།

[illegible]

གྲོས་ཚད།

- ༡། བོད་མིའི་ཐུན་མེད་པའི་དབུ་བཞེད་མྱེན་པོ་ལོང་ས་ལ་སྐྱབས་མགོན་ཆེན་པོ་མཆོག་གི། བོད་གངས་ཅན་པའི་སྤྱི་འགྲོ་ཡོངས་དང་ཆེ་རབས་ནས་ཆེ་རབས་སུ་དད་དམ་འབྲེལ་ཞིང་། གཞིས་ཁུལ་བོད་མི་ཡོངས་ཀྱི་དབུ་ལ་བའི་མིག་དང་ཞོག་པའི་སྤྱི་ལྟ་ཡིན་པར་བརྟེན། རྒྱ་གཞུང་གི་དབང་འཛིན་པ་ཚོས་མཚན་སྲུང་འདེབས་ཀྱི་ཁ་བུལ་ལས་རིགས་རྣམས་མཚན་སྲུང་འཛིན་བྱ་དགོས། མ་འོངས་པར་ལོང་ས་ལ་སྐྱབས་མགོན་ཆེན་པོ་མཆོག་གི་ལྷ་ཡི་ཡང་སྤྱི་དང་འབྲེལ་བའི་གནད་དོན་ཐག་གཅོད་ཀྱི་དབང་ཚད་ཆ་ཚང་ལོང་ས་མཆོག་དང་དགའ་ལྷན་པོ་བྱང་ཡིད་ཆེས་དག་ཅི་དབང་ལྷན་འགན་འཛིན་རྣམས་ལ་ཡོད་པ་ལས་ཆེས་མེད་སྤྱི་བརྒྱ་ནག་དམར་གཞུང་གི་དབང་འཛིན་པ་ཚོར་མེད་པ་ནན་བཤད་བྱ་རྒྱ།
- ༢། བོད་མིའི་སྤྱི་ག་འཛུགས་ཀྱི་རོམ་ནས་བོད་རྒྱ་གཉིས་སྤྱན་དབུ་མའི་ལས་བརྒྱད་ཞི་མོལ་འབྲིག་འཇགས་ཡོང་ཐབས་ལ་འབད་བཅོན་ཡོད་ཀྱི་ཆུ་སྐྱུགས་གནད་བཞིན་ཡོད་པ་ལྟར། རྒྱ་གཞུང་གི་རོམ་ནས་ཀྱང་ཁ་ཞེ་གཉིས་མེད་ཀྱིས་བོད་རྒྱ་ཞི་མོལ་འཇགས་དུ་འགོ་འཛུགས་དགོས་རྒྱ།
- ༣། དེ་ལྟར་གྲོས་ཚོགས་འིས་པའི་གྲོས་ཚོད་ཡོངས་དོན་ལྟར་རྒྱ་གཞུང་ནས་བོད་ལ་འཛིན་པའི་བྲག་གཞོན་དང་ལྷག་ལྟར་ཅན་གྱི་སྤྱི་དབུ་ལ་མཚན་སྲུང་འཛིན་དང་། ལམ་ཆེན་རིན་པོ་ཆེས་དབུ་ལ་བའི་བོད་ཀྱི་ཆབ་སྤྱི་དབཅོན་མ་རྣམས་སྤོང་བཟོལ། འཛིན་བརྒྱུད་བཅོན་འཇུག་དང་བཀག་ཉར་ལས་ཀྱིས་བཞུགས་ཀྱི་ཆེ་སྤྱི་ག་ལ་འགན་ཁུར། གཞི་ཅིའི་འགྲོ་བ་མི་ཡི་ཞོབ་ཐང་དང་ཆོས་དད་རང་དབང་བཅོན་འཕྲོག་བྱས་པ་རྣམས་མཚན་སྲུང་འཛིན་གཏེར་ཁ་བསྐྱོག་འདོན་སྤྲོས་ཀྱིས་བོད་ཀྱི་ཁོར་ལུག་གཏོར་སྤོང་བྱ་རྒྱ་མཚན་སྲུང་འཛིན་མི་རབས་བཞི་ཙམ་རིང་བོད་མི་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་ཞི་ཆོལ་དང་རེ་འབོད་བྱས་པ་རྣམས་གོ་མེད་ཆོར་མེད་དུ་ས་བཞག་པར་རྒྱ་གཞུང་གི་དབང་འཛིན་པ་ཚོས་བདག་སྤོང་རེས་བར་དུ་བྱ་དགོས།
- ༤། ཕྱི་ལོ་ ༢༠༡༩ ལོར་ཨ་རིའི་གྲོས་ཚོགས་ནས་བོད་ནང་བར་འགོ་ཆུང་འོང་གི་ཁྲིམས་ལུགས་གཏན་འཁེབས་གནང་ཅིན་པ་ལྟར། ཁྲིམས་ལུགས་དེ་ཉིད་ལག་བསྟར་ཚུལ་མཐུན་ཡོང་ཆེད་ཁྱོགས་ཡོངས་ནས་འགན་ཁུར་ཆེ་བཞེས་དགོས་པའི་རེ་སྤྱུལ་དང་། དེ་བཞིན་རྒྱ་གཞུང་གི་ཁྱོགས་ནས་བོད་མི་རྣམས་ཀྱི་སྤྱི་བསྤོང་ལག་འཁེར་བཅོན་འཕྲོག་བྱས་པ་སྤྲོས་གང་སྤྲོས་ཀྱི་དོ་བདག་ལ་ཅིས་སྤོང་དགོས།
- ༥། རྒྱལ་སྤྱིའི་གཞུང་དང་། གྲོས་ཚོགས། གཞུང་འབྲེལ་མ་ཡིན་པའི་ཚོགས་ཁྲེ། མི་སྡེར་བཅས་ནས་ད་བར་བོད་དོན་ལ་རྒྱལ་སྤོང་དང་གདུང་སེམས་མཉམ་སྦྲེད། ལྷག་པར་བོད་དོན་ལ་སྤྱན་པའི་ཁྲིམས་ཡིག་དང་གྲོས་ཚོད་གཏན་འཁེབས། ཕྱི་ནང་གི་མཐུན་ཆེན་སྤོང་སྤོང་སྤྲོད་སྤྲོད་སྤྲོད་སྤྲོད་པ་ཞིན་པ་ཡོངས་ལ་ཐུགས་རྗེ་ཐུན་མེད་པ་ཆེ་ཞུ་རྒྱ་བཅས་ཀྱི་སྤྱི་མོས་གྲོས་ཚོད་དུ། བོད་མི་མང་སྤྱི་འཐུས་ལྷན་ཚོགས་ཀྱིས་ཕྱི་ལོ་ ༢༠༡༩ ལྷ་ ༩ ཚེས་ ༢༠ ལ།

གོང་གསལ་གྲོས་ཚོད་འདི་བཞིན་སྐབས་ ༡༩ པའི་བོད་མི་མང་སྤྱི་འཐུས་ལྷན་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་གྲོས་ཚོགས་ཚོགས་དུས་ ༩ པའི་ཐོག་སྤྱི་མོས་ཀྱིས་གཏན་འཁེབས་གནང་། ཕྱི་ལོ་ ༢༠༡༩ ལྷ་ ༩ ཚེས་ ༢༠ ལ།





7. Letter of the UN Special Rapporteurs

PALAIS DES NATIONS • 1211 GENEVA 10, SWITZERLAND

Mandates of the Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances; the Working Group on Arbitrary Detention; the Special Rapporteur in the field of cultural rights; the Special Rapporteur on minority issues; and the Special Rapporteur on freedom of religion or belief

REFERENCE:
AL CHN 12/2020

2 June 2020

Excellency,

We have the honour to address you in our capacities as Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances; Working Group on Arbitrary Detention; Special Rapporteur in the field of cultural rights; Special Rapporteur on minority issues; and Special Rapporteur on freedom of religion or belief, pursuant to Human Rights Council resolutions 36/6, 42/22, 37/12, 34/6 and 40/10.

In this connection, we would like to bring to the attention of your Excellency's Government information we have received concerning **the continued enforced disappearance of Gedhun Cheokyi Nyima, and the regulation of reincarnation of Tibetan living Buddhas against the religious traditions and practices of the Tibetan Buddhist minority**. The 17 May 2020 marked 25 years since the disappearance of Gedhun Cheokyi Nyima.

The case of Gedhun Cheokyi Nyima has previously been raised with your Excellency's Government by Special Procedures mandate holders in CHN 13/2005 and CHN 12/2007. We thank your Excellency's Government for the replies received to these communications.

We would also like to recall that the case of Gedhun Cheokyi Nyima has also been treated under the humanitarian mandate of the Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances.

Furthermore, Special Rapporteurs on freedom of religion or belief have raised concerns on the measures taken by the authorities to manage the search, identification and the reincarnation of Buddhist Lamas in 1991 (E/CN.4/1992/52, para 22), 1996 (E/CN.4/1996/95, para 40) and 2006 (E/CN.4/2006/5/Add.1, paras 94-95).

According to the information received:

On 14 May 1995, Mr. Gedhun Cheokyi Nyima, then six years of age, was recognized as the 11th reincarnation of the Panchen Lama by the Dalai Lama. Shortly after this date, Mr. Nyima and his parents were taken away from their village by members of the Chinese Government. The 17 May 2020 marked 25 years since the disappearance of Gedhun Cheokyi Nyima.

The Government of China has confirmed that he was taken away with his family but has refused to provide precise information on his fate and whereabouts despite

multiple requests. The Government initially indicated he was being held in “government protection,” and later that he was living a normal life. During this period, he has reportedly been deprived of the religious education in Tibetan Buddhism.

Following the disappearance of Mr. Gedhun Cheokyi Nyima, the Chinese Government attempted to nominate and appoint their preferred choice of individual as the eleventh Panchen Lama. Moreover, the authorities also attempted to regulate the appointment of Tibetan religious leaders, which went against the intrinsic beliefs and religious traditions of Tibetan Buddhists. In 2007, the Government issued the “State Religious Affairs Bureau Order No.5 (Bureau Order)” that specifically laid down measures in managing the reincarnation of Tibetan living Buddha. In article 2 of Bureau Order, it was stressed that “living Buddha reincarnations should respect and protect the principles of the unification of the state, protecting the unity of the minorities, protecting religious concord and social harmony, and protecting the normal order of Tibetan Buddhism”. In articles 3 and 4, the Bureau Order set the conditions for the application of reincarnation of living Buddha and also granted authority to local Governments to decide if a reincarnation is permissible. In the rest of the Bureau Order, it detailed various procedures for receiving the Buddhist Association of China’s opinion and the State’s permission or approval for reincarnation.

In 2016, the Chinese Government published an online database of the State-approved Tibetan Buddhist reincarnations with over 1300 biographies of living Buddhas residing in the country as provided by the Buddhist Association of China. The regulation of reincarnation is enhanced subsequently in article 36 of the Religious Affairs Regulations 2017, which provides that: “the succession of living Buddhas in Tibetan Buddhism is to be conducted under the guidance of Buddhist groups and in accordance with the religious rites and historical conventions, and is to be reported for approval to the religious affairs department of people’s governments at the provincial level or above or to a people’s government at the provincial level or above”. Many Tibetan Buddhists have expressed their concerns about the regulation of reincarnation as it undermines the Tibetan religious traditions and practices while such regulation allow the State to interfere in the choice of their religious leaders. Furthermore, there is fear that the Chinese authority will identify and appoint the successor of the current (fourteenth) Dalai Lama against the Tibetan traditions and the wish of Tibetan Buddhist communities.

Without prejudging the accuracy of this information, we express grave concern at the continued refusal by the Government of China to disclose precisely the whereabouts of Gedhun Cheokyi Nyima. We are also particularly concerned that the regulation of reincarnation of Tibetan living Buddhas may interfere and possibly undermines, in a discriminatory way, the religious traditions and practices of the Tibetan Buddhist minority.



Should these allegations be confirmed, they would contravene international human rights law provisions, such as the prohibition against discrimination, the right to recognition as a person before the law and to its equal protection without discrimination, the right not be deprived arbitrarily of one's liberty, the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion and to freely participate in cultural life in accordance with articles 2, 3, 6, 7, 9, 18 and 27 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and article 15 of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. The continued enforced disappearance of Mr. Gedhun Cheokyi Nyima for the past 25 years contravenes several articles of the United Nations Declaration on the Protection of All Persons from Enforced Disappearances including articles 2 and 7.

The disappearance of Mr. Gedhun Cheokyi Nyima has been raised with your Excellency's Government multiple times by Special Procedures mandate holders. The UN Committee on the Rights of the Child (CRC) has also requested China to allow an independent expert to visit Mr. Gedhun Cheokyi Nyima to confirm his whereabouts and verify the fulfilment of his rights (CRC/C/SR.299 and CRC/C/CHN/CO/3-4). We note that your Excellency's Government has expressed on several occasions its support for the international community's efforts to eliminate and prevent enforced disappearances, including at the Human Rights Council. **We thus reiterate our demand for your Excellency's Government to provide prompt and detailed information on Mr. Gedhun Cheokyi Nyima's whereabouts and we endorse the CRC's recommendation to allow an independent monitor to visit him to confirm his whereabouts and the extent to which he is able to enjoy and exercise his rights. We also appeal to your Excellency's Government to ensure that Tibetan Buddhists are able to freely practice their religion, traditions and culture without interference.**

In connection with the above alleged facts and concerns, please refer to the **Annex on Reference to international human rights law** attached to this letter which cites international human rights instruments and standards relevant to these allegations.

As it is our responsibility, under the mandates provided to us by the Human Rights Council, to seek to clarify all cases brought to our attention, we would be grateful for your observations on the following matters:

1. Please provide any additional information and/or comment(s) you may have on the above-mentioned allegations.
2. Please provide prompt and detailed information on the fate and whereabouts of Mr. Gedhun Cheokyi Nyima.
3. Please explain how the regulation of reincarnation of living Buddhas is compatible with the protection of freedom of religion or belief and the protection of religious minorities without discrimination under international human rights law.

This communication and any response received from your Excellency's Government will be made public via the communications reporting [website](#) within 60 days. They will also subsequently be made available in the usual report to be presented to the Human Rights Council.

We may publicly express our concerns in the near future in this case. We have been communicating repeatedly with the Government of China to clarify the fate and whereabouts of Mr. Gedhun Cheokyi Nyima for the past 25 years, thus far, without a satisfactory response. We also believe that the regulatory framework applied to religious communities, should not interfere or undermine the right of these communities to follow their beliefs and traditions. Any public expression of concern on our part will indicate that we have been in contact with your Excellency's Government's to clarify the issue/s in question.

Please accept, Excellency, the assurances of our highest consideration.

Luciano Hazan
Chair-Rapporteur of the Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances

Elina Steinerte
Vice-Chair of the Working Group on Arbitrary Detention

Karima Bennoune
Special Rapporteur in the field of cultural rights

Fernand de Varennes
Special Rapporteur on minority issues

Ahmed Shaheed
Special Rapporteur on freedom of religion or belief



Annex

Reference to international human rights law

In connection with above alleged facts and concerns, we would like to draw the attention of your Excellency's Government to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR), ratified by China in 2001 and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), signed by China on 5 October 1998. While China is yet to ratify the ICCPR, as a signatory, China has an obligation to refrain from any acts which would defeat the object and purpose of the Covenant prior to its entry into force (article 18 of the 1969 Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties).

In particular, without expressing at this stage any opinion on the facts of the case and on whether the reported detentions were arbitrary or not, we would like to appeal to your Excellency's Government to take all necessary measures to guarantee the right of the abovementioned individual not to be deprived arbitrarily of his liberty in accordance with articles 6, 7, 9, 10 and 11 of the UDHR. Enforced disappearance is also an aggravated form of arbitrary detention as individual is placed outside the protection of the law.

We would also like to highlight that the United Nations Declaration on the Protection of All Persons from Enforced Disappearances notes that no State shall practise, permit or tolerate enforced disappearances (article 2), and that no circumstances whatsoever may be invoked to justify an enforced disappearance (article 7).

We would like to also reiterate that the freedom of religion or belief of the Tibetan Buddhist minority includes the right to determine their clergy and religious leaders in accordance with their own religious traditions and practices as guaranteed by article 18 of the UDHR. Article 6 (g) of the 1981 Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Intolerance and of Discrimination Based on Religion or Belief also provides the freedom to "train, appoint, elect or designate by succession appropriate leaders called for by the requirements and standards of any religion or belief". In addition, Human Rights Committee General Comment 22, para 4, further clarifies that "the practice and teaching of religion or belief includes acts integral to the conduct by religious groups of their basic affairs, such as the freedom to choose their religious leaders, priests and teachers [...]".

We would also like to refer to article 15 and General Comment No 21 to the ICESCR: "49. The obligation to respect includes the adoption of specific measures aimed at achieving respect for ... the right of all persons to express their cultural identity freely and to exercise their cultural practices and way of life.").

We further refer to the protection of the rights of persons belonging to minorities enshrined in article 27 of the ICCPR and to the UN Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities. In particular, article 2 of the Declaration establishes that persons belonging to minorities have the right to enjoy their own culture, to profess and practice their own religion, and to use their own

language, in private and in public, freely, without any interference or any form of discrimination and provides for the effective participation of minorities in cultural, religious, social, economic and public life, as well as in decision-making processes on matters affecting them. The Declaration furthermore refers to the obligation of States to protect the existence and the identity of minorities within their territories and to adopt measures to that end (article 1), as well as to adopt the required measures to ensure that persons belonging to minorities can exercise their human rights without discrimination (article 4).

8. Tibet Policy and Support Act 2020



(PART 1)

PUBLIC LAW 116-260—DEC. 27, 2020

CONSOLIDATED APPROPRIATIONS ACT, 2021

Public Law 116–260
116th Congress

An Act

Dec. 27, 2020
[H.R. 133]

Making consolidated appropriations for the fiscal year ending September 30, 2021, providing coronavirus emergency response and relief, and for other purposes.

Consolidated
Appropriations
Act, 2021.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

This Act may be cited as the “Consolidated Appropriations Act, 2021”.

SEC. 2. TABLE OF CONTENTS.

- Sec. 1. Short title.
- Sec. 2. Table of contents.
- Sec. 3. References.
- Sec. 4. Explanatory statement.
- Sec. 5. Statement of appropriations.
- Sec. 6. Availability of funds.
- Sec. 7. Adjustments to compensation.
- Sec. 8. Definition.
- Sec. 9. Office of Management and Budget Reporting Requirement.

DIVISION A—AGRICULTURE, RURAL DEVELOPMENT, FOOD AND DRUG ADMINISTRATION, AND RELATED AGENCIES APPROPRIATIONS ACT, 2021

- Title I—Agricultural Programs
- Title II—Farm Production and Conservation Programs
- Title III—Rural Development Programs
- Title IV—Domestic Food Programs
- Title V—Foreign Assistance and Related Programs
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- Title VII—General Provisions

DIVISION B—COMMERCE, JUSTICE, SCIENCE, AND RELATED AGENCIES APPROPRIATIONS ACT, 2021

- Title I—Department of Commerce
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DIVISION C—DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE APPROPRIATIONS ACT, 2021

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Title II—Department of Housing and Urban Development
Title III—Related Agencies
Title IV—General Provisions—This Act

DIVISION M—CORONAVIRUS RESPONSE AND RELIEF SUPPLEMENTAL
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DIVISION N—ADDITIONAL CORONAVIRUS RESPONSE AND RELIEF

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Title X—Clean Up the Code Act of 2019
Title XI—Amendments to Provisions Relating to Child Care Centers
Title XII—Alaska Natives Extension
Title XIII—Open Technology Fund Opportunity to Contest Proposed Debarment
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DIVISION P—NATIONAL BIO AND AGRO-DEFENSE FACILITY ACT OF 2020

DIVISION Q—FINANCIAL SERVICES PROVISIONS AND INTELLECTUAL
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DIVISION R—PROTECTING OUR INFRASTRUCTURE OF PIPELINES AND
ENHANCING SAFETY ACT OF 2020

DIVISION S—INNOVATION FOR THE ENVIRONMENT

DIVISION T—SMITHSONIAN AMERICAN WOMEN'S HISTORY MUSEUM ACT
AND NATIONAL MUSEUM OF THE AMERICAN LATINO

DIVISION U—HOMELAND SECURITY AND GOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS
PROVISIONS

DIVISION V—AIRCRAFT CERTIFICATION, SAFETY, AND ACCOUNTABILITY

DIVISION W—INTELLIGENCE AUTHORIZATION ACT FOR FISCAL YEAR 2021

DIVISION X—SUPPORTING FOSTER YOUTH AND FAMILIES THROUGH THE
PANDEMIC

DIVISION Y—AMERICAN MINER BENEFITS IMPROVEMENT

DIVISION Z—ENERGY ACT OF 2020

DIVISION AA—WATER RESOURCES DEVELOPMENT ACT OF 2020

DIVISION BB—PRIVATE HEALTH INSURANCE AND PUBLIC HEALTH
PROVISIONS

DIVISION CC—HEALTH EXTENDERS

DIVISION DD—MONTANA WATER RIGHTS PROTECTION ACT

DIVISION EE—TAXPAYER CERTAINTY AND DISASTER TAX RELIEF ACT OF
2020

DIVISION FF—OTHER MATTER

Title I—Continuing Education at Affected Foreign Institutions and Modification of
Certain Protections for Taxpayer Return Information
Title II—Public Lands
Title III—Foreign Relations and Department of State Provisions
Title IV—Senate Sergeant at Arms Cloud Services
Title V— Repeal of Requirement to Sell Certain Federal Property in Plum Island,
New York

(3) section 335, up to \$30,000,000 for fiscal year 2021 to the Administrator of the United States Agency for International Development; and

(4) section 335, up to an additional \$15,000,000 for each of fiscal years 2022 through 2025 to the Administrator of the United States Agency for International Development, if the private sector in India commits amounts equal to that contributed by the United States.

(b) SENSE OF CONGRESS ON FOREIGN ASSISTANCE FUNDS.—It is the sense of Congress that the authorization of appropriations under subsection (a) should be renewable for one or more periods of not more than 5 years if—

(1) authorized by Congress; and

(2) the Secretary of State, in consultation with the Administrator of the United States Agency for International Development, determines that the Foundation's work is successful in addressing the priorities identified in section 335(b)(1) and that the private sector in India has committed funds to the Foundation in accordance with subsection (a)(4).

Subtitle E—Tibetan Policy and Support Act of 2020

SEC. 341. MODIFICATIONS TO AND REAUTHORIZATION OF TIBETAN POLICY ACT OF 2020.

(a) TIBETAN NEGOTIATIONS.—Section 613 of the Tibetan Policy Act of 2002 (22 U.S.C. 6901 note) is amended—

(1) in subsection (a)—

(A) in paragraph (1)—

(i) by inserting “without preconditions” after “a dialogue”;

(ii) by inserting “or democratically-elected leaders of the Tibetan community” after “his representatives”; and

(iii) by inserting before the period at the end the following: “and should coordinate with other governments in multilateral efforts toward this goal”;

(B) by redesignating paragraph (2) as paragraph (3);

and

(C) by inserting after paragraph (1) the following new paragraph:

(2) POLICY COMMUNICATION.—The Secretary of State shall ensure that, in accordance with this Act, United States policy on Tibet, as coordinated by the United States Special Coordinator for Tibetan Issues, is communicated to all Federal departments and agencies in contact with the Government of the People's Republic of China.”

Coordination.

(2) in subsection (b)—

(A) in the matter preceding paragraph (1)—

(i) by striking “until December 31, 2021” and inserting “until December 31, 2031”; and

(ii) by inserting “and direct the Department of State to make public on its website” after “appropriate congressional committees”;

(B) in paragraph (1), by striking “; and” and inserting a semicolon;



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(C) in paragraph (2), by striking the period at the end and inserting “; and”; and

(D) by adding at the end the following new paragraph:
“(3) the steps taken by the United States Government to promote the human rights and distinct religious, cultural, linguistic, and historical identity of the Tibetan people, including the right of the Tibetan people to select, educate, and venerate their own religious leaders in accordance with their established religious practice and system.”

(b) TIBET PROJECT PRINCIPLES.—Section 616 of such Act (22 U.S.C. 6901 note) is amended—

(1) in subsection (d)—

(A) in paragraph (5), by inserting “human rights,” after “respect Tibetan”; and

(B) in paragraph (8), by striking “; and” and inserting a semicolon;

(C) in paragraph (9)—

(i) by inserting “involuntary or coerced” after “nor facilitate the”; and

(ii) by striking the period at the end and inserting “; and”; and

(D) by adding at the end the following new paragraph:
“(10) neither provide incentive for, nor facilitate the involuntary or coerced relocation of, Tibetan nomads from their traditional pasturelands into concentrated settlements.”;

(2) by adding at the end the following new subsections:

“(e) UNITED STATES ASSISTANCE.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—The President is authorized to provide assistance to nongovernmental organizations to support inclusive economic growth, resilience, global health, education, environmental stewardship, and cultural and historical preservation for Tibetan communities in Tibet, in accordance with the principles specified in subsection (d).

“(2) COORDINATION.—Assistance authorized under paragraph (1) shall be carried out in coordination with the United States Special Coordinator for Tibetan Issues in accordance with section 621(d).

“(f) PRIVATE SECTOR INVESTMENT.—The Secretary of State, in coordination with the Secretary of Commerce, should—

“(1) encourage United States businesses and individuals that are engaged in commerce or investing in enterprises in Tibet to be guided by the principles specified in subsection (d) and the United Nations Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights; and

“(2) hold regular consultations with businesses and individuals that are engaged in commerce or are investing in enterprises in Tibet about the principles referenced in paragraph (1) and the business practices of such businesses and individuals in Tibet.”.

(c) DIPLOMATIC REPRESENTATION RELATING TO TIBET.—Section 618 of such Act (22 U.S.C. 6901 note) is amended to read as follows:

“SEC. 618. DIPLOMATIC REPRESENTATION RELATING TO TIBET.

“(a) UNITED STATES CONSULATE IN LHASA, TIBET.—The Secretary should seek to establish a United States consulate in Lhasa, Tibet—

President.

“(1) to provide consular services to United States citizens traveling in Tibet; and

“(2) to monitor political, economic, and cultural developments in Tibet.

“(b) **POLICY.**—The Secretary may not authorize the establishment in the United States of any additional consulate of the People’s Republic of China until such time as a United States consulate in Lhasa, Tibet, is established under subsection (a).

“(c) **WAIVER.**—The Secretary may waive the requirement under subsection (b), notwithstanding the lack of a United States consulate in Lhasa, not less than 30 days after the Secretary determines and reports to the appropriate congressional committees that it is in the national security interests of the United States to waive such requirements and submits to the appropriate congressional committees a report including—

Deadline.
Determination.
Reports.

“(1) a specific and detailed rationale for the determination that the waiver is in the national security interests of the United States; and

“(2) a description of the efforts by the Department of State to seek the establishment of a United States consulate in Lhasa.”.

(d) **RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION IN TIBET.**—Section 620(b) of such Act (22 U.S.C. 6901 note) is amended by inserting before the period at the end the following: “, including with respect to the reincarnation system of Tibetan Buddhism”.

(e) **UNITED STATES SPECIAL COORDINATOR FOR TIBETAN ISSUES.**—Section 621 of such Act (22 U.S.C. 6901 note) is amended—

(1) by amending subsection (c) to read as follows:

“(c) **OBJECTIVES.**—The objectives of the Special Coordinator are to—

“(1) promote substantive dialogue without preconditions, between the Government of the People’s Republic of China and the Dalai Lama, his or her representatives, or democratically elected leaders of the Tibetan community, or explore activities to improve prospects for dialogue, that leads to a negotiated agreement on Tibet;

“(2) coordinate with other governments in multilateral efforts towards the goal of a negotiated agreement on Tibet;

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“(3) encourage the Government of the People’s Republic of China to address the aspirations of the Tibetan people with regard to their distinct historical, cultural, religious, and linguistic identity;

“(4) promote the human rights of the Tibetan people;

“(5) promote activities to preserve environment and water resources of the Tibetan plateau;

“(6) encourage that any initiatives or activities for Tibetan communities in the Tibet Autonomous Region are conducted in accordance with the principles espoused in section 616(d); and

“(7) promote access to Tibet in accordance with the Reciprocal Access to Tibet Act of 2018 (Public Law 115-330).”;

(2) in subsection (d)—

(A) in paragraph (5), by striking “; and” and inserting a semicolon;

(B) by redesignating paragraph (6) as paragraph (8); and



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(C) by inserting after paragraph (5) the following new paragraphs:

“(6) provide guidance with respect to all projects carried out pursuant to assistance provided under section 616(e);

“(7) seek to establish international diplomatic coalitions to—

“(A) oppose any effort by the Government of the People’s Republic of China to select, educate, and venerate Tibetan Buddhist religious leaders in a manner inconsistent with the principle that the succession or identification of Tibetan Buddhist lamas, including the Dalai Lama, should occur without interference, in a manner consistent with traditional practice; and

“(B) ensure that the identification and installation of Tibetan Buddhist religious leaders, including any future Dalai Lama, is determined solely within the Tibetan Buddhist faith community, in accordance with the internationally-recognized right to religious freedom; and”;

(3) by adding at the end the following new subsection:

“(e) PERSONNEL.—The Secretary shall ensure that the Office of the Special Coordinator is adequately staffed at all times to assist in the management of the responsibilities of this section.”.

22 USC 6901
note.

SEC. 342. STATEMENT OF POLICY REGARDING THE SUCCESSION OR REINCARNATION OF THE DALAI LAMA

(a) FINDINGS.—Congress finds the following:

(1) Tibetan Buddhism is practiced in many countries including Bhutan, India, Mongolia, Nepal, the People’s Republic of China, the Russian Federation, and the United States, yet the Government of the People’s Republic of China has repeatedly insisted on its role in managing the selection of Tibet’s next spiritual leader, the Dalai Lama, through actions such as those described in the “Measures on the Management of the Reincarnation of Living Buddhas” in 2007.

(2) On March 19, 2019, Chinese Ministry of Affairs spokesperson reiterated that the “reincarnation of living Buddhas including the Dalai Lama must comply with Chinese laws and regulations and follow religious rituals and historical conventions”.

(3) The Government of the People’s Republic of China has interfered in the process of recognizing a successor or reincarnation of Tibetan Buddhist leaders, including in 1995 by arbitrarily detaining Gedhun Choekyi Nyima, a 6-year old boy who was identified as the 11th Panchen Lama, and purporting to install its own candidate as the Panchen Lama.

(4) The 14th Dalai Lama, Tenzin Gyatso, issued a statement on September 24, 2011, explaining the traditions and spiritual precepts of the selection of Dalai Lamas, setting forth his views on the considerations and process for selecting his successor, and providing a response to the Chinese government’s claims that only the Chinese government has the ultimate authority in the selection process of the Dalai Lama.

(5) The 14th Dalai Lama said in his statement that the person who reincarnates has sole legitimate authority over where and how he or she takes rebirth and how that reincarnation is to be recognized and if there is a need for a 15th

Dalai Lama to be recognized, then the responsibility shall primarily rest with the officers of the Dalai Lama's Gaden Phodrang Trust, who will be informed by the written instructions of the 14th Dalai Lama.

(6) Since 2011, the 14th Dalai Lama has reiterated publicly on numerous occasions that decisions on the successions, emanations, or reincarnations of the Dalai Lama belongs to the Tibetan Buddhist faith community alone.

(7) On June 8, 2015, the United States House of Representatives unanimously approved House Resolution 337 which calls on the United States Government to “underscore that government interference in the Tibetan reincarnation process is a violation of the internationally recognized right to religious freedom . . . and to highlight the fact that other countries besides China have long Tibetan Buddhist traditions, and that matters related to reincarnations in Tibetan Buddhism are of keen interest to Tibetan Buddhist populations worldwide”.

(8) On April 25, 2018, the United States Senate unanimously approved Senate Resolution 429 which “expresses its sense that the identification and installation of Tibetan Buddhist religious leaders, including a future 15th Dalai Lama, is a matter that should be determined solely within the Tibetan Buddhist faith community, in accordance with the inalienable right to religious freedom”.

(9) The Department of State's Report on International Religious Freedom for 2018 reported on policies and efforts of the Government of the People's Republic of China to exert control over the selection of Tibetan Buddhist religious leaders, including reincarnate lamas, and stated that “[United States] officials underscored that decisions on the reincarnation of the Dalai Lama should be made solely by faith leaders.”

(b) STATEMENT OF POLICY.—It is the policy of the United States that—

(1) decisions regarding the selection, education, and veneration of Tibetan Buddhist religious leaders are exclusively spiritual matters that should be made by the appropriate religious authorities within the Tibetan Buddhist tradition and in the context of the will of practitioners of Tibetan Buddhism;

(2) the wishes of the 14th Dalai Lama, including any written instructions, should play a key role in the selection, education, and veneration of a future 15th Dalai Lama; and

(3) interference by the Government of the People's Republic of China or any other government in the process of recognizing a successor or reincarnation of the 14th Dalai Lama and any future Dalai Lamas would represent a clear abuse of the right to religious freedom of Tibetan Buddhists and the Tibetan people.

(c) HOLDING CHINESE OFFICIALS RESPONSIBLE FOR RELIGIOUS FREEDOM ABUSES TARGETING TIBETAN BUDDHISTS.—It is the policy of the United States to take all appropriate measures to hold accountable senior officials of the Government of the People's Republic of China or the Chinese Communist Party who directly interfere with the identification and installation of the future 15th Dalai Lama of Tibetan Buddhism, successor to the 14th Dalai Lama, including by—

(1) imposing sanctions pursuant to the Global Magnitsky Human Rights Accountability Act (22 U.S.C. 2656 note); and



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(2) prohibiting admission to the United States under section 212(a)(2)(G) of the Immigration and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1182(a)(2)(G)).

(d) DEPARTMENT OF STATE PROGRAMMING TO PROMOTE RELIGIOUS FREEDOM FOR TIBETAN BUDDHISTS.—Consistent with section 401 of the Frank R. Wolf International Religious Freedom Act (Public Law 114-281; 130 Stat. 1436), the Ambassador-at-Large for International Religious Freedom should support efforts to protect and promote international religious freedom in China and for programs to protect Tibetan Buddhism in China and elsewhere.

SEC. 343. POLICY REGARDING THE ENVIRONMENT AND WATER RESOURCES ON THE TIBETAN PLATEAU.

(a) FINDINGS.—Congress finds the following:

(1) The Tibetan Plateau contains glaciers, rivers, grasslands, and other geographical and ecological features that are crucial for supporting vegetation growth and biodiversity and regulating water flow and supply for an estimated 1,800,000,000 people. Environmental changes threaten the glaciers in Tibet that feed the major rivers of South and East Asia, which supply freshwater to an estimated 1,800,000,000 people.

(2) Several factors, including temperature changes, large government-backed infrastructure projects, and resettlement of Tibetan nomads, are likely to result in variable water flows in the future.

(3) The grasslands of Tibet play a significant role in carbon production and sequestration and Tibet's rivers support wetlands that play a key role in water storage, water quality, and the regulation of water flow, support biodiversity, foster vegetation growth, and act as carbon sinks.

(4) Traditional Tibetan grassland stewardship practices, which can be key to mitigating the negative effects of environmental changes on the Tibetan Plateau, are undermined by the resettlement of nomads from Tibetan grasslands.

(5) The People's Republic of China has approximately 20 percent of the world's population but only around 7 percent of the world's water supply, while many countries in South and Southeast Asia rely on the rivers flowing from the Himalayas of the Tibetan Plateau.

(6) The People's Republic of China has already completed water transfer programs diverting billions of cubic meters of water yearly and has plans to divert more waters from the Tibetan plateau in China.

Coordination.

(b) WATER RESOURCES IN TIBET AND THE TIBETAN WATERSHED.—The Secretary of State, in coordination with relevant agencies of the United States Government, should—

(1) pursue collaborative efforts with Chinese and international scientific institutions, as appropriate, to monitor the environment on the Tibetan Plateau, including glacial retreat, temperature rise, and carbon levels, in order to promote a greater understanding of the effects on permafrost, river flows, grasslands and desertification, and the monsoon cycle;

(2) engage with the Government of the People's Republic of China, the Tibetan people, and nongovernmental organizations to encourage the participation of Tibetan nomads and

other Tibetan stakeholders in the development and implementation of grassland management policies, in order to utilize their indigenous experience in mitigation and stewardship of the land and to assess policies on the forced resettlement of nomads; and

(3) encourage a regional framework on water security, or use existing frameworks, such as the Lower Mekong Initiative, to facilitate cooperative agreements among all riparian nations that would promote transparency, sharing of information, pollution regulation, and arrangements on impounding and diversion of waters that originate on the Tibetan Plateau.

SEC. 344. DEMOCRACY IN THE TIBETAN EXILE COMMUNITY.

(a) FINDINGS.—Congress finds the following:

(1) The 14th Dalai Lama advocates the Middle Way Approach, which seeks genuine autonomy for the 6,000,000 Tibetans in Tibet.

(2) The 14th Dalai Lama has overseen a process of democratization within the Tibetan polity and devolved his political responsibilities to the elected representatives of the Tibetan people in exile in 2011.

(3) In 2011 and again in 2016, members of the Tibetan exile community across some 30 countries held free and fair elections to select political leaders to serve in the Central Tibetan Administration parliament and as chief executive.

(4) The Dalai Lama has said that the Central Tibetan Administration will cease to exist once a negotiated settlement has been achieved that allows Tibetans to freely enjoy their culture, religion, and language in Tibet.

(b) SENSE OF CONGRESS.—It is the sense of Congress that—

(1) Tibetan exile communities around the world should be commended for the adoption of a system of self-governance with democratic institutions to choose their leaders;

(2) the Dalai Lama should be commended for his decision to devolve political authority to elected leaders in accordance with democratic principles;

(3) as of the date of the enactment of this Act, the Central Tibetan Administration is the institution that represents and reflects, to the greatest extent, the aspirations of the Tibetan diaspora around the world, and the Sikyong is the President of the Central Tibetan Administration; and

(4) as consistent with section 621(d)(3) of the Tibetan Policy Act of 2002 (22 U.S.C. 6901 note), the United States Special Coordinator for Tibetan Issues should continue to maintain close contact with the religious, cultural, and political leaders of the Tibetan people.

SEC. 345. SUSTAINABILITY IN TIBETAN COMMUNITIES SEEKING TO PRESERVE THEIR CULTURE, RELIGION, AND LANGUAGE.

The Secretary of State should urge the Government of Nepal to honor the Gentleman's Agreement with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and the Government of India, which commits the Government of Nepal to respect the principle of non-refoulement by continuing to give Tibetan new arrivals access to the territory of Nepal and allowing them safe passage through Nepal to India.



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SEC. 346. AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS.

(a) **OFFICE OF THE UNITED STATES SPECIAL COORDINATOR FOR TIBETAN ISSUES.**—There is authorized to be appropriated \$1,000,000 for each of the fiscal years 2021 through 2025 for the Office of the United States Special Coordinator for Tibetan Issues.

(b) **TIBETAN SCHOLARSHIP PROGRAM AND NGAWANG CHOEPHEL EXCHANGE PROGRAMS.**—

(1) **TIBETAN SCHOLARSHIP PROGRAM.**—There is authorized to be appropriated \$675,000 for each of the fiscal years 2021 through 2025 to carry out the Tibetan scholarship program established under section 103(b)(1) of the Human Rights, Refugee, and Other Foreign Relations Provisions Act of 1996 (Public Law 104-319; 22 U.S.C. 2151 note).

(2) **NGAWANG CHOEPHEL EXCHANGE PROGRAMS.**—There is authorized to be appropriated \$575,000 for each of the fiscal years 2021 through 2025 to carry out the “Ngawang Choephel Exchange Programs” (formerly known as “programs of educational and cultural exchange between the United States and the people of Tibet”) under section 103(a) of the Human Rights, Refugee, and Other Foreign Relations Provisions Act of 1996 (Public Law 104-319; 110 Stat. 3865).

(c) **HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE AND SUPPORT TO TIBETAN REFUGEES IN SOUTH ASIA.**—Amounts authorized to be appropriated or otherwise made available to carry out chapter 9 of part I of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 (22 U.S.C. 2292 et seq.) and the Migration and Refugee Assistance Act of 1962 (Public Law 87-510) for each of the fiscal years 2021 through 2025 are authorized to be made available for humanitarian assistance, including food, medicine, clothing, and medical and vocational training, for Tibetan refugees in South Asia who have fled facing a credible threat of persecution in the People’s Republic of China.

(d) **TIBETAN AUTONOMOUS REGION AND TIBETAN COMMUNITIES IN CHINA.**—There is authorized to be appropriated \$8,000,000 for each year of the fiscal years 2021 through 2025 under chapter 4 of part II of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 (22 U.S.C. 2346 et seq.) to support activities for Tibetan communities in the Tibet Autonomous Region and in other Tibetan communities in China that are conducted in accordance with subsection 616(d) of the Tibetan Policy Act of 2002 (22 U.S.C. 6901 note).

(e) **ASSISTANCE FOR TIBETANS IN INDIA AND NEPAL.**—There is authorized to be appropriated \$6,000,000 for each of the fiscal years 2021 through 2025 under chapter 4 of part II of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 (22 U.S.C. 2346 et seq.) for programs to promote and preserve Tibetan culture and language development, and the resilience of Tibetan communities in India and Nepal, and to assist in the education and development of the next generation of Tibetan leaders from such communities.

(f) **TIBETAN GOVERNANCE.**—There is authorized to be appropriated \$3,000,000 for each of the fiscal years 2021 through 2025 under chapter 4 of part II of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 (22 U.S.C. 2346 et seq.) for programs to strengthen the capacity of Tibetan institutions and strengthen democracy, governance, information and international outreach, and research.

(g) **VOICE OF AMERICA AND RADIO FREE ASIA.**—

(1) **VOICE OF AMERICA.**—There is authorized to be appropriated \$3,344,000 for each of the fiscal years 2021 through

2025 to Voice of America for broadcasts described in paragraph (3).

(2) **RADIO FREE ASIA.**—There is authorized to be appropriated \$4,060,000 for each of the fiscal years 2021 through 2025 to Radio Free Asia for broadcasts described in paragraph (3).

(3) **BROADCASTS DESCRIBED.**—Broadcasts described in this paragraph are broadcasts to provide uncensored news and information in the Tibetan language to Tibetans, including Tibetans in Tibet.

Subtitle F—The United States – Northern Triangle Enhanced Engagement Act

SEC. 351. SHORT TITLE.

This subtitle may be cited as the “The United States – Northern Triangle Enhanced Engagement Act”.

SEC. 352. STRATEGY TO ADVANCE PROSPERITY, COMBAT CORRUPTION, STRENGTHEN DEMOCRATIC GOVERNANCE, AND IMPROVE CIVILIAN SECURITY IN EL SALVADOR, GUATEMALA, AND HONDURAS.

(a) **ELEMENTS.**—Not later than 180 days after the date of the enactment of this Act, the Secretary of State, in coordination with the Administrator of the United States Agency for International Development, and the heads of other relevant Federal agencies, shall submit to the appropriate congressional committees a 5-year strategy to advance economic prosperity, combat corruption, strengthen democratic governance, and improve civilian security in El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras and to curb irregular migration from the region.

(b) **CONSIDERATION.**—In developing the strategy required under this section, the Secretary of State should consider the following priorities:

- (1) Promoting economic prosperity, including by—
 - (A) supporting market-based solutions to eliminate constraints to inclusive economic growth;
 - (B) addressing the underlying causes of poverty and inequality;
 - (C) responding to immediate humanitarian needs by improving humanitarian outcomes, including through access to sanitation, hygiene, and shelter, and by enabling the provision of health resources;
 - (D) supporting conservation and community resilience and strengthening community preparedness for natural disasters;
 - (E) identifying, as appropriate, a role for relevant United States agencies and the United States private sector in supporting efforts to increase private sector investment and advance economic prosperity; and
 - (F) improving domestic resource mobilization, including by strengthening tax collection and enforcement and legal arbitration mechanisms.
- (2) Combating corruption, including by—
 - (A) strengthening the capacity of national justice systems and attorneys generals to identify and prosecute

The United States – Northern Triangle Enhanced Engagement Act.
22 USC 2151 note.

22 USC 2277.

Deadline.
Coordination.



9. Statement of Secretary Blinken

U.S. DEPARTMENT of STATE

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On the Occasion of His Holiness the Dalai Lama's 88th Birthday

PRESS STATEMENT

ANTHONY J. BLINKEN, SECRETARY OF STATE

JULY 6, 2023

I extend my warmest wishes to His Holiness the Dalai Lama on the occasion of his 88th birthday, an auspicious day for the Tibetan community. His Holiness's kindness and humility serve as an inspiration to many around the world, and I have deep admiration for his ongoing commitment to peace and nonviolence. Today, may we reflect on his messages of compassion and tolerance as we reaffirm our commitment to upholding the human rights of all people, including those of the Tibetan community.

The United States is unwavering in our commitment to support the linguistic, cultural, and religious identity of Tibetans, including the ability to freely choose and venerate their religious leaders without interference.

TAGS

Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs
Office of the Spokesperson
The Secretary of State
Tibet
Office of the U.S. Special Coordinator for Tibetan Issues

European Parliament

2019-2024



TEXTS ADOPTED

P9_TA(2023)0479

The abduction of Tibetan children and forced assimilation practices through Chinese boarding schools in Tibet

European Parliament resolution of 14 December 2023 on the abduction of Tibetan children and forced assimilation practices through Chinese boarding schools in Tibet (2023/3025(RSP))

The European Parliament,

- having regard to its previous resolutions on China and Tibet,
 - having regard to the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child,
 - having regard to Rules 144(5) and 132(4) of its Rules of Procedure,
- A. whereas, under the leadership of Xi Jinping, the Chinese Government has become systematically and ever more oppressive; whereas the human rights situation in Tibet continues to degrade; whereas respect for human rights, democracy and the rule of law should be at the centre of the EU's relations with China;
- B. whereas Chinese authorities have established an expansive system of de facto compulsory, highly politicised boarding schools for children aged 4 to 18, requiring them to undergo mandatory education in Mandarin without any opportunity for substantive study of the Tibetan language, history or culture; whereas approximately 80 % of Tibetan children, totalling around one million, have been separated from their families by this system, which aims to forcibly assimilate them culturally, religiously and linguistically into the Han majority; whereas there are almost no private alternatives to these government schools, which are reportedly heavily surveilled;
- C. whereas UN experts are concerned that Tibetan children are thus suffering from severe psychological and emotional distress, including loneliness and isolation, and are losing the ability to communicate easily in their native language with their families, contributing to the erosion of their individual and social identity, which violates international human rights and may amount to genocide;
1. Strongly condemns the repressive assimilation policies throughout China, especially the boarding school system in Tibet, that seek to eliminate the distinct linguistic, cultural and religious traditions among Tibetans and other minorities, such as Uyghurs;



2. Calls for the immediate abolishment of the boarding school system imposed on children in Tibet and the practice of family separations, as highlighted by UN experts in February 2023; further calls on the Chinese authorities to allow the establishment of private Tibetan schools;
3. Welcomes the US decision imposing restrictions on visas to Chinese officials tied to the boarding school system in Tibet; urges the Member States and the Council to adopt similar targeted sanctions;
4. Calls on the Member States and the VP/HR to demand that the Chinese Government issue visas to European diplomats to visit boarding schools across Tibet, allow independent journalists and international observers into the region and refrain from spreading fake news;
5. Recalls the importance of the EU raising the issue of human rights violations in China, particularly the situation in Tibet, at all political and human rights dialogues with the Chinese authorities;
6. Reiterates its call on the Chinese Government to reengage with the representatives of the 14th Dalai Lama to establish genuine autonomy for Tibetans within China; urges the Chinese authorities to release the Panchen Lama and refrain from interfering in the designation of the Tibetan spiritual leader;
7. Instructs its President to forward this resolution to the EU institutions, the United Nations and the Government and Parliament of the People's Republic of China.

11. Joint Statement of Belgian MPs

Statement: 34th birthday of the 11th Panchen Lama

25 April 2023: Today marks the 34th birthday of Gedhun Choekyi Nyima, the 11th Panchen Lama, who remains missing since the Chinese authorities abducted him when he was a six-year-old child on 17 May 1995.

The Chinese authorities continue to deny members of the international community and Tibetan community access to the Panchen Lama recognised by His Holiness the 14th Dalai Lama.

In light of this, we call on the Chinese authorities **to give proof of life** and account for Gedhun Choekyi Nyima's whereabouts and well-being immediately. We also call on the Chinese authorities to allow him to fully exercise his fundamental freedoms, in line with PRC's international commitments.

The 11th Panchen Lama continues to be one of the world's longest-serving political prisoners and was the youngest political prisoner at the time of his abduction. Therefore, we call for Gedhun Choekyi Nyima and his parents' immediate release without any conditions, along with all Tibetan political prisoners.

In addition, we strongly support Tibetan people's right to freedom of religion, cultural and linguistic identity, including Tibetans' right to select their own spiritual leaders according to their beliefs without government interference.

Thus, we condemn the Chinese government's interference in the selection and recognition of the reincarnation of His Holiness the 14th Dalai. The system of recognising reincarnated spiritual beings is a religious practice unique to Tibetan Buddhism and should solely be the prerogative of the present Dalai Lama himself and no one else.

Els Van Hoof,



President of the Foreign Affairs Committee,
Belgian Chamber of Representatives

Samuel Cogolati



Deputy Chair of the
Foreign Affairs Committee



12. Joint Letter of Canadian Parliamentarians



HOUSE OF COMMONS
CHAMBRE DES COMMUNES
CANADA

Rt. Hon. Justin Trudeau, P.C., M.P.
Prime Minister of Canada
Office of the Prime Minister
Ottawa, ON K1A 0G2

Re: 25th anniversary of the disappearance of 11th Panchen Lama - Gedhun Choekyi Nyima

Dear Prime Minister,

We write to you in advance of the 25th anniversary of the disappearance of Gedhun Choekyi Nyima, the 11th Panchen Lama of Tibet, on May 17, 1995. At the time of his disappearance, Gendun Choekyi Nyima was just six years old. Neither he nor his family have been seen or heard from since. Often referred to as the moon to the Dalai Lama's sun, the Panchen Lama is the second most important religious leader within Tibetan Buddhism.

The enforced disappearance of Gedhun Choekyi Nyima and his family members is not just an egregious crime against him and his family, it is also a serious offence to the Tibetan people. It is an interference in sacred traditions of Tibetan Buddhism and sets a dangerous precedent for possible interference in the process of identifying the reincarnations of future Dalai Lamas.

Along with the arbitrary arrest and detention of Tibetan religious leaders, China has recently intensified its application of discriminatory policies with the intention of 'adapting religion to socialism with Chinese characteristics.' Since 2016, Chinese authorities have demolished more than 4700 homes of monks and nuns and have evicted more than 4800 from two major religious institutes – Larung Gar and Yarchen Gar. State authorities have also appointed Communist Party officials to key supervisory positions at such institutes to tighten state control over them.



Since 1995, several governments, including Canadian governments, have requested permission to visit the Panchen Lama in order to verify his safety and well-being. Similarly, efforts by human rights organizations including the UN Committee Against Torture, the UN Committee on the Rights of the Child, as well as Special Rapporteur on Freedom of Religion or Belief, have been unsuccessful. Chinese authorities have consistently denied permission and access.

Therefore we, the undersigned parliamentarians, ask that the Right Honourable Prime Minister:

1. Issue a statement calling on China to release Tibet's 11th Panchen Lama Gedhun Choekyi Nyima and his entire family, and to stop the violation of the religious freedoms of all peoples under its jurisdiction, including Tibetan Buddhists, Uighur Muslims, Falun Gong practitioners and Christians;
2. Urge China to allow an independent fact-finding mission to assess the human rights violations perpetrated against Tibetans in Tibet and other regions in China.

Sincerely,



Garnett Genuis, M.P.

Shadow Minister for Multiculturalism & for Canada-China Relations



Ziad Aboultaif, M.P.

Shadow Minister for Digital Government



Colin Carrie, M.P.

Shadow Minister for Canada-U.S. Relations and the Federal Economic Development Agency for Southern Ontario



Kerry Diotte, M.P.



Hon. Kerry-Lynne Findlay, P.C., M.P.

Shadow Minister for Environment & Climate Change



Jasraj Singh Hallan, M.P.

Deputy Shadow Minister for Multiculturalism



Marty Morantz, M.P.

Shadow Minister for National Revenue



Scott Reid, M.P.

Nelly Shin, M.P.
Deputy Shadow Minister for Canadian Heritage

Karen Vecchio, M.P.
Shadow Minister for Women and Gender Equality

Arnold Viersen, M.P.
Deputy Shadow Minister for Crown-Indigenous
Relations

Cathay Wagantall, M.P.
Deputy Shadow Minister for Veterans Affairs

Office of the Prime Minister
80 Wellington Street
Ottawa, ON K1A 0A2

Re: 25th anniversary of the disappearance of 11th Panchen Lama - Gedhun Choekyi Nyima

Right Honourable Prime Minister Justin Trudeau:

We write to you on the 25th anniversary of the disappearance of Gedhun Choekyi Nyima, the 11th Panchen Lama of Tibet, on May 17, 1995. At the time of his disappearance, Gendun Choekyi Nyima was just six years old. Neither he nor his family have been seen or heard from since. Often referred to as the moon to the Dalai Lama's sun, the Panchen Lama is the second most important religious leader within Tibetan Buddhism.

The enforced disappearance of Gedhun Choekyi Nyima and his family members is a continuous crime not just against him, his family and the Tibetan people, but also against every individual who believes in the sanctity of human rights. It is an interference in the sacred Buddhist traditions of recognizing the reincarnation of lamas and sets a dangerous precedent for possible interference in the process of identifying the reincarnations of future Dalai Lamas.

Along with the arbitrary arrest and detention of Tibetan religious leaders, China has imposed discriminatory policies such as 'adapting religion to socialism with Chinese characteristics' and 'sinicizing Tibetan Buddhism' that are used to increase compulsory political re-education campaigns and to control the religious education of monks and nuns. Since 2016, Chinese authorities have demolished more than 4700 homes of monks and nuns and have evicted more than 4800 monks, nuns and students from two major religious institutes – Larung Gar and Yarchen Gar. State authorities have also appointed members from the Communist Party of China and the People's Republic of China to key management and supervisory positions at the institutes to tighten state control over them.

Since 1995, several governments, including Canadian governments, have called for the Panchen Lama's release and requested permission to visit the Panchen Lama in order to verify his safety and well-being. These requests have been denied by the Chinese authorities. Similarly, efforts by a number of human rights organizations including the UN Committee Against Torture, the UN Committee on the Rights of the Child, as well as Special Rapporteur on Freedom of Religion or Belief, have been unsuccessful. The Chinese authorities have consistently denied permission and access, stating that the Panchen Gedhun Choekyi Nyima does not wish to be disturbed.

Prime Minister we know that you personally have raised concerns regarding human rights practices directly with the Chinese authorities on numerous occasions, including during your visit to China in December 2017 and your meeting with Premier Li Keqiang where you had open and frank discussions on human rights, freedom of expression, and freedom of religion as part of the third Canada-China Annual Leaders' Dialogue on November 14, 2018. We are grateful for these efforts and ask you to continue this critical advocacy, at a time when the human rights of so many groups in China are imperiled (Hong Kong dissenters, Tibetans, Uighurs, Christians, Black Africans, etc.).



Therefore we, the undersigned parliamentarians, urge the the Right Honourable Prime Minister to:

- * Call on China to release Tibet's 11th Panchen Lama Gedhun Choekyi Nyima and his entire family;
- * Call on China to cease interfering in the religious practices of the peoples under its regime including Tibetan Buddhists, Uighur Muslims and Christians;
- * Call on China to allow an independent fact-finding mission to assess the human rights violations perpetrated against Tibetans in Tibet and other regions in China; and
- * release a statement/press note raising serious concerns and calling for the immediate release of the 11th Panchen Lama Gedhun Choekyi Nyima in this 25th year of his enforced disappearance.

Sincerely,

Elizabeth May, M.P.
Parliamentary Leader of the Green Party of Canada

Jenica Atwin, M.P.
Member, Special Committee on the COVID-19 Pandemic

Paul, Manly, M.P.
Member, Special Committee on the COVID-19 Pandemic

Randall Garrison, M.P.
Member, Standing Committee on Justice and Human Rights

Mobina Jaffer, Senator
Deputy Chair, Standing Committee on National Security and Defence

Arif Virani, M.P.
Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Justice and Attorney General of Canada

James Maloney, M.P.
Chair, Subcommittee on Agenda and Procedure of the Standing Committee on Natural Resources

Sven Spengemann, M.P.
Member, Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and International Development

Larry Bagnell, M.P.
Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Economic Development and Official Languages

13. Declaration of the 12th Asian Buddhist Conference

Statement

His Holiness the 14th Dalai Lama is the most famous and prominent global Buddhist figure who embodies the ideals of peace, compassion, universal responsibility, religious and social harmony;

His Holiness the 14th Dalai Lama's selfless and genuine efforts to build peace and harmony has been fully recognized by the conferment of the Nobel Peace Prize, the United States of America's Congressional Gold Medal, the Templeton Award, and countless other prestigious accolades;

His Holiness the 14th Dalai Lama has voluntarily relinquished all his political authority, thereby living the pure life of a Buddhist spiritual leader, respected, cherished and admired by millions of Buddhists and others throughout the world;

His Holiness the 14th Dalai Lama has successfully represented profound and vast ancient Indian wisdom the basis of which are Karuna and Ahimsa, through his interactions with community of scientists, leaders, environmentalists, and others;

His Holiness the 14th Dalai Lama has worked his entire life in a tireless manner to bring closer not only Buddhist traditions, and communities, and strengthen a sense of oneness of brotherhood and sisterhood among all followers of Lord Buddha but also others;

The 12th General Assembly of the Asian Buddhist Conference for Peace unanimously resolves to recognize the great contributions of His Holiness the 14th Dalai Lama toward a global mission for peace and harmony among humankind and particularly among followers of the Great Lord Buddha. In recognition to his immense contribution, the Asian Buddhist Conference for Peace unanimously declare His Holiness the 14th Dalai Lama to be a Universal Supreme Leader of the Buddhist World.

That with regard to the reincarnation of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, His Holiness' repeated statements since 1969, the official pronouncement of September 24, 2011, or any guidance in future is inherently discretionary. No government nor any individual has the right to interfere in this matter. This religious activity has to be conducted as per the responsibilities that His Holiness the Dalai Lama enshrines and entrusts;

The 12th General Assembly of the Asian Buddhist Conference for Peace recognizes the significance of the continuation of Gaden Phodrang institution.

We further declare July 6th, His Holiness's birthday, to be the "UNIVERSAL DAY OF COMPASSION". We request all lovers of peace, compassion and nonviolence throughout the world to join us in celebrating the Universal Day of Compassion every year on July 6th.

By celebrating compassion and non violence we celebrate the essence of the messages of Lord Buddha and the teachings of His Holiness the 14th Dalai Lama. We commit to building a truly harmonious and peaceful world.



14. Declaration of the European Buddhist Union



The Council of the European Buddhist Union, on the occasion of the Annual General meeting in Brussels of 24 September 2023, has adopted the following declaration:

1. We urge the Chinese government to implement Articles 10 and 11 of the Law on Autonomy of Ethnic Areas of the People's Republic of China, which guarantees the freedom of language and religion of ethnic minorities.
2. We call on the Chinese government not to interfere in Tibetan Buddhist affairs, not to dismantle Tibetan Buddhist monasteries and Buddhist statues, and not to interfere in the recognition of reincarnations of high Lamas and in the organization of monasteries.
3. We affirm that the selection of reincarnations of Tibetan Lamas, including the future 15th Dalai Lama, is the prerogative of the Tibetan people and the Dalai Lama's Office.
4. Future Tibetan reincarnated Lamas, including the Dalai Lama, should be selected by the Tibetan people according to their spiritual tradition. We urge the international community not to recognize any Lama selected and appointed by the Chinese authority.
5. We call on the Chinese government to resume negotiations with the Dalai Lama in order to find peaceful solutions that serve the common interests of both the Tibetan and Chinese peoples.

* * *

European Buddhist Union Liaison Office to the European Union
Rue Capouillet 31 - 1060 Brussels - Belgium - tel.: +32 475 86 89 99
luycx@europeanbuddhism.org - www.europeanbuddhistunion.org/

15. Statement of Unified Vietnamese Buddhist Congregation in Europe



GIÁO HỘI PHẬT GIÁO VIỆT NAM THỐNG NHẤT ÂU CHÂU
LA CONGRÉGATION BOUDDHIQUE VIETNAMIENNE UNIFIÉE EN EUROPE
THE UNIFIED VIETNAMESE BUDDHIST CONGREGATION IN EUROPE

Chùa Association Bouddhique **Khánh Anh**

Evry-Courcouronnes 30/11/2023

Statement

On the occasion of the historic World Buddhist Conference in Bodhgaya from 20-23 December, 2023, we, the Unified Vietnamese Buddhist Congregation in Europe condemn in the strongest possible terms the interference of the People's Republic of China (PRC) in Tibetan Buddhist affairs, namely the recognition of the reincarnation of high lamas, including His Holiness the 14th Dalai Lama of Tibet.

It is a contradiction for a government that calls itself atheist to decide the fate of a spiritual leader.

We believe the system of recognising reincarnated spiritual beings is a practice unique to Tibetan Buddhism and should be the sole prerogative of His Holiness the Dalai Lama and no one else.

We therefore, call on the government of the PRC to stop interfering in Tibetan Buddhist affairs and respect the rights of the Tibetans to freedom of religion or belief.

Similarly, we urge the people international community not to recognise the reincarnation of His Holiness the Dalai Lama appointed by the PRC.



Most Venerable Thich Thanh Thiet

President, Unified Vietnamese Buddhist Congregation in Europe

Most Venerable Thich Nhu Dien

2nd President, Unified Vietnamese Buddhist Congregation in Europe

8 Rue François Mauriac 91000 Evry. France. Tél : +33.1.64.93.55.56 - +33.7.70.07.33.99. E-mail : thichquangdao@khanhanh.fr



16. Letter of Japan Buddhist Conference for World Federation



一般社団法人

世界連邦日本仏教徒協議会

Japan Buddhist conference for world federation

ダライラマ十四世後継者問題について

2022 年 12 月 27 日

ダライラマ十四世猊下が、2022 年 7 月 6 日に 87 歳の誕生日を迎えられました。

ご高齢の猊下の、後継者問題が改めて世界の注目を集めています。

我々日本の仏教者は、ダライラマの継承は、チベットの仏教文化と歴史に基づき、チベット人が決定するべきと考えます。

チベット自治区を支配する中華人民共和国は、中国国家宗教事務局が 2007 年に「チベット仏教活仏転生管理弁法」を制定し、中国政府の主導でダライラマの後継者を決める方針を打ち出しています。

しかし、中華人民共和国の国是は共産主義であり、共産主義は無宗教を旨としています。

無宗教である人々が、宗教指導者を決めることは、矛盾と言わざるを得ません。

ダライラマ十四世猊下も、「前世・来世の存在すらも認めない政治権力者たちが、(チベット仏教指導者たちの) 認定に強制的に介入するのは極めて不相応なこと」と表明しています。

宗教のことは、宗教の価値観に則って決めるべきであり、宗教の価値観を持たない人々が干渉すべきではありません。それが信仰の自由を尊ぶということです。

ダライラマ十四世猊下の誕生日に祝意の電話をした、インドのモディ首相に対して、中国政府から「内政干渉である」との抗議声明がありましたが、中国政府こそ、チベット仏教への干渉を抑えるべきではないでしょうか。

巷間伝え聞く、チベットにおける宗教弾圧が真実であるならば、世界の多くの国が共有する価値観である、人権への大きな挑戦と言わざるを得ません。

ダライラマ十四世猊下はノーベル平和賞受賞者であります。チベット亡命政府の、民族の自由と自主を求める中国への抗議活動は極めて平和的・非暴力によるものです。自由と人権を尊ぶ世界の、共通の価値観に則った行動であります。

このような観点から、ダライラマ十四世猊下とチベットの人々の主張を、支持するものがあります。

世界連邦日本仏教徒協議会

事務総長 水谷栄寛

水谷 栄寛



事務局:〒235-0016 横浜市磯子区磯子8-14-12真照寺内

TEL:045-750-5526 FAX:045-750-5527

Eメール:serenbutu@coast.ocn.ne.jp

ホームページ:http://www.serenbutu.jp

17. Resolution of the Indian Himalayan Council of Nalanda Buddhist Tradition

The Indian Himalayan Council of the Nalanda Buddhist Tradition (IHCNBT)

The Indian Himalayan Council of the Nalanda Buddhist Tradition (IHCNBT) resolved the following points at its governing council meeting on 20th December, 2022

Resolution 1: Due to the age old traditional relationship with the institution of His Holiness Dalai Lama and the people of the Himalayan region and the incomparable contribution of His Holiness the 14th Dalai Lama to preserve, promote, and strengthen the religio-cultural sphere of the region, we, the Indian Himalayan Council of the Nalanda Buddhist Tradition (IHCNBT), The Indian National Sangha Council unanimously resolved that the continuation of the Dalai Lama institution and reincarnation of the Dalai Lama are deeply cherished aspirations of all Himalayan Buddhists. In the Himalayas, we pray that His Holiness the XIV Dalai Lama lives a long and healthy life and that the Dalai Lama institution endures for many centuries.

Resolution 2: The cultural and devotional methods and process of recognizing the reincarnation of the Dalai Lamas are deeply religious and cultural affairs followed with much rigour in Nalanda Tibetan Buddhism. Thus the system of recognizing reincarnated spiritual beings is a religious practice unique to Nalanda Buddhism and the philosophy of the principle of life after death. No government or any individual has the right to interfere in this matter. This religious activity has to be conducted as per the responsibilities that His Holiness the Dalai Lama enshrines and entrusts. The Sole authority on the reincarnation of His Holiness The Dalai Lama is Gaden Phodang Institution. No one other Authority/Government should interfere with such a holy and devotional process.

Resolution 3: We further resolve that, if the government of any Country/Organization, for political ends, chooses a candidate for the Dalai Lama, the people of the Himalayas will never accept it, never pay devotional obeisance to such a political appointee, and publicly denounce such moves by anyone.

20th December, 2022
New Delhi, India

Sangay Yonten lama
[Signatures]
P.K. Lochan Tulken



18 Resolution of the Indian Himalayan Council of Nalanda Buddhist Tradition

ABCP Colombo Resolution-2021

The 13th meeting of the Executive Council (EC) of Asian Buddhist Conference for Peace (ABCP) was held in Colombo, Sri Lanka on 14th January 2021 from 9.30 a.m. to 5.30 p.m. Sri Lanka standard time. Due to the Covid-19 pandemic the meeting was held via webinar. It provided an opportunity to the national centres to come together on one forum and to discuss a number of specific issues related to the organization and implement actions directed towards strengthening global peace, raising environment awareness, and promoting equality and unity among the Buddhists of the world. The Executive Council reaffirmed the commitment of ABCP to pursue the chartered goals in accordance with the ABCP charter, its mission and objectives for peace and harmony in the world.

The EC meeting was attended by the Ven. Gabju D. Choijamts, President, ABCP, Ven. Jangchub Choedon, Vice President, Ven. Da Lama Kh. Bymbajav, Secretary General, Mr. Sonam Wangchuk, Deputy Secretary General and other members representing the representatives various national centres.

The inaugural ceremony of the ABCP EC meeting was held at the auditorium of Buddhist Media Network, Sambhodi Viharaya, Colombo and attended among others by **His Excellency Mr. Gotabaya Rajapaksa, President of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka** and the Mahanayake and Anunayake Theros of Sri Lanka. The keynote address was delivered by Dr. Wijeyadasa Rajapakshe, Member of Parliament, Colombo District, Sri Lanka.

Members appreciated the Messages of Congratulations received on the occasion from the Prime Minister of Mongolia, Prime Minister of Sri Lanka, Speaker of Sri Lankan Parliament appreciating the peace efforts and contribution of ABCP and their good wishes for the success of ABCP Executive Council meeting. Members also recorded their appreciation for the Goodwill-Message received from received from His Holiness the Dalai Lama for the occasion.

The EC meeting observed a minute of silence in remembrance of the pioneers and past members of ABCP and also offered prayers for those perished due to Covid-19 pandemic world over.

The ABCP EC meeting began with the opening remarks by Venerable Khambo Lama, Gabju Demberel Choijamts, President of ABCP. He acknowledged and appreciated the efforts of the two national centres of ABCP in Sri Lanka in successfully hosting the EC meeting in Colombo. In his speech the President called upon all the national centres to work hard in pursuance of the goals set by the organization and its 11th General Assembly held in Mongolia in 2019. Thereafter the President directed Ven. Jangchub Choedon, Vice-President of ABCP to conduct the meeting.

Secretary General of ABCP Ven. Da Lama Bymbajav, Secretary General of ABCP gave a detailed presentation on the activities carried out by the ABCP HQ and also presented an action-plan of ABCP. Members conveyed their appreciation to the efforts made by the Secretary General and his staff for the smooth functioning of the ABCP HQ.

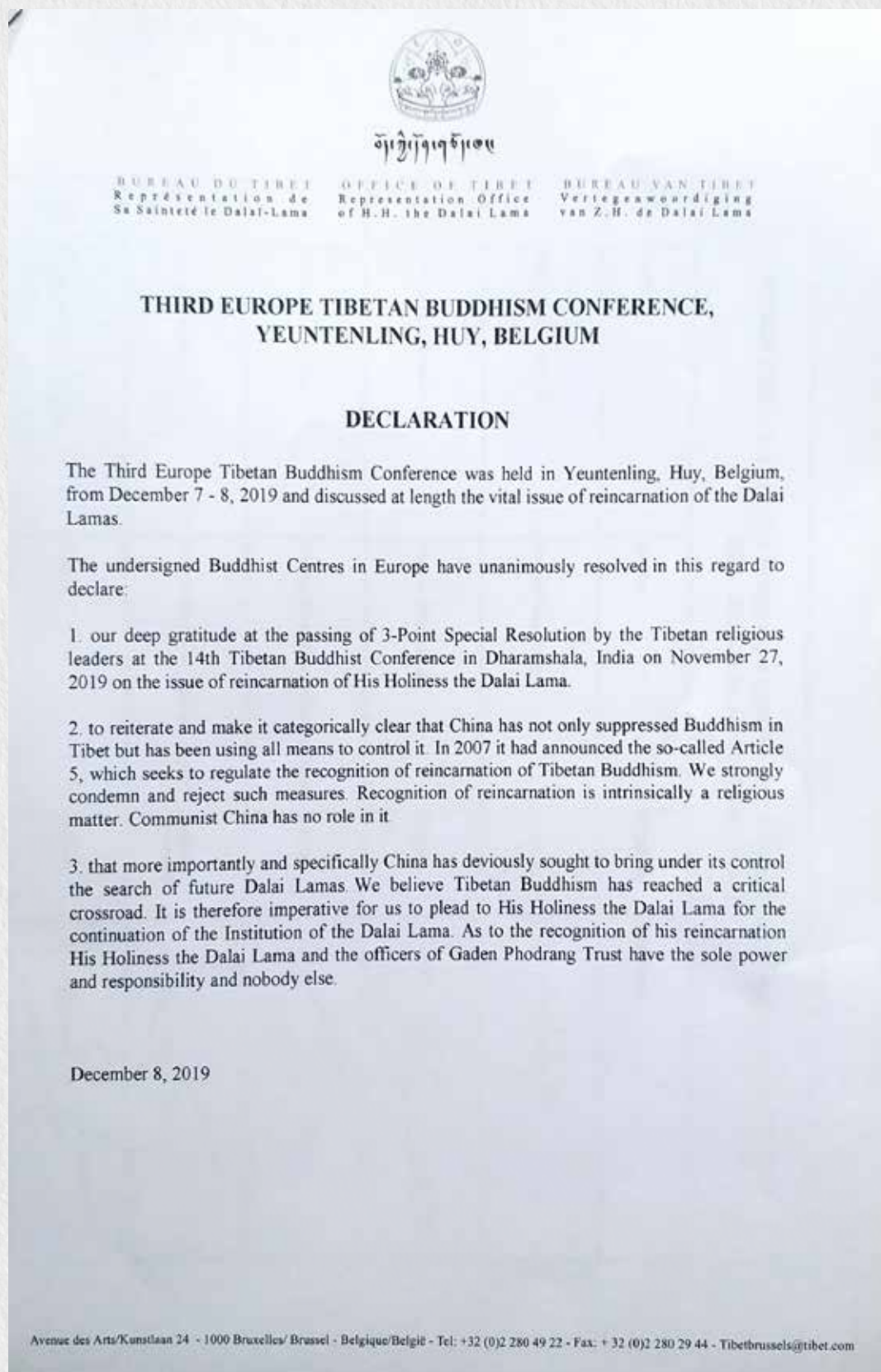
The ABCP Executive Council meeting reiterated its commitment and resolve to:

- Prevent all forms of extremisms which go against the teachings of Buddha and age-old cultural values so far preserved, practiced and sustained in the Buddhist world at local, regional and global levels;
- Prevent and take remedial measures in tacking all forms of vandalism on the ancient antiquities of Buddhist places of worship and other sites of archaeological value in the Asian region and other parts of the globe and called for facilitating collaborative action plan among nations to protect the historic religious sites of archaeological value;
- Take immediate remedial measures according to the legal framework of respective nations against destruction of ancient documentary evidences, scripts and written information regarding the noble teachings of Buddha;
- Formulate a 10-year action plan to promote and sustain world peace at regional and global levels by inculcating the essence of noble teachings of Buddha, incorporating Buddhistic approach to all forms of conflict resolution frameworks promulgated by international decrees and conventions in keeping with accepted norms of legal mechanisms in respective countries;
- Oppose all forms of misinformation, distorted facts or concocted stories being spread against the teachings of Buddha via electronic media, and digital platforms or news items, which have disastrous and negative sensitivities on dispensation of the Dhamma;
- Prevent all forms of commercial activities, which use Buddha's image and parts or full of the Buddha's teachings or textual expressions to exclusively promote their products and services at regional or global levels, which are highly detrimental to the existence of Buddhism and also to the teachings of Buddha;
- Promote and make best use of the noble wisdom in solving global issues and bring about global peace through non-violence, compassion and loving kindness, which go against the vicious and hatred approach to problem solving and
- Protect our environment that include our seas, oceans, mountain ranges, all kinds of aquatic and natural resources and the entire universe from adding poisonous substances and emission of lethal gases and instead, promote harmonious living favourable to law of nature at all times.
- EC welcomes the entry into force of the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons as a historic event and strives for the realization of a world free from nuclear weapons,
- The EC unanimously accepted the proposal made by the Indian National Centre (INC) to host the 12th General Assembly of ABCP in India in 2021/2022. Dates and venues of the General Assembly will be decided in due course of time after assessing the Covid-19 situation and ensuring the possibility of free movement for the participants. It requested Indian National centre to chalk out a preliminary programme of the 12th General Assembly in consultation with the ABCP HQ.
- The EC also approved the meeting of the ABCP Standing Commission on Sustainable Development Goal to be organized by the Indian National Centre in Leh, Ladakh from August 5-7, 2021.
- The EC lauded the efforts of the ABCP HQ and INC for launching the ABCP website, which is now operational.



- The guidelines issued by the ABCP HQ provides that the Coordination Centre in Bodhgaya could be located in the Mongolian Temple and that the Head of the Mongolian temple could function as the Director of the ABCP Coordination Centre. Members of EC welcomed this offer from the ABCP HQ in this regard. However, for ensuring better coordination and smooth functioning of the Coordination Centre in Bodhgaya, Executive Council members accepted the suggestion to make Indian National Centre a partner-organization in running of the ABCP coordination Centre. The meeting also appreciated the offer made by the Indian National centre to appoint a coordinator / deputy director for the ABCP Coordination Centre in Bodhgaya and that INC will be responsible for his salary.
- EC members while appreciating the contribution of US\$ 15,000 by the Indian National Centre, called upon all the National Centres to generously contribute to the ABCP Corpus Fund and also pay their membership fee regularly.
- The EC also appreciated the efforts made by the Secretary General in connection with the ABCP status upgradation with the UN Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC). The Secretary General reported the current status and said that an official request to UN ECOSOC to reclassify ABCP status from the present "Roster" status to General Consultative status will be made soon. The meeting called for the support of all the ABCP National Centres in the matter and requested them to engage with their respective foreign affairs ministries and to mobilise support on the issue through their respective UN Permanent Missions in New York. Such recognitions are important to pursue the important objective of ABCP, through which it could make an important contribution to UN SDGs.
- [ABCP Executive Council meeting supported the statement made by Ven. Karma Gelek, President, National Centre, Department of Religion and Culture, CTA with regard to the following 3-point resolution on the future status of the Dalai Lama institution:](#)
 - (i) [To continue the Institution and Reincarnation of the Dalai Lama in the future;](#)
 - (ii) [The incumbent XIV Dalai Lama to be the sole authority of how the next reincarnation of the Dalai Lama should return, and the Tibetan people never to recognize any Dalai Lama reincarnation candidate chosen and installed by the Chinese government; and](#)
 - (iii) [To employ the eight centuries old unique Tibetan traditional method in searching and recognizing the next Dalai Lama.](#)
- It was decided that the next ABCP EC meeting will be held in Sri Lanka headed by Ven. Maitipe Wimalasara in early 2022. However, this time the meeting would not be a zoom-meeting. The Sri Lanka National Centre will announce the date and venue of the meeting in course of time. It was also agreed that should any need arises, the ABCP HQ could organize another virtual meeting of the EC before the 12th General Assembly.
- The 13th ABCP EC Meeting successfully concluded in Colombo, Sri Lanka and The ABCP Colombo Resolution-2021 was unanimously adopted by the members of the ABCP EC Meeting.

19. Resolution of the Asian Buddhist Conference for Peace





20. ICT Boards Statement on the Dalai Lama Institution



INTERNATIONAL CAMPAIGN FOR TIBET

ICT Boards statement on the Dalai Lama Institution

<http://www.savetibet.org/ict-boards-statement-on-the-dalai-lama-institution>

December 13, 2023

In 1988, the International Campaign for Tibet was established, motivated by His Holiness the Dalai Lama's message and international support for Tibet that he has built in the last several decades. We believe that the Dalai Lama's vision and approach, centered on principles of peace, democracy and dialogue, is more relevant than ever in today's world.

The representatives of all boards of the International Campaign for Tibet, which met in Washington, DC on Dec. 12 and 13, 2023, remain dedicated to promoting these values as we work to alleviate the plight of the Tibetan people. Through this, we see the benefit to the larger global community and also to strengthening the Tibet movement as well as cultivating new generations of supporters.

The Dalai Lamas' spiritual and temporal leadership of the Tibetan people since the 17th century has shown its benefit beyond the Tibetan nation. Through his activities and the adherence to nonviolence, the current Dalai Lama has demonstrated that the Tibetan people, their culture and traditions contribute to the development of humanity.

It is the firm belief of the International Campaign for Tibet that the institution of the Dalai Lama continues to lead the Tibetan people to a meaningful resolution of their issue and more importantly for the preservation and promotion of the Tibetan Buddhist culture and tradition. Tibetans and practitioners of Tibetan spiritual traditions strongly support the continuation of the institution of the Dalai Lama, and ICT remains committed to working with the international community to protect their aspirations and their right to freely choose their religious leader, based on international law.



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Declaration of the 8th International Conference of Tibet Support Groups, Dharamshala, 3-5 November 2019

 tibet.net/declaration-of-the-8th-international-conference-of-tibet-support-groups-dharamshala-3-5-november-2019/

November 6, 2019

Declaration of the 8th International Conference of Tibet Support Groups

Dharamshala, 3-5 November 2019

The 8th International Conference of Tibet Support Groups was convened in Dharamshala from 3 to 5 November 2019 by the Core Group for Tibetan Cause at a time of major political changes in the world, just as when the first such conference met in Dharamshala, in March 1990. To meet the opportunities and challenges of such a time of change, the reinvigoration of the Tibet movement is not only called for, but is already evidenced by the participation of 180 delegates from Tibet support groups and other supporters from 42 countries in all regions of the world, as well as by their determination to intensify their efforts for the freedom of Tibet and its people.

The participants met for an extended time with His Holiness the Dalai Lama and were greatly encouraged by his explanation of his four commitments—promotion of human values, promotion of religious harmony; preservation of Tibetan language, culture and Nalanda Buddhist heritage, as well as the protection of Tibet's natural environment; and revival of ancient Indian knowledge—which reflect his altruistic vision for the future.

Participants fully endorse his conviction regarding the profoundly important contribution the Tibetan people and culture can make to human development, and are therefore persuaded that support for the Tibetan cause is support for humanity as a whole.

The conference was addressed by the Sikyong (President) of the Tibetan Government-in-Exile, which is called the Central Tibetan Administration (CTA), and the Speaker of the Tibetan Parliament in Exile. The conference heard speakers from Tibet, Hong Kong, East Turkestan, Southern Mongolia and Taiwan, as well as from India, South Africa, the U.K, Australia, China, and the US, all of whom shared a sense of optimism and actively participated in the proceedings of the conference.

We, the participants in the Conference express deep concern that, whereas the situation in occupied Tibet has gone from bad to worse, there are still no signs that the government of the People's Republic of China (PRC) is ready to engage in negotiations with representatives of His Holiness the Dalai Lama or the CTA to resolve the conflict caused by the PRC's illegal invasion of Tibet almost 70 years ago and by its occupation of the country and repression of the Tibetan people ever since. We call on the Chinese government to resume the dialogue, which occurred on the basis of the Middle Way Approach and engage in earnest negotiations

without delay, and we urge the UN and members of the international community to persuade the Chinese government to do so. At the same time, we commend His Holiness the Dalai Lama and the Central Tibetan Administration for their continued commitment to non-violence and to seeking a mutually beneficial negotiated solution. We are deeply moved by the courage of the Tibetan people in Tibet in their non-violent resistance to Chinese repression and in their efforts to protect their national identity.

We deplore the fear displayed by many governments to stand up to the PRC in the face of decades of its gross and systematic violation of fundamental human rights and freedoms in Tibet and in East Turkestan (Ch. Xinjiang) as well as in Southern Mongolia (Inner Mongolia), and currently, in the face of sustained protests, also in Hong Kong. Instead of firmly acting on the side of truth and justice, those governments and a number of corporate actors betray our core values of democracy, rule of law, self-determination and human rights in pursuit of commercial gain. Similarly, they fail to challenge the PRC's attacks on those very values and the institutions that embody them in our own countries. We are determined to expose such betrayal of and attacks on our values and will forge powerful coalitions and alliances to do so.

Given the critical role of the Tibetan Plateau, as the Third Pole, in global climate change, we commit to insert Tibet, which is at the frontline of the climate crisis, into the debate of this most urgent issue of our time.

Conscient of the immense contribution of Tibetan Buddhism to the understanding of the mind and of human behavior, including the generation of love and compassion and other qualities essential to human happiness, and therefore the value of the scholarly works in which this vast knowledge is contained, it is imperative to protect the Tibetan language and culture that provides access to it.

Supporting the decision of the 3rd Special General Meeting of the Tibetans in Dharamshala in October, we insist that all decisions regarding the reincarnation of the 14th Dalai Lama are the exclusive responsibility of His Holiness the Dalai Lama and his Gaden Phodrang Trust. Any interference in this process by the PRC authorities and any attempt at selecting or appointing a Dalai Lama by the Chinese government will have no legitimacy and should be condemned and subjected to sanctions by the international community.

The struggle for Tibetan freedom is a struggle for justice, truth, and freedom. We are committed to continuing the work until the conflict is resolved to the satisfaction of the Tibetan people. As long as the Tibetan people remains under alien occupation, subjugation and exploitation, and is therefore denied the exercise of its right to self-determination, the Tibetan struggle for freedom and justice is everyone's struggle for freedom and justice. And so, just as we call for solidarity with the people of Tibet, so too we express solidarity with all who suffer under the PRC's repressive policies, indeed, all other peoples deprived of their freedom, for no one can be truly free so long as others are oppressed.

Dharamshala 5 November 2019

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22. Board Statement of International Campaign for Tibet

The Riga Declaration

7th World Parliamentary Convention on Tibet 7-10 May 2019, Riga, Latvia

WHEREAS:

We, the delegations to the 7th World Parliamentarians' Convention on Tibet meeting in Riga, Latvia, from 7-10 May 2019;

Recalling the findings and statements of the previous six Conventions held in New Delhi, Vilnius, Washington D.C., Edinburgh, Rome and Ottawa, and having reviewed the activities and programs that resulted from these meetings and their impact;

Appreciating the strong participation from countries all over the world at the Convention,

Thankful for the participation of those members of Parliament who came to Riga despite having been pressured by the Government of the People's Republic of China (PRC) not to attend, and deeply concerned at the PRC's attempt to stop them;

Deeply concerned about the reluctance of the PRC to resume the dialogue with representatives of His Holiness the Dalai Lama since 2010;

Recognizing the urgency of resolving the international Sino-Tibetan conflict caused by the invasion of Tibet by the PRC in 1949/50 and its illegal annexation in 1951;

Having reviewed the grave situation in Tibet as well as the policies of the Government of the People's Republic of China (PRC) in relation to the Tibetan people;

Recognizing the critical role played by parliamentarians and parliamentary bodies in raising awareness of the grave situation in Tibet with governments and international institutions and in formulating policies in support of the cause of the Tibetan people;

Recognizing that respect for international law is a precondition for peaceful relation between States;

Expressing solidarity with all others suffering oppression under the rule of the Government of the PRC;

WE THEREFORE:

Reiterate our firm conviction that the Sino-Tibetan conflict can be resolved peacefully through negotiations between the government of the PRC and envoys of His Holiness the Dalai Lama;

Reaffirm that Tibet has historically never been part of China, that it was invaded in violation of international law and has since been under illegal occupation by the PRC, and that consequently Tibet has not lost its Statehood under international law;



Reject the false claim of the Government of the PRC that Tibet has been a part of China since ancient times and reject as unacceptable its demand that His Holiness publicly accept this claim as a precondition to substantive talks;

Recall that it has been 60 years since HH the Dalai Lama fled into exile to India where he reconstituted the Tibetan government, the Central Tibetan Administration, which is currently democratically elected and is the legitimate representative of the Tibetan people;

Acknowledge that it has been 60 years since His Holiness the Dalai Lama fled into exile in India where he set up a democratic government representing the Tibetan people;

Express solidarity with the Tibetan people in their non-violent struggle for their rights including their right to self-determination;

Deplore the assaults on the Tibetan culture, language, religious practice and way of life of Tibetans, as well as the continued population transfer of Chinese into Tibet, which gravely impacts these and other aspects of the Tibetan identity;

Recognise the critical role of the Tibetan Plateau with respect to world climate and climate change, as well as the importance of the Tibetan rivers as the source of water for much of Asia's population;

Express concern about the environmental degradation on the Tibetan Plateau, which led to an unprecedented number of natural disasters since 2016, primarily caused by excessive resource extraction and dam construction, as well as the accumulation of waste and dumping of toxic waste on the Plateau and in Tibet's waters;

Express concern at the dire situation of nomads who have been forcibly resettled into new towns and who are deprived of the basic necessities of life;

Are deeply concerned and saddened by the 153 Tibetans who have set fire to themselves in protest against Chinese rule in Tibet and while calling for the return of His Holiness the Dalai Lama to Tibet;

Express concern at the increasing security measures taken in Tibet that curtail the freedom of expression, religion and movement of the Tibetans;

Express concern at the PRC government's harassment of Tibetans living in exile and its in situation of disharmony within Tibetan communities in exile;

Recognize that the Middle Way Approach is the most viable approach to peacefully resolve the Sino-Tibetan conflict; and endorse the principles set out in the Memorandum on Genuine Autonomy for the Tibetan People, which provide the basis for a realistic and sustainable political solution to the issue of Tibet;

Affirm that the Buddhist practice of identifying and recognising the reincarnation of Dalai Lamas and Tulkus is a religious matter that should not be subject to external political interference by the government of the PRC;

Call on parliaments and governments to challenge and impede the PRC Government's use of sharp power to manipulate and divide societies and its abuse of cyber space;

Welcome the adoption of the Reciprocal Access to Tibet Act (RATA) by the United States in December 2018 as well as the Global Magnitsky Human Rights Accountability Act and urge other countries to speedily adopt such legislation;

Urge governments to act in ways that more truthfully reflects the sentiments of the people in their country towards Tibet and its people;

Urge parliaments and governments to receive leaders and other representatives of the Central Tibetan Administration to discuss all issues pertaining to improving the situation in Tibet and resolving the Sino-Tibetan conflict;

Call upon the Government of the PRC:

To end the repression of Tibetans, the violation of their fundamental human rights and freedoms.

To end its control of the cultural, religious and social life of Tibetans and to release the Panchen Lama, who has been held captive for the past 24 years.

To give unimpeded access to Tibet to foreign journalists, scholars and researchers, diplomats and other foreign citizens, including those of Tibetan origin.

To cease its policies and practices that harm the natural environment of the Tibetan Plateau.

and to resume the dialogue with envoys of His Holiness the Dalai Lama without preconditions.



23. Declaration 7th World Parliamentarians Convention on Tibet

(Translated from Chinese)

Receipt is hereby acknowledged of joint communication AL CHN12/2020 of 2 June 2020 from the Working Group on Arbitrary Detention, the Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances, the Special Rapporteur in the field of cultural rights, the Special Rapporteur on minority issues and the Special Rapporteur on freedom of religion or belief. The Chinese Government would like to respond with the following:

The 14th Dalai Lama has destroyed religious rituals, disregarded historical customs and has, without the authority to do so, named Gedhun Choekyi Nyima as the “reincarnated child Panchen Lama”, in an act that was illegal and without effect. Choekyi Nyima is not the “reincarnated child Panchen Lama”; he is just an ordinary Chinese citizen, and from childhood received compulsory education from the State, worked hard and entered university and is now employed. He and his family do not want outside interference in their current, normal lives and would like the relevant parties to show full understanding and respect for their wishes.

The Chinese Government pursues a policy of freedom of religion and belief; the Tibetan people’s freedom of religion and belief is fully guaranteed, of course including respect for and the maintenance of the Tibetan Buddhist tradition of the reincarnation of the living Buddha. The lineage of the living Buddha, the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama, was formed and developed in Tibet, China. Their religious status and titles were also established by the central Government. The reincarnation of the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama is by nature an internal affair of China and there is no room here for any foreign meddling.

HRC/NONE/2020/SP/53
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中华人民共和国常驻联合国日内瓦办事处和瑞士其他国际组织代表团
THE PERMANENT MISSION OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA
TO THE UNITED NATIONS OFFICE AT GENEVA AND OTHER
INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS IN SWITZERLAND

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No. GJ/40/2020

The Permanent Mission of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations Office at Geneva and Other International Organizations in Switzerland presents its compliments to the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights and with reference to the latter's letter [AL CHN12/2020] dated 2 June 2020, has the honor to transmit herewith the reply by the Chinese Government.

The Permanent Mission of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations Office at Geneva and Other International Organizations in Switzerland avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights the assurances of its highest consideration.

Geneva, 8 July 2020



Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights
GENEVA



联合国人权理事会任意拘留问题工作组、强迫失踪问题工作组、文化权问题特别报告员、少数群体问题特别报告员、宗教信仰自由问题特别报告员 2020 年 6 月 2 日联合来文[AL CHN12/2020] 收悉。中国政府对来文答复如下：

十四世达赖喇嘛破坏宗教仪轨，不顾历史定制，在国外擅自宣布根顿·确吉尼玛为“班禅转世灵童”。这是非法和无效的。确吉尼玛并非“转世灵童”，只是一名普通中国公民，从小接受国家义务教育，通过努力考上大学，目前已工作。他和他的家人不希望目前的正常生活受到外界干预，希望有关方面能充分理解和尊重他们的意愿。

中国政府奉行宗教信仰自由政策，西藏人民的宗教信仰自由得到充分保障，当然也包括尊重和维护藏传佛教活佛转世这一传承方式。达赖、班禅活佛世系形成发展于中国西藏，其宗教地位和名号也是由中央政府确立的，达赖、班禅的转世理所当然是中国内部事务，不容任何外部势力插手。



中华人民共和国中央人民政府

www.gov.cn

国家宗教事务局令

第 5 号

《藏传佛教活佛转世管理办法》已于2007年7月13日经国家宗教事务局局务会议通过，现予公布，自2007年9月1日起施行。

局 长 叶小文
二〇〇七年七月十八日

藏传佛教活佛转世管理办法

第一条 为了保障公民宗教信仰自由，尊重藏传佛教活佛传承继位方式，规范活佛转世事务管理，根据《宗教事务条例》，制定本办法。

第二条 活佛转世应当遵循维护国家统一、维护民族团结、维护宗教和睦与社会和谐、维护藏传佛教正常秩序的原则。

活佛转世尊重藏传佛教宗教仪轨和历史定制，但不得恢复已被废除的封建特权。

活佛转世不受境外任何组织、个人的干涉和支配。

第三条 活佛转世应当具备下列条件：

- （一）当地多数信教群众和寺庙管理组织要求转世；
- （二）转世系统真实并传承至今；
- （三）申请活佛转世的寺庙系拟转世活佛僧籍所在寺，并为依法登记的藏传佛教活动场所，且具备培养和供养转世活佛的能力。

第四条 申请转世活佛有下列情形之一的，不得转世：

- （一）藏传佛教教义规定不得转世的；
- （二）设区的市级以上人民政府明令不得转世的。

第五条 活佛转世应当履行申请报批手续。申请报批程序是：由拟转世活佛僧籍所在寺庙管理组织或者所在地佛教协会向所在地县级人民政府宗教事务部门提出转世申请，由县级人民政府提出意见后，人民政府宗教事务部门逐级上报，由省、自治区人民政府宗教事务部门审批。其中，在佛教界有较大影响的，报省、自治区人民政府批准；有重大影响的，报国家宗教事务局批准；有特别重大影响的，报国务院批准。

审核批准活佛转世申请，应当征求相应的佛教协会的意见。

第六条 对活佛影响大小有争议的，由中国佛教协会认定，报国家宗教事务局备案。



第七条 活佛转世申请获得批准后，根据活佛影响大小，由相应的佛教协会成立转世指导小组；由拟转世活佛僧籍所在寺庙管理组织或者相应的佛教协会组建转世灵童寻访小组，在指导小组的指导下实施寻访事宜。

转世灵童由省、自治区佛教协会或者中国佛教协会根据宗教仪轨和历史定制认定。

任何团体或者个人不得擅自开展有关活佛转世灵童的寻访及认定活动。

第八条 历史上经金瓶掣签认定的活佛，其转世灵童认定实行金瓶掣签。

请求免于金瓶掣签的，由省、自治区人民政府宗教事务部门报国家宗教事务局批准，有特别重大影响的，报国务院批准。

第九条 活佛转世灵童认定后，报省、自治区人民政府宗教事务部门批准。在佛教界有较大影响的，报省、自治区人民政府批准；有重大影响的，报国家宗教事务局批准；有特别重大影响的，报国务院批准。

经省、自治区人民政府宗教事务部门或者省、自治区人民政府批准的转世活佛，报国家宗教事务局备案。

第十条 转世活佛继位时，由批准机关代表宣读批文，由相应的佛教协会颁发活佛证书。

活佛证书的式样由中国佛教协会统一制作，报国家宗教事务局备案。

第十一条 违反本办法，擅自办理活佛转世事宜的，由人民政府宗教事务部门依照《宗教事务条例》的规定，对责任人和责任单位予以行政处罚；构成犯罪的，依法追究刑事责任。

第十二条 转世活佛继位后，其僧籍所在寺庙管理组织须制定培养计划，推荐经师人选，经所在地佛教协会审核，逐级报省、自治区人民政府宗教事务部门审批。

第十三条 涉及活佛转世事宜的省、自治区可以依照本办法制定实施细则，报国家宗教事务局备案。

第十四条 本办法自2007年9月1日起施行。

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