

TIBET: A FUTURE VISION

by

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The Foundation extends support and guidance to partner-organisations, the emphasis being on self reliance and the building of democratic institutions. It is in this context that the Foundation in partnership with the Assembly of Tibetan People's Deputies, has set up *Tibetan Parliamentary and Policy Research Centre* to run programmes and activities which have educational value for Tibetans in exile, most of whom are residing in India and the neighbouring countries.

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FOREWORD

Tibet: A Future Vision is the third publication of a series outlined to project the identity of the Tibetans-in-exile. *The History of Tibet* and *The Democratic Vision* were the earlier ones highlighting their past and present.

A Country's destiny has to be chartered essentially by its own people. Yet guidelines and directions exposing the future possibilities, need to be presented before the people to update their own perception and thinking. This is likely to help them in formulating the policies and an appropriate action programme for the reconstruction of their nation, once it is free from the illegal occupation of another country.

The Centre is grateful to Prof. Samdhong Rinpoche, Director, Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies, Sarnath, Varanasi and currently the Chairman of the Assembly of Tibetan People's Deputies for agreeing to undertake this difficult task, notwithstanding his onerous responsibilities in various capacities as an acknowledged representative of the expectations and aspirations of the Tibetan diaspora.

The Centre has received suggestions and help from Professor Krishna Nath and Professor R.C. Tewari while going through the manuscript and the same is acknowledged with gratitude. Mr. A.A. Shiromany, Editor, Selected Speeches and Writings, of H.H. the Dalai Lama has been closely associated with this publication at various stages and made significant contribution to make it press worthy. It also places on record the editorial services rendered by Mr. B.M. Pandey, Director, Archaeological Survey of India and to Friends Printing Works New Delhi for reprinting this book.

The Centre's task of organising educational activities and awareness campaigns will be deemed successful if these three publications are found useful by the Tibetans-in-exile, in particular.

O.P. Tandon
Executive Director
TPPRC

PREFACE

Through this booklet the author has tried to present his ideas about the future shape of Tibet. Like several thousand of his compatriots he has been living in India as an exile for over three decades. Under the compassionate and peerless guidance of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, the author along with the Tibetans in exile has in his own small way kept himself engaged in the task of preservation of the Tibetan tradition and culture. In the process he has been striving for bringing about a better future for Tibet so that she can regain her lost élan and contribute towards the establishment of a peaceful, just and sane world order. The ideas about the future of Tibet have all along been occupying his innermost thoughts. In this booklet he has made an attempt to spell out his views and share them with the friends and well wishers of Tibet, in general, and with his compatriots both in and out of Tibet, in particular.

It goes without saying that the author fully subscribes to the values and ideals propounded by His Holiness and he is in complete agreement with his views regarding the unique place of Tibet in the world. But it would be highly presumptuous on the part of the author to claim any privilege or authority, whatsoever, to interpret or elaborate the ideas of His Holiness. He can only claim that he has been deeply inspired by the holistic vision of His Holiness and has tried to present his own thinking relating to the shape of future Tibet. At best it can be said that the author has made an effort to articulate, howsoever imperfectly, his own understanding of His Holiness's vision.

While presenting his views the author is fully aware of his limitations. He does not claim to possess any specialised knowledge of social sciences or of the modern political, economic and legal systems. But at the same time he cannot deny that during the past three decades his exposure to the outside world has given him an opportunity to know something about the features of the present day societies and also about the ideas and ideals of modernity that run counter to tradition, spirituality and wisdom. But

inspite of this exposure the author considers himself fortunate that his basic outlook has been nurtured, developed and shaped by the Tibetan tradition, learning of Dharma and spiritual training. In fact, his exposure to the modern world has further strengthened his belief in the value and importance of tradition. This has made him think seriously about his responsibility towards the revival of Tibetan spirit, preservation of Tibetan identity and restructuring of Tibetan political and economic institutional framework. As Tibet is passing through the worst period in its known history, the author feels that it is the sacred duty of every Tibetan to work in this direction.

Some people might genuinely ask why the author, a Buddhist monk should think only in the terms of Tibet. Does he considers the interest of the people of Tibet more important than that of the countries in the rest of the world and particularly that of the Republic of China? As a follower of Bodhisattva path the author very humbly considers all sentient beings as equal. But given the human limitation one has to confine himself to a given field within which he has to act and interact. Following the path trodden by countless Bodhisattvas, in real terms a monk has to operate within a limited field of action. In the case of a monk like the author his karma has ordained Tibet as his field of action. He has boundless love and respect for that country and its noble people. He has received so much from that land. He has been nurtured and sustained by it just as a mother nurses and cares for her child. It is true that the author has spent the major portion of his life outside Tibet but it is also true that whatever good motivation he possesses today is the great and benign gift of the spiritual tradition of Tibet. Among all nations of the world Tibet occupies a place which is unique, special and unparalleled. Those people who possess proper inclination and are fired by highest human aspirations can get from Tibet and its tradition everything that is necessary for their right development. Tibet has been a land which laid great emphasis on the promotion of pure and compassionate deeds. It has never been a land of indulgence. The mission of Tibet is very much different from the rest of the countries of the world. While totally engrossed in pursuing its traditional way of life,

which accords highest value to spiritual goal, it is no wonder that Tibet remained by and large, isolated till recent times. But the unsuspecting Tibetan people never knew what was lying in store for them. One need not recount all that has happened during the Communist China's forcible occupation of Tibet. It is one of the saddest chapters in human history.

The author firmly believes that Tibet has all the potential to play its unique role even under the changed circumstances. In spite of wanton and inestimable destruction of Tibetan culture, civilization and environment during the last forty years of Chinese communist misrule, he is convinced that Tibet will once again become a zone of Ahimsa, a sanctuary of tradition and spiritual way of life as well as a land of environmental conservation. The entire globe will derive benefit out of it. Free Tibet can perform its legitimate role which cannot only promote global peace and happiness but can also serve the interests of the Chinese people. The spiritual land of Tibet is the immediate neighbour of the vast and ancient land of China. History testifies that Tibet has always been genuine benefactor of the people of China during a span of over one thousand years. Exploitation of Tibet has never been beneficial for China. Instead, it was immensely benefitted by giving protection to Tibet and by strengthening the cordial priest-patron relationship between the two countries. That old relationship can very easily be restored if Tibet regains her freedom. Free Tibet does not necessarily mean a total separation from China. It is the present attitude of the Chinese rulers that compels the Tibetan people to insist on complete separation.

Freedom in Tibetan language is called 'Rangwang'. It is something more than mere translation of the English word 'freedom' or 'independence'. It is an ancient classical word which meant precisely sovereignty, self-control or self-rule. It refers more to self-discipline rather than uncontrolled anarchy. Ultimate freedom is the state of enlightenment without any bondage of *karma* and *klesha* (deeds and mental defaults). Seeds of bondage are reversible and eradicable. To achieve such a freedom, a person needs conducive social and geographical environment within which the

person's mind could flower in goodness and experience the awakening of the unconditioned intelligence. That requires a conducive inner and outer state where the person's basic potential could be developed in its natural form. The fundamental characteristic of Tibet as a nation has been peace, compassion, nonviolence and spirituality. Existence of Tibet could therefore, be justified only if she regained her age-old traditions of spirituality. Tibet would otherwise be similar to any other modern nation and her freedom would then simply be political devoid of any value for the people of Tibet. Tibet sans 'Tibetness' has no meaning for any living being. In the author's opinion the ultimate goal of the Tibetan Freedom Movement is to make the people of Tibet fulfill their Universal responsibility. Political freedom is only a means and not the end.

Tibetan's struggle is, therefore, neither a political movement nor an anti-Chinese activity. It is also not a struggle between two nations or ethnic groups nor is there a conflict of political ideology. It is simply a spiritual longing to restore the space and freedom to perform her birth duties. It is the author's firm belief that if truth and non-violence are not established the existence of humanity on this planet would be impossible in near future. People of Tibet have a unique responsibility for re-establishment of truth and non-violence.

It is in the background of the situation described above that the author has tried to present in brief his views about future Tibet. The ideas are, of course, tentative and subject to revision through a positive and constructive discussion with people believing in Tibetan tradition, human values and freedom. These are simple propositions placed before the Tibetan people for their thoughtful consideration and it is for them to accept, amend or reject them. In all humility and earnestness, the author has ventured to put them before the Tibetan diaspora for giving them a final form as and when the occasion arises.

THE AUTHOR

Sarnath,
18th March, 1996.

TIBET: A FUTURE VISION

Thirty-six years ago, in 1960, the first representative government of the Tibetans was introduced in India with the formation of the Assembly of Tibetan People's Deputies (ATPD) or the Parliament-in-Exile. This was the concretisation of and in consonance with His Holiness the Dalai Lama's earlier plans to democratise the Tibetan Society. In 1991, the Eleventh Assembly came into being as a full-fledged parliamentary body with effective powers over the executive. Since then it has given ample evidence of its maturity in not only safeguarding the rights of the exile community but also preparing them for the future endeavour of their country and their countrymen in Tibet.

The guiding philosophy underlying this is that the future of Tibet shall be determined by the will and vision of the majority of Tibetans living in Tibet at the time and as and when the opportunity arises. There will be no imposition of any ideology or system which is not manifested in the will of the Tibetans themselves.

It has, however, come to be recognized by the Tibetans in Tibet as also the entire Tibetan diaspora spread all over the world that the Tibetan Government-in-Exile, under the leadership of His Holiness the XIV Dalai Lama, is the legitimate government of Tibet and it represents the hope and aspirations of the people of Tibet.

We, the Tibetans-in-Exile, therefore, have the responsibility of presenting ideas, systems, policies and programmes for the people of Tibet, both in Tibet as well as outside as an exile community, for their consideration and to choose from. This is necessary because the people living in Tibet, while under Chinese occupation, have been totally denied education, information about and exposure to the contemporary world. The objective

behind the presentation of the proposed policy and programmes by the Government-in-Exile is not to impose or sell its ideas. It is an attempt to inform the people in Tibet about various future possibilities as well as the directions and basis of His Holiness the Dalai Lama's way of thinking and his perception of future Tibet.

Tibet's Destiny: Tibet's future destiny lies in the restoration of complete freedom, that is in reverting to pre-1951 position. If this is not possible due to compelling reasons Tibet should become a self-governing and self-ruled State in association with the People's Republic of China. This can be achieved through a process on the lines of His Holiness' Strasbourg Proposal.¹

It is an established fact of recent history that the present Chinese military and civil occupation of Tibet is totally illegitimate, unlawful and against the will of the people of Tibet. Obviously, the present situation cannot be allowed to remain for all time to come. China has to be either expelled from Tibet or its relationship with Tibet is to be defined through negotiations. His Holiness the Dalai Lama and his Government-in-Exile have always shown their willingness to start negotiations with the Chinese authorities; however all efforts in this direction have proved futile. The future vision as outlined in this booklet is conceived as apt and suitable in either case of the status of Tibet with minor alterations and modifications, if necessary. This has been put forward in order to share the views with the Tibetan people in particular and inviting global community who believe in and cherish the same concepts of freedom, democracy and moral values.

¹ Made at Strasbourg, France, on June 15, 1988, which was based on the Five Point Peace Plan, spelled out at Washington DC. on September 21, 1987. For the text of these, refer to Appendix I and II.

CHAPTER-I

POLITY

The polity of future Tibet will be committed to the three cardinal principles; truth, non-violence (*ahimsa*) and genuine democracy.

Compassion will be the guiding spirit and ideal of universal responsibility based on the principle of interdependence will be the basic philosophy.

Objectives

- To build a just, humane and prosperous society guided by the light of eternal dharma;
- to secure Tibet as a sanctuary of peace, spirituality and environmental purity; and
- to ensure rule of law and a system based on the eternal ideals of freedom, equality, love, beauty, compassion, justice, non-violence and truth.

Guiding Principles

- Tibet will be a Constitutional Democracy.
- Tibet will be a *swarajya* (self-governing state).
- The *swarajya* will reside in the people of Tibet and the Government will derive authority from them.
- In the constitution of Tibet shall be enriched the Supreme Law of the Land. No person or institution will be above the constitution.
- Tibet will be governed by a Central Government acting in balance and in harmony with local governments; authority of the local government shall be protected and it will be ensure that the unique needs of the local people are met.

- The national and official language of Tibet shall be Tibetan.
- The judicial system shall be independent and equally available to every person.
- The basic guiding principles shall not be subject to constitutional amendment.

Principles of Governance

These will be as follows:

- Compassion, being the most noble virtue of a people and the greatest act of a Government will be the supreme guiding light.
- Tibet will be a zone of *ahimsa* (non-violence), its neutrality being guaranteed by the U.N.
- Tibet will be a sanctuary of environment purity. The responsibility of the Government will be to achieve and sustain pollution free and pristine environment. It shall protect its hinterland, forests and wild life and regulate its urban life and development to achieve perfect balance between nature and society.
- Tibet shall remain the abode of dharma and spirituality. Freedom of religion being inviolable, religious beliefs shall not be imposed on the people.
- Tibet shall remain a repository of traditional culture and spirituality. The culture and traditions of the indigenous and autochthonous people and minorities shall be protected.
- Human rights are inviolable and the Government will ensure their protection.
- All Tibetan citizens shall have the right to life, liberty, property, freedom of speech and expression, to form associations, publish and disseminate information and ideas, as well as also the right to be gainfully employed.
- All citizens of Tibet—men and women—shall have the right of franchise and shall be eligible to hold public office in accordance with the law.

CHAPTER-II

SOCIETY

The future Tibet is conceived as a compact society insulated from divisive forces, be it gender, caste, creed, class, clan, religious denominations, etc. Political, economic and other systems and institutions evolved in free Tibet will discourage any form of groupism detrimental to the integrative character of the society.

Family

The basic social fabric of the country shall be woven around the spirit of harmony, love and care and equality among all the people.

Age-old tradition of joint undivided families based on natural equality of men, women and children will be supported by law, if necessary, and by encouraging growth of social institutions so that old, invalid and dependent persons are cared and provided for in a natural manner. This is crucial since the family is the natural and basic unit of society and is the repository as well as custodian of traditional mores, morals and values. Keeping these in view, the following will be the guiding objectives:

- Facilities shall be provided for the family to ensure its protection and care.
- Children who are orphaned, or are for any reason uncared for, shall be looked after by voluntary institutions or the Government.
- Each child has the right to live freely without being exploited in any manner.

The objective regarding social welfare shall be clearly stated in the “Directive Principles” of the future constitution of Tibet.

Since all persons have a right to a decent standard of living for

themselves and their families, efforts will be directed to minimize the gap between the rich and the poor, the educated and the uneducated, the city dwellers and the residents of villages and the older and the younger generations, in all possible manner. Wealth, position or status, trade and occupation shall not be the basis of social dignity or hierarchy. Action, sense of duty and character would be recognized as the basic social virtues and the dignity of individuals will be determined through them.

Sense of confidence, social security and justice shall be built up by social conduct, law, institutions and the state.

Decentralization

Local self-governments, village panchayats, local governmental and non-governmental institutions shall be strengthened by law and encouraged by the State, through a policy of decentralisation in order to solve special problems and remove dissensions effectively at the local level to minimise litigation and causes which lead to conflict.

The entire territory of the country belongs, by natural law, to the citizens of the country. No person can claim individual ownership of earth, air, water, fire, and space. Based on this principle, the land of the country shall also be owned by the entire people but it shall be available to each citizen according to his need and ability to use it.

CHAPTER-III

ECONOMY

The fundamental principles underlying the future economy of Tibet will be: non-violence, self-sufficiency, right livelihood and harmony with nature. An economy based on these principles may be called Middle Path Economy. It may be made clear that the middle path economy is not the same as mixed economy which makes a pathetic and unsuccessful effort to combine the features of the two opposing economic system, i.e., the capitalist and the socialist system. The middle path economy is free from the opposites and negates both ends. It is, in fact, different from the capitalist or the socialist system of economy. Impermanence and valuelessness of wealth is the central point of this economy. Wealth is for the people and not vice-versa; likewise 'needs' have to be distinguished from 'wants'. The real needs of a noble person are food, house, clothes and medicines. However, material development and economic growth result in a tendency whereby one develops desire to acquire and accumulate more and more and this leads to exaggeration of needs. The entire economy centres round the unending and ever increasing greed for profit. The marketing strategies along with advertising create a consumerist society which thrives on artificially-created wants. In order to present a better and humane alternative to the capitalist economic system the communists devised and developed the socialist economic system. Despite its apparent radicalism and egalitarianism in its essence it had much in common with capitalism. At best it was nothing more than state capitalism. It denied basic economic freedom to the individual and rejected the principle of ownership. With all its aberrations it proved worse than the capitalist system. The unresolvable contradictions made it totally unviable and vulnerable.

In brief, both capitalists and socialist economic systems are equally unsuitable for the wellbeing of human society in general and for

the betterment of the Tibetan society in particular. Thus, there is no appropriate existing model of economic system which could be adopted by Tibet in future. The economic policy has to be based on the concept of self-sufficiency and proper apportioning of surplus growth so as to fulfill the requirements of real need of the people.

Non-Violent Economy

A non-violent economy implies a system free from violence, such as unnecessary killing and torture including that of animals, exploitation of labour, consumers, and indirect violence which includes production, trade and transportation of weapons and financing and supporting people or organisations indulging in violent acts.

Self-Sufficient Economy

A self-sufficient economy will mean that the necessities like food, house, clothes and basic medicines are produced in sufficient quantity within the country, preferably at regional and local levels. It does not, however, imply that nothing can or should be imported from outside: it only means that the total national import must be equal to or less than the total export value and that there is no trade deficit. Foreign aid and contributions may be accepted after carefully scrutinising all aspects. Under no circumstances foreign loan will be accepted, howsoever easy may be the repayment terms and conditions or even if it be interest free.

The future Tibet should have a unique monetary system, the like of which does not exist elsewhere in the world. This will, however, require to be regulated in a manner that its international value remains stable and inflationary conditions are avoided. While banking system is a practical proposition, there will have to be strict control over its operations. Its main functions will be restricted to foster savings and promote productive investments. A minimum possible use of

currency for internal exchange purposes will be permitted. Trade through barter system will be encouraged within the country to simplify trading. The role of money and its absolute value, has to be curbed. Money is easy to accumulate, it is easy to steal and it is also very easy to show off. It has the tendency to change people's mind and condition them. Honesty and integrity of people become easy prey to the monetary affectations. This situation will be avoided.

Harmony with Nature

Tibetan economy shall ensure the maintenance and protection of ecological balance. Ecological degradation results from greed and mindless exploitation of natural resources. To ensure the maintenance of ecological balance economy would be organised on the principles of respect for nature and all forms of life. Among other things it would entail management of land and its use in a scientific manner by equitable proportionate distribution of forest area, grazing area, agriculture land, horticulture area, housing, small private garden, etc. Industrial area will be located and developed separately, away from habitats—both urban and rural. The industrial zones will have only temporary habitation facilities for transferable industrial workers and no permanent residential settlements will be allowed to be built within the prohibited zone. Migration of people from towns and villages to industrial areas will be strictly forbidden.

Each industry will be carefully chosen after considering its pollution and environmental hazards. Strict remedial and precautionary measures will be implemented through appropriate industrial law for environmental protection. Heavy industries requiring heavy transportation of raw material and finished product, using large quantities of fuel, wood and water and which pour out polluted water, and storage of harmful gases, chemicals and like materials, will not be permitted in Future Tibet.

On the other hand, traditional handicrafts, cottage industries and small scale industries will be encouraged and given priority, especially cottage industries like diamond-cutting, watch-making, electronics and computer instrumentation.

Transport and communication will also receive full attention so that there is no isolation either within the country or vis-a-vis the outside world.

Value-based Economy

A value-based economy will be developed to reduce the gap between the rich and the poor. The goals set for eradication of poverty and unemployment will be implemented within a time frame. The first two five year plans will be concentrating on this programme and a reliable system will be evolved to check accumulation of unlimited wealth or capital in the hands of some persons or groups of persons.

Cooperative movement will be promoted and traditional village communities will be restored.

Future Tibet will not join any international finance or trade organisation and in the interest of its own countrymen shall maintain a neutral policy. However, Tibet shall have bilateral mutually advantageous trade relations with other countries, particularly its neighbours like India, Nepal, Bhutan, China, Mongolia and others. Its policy will be that of caution towards the introduction of heavy machinery which is supposed to be time-saving, labour-saving, etc. Machine will not decide the fate of men; men will always control the machines.

CHAPTER-IV

EDUCATION

The main objective of the education policy of Future Tibet shall be to develop the minds of young Tibetans in a manner that they regain their originality and unfold their basic potential in goodness and awakening of intelligence. This may be termed as natural flowering. Dissemination of knowledge and its transmission to individuals will be channelized in order to achieve the aforesaid objective. The aim of education will not be merely to earn livelihood or obtain gainful employment but much more than that.

Traditional Tibetan educational system, originated from the land of the Buddha, always aimed at guiding individuals for attaining elevation and perfection. The purpose of human life is to attain supreme freedom and in that process to lead a blissful and holistic life for which dispelling of ignorance and awakening of wisdom are indispensable. Hence education is directly aimed at dispelling ignorance and generating wisdom combined with compassion. This essential traditional value of education shall not be allowed to be lost in trivialities of forms and modalities of education system.

The State will neither control education nor indulge in the development of human resource to suit the policies of the State. Education will be instrumental only in giving an individual the ability to inquire into everything without any pre-conceived notion. The main responsibility of the State will be to create opportunities and provide facilities for all desirable kinds of learning and research. Education will be given top priority in the national agenda and not less than one-fifth of the annual budget of the central and the state governments combined will be allocated for the purpose.

Teachers will be selected from amongst the best qualified persons

in the society. In order to attract talent, the social status and service conditions of the teachers shall be the highest among all the professions. A cadre of Tibetan Educational Service (TES) will be created which will be the highest cadre of the national services.

The structure of education will be on the following lines:

A. Basic Education

1. Pre-School level: 2 years (age group 4-5 years)
2. School level: 8 years (age group 6+)
3. Intermediate level: 1 year

B. High School Education

Pre-university: 4 years

C. University Education

1. Graduation: 3 years
2. Post-graduation: 2 years
3. Research: (not fixed)

A. Basic Education

It will be the responsibility of the State Government to provide for basic education for 8 years and intermediate education for 1 year, guidelines for which will be laid down by the Central Parliament. Commercialization and elitism in education will not be permitted. There will be universalisation of education at the basic level that is up to the intermediate year. No Tibetan citizen of school-going age will be allowed to remain without proper schooling except those who are duly admitted as monks or nuns in a recognised monastery or nunnery. Any absence from basic schooling will be punishable under law for parents who are found guilty of not sending their children to schools.

Necessary and adequate facilities will be provided by the State for handicapped and disabled children. Entire expenditure on basic school education, including the cost of textbooks, will be borne by the State. Parents will be required to contribute only towards the cost of school dress, transport and stationary. Modern facilities will also be made available for the children provided the cost is shared by parents with infrastructural subsistence coming from the government.

Each village will be provided with a school up to Class V covering the population residing within a distance of 5 kms. There will be a school up to intermediate class within a radius of 10 kms. Children residing in exceptionally remote areas will be provided with either boarding accommodation or transport facilities, as the case may be.

Courses of Study

Tibetan language shall be taught compulsorily from pre-school to the intermediate class. From class V to VIII a foreign language will be taught as an optional subject. The study of classical languages which have profound significance for traditional Tibetan culture will be encouraged.

The other compulsory subjects will include Civics, Ethics, Mathematics and General Science for the students from pre-school level to intermediate level. Preliminary logic will be included in the General Science. Besides, one craft or training in one vocation will be included as an extra subject from Class V to VIII. Labour and productivity will also be a part of school discipline.

Traditional physical exercises and outdoor camps, traditional music, chanting of hymns, singing of classical songs will also be compulsory in the school syllabus; these would however be spaced out in an appropriate and practical manner. To sum up, after passing Class VIII a student should be able to read, write and choose any occupation

and lead a wholesome life.

After Class VIII, most of the student should be leaving the schools to take up some vocation for earning their livelihood. The continuation of family business will be encouraged, the idea being that basic education must not be responsible for turning the recipient into a white-collared worker and delinking him from hereditary family occupation.

It is envisaged that after Class VIII, at least 50 percent of the students will terminate formal schooling with one year of intermediate course. The remaining 50 percent will be carefully selected for further studies. During intermediate class, those students who will be terminating their formal studies will be given one year's basic training in two or three alternative vocations related to their respective family background. By now, the student would have acquired a better know-how and developed an inventive approach.

B. High School Education

The students selected for high school education will be divided into two groups:

- (I) Vocational training along with related academic inputs;
- (II) Academic disciplines—science, humanities, commerce, etc.

(I) Out of the total students under this group not less than 50 percent would be admitted for 4 year High School Education. The syllabus as this stage will include vocational training along with related academic inputs. The vocational courses could be painting, tailoring, carpentry, iron smithy, masonry, weaving and similar other vocational subjects. For imparting adequate training in these areas, polytechnics will be set up. The students will be given clear understanding that they will be terminating their schooling after 4 years and starting their careers. They will not be entitled to pursue

higher education in regular universities.

(II) The other group comprising of not more than 50 percent, who have been adjudged excellent, will be following pure academic courses in *Pancha-mahavidyas* (the five traditional disciplines), science, arts, commerce, etc. The students will be pursuing their university education compulsorily at least up to graduate level.

The State will be providing the basic infrastructure for these schools. While no tuition or capitation fee will be charged, all other expenses will be borne by the student. Outstanding student or economically poor student may be awarded maintenance scholarships for which rules will be laid down.

Entire school education shall be governed by a Basic School Board constituted by the State Government and a High School Board Constituted by the Central Government.

Non-commercial and non-elitist private schools established by voluntary organizations shall have to impart education within the ambit of these guidelines and they will be affiliated to their respective Boards for the purpose of examination.

C. University Education

The State shall have only one University established by law, though it may have one or more campus in each province to cater to university education at regional level.

The University shall offer two types of education:

1. Formal
2. Non-formal

Formal education shall be imparted in the University campuses or

affiliated institutions within a prescribed framework. Non-formal education shall be imparted through Open University system.

Traditional monastic education shall not be governed by the University system.

Any courses of study related to warfare, weapon production, or any experiment involving torture of animals will not be permitted in any institution.

Foreign students would be admitted in accordance with the regulations formulated by the Central Government but no restriction will be imposed for admission of foreign monks in any monastic institution.

CHAPTER-V

HEALTH AND FAMILY WELFARE

Health and family welfare of the citizens will also receive priority, next to education. Tibetan system of medicine will be promoted and given utmost importance. At the same time, modern research work and comparative studies will also be given due encouragement. Likewise, other traditional system such as Ayurveda, acupuncture, acupressure, naturopathy, and even homeopathy will be receiving due attention. At the same time, modern medicine (allopathic system) will also be practised.

Medical Facilities

Fully-equipped hospitals and health centres will be set up within reasonable reach of citizens requiring treatment.

In the first two phases of national planning, facilities of health centres for a population of 2500 and a full-fledged hospital for 20,000 citizens will be provided. Besides, one medical doctor will be available for each group of 2500 persons.

Preventive Measures

Preventive measures against epidemics and infectious diseases will receive adequate attention. For proper child health care, vaccinations shall be given regularly. Birth control may not be immediately necessary keeping in view the small population of the country at present, however other issues related with family planning, e.g., minimum age for marriage, gap between two children, etc., will be resolved through legislation, if necessary.

Intake of fast food and production of preserved food will be

discouraged or would be properly regulated. Standardization of eatable item and control of supply of food and drinks, etc., shall be kept under close scrutiny and control of health department. Efforts will be made so as to use water from natural streams of wells. In the event of drinking water through supply system becoming unpotable, proper drinking water will have to be provided by other means. Chemical disinfectants and pest control agencies will be avoided as far as possible. Use of chemical fertilizers and similar other means of agriculture, horticulture and fruit growth will also be avoided.

Sewage system and drainage would be standardized by law and recycling of garbage for use as fertilizers will be encouraged. Public transportation facilities will be planned in a manner so as to minimise pollution and tensions.

CHAPTER-VI

RELIGION

Tibet is known to the world for more than 1200 years as the land of 'spiritualism'. Undoubtedly, Tibet has devoted all its genius to the inner exploration. And its findings, reflected in its unique culture, are of tremendous value for the entire humanity. The people and the state, throughout this long passage of history considered preservation and promotion of spirituality as the paramount objective and all other activities were aimed at the realization of this inner experience.

Since the establishment of Buddhism in Tibet through royal patronage and initiative, the unique and the famous expression "Chos Srid Zung Drel", meaning the union of Dharma and Polity became the popular expression for describing the nature of state policy. Consequently a large share of state power and revenue was utilised for maintenance and promotion of universal heritage and welfare of monks; monasteries, temple, religious institutions, etc. Many westerners misconstrued the ancient Tibet and state with theocratic form which is not true since Buddhism is an atheist religion.

In pre-Buddhist times, the state was under the influence of Bon and subsequently after adoption of Buddhism, the latter always remained the state religion. However, despite this, the microscopic minorities in Tibet, such as the Bon, the Christians and the Muslims were also enjoying complete religious freedom and living in a state of harmony and security. The Buddhist way of life provided the best cultural fabric with no fragmentation and discrimination of any kind.

Preservation and Promotion of Spiritual Heritage

In free Tibet, preservation and promotion of spiritual heritage shall, therefore, be receiving utmost attention of the state. Preservation,

promotion and dissemination of Tibet's unique spiritual heritage for the entire humanity is considered sacred duty and obligation of the people of Tibet, more so, after reaching out to the modern world living in freedom in exile. It shall be the responsibility of the state to see that all efforts are made for attaining this objective by giving it a concrete shape. Evidently, this would mean that the nature of state polity shall be secular in the real sense of the term.

The misuse—or rather abuse of the word “secularism” has led to a distorted and misconstrued meaning of this expression. It is commonly understood as anti-religious or anti-spiritual or a kind of faith unrelated to “Dharma”. But secularism in free Tibet would mean that the state would be aware of its empirical limitations and may not interfere in the sphere of spiritual life of the people in general and individuals in particular.

Freedom of Religion

Freedom of conscience, freedom of religion as well as freedom not to believe in any particular religion shall be the fundamental right of the people duly guaranteed under constitution. The law of the land shall not be guided by any spiritual tradition, scriptures, religious teachings and/or institutions. The entire nation shall follow and be subject to a uniform civil/code law. Secular ethics and fundamental morality as transmitted through spiritual traditions shall, however, form the basis of law-making process. The legislated rule will be applicable to all without any exception. The state shall have due regard for each and every spiritual tradition and/or religious order and all different traditions shall have equal rights and privileges notwithstanding the number of their followers or believers.

Administration of Religious Affairs

There shall be a Council of Religious (Spiritual) Affairs, which will

be a constitutional authority. His Holiness the Dalai Lama will be the supreme patriarch of this Council. The constitution will have provision for appointing regencies in the absence of His Holiness and the functioning of the Council shall be regulated through adequate legislation.

All the monasteries, temples and other spiritual institutions shall be under the administrative control of the Council of Religious Affairs (CRA) and governed by it. Laws and regulations for their governance shall be framed by CRA. Maintenance of discipline in monastic establishments, laying down of eligibility conditions for the inmates and various functionaries with a view to controlling the quality and regulating the number of monks, nuns and other spiritual practitioners shall be the responsibility of CRA.

Each individual, above the age of 18, which declares himself as the believer of any spiritual faith shall be required to pay “spiritual tax” prescribed under the law from time to time and this part of revenue shall be exclusively utilised for spiritual affairs under the control of and monitoring of the CRA. Financial support for religious purposes shall be given on the basis of the number of persons following them.

CHAPTER-VII

CULTURE

The concept and paradigms of culture as understood today are a contribution of western thought. Buddhist tradition does not spell out anything about culture, until perhaps in very recent times. The meaning of culture as understood today is the result of interaction between western thought and Indian tradition during the course of the last century or so. In the present context the word *Sanskriti* is employed for culture while in western concept, the definition of culture has been varying both in time and space. It is, therefore, easy to talk about culture in consonance with the Tibetan worldview.

Tibetan View of Culture

The three stages representing change, from natural to well-cultivated and then decay, i.e., *prakriti*, *sanskriti* and *vikriti* is nearer to our concept of culture. In this context we conceive culture as the mature stage of civilization—always and absolutely on the positive and creative side. The perception of the negative side as that of culture of war, conflict or violence, as understood by the western world is totally alien to the Tibetan viewpoint.

Culture and Dharmic Education

Truly speaking, culture is a state of mind acquired through education and practice of morality—which is the source of creativity. Culture, therefore, manifests itself in the way of life as also in the form of creative performing or the visual arts. Against this background, we conceive of future Tibet wherein all efforts shall be made to preserve and protect the purity of collective and individual minds of the Tibetan people by imparting *dharmic* education. Here too, the *dharmic* education will not mean non-secular education. It foresees an educational

pattern under which both the system and content of education are based on the process of inner development generated from mind free from prejudices, and blind faith, unaffected by indoctrination or influenced by commercialized artificial information. Freedom, natural growth and flowering of individual mind shall be considered as the basic source of cultural development and no efforts will be spared to preserve traditions which will ensure this process.

The desired social conditions will be created through mass education using effective communication skill and, wherever necessary, legislation will guarantee it. People will be encouraged to maintain traditional ways of life, be it the food habits, dress, customs, housekeeping or similar other chores.

Ministry of Cultural Affairs

A full-fledged Ministry of Cultural Affairs will be set up which will organize archaeological explorations of historical sites and their excavation, preservation of monuments, artifacts, etc. Libraries, museums and archives will be set up at different levels—national, state, district and local—under uniform central legislation. Framing of stringent laws for prevention of smuggling of antiquities and adequate enforcement machinery will receive high priority. Appropriate legislation will be passed for registration and maintenance of antiquities and objects of cultural value in the possession of individuals. Music, dance, drama, folklore will receive due attention and patronage of the state.

Promotion of Traditional Crafts

All kinds of handicrafts in metal, wood, stone, textile, terracotta, etc., shall be promoted. Non-governmental organisations, which are engaged in cultural activities, will receive adequate support. Local arts and crafts will receive full attention of the government since

these are facing near extinction due to social, political and economic subjugation of the Tibetans in Tibet.

Traditional festivals and rituals will form part of socio-cultural milieu of the country as it was prior to Chinese occupation. The State would ensure an expenditure of a minimum of 4 percent out of the nation's budget for preservation, protection and promotion of cultural activities; this would also serve as an effective medium of non-formal education.

CHAPTER-VIII

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Basically, the plan foresees Future Tibet as a “Zone of Ahimsa”, implying a demilitarized region, having no alignment with any big power or a power bloc and non-involvement in any kind of the production of arms.

In the event of a workable association with China, diplomatic relations with other countries will be the responsibility of China, yet the Tibetans will have the right to deal with other countries directly for trade and commerce and in areas of education, cultural exchange, etc. Tibet shall also hold independent views *vis-a-vis* the other countries notwithstanding their relations with China. Tibet will evolve and maintain its own modalities about non-involvement in war or weaponry production and its trade or transportation.

In the event of Tibet regaining complete independence, it shall remain totally neutral and non-aligned. It shall have most cordial and friendly relations based on the principles of compassion, fraternity, co-existence and policy of non-interference. It shall maintain an absolutely transparent approach with each and every nation and relations shall be founded on truth and the principles of inter-dependence and universal responsibility and not on the basis of self or mutual petty interests like short-term commercial or political gains. The boundaries of Tibet will be properly demarcated and well defined. While doing so, Tibet shall respect the views and wishes of all its neighbouring countries and not adopt any rigid attitude. Traditional and historical boundaries will be protected as far as possible. Indo-Tibet border, in particular, will be in accordance with the McMohan line as agreed by Shimla Convention of 1914.

Tibet will not consider any country unfriendly but will always oppose

any kind of violation of human rights, suppression of democratic norms, eruption or threat of any violent action, terrorism, religious fanaticism, cultural domination, imposition of language, religious practices and economic and political systems; production and experimentation of nuclear or chemical arms.

Free Access to Places of Pilgrimage

Tibet may prefer to make some of its major places of pilgrimage freely accessible to devotees of various faiths, such as Kailash, Mansarovar, Lhasa and Samyas where within specified areas, pilgrims could go and move about without any restriction. However, only limited number of places will be opened for foreign tourism due to cultural and environmental reasons.

Role in Resolving Conflicts

Tibet will play an active role in resolving conflicts between ethnic groups or nations through non-violent methods and peaceful negotiations. It will also assist or participate actively in cultural affairs, human rights movement and environmental activities of the United Nations or similar other organisations.

Tibet will help and assist in the dissemination of cultural and spiritual heritage wherever required. No foreign national will be allowed to use the territory of Tibet for any kind of activity which directly or indirectly involves violence or is against the interests of any other nation or people. Special protection and privilege will be extended to refugees seeking asylum in Tibet for legitimate reasons. Known criminals or terrorist will not be given shelter in Tibet.

Cooperation among Nations

Cooperation amongst small nations and regional blocs will be

encouraged and Tibet will take initiative in bringing them together. His Holiness has made it clear that “among different nations there must be equal concern for the welfare of even the smallest nation...A variety of political systems and ideologies is desirable to enrich the human community so long as all people are free to evolve their own political and socio-economic system, based on self-determination. If people from poor countries are denied the happiness they desire and deserve, they will naturally be dissatisfied and pose problems for the rich. If unwanted...Imposition by one nation upon another continues, the attainment of world peace is doubtful”.

A universal humanitarian approach to world problems seems to be the only sound basis for world peace and sharing universal responsibility shall be the Magna Carta of future Tibet's foreign policy.

CHAPTER-IX

ENVIRONMENT

According to Tibetan world-view, environment is not an abstract compartmentalized concept; it is part of the lifestyle in its totality. In accordance with this, the entire socio-cultural, economic, religious and traditional scenario will be projected on the nation's canvas to draw a composite, harmonious and nature-friendly eco-system. Relationship between man and animal, man and nature is deeply integrated with religious as well as material considerations.

Tibet's Unique Geo-physical Situation

Apart from this, Tibet has a special role to play in the field of environment for the world in general and the Asian region in particular, due to its geo-physical situation. Being the 'roof of the world' and the land of origin of many great rivers, it controls the environmental and weather conditions of the region to a very great extent. Therefore, His Holiness the Dalai Lama's emphasis for maintaining Tibet as a zone of non-violence and a sanctuary of environmental preservation is rightly placed.

Restoration of Damaged Environment

One of the most sacred and urgent tasks in free Tibet will be the restoration of its damaged environment and eco-system. A comprehensive survey will be undertaken to examine the state of affairs in industrial establishments, production centers, agricultural outfits, mode of transportation, planning of towns and habitats, land use, etc. All such industrial complexes and activities which are not found to be eco-friendly shall be closed down notwithstanding the financial loss. Environmental preservation will receive prime consideration in Free Tibet's agenda.

Friendly Eco-growth

It will be ensured that at least thirty-three percent of country's territory at all time is covered by forests and/or reserved for forestry. Urban development and town planning shall be controlled by legislation to prevent concentration of population at few places and growth of unplanned habitats and houses. While giving due consideration to the needs of commuters, the authorities will strive to ensure that the public transport system remains eco-friendly. Maximum use of solar energy will be made; use of fuel, etc., for generating power shall be controlled.

Traditional Methods of Agriculture

The entire agriculture system will be reorganized in order to revert back to traditional methods of agriculture. Total ban will be imposed on the use of chemical fertilizers, pesticides and anti-termite treatments. Wild life will be protected as it used to be prior to Chinese occupation.

The multiplicity and bio-diversity will be conserved at all costs. All religious practices and rituals shall be encouraged and restored which reflect the idea of environment and ecology in accordance with the ancient traditions. Lakes, ponds, rivers, streams shall be maintained as per ancient customs and traditions. Strict legislation shall be passed to regulate the use of mines and minerals. No industry, whether small, big or cottage, shall be allowed to be established unless cleared by environmental experts. Areas for setting up industrial complexes will be allowed only after thorough investigation in regard to their suitability and if they are not likely to result in harmful effects on the environment of the concerned region. The so-called "plastic" culture will be strictly discouraged.

All methods of transport and communications, be it air or road

transport, will be carefully regulated. Transport through big rivers will be commenced so as to avoid road transport as far as possible. Inflow of sillage and sewage into rivers and other water resources will also be controlled. Removal of garbage, too, will receive high priority.

All environmental issues—direct or indirect—will be a matter of serious concern in free and future Tibet.

APPENDIX-I

STRASBOURG PROPOSAL

The whole of Tibet known as Cholka-Sum (U-tsang, Kham and Amdo) should become a self-governing democratic political entity founded on law by agreement of the people for the common good and the protection of themselves and their environment, in association with the People's Republic of China.

The Government of the People's Republic of China could remain responsible for Tibet's foreign policy. The Government of Tibet should, however, develop and maintain relations, through its own Foreign Affairs Bureau, in the fields of religion, commerce, education, culture, tourism, science, sports and other non-political activities. Tibet should join international organisations concerned with such activities.

The Government of Tibet should be founded on continuation of basic law. The basic law should provide for a democratic system of government entrusted with the task of ensuring equality, social justice and protection of the environment. This means that the Government of Tibet will have the right to decide on all affairs relating to Tibet and the Tibetans.

As individual freedom is the real source and potential of any society's development, the Government of Tibet would seek to ensure this freedom by full adherence to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, including the rights to speech, assembly and religion. Because religion constitutes the source of Tibet's national identity, and spiritual values lie at the very heart to Tibet's rich culture, it would be the special duty of the Government of Tibet to safeguard and develop its practice.

The Government should comprise a popularly elected Chief Executive, a bi-cameral legislative branch, and an independent judicial system. Its seat should be in Lhasa.

The social and economic system of Tibet should be determined in accordance with the wishes of the Tibetan people, bearing in mind especially the need to raise the standard of living of the entire population.

The Government of Tibet would pass strict laws to protect wildlife and plant life. The exploitation of natural resources would be carefully regulated. The manufacture, testing and stockpiling of nuclear weapons and other armaments must be prohibited, as well as the use of nuclear power and other technologies which produce hazardous waste. It would be the Government of Tibet's goal to transform Tibet into our planet's largest natural reserve.

A regional peace conference should be called to ensure that Tibet becomes a genuine sanctuary of peace through demilitarisation. Until such a peace conference can be convened and demilitarisation and neutralisation achieved, China could have the right to maintain a restricted number of military installations in Tibet. These must be solely for defence purposes.

In order to create an atmosphere of trust, conducive to fruitful negotiations, the Chinese Government should cease its human rights violations in Tibet and abandon its policy of transferring Chinese to Tibet.

APPENDIX-II

FIVE POINT PEACE PLAN

This peace plan contains five basic components:

1. Transformation of the whole of Tibet into a zone of peace;
2. Abandonment of China's population transfer policy which threatens the very existence of the Tibetans as a people;
3. Respect for the Tibetan people's fundamental human rights and democratic freedom;
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 dumping of nuclear waste;
5. Commencement of earnest negotiations on the future status of Tibet and of relations between the Tibetan and Chinese peoples.

Let me explain these five components.

1. I propose that the whole of Tibet, including the eastern provinces of Kham and Amdo, be transformed into a zone of 'ahimsa', a Hindi term used to mean a state of peace and non-violence.

The establishment of such a peace zone would be in keeping with Tibet's historical role as a peaceful and neutral Buddhist nation and buffer state separating the continent's great powers. It would also be in keeping with Nepal's proposal to proclaim Nepal a peace zone and with China's declared support for such a proclamation. The peace zone proposed by Nepal should have a much greater impact if it were to include Tibet and neighbouring areas.

The establishing of a peace zone in Tibet would require withdrawal of Chinese troops and military installations from the country, which would enable India also to withdraw troops and military installations

from the Himalayan regions bordering Tibet. This would be achieved under an international agreement which would satisfy China's legitimate security needs and build trust among the Tibetan, Indian, Chinese and other peoples of the region. This is in everyone's best interest, particularly that of China and India, as it would enhance their security, while reducing the economic burden of maintaining a high troop concentration on the disputed Himalayan border.

Historically, relations between China and India were never strained. It was only when Chinese armies marched into Tibet, creating for the first time a common border, that tensions arose between these two powers, ultimately leading to the 1962 war. Since then numerous dangerous incidents have continued to occur. A restoration of good relations between the world's two most populous countries would be greatly facilitated if they were separated—as they were throughout history—by a large and friendly buffer region.

To improve relations between the Tibetan people and the Chinese, the first requirement is the creation of trust. After the holocaust of the last decades in which over one million Tibetans—one-sixth of the population—lost their lives and at least as many lingered in prison camps because of their religious beliefs and love of freedom, only a withdrawal of Chinese troops could start a genuine process of reconciliation. The vast occupation force in Tibet is a daily reminder to the Tibetans of the oppression and suffering they have all experienced. A troop withdrawal would be an essential signal that in the future a meaningful relationship might be established with the Chinese, based on friendship and trust.

2. The population transfer of Chinese into Tibet, which the government in Beijing pursues in order to force a "final solution" to the Tibetan problem by reducing the Tibetan population to an insignificant and disenfranchised minority in Tibet itself, must be stopped.

The massive transfer of Chinese civilians into Tibet in violation of the Fourth Geneva Convention (1949) threatens the very existence of the Tibetans as a distinct people. In the eastern part of our country, the Chinese now greatly outnumber Tibetans. In the Amdo province, for example, where I was born, there are, according to Chinese statistics, 2.5 million Chinese and only 750,000 Tibetans. Even in the so-called Tibet Autonomous Region (i.e., Central and Western Tibet), Chinese Government sources now confirm that Chinese outnumber Tibetans.

The Chinese population transfer policy is not new. It has been systematically applied to other areas before. Earlier in this century the Manchus were a distinct race with their own culture and traditions. Today only two to three million Manchurians are left in Manchuria, where seventy-five million Chinese have settled. In Eastern Turkestan, which the Chinese now call Xinjiang, the Chinese population has grown from 200,000 in 1949 to seven million, more than half of the total population of thirteen million. In the wake of the Chinese colonisation of Inner Mongolia, Chinese number 8.5 million and Mongols only 2.5 million.

Today, in the whole of Tibet 7.5 million Chinese settlers have already been sent, outnumbering the Tibetan population of six million. In central and western Tibet, now referred to by the Chinese as the “Tibet Autonomous Region”, Chinese sources admit the 1.9 million Tibetans already constitute a minority of the region’s population. These numbers do not take (into consideration) the estimated 300,000-500,000 troops in Tibet into account—250,000 of them in the so-called Tibet Autonomous Region.

For the Tibetans to survive as a people, it is imperative that the population transfer is stopped and Chinese settlers return to China. Otherwise Tibetans will soon be no more than a tourist attraction and relic of a noble past.

3. *Fundamental human rights and democratic freedom must be respected in Tibet. The Tibetan people must once again be free to develop culturally, intellectually, economically and spiritually, and to exercise basic democratic freedom.*

Human rights violations in Tibet are among the most serious in the world. Discrimination is practised in Tibet under a policy of “apartheid” which the Chinese call “segregation and assimilation”. Tibetans are, at best, second class citizens in their own country. Deprived of all basic democratic rights and freedom, they exist under a colonial administration in which all real power is wielded by Chinese officials of the Communist Party and the army.

Although the Chinese government allows Tibetans to rebuild some Buddhist monasteries and to worship in them, it still forbids serious study and teaching of religion. Only a small number of people, approved by the Communist Party, are permitted to join the monasteries.

While Tibetans in exile exercise their democratic rights under a constitution promulgated by me in 1963, thousands of our countrymen suffer in prisons and labour camps in Tibet for their religious or political convictions.

4. *Serious efforts must be made to restore the natural environment in Tibet. Tibet should not be used for the production of nuclear weapons and the dumping of nuclear waste.*

Tibetans have a great respect for all forms of life. This inherent feeling is enhanced by the Buddhist faith, which prohibits the harming of all sentient beings, whether human or animal. Prior to the Chinese invasion, Tibet was an unspoiled wilderness sanctuary in a unique natural environment. Sadly, in the past decades the wildlife and the forests of Tibet have been almost totally destroyed by the Chinese.

The effects on Tibet's delicate environment have been devastating. What little is left in Tibet must be protected and efforts must be made to restore the environment to its balanced state.

China uses Tibet for the production of nuclear weapons and may also have started dumping nuclear waste in Tibet. Not only does China plan to dispose of its own nuclear waste but also that of other countries, who have already agreed to pay Beijing to dispose of their toxic materials.

The dangers this presents are obvious. Not only living generations, but future generations are threatened by China's lack of concern for Tibet's unique and delicate environment.

5. Negotiations on the future status of Tibet and the relationship between the Tibetan and Chinese peoples should be started in earnest.

We wish to approach this subject in a reasonable and realistic way, in a spirit of frankness and conciliation and with a view to finding a solution that is in the long-term interest of all: the Tibetans, the Chinese, and all other peoples concerned. Tibetans and Chinese are distinct peoples, each with their own country, history, culture, language and way of life. Differences among peoples must be recognised and respected. They need not, however, form obstacles to genuine cooperation where this is in the mutual benefit of both peoples. It is my sincere belief that if the concerned parties were to meet and discuss their future with an open mind and a sincere desire to find a satisfactory and just solution, a breakthrough could be achieved. We must all exert ourselves to be reasonable and wise, and to meet in a spirit of frankness and understanding.

Let me end on a personal note. I wish to thank you for the concern and support which you and so many of your colleagues and fellow citizens have expressed for the plight of oppressed people everywhere.

The fact that you have publicly shown your sympathy for us Tibetans has already had a positive impact on the lives of our people inside Tibet. I ask for your continued support at this critical time in our country's history.