

**AMENDMENT IN THE NATURE OF A SUBSTITUTE  
TO H.R. 4331  
OFFERED BY MR. ENGEL OF NEW YORK**

Strike all after the enacting clause and insert the following:

**1 SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.**

2 This Act may be cited as the “Tibetan Policy and  
3 Support Act of 2019”.

**4 SEC. 2. MODIFICATIONS TO AND REAUTHORIZATION OF TI-  
5 BETAN POLICY ACT OF 2002.**

6 (a) TIBETAN NEGOTIATIONS.—Section 613 of the Ti-  
7 betan Policy Act of 2002 (22 U.S.C. 6901 note) is amend-  
8 ed—

9 (1) in subsection (a)—

10 (A) in paragraph (1)—

11 (i) by inserting “without pre-  
12 conditions” after “a dialogue”;

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

16 (iii) by adding at the end before the  
17 period the following: “and should coordi-

1           nate with other governments in multilat-  
2           eral efforts toward this goal”;

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

5           (C) by inserting after paragraph (1) the  
6           following:

7           “(2) POLICY COMMUNICATION.—The President  
8           shall direct the Secretary of State to ensure that, in  
9           accordance with this Act, United States policy on  
10          Tibet, as coordinated by the United States Special  
11          Coordinator for Tibetan Issues, is communicated to  
12          all Federal departments and agencies in contact with  
13          the Government of the People’s Republic of China.”;

14          (2) in subsection (b)—

15                 (A) in the matter preceding paragraph  
16                 (1)—

17                         (i) by striking “until December 31,  
18                         2021”; and

19                         (ii) by inserting “and direct the De-  
20                         partment of State to make public on its  
21                         website” after “appropriate congressional  
22                         committees”;

23           (B) in paragraph (1), by striking “and” at  
24           the end;

1 (C) in paragraph (2), by striking the pe-  
2 riod at the end and inserting “; and” ; and

3 (D) by adding at the end the following:

4 “(3) the steps taken by the United States Gov-  
5 ernment to promote the human rights and distinct  
6 religious, cultural, linguistic, and historical identity  
7 of the Tibetan people, including the right of the Ti-  
8 betan people to select, educate, and venerate their  
9 own religious leaders in accordance with their estab-  
10 lished religious practice and system.”.

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

13 (1) in subsection (d), by striking paragraphs  
14 (1) through (9) and inserting the following:

15 “(1) neither provide incentive for, nor facilitate  
16 the migration and settlement of, non-Tibetans into  
17 Tibet;

18 “(2) neither provide incentive for, nor facilitate  
19 the transfer of ownership of, Tibetan land or natural  
20 resources to non-Tibetans;

21 “(3) neither provide incentive for, nor facilitate  
22 the involuntary or coerced relocation of, Tibetan no-  
23 mads from their traditional pasture lands into con-  
24 centrated settlements;

1           “(4) be implemented in consultation with the  
2           Tibetan people and, as appropriate, after the con-  
3           duct of cultural and environmental impact assess-  
4           ments;

5           “(5) foster self-sufficiency and self-reliance of  
6           Tibetans;

7           “(6) respect human rights and Tibetan culture  
8           and traditions;

9           “(7) be subject to ongoing monitoring and eval-  
10          uation; and

11          “(8) be conducted, as much as possible, in the  
12          Tibetan language.”; and

13          (2) by adding at the end the following:

14          “(e) UNITED STATES ASSISTANCE.—The President  
15          shall provide funds to nongovernmental organizations to  
16          support sustainable development, cultural and historical  
17          preservation, health care, education, and environmental  
18          sustainability projects for Tibetan communities in Tibet,  
19          in accordance with the principles specified in subsection  
20          (d) and with the concurrence of the United States Special  
21          Coordinator for Tibetan Issues under section 621(d) or,  
22          if the Coordinator has not been appointed, the Assistant  
23          Secretary of State for Democracy, Human Rights, and  
24          Labor.”.

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

4 **“SEC. 618. DIPLOMATIC REPRESENTATION RELATING TO**  
5 **TIBET.**

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

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

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

13 “(b) POLICY.—The Secretary may not authorize the  
14 establishment in the United States of any additional con-  
15 sulate of the People’s Republic of China until such time  
16 as a United States consulate in Lhasa, Tibet, is estab-  
17 lished under subsection (a).”.

18 (d) RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION IN TIBET.—Section  
19 620(b) of such Act (22 U.S.C. 6901 note) is amended by  
20 adding at the end before the period the following: “, in-  
21 cluding with respect to the reincarnation system of Ti-  
22 betan Buddhism”.

23 (e) UNITED STATES SPECIAL COORDINATOR FOR TI-  
24 BETAN ISSUES.—Section 621 of such Act (22 U.S.C. 6901  
25 note) is amended—

1 (1) in subsection (c) to read as follows:

2 “(c) OBJECTIVES.—The objectives of the Special Co-  
3 ordinator are to—

4 “(1) promote substantive dialogue without pre-  
5 conditions between the Government of the People’s  
6 Republic of China and the Dalai Lama or his rep-  
7 resentatives or democratically-elected leaders of the  
8 Tibetan community leading to a negotiated agree-  
9 ment on Tibet and coordinate with other govern-  
10 ments in multilateral efforts toward this goal;

11 “(2) encourage the Government of the People’s  
12 Republic of China to address the aspirations of the  
13 Tibetan people with regard to their distinct histor-  
14 ical, cultural, religious, and linguistic identity;

15 “(3) promote the human rights of the Tibetan  
16 people;

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

19 “(5) encourage sustainable development in ac-  
20 cordance with section 616(d), cultural and historical  
21 preservation, health care, education, and environ-  
22 mental sustainability projects for Tibetan commu-  
23 nities in Tibet; and

1           “(6) promote access to Tibet in accordance with  
2           the Reciprocal Access to Tibet Act of 2018 (Public  
3           Law 115–330).”;

4           (2) in subsection (d)—

5                 (A) in paragraph (5), by striking “and” at  
6           the end;

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

9                 (C) by inserting after paragraph (5) the  
10          following:

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

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

16                         “(A) oppose any effort by the Government  
17                         of the People’s Republic of China to select, edu-  
18                         cate, and venerate Tibetan Buddhist religious  
19                         leaders in a manner inconsistent with Tibetan  
20                         Buddhism in which the succession or identifica-  
21                         tion of Tibetan Buddhist lamas, including the  
22                         Dalai Lama, should occur without interference,  
23                         in a manner consistent with Tibetan Buddhists’  
24                         beliefs; and

1           “(B) ensure that the identification and in-  
2           stallation of Tibetan Buddhist religious leaders,  
3           including any future Dalai Lama, is determined  
4           solely within the Tibetan Buddhist faith com-  
5           munity, in accordance with the universally-rec-  
6           ognized right to religious freedom; and”;

7           (3) by adding at the end the following:

8           “(e) PERSONNEL.—The Secretary shall ensure that  
9           the Office of the Special Coordinator is adequately staffed  
10          at all times to assist in the management of the responsibil-  
11          ities of this section.”.

12   **SEC. 3. STATEMENT OF POLICY REGARDING THE SUCCES-**  
13                   **SION OR REINCARNATION OF THE DALAI**  
14                   **LAMA.**

15          (a) FINDINGS.—Congress finds the following:

16               (1) Notwithstanding that Tibetan Buddhism is  
17               practiced in many countries including Bhutan, India,  
18               Mongolia, Nepal, the People’s Republic of China, the  
19               Russian Federation, and the United States, the Gov-  
20               ernment of the People’s Republic of China has re-  
21               peatedly insisted on its role in managing the selec-  
22               tion of Tibet’s next spiritual leader, the Dalai Lama,  
23               through actions such as those described in the  
24               “Measures on the Management of the Reincarnation  
25               of Living Buddhas” in 2007.



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

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

14          (4) The 14th Dalai Lama, Tenzin Gyatso,  
15          issued a statement on September 24, 2011, explain-  
16          ing the traditions and spiritual precepts of the selec-  
17          tion of Dalai Lamas, setting forth his views on the  
18          considerations and process for selecting his suc-  
19          cessor, and providing a response to the Chinese gov-  
20          ernment’s claims that only the Chinese government  
21          has the ultimate authority in the selection process of  
22          the Dalai Lama.

23          (5) The 14th Dalai Lama said in his statement  
24          that the person who reincarnates has sole legitimate  
25          authority over where and how he or she takes re-

1 birth and how that reincarnation is to be recognized  
2 and if there is a need for a 15th Dalai Lama to be  
3 recognized, then the responsibility shall primarily  
4 rest with the officers of the Dalai Lama's Gaden  
5 Phodrang Trust, who will be informed by the written  
6 instructions of the 14th Dalai Lama.

7 (6) Since 2011, the 14th Dalai Lama has reit-  
8 erated publicly on numerous occasions that decisions  
9 on the successions, emanations, or reincarnations of  
10 the Dalai Lama belongs to the Tibetan Buddhist  
11 faith community alone.

12 (7) On June 8, 2015, the United States House  
13 of Representatives unanimously approved House  
14 Resolution 337 which calls on the United States  
15 Government to “underscore that government inter-  
16 ference in the Tibetan reincarnation process is a vio-  
17 lation of the internationally recognized right to reli-  
18 gious freedom . . . and to highlight the fact that  
19 other countries besides China have long Tibetan  
20 Buddhist traditions and that matters related to rein-  
21 carnations in Tibetan Buddhism are of keen interest  
22 to Tibetan Buddhist populations worldwide”.

23 (8) On April 25, 2018, the United States Sen-  
24 ate unanimously approved Senate Resolution 429  
25 which “expresses its sense that the identification

1 and installation of Tibetan Buddhist religious lead-  
2 ers, including a future 15th Dalai Lama, is a matter  
3 that should be determined solely within the Tibetan  
4 Buddhist faith community, in accordance with the  
5 inalienable right to religious freedom”.

6 (9) The Department of State’s Report on Inter-  
7 national Religious Freedom for 2018 reported on  
8 policies and efforts of the Government of the Peo-  
9 ple’s Republic of China to exert control over the se-  
10 lection of Tibetan Buddhist religious leaders, includ-  
11 ing reincarnate lamas, and stated that “U.S. offi-  
12 cials underscored that decisions on the reincarnation  
13 of the Dalai Lama should be made solely by faith  
14 leaders.”.

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

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

23 (2) the wishes of the 14th Dalai Lama, includ-  
24 ing any written instructions, should play a deter-

1 minative role in the selection, education, and vener-  
2 ation of a future 15th Dalai Lama; and

3 (3) interference by the Government of the Peo-  
4 ple's Republic of China or any other government in  
5 the process of recognizing a successor or reincarna-  
6 tion of the 14th Dalai Lama and any future Dalai  
7 Lamas would represent a clear violation of the fun-  
8 damental religious freedoms of Tibetan Buddhists  
9 and the Tibetan people.

10 (c) HOLDING CHINESE OFFICIALS RESPONSIBLE  
11 FOR RELIGIOUS FREEDOM ABUSES TARGETING TIBETAN  
12 BUDDHISTS.—It is the policy of the United States to con-  
13 sider senior officials of the Government of the People's  
14 Republic of China who are responsible for, complicit in,  
15 or have directly or indirectly engaged in the identification  
16 or installation of a candidate chosen by China as the fu-  
17 ture 15th Dalai Lama of Tibetan Buddhism to have com-  
18 mitted—

19 (1) a gross violation of internationally recog-  
20 nized human rights for purposes of imposing sanc-  
21 tions with respect to such officials under the Global  
22 Magnitsky Human Rights Accountability Act (22  
23 U.S.C. 2656 note); and

24 (2) a particularly severe violation of religious  
25 freedom for purposes of applying section

1       212(a)(2)(G) of the Immigration and Nationality  
2       Act (8 U.S.C. 1182(a)(2)(G)) with respect to such  
3       officials.

4       (d) DEPARTMENT OF STATE PROGRAMMING TO PRO-  
5       MOTE RELIGIOUS FREEDOM FOR TIBETAN BUDDHISTS.—  
6       Consistent with section 401 of the Frank R. Wolf Inter-  
7       national Religious Freedom Act (Public Law 114–281;  
8       130 Stat. 1436), of the funds available to the Department  
9       of State for international religious freedom programs, the  
10      Ambassador-at-Large for International Religious Freedom  
11      should support efforts to protect and promote inter-  
12      national religious freedom in China and for programs to  
13      protect Tibetan Buddhism in China and elsewhere.

14      **SEC. 4. POLICY REGARDING THE ENVIRONMENT AND**  
15                              **WATER RESOURCES ON THE TIBETAN PLA-**  
16                              **TEAU.**

17      (a) FINDINGS.—Congress finds the following:

18              (1) The Tibetan Plateau contains glaciers, riv-  
19              ers, grasslands, and other geographical and ecologi-  
20              cal features that are crucial for supporting vegeta-  
21              tion growth and biodiversity, regulating water flow  
22              and supply for an estimated 1.8 billion people. Glob-  
23              al warming threatens the glaciers in Tibet that feed  
24              the major rivers of South and East Asia, which sup-  
25              ply freshwater to an estimated 1.8 billion people.

1           (2) Rising global temperatures—especially in  
2           the Tibetan Plateau where the average temperature  
3           has increased at twice the global average—will result  
4           in variable water flows in the future.

5           (3) The construction in Tibet of large hydro-  
6           electric power dams intended to be used in part to  
7           transmit power to Chinese provinces outside of  
8           Tibet, as well as other infrastructure projects, in-  
9           cluding the Sichuan-Tibet railroad, may also lead to  
10          the resettlement of thousands of Tibetans and trans-  
11          form the environment.

12          (4) The grasslands of Tibet play a significant  
13          role in carbon production and sequestration and Ti-  
14          bet's rivers support wetlands that play a key role in  
15          water storage, water quality, and the regulation of  
16          water flow, support biodiversity, foster vegetation  
17          growth, and act as carbon sinks.

18          (5) Rising temperatures and intensifying evapo-  
19          ration, can affect the water supply, cause  
20          desertification, and destabilize infrastructure on the  
21          Tibetan Plateau and beyond.

22          (6) Traditional Tibetan grassland stewardship  
23          practices, which can be key to mitigating the nega-  
24          tive effects of warming on the Tibetan Plateau, are

1       undermined by the resettlement of nomads from Ti-  
2       betan grasslands.

3           (7) The People's Republic of China has ap-  
4       proximately 20 percent of the world's population but  
5       only around 7 percent of the world's water supply,  
6       while many countries in South and Southeast Asia  
7       rely on the rivers flowing from the Himalayas of the  
8       Tibetan Plateau.

9           (8) The People's Republic of China has already  
10       completed water transfer programs diverting billions  
11       of cubic meters of water yearly and has plans to di-  
12       vert more waters from the Tibetan plateau in China.

13       (b) WATER RESOURCES IN TIBET AND THE TIBETAN  
14       WATERSHED.—The Secretary of State, in coordination  
15       with relevant agencies of the United States Government,  
16       should—

17           (1) pursue collaborative efforts with Chinese  
18       and international scientific institutions, as appro-  
19       priate, to monitor the environment on the Tibetan  
20       Plateau, including glacial retreat, temperature rise,  
21       and carbon levels, in order to promote a greater un-  
22       derstanding of the effects on permafrost, river flows,  
23       grasslands and desertification, and the monsoon  
24       cycle;

1           (2) engage with the Government of the People's  
2     Republic of China, the Tibetan people, and non-  
3     governmental organizations to encourage the partici-  
4     pation of Tibetan nomads and other Tibetan stake-  
5     holders in the development and implementation of  
6     grassland management policies, in order to utilize  
7     their indigenous experience in mitigation and stew-  
8     ardship of the land and to assess policies on the  
9     forced resettlement of nomads; and

10           (3) encourage a regional framework on water  
11     security, or use existing frameworks, such as the  
12     Lower Mekong Initiative, to facilitate cooperative  
13     agreements among all riparian nations that would  
14     promote transparency, sharing of information, pollu-  
15     tion regulation, and arrangements on impounding  
16     and diversion of waters that originate on the Ti-  
17     betan Plateau.

18 **SEC. 5. DEMOCRACY IN THE TIBETAN EXILE COMMUNITY.**

19     (a) FINDINGS.—Congress finds the following:

20           (1) The 14th Dalai Lama advocates the Middle  
21     Way Approach, which seeks genuine autonomy for  
22     the six million Tibetans in Tibet.

23           (2) The 14th Dalai Lama has overseen a proc-  
24     ess of democratization within the Tibetan polity, be-  
25     ginning in Tibet in the 1950s and continuing in exile



1 from the 1960s to the present and to address the  
2 needs of the Tibetan people until such time as gen-  
3 uine autonomy in Tibet is realized, the 14th Dalai  
4 Lama devolved his political responsibilities to the  
5 elected representatives of the Tibetan people in exile  
6 in 2011.

7 (3) In 2011 and again in 2016, members of the  
8 Tibetan exile community across some 30 countries  
9 held elections to select political leaders to serve in  
10 the Central Tibetan Administration parliament and  
11 as chief executive, elections which were monitored by  
12 international observers and assessed to be free and  
13 fair.

14 (4) The Dalai Lama has said that the Central  
15 Tibetan Administration will cease to exist once a ne-  
16 gotiated settlement has been achieved that allows Ti-  
17 betans to freely enjoy their culture, religion and lan-  
18 guage in Tibet.

19 (b) SENSE OF CONGRESS.—It is the sense of Con-  
20 gress that—

21 (1) Tibetan exile communities around the world  
22 should be commended for the adoption of a system  
23 of self-governance with democratic institutions to  
24 choose their leaders;

1           (2) the Dalai Lama should be commended for  
2 his decision to devolve political authority to elected  
3 leaders in accordance with democratic principles;  
4 and

5           (3) as consistent with section 621(d)(3) of the  
6 Tibetan Policy Act of 2002 (22 U.S.C. 6901 note),  
7 the United States Special Coordinator for Tibetan  
8 Issues should continue to maintain close contact  
9 with the religious, cultural, and political leaders of  
10 the Tibetan people.

11 **SEC. 6. SUSTAINABILITY IN TIBETAN COMMUNITIES SEEK-**  
12 **ING TO PRESERVE THEIR CULTURE, RELI-**  
13 **GION, AND LANGUAGE.**

14       The Secretary of State should urge the Government  
15 of Nepal to honor the Gentleman's Agreement with the  
16 United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and to  
17 provide legal documentation to long-staying Tibetan resi-  
18 dents in Nepal who fled a credible threat of persecution  
19 in Tibet in order to allow them to more fully participate  
20 in the economy and society of Nepal.

21 **SEC. 7. AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS.**

22       (a) OFFICE OF THE UNITED STATES SPECIAL COOR-  
23 DINATOR FOR TIBETAN ISSUES.—There is authorized to  
24 be appropriated not less than \$1,000,000 for each of the

1 fiscal years 2021 through 2025 for the Office of the  
2 United States Special Coordinator for Tibetan Issues.

3 (b) TIBETAN SCHOLARSHIP PROGRAM AND  
4 NGAWANG CHOEPHEL EXCHANGE PROGRAMS.—

5 (1) TIBETAN SCHOLARSHIP PROGRAM.—There  
6 is authorized to be appropriated \$675,000 for each  
7 of the fiscal years 2021 through 2025 to carry out  
8 the Tibetan scholarship program established under  
9 section 103(b)(1) of the Human Rights, Refugee,  
10 and Other Foreign Relations Provisions Act of 1996  
11 (Public Law 104–319; 22 U.S.C. 2151 note).

12 (2) NGAWANG CHOEPHEL EXCHANGE PRO-  
13 GRAMS.—There is authorized to be appropriated  
14 \$575,000 for each of the fiscal years 2021 through  
15 2025 to carry out the “Ngwang Choepel Exchange  
16 Programs” (formerly known as “programs of edu-  
17 cational and cultural exchange between the United  
18 States and the people of Tibet”) under section  
19 103(a) of the Human Rights, Refugee, and Other  
20 Foreign Relations Provisions Act of 1996.

21 (c) HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE AND SUPPORT TO  
22 TIBETAN REFUGEES IN SOUTH ASIA.—Amounts author-  
23 ized to be appropriated to carry out chapter 9 of part I  
24 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 and the Migration  
25 and Refugee Assistance Act of 1962 for each of the fiscal

1 years 2021 through 2025 are authorized to be made avail-  
2 able for humanitarian assistance, including food, medicine,  
3 clothing, and medical and vocational training, for Tibetan  
4 refugees in South Asia who have fled facing a credible  
5 threat of persecution in the People's Republic of China.

6 (d) TIBETAN AUTONOMOUS REGION AND TIBETAN  
7 COMMUNITIES IN CHINA.—There is authorized to be ap-  
8 propriated not less than \$8,000,000 for each year of the  
9 fiscal years 2021 through 2025 under chapter 4 of part  
10 II of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 (22 U.S.C. 2346  
11 et seq.) to support activities which preserve cultural tradi-  
12 tions and promote sustainable development, education,  
13 and environmental conservation in Tibetan communities  
14 in the Tibet Autonomous Region and in other Tibetan  
15 communities in China.

16 (e) ASSISTANCE FOR TIBETANS IN INDIA AND  
17 NEPAL.—There is authorized to be appropriated not less  
18 than \$6,000,000 for each of the fiscal years 2021 through  
19 2025 under part I of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961  
20 (22 U.S.C. 2151 et seq.) for programs to promote and  
21 preserve Tibetan culture and language development, and  
22 the resilience of Tibetan communities in India and Nepal,  
23 and to assist in the education and development of the next  
24 generation of Tibetan leaders from such communities.

1 (f) TIBETAN GOVERNANCE.—There is authorized to  
2 be appropriated not less than \$3,000,000 for each of the  
3 fiscal years 2021 through 2025 for programs to strength-  
4 en the capacity of Tibetan institutions and strengthen de-  
5 mocracy, governance, information and international out-  
6 reach, and research.

7 (g) VOICE OF AMERICA AND RADIO FREE ASIA.—

8 (1) VOICE OF AMERICA.—There is authorized to  
9 be appropriated not less than \$3,344,000 for each of  
10 the fiscal years 2021 through 2025 to Voice of  
11 America for broadcasts described in paragraph (3).

12 (2) RADIO FREE ASIA.—There is authorized to  
13 be appropriated not less than \$4,060,000 for each of  
14 the fiscal years 2021 through 2025 to Radio Free  
15 Asia for broadcasts described in paragraph (3).

16 (3) BROADCASTS DESCRIBED.—Broadcasts de-  
17 scribed in this paragraph are broadcasts to provide  
18 uncensored news and information in the Tibetan lan-  
19 guage to Tibetans, including Tibetans in Tibet.

