

THE TIBETANS

October 7, 1950: Over 30,000 Chinese troops invade Tibet. The Dalai Lama takes over the running of the government. The Tibetan government appeals to the United Nations for help. But the Indian and British delegations persuade the General Assembly not to discuss the matter. Within a year, the Tibetan government is forced to surrender.

1950: Since this year, China has stationed an estimated 250,000 troops in Central Tibet (International Alert 1990, 26).

PHASE II. MILITANT MOBILIZATION (see Appendix A for a description of the internal conflict phase scheme utilized in this chronology)

May 23, 1951: Tibet and Beijing sign the "Seventeen Point Agreement" which pledges 'national regional autonomy'. The agreement include provisions that the central authorities will not alter the existing political system in Tibet or the established status, function, and powers of the Dalai Lama; freedom of religious belief will be protected; and the spoken and written language and school education of the Tibetans will be developed (Choedon 1990, 35).

The Chinese government offers the Tibetans a 'two-systems' agreement that is similar to the proposals later extended to Hong Kong and Taiwan. Under duress, the Tibetans accept. However, this formula is ignored in Kham and Amdo, the two outlying provinces of Tibet which are incorporated into the Chinese provinces of Sichuan, Qinghai, Gansu, and Yunnan (International Alert 1990, 25).

PHASE IIIa. LOW-LEVEL HOSTILITIES

1954: Revolts occur in Eastern Tibet as the Chinese begin destroying monasteries and impose collectivization. This is the birth of the Tibetan resistance movement and of the Voluntary National Defense Army.

PHASE IIIb. HIGH-LEVEL HOSTILITIES

1959-61: During this period, it is estimated that of the more than 3000 monasteries in Tibet, only half a dozen or so are left intact (Choedon 1990, 36).

The Great Leap Forward results in widespread famine; up to 30 million die in China and numerous many thousands in Tibet.

March 10-23, 1959: A mass uprising erupts in Lhasa on March 10; it is suppressed by the 23rd. The uprising is partly in response to Chinese violations of the 1951 Agreement. The way for

effective Chinese control is paved. Property is redistributed, the population is categorized into classes to create cleavages (divide and rule) (Choedon 1990, 35). The local Tibetan government is dissolved and replaced by a military regime. Thousands of Tibetans are executed, imprisoned, or sent to labor camps.

March 17, 1959: The Dalai Lama and around 100,000 of his followers flee Tibet following the second Chinese invasion and set up a government-in-exile in Dharamsala, India. The government-in-exile is not formally recognized as the legitimate Tibetan government by the international community (Hannum 1990, 425). The Dalai Lama repudiates the 17-Point Agreement.

October 1959: UN Resolution 1353 calls for "respect for the fundamental human rights of the Tibetan people and for their distinctive cultural and religious life" (International Alert 1990, 8).

December 1961: UN Resolution 1723 calls for "the cessation of practices which deprive the Tibetan people of their fundamental human rights and freedoms including their rights to self-determination". It also expresses "the hope that member states will make all possible efforts, as appropriate, towards achieving the purposes of the present resolution" (International Alert 1990, 8).

PHASE I. CONVENTIONAL MOBILIZATION

1962: Sino-Indian War. China emerges victorious and takes over the Askai Chin region of Kashmir. Tibet's strategic significance increases.

September 9, 1965: The Tibetan Autonomous Region (TAR) is formally established. The Cultural Revolution begins. Communal life is introduced and most of the remaining monasteries are destroyed. Almost all Tibetan customs and religious practices are outlawed. The Chinese government wages a war on the "four olds" -- old ideas, old culture, old customs, and old habits in favor of the "four news" -- Mao's new ideology, proletarian culture, and communist habits and customs (Little and Hibbard 1994, 11).

December 1965: UN Resolution 2079 renews the call for the "cessation of all practices which deprive the Tibetan people of the human rights and fundamental freedoms which they have always enjoyed". The Indian delegate at the United Nations accuses the Chinese of trying 'to obliterate the Tibetan people' and of suppression that 'surpasses anything that colonialists have done in the past to the people they ruled as slaves' (International Alert 1990, 8).

1971: China joins the United Nations.

1976: The Cultural Revolution ends with the death of Mao. The Chinese acknowledge "past mistakes in Tibet", attributing them to the Cultural Revolution and the Gang of Four.

1979: Deng Xiaoping opens China to the outside world. The Dalai Lama says that Vice-Premier Deng has invited him to visit Tibet but that he declined as he would not undertake such a visit until he is certain that the 6 million Tibetans are happy and content under Chinese rule. In August, he is allowed to send a fact-finding mission to Tibet. Reports reveal that the mission is greeted by pro-independence demonstrations and calls for the return of the Dalai Lama. Many demonstrators are imprisoned (Wangyul 1994, 198).

May 1980: Party Secretary Hu Yaobang visits Tibet. His trip is partly due to the negative report compiled by the Dalai Lama's fact finding mission. Hu is reportedly shocked at his findings and upon returning to Beijing he announces far reaching reforms. These include the promotion of Tibetan culture as long as it does not clash with socialism, economic reforms including an end to collectivisation, tax holidays, and the reduction of Han cadres in Tibet (Bray 1990, 222-23).

June 1980: The second fact finding mission from Dharamsala visits Tibet. It is greeted enthusiastically in Lhasa, with some supporters raising pro-independence slogans. The Chinese cut the delegation's visit short by six days. The third mission, already in the country, is allowed to continue. The fourth delegation mission set for the summer of 1981 is canceled (Wangyul 1994, 199).

April 1982: A delegation of senior ministers of the exiled Tibetan government goes to Beijing to hold exploratory talks. No progress is reported (Wangyul 1994, 200).

1980s onward: Tibet is singled out for investment ventures by the Chinese authorities. But Tibetan regulations do not require that entrepreneurs be local residents to invest (as is the case in most of China). This results in a flood of Han Chinese to the region as they attempt to make money from tourism and other opportunities. Tibetans fear the loss of their traditional way of life. The new entrepreneurial class is seen as exploitative, charging excessive prices to local residents (up to 75% increases in the price of basic commodities are reported). This issue leads to 5 days of violent demonstrations in May 1993 (Bowers 1994, 413-4).

Modernization in Tibet raises issues such as who will benefit and who will direct the programs. Development is seen as disproportionately benefitting the Han and becomes a consistent source of discontent (Bowers 1994, 414).

The Chinese dominate the bureaucracy and political structure in Tibet. Also, Chinese is used as the official language despite legislation which favors Tibetan. All secondary schooling is

conducted in Chinese and all administration jobs require knowledge of Chinese (International Alert 1990, 25).

Many of the best Tibetan students also do not remain in Tibet. Yearly, over 1000 of the best primary students are sent to China for up to seven years secondary education (International Alert 1990, 25).

A major issue is the massive immigration of Han Chinese into Tibet. It is viewed as an attempt to Sinocize the region. In 1990, 7.5 million Han and 6 million Tibetans resided in the traditional area of Tibet (the TAR and Tibetan areas in neighboring provinces) (Hannum 1990, 426).

Although Beijing states that the national birth control policy does not apply to Tibet, there is pressure to have abortions and sterilizations. All state employees are limited by local regulations to one child and all other town dwellers to two. Reports continue about forced sterilizations. On May 29, 1990, the authorities stated that 18,000 of the 600,000 women of child bearing age in Central Tibet have "so far volunteered for sterilization" (International Alert 1990, 25-6).

Environmental destruction in Tibet as a result of modernization also becomes a source of discontent. Clear cutting of forests has led to over 100,000 sq. miles being completely deforested. This is 1/6 of the Tibetan land mass (Bowers 1994, 415 cites Paul Ingram, "The Tragedy of Tibet", Contemporary Review, Sept., 1992, p. 125). Uranium extraction and other types of mining are also taking a heavy toll. In 1993, numerous reports indicated that for two decades China has been using Tibet as a dumping ground for nuclear waste. Health problems among Tibetans include the high incidence of cancer near waste storage facilities (Bowers 1994, 415).

China is also reported to have three nuclear missile sites in Tibet. Indian intelligence claims that they house three medium-range ICBMS capable of hitting New Delhi and cities in the former USSR and the Middle East (International Alert 1990, 26).

September-November 1984: A Dharamsala delegation spends this period in negotiations in China. The Chinese reject a Tibetan proposal that calls for China to accept Tibet's historical status, its right to self-determination, the right to reunify the three traditional Tibetan provinces, the need for an equal relationship, and the transformation of the area into a zone of peace (Wangyal 1994, 200-01).

July-September, 1985: Another delegation visits only the Tibetan areas of Gansu and Qinghai provinces. In June 1985, while visiting London, Chinese Premier Zhao Ziyang stated that there was no question of considering Tibet's future "except within the framework of China" (Wangyal 1994, 201 who draws Zhao's comments from the Indian Express, New Delhi, June 10, 1985).

April 30, 1986: The Panchen Lama urges the Dalai Lama to return home. He makes the appeal

during a visit to Australia. Western diplomats express surprise that the Panchen Lama, who is also a member of China's National People's Congress, is allowed to travel abroad (Reuters, 04/30/86).

March 14, 1987: China calls on India to stop rallies on its soil by Tibetan exiles. Tibetans consistently hold demonstrations in India in order to protest Chinese rule in Tibet (Reuters, 03/14/87).

April 16, 1987: In a rare news conference, the Panchen Lama asserts that talks between the Chinese government and the Dalai Lama are pointless unless the Dalai Lama gives up the idea of Tibetan independence. The Panchen Lama spent nine years and eight months in prison until his release in October 1977 (Reuters, 04/16/87).

July 16, 1987: West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl arrives in Tibet, marking the first official visit to Tibet by a Western head of government since the Chinese invasion in 1950. The visit is viewed by human rights groups and exiled Tibetans as lending official support for China's rule. While former French President Giscard D'Estaing visited Tibet in 1980, it was described as a private visit. Meanwhile, a US House of Representatives resolution that urges the US to review its foreign policy toward China in light of continued human rights violations in Tibet angers Chinese officials. A House report last month alleged that more than one million Tibetans have died from persecution and hunger since 1949 (Reuters, 07/16/87).

1987: An official estimate says that 740 monasteries and other religious sites have been renovated since 1983 and another 230 are still being repaired. There are 15,000 monks in the Tibetan Autonomous Region compared with an estimated 114,000 before 1959 (Bray 1990, 222).

September 21, 1987: The Dalai Lama puts forth his five point peace plan during a meeting with the US Congressional Human Rights Commission in Washington. It calls for:

1. The transformation of the whole of Tibet into a Zone of Peace.
2. The abandonment of China's population transfer policy.
3. Respect for the Tibetan people's fundamental human rights and democratic freedoms.
4. Restoration and protection of Tibet's natural environment and the abandonment of China's use of Tibet for the production of nuclear weapons and the dumping of nuclear waste.
5. Commencement of earnest negotiations on the future status of Tibet and of relations between the Tibetan and Chinese peoples (International Alert 1990, 13-14).

Wangyal says that he is unsure that this and the 1988 Strasbourg proposal can be considered as part of negotiations as they are not made in response to any Chinese proposals. They are rather the Dalai Lama's response to the failure of contacts with Beijing. Also he says it is likely that the Dalai Lama was prompted by the decay of communism in Europe. Until 1987, the Tibetan side had not put forward any proposal (Wangyal 1994, 204).

September 23, 1987: China expresses indignation at the Five Point Peace Plan proposed by the

Dalai Lama and at US Congressmen for allowing its presentation. Officials assert that the plan is essentially seeking the creation of an independent Tibet (Reuters, 09/23/87).

PHASE IIIa. LOW-LEVEL HOSTILITIES

September 30, 1987: China reports that a demonstration involving 21 lamas and five other Tibetans shouting pro-independence slogans and brandishing the Tibetan flag occurred in Lhasa on September 27. The demonstration followed the September 24 execution of two Tibetans described as criminals by the Chinese government and political prisoners by Tibetan exiles (Reuters, 09/30/87).

October 2, 1987: At least six people are killed and around nineteen injured as police open fire on Tibetans demonstrating against Chinese rule in Lhasa on October 1, China's National Day. The riots which involve several thousand people outside Jokhang Temple occurred after police arrested 50 monks and lay people who were holding a pro-independence march. A police station was burnt and official buildings were pillaged during rioting that continued for several hours. Locals contend that the initial protest was sparked by the arrest of many of the 40 monks that launched anti-Chinese demonstrations last week. The locals also state that the Dalai Lama's recent visit to Washington gives them new hopes of independence and freedom (Reuters, 10/02/87).

October 3, 1987: Chinese authorities seal off Buddhist monasteries and impose a curfew in Lhasa following riots on October 1. Hand-to-hand battles were reported between monks and police forces on the roof of the Jokhang temple (Reuters, 10/03/87).

October 5, 1987: The Dalai Lama is barred from attending an awards ceremony in Thailand next month as the Thai government seeks to avoid problems with China (Reuters, 10/05/87).

According to a Western diplomat, the Dalai Lama's chances of returning to Tibet have been severely reduced following recent riots in Lhasa. The diplomat also states that there are two schools of thought within the Tibetan community in exile. One school supports the Dalai Lama's attempt to initiate peaceful negotiations while a more radical faction advocates a violent approach (Reuters, 10/05/87).

October 6, 1987: A demonstration by about 60 Buddhist monks is broken up by Chinese military police and another monastery near Lhasa is closed. This is the first protest since riots on October 1. Forty Tibetan government workers are also placed under arrest for suspicion of aiding the pro-independence movement. Tibetans indicate that the border with Nepal is closed in order to prevent Tibetans from traveling to Lhasa to engage in pro-independence demonstrations (Reuters, 10/06/87).

October 7, 1987: The Dalai Lama calls for further demonstrations and civil disobedience in Tibet, as long as they are peaceful. Meanwhile, India has sealed its border with Tibet to prevent

an influx of refugees (Reuters, 10/07/87).

October 8, 1987: India asks the Dalai Lama to refrain from any political activities while he is on Indian soil (Reuters, 10/08/87).

October 15, 1987: The European Parliament endorses the Dalai Lama's five-point peace plan as the basis for a settlement. The organization, which has no enforcement powers, also calls upon China to respect religious and cultural autonomy in Tibet (Reuters, 10/15/87).

October 16, 1987: A US human rights delegation is denied permission to visit Tibet. China has closed Tibet's borders to all visitors, including journalists (Reuters, 10/16/87).

October 19, 1987: China rejects the idea of redrawing Tibet's boundaries to include areas that are largely inhabited by Tibetans. Official Chinese figures state that 2 million Tibetans live in the TAR and another 1.5 million reside in nearby provinces (Reuters, 10/19/87).

November 10, 1987: The Dalai Lama plans to hold a referendum to determine whether Tibetan exiles support independence or are willing to consider other options. He indicates that there are two major views within the Tibetan community -- those that support a violent independence movement and those that favor a dialogue (Reuters, 11/10/87).

November 23, 1987: Chinese President Li Xiannian attacks international criticism about human rights abuses in Tibet. Reports reveal that some 19 people were killed in demonstrations on October 1. Xiannian says that a ban on tourists and reporters is not an indication that China is backing away from its liberalization policy (Reuters, 11/23/87).

November 29, 1987: A Chinese source says that 80 monks that were arrested last week when they demanded that security forces leave Ganden monastery near Lhasa have been released after questioning. Armed squads still reportedly occupy the two other major monasteries near Lhasa, Sera and Drepung, which were closed after the October 1 protests. China alleges that some 50 foreigners took part in the October incidents (Reuters, 11/29/87).

December 11, 1987: Beijing protests to the United States over an amendment passed by Congress that accuses China of human rights violations in Tibet. The non-binding resolution was enacted on December 3 as an addition to the State Department appropriation bill (Reuters, 12/11/87).

January 8, 1988: An Austrian student under house arrest in Lhasa says that he was not involved in an anti-Chinese protest by Buddhist nuns on December 19. Around 20 nuns demonstrated in Lhasa's Barkhor Square in support of the Dalai Lama. This is the first known protest by nuns since 1959 (Reuters, 01/08/88).

January 21, 1988: 59 Tibetans have been released after taking part in anti-Chinese

demonstrations. They were arrested following incidents on September 27 and October 1. Another 13 people were released on October 28 and officials report that 10 people are still in custody (Reuters, 01/21/88).

February 11, 1988: The human rights organization, Asia Watch, accuses China of widespread abuses including the torture and death of political prisoners in custody in Tibet. The organization also criticizes US President Reagan for his lack of attention to Tibet as he strives to deepen relations with China (Reuters, 02/11/88).

February 13, 1988: The Panchen Lama contends that officials in Tibet are ignorant of the local language and hold hardline "leftist" attitudes. The term "leftist" is used to refer to those who support the policies enacted during the Cultural Revolution. During a visit to Tibet, the Panchen Lama also calls upon cadres to eradicate this "leftist ideology" as continues to hurt Tibet. In January, a Tibetan Communist Party meeting determined that the leftists' intolerance of the local religion precipitated the October riots. This information was only available in Tibet. Nationally, the Dalai Lama and his "splittist clique" are blamed for the October demonstrations (Reuters, 02/13/88).

February 25, 1988: The biggest festival in Tibet, the Mon Lam Great Prayer Festival, opens amid a boycott by some 200 monks. As a result of prompting by Chinese officials, some 1000 monks celebrate the event while the monks boycotting the Chinese-sponsored activities hold alternative ceremonies at Drepung monastery. A select number of Western reporters are allowed to witness the ceremonies. The boycotting monks are protesting the imposition of work groups at monasteries and Beijing's efforts to showcase the event (Reuters, 02/25-02/28/88).

March 5, 1988: Numerous demonstrations and riots mark the last day of the Mon Lam Festival in Tibet. Chinese officials contend that monks attacked the vans of television crews and punched reporters. However, other sources reveal that the protests followed the arrest of a monk who was shouting pro-independence slogans. Further, the Jokhang temple is reportedly stormed by Chinese forces. The death toll includes some 16 monks while more than 300 security officials are injured. The Dalai Lama calls for restraint on the use of violence. Meanwhile, some 300 Tibetans demonstrate in New Delhi and are stopped by police forces as they attempt to march to the presidential palace (Reuters, 03/05-03/09/88).

March 10, 1988: The anniversary of the 1959 Tibetan uprising passes peacefully amid a massive police presence in Tibet (Reuters, 02/10/88).

March 11, 1988: China is denying reports that unrest has spread to neighboring areas of Tibet. Western reports reveal that last December, demonstrations were held in Qinghai to protest abortions being forced upon Tibetan women and the poor condition of schools. Some 2 million Tibetans live in regions bordering the TAR (Reuters, 03/11/88).

March 29, 1988: The Panchen Lama attacks the government for the suppression of monks and

monasteries in Tibet. He states that up to 5 people were killed in recent incidents (Reuters, 03/29/88).

April 4, 1988: The Panchen Lama says the Dalai Lama is allowed to return and live in Tibet if he renounces independence. Previously, Chinese officials have stated that the Dalai Lama would have to reside in Beijing (Reuters, 04/04/88).

April 22, 1988: The Tibetan Youth Congress says that 16 monks were killed and another 840 arrested after riots on March 5. The organization, based in Dharamsala, India, claims some 10,000 supporters (Reuters, 04/22/88).

May 5, 1988: The Tibet Daily states that 18 nuns were arrested last month during two demonstrations (Reuters, 05/05/88).

May 8, 1988: The British newspaper, The Observer says that 30 monks were beaten to death at Jokhang Temple on March 5 and another 20 died in detention (Reuters, 05/08/88).

June 1, 1988: Several hundred Tibetans gather to watch a demonstration by 7 or 8 monks in Lhasa's central Barkhor Square. The monks are subsequently arrested (Reuters, 06/08/88).

June 15, 1988: The Dalai Lama puts forward his peace plan while speaking to European Union representatives at Strasbourg. Stating that this is the ultimate compromise to China, he asserts that the main reason for the proposal is to check the killings in Tibet and to have China reverse its population-transfer policy (Wangyal 1994, 202-03). The Strasbourg plan offers China control of foreign policy and defense in return for full internal autonomy. Bray says full internal autonomy would mean a democratically-elected executive that would cover the TAR and Tibetan-speaking areas outside the TAR. The Dalai Lama also proposes that a regional peace conference be held, leading to the demilitarization of Tibet and its restoration as a zone of peace between China and India (Bray 1990, 224).

June 22, 1988: In the first official Chinese reaction to the Dalai Lama's proposal, Beijing affirms that it will not allow Tibetan independence in any form. Although it concedes that the proposal reveals some changes, China says that the Dalai Lama has not altered his opposition to Chinese sovereignty or his attempts to internationalize the issue (Reuters, 06/22/88).

July 7, 1988: China says that its "One Country, Two Systems" policy is not possible for Tibet. This is the option that Beijing has promised to Hong Kong, Macao, and Taiwan (Reuters, 07/07/88).

July 10, 1988: The Dalai Lama or his representatives are allowed to visit China as long as they do not plan any talks on independence. These comments were put forth by Wan Li, the Chairman of the National People's Congress. So far, he is the highest ranking official to comment upon the Dalai Lama's Strasbourg proposal (Reuters, 07/10/88).

July 18, 1988: In an open criminal trial outside the Jokhang temple in Lhasa, 25 people are sentenced to various prison terms (Reuters, 07/18/88).

July 28, 1988: An International Alert spokesman, Martin Ennals, contends that unless China defuses rising tensions, Tibet could become embroiled in a civil war. He also believes that any negotiations must include the Dalai Lama (Reuters, 07/28/88).

September 23, 1988: China says it is willing to hold talks with the Dalai Lama anywhere as long as he drops his demand for independence. Beijing says the only condition is that foreigners not be allowed to participate. Officials also assert that the Strasbourg proposal cannot be the framework for negotiations as it does not relinquish the concept of independence" (Reuters, 09/23/88).

September 24, 1988: The Dalai Lama accepts China's offer to hold direct talks (Reuters, 09/24/88).

September 28, 1988: The Dalai Lama says that a framework for talks with Beijing could be completed within two weeks. However, he expects that negotiations to reach a resolution will be lengthy (Reuters, 09/28/88).

Meanwhile, police forces break up a peaceful protest by seven monks at Jokhang temple. Four monks are arrested (Ibid.).

September 30, 1988: Monks at three main monasteries near Lhasa are not allowed to leave their temples until October 5. The order is reportedly an attempt to stop demonstrations on the first anniversary of protests that led to the deaths of around 20 monks (Reuters, 09/30/88).

October 4, 1988: China becomes a party to the UN Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment. China has ratified six other UN human rights instruments, including the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination and the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women. But as of 1992, it was not a party to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) (Amnesty International, 05/92).

October 25, 1988: The Dalai Lama offers to hold official talks with China in January in Geneva. He does not mention his Strasbourg proposal as the basis for negotiations. Meanwhile, the Tibetan Youth Congress (TYC) says that there cannot be any compromise on the issue of independence. It views the Strasbourg proposal as a sellout and advocates an armed struggle. The TYC contends that a number of exiled youth are trained and ready but that the main initiative will come from within Tibet (Reuters, 10/25/88).
Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi will visit Beijing in December to discuss the two countries'

border dispute. The visit will be the first in many years and represents a potential thawing of hostile relations that arose from the 1962 Sino-Indian war (Ibid.).

November 1, 1988: Reports indicate that on October 3 protesting monks reportedly stoned cars and riot police fired on a crowd at Rato monastery. Four monks and 12 villagers were arrested (Reuters, 11/01/88).

November 15, 1988: The Dalai Lama says that the results of any talks with Beijing are subject to the ratification of the six million Tibetans within China and around the world. He also claims that the talks are not a sellout and that the struggle for independence will continue. So far, China has not responded to the offer to open negotiations (Reuters, 11/15/88).

PHASE IIIb. HIGH-LEVEL HOSTILITIES

December 6, 1988: Tibet's Communist Party leader is dismissed. A security clampdown begun on November 23 remains in effect (Reuters, 12/06/88).

December 10, 1988: Demonstrations are reported in Lhasa. Chinese security and police officials storm Jokhang temple as monks and nuns protest against Chinese rule. Reports reveal that some 18 Tibetans die and another 130 are injured. Also, another report indicates that China has objected to the inclusion of foreign nations in any talks between the two sides (Reuters, 12/10/88, 01/10/89).

Wangyal says that Beijing apparently wants to give the impression that it is ready to negotiate while it continues its present policies. Also, it appears that any negotiations China is interested in have to do with the return of the Dalai Lama; it does not appear to have any interest in discussing the status of Tibet (Wangyal 1994, 203).

However, the Chinese do promise that they are willing to hold talks with the Dalai Lama anywhere in the world (Wangyal 1994, 202 cites The Times of India, Sept. 23, 1988). The Tibetans suggest that talks be held in Geneva in January 1989. The Tibetan negotiating team is announced and then the Chinese back out (November, 1988) stating that they object to officials of the exile Tibetan government and a foreign legal advisor being included. The Chinese inform a Hong Kong newspaper that from now on talks will be held only with the Dalai Lama (Wangyal 1994, 202 cites an interview with Chen Xin, Vice-Minister of the Nationalities Affairs Commission, published in the Hong Kong newspaper, Wen Wei Po, November 25, 1988) and unconfirmed reports indicate that Beijing will be the only venue (Wangyal 1994, 202).

December 18, 1988: Around 60 Tibetan students march on Tianamen Square and the residences of Deng Xiaoping and other leaders to protest recent police killings of demonstrators in the Tibetan Autonomous Region. The incident defies a two year ban on unauthorized demonstrations in Tianamen Square. No previous incidents involving the elite cadre of Tibetan students have been reported. The students are trained in Beijing and then sent back to help

develop Tibet (Reuters, 12/18/88).

January 2, 1989: On December 30, around 200 Tibetan students and teachers marched peacefully in Lhasa asking for the greater use of their language and a ban on the use of weapons against demonstrators. Some 50 Tibetans, including 8 nuns, have been arrested since demonstrations on December 10 (Reuters, 01/02/89).

January 18, 1989: Hu Jintao, the new Communist Party Chief in Tibet, calls for respect of local customs and religion and the promotion of the Tibetan language (Reuters, 01/18/89).

January 28, 1989: The Panchen Lama suffers a stroke and dies in Beijing at the age of 50. He became the 10th Panchen Lama in 1949 (Reuters, 01/28/89).

January 29, 1989: The Tibetan Youth Congress accuses Beijing of being responsible for the Panchen Lama's death. The government-in-exile in Dharamsala expresses concern about potential Chinese interference in the selection of a successor (Reuters, 01/29/89).

February 23, 1989: Around 10,000 people watch 9 nuns and 4 monks peacefully protest in Lhasa (Reuters, 02/23/89).

March 2, 1989: China urges the Dalai Lama to begin negotiations. In the past few months, no agreement has been reached on an agenda or the composition of the negotiation teams (Reuters, 03/02/89).

March 5, 1989: Demonstrations and riots occur throughout Lhasa. More than 11 are reported killed while another 100 are injured. The riots result in the destruction of shops, government offices, and other infrastructure. The riots allegedly precede a demonstration by 13 monks and nuns. More than 40 Chinese soldiers are injured while one is killed (Reuters, 03/05/89).

March 6, 1989: The Chinese are unable to contain a second day of demonstrations and riots in Tibet (Reuters, 03/06/89).

March 7, 1989: Some 2-300 Tibetans hold a peaceful march in Lhasa on the third day of continual demonstrations and riots. Martial law is put into effect at midnight in Tibet.

Analysts believe that this is the biggest challenge to Chinese rule since the 1959 revolt that led the Dalai Lama to flee to India. Further, Beijing is reported to be under pressure due to high inflation, a democracy campaign largely involving students, and corruption within the party. Western diplomats believe that given these conditions, China is not in a position to make any concessions to the Tibetans (Reuters, 03/07/89).

March 7, 1989: The Dalai Lama contends that martial law is imposed to keep foreigners out and

shield China from international criticism over human rights abuses. He asks world leaders to help stop the bloodshed in Tibet (Reuters, 03/07/89).

March 8, 1989: The Dalai Lama says that he is still willing to hold talks with Beijing. He remains concerned about the use of violence under martial law (Reuters, 03/08/89).

March 1989: In the UN, Canada and the Netherlands express concern about the situation in Tibet.

October 5, 1989: The Dalai Lama is awarded the Nobel Peace Prize.

1989-91: The collapse of communism in the USSR and Eastern Europe and redefinitions of territorial borders and the constitution of nations likely revive the hopes of Tibetans who see a parallel between their situation and that of the Baltic States (Bowers 1994, 410).

The government-in-exile claims that 300,000 Tibetans have been killed by Chinese forces and twice as many have died from famine and imprisonment (International Alert 1990, 25).

March 1990: Increasing restrictions are placed on religious practices in Tibet. For example, all organized public religious ceremonies require official permission (International Alert 1990, 25).

May 1, 1990: The Chinese government lifts martial law in Lhasa. Chinese Premier Li Peng says that "the situation has become stable and social order has returned to normal" (Keesings, 05/90).

The Dalai Lama, welcomes the lifting of martial law, but expresses the hope that it represents more than a superficial "public relations exercise" (Keesings, 05/90). In recent years, the Dalai Lama has actively lobbied world leaders to help initiate negotiations on Tibet. In accordance with his wish to democratize the independence movement, on May 15 the Tibetan People's Deputies (the parliament-in-exile) for the first time elects a three-member cabinet hitherto appointed by the Dalai Lama.

May 28, 1990: A report issued by Asia Watch alleges that abuses by Chinese authorities in Tibet have "greatly increased" over the last two years, and that torture is frequently used against protesters.

PHASE II. MILITANT MOBILIZATION

July 1990: The CCP's General Secretary Jiang Zemin makes an official visit to Tibet. This is the first visit by a party General Secretary since Hu Yaobang's 1980 trip. Zemin states that the preservation of stability is the primary task of the party. He also emphasizes the need for economic modernization (Bray 1990, 223).

December 1990: The Dalai Lama renounces his previous insistence on complete separation for Tibet and instead proposes that Tibet should enter into a "loose confederation" with China (Keesings, supplement, 1991). There is no positive official Chinese reaction to the proposal.

April 1991: The Dalai Lama meets with President George Bush and congressional leaders. A Congressional resolution formalizes US opposition to China's role in Tibet and attempts to pressure Beijing to modify its behavior. Also, the US changes its immigration policy to allow 1000 Tibetans, classified as refugees, to enter the country. In the past 20 years, only 500 Tibetans have entered the US and no other administration has been willing to grant refugee status to displaced Tibetans (Bowers 1994, 427).

August 23, 1991: The UN Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities adopts resolution No 1991/10 entitled "the situation in Tibet". It expresses concern about "continuing reports of violations of fundamental human rights and freedoms which threaten the distinct cultural, religious and national identity of the Tibetan people". It calls on the Chinese government to respect these rights and freedoms and for the UN Secretary-General to transmit this information to the Commission on Human Rights. The Chinese government rejects the resolution as illegal, null and void (Amnesty International, 05/92).

October 1991: On October 10, a Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman rejects a proposal by the Dalai Lama that seeks his return to Tibet for the first time since 1959. Chinese authorities demand that the Dalai Lama abandon his support for Tibetan independence.

December 1991: Regarded by analysts as a political and diplomatic triumph for China, the visit by Chinese Premier Li Peng to India secures a formal undertaking by India to check the activities of its Tibetan refugees. The joint communique released at the end of the visit notes that China has "expressed concern about the continued activities in India by some Tibetans against their motherland", while India reaffirms that "Tibet is an autonomous region of China". In a gesture construed as a concession to China, the Communique also states that India "does not allow Tibetans to engage in anti-China political activities in India".

March 4, 1992: The UN Commission on Human Rights decides not to vote on a draft resolution expressing concern about the situation in Tibet. The Secretary-General had provided the information on the basis of the August 23/91 sub-commission recommendation (Amnesty International, 05/92).

May 1992: China announces plans to establish a Special Economic Zone in Lhasa as part of its strategy to boost development. Together with increasing agricultural output and industrial growth, the focus of China's new development policy is the opening-up of Tibet to rapid development through foreign trade, tourism and investment.

Amnesty International issues a report on repression in Tibet. It documents arbitrary arrests, widespread use of torture and ill-treatment of detainees, the long-term detention of prisoners of conscience and the killings of unarmed demonstrators.

April 1993: The Clinton Administration is careful to avoid playing up the Dalai Lama's visit to Washington. However, during the US election campaign, candidate Clinton was very critical of former President Bush's policy toward Tibet. A White House spokesman stresses that Vice-President Al Gore received the Dalai Lama at the White House; Clinton simply made "a brief stop-by" and "said hello". The White House issues a statement that states: "The administration continues to urge Peking and the Dalai Lama to revive a dialogue between them and presses China to address human-rights abuses in Tibet". The Dalai Lama earlier met with British Foreign secretary Douglas Hurd in London and Polish President Lech Walesa in Warsaw.

Meanwhile, US legislators submit bills in both the House and the Senate, attaching conditions to China's Most Favored Nation trade status. For the first time both bills contain strong criticism of the "population transfer" of ethnic Chinese into Tibet. It is alleged that China conducts a policy of Sinification of Tibet. Both bills urge China to "release all political and religious prisoners in China and Tibet and to cease forcing the large-scale influx of Chinese settlers into Tibet which is threatening the survival of the Tibetan culture" (Far Eastern Economic Review, 05/06/93). The Dalai Lama calls the process "a kind of cultural genocide".

June 1993: The Chinese administration in Tibet plays host to a 10-member human rights fact-finding mission of ambassadors and senior diplomats from the European Community. At least 3 Tibetans are arrested prior to the delegation's arrival to prevent them from contacting the diplomats. The ambassadors cancel several meetings to protest against the arrests and convert one banquet to a "working dinner" on human rights.

An anti-inflation demonstration that escalates into an anti-Chinese riot in the Tibetan capital Lhasa is quelled by the presence of heavy troops and promises of action on prices by the authorities. Rioters reportedly stone downtown shops run by Han Chinese and attack a police station. The four-day melee is the worst since 1988 when Tibetan independence protests brought on a year of martial law.

1993: The State Security Law is passed. It has been used as an instrument in Beijing's campaigns against separatists. Authorities believe it will be used to expose the splittists, including those who act for foreign intelligence services seeking to destabilize China. China publicly states that Tibetans are being manipulated by external forces (Bowers 1994, 418-19).

Religious restrictions are imposed in Tibet including limits on the number of monks and nuns that can be granted admission into the Buddhist order. Further, their activities are curtailed through measures such as a prohibition on monks' entering tea houses, restaurants, and other places where political activists gather (Bowers 1994, 422).

April 1994: The Dalai Lama meets with President Clinton and Vice-President Gore to discuss China's violations of religious and cultural rights in Tibet. While the US asks Beijing to open a dialogue with the Dalai Lama, it does later renew China's MFN status. The US recognizes Tibet as a part of China. However, in the 1994 foreign relations authorization bill, Tibet is described as an "occupied foreign country" (Bowers 1994, 428 cites The New York Times, May 5, 1994).

July 1994: China renews its offer of talks with the Dalai Lama. President Jiang Zemin, addressing a conference on Tibet, says: "Our attitude towards the Dalai Lama is that, provided he gives up the idea of Tibetan independence and stops his attempts to split the country, he is welcome to come back any time" (The Daily Telegraph, 07/28/94). The conditional offer of talks is not a new development, but it is rare for it to be made by the head of state and be given extensive media coverage.

September 1994: The Dalai Lama says his 15-year peaceful struggle against oppression is a failure and he may hold a referendum to ask his people what path should be followed. He states, "My appeal to the international community is please help China come to the negotiating table" (The Daily Yomiuri, 08/20/94). Tibetan exiles and their supporters have always been divided on whether negotiations with the current Chinese regime will even produce a modest degree of autonomy. The Dalai Lama now proposes to survey public opinion inside and outside Tibet on what policy toward China should be adopted. His plan "to take the matter to the people directly and accept their verdict" will likely anger the Chinese government which denies his right to consult Tibetans on any political matters.

October 1994: China unveils plans to lift Tibet out of poverty and isolation with an ambitious 10% growth target and a doubling of average income by the year 2000. Farmers in the Himalayan region earned only 520 Yuan (\$61) last year, half of the average Chinese rural wage. Beijing blames Tibet's impoverished and backward status on the ongoing rumblings for Tibetan independence. The rosy six-year modernization plan fails to address some major Tibetan concerns, particularly the education sector (UPI, 10/06/94).

November 22, 1994: Diplomats who recently visited Tibet indicate that the Chinese government has banned the display of photographs of the Dalai Lama, except for inside temples. The information accords with similar claims by the Dalai Lama's office (Reuters, 11/22/94).

1994-95: Tibetan exiles claim that the traditional Tibetan area has a total of 6 million Tibetans and a permanent Chinese presence of 7.5 million (Bowers 1994, 412).

It is also reported that dissent in Tibet has spread beyond the cities and into rural areas. The dissidents are no longer only religious personnel but also include businesspeople and teachers (Bowers 1994, 416).

February 24, 1995: Officials in Tibet state that in 1994 prosecutors handled 765 cases of anti-Chinese "splittism" and other serious crimes. No further details are provided. Splittism is the term the government uses to refer to the activities of pro-independence Tibetans (Reuters, 02/24/95).

March 1, 1995: China's government publicly acknowledges that ethnic minorities in the country don't have enough to eat or wear and that the gap between the minorities and prosperous Chinese is widening. Fearful of unrest because of poverty, China is embarking on a program to ensure that by the year 2000, all ethnic peoples will be provided with enough food and clothes. Beijing plans to spend more than \$1.6 billion in Tibet (UPI, 03/01/95).

March 20, 1995: China announces a crackdown on religious practices in Tibet. The new regulations limit the number of monks in each temple, allow for the expulsion of lamas from monasteries where they are deemed to be too numerous and provide new rules on the reincarnation of living Buddhas. Further, new temples cannot be built without the approval of the authorities and Communist party cadres are not allowed to display the Dalai Lama's pictures or send their children to overseas schools run by the Dalai Lama's organizations. In 1993, there were 1,643 temples in Tibet, more than the number of villages and towns (Reuters, 03/20/95).

May 14, 1995: The Dalai Lama declares a six-year old boy as the reincarnation of the Panchen Lama, Tibet's second most senior religious leader. The last Panchen Lama died in 1989; he had been the highest Tibetan in the Chinese government. After a Dalai Lama's death, the Panchen Lama is entrusted with determining his reincarnation (Reuters, 05/14/95).

May 17, 1995: China rejects the Dalai Lama's choice of a new Panchen Lama, announcing that this is another attempt to split the country. China contends that for 200 years, central government approval has been necessary to confirm any discovery of a reincarnated lama (Reuters, 05/17/95).

May 30, 1995: Amnesty International reports that at the end of 1994, there were 628 political detainees in Tibet, compared to 400 in 1993. Most of the Tibetans were reportedly arrested for their involvement in small anti-Chinese demonstrations that Amnesty International attributes to renewed restrictions on the worship of Buddhism. In February, China stated that there were 765 cases of splittism and other serious crimes in 1994 (Reuters, 05/30/95).

June 22, 1995: Tibet's government orders an overhaul of monasteries and nunneries for their reported involvement in anti-Chinese protests and it demands strict punishment for what it described as "subversive" monks and nuns. The government states that 87% of those arrested in 1994 were monks and nuns (Reuters, 06/17/95; Reuters, 06/22/95).

July 5, 1995: Chinese police beef up security in Tibet after police defuse a bomb near a monument on June 25. China is preparing to celebrate the 30th anniversary of the founding of

the Chinese-controlled Tibet Autonomous Region (Reuters, 07/5/95).

July 10, 1995: A Chinese newspaper states that Mao Tse-tung secretly paved the way for the Dalai Lama's escape to India in 1959. The newspaper says that Mao ordered troops not to stop the Dalai Lama and his followers, even if they tried to escape the country. Mao's decision was reported to be a tactical move to divide Tibet's traditional upper class rulers (Reuters, 07/10/95).

September 3, 1995: A Chinese memorial plaque in Lhasa is bombed twice by separatist activists prior to the 30th anniversary celebrations of the Tibet Autonomous Region. The bombings occur during August and cause minimal damage (Reuters, 09/03/95).

November 29, 1995: The Chinese government identifies a Tibetan boy as the reincarnation of the Panchen Lama, challenging the Dalai Lama's earlier choice of a six-year old boy (Reuters, 11/29/95).

December 1995: Reports indicate that some 27 people are arrested between November 27 and December 11 while protesting China's selection of a Panchen Lama (US State Department's 1996 Report on China's Human Rights Practices, 03/96).

January 14, 1996: Beijing issues orders for all religious places of worship to register with the government. The order marks another crackdown on religion after an upsurge in religious activities in recent years (Reuters, 01/14/96).

January 19, 1996: Amnesty International asserts that a six-year old boy, the Dalai Lama's choice as the next Panchen Lama, and his family have been missing for eight months. The organization suspects that the family is in custody and calls upon China to lift any restrictions upon the family. The Chinese government will only say that the boy, Gedhun Choekyi Nyima, is safe in Tibet. The choice of a Panchen Lama sparked a major controversy last year as in November the government appointed its own choice as the official reincarnation (Reuters, 01/19/96).

February 23, 1996: China blames the Dalai Lama for unrest in Tibet in recent years and it vows to close "politically problematic lamaseries" and jail separatist monks and nuns. Tibet's Committee of Nationalities and Religious Affairs demands greater management of lamaseries and for having monks, nuns, and Buddhists undergo education on patriotism and socialism (Reuters, 02/23/96).

February 25, 1996: A 1995 survey reveals that 40% of Tibetans are illiterate or semi-literate. More than 69% of the population does not have any formal schooling. Government figures state that Tibet's population is 2.4 million, excluding those who reside there temporarily, such as Chinese troops. Tibetans form 96.7% of the population while the number of Han Chinese is 79,000 (Reuters, 02/25/96).

March 1, 1996: A new law which would allow the government to impose martial law more easily has been signed by Chinese President Jiang Zemin. Martial law has been imposed in China twice in recent years to control civil unrest - in March 1989 in Tibet and in May 1989 in Beijing (Reuters, 03/01/96).

March 10, 1996: Thousands of people protest in the streets of Brussels to mark the 37th anniversary of Tibet's revolt against China's invasion of the territory. The demonstrators include the EU's Humanitarian Aid Commissioner Emma Bonino and members of the European Parliament (Reuters, 03/10/96).

March 20, 1996: China accuses the Dalai Lama of exploiting the issue of the Panchen Lama's reincarnation in order to "split the motherland". The government has already detained the head of the search committee along with other clerics for informing the Dalai Lama about the boy he subsequently chose as the Panchen Lama (Reuters, 03/20/96).

March 26, 1996: An 80-page report, titled "Cutting Off the Serpent's Head" asserts that popular discontent is increasing in Tibet despite the tightening of internal security in the area. The report, compiled by Human Rights Watch Asia and the London-based Tibet Information Network, says that as of January there were 610 Tibetan political prisoners. Widespread torture and longer sentences for political offenses are also reported. The report contends that repression increased in Tibet following the easing of international pressure on China in 1994 (Reuters, 03/26/96).

April 2, 1996: A draft resolution censuring China for its human rights record will be presented to the UN Human Rights Commission later this month. The resolution is being co-sponsored by the US and the European Union. If it is adopted, it will be the first condemnation of China's rights record by a UN body. During the past five years, China has defeated similar resolutions through procedural motions (Reuters, 04/02/96).

April 5, 1996: The Tibet Daily issues an edict that orders all temples in Tibet to stop displaying pictures of the Dalai Lama. The action follows last year's restrictions on the public display of the Dalai Lama's pictures. Pictures of the religious leader were allowed to be displayed since 1979 as part of a relaxation on religious freedom (Reuters, 05/18/96).

April 9, 1996: Over 200 French parliamentarians call on Beijing to withdraw from Tibet. The demand coincides with Chinese Premier Li Peng's arrival in Paris. The MPs argue that the UN Decolonization Committee's mandate should be extended to Tibet, population transfers to Tibet be halted, and that exiled Tibetan authorities should be given observer status at the UN (Reuters, 04/09/96).

April 16, 1996: China denies a recent report by the International Campaign for Tibet that outlines human rights abuses in the region. The report by the private advocacy group asserts that monks and nuns detained for pro-independence activities are subject to torture and that religious

activities are being suppressed. China says that Western concerns over human rights constitute interference in its internal affairs (Reuters, 04/16/96).

April 23, 1996: For the sixth straight year, the Chinese government utilizes a procedural motion at the UN Human Rights Commission to prevent the passage of a resolution that criticizes its human rights record. The resolution was co-sponsored by the US and the European Union; however, human right activists contend that the co-sponsors were not sufficiently committed to ensuring passage of the resolution (Reuters, 04/23/96).

May 6, 1996: The UN Committee on Torture urges China to introduce a law banning the use of torture and to also halt public executions. The Committee monitors the compliance of signatories to the 1987 Convention against Torture and Other Cruel and Degrading Treatment (Reuters, 05/06/96).

May 13, 1996: The Dalai Lama asks the world community to press China to halt human rights abuses and to enter negotiations on Tibetan autonomy. The Dalai Lama says his primary concern is that the Tibetan culture is disappearing and thus he is not seeking full independence. He asserts that he is still committed to negotiations with China as outlined in his 1988 Strasbourg peace plan (Reuters, 05/13/96).

May 18, 1996: One of Tibet's largest monasteries is sealed off following anti-Chinese protests by monks. Reports indicate that at least forty people are arrested and several others injured at the Ganden monastery. The protests arose when government teams entered the monastery to enforce orders put forth on April 5 that required all temples to stop displaying the Dalai Lama's pictures. Two other monasteries have also been closed to stop the unrest from spreading. The main temple, the Jokhang in Lhasa, holds a one-day closure as a show of sympathy (Reuters, 05/18/96).

May 19, 1996: Chinese authorities launch a crackdown against separatist terrorists in Tibet and Xinjiang. The campaign, titled "Strike Hard", follows several reports of isolated bombings in and around Lhasa and the closure of most of the city's monasteries (Reuters, 05/19/96).

May 20, 1996: A ban on the display of pictures of the Dalai Lama is widened to include schools and private homes in Tibet. Home-by-home searches have been launched to check for possession of the pictures (Reuters, 05/20/96).

May 21, 1996: The Dalai Lama says that the United Nations should help establish a dialogue with China over Tibetan autonomy. He also states that peaceful means are the only way to obtain the goal and that the large majority of Tibetans support his non-violent position (Reuters, 05/21/96).

May 22, 1996: A new international radio station, the Voice of Tibet, goes on the air broadcasting directly to Tibet, India, and Nepal. About 60-80% of Tibetans in these areas are

reported to have access to a radio. The radio station was established by Norwegian Tibetan organizations along with Worldview International, an international organization that utilizes radio and television to further human rights and free expression. So far, the VOT's signal has not been jammed by Chinese authorities (Reuters, 05/22/96).

May 23, 1996: China hails the 45th anniversary of its 17 point agreement with Tibet which brought the territory under Chinese control. Meanwhile, the Dalai Lama calls for Tibet to become a demilitarized zone. He also asserts that progress can only be made through a dialogue with China. The anniversary comes amidst renewed unrest including the recent closure of the Ganden monastery where over 700 monks have fled. Officials indicate that other monasteries around Lhasa have now reopened (Reuters, 05/23/96).

May 24, 1996: The monk who discovered the six year-old boy who was subsequently hailed by the Dalai Lama as the 11th Panchen Lama has been removed from his official duties. Chadrel Rinpoche has been in detention since last May after Beijing appointed its own reincarnation of the Panchen Lama. Human rights groups maintain that the Dalai Lama's chosen successor and his family are under arrest. Meanwhile, Tibetan authorities issue a deadline of June 30 for separatists to surrender in order to receive lenient treatment (Reuters, 05/24/96).

May 27, 1996: China says that bomb attacks in Tibet rose by 100% from 1994 to 1995. In the same period, murders reportedly increased by 20%, robberies by 27%, rapes by 36%, and crimes involving guns by 54%. Officials state that so far this year 250 criminal cases had been dealt with, up 10% from 1994 (Reuters, 05/27/96).

May 28, 1996: Norway says that it will not increase pressure on China on behalf of the Dalai Lama, despite its recent success in mediating between parties in the Middle East. The comments are made during the Dalai Lama's visit which is part of his tour of European capitals (Reuters, 05/28/96).

May 31, 1996: A Chinese court sentences six Tibetans to up to five years in jail for demanding independence. The London-based Tibet Information Network (TIN) says that the prison sentences are the first admission of a political trial in Tibet in almost two years (Reuters, 05/31/96).

June 1, 1996: A new birth control policy is enacted in Tibet. Tibetans in cities will now be allowed to have no more than two children while those in rural areas are limited to three offspring. Han Chinese in the region are restricted to one child. The policy aims at reducing the population growth rate to 1.6% by the year 2000. In 1990, the rate was reported to be 1.84%, but fell to 1.61% in 1995 (Reuters, 06/01/96).

June 2, 1996: China's choice of a new Panchen Lama is officially initiated into monkhood today while the government launches another verbal attack against the Dalai Lama. Beijing states that the battle against him and his followers is one of "you die, I live" with no room left for

compromise (Reuters, 06/02/96).

June 5, 1996: A new government-in-exile is sworn in at Dharamsala following elections last month to its 46 member Parliament. Elections are held every five years and some 130,000 Tibetans across the world voted (excluding those in Tibet) (Reuters, 06/05/96).

June 6, 1996: In what is reported as an attempt to appease China, the German government withdraws a \$190,000 grant to a non-governmental organization planning to hold a conference on Tibet. The Dalai Lama is expected to be in attendance (Reuters, 06/06/96).

June 10, 1996: The Tibet Daily says that since Operation Strike Hard was launched in late April, over 187 people have been arrested in Tibet. Further, 34 guns, 3724 rounds of ammunition and 164 kg of explosives were confiscated (Reuters, 06/10/96).

June 13, 1996: Officials express pleasure at the success of re-education efforts at the Ganden monastery which was closed following armed clashes on May 6. They however deny allegations by the Tibet Information Network (TIN) that one monk had died in the incident. The clashes broke out after a government work team entered Ganden to remove pictures of the Dalai Lama. The government says all 63 monks in detention have been released while the TIN asserts that at least 40 remain in custody. Meanwhile, China orders a German non-governmental organization to halt all of its activities in China. The order is issued one day before the organization opens a conference on Tibet in Germany (Reuters, 06/13/96).

June 15, 1996: Tibet's Ninth Five Year Plan lists the elimination of the Dalai Lama's influence as a major priority. The plan also supports the use of all propaganda tools to counter the efforts of the "Dalai clique" to split China (Reuters, 06/15/96).

June 20, 1996: Germany's Parliament adopts a resolution condemning China's human rights abuses which it believes are intended to eradicate Tibet's cultural identity. Abuses identified include forced sterilizations and abortions, and political, religious and cultural persecution. The resolution calls upon China to begin negotiations with the Tibetan government-in-exile. China harshly criticizes the action as interference in its internal affairs (Reuters, 06/20/96).

June 23, 1996: China cancels an upcoming visit by German Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel to protest a recent resolution passed by the German Parliament criticizing China's actions in Tibet. A western diplomat says that not only is China's response almost unprecedented but so also is a country's decision to adopt this type of a parliamentary resolution (Reuters, 06/23/96, 06/24/96).

June 24, 1996: Germany freezes a number of official contacts with China as the diplomatic row over China's human rights practices escalates. However, Germany says that it wants to reduce tensions between the two states. Germany is China's largest European trading partner, with bilateral trade worth some \$17.6 billion (Reuters, 06/24/96).

June 25, 1996: China denounces the Dalai Lama as a "puppet of international forces opposed to Beijing" and points to US and Taiwanese support for the Tibetans during the 1960s. Beijing also states its willingness to open talks if the Dalai Lama rejects his demands for independence (Reuters, 06/25/96).

July 9, 1996: The Voice of Tibet, which began broadcasting in May, reports that it is being repeatedly jammed by the Chinese government. The service is produced in Norway by the Worldview International Foundation (Reuters, 07/09/96).

July 16, 1996: On a visit to Great Britain, the Dalai Lama calls for international pressure on China to improve human rights and to begin negotiations over Tibet. As it usually does when the Dalai Lama visits foreign countries, China strongly objects to his visit, warning that it could adversely affect inter-state relations (Reuters, 07/16/96).

July 21, 1996: The Dalai Lama states that while he is still optimistic, he feels that time is running out for negotiations on the status of Tibet. He again asks the international community to urge China to open talks and to lift strict visa restrictions on Tibet (Reuters, 07/21/96).

July 27, 1996: Amnesty International says that a monk who has been serving one of the longest sentences among political dissidents in Tibet has died in custody. No official confirmation is available. The monk was renowned for translating the Universal Declaration of Human Rights into Tibetan and for leading street protests in 1989 that led to the imposition of martial law. He is reported to be the second monk to die in custody in the past two months (Reuters, 07/27/96).

July 28, 1996: On a visit to the United States, the Dalai Lama states that a major reason why China continues to refuse negotiations is the international community's silence about "the original falsehood that Tibet has always been a part of China". He also urges the world's states to help halt the massive transfer of Chinese to the region (Reuters, 07/28/96).

July 31, 1996: A survey of corporate executives in 10 Asian countries reveals that most businesspeople do not favor their countries having formal ties with the Dalai Lama. The Far Eastern Economic Review and Asia Business News survey also states that the exception is Japan, where 52.6% support such links. However, over 70% of respondents do not believe that their governments should avoid contact with the Dalai Lama in order to ensure business and political ties (Reuters, 07/31/96).

August 5, 1996: China strongly rejects claims by Human Rights Watch/Asia that there have been new crackdowns on monasteries in Tibet. The human rights organization was referring to a May incident in which the Ganden monastery was closed when monks refused to remove pictures of the Dalai Lama. It claims that three monks were shot and over 70 arrested during this crackdown. Meanwhile, 10 travel offices in Lhasa are closed down. Officials indicate poor service led to the closures while human rights groups argue that it is another measure to limit foreigners (Reuters, 08/05/96).

August 12, 1996: The Chairman of Tibet's People's Congress dismisses charges that the emigration of Han Chinese is diluting the Tibetan population. Raidi says that Tibet's population increased to 2.4 million in 1995, almost 200,000 more than in 1990. The percentage of Han Chinese reportedly declined from 3.7 to 3.3% from 1990-95 (Reuters, 08/12/96).

August 16, 1996: China denies that the seven year-old boy chosen by the Dalai Lama as the incarnation of the Panchen Lama is in detention. Shortly before his death in 1989, the 10th Panchen Lama asserted that he and the Dalai Lama should approve of each other's reincarnations (Reuters, 08/16/96).

Meanwhile, a political re-education campaign launched a month ago in Tibetan monasteries is being described an effort to purge dissident monks. The Tibet Information Network says that monks are being required to either write a pledge of allegiance to China that denigrates the Dalai Lama or face expulsion from monasteries. It also indicates that many monks have fled to India rather than sign the pledge (Ibid.).

August 17, 1996: A special border unit of the People's Armed Police is formed to guard Tibet's borders against what the government says are separatist activities (Reuters, 08/30/96).

August 24, 1996: On an official visit to Tibet, Nepal's King Birendra asserts that he will not allow his country to be used as a platform for Tibetan independence. Since last year, Nepal has cracked down on Tibetan activists. China provided Nepal with a \$8.5 million grant for infrastructure development last year (Reuters, 08/24/96).

August 30, 1996: Human rights activists accuse the Philippines government of bowing to political pressure from China in refusing visas to two Tibetans in order to attend an Amnesty International conference in Manila. The conference will examine human rights abuses in China and seek to debunk the notion of "Asian values", which Amnesty asserts is often utilized by Asian governments to justify repression (Reuters, 08/30/96).

September 3, 1996: The Oslo-based Voice of Tibet (VOT) says the Chinese government continues to violate international laws by jamming its broadcasts to Tibet and other parts of Asia. In July, VOT changed frequencies to avoid jamming, but the broadcasts were again jammed on August 30 (Reuters, 09/03/96).

September 10, 1996: Larger subsidies will be provided to Chinese soldiers posted in Tibet in order to reward them for undertaking what the government considers is a hardship posting (Reuters, 09/10/96).

September 11, 1996: Speaking in New Zealand, the Dalai Lama argues that if something is not done within 10 years, it might be too late for Tibet. He states that two-thirds of the Tibetan population is now comprised of Han Chinese and this influx is not subsiding (Reuters, 09/11/96).

September 15, 1996: A major religious reorganization is underway in Tibet in what the Chinese describe as an effort to overthrow "splittist" strongholds. The three major monasteries -- Sera, Drepung, and Ganden -- are chosen as test cases. The campaign will seek to create order and boost patriotic education and will subsequently be extended to Tibet's remaining monasteries (Reuters, 09/15/96).

September 18, 1996: The 96th conference of the Inter-Parliamentary Union, being held in Beijing, openly discusses the issue of human rights abuses in China. More than 600 members of parliament from 120 countries are addressed by Norwegian and Austrian delegates who call upon China to protect human rights. This is the first time since the UN Conference on Women that foreigners in China are allowed to openly discuss human rights (Reuters, 09/18/96).

September 24, 1996: China is determined to eliminate poverty in Tibet by the year 2000. Of Tibet's official reported population of 2.3 million, some 400,000 live in abject poverty; many of these are nomads residing in isolated mountainous areas. In 1995, average urban incomes were \$133 and rural incomes increased to \$106 from \$66 from 1994 to 1995. These are still about half the national average. Tibet's rising wages are partly attributed to government subsidies and to sister relationships established with Chinese cities. Over \$361 million is reported to have been invested by sister cities in 43 infrastructure projects. Authorities assert that Tibet's ability to develop itself is very low given its remote location and previous feudal serf system (Reuters, 09/24/96).

September 25, 1996: Beijing re-issues an invitation to Germany's Foreign Minister to visit the country. This thaw in Sino-German relations is welcomed by German businesses (Reuters, 09/25/96).

October 1, 1996: A major restoration of the Potola Palace, the Dalai Lama's traditional winter residence, is underway. Around \$4.2 million is being spent in what is being viewed as an effort to placate Tibet's religious community (Reuters, 10/01/96).

October 2, 1996: The chairman of Tibet's People's Congress, Raidi, praises China's armed forces for defending the region against the Dalai Lama and his "separatist clique" (Reuters, 10/02/96).

October 3, 1996: China plans to establish primary schools in every town and middle schools in every county in Tibet by the year 2000. The proposal seeks to correct widespread illiteracy. More than 69% of Tibetans have no formal schooling and around 40% are illiterate or semi-literate (Reuters, 10/03/96).

October 5, 1996: A 1962 report by the Panchen Lama reveals that Beijing engaged in a official policy of famine and persecution in Tibet in the late 1950s and early 1960s. While the report has been kept secret by China, its existence has been known for some time. A copy of the report was

recently obtained by the Tibet Information Network. The report asserts that the 1959 crackdown resulted in the deaths of over 10,000 people in each area of Tibet and that Chinese policies could lead to the elimination of the Tibetan people. After the Panchen Lama presented the report to Premier Zhou Enlai, he spent 14 of the next 15 years in detention or virtual house arrest in Beijing. The Panchen Lama died in 1989 (Reuters, 10/05/96).

October 6, 1996: In an effort to promote foreign investment in Tibet, China is offering unparalleled incentives. Officials report that 61 join ventures were established between 1988 and 1995 and that these new policies have already led to 14 new projects this year. Most investors are drawn by Tibet's tax holidays and scenic beauty. In 1995, tourism brought in \$22 million; the Chinese hope to increase tourism revenues by 8-10% a year. Special permits through a tour group are now required to visit Tibet and the costs of a vacation are higher than elsewhere in China (Reuters, 10/06/96).

October 10, 1996: The Tibetan government-in-exile condemns the arrest of Chinese dissident Liu Xiaobo and appeals to the international community to press for his release. Liu has been ordered to spend three years in a labor camp. He has openly called for press freedoms and talks with the Dalai Lama along with demanding that Communist Party leader Jiang Zemin be indicted and impeached for asserting that the People's Liberation Army is under the "absolute control" of the party and not the state (Reuters, 10/10/96).

October 22, 1996: A Tibetan-born Fulbright scholar has been detained by Chinese authorities on charges of spying for the Tibetan government-in-exile. Ngawang Choephel was last seen in Tibet in September, 1995, where he was collecting information on Tibetan folk songs. In a letter to the US Congress, Beijing claims that he was engaged in spying and illegal separatist activities. The United States asks for his immediate release (Reuters, 10/22/96, 10/23/96).

October 23, 1996: During a meeting with members of the European Parliament, the Dalai Lama rejects the use of economic sanctions against China to protest its rule over Tibet. While indicating that China must join the world economy, he calls upon international public opinion to press China to promote democratic and human rights.

He also asserts that while "[I]ndependence is our legitimate right, historical right", greater benefits can be obtained by joining with a larger country. His comments also stress that he is only seeking autonomy for Tibet. As it regularly does, China lodges a protest with the European Parliament over the Dalai Lama's visit (Reuters, 10/23/96).

October 30, 1996: 329 French Parliamentarians sign an appeal calling for support for the peaceful struggle of the Tibetan people. The petition is presented to the Dalai Lama during his visit to France. Neither French President Jacques Chirac or Prime Minister Alain Juppe are scheduled to meet with the Dalai Lama (Reuters, 10/03/96).

October 31, 1996: The newly established Radio Free Asia, the Asian counterpart to Radio Free Europe, will begin broadcasting uncensored news to Tibet next month. The US organization

began Chinese language broadcasts last month. So far, Beijing has not attempted to jam its broadcasts (Reuters, 10/31/96).

November 11, 1996: A Tibetan monk who was on parole after three decades in detention is now under house arrest. Yulo Dawa Tsering met with members of the European Parliament last week. He was first arrested in 1959 (Reuters, 11/11/96).

November 13, 1996: China vows that socialism must take precedence over religion in Tibet. Officials state that monks outnumber students in the region and that more funds are spent on monasteries than on Communist Party buildings. They report that in early 1996 there were 1,787 monasteries with 46,000 monks and nuns. Many monasteries have been closed in recent years in an effort to curb the Dalai Lama's influence (Reuters, 11/13/96).

November 14, 1996: Monks who are considered reactionary will be defrocked in a new crackdown in Tibet that could last up to five years. In an effort to root out supporters of the Dalai Lama, ideological education will be conducted in monasteries and work teams stationed to implement study sessions that promote patriotism. For several months, work teams have been posted in monasteries (Reuters, 11/14/96).

November 16, 1996: Beijing says that textbooks and publications in Tibet should stress the historical link between the Himalayan region and China. The move is viewed as necessary to promote atheism and reduce the influence of the Dalai Lama (Reuters, 11/16/96).

November 18, 1996: The Tibet Information Network says that a 19 year-old nun is facing 18 years in jail for refusing to recognize Beijing's choice of the Panchen Lama. She would be the first female political prisoner in Tibet facing such a long prison sentence. China denies that there are any political prisoners in Tibet. Meanwhile, reports indicate that Beijing's chosen Panchen Lama is under state protection in the capital in order to prevent against any assassination attempts (Reuters, 11/18/96).

November 21, 1996: Tibet's Communist Party Chief says that patriotic education is required to fight religious thinking and separatist ideas that have penetrated local schools. Chen Kuiyuan also asserts that religious thinking has spread among local government officials (Reuters, 11/21/96).

November 27, 1996: Beijing's choice of the Panchen Lama celebrates the first anniversary of his enthronement, a week earlier than the actual date of November 29. Tibetans view the Chinese choice as a "pretender" (Reuters, 11/27/96).

November 28, 1996: More than 600 Tibetans demonstrate in New Delhi and set fire to an effigy of Chinese President Jiang Zemin, hours before his arrival in the Indian capital. At a Tibetan refugee camp in old Delhi, others burn a Chinese flag after they are not allowed to march to the Chinese embassy. Around 4000 Tibetans live in New Delhi; they vow to continue protests

during the first visit ever by a Chinese Head of State (Reuters, 11/28/96).

Meanwhile, in Dharamsala, while monks and nuns stage a demonstration, the Dalai Lama urges Zemin to halt the cultural genocide in Tibet (Ibid.).

November 29, 1996: Tibetans praise Walt Disney's decision to continue backing "Kundan", a Martin Scorsesse film about the Dalai Lama's life. Last week, China warned that Disney's plans to expand into China could be hurt by its assistance (Reuters, 11/29/96).

November 30, 1996: About 50 Tibetans are arrested as they demonstrate in front of the Chinese embassy in New Delhi; they are released four hours later. Meanwhile, an open letter reportedly written with the blood of Tibetans demands Chinese President Zemin quit Tibet. Zemin is on a state visit to India (Reuters, 11/30/96).

At least two Tibetans were injured when Nepali forces fired upon a group of 32 Tibetans that crossed into Nepal on November 18. Nepal asserts that the forces fired in self-defense (Ibid.).

December 2, 1996: US-funded Radio Free Asia begins to beam daily Tibetan-language broadcasts to the region (Reuters, 12/02/96).

December 7, 1996: Officials report that more than 1.2 million people voted in recent elections for Tibet's local lawmaking bodies; no date was given for when the elections occurred. Among those elected, 99% are reportedly Tibetan or of other ethnic minorities while 20% are women (Reuters, 12/07/96).

December 20, 1996: A number of top Hollywood stars are among 50 people blacklisted from visiting Tibet. They include: actors Brad Pitt and Harrison Ford, screenwriter Melissa Mathison Ford, and directors Martin Scorsesse and Jean-Jacques Annaud, all of whom are involved in two separate movie projects about the Dalai Lama (Reuters, 12/20/96).

December 27, 1996: The United States expresses concern about the recent 18-year sentence imposed upon a Tibetan-born Fulbright scholar. Ngawang Choephel was detained in Tibet in September, 1995 and charged with espionage. He was making a documentary on Tibetan folk traditions (Reuters, 12/27/96).

December 29, 1996: Analysts indicate that another crackdown appears imminent in Tibet following an early morning bomb blast in Lhasa on December 25. The bomb exploded outside of the main city government office, causing widespread damage. Officials state that there were no injuries; however, the Tibet Information Network contends that five people were hurt. Police set up house-to-house searches and offered a large reward to capture the responsible elements, who are viewed as part of the Dalai "clique" (Reuters, 12/29/96).

December 30, 1996: The Tibetan government-in-exile asserts that the December 25 bombing in Lhasa could have been the work of China, as it seeks an excuse to increase repression. It denies

any involvement in the blast. The Dalai Lama has previously stated that he will abdicate his leadership of the Tibetan people if the freedom struggle turns violent. Robbie Barnett of the Tibet Information Network says that there are some Tibetans who believe nonviolence is not working, especially as Beijing continues its repression in Tibet (Reuters, 12/30/96).

January 6, 1997: Security has been tightened across Tibet following a Christmas day bombing in the capital city. Meanwhile, Beijing accuses the United States of using the Dalai Lama to westernize and break up China. A Chinese analyst says that rarely has a single country been singled out in these attacks. Sino-US relations have been strained in recent years due to human rights and trade disputes and US relations with Taiwan (Reuters, 01/06/97; 01/07/97).

January 20, 1997: The Dalai Lama asserts that his proposed visit to Taiwan in March proves that he is no longer seeking Tibet's independence. His visit is being described by his Taiwanese sponsors as a private religious affair. Like the mainland, Taiwan regards Tibet as a part of China. China issued a restrained warning to Taiwan about the Dalai Lama's splittist activities (Reuters, 01/20/97).

January 26, 1997: Tibetan exiles in Nepal contend that the CIA trained around 400 Tibetans at an army base in Colorado during the late 1950s. Tibetans were also sent to Okinawa and Guam for training in a campaign reportedly coordinated by the Dalai Lama's elder brother. The exiles engaged Chinese forces in a costly campaign until their military defeat. US involvement reportedly ended in 1968 (Reuters, 01/26/97).

January 27, 1997: China says three main tasks must be accomplished this year to crack down on separatist elements. These are the uncovering of the Dalai Lama as a "fake", and further crackdowns on potential supporters among government officials and the Tibetan religious community (Reuters, 01/27/97).

February 6, 1997: Three supporters of the Dalai Lama are murdered in Dharamsala. Police have six suspects in custody, but no motive has yet been established (Reuters, 02/06/97).

China attacks a number of recent articles in The Philadelphia Inquirer as ludicrous. The articles contend the use of rape, torture, and murder against Tibetan monks and nuns and the general community. The New York Times also came under criticism for its editorials calling upon President Clinton to get tough with China (Ibid.).

February 20, 1997: The Tibetan government-in-exile accuses Deng Xiaoping of decades of repression and voices hope that his successor will solve the region's problems. While supporting his economic reforms, the Dalai Lama expresses regret that Deng was unable to resolve the Tibet issue before his recent death (Reuters, 02/20/97).

February 28, 1997: Beijing says that the Dalai Lama's upcoming visit to Taiwan reveals that he is "ganging up" with the Taiwanese to destroy China's territorial integrity. China has been

critical of Taiwanese President Lee and other officials, asserting that they are seeking independence for the small island state (Reuters, 02/28/97).

March 9, 1997: On the 38th anniversary of the Tibetan uprising, the Dalai Lama warns that isolated violence in the region could spread. He also criticizes recent Chinese policies that have led to the closure of experimental Tibetan language middle schools and mandated the use of the Chinese language to teach Tibetan history at the Tibet University in Lhasa (Reuters, 03/09/97).

March 10, 1997: Hundreds of demonstrators gather for rallies at the United Nations in Geneva and New York to mark Tibetan Uprising Day. In New York, Nobel laureate Jose Ramos-Horta urges the crowd to keep the campaign for Tibetan autonomy alive. Ramos-Horta and Bishop Carlos Belo were awarded the 1996 Nobel Peace Prize for their efforts in East Timor, which was occupied by Indonesia in 1975. Sixteen people are later arrested for disorderly conduct at the Chinese mission in New York (Reuters, 03/10/97; 03/13/97).

March 13, 1997: The European Parliament passes a resolution accused China of continuing human rights abuses in Tibet and urges the leadership to open talks with the Dalai Lama. The EU's executive has repeatedly raised these issues with the Chinese government (Reuters, 03/13/97).

March 22, 1997: The Dalai Lama arrives in Taiwan for a six-day visit amid protests by both pro-independence and pro-unification Taiwanese. Meanwhile, 55% of 923 residents polled support a meeting between Tibet's spiritual leader and President Lee Teng-hui. Only 11% feared repercussions from China (Reuters, 03/23/97).

March 24, 1997: Taiwan's stock market plunges amid reports of renewed Chinese war games off Taiwan. However, an official of China's southern Fujian government states that no exercises are planned (Reuters, 03/24/97).

March 26, 1997: Taiwanese President Lee meets with the Dalai Lama in a move expected to anger China. No reports are available on the substance of their talks. Protests between pro-independence and pro-unification Taiwanese occur outside the meeting site. Meanwhile, the Dalai Lama says that as Taiwan is so wealthy, he is breaking with tradition to accept US \$500,000 in donations. The money will be given to the government-in-exile. Normally, the Dalai Lama does not accept money for his lectures (Reuters, 03/26/97; 03/27/97).

March 27, 1997: Concluding his visit to Taiwan, the Dalai Lama urges both Taiwanese residents and his followers to seek a compromise with China. He strongly alludes to his opposition to Taiwanese independence, but does affirm that people have the right to choose their own fate. The Dalai Lama expresses his support for the "one country, two systems" autonomy formula for Tibet; this is being applied in Hong Kong and Beijing hopes it will be extended to Taiwan despite Taiwanese opposition. Revealing criticism of his strategy, the Dalai Lama also says that even his elder brother believes that this is "actually selling Tibet's legitimate rights"

(Reuters, 03/27/97).

April 2, 1997: A proposal to eliminate the Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs Commission is rejected by Taiwanese President Lee. The commission was established in the 1950s to boost support for Taipei's claims over the two territories. The opposition Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) put forward the proposal following the Dalai Lama's recent visit. The DPP believes that abandoning the commission would signify the relinquishment of Taipei's claims to be the rightful government of all of China (Reuters, 04/02/97).

April 8, 1997: A representative of the European Community, in a speech to the UN Human Rights Commission, calls upon China to cease all activities that threaten the distinct cultural, ethnic, and religious identity of the Tibetans (Reuters, 04/08/97).

April 10, 1997: The US and Denmark formally table a joint resolution at the UN Human Rights Commission against China's human rights practices. 15 other states co-sponsor the resolution (Reuters, 04/10/97).

April 11, 1997: China warns the US and Denmark that their bilateral relations will likely suffer due to their joint tabling of a resolution criticizing Beijing's human rights practices at the UN Human Rights Commission (Reuters, 04/11/97).

April 15, 1997: Beijing cancels two of a number of upcoming visits by Danish officials to express its displeasure against Denmark's co-sponsoring of a resolution against its human rights policies at the UN Human Rights Commission (Reuters, 04/15/97).

China states that the channel for talks with the Dalai Lama remains open. But it also accuses the Tibetan leader of not renouncing independence (Ibid.).

April 23, 1997: US President Clinton meets with the Dalai Lama at the White House. Clinton dropped in on a meeting between Vice-President Gore and the Dalai Lama. The US leader says he will urge China to open a direct dialogue with the Tibetans. The Dalai Lama again reiterates that he is only seeking self-rule and not independence. As is usually the case, China warns the US against allowing the Dalai Lama's visit (Reuters, 04/23/97).

April 24, 1997: China protests a meeting between the Dalai Lama and the US Secretary of State Madeleine Albright. This is the first meeting between the Secretary, a group of her officials and the Tibetan leader. The Dalai Lama and Albright agree on the importance of strong relations between the United States and China (Reuters, 04/24/97).

May 7, 1997: A monk in Tibet is sentenced to six years in prison for colluding with the Dalai Lama in the search for the reincarnation of the Panchen Lama, the second holiest leader in the tiny kingdom. The monk was convicted of separatist activities and leaking state secrets (Reuters, 05/07/97).

May 8, 1997: The United States and the US-based NGO, the International Campaign for Tibet, criticize the jail sentence handed down to a monk who reportedly aided the Dalai Lama in his selection of the reincarnation of the Panchen Lama (Reuters, 05/08/97).

June 4, 1997: On the 8th anniversary of the Tianamen Square incident, the Dalai Lama urges Beijing to end the suffering of the Chinese people. He again states that he is only seeking autonomy (Reuters, 06/04/97).

June 12, 1997: Chinese officials state that over the past year, 98 Tibetans were jailed for endangering the country's national security (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 06/12/97).

June 13, 1997: Hundreds of Tibetans march in northern India to protest the recent execution of 10 monks in Lhasa (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 06/13/97).

June 28, 1997: The Dalai Lama welcomes Britain's handing over of Hong Kong to China, hoping that this will have an impact on Beijing's attitude toward Tibet (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 06/28/97).

June 29, 1997: A Hong Kong newspaper quotes the Dalai Lama as predicting that the PRC "will violate human rights and trample democracy" once it regains control of the island (UPI, 06/29/97).

July 1, 1997: Britain formally hands over control of Hong Kong to China.

July 18, 1997: The new Hong Kong government orders police to ban any demonstrations advocating the independence of Taiwan or Tibet or agitating people to oppose Beijing (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 07/18/97).

August 5, 1997: China blasts the US over its plans to appoint a special coordinator for Tibetan affairs, asserting that it is unwarranted interference in its internal affairs. The coordinator will help promote a dialogue between the Dalai Lama and Beijing along with seeking to protect the "unique religious, cultural, and linguistic heritage of Tibet" and promoting human rights. US Secretary of State Albright says that this is not de facto diplomatic recognition of the Dalai Lama's government-in-exile (Agence France Presse, 08/05/97).

August 14, 1997: China plans to air a 90-minute documentary on the life of the Dalai Lama which it says will show the truth about his departure from Tibet (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 08/14/97).

August 17, 1997: Benjamin Gilman, chair of the US Congressional Committee on International Relations, says that Washington will urge "strong action" against China if human rights violations continue in Tibet. He also urged the PRC to open talks with the Dalai Lama (Agence

France Presse, 08/17/97).

August 20, 1997: China demands that the United States ceases beaming Mandarin language broadcasts by Radio Free Asia into its territories. Radio Free Asia says that China has been jamming transmissions to Beijing and Tibet (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 08/20/97).

August 25, 1997: Senior communist officials in Tibet and Xinjiang criticize cadres for being lukewarm towards the fight against separatism (Agence France Presse, 08/25/97).

An unofficial fact-finding mission, consisting of three European members, warns that unless China opens talks with the Dalai Lama, the alternative could be violence. It refers to Tibet as probably the last remaining colony in the world and urges countries such as Norway to host peace talks. The mission also backs the Dalai Lama's proposal to hold a referendum in Tibetan areas under international auspices to determine the region's future status. It also asks China to limit Chinese immigration to Tibet (Ibid.).

August 26, 1997: China slams the report of the unofficial fact-finding mission (see above) (Agence France Presse, 08/26/97).

August 30, 1997: The head of Tibet's prison system admits that political inmates form 9% of the region's total prison population (Agence France Presse, 08/30/97).

September 2, 1997: A German parliamentary fact-finding mission will travel to Lhasa (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 09/02/97).

September 3, 1997: Around 400 Tibetans march in New Delhi to urge the release of a 71-year old Tibetan man who was jailed in 1983 for protesting against Chinese rule (Agence France Presse, 09/03/97).

September 10, 1997: A Chinese human rights organization says that the monk recently jailed for six years for contacting the Dalai Lama about his chosen reincarnation of the Panchen Lama is on a hunger strike and might be dead. The monk was the head of the official Panchen Lama search committee (Agence France Presse, 09/10/97).

September 11, 1997: 132 prisoners, including political inmates, have had their sentences reduced or been given parole in Tibet (Agence France Presse, 09/11/97).

September 17, 1997: China defends its hard-line toward separatism in Tibet and Xinjiang. It says its re-education campaign has covered some 30,000 out of 46,000 nuns and monks (Agence France Presse, 09/17/97).

October 9, 1997: The London-based Tibet Information Network says that individual US nationals were ordered to leave Tibet by September 30. The move reportedly follows August's

secret visit by US Congressman Frank Wolf to the region. Wolf entered the area as a tourist (Agence France Presse, 10/09/97).

October 16, 1997: In a white paper, Beijing asserts that its citizens enjoy the right to freedom of worship. However, it claims that some “pernicious” groups hide behind this cloak (Agence France Presse, 10/16/97).

October 19, 1997: Two recent movies about Tibet, “Kundan” and “Seven Years in Tibet”, along with “Red Corner”, a movie that is critical of China’s judicial system, are not expected to be shown in Hong Kong. Human rights groups on the island protest the decisions (Agence France Presse, 10/19/97).

October 20, 1997: The United States urges the PRC to release some political prisoners as an important signal in the preceding days before a summit between Presidents Clinton and Zemin (Agence France Presse, 10/20/97).

October 21, 1997: Human Rights Watch Asia contends that China continues to violate the fight to freedom of religion. It says that Buddhism is the fastest growing religion in the country. It does concede that the worst forms of persecution, including long-term imprisonment, appear to have declined in recent years (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 10/21/97).

A fact-finding mission by a UN Working Group on Arbitrary Detention has just completed its visit to Chinese prisons. This is the first such mission allowed by Beijing. It visited prisons not open before to outside scrutiny and met with 4-5 prisoners in Lhasa (Agence France Presse, 10/21/97).

October 22, 1997: China calls upon the US to adopt strict controls on demonstrations during President Zemin’s visit to the country (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 10/22/97).

October 25, 1997: President Zemin authorizes China’s accession to the International Covenant of Economic, Social and Cultural Rights one day before his state visit to the United States. He rejects a US proposal to release political prisoners and likens the “liberation” of Tibet to the end of slavery in the US. Zemin is the first Chinese president to make a state visit in twelve years (Agence France Presse, 10/25/97).

October 27, 1997: President Zemin arrived in Hawaii yesterday and today he encounters some 200 protestors demonstrating against human rights abuses and for Tibetan freedom. Note: Demonstrations are held in every area that Zemin visits in the United States (Agence France Presse, 10/27/97).

October 28, 1997: An official of the Tibetan government-in-exile asks Presidents Zemin and Clinton to find a solution to the Tibetan issue during their upcoming meeting. He also asks that the Dalai Lama be invited to the talks on the region’s future status (Agence France Presse,

10/28/97).

October 30, 1997: Chinese President Zemin says that Beijing does and will continue to respect human rights but in its own way. He was responding to criticism during his visit to the US. Zemin did assert that human rights are an internal issue (Agence France Presse, 10/30/97).

Presidents Clinton and Zemin agree to hold regular summits and work toward a “strategic partnership”. The talks also result in the US lifting of a 1989 ban on the export of American nuclear technology to China. Jiang commits China to imposing tighter export controls on nuclear materials. The two sides also agree to set up a hotline in addition to various trade deals. No progress is reported on the issue of human rights. Clinton is set to visit China in 1998 (Ibid.).

Human Rights Asia slams the United States for not getting any concessions on human rights during Zemin’s visit. It does however state that concessions are more likely upon the President’s return (Ibid.).

October 31, 1997: China boycotts Tokyo’s international film festival as it features “Seven Years in Tibet” (Agence France Presse, 10/31/97).

November 1, 1997: For the first reported time, President Zemin admits that mistakes were made during the suppression of the democracy movement in 1989. He also states that he won’t meet with the Dalai Lama as he allegedly advocates secession (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 11/01/97).

November 3, 1997: A Tibetan spokesman says that the Dalai Lama is willing to settle for genuine autonomy and is ready for talks, if Beijing is. He says that it is up to all Tibetans to decide through a referendum if they favor independence. Under an autonomy proposal put forward by the Dalai Lama, China would control the region’s foreign policy and maintain a limited presence and association. While in the US, President Zemin asked the Dalai Lama to publicly declare that “Tibet was an inalienable part of China” and renounce independence as preconditions to talks (Agence France Presse, 11/03/97).

November 4, 1997: The Tibetan government-in-exile says that the conditions recently put forward by Chinese President Zemin are “unacceptable” (see above story). It says that it is the same proposal that has been put forth previously. The spokesperson also states that the Dalai Lama cannot indicate that Tibet is a part of China as according to him, he would be telling a historical lie (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 11/04/97).

The United States has named Gregory Craig, the director of the State Department’s Office of Policy Planning, as its coordinator for US policy toward Tibet (Ibid.).

November 5, 1997: China releases dissident Bao Ge who then flies to the United States (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 11/05/97).

November 12, 1997: The Dalai Lama's office says he would welcome talks with the newly-appointed US Coordinator for Tibet when he visits Dharamsala next week. The United States has not yet officially requested a meeting (Agence France Presse, 11/12/97).

November 17, 1997: According to a Taiwanese newspaper, the Dalai Lama has vowed to lead exiled Tibetans back to Tibet before he dies. The article says that his reincarnation can only be found overseas as long as Tibetans remain in exile. The Dalai Lama again reiterates that he is not seeking independence. Many Tibetans worry that their fight for freedom may lose impetus after the Dalai Lama's death (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 11/17/97).

November 18, 1997: The Dalai Lama hails China's release of dissident Wei Jingsheng on medical parole to the US. He calls upon Beijing to free all political prisoners, including over 1000 in Tibet (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 11/18/97).

November 19, 1997: China accuses the Dalai Lama of offering to negotiate while secretly scheming to gain independence. Beijing is also reportedly targeting those lamas and scholars who indicate they support China while secretly allegedly helping the Dalai Lama (Agence France Presse, 11/19/97).

November 25, 1997: Chinese authorities voice opposition to a bid by Australian officials to promote a dialogue between the government and the Dalai Lama. The Australian Parliament is considering establishing a special envoy for Tibet. China says this is its internal affair (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 11/25/97).

November 26, 1997: The Communist Party warns the Dalai Lama against instigating rebellion in Tibet and calls for stronger efforts to win over the minds of the population. Beijing also confirms that senior Tibetan officials have canceled an upcoming visit to Britain after London proposed that they meet with groups critical of China's Tibet policies (Agence France Presse, 11/26/97).

November 27, 1997: President Zemin is met by Tibetan protestors on the first visit by a Chinese leader to Canada in 12 years. The visit is in concert with an Asia-Pacific Economic Forum being held in Vancouver (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 11/27/97).

The Australian Senate passes a motion to establish a government-funding special coordinator to promote talks between China and the Dalai Lama. China protests the move. Meanwhile, the US special coordinator for Tibet, Gregory Craig, does not meet with Tibetan representatives during his visit to India (Agence France Presse, 11/27/97).

November 28, 1997: China and Canada will co-chair an international symposium on human rights in May, 1998. Protests are held in each Canadian city that President Zemin visits (Agence France Presse, 11/28/97).

December 3, 1997: The Communist Party's Second-in-Command in Tibet, Raidi, says that the fight against the Dalai Lama is a matter of "life or death" for Tibetans. He accuses the Tibetan religious leader of being the greatest source of instability in the region (Agence France Presse, 12/03/97).

December 6, 1997: The Dalai Lama's first representative to Taiwan made a quiet arrival today. He is there to help promote ties between the two sides (Agence France Presse, 12/06/97).

December 10, 1997: Around 50 Tibetans stage a noisy demonstration near the Chinese embassy in Delhi to demand independence. Tibetan Youth Congress members scuffle with police but no arrests are made (Agence France Presse, 12/10/97).

December 12, 1997: Some 15 Tibetans storm a Chinese trade exhibition in Delhi demanding a boycott of Chinese goods. 10 are arrested (Agence France Presse, 12/12/97).

December 13, 1997: China renews its calls for stricter measures on religious life and society, fearing that Tibetan separatists are becoming more active and tougher to control. It orders the campaign against the Dalai Lama to be extended to all areas of Tibetan society (Agence France Presse, 12/13/97).

December 21, 1997: An International Commission of Jurists report accuses the PRC of intensifying repression in Tibet and calls on Beijing to hold a UN-sponsored referendum on self-determination. It also calls for talks with the Dalai Lama and for the UN Commission on Human Rights to nominate a special rapporteur on Tibet and a special UN envoy to be chosen to promote a peaceful settlement and a referendum. The report says that immigration to the region is still encouraged by the government, economic development policies largely benefit the Chinese and environmental damage is threatening nomadic Tibetan life. The number of political prisoners has increased. It specifies that 1/3 of these prisoners are nuns who are subject to gender-specific tortures. The Jurists reveal that in 1996 some 34 people were executed (Agence France Presse, 12/21/97).

January 8, 1998: A Hong Kong distributor plans to screen the movie "Seven Years In Tibet" as there is no legal law that prohibits the screening (Agence France Presse, 01/08/98).

January 14, 1998: Leading pro-democracy dissident Wei Jinsheng says that while Tibet should be a part of China, like Taiwan and Hong Kong, it should have complete autonomy with a directly-elected government. He says that Beijing should begin talks with the Dalai Lama. Wei hopes to meet the Dalai Lama when he visits the US in March or April (Agence France Presse, 01/14/98).

January 21, 1998: China asserts that Radio Free Asia is hindering the region's development and stability. The radio network recently had its funding doubled by the US Congress. It plans to

also start broadcasts in Cantonese, which is spoken in southern China and Uighur areas. The increase in government funding is reportedly due to Chinese jamming of its signal (Agence France Presse, 01/21/98).

February 4, 1998: Veteran Chinese dissident Xu Wenli calls on Beijing to open talks with the Dalai Lama as a first step toward granting autonomy, but not independence. He also asks Tibetans to accept changes that have occurred in the country and not to work against the Chinese government. The Dalai Lama recently offered to meet Beijing half-way. He proposed that Tibet be provided with real autonomy while China would retain control over its foreign and military affairs (Agence France Presse, 02/04/98).

February 6, 1998: The Dalai Lama welcomes the “growing number of Chinese in China” who are speaking out in support of Tibetan self-rule (Agence France Presse, 02/06/98).

February 24, 1998: China lashes out at the Dalai Lama accusing him of attempting to “befuddle” world opinion to support his cause (Agence France Presse, 02/24/98).

March 1, 1998: Beijing dismisses a long-standing offer by the Dalai Lama to open talks over the future of Tibet. It says he showed his true colors by refusing Beijing’s 1989 offer for negotiations. China says back then it asked the Dalai Lama to return for the Panchen Lama’s funeral but he refused. In 1989, the Dalai Lama won the Nobel Peace Prize. The better economic situation now, Beijing asserts, is the reason for the Dalai Lama’s offer of talks (Agence France Presse, 03/01/98).

March 7, 1998: President Zemin tells officials to work harder to oppose ethnic unrest in Tibet and Xinjiang (Agence France Presse, 03/07/98).

March 8, 1998: An EU mission is set to visit Tibet in the near future. Around 4-7000 people demonstrate in Paris to mark the 39th anniversary of the Tibetan uprising (Agence France Presse, 03/08/98).

March 9, 1998: The Dalai Lama accuses China of cultural genocide. Marking the 39th anniversary of the anti-Chinese uprising, he says that Beijing’s “Strike Hard” campaign has intensified each year and is reminiscent of the Cultural Revolution. He asks India to play a constructive role to help solve the dispute while also urging his followers not to resort to violence (Agence France Presse, 03/09/98).

March 10, 1998: Some 5000 Tibetan refugees in Kathmandu demonstrate demanding freedom and human rights in Tibet. Tibetan Youth Congress activists burn the Chinese flag (Agence France Presse, 03/10/98).

Hundreds of Tibetans also protest in Delhi to mark the 39th anniversary of the Tibetan uprising (Ibid.).

March 11, 1998: According to the head of the Tibetan regional government, China will press ahead with its “patriotic campaign” in Tibet in which monks, nuns, and schoolchildren are fed denunciations. The campaign began in 1996 (Agence France Presse, 03/11/98).

March 12, 1998: Some 200 Tibetan women march in Delhi to mark the 1959 anti-Chinese uprising. They urge the UN to resume the debate on the issue and to accord the Dalai Lama observer status. The women assert that 295 out of 1216 prisoners of conscience in Tibet are women. Also, last year, up to 883 Tibetan women were forcibly sterilized (Agence France Presse, 03/12/98).

March 14, 1998: The Dalai Lama is expected to make his second visit to Taiwan in December to participate in a Buddhist festival (Agence France Presse, 03/14/98).

March 17, 1998: China rejects talks with the Dalai Lama, accusing him of using a pro-autonomy stance to mask aspirations for independence (Agence France Presse, 03/17/98).

March 20, 1998: An aide to the Dalai Lama urges China to initiate talks indicating that a dialogue could remove any “misunderstandings” between the two sides. He says that the Chinese don’t understand that the Dalai Lama is only seeking “genuine autonomy” (Agence France Presse, 03/20/98).

April 2, 1998: The Dalai Lama visits a group of six Tibetan Youth Congress (TYC) members who have been on an “unto-death” hunger strike in Delhi. The TYC says that the Dalai Lama does not support their action as he is against any form of violence, including to oneself. The 6 members began their strike on March 9. They want the UN to follow through on a recent recommendation by the International Committee of Jurists to resume talks on Tibet and for Beijing to open talks (Agence France Presse, Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 04/02/98).

April 3, 1998: Human Rights Watch slams a report by a UN Working Group on Arbitrary Detentions that recently conducted a 10-day mission to China. The non-governmental organization says that the report doesn’t really address the key issues and that there are also serious omissions. These include reports of prisoners being severely beaten and put in solitary confinement following their meeting with the UN working group. One of the Tibetan prisoners at the meeting reportedly openly declared his support for the Dalai Lama. China says that no prisoners were harassed. The UN working group says that it sent a protest letter to Beijing upon being informed of the beatings (Agence France Presse, 04/03/98).

The Dalai Lama begins a 9-day visit to Japan despite Chinese pressures to stop his stay. The Dalai Lama did allegedly promise not to raise Tibetan political questions on his religious visit (Ibid.).

April 5, 1998: Chinese dissident Wei Jingsheng says that only with democratic reforms could China hold talks for an autonomous Tibet (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 04/05/98).

April 7, 1998: The Dalai Lama will open a representative office in Taiwan on April 16. The office will promote Tibetan Buddhism and mutual understanding (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 04/07/98).

29 members of the Tibetan Women's Congress join a four-week hunger strike by six members of the Tibetan Youth Congress in Delhi. The women hope to force the UN to take action on the Tibetan issue. Hunger strikes are underway throughout India. The protestors want the UN to resume discussions on Tibet and to appoint a special envoy on Tibet (Agence France Presse, 04/07/98).

April 8, 1998: China claims that a tooth handed over to Taiwanese Buddhists by Tibetan monks is a fake. The Tibetans reportedly took the Buddha's tooth to India when they fled and kept it there for the past three decades. There are generally believed to be three teeth of the Buddha still in existence. The other two are in Beijing and Sri Lanka (Agence France Presse, 04/08/98).

The six hunger strikers of the Tibetan Youth Congress vow to continue their fast in Delhi. French deputies and senators praise the hunger strikers while also urging them not to risk their lives. They call for talks between the Tibetans and Beijing (Ibid.).

April 11, 1998: The Dalai Lama calls for a dialogue with China on the last day of his visit to Japan. He reiterates that he is not seeking independence. This is his first political statement during his Japanese stay (Agence France Presse, 04/11/98).

April 14, 1998: Indian Defense Minister George Fernandes charges that Chinese troops have made forays into Arunchal Pradesh and also built helipads in an area that adjoins Tibet (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 04/14/98).

Nepal arrests 118 Tibetans who are attempting to reach Dharamsala. Last week some 20 Tibetans were taken into custody. Last year, some 4000 Tibetans successfully made the trip across Nepal to the Dalai Lama's headquarters. It is asserted that poverty and unemployment, along with political issues, motivate the Tibetans to leave (Agence France Presse, 04/14/98).

April 15, 1998: India protests to China about its alleged incursions in Arunchal Pradesh and its reported construction of helipads near Tibet (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 04/15/98).

The Tibetan Youth Congress says its 6 hunger strikers will continue their campaign until the UN appoints a special envoy to settle the status of the region through a plebiscite. UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan has asked them to give up the fast (Ibid.).

The Dalai Lama says he hopes to re-open a dialogue with the Chinese government now that it is led by the "more open-minded" Prime Minister Zhu Rongji. Zhu took over from Li Peng in mid-March. The Dalai Lama renews his appeal for talks and expresses his gratitude for international

support for the cause (Agence France Presse, 04/15/98).

April 16, 1998: China accuses Indian Defense Minister Fernandes of making irresponsible comments when he recently claimed that China had made incursions into Arunchal Pradesh and built helipads near Tibet. Fernandes also stated that India would increase its defense expenditures to protect itself. Fernandes is alleged to be a key supporter of the Free Tibet movement (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 04/16/98).

The Dalai Lama's government-in-exile opens a representative office in Taipei. Taiwanese President Lee Teng-hui attends the opening ceremonies. This is the Tibetans 12th overseas liaison office. The Dalai Lama visited Taiwan in March of last year and has been invited again at the end of this year (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 04/16/98).

April 17, 1998: Indian Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee, of the Hindu-nationalist Bharatiya Janata Party, denies recent claims made by his defense minister regarding Chinese incursions into Indian territory. The BJP won the most votes in recent elections and head a federal coalition government. The head of the Chinese People's Liberation Army is set to visit India next week. In November 1996, India and China updated their border deal by agreeing to make substantial cuts in troops and arms along their disputed border. Also both countries agreed not to attack across their line of control. Indian Defense Minister Fernandes is urging a dialogue between the two countries who in 1996 had \$1 billion worth of bilateral trade (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 04/17/98).

April 24, 1998: The Dalai Lama says he could be the last spiritual Tibetan leader if the ancient institution loses relevance in modern times. He says that he opposes orthodoxy and that if the institution is no longer relevant, it should be scrapped (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 04/24/98).

April 26, 1998: Three member of the Tibetan Youth Congress (TYC) plan to continue their hunger strike after Indian police forcibly sent three others to hospital. The TYC says it has replacements that will take over for the three who were forcibly removed. The Indian action occurs on the heels of the first ever visit to India by China's chief of the army (Agence France Presse, 04/26/98).

April 27, 1998: A Tibetan activist is very severely burned following a self-immolation attempt at the site of a Tibetan Youth Congress hunger strike in New Delhi. The three remaining hunger strikers are forcibly removed and taken to a local hospital. TYC members clash with police, vowing that the hunger strike will continue. The campaign has drawn world-wide attention, including calls from the UN Secretary-General to call off the hunger strike (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 04/27/98).

April 28, 1998: Five Tibetan Youth Congress members begin a hunger strike in Delhi (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 04/28/98).

The Dalai Lama visits Thupten Ngodub, the man who attempted to self-immolate himself to draw attention to the Tibetan issue. The spiritual leader says that the action reflects the growing frustration of his people at the destruction of their culture. He appeals for greater international support for the Tibetans. While the Dalai Lama indicates that he disagrees with the methods used by the hunger strikers, he admires their determination (Agence France Presse, 04/28/98).

April 29, 1998: A member of the Tibetan Youth Congress says that Tibetans might have to re-think their non-violent approach which so far has been followed due to supreme respect for the Dalai Lama. He refers to Thupten Ngodub, who died today from his self-immolation attempt, as a martyr. The TYC says the immolation is a watershed in the non-violent struggle and that the Dalai Lama has achieved nothing in his 40 years of struggle while this recent hunger strike garnered international attention (Agence France Presse, 04/29/98).

The self-immolation is reported to be the first by a Tibetan since the 1951 Chinese takeover of Tibet. The TYC says that the campaign will now be more aggressive, indicating that “more blood will flow in the coming days” (Ibid.).

April 30, 1998: The Dalai Lama calls for a peaceful solution to the Tibet issue (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 04/30/98).

Around 5000 Tibetans gather in Dharamsala for the funeral of Thupten Ngodub, who recently died following a self-immolation attempt (Agence France Presse, 04/30/98).

China urges the Dalai Lama to “do something useful for Tibet” by publicly recognizing Beijing’s sovereignty over the region. China says it is willing to have talks with the Dalai Lama if he agrees to the above along with stopping any separatist activities (Ibid.).

While Tibetan reports indicate that there has been a hardening of repression in Tibet, very limited information is available on what is occurring in the region. It is likely that China has again imposed restrictions on foreigners visiting the region.

A Tibetan analyst asserts that “[T]he international community reacts only to militancy. [and that] If it doesn’t react to Ngodub’s self-immolation, more cases will happen (Ibid.).

May 1, 1998: Around 5000 Tibetans hold anti-Chinese rallies in Dharamsala at the cremation ceremony for Ngodub, who recently died following a self-immolation attempt. The Tibetan Youth Congress vows that it will continue its hunger strike (Agence France Presse, 05/01/98).

May 3, 1998: Indian Defense Minister George Fernandes asserts that China is a bigger threat to India than Pakistan. He says that Delhi needs to prepare for China’s naval buildup and its recent construction of bases in Tibet along with its deployment of nuclear weapons in the region which borders India (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 05/03/98).

May 4, 1998: Indian Prime Minister Vajpayee expresses anger at yesterday's remarks by his defense minister regarding China. The major opposition party, the Congress, asserts that Fernandes' comments could jeopardize relations with the PRC (Agence France Presse 05/04/98).

May 5, 1998: The PRC slams Indian Defense Minister Fernandes' recent statement that China is the number one threat to India, indicating that this is "ridiculous" (Agence France Presse, 05/05/98).

May 6, 1998: Seeking to diffuse tensions between India and China, India's Defense Minister Fernandes indicates that he favors talks with the PRC (Agence France Presse, 05/06/98).

The Communist Party of India-Marxist calls for Fernandes to quit over his recent anti-China comments. The CPI-M is the third largest party in parliament (Ibid.).

Nobel laureate Jose Ramos Horta, an East Timorese activist, urges 5 Tibetans to give up their hunger strike, which began on April 28. This is the second group of hunger strikers who are members of the Tibetan Youth Congress. Horta pledges to speak in support of Tibet (Agence France Presse, 05/06/98).

May 7, 1998: Indian Defense Minister Fernandes asserts that India should beef up its military presence along the Chinese border (Agence France Presse, 05/07/98).

May 8, 1998: India's army chief dismisses Fernandes' recent comments regarding China as inconsequential (Agence France Presse, 05/08/98).

Meanwhile, the Samata (Equality) Party, a member of India's ruling coalition government, urges the United Nations to facilitate talks between the Dalai Lama and the Chinese regime. India's Defense Minister is a member of the Samata Party (Ibid.).

May 9, 1998: Some 200 Tibetans protest outside the UN's offices in New Delhi seeking an end to Chinese rule in Tibet, an international probe into human rights abuses there, the appointment of a special UN envoy on Tibet, and the holding of a plebiscite to decide the region's future status (Agence France Presse, 05/09/98).

May 10, 1998: Chinese dissident Wei Jingsheng meets with the Dalai Lama in Boston, USA. The Dalai Lama says that the Tibetan cause is supported by many Chinese dissidents (Agence France Presse, 05/10/98).

May 11, 1998: A European Union delegation has just completed a 10-day visit to Tibet (India Today, 05/11/98).

Around 100 Tibetans march on the UN's office in New Delhi to condemn the world body's inaction on Tibet (Agence France Presse, 05/11/98).

Indian Defense Minister George Fernandes urges China to be a “good neighbor”. He states that he is not anti-China or anti-Pakistan but that India will do anything necessary, including developing nuclear weapons, if security perceptions warrant such actions (Ibid.).

May 12, 1998: The Tibetan Youth Congress congratulates India for conducting three nuclear tests on May 11. It asserts that Delhi needs to be strong as China has deployed nuclear weapons in Tibet that are aimed at India (Agence France Presse, 05/12/98).

May 13, 1998: India conducts two nuclear tests, raising to five the number of explosions in the past two days.

May 15, 1998: The London-based Tibet Information Network says that 15 monks were arrested in March in Tibet following demonstrations in support of the Dalai Lama. The whereabouts of the 15 remain unknown. The TIN also indicates that a January 1996 bomb explosion in the village of Tsanden, Sog region, was set off by a local monk (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 05/15/98).

In March of this year, China announced that 35,000 monks and nuns had been “rectified” by its re-education campaign (Ibid.).

Five Tibetan Youth Congress members end their 18-day hunger strike in order to give the United Nations time to undertake concrete steps to resolve the Tibetan issue. Several countries including Poland, Norway, Costa Rica, and Hungary have promised to bring attention to the issue (Ibid.).

May 16, 1998: An Indian-based group, the Tibetan Center for Human Rights and Democracy, claims that in early May police fired upon approximately 150 prisoners who held a pro-independence demonstration in Lhasa’s main jail. The Chinese government denies that any firing occurred (Agence France Presse, 05/16/98; Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 05/18/98).

May 18, 1998: India Today reports that the Tibetan Youth Congress member who died after self-immolating himself is representative of many frustrated Tibetans. The TYC favors independence for Tibet. Within India, the government-in-exile estimates an 18% unemployment rate among Tibetans who also have limited educational opportunities. Up to 60 Tibetans cross into Nepal every month, many of which end up in India (05/18/98).

May 19, 1998: Chinese media sources accuse New Delhi of supporting the Tibetans. They also assert that the Dalai Lama supports India’s recent nuclear tests (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 05/19/98).

May 22, 1998: In his first public statement on India’s nuclear tests, the Dalai Lama says he is saddened by India’s explosions but that it is “not right” to “outrightly condemn India’s action” as

the big powers possess nuclear weapons. He reaffirms his support for a Chinese proposal that calls for a ban on all nuclear weapons (Agence France Presse, 05/22/98).

May 23, 1998: Around 150 Tibetans clash with police forces as they try to storm the Chinese embassy in New Delhi (Agence France Presse, 05/23/98).

Indian Defense Minister Fernandes says that confidence building measures with China will continue despite India's nuclear tests (Ibid.).

June 11, 1998: The European Union and the PRC sign several cooperation projects worth US \$92.4 to promote the economy of the Tibetan Autonomous Region (Xinhua News Agency, 06/11/98).

June 17, 1998: On a visit to France, the Dalai Lama says that the situation in Tibet is seriously deteriorating and amounts to cultural genocide (Agence France Presse, 06/17/98).

June 18, 1998: China refers to the Dalai Lama as a splittist and asserts that before talks can begin, the Dalai Lama must declare that Tibet and Taiwan are inalienable parts of China and the PRC government is the sole legal government (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 06/18/98).

The Dalai Lama reveals that he maintains contacts with the Chinese leadership through "various private channels of communication". He says these contacts are "serious" and that he has reason to be "optimistic" (Ibid.).

June 19, 1998: A French museum guard burns himself to death outside of Paris to protest against China's policies in Tibet. The Dalai Lama is currently in Paris (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 06/19/98).

A delegation of EU ambassadors which visited Tibet from May 1-10 indicates that China continues to exert extremely tight control over Tibetan religion and culture. They indicate that the authorities informed them that the Dalai Lama's choice of a successor for the Panchen Lama is living a normal life. The ambassadors were not allowed to visit the young boy. Tibetans and various human rights groups contend that the boy is in custody at an unknown location. The EU delegation did note that there was an absence of pictures of the Chinese choice of a Panchen Lama in Tibet (Agence France Presse, 06/19/98).

June 25, 1998: The US State Department's Coordinator for Tibet, Greg Craig, will not be a part of the official delegation that will travel with President Clinton on his upcoming state visit to China. Craig was appointed last October (Agence France Presse, 06/25/98).

June 27, 1998: During President Clinton's visit to China, President Jiang Zemin says that the regime has several channels of communication open with the Dalai Lama. Jiang offers to hold talks but asserts that before they can begin, the Tibetan leader must declare that Tibet is an

inalienable part of China. President Clinton urges Jiang to open a dialogue with the Dalai Lama (Agence France Presse, 06/27/98).

A spokesman for the Dalai Lama denies that Beijing is in communication with the Dalai Lama. He asserts that Jiang's offer of a dialogue is unacceptable as it requires that Tibet's history be rewritten. He says that no real communications have occurred since 1979/80. Earlier, the Dalai Lama indicated that there had been no official communications since 1993. Diplomats suggest that while the offer of talks is not a new development, perhaps Jiang has opened a possible avenue forward (Ibid.).

June 28, 1998: The Dalai Lama's office in Taipei contends that the PRC is delaying a dialogue on Tibet with "unreasonable demands" such as requiring a declaration from the Tibetan leader that Taiwan is an inalienable part of China (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 06/28/98).

June 29, 1998: A senior official of the Tibetan government-in-exile praises US President Clinton for calling on the PRC to enter into a dialogue with the Dalai Lama. He also applauds President Zemin for recognizing that Tibet is an important issue in need of a solution (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 06/29/98).

The government-in-exile says that it is ready for unconditional talks with Beijing, reiterating that the demand for independence has been dropped (Agence France Presse, 06/29/98).

June 30, 1998: The Tibetan government-in-exile reveals that 7 Tibetans were killed and 60 others badly wounded on May 1 and May 4 when police fired upon prisoners staging pro-independence demonstrations in Lhasa's main jail. The jail houses mostly political prisoners, many of whom are nuns and monks (Agence France Presse, 06/30/98).

July 2, 1998: Chinese officials state that a bomb exploded last week in Lhasa; they do not provide any further information. The Tibet Information Network says the bomb went off at a public security building late in the evening on June 24 to avoid a large casualty toll. Three or four people were injured. Since January, 1996 there have been at least four explosions in Tibet (Agence France Presse, 07/02/98).

In response to the Tibetans' latest offer to hold unconditional talks, Beijing contends that no negotiations can be held until the Dalai Lama publicly acknowledges that Tibet is an inalienable part of China (Ibid.).

July 17, 1998: A Taiwanese newspaper reports that the Dalai Lama has stated that he opposes independence for Taiwan. In March of last year, the Tibetan leader said the Taiwanese people and the PRC must decide Taiwan's status. The Dalai Lama has cancelled his second planned visit to Taiwan, a move likely to avoid angering Beijing (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 07/17/98).

REFERENCES

Amnesty International, People's Republic of China - Repression in Tibet 1987-1992, New York - Amnesty International, May 1992.

Barnett, Robert, ed., Resistance and Reform in Tibet, Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1994.

Bowers, Stephen, "Tibet Since Mao Zedong", The Journal of Social, Political & Economic Studies, vol. 19, no. 4, Winter, 1994.

Bray, John, "China and Tibet - An End to Empire", The World Today, December 1990, pp. 221-224.

Choedon, Yeshe, "Ethnic, Social, and Religious Conflict - Rights of Minorities", in Ethnic, Social and Religious Conflict - The Rights of Minorities, occasional paper from presentations of the Working Group on Minorities, World Congress on Human Rights, New Delhi, India, 10-15 December 1990, (produced and distributed by Minority Rights Group, London).

Hannum, Hurst, Autonomy, Sovereignty, and Self-Determination - The Accommodation of Conflicting Rights, Philadelphia, PA: The University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990, pp. 420-27.

International Alert, Tibet - An International Consultation, London: International Alert, 6-8 July 1990.

Little, David and Scott W. Hibbard, Sino-Tibetan Coexistence - Creating Space for Tibetan Self-Direction, Washington, DC: US Institute of Peace, April 1994.

Minorities at Risk Phase III Chronology.

Nexus Library Reports, 1980-98.

Wangyal, Tsering, "Sino-Tibetan Negotiations Since 1959", in Robert Barnett, ed., Resistance and Reform in Tibet, Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1994.

Appendix A: Internal Conflicts Phase Scheme

Phase I. Conventional mobilization. A political/communal group organizes in pursuit of collective objectives, relying on conventional and nonviolent strategies of political action.

Phase II. Militant mobilization. A political/communal group organizes in pursuit of collective objectives, developing capacities for disruptive and violent strategies of political action.

Phase IIIa. Low-level hostilities. A political/communal group makes limited, localized, selective use of disruptive and violent strategies; the regime makes limited and selective use of reactive force.

Phase IIIb. High-level hostilities. A political/communal group, or the regime, or both use intense, widespread, and organized armed violence against their opponent.

Phase IVa. Talk-fight. Discussions and negotiations are pursued, or cease-fires are declared, while substantial armed violence continues. Fighting may be done by the principals themselves (for example as a bargaining tactic) or by factions that reject dispute settlement.

Phase IVb. Cessation of open hostilities. Fighting largely ceases but one or both principals remain prepared to resume armed violence if settlement efforts fail.

Phase V. Post-hostilities phase. Interim or partial settlements are in place and accepted by most parties and factions; demobilization, disarmament, and stand-downs are underway.

Phase VI. Settlement phase. A final settlement or agreement is accepted by most parties and is being implemented.