



TIBET AND THE TIBETAN PEOPLE'S STRUGGLE

10 March Statements of
His Holiness the Dalai Lama
(1961-2005)

P R E F A C E

The event that unfolded in Lhasa on 10 March 1959 marks an important chapter in the history of Tibet. The Tibetan people rose in spontaneous uprising against the Chinese government, which the latter crushed by military force. Ever since then, Tibetans across the globe remember that fateful event as the Tibetan National Uprising Day.

This book is a compilation of statements made by His Holiness the Dalai Lama on the anniversaries of the Tibetan people's peaceful uprising from 1961 until 2005. It is noteworthy that His Holiness began to issue formal statements in writing only from the second anniversary (1961) onwards, albeit he did address the Tibetan people on the first anniversary (1960) as well. As such, his first anniversary speech is not included in this volume.

A careful study of these statements reveals His Holiness the Dalai Lama's persistent efforts to inject democracy into the political life of the Tibetan Diaspora: beginning with the establishment of the Assembly of Tibetan People's Deputies in 1960, through its enlarged composition in 1991, and to the direct election of the political leadership by the Tibetan rank and file in 2001. The fact that His Holiness has transformed the very nature of our freedom struggle into a total non-violent endeavour—by enunciating a political concept of what is popularly known as the Middle-Way Approach to resolve the issue of Tibet—is also self-evident in between these lines. Moreover, they show us the ever-increasing role performed by the international community and the Tibet support groups the world

over in bringing the issue of Tibet to this level of visibility on the global stage.

While we dedicate this book to His Holiness the Dalai Lama on his 70th birthday celebration, it is hoped that this will serve as a valuable resource for all those people who are interested in, and those who support, the rightful struggle of the six million Tibetan people for greater freedoms in Tibet.

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**Statement of His Holiness the Dalai Lama on
the Second Anniversary of the Tibetan
National Uprising Day**

10 March 1961

On the 10th of March 1959 the Tibetan people reasserted their independence, suffering almost nine years of foreign domination. Foreign rule, alas, still continues in Tibet but I am proud to know that the spirit of our people remains uncrushed and unshaken in their resolve to fight on till independence is regained. I know that the struggle, which began a few years ago is still being waged in Tibet against the invader and the oppressor who masquerades under the name and guise of “liberator”. I can confidently assert that the civilised world is, every day, becoming more and more aware of those, who, in the name of liberation, are crushing out the freedom of defenceless neighbours.

The world has been made aware of the terrible happenings in Tibet by the two illuminating reports of the International Commission of Jurists. These reports have pointed out that the Chinese have, ruthlessly, trampled on the elementary human rights of our people, that thousands of our people have been killed for the only reason that they asserted their right to live in the manner they desired to do, following their cultural and religious heritage. The reports have further pointed out that the Chinese have been guilty of genocide by reason of their killing many Tibetans with the intent of destroying the Tibetan religion and by deporting thousands of children to China.

The sympathy aroused in the world was evidenced by the fact that the United Nations by their Resolution in 1959 appealed for the cessation of practices depriving the **Tibetan people of their fundamental human rights and their traditional autonomy**. I assert that it is **not autonomy but independence of which we have been deprived**. Any-

way, so far as the Chinese are concerned, the appeal fell on deaf ears. Things have become worse as is clear from the steady and unceasing flow of refugees from Tibet.

As further evidence of that sympathy, we had in New Delhi in April 1960, a Convention by the representatives of 19 nations, convened by the respected Indian leader, Shri Jayaprakash Narayan. This Convention brought to the notice of the world the happenings in Tibet. The Afro-Asian Council, established by the Convention sent its representatives to New York to support the Tibetan appeal in the World Assembly in 1960. On behalf of the Tibetan people, I express my sincere thanks to the Afro-Asian Council for the great interest they have taken in our cause and the valuable help they have rendered. I am glad to learn that the Council is deputing Shri Purshottam Trikamdaas to be in New York when the Assembly reconvenes.

Shortly the question of Tibet will come up for discussion in the plenary session of the U.N. Assembly. I appeal to our sponsors and to the Assembly to get the Chinese to vacate their aggression and to help restore the independence of Tibet. Any half measures will be of little avail. Our gratitude is due to the federation of Malaya, Thailand, Ireland and El Salvador for sponsoring our cause. May I appeal to India, our great neighbour, which has given refuge to thousands of us, to lend its powerful support to our cause.

Recently the United Nations passed a resolution on the declaration of the grant of independence to colonial possessions. Our country, which was till recently independent, has been reduced to the status of a colonial possession. We cannot in any event be denied the right to self-determination.

I am aware that the Tibetan people, inside Tibet, are undergoing the travail, that foreign rule brings in its wake. I appeal to them to keep up their spirit and their resolve to regain their independence. On my part, I need hardly say,

I am far from happy to be away from my country and my beloved and brave people. I want to tell them that I share with them their hopes and their agony.

To the thousands of my countrymen in India, Nepal, Bhutan and Sikkim, I want to say that a heavy responsibility devolves on all of us to prepare ourselves for the day when we can return to our country and build a happier and greater independent Tibet. New Tibet will need thousands of trained and skilled men and women, necessary to bring Tibet in consonance with the spirit of democracy without losing our cultural and religious heritage or our soul.

During the Chinese occupation, before I was compelled by circumstances to leave Tibet, the Kashag and myself made efforts to introduce land and other reforms in Tibet but as is well known our efforts were blocked by the Chinese. The Communists are today forcing what they call reforms down the throats of our people. I have given careful consideration to these so-called reforms and I have come to the conclusion that at the end of the reforms the Tibetan people will be reduced to the state of mental and economic serfdom.

Such reforms are not in consonance with the Charter of the U.N. nor with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The reforms that I visualise must, while preserving the intellectual, moral and religious freedom, bring about an equitable distribution of wealth of the country. In this connection I shall repeat what I said sometime back in Dalhousie: "In order to make Tibet a rich, strong and vigorous nation, the special privileges and the large estates enjoyed, whether by monasteries or the aristocratic families, will have to go and every one will have to learn to live with and help the common people." I further said, "Changes must come in all spheres. The governmental structure will also have to undergo far-reaching reforms so that the people are more intimately associated with the policies of the government and the administration of the country. The task and

responsibility of establishing improved political and religious institutions lies upon all of us.”

I am preparing a draft of the constitutional and economic structure, which I visualise for our country and I shall place it shortly before the representatives of the Tibetan people in India and the neighbouring countries for their consideration. Ultimately it will be the whole Tibetan people who will have to decide.

The world has become very rightly concerned by recent murders in the Congo. I join my voice in condemning these murders whether in the Congo or in Algeria or elsewhere. I would, however, ask the world not to forget that thousands of Tibetans have been and are being killed for the only reason that they refused to accept foreign domination.

I want to remind my countrymen inside and outside Tibet that God's ways are inscrutable and the travail of Tibet cannot be to no purpose. The cause of Truth and Justice must prevail and out of this night of horror and suffering a bright day for Tibet and its people is bound to dawn.

I want to express my deep gratitude to India, Bhutan, Sikkim and Nepal for the hospitality and the kindness, which we have received from these neighbours of ours. I must also express my gratitude to the various international and Indian institutions and individuals, who have given generous aid for the relief of our refugees. Since refugees are still pouring in, I shall appeal to everyone to continue to help us in the same generous way they have done so far.

Finally, I request my people to join me in my prayer for peace in the world.

**Statement of His Holiness the Dalai Lama on
the Third Anniversary of the Tibetan
National Uprising Day**

10 March 1962

This day, three years ago, the unarmed and peaceful people of Lhasa rose against the armed might of their conquerors. No sacrifice was too great for them, and they gladly laid down their lives in defence of their land and liberty. The reign of terror still continues; and every day that passes more and more refugees are fleeing to the neighbouring states to escape from inhuman treatment and persecution. But the spirit of the people has not been and cannot be crushed. Those who cannot escape are still offering passive resistance to the unwelcome measures of the authorities in military occupation of Tibet. The heroic struggle of the Tibetan people still goes on. Their courage and determination still inspire them to defend their hearths and homes against the ruthless attacks of the invaders. Their belief in the future destiny of Tibet is still unshaken, and they still remain proud of their cherished heritage. Today, in this grim hour of tragedy, our hearts naturally turn towards them. To them we all Tibetans in exile bow in gratitude and admiration. To them I send my blessings. For them I lift my voice, this day as on other days, and pray that the great Lord of Mercy may grant them succour and sustenance to enable them to face their ordeal with unflinching courage and devotion.

We, here in exile, cannot materially help our people in Tibet, who are confronted with destruction of all that they love and cherish. We can only pray with all the strength of our hearts that their nightmare of agony and terror will disappear in the not too distant future. A heavy responsibility lies on all of us to do all that is possible to hasten the end of this sad plight of our people. On this day we must not fail to remember that our first obligation is to the people

whom we have left behind and who cannot escape from the trials and tribulations of foreign domination. We must be united as we have always been. A great task lies ahead of us. The events and circumstances during the last three years which forced me and my people to be exiled from our own country have already aroused the conscience of the civilised world. The sufferings of my people were such that there was no alternative for us but to give at least some indication of their full truth. As a result of these sustained efforts, not only by us but also by many friendly States, a resolution was passed last year by the General Assembly of the United Nations. I consider that this resolution is a distinct advance in the furtherance of our cause. It not only expresses grave concern of the world authority at the unfortunate events which are taking place in Tibet but also sets out two definite objectives for the future. It clearly lays down that the fundamental rights and freedoms of the Tibetan people must be restored. It also recognises for the first time the right of the people of Tibet to determine and shape their destiny. I am fully conscious of the fact that the passing of the resolution cannot immediately lead to the cessation of the oppressive policies and measures of the conqueror. However, I earnestly hope and pray that the appeal of the United Nations will not go unheeded by the great Chinese people. The government of China was a party to the declaration made at the historic meeting of Afro-Asian Powers at Bandung which reaffirmed the fundamental principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The government of China has also affirmed that the subjection of peoples to alien domination and exploitation constitutes a denial of fundamental human rights, an offence against the Charter of the United Nations and is an impediment to the promotion of world peace and co-operation. If these declarations have any meaning at all, the Chinese government must realise that the measures which have been adopted by its

representatives in Tibet constitute total negation of these principles. It must also realise that there must be an end to the policy of force and intimidation which it is pursuing in Tibet and that the only solution to the Tibetan problem is a peaceful settlement consistent with the fundamental rights and freedoms of the Tibetan people.

I, therefore, take this opportunity to appeal to the Chinese people to cease immediately the persecution and oppression of my people. The resolution of the General Assembly of the United Nations also calls upon the member States to take appropriate measures for achieving the purposes of the resolution. I hope, therefore, that even if the appeal to the government of China is ignored, the leading peace-loving nations of the world will not hesitate to mediate on behalf of the poor and unfortunate people of Tibet to regain their freedom. We are all deeply grateful to the States which have espoused our cause and taken a lead in persuading the United Nations to interest itself in the restoration of Tibetan freedom. We have every confidence that, as in the past, they will continue to endeavour to promote the cause of peace and freedom in Tibet.

So far more than 70,000 refugees have sought asylum in the neighbouring States of India, Sikkim, Bhutan and Nepal. They have been driven by the situation in Tibet to save themselves from death and destruction despite the hardships and difficulties they have had to encounter on the way. This mass exodus of refugees clearly shows the intolerable conditions under which the people of Tibet are living today. But what is more important is that something must be done, and done now, to help these refugees and to rehabilitate them in suitable places in India and elsewhere. A great deal has already been done by the government of India and by the other organisations, both national and private, who have come generously to our assistance. I am deeply grateful to the government of India and the organisations concerned. But a great deal remains still to be done, and the

continuous influx of refugees is increasing our task. I have no doubt that all men and women all over the world, who love peace and freedom, must be gravely concerned at the unfortunate situation in which my people find themselves today. I, therefore, appeal to them once again to come forward with whatever help they can give us and assist us in improving the lot of these unhappy and destitute refugees from Tibet.

May God's blessings be upon all mankind, and may truth and justice prevail.

**Statement of His Holiness the Dalai Lama on
the Fourth Anniversary of the Tibetan
National Uprising Day**

10 March 1963

A year has rolled by since I spoke to my beloved people on this memorable day to mark the spontaneous upsurge of the peace-loving and devout people of Tibet against the ruthless and insensate conquerors. Since then there has been no respite in the struggle of my unfortunate people for peace and freedom. The night of terror still continues. Hundreds of people are being massacred to satisfy the greed and impious ambition of the Chinese military leaders. The revered places of worship are being destroyed or converted into arsenals for conquest and oppression. Famine and starvation stalk our beloved land. Refugees are fleeing to the neighbouring States to escape from cruel and inhuman persecution. The passive resistance of our people still continues. Vivid accounts of unspeakable misery are still being brought to us in exile. The situation continues to be desperate and hopeless. But those of our unfortunate brothers and sisters who remain in Tibet must not lose their faith in the ultimate victory of truth. I believe and believe firmly that the faith and spirit of my people cannot be broken. I believe and believe firmly that evil cannot last forever. It is my earnest faith and hope that the time will come when our struggle for freedom and independence will bring about the end of this vicious and barbarous rule. This memorable day as on other days, I pray with all earnestness and fervour that the great Avalokiteswara may **grant my beloved people courage and determination to enable them to continue their passive struggle against tyranny and oppression.**

In my message last year I referred to the resolution of the General Assembly of the United Nations and expressed the hope that the appeal of the World Assembly

would not go unheeded by the great Chinese people. I also ventured to state that the Chinese government must realise that the inhuman measures which have been adopted by its representatives in Tibet constitute a total negation of the principles of humanity and justice which it has more than once publicly accepted and endorsed. I also stated that the present leaders of China must realise that there must be an end to the policy of tyranny and oppression which it is pursuing in Tibet. Unfortunately, the voice of the people of the world has fallen on deaf ears, and my earnest appeal has evoked no response. We have already seen the dire result of their insensate ambition. Without any rhyme or reason they defied the basic principles of international justice and poured hordes into Indian territory, carrying death and destruction to the innocent people of the frontier areas of India. Their naked aggression has been condemned by the whole world, including almost all the countries of the Communist bloc. I hope and pray that the leaders of China have learnt their lesson from this vicious adventure. I hope and pray that they have realised that they cannot defy the conscience of mankind and the opinion of the civilised peoples. I, therefore, once again appeal to them to bring about a change in their policy in Tibet and realise that the only solution to the Tibetan problem is a peaceful settlement consistent with the fundamental rights and freedoms of the Tibetan people.

Today in this modern world, when colonialism in every form is being eliminated and the equal right to freedom of all people is being realised, I think it is a grave mistake on the part of China to believe that she can forcibly occupy and claim Tibet to be a part of her territory. She must realise that history has proved, in many instances, a country no matter how powerful, can never continue to dominate another country forever. I, therefore, earnestly appeal for the complete withdrawal of the Chinese from Tibet.

I take this opportunity to express once again our deepest gratitude to the States which have been moved by the tragic situation in Tibet and taken an active part in persuading the United Nations to interest itself in the restoration of the freedom and liberties of the Tibetan people. The last Resolution of the General Assembly of the United Nations appealed to every member State to use its good offices and best endeavours to bring to an end the practices which deprive the Tibetan people of their fundamental human rights and freedoms. I have no doubt that all these peace-loving States will not fail to respond to this appeal and do their best to bring peace and freedom to my unfortunate people.

We must all, therefore, with unshaken faith, continue to struggle for the not too distant day of regaining freedom of our country. To build and prepare for the future is one of our primary responsibilities. For this purpose, I have prepared a future Constitution for Tibet which is consistent with the teachings of Lord Buddha and with the rich spiritual and temporal heritage of our history and democracy. This Constitution provides for effective participation by the people and also for securing social and economic justice. I have decided that on Tibet regaining freedom the Constitution shall immediately come into force but later may be suitably recast on the advice of the elected representatives of the people.

I invoke the blessings of Divine Providence on all mankind.

**Statement of His Holiness the Dalai Lama on
the Fifth Anniversary of the Tibetan
National Uprising Day**

10 March 1964

For over nine years the peace-loving people of Tibet have tried their utmost to come to an amicable settlement with their invaders; but nothing that they could do would satisfy the ambition and avarice of the Chinese conquerors. Tyranny and oppression prevailed over Tibet, and finally the unarmed citizens of Lhasa rose in a body against the violence of the Chinese authorities, and the torch of freedom was lit once again in every corner of Tibet. Since then my unfortunate people have made great sacrifices. Thousands of them have been massacred. Thousands of them have been rendered homeless. Thousands of them have escaped to neighbouring States. But the barbarous atrocities, even to the extent of exterminating the race and religious belief of the Tibetans, still continue, and the struggle of the people still goes on. Today marks the fifth anniversary of the spontaneous upsurge of my people, we must pay our humble tribute to all those stalwart champions of liberty and faith who have fallen victims to the armed might of the Communist government of China. Today I send my special blessings to all those who are engaged in a bitter campaign against the opponents. I congratulate all my people for their courage and determination in their struggle for political and religious freedom and pray for their success. Our way may be a hard and long one, but I believe that truth and faith must ultimately prevail.

Many thousands of our people have found refuge and shelter in the neighbouring States, particularly in India which we have always regarded as our Holy Land. The problem of the refugees has been extremely difficult, but with the ready assistance of the government of India and

other friendly countries, we have been able to solve their difficulties to a large extent. However, a great deal still remains to be done, particularly for the unfortunate children who have been deprived of the love and care of their parents. But I hope and trust that with the help and encouragement of many of our friends here in India and elsewhere we shall be able to arrange for their proper education and upbringing. On this occasion I would like to impress on all those who have been fortunate enough to escape from the persecution of the Chinese authorities not only to strive for their own benefit but also for all those friends and relations who have been left behind. At this critical juncture in our history it is our duty to do all that we can do to help our fellow countrymen in Tibet and to render them every possible assistance in their ceaseless struggle for freedom and justice.

I must also take this opportunity to express on behalf of my people our deepest sense of gratitude to all those freedom-loving States which have so generously espoused our cause in the United Nations. I would particularly mention the representatives of Malaysia, Thailand, Ireland and El Salvador. The first resolution which was passed by the General Assembly called for respect for the fundamental human rights of the Tibetan people and for their distinctive cultural and religious life. The second resolution renewed the call for the cessation of practices which deprived the Tibetan people of their fundamental human rights and freedoms including their right to self-determination. It also expressed the hope that member States of the United Nations will make all possible efforts towards achieving the purposes of the resolution. I have myself also made appeals to the Chinese government to bring to an end the inhuman persecution of the people of Tibet and to agree to a peaceful settlement of the Tibetan problem. But I deeply regret to say that these appeals have failed to have the slightest effect on the attitude and policy of Communist China. On

the contrary, in order to enlist the opinion of the world in support of their pretensions, they have come forward with a proposal against imperialism and colonialism. I, therefore, consider it necessary to point out that the present Chinese regime in Tibet has been described by an eminent statesman as “the worst form of colonialism”. The free nations of the world have rightly condemned the suppression of the coloured people in South Africa, but the form of oppression and persecution which the Chinese invaders have adopted against the people of Tibet are a thousand times worse than the system of apartheid. Nowhere in the world, even under colonialism of the worst type, has a government ever used public torture as a political deterrent as the Chinese have and are still doing in Tibet. In this connection, I would like to emphasise the fact that the Tibetans are a distinct people, speaking a language unrelated to Chinese and possessing a religion and culture of their own. Moreover, before the Chinese invasion, the Tibetans had remained free and independent for decades. In the circumstances, I, respectfully beg of all progressive and freedom-loving countries of the world not to be misled by the propaganda of the Communist government of China, and, in all fairness and justice, continue to help the unfortunate people of Tibet.

I pray for the blessings of the Lord Buddha upon all peoples and communities of the world.

**Statement of His Holiness the Dalai Lama on
the Sixth Anniversary of the Tibetan
National Uprising Day**

10 March 1965

Once again we solemnly remember the day when the innocent and unarmed people of Tibet rose in spontaneous revolt against the Chinese (Imperialists) conquerors. Six years have rolled by since that memorable date, but the grim spectre of tragedy still stalks our holy land; tyranny and oppression still continue, and the sufferings of our people cannot be described in words.

The General Assembly of the United Nations has twice called for the cessation of the inhuman practices against the people of Tibet. I have myself on several occasions appealed for a just and equitable settlement of this tragic problem. But, as the International Commission of Jurists has recently pointed out, “neither the Resolution of the General Assembly nor the call of human conscience has had any effect upon Communist Chinese policy.” The Commission, which comprises eminent and outstanding jurists of international repute, has also asserted that “most of the liberties proclaimed by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, including those fundamental civil, religious, social and economic rights with which the Rule of Law is concerned, do not exist under the Chinese rule in Tibet.” But it is not only the flagrant breaches of human rights and fundamental freedoms from which the people of Tibet are suffering today. What is still more grave is the fact that the Chinese authorities in Tibet are virtually denying that Tibetans are human beings and cherish and entertain the feelings and sentiments of human beings. Thus the Tibetans are being driven from their lands to make room for Chinese settlers. They are being systematically deprived of their only sources **of livelihood:** in Chinese calculations,

the life of a Tibetan has no value at all. It is true that the Chinese authorities vehemently deny all this. But there exists overwhelming evidence against such details. In the first place, thousands of Tibetans have braved the hazards and rigours of a long and troublesome journey and sought refuge in the neighbouring States. Surely, if their life had been tolerable at all they would not have left their hearths and homes for an uncertain future. Secondly, the recent events in Tibet also clearly demonstrate that the declarations of the Chinese authorities are totally unfounded. For instance, the recent public denigration of the Panchen Lama by the Chinese authorities in Peking provides impeachable evidence of the gravity of the situation in Tibet. It should be remembered that the Panchen Lama was born in Chinese-occupied territory and was educated and trained in China. He owed his position to Chinese support. But no Tibetan worth the name could fail to protest against the oppression and tyranny of the Chinese conquerors. Hence it is that the Panchen Lama is now being branded by the Chinese authorities as a stooge of the imperialists, for it is the invariable practice of the Chinese authorities to condemn anyone who criticises their measures and policies in the interests of humanity as a puppet of the imperialist powers, however mild and fair such criticism might be.

This being the situation today, it is necessary for us, Tibetans and other peace-loving people alike, to rouse the conscience of the world and to lodge a strong protest against the barbarous and inhuman treatment of the Tibetans by the Chinese conquerors. Today, I wish to call upon all Tibetans to renew their faith and once again determine to do what lies in their power for the restoration of peace and freedom to their beloved motherland. Today, in the name of humanity, I call upon all the peoples of the world to come to the rescue of the unfortunate and unhappy people of Tibet.

I also wish to take this opportunity to emphasise

the extreme danger of the present situation. We all know of the naked and brutal aggression by the Chinese armies against the territorial integrity of India despite the repeated attempts made by the government of India to befriend the Chinese Republic. That naked aggression should provide the evidence, if any evidence were necessary, of the threat to the peace of Asia posed by China. I firmly believe that as long as the Chinese remain in occupation of Tibet, there will always be a threat to the peace and progress of the countries in Asia and South-East Asia. The gravity of the situation has been aggravated by the recent nuclear test by the government of China. So far, the nuclear powers have shown considerable restraint because they fully realise that the use of nuclear weapons would be disastrous to mankind. Would the Chinese authorities exercise a similar restraint once they are in possession of fully developed nuclear weapons? I fear such a restraint could not be reasonably expected from a government whose insensate and godless ambition knows no bounds. I, therefore, sincerely hope and pray that the peoples of the world will foresee the danger that threatens us all.

On this day as on other days, I pray for the peace and happiness of all beings.

**Statement of His Holiness the Dalai Lama on
the Seventh Anniversary of the Tibetan
National Uprising Day**

10 March 1966

It is now seven years since that historic day when the people of Tibet rose in spontaneous revolt against the tyranny and oppression of the Chinese Communist military occupation. Against fearful odds and in utter self-sacrifice, our people stood up as one against the might of their conquerors. Many died in the struggle and others suffered torture and humiliation before being killed. It is to the memory of these martyrs of Tibetan nationalism and the cause for which they have made their supreme sacrifices that we dedicate this day. Tibetans all over the world will remember this as a historic day and strengthen their firm determination that these noble patriots have not sacrificed their lives in vain.

Since the invasion of Tibet by the Chinese Communists in 1949, our people were reduced to the status of a subject race under the shackles of an alien conqueror bent on wiping every vestige of our national and cultural heritage. In flagrant violation of the truth the Chinese have tried to cover up their inhuman and brutal treatment of the Tibetan people under the names of "liberation" and "progress". They have killed and tortured our people; they looted the ancient treasures of Tibet; they have deprived our people of even the smallest traces of fundamental freedom and have made the Tibetans into a second-class citizen existing only to serve the Chinese. In short the Tibetans have become the victims of Han imperialism. And yet the Chinese Communists have accused the Tibetans as fighting for the forces of reaction and resisting progress. The fact that the Tibetan people are firmly determined to forge ahead with the times, that we do not defend any archaic

and unjust social system, and that we welcome progress from all quarters, are brushed aside. What we oppose are the imperial and colonial policies of the Chinese and their dogmatic assertion of greater Han nationalism and their Han chauvinistic attitude beyond the slightest trace of reason or justification.

The Chinese Communists, however, continue to camouflage their imperial policies behind empty slogans and impressive facades. Last year, for example, they have utilised the full force of their vast propaganda machinery to publicise the inauguration of Tibet as an Autonomous Region. This charade cannot, however, hide the fact that the so-called Autonomous Region of Tibet comprises only a part of Tibet and that other regions are carved into separate parts following the old imperial policy of “divide and rule”. Nor can it be denied that one-third of the members of the Council of the Autonomous Region of Tibet are Chinese and that Tibetan members are recruited mostly from what the Chinese themselves call the “feudal landlord class”. Moreover, all key posts are in the hands of the Chinese and the Tibetan members exist only as a rubber-stamping apparatus. With the exception of a few quislings and opportunists, the people of Tibet are united in their firm determination to build a free Tibet. The very Tibetans trained and educated by the Chinese to act as collaborators are among those in the foremost ranks of the national resistance front. The desire and determination of the Tibetan people to regain their national freedom cannot be overcome and the will of our people to be free will ultimately prevail over the forces of tyranny and oppression.

On behalf of those of our people who have given up their lives for freedom, those who heroically continue to resist the Chinese in Tibet and those in exile, I would like to thank the governments of El Salvador, Ireland, Malaysia, Malta, Nicaragua, the Philippines and Thailand for sponsoring the resolution calling for the immediate

cessation of oppression and the restoration of fundamental freedom in Tibet at the General Assembly of the United Nations. I would also like to thank the governments who supported the resolution. In particular we are grateful to the government and people of India for their support and for their whole-hearted and warm sympathies to us, and for the large-scale programmes in rehabilitation and education of the Tibetan refugees.

To us Tibetans these are hard and tragic times. And it is only natural that we realise and feel in full anguish the sorrows of our brothers who are also victims of brutality and aggression. I fervently hope and offer my ardent prayers that peace may be restored in all the areas of conflict and that humane considerations will prevail over all forms of oppression, injustice and aggression. If mankind is to survive there is only the path of peaceful co-existence and this can be achieved through mutual understanding and respect for the rights of others.

Statement of His Holiness the Dalai Lama on the Eighth Anniversary of the Tibetan National Uprising Day

10 March 1967

On this day, eight years ago, the people of Tibet rose in spontaneous uprising against the armed might of China in a heroic bid to free themselves from the mounting oppression and tyranny of the Chinese Communists. Unarmed men, women and children paraded in the streets of Lhasa calling for the restoration of Tibet's independence and the rights of the Tibetan people. In the brutal repression that followed, thousands of innocent Tibetans were massacred and countless others were imprisoned, tortured and killed or deported to forced labour camps. It is therefore fitting that while we solemnly dedicate this day to the memory of these martyrs of freedom, we recall the cause for which they made their supreme sacrifices and strengthen our determination to reach the goals for which they gave up their lives.

The sixteen years of Communist Chinese armed occupation of Tibet is one long catalogue of untold miseries and sufferings. Farmers and herdsmen are deprived of the fruits of their labour. Large groups of Tibetans on a meagre ration are forced to construct military roads and fortifications for the Chinese. Countless numbers have been victims of "public trials" and "purging sessions" during which all manner of public humiliation and brutalities have been inflicted. The wealth of Tibet, accumulated over the long centuries, has been taken to China. There is a persistent campaign of "Hanisation" of the Tibetan population by forcing the Chinese language in place of Tibetan and by changing Tibetan names into Chinese. This is "Tibetan Autonomy" in the Chinese Communist fashion.

Recent developments indicate that the reign of terror of Han imperialism has, if anything, increased. The

persecution of Buddhism and Tibetan culture has reached a new pitch of intensity with the advent of the so-called Cultural Revolution and its by-product, the Red Guard Movement. Monasteries, temples and even private homes have been ransacked and all religious articles found have been destroyed. Among the countless number of images destroyed was one of Avalokiteswara built in the 7th century. Two severed and mutilated heads of this image have been secretly brought out of Tibet and recently exhibited to the Press in Delhi. This image has not only been deeply venerated throughout the centuries but also constitutes an important and irreplaceable historical monument of the Tibetan people, and its destruction is a great loss and a source of profound sorrow to all Tibetans. The recourse to such barbarous methods by frenzied mobs of immature school children let loose an orgy of senseless vandalism instigated by Mao Tse-Tung under the so-called "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" is a clear evidence of the depth to which the Chinese rulers have fallen in their efforts to wipe out all traces of Tibetan culture. Mankind and history will surely condemn the savage onslaught by the Chinese against the enslaved people of Tibet and against their cherished cultural heritage.

The Chinese have also started dropping their former protégés and collaborators. The Panchen Lama has long since come out in open rebellion. And now lives in disgrace after being subjected to brutal treatment by the Chinese. The Tibetan students carefully trained in China to "act as vanguard of a new army of Tibetan Communist cadres" have soon realised the brutal treatment of their own people once they returned to Tibet and many of them have joined the foremost ranks of the national liberation front. Even the handful of prominent Tibetan collaborators who till now have proved to be faithful henchmen of Peking have been recently denounced and disgraced.

While we look with profound sorrow at the abject

misery and suffering of our people in Tibet, we cannot but renew our firm determination to regain the freedom of our people. During the period of our exile in these past eight years we have made every effort to prepare ourselves for the day when we can return to a free Tibet. To this end we have drawn and promulgated a provisional constitution for Tibet based on the principles of justice, equality and democracy as laid down by Lord Buddha which was warmly received by all Tibetans, particularly by the elected representatives of the Tibetans in exile. We have also undertaken various programmes in the fields of resettlement and education made possible by the keen sympathy and extensive assistance of the government of India. Indeed my people and I are deeply grateful to the government of India for all their assistance to us not only in rehabilitation and education but also in our cultural and religious programmes. We would also convey our grateful thanks to the various Indian and international organisations which have given help without stint to us Tibetans. We still need their support and we confidently hope that it will be forthcoming as before. We are also grateful to the government of India and other governments who supported the cause of Tibet in the United Nations. However, in view of the flagrant denial of even the smallest trace of fundamental rights to our people by the Chinese for which the United Nations appealed more than once and in view of the mounting sufferings in Tibet, we believe that the time has come when we should ask the government of India for more positive support including political support.

We firmly believe that for the lasting peace of Asia and of the world, the two great nations, India and China, should remain at peace. But we also believe that unless Tibet is restored her freedom and created into a demilitarised zone that peace will not be achieved. Above all we believe that with her important position in world affairs and the respect she enjoys in the world at large as the largest democracy

and the constant champion of justice, peace and freedom, the mighty voice and support of India will hasten the day when the anguish of the people of Tibet will come to an end and freedom, dignity and peace restored to a long-suffering people.

**Statement of His Holiness the Dalai Lama on
the Ninth Anniversary of the Tibetan
National Uprising Day**

10 March 1968

The commemoration of this day has become sacred to all Tibetans and is an important landmark in the historic struggle of men to free themselves from their oppressors. For it was on this day, nine years ago, that the people of Tibet made a very brave attempt to free themselves from their Chinese rulers who in 1950 had forcibly occupied our country under the guise of an ambiguous and obsolete claim to suzerainty. Thrown against the superior size of the Chinese forces, our resistance that day was doomed and resulted in the large-scale massacre of thousands of our countrymen. But the spirit of a people who believe in the dignity of man and in the freedom of all nations large or small cannot be quelled by the might of an aggressor. It was that fateful day which united the whole country in defiance of the Chinese and re-declared our sense of nationhood in no uncertain terms to the outside world, and that struggle to assert ourselves as a people still continues today both inside and outside Tibet.

For those of our countrymen remaining in Tibet the struggle is both physical and moral. The Chinese have used every ruse and force to beat down the resistance of the Tibetan people. The fact that they have not succeeded is admitted by China and evidenced by the number of Tibetans who escape into India and other neighbouring countries every year in spite of increasingly stringent border controls imposed by the Communist Chinese. Only recently almost 500 Tibetans died trying to flee to India. They knew that chances of their bid for escape were well-nigh impossible, and yet they preferred to face this risk. Is it conceivable that a people whom the Chinese Communists claim are content

with the regime under which they live, would resort to such suicidal measures?

With every year that passed the Chinese have successively tried to indoctrinate the thousands of Tibetan children by forcibly separating them from their parents and sending them to China, where they are alienated from everything that is Tibetan and are taught the doctrines of Mao and made to deride and ridicule the Tibetan way of life. But contrary to the Chinese expectations, a great majority of these are now resisting the Chinese rule in Tibet. As long as men have the capacity to think and as long as they seek after truth, the Communist Chinese will not completely succeed in indoctrinating our children. There is no doubt that the Chinese treatment of the conquered minority nationalities is a clear case of Han chauvinism. However, far from succeeding in their aims the Chinese are only adding fuel to the flame of nationalism. It is for this reason that even young Tibetan Communists are solidly lined up with rest of the country against the Chinese.

Culture and religious belief in our country have been one of the major targets of Chinese communist oppression. The destruction of monastic universities, cultural centres and other allied institutions which were undertaken from the very beginning of the Chinese takeover was intensified with the recent Cultural Revolution and Red Guard Movement. The remaining monks, nuns and scholars have been driven out from the monasteries and cultural institutions and, with many of the local populace, are forced to build a vast network of strategic roads linking Tibet, which has now been turned into a huge military base, with the borders of its neighbouring countries, thus posing an ever increasing threat to the peace in those regions.

In 1966 drastic changes have taken place in Tibet. While the Chinese continue to suppress the Tibetan people, the Chinese themselves have been engaged in a long struggle amongst themselves. The total bankruptcy

of Chinese policy in Tibet is evidenced by the fact that all the 301 so-called elected representatives of the Tibet Autonomous Region Council have been dismissed. Likewise, practically all Tibetan cadres have disappeared. Tibetans who have been trained for years in China have been accused of “regional nationalism” and removed from their posts for “re-education” in forced labour camps. Since September last year, the military has taken up every apparatus of the administration and the country today is entirely in the hands of the Chinese occupation forces without even a semblance of civilian administration.

It now remains for those of us who have been fortunate to escape from the Chinese Communists to take up the noble task for which so many of our patriots have laid down their lives on this memorable day. Our people living in exile are conscientiously striving to prepare for the day when we can return to a free Tibet. For instance, Tibetan children, whom I look upon as the future foundation of a free and independent Tibet, are being provided with the best possible opportunities of development, of growing mentally and morally into men and women, deeply rooted in their own culture, belief and living habits, as well as acquainted with modern civilisation, enriched by the greatest achievements of world culture, and thus becoming sound and creative Tibetan citizens, capable of serving our nation and the whole of mankind. There are 85,000 Tibetans living in exile outside Tibet. Of these, we are in the process of rehabilitating 20,040 in agricultural settlements, animal husbandry, small-scale industries and handicraft centres in India, Bhutan, Nepal, Sikkim and Switzerland. This would not have been possible without the generous assistance, both financial and otherwise, in particular of the Indian government, of the governments of the respective countries, and of the voluntary agencies, and I take this opportunity to express my personal gratitude and that of my people to them. There are still 20,000 refugees who are yet to be

rehabilitated and it is up to us to work hard to help expand and improve on what has been done so that we may not only contribute to the prosperity of our host country and our benefactors, but also that a truly Tibetan culture may take root and flourish outside Tibet until such time as we are able to return.

That we will be able to return some day is a hope which will always be with us and for which we must always work. Many countries have supported our cause in the United Nations and have condemned Chinese aggression in Tibet. We are very grateful to them and hopeful that they will continue to support us both in the United Nations and elsewhere, for we firmly believe that the Chinese occupation of Tibet poses a threat to Asia and more particularly to those countries which share a common frontier with it. In this light as also from the humanitarian standpoint of support for a just cause, we would once again request the government of India for increased political support; for it is only the voice of India which, we believe, can lead the way in championing our cause, not only because of her position in the Asian world, but also because of its cultural and physical affinity with Tibet and its role in sheltering the thousands of Tibetans who have been forced to flee their homeland. We believe that this support must come as long as men believe in freedom. As Tibetans, let us then work for this and renew our resolve to continue the struggle for what is truly our heritage.

In conclusion, I wish to offer my prayers to invoke the blessings of the Triple Gems for peace and happiness of all the sentient beings.

**Statement of His Holiness the Dalai Lama on
the Tenth Anniversary of the Tibetan
National Uprising Day**

10 March 1969

The tenth of March is a day of special significance to us. It is so, not only for the Tibetans but for all those who cherish freedom and peace as the hallmark of the highest human values. The historic revolt of the Tibetan people which has come to be a symbol of the tenacious determination of the Tibetan people to regain the sovereign freedom of Tibet is a decade old. A decade is a long time indeed if we just pause to recall the harrowing experiences of naked terror, sufferings and nightmarish hardships undergone by those of our countrymen left in Tibet. With each passing year, the anguish and sufferings brought about by man's cruelty to man perpetrated on the roof of the world, have increased in magnitude and intensity. Each new movement, whether it be "three-antis" or "proletarian cultural revolution" or revolutionary committee, or "thought propaganda team" has only been an instrument of destruction under a different garb to wipe out the totality of Tibetan identity. The situation is deteriorating at an accelerating pace, spelling out all the characters of a grave crisis.

The Chinese Communist propaganda machinery constantly boasts of a new life of prosperity and happiness enjoyed by the Tibetans. This is what they want the world to believe. This is nothing but the stereotyped Chinese Communist pattern of distorting the true facts in their bid to deceive the people of the outside world, and to create public opinion which would lend support to their garbled version. But, the reality of the situation and the facts as we find them in Tibet repudiate these shameless assertions.

In fact, there is a surging tide of dissatisfaction and opposition to be seen in all spheres of activities—in words,

thoughts and actions. Increasing number of Tibetan youth trained and indoctrinated in China are publicly denouncing the very presence of the alien rulers, and participating in acts of sabotage and other anti-Chinese activities.

To the Chinese Communists, Tibetan lives are of no value except as the hewers of wood and drawers of water. The Chinese conception of Tibetans is that they are as good as mechanical robots. Not to speak of fundamental rights, a Tibetan is denied even the right to exist as a human being. Tibetans continue to be subjected to inhuman treatment and atrocities resulting in a heavy toll of lives. Yes, the one enduring fact is that as the measures of persecution grow in intensity, so has their determination to resist the aggressor. With an unshakeable confidence and strength of mind they are all waiting for the day when their country can be free again. In the recent period, reports have reached us that the movement of resistance has even spread to the prisons and concentration camps. Indifferent to the wrath and fury of the Chinese guards, Tibetans condemned to prison cells and labour camps keep up their morale by talking among themselves about the facts of Tibet being an independent nation and the armed violations of Tibetan sovereignty by the Chinese Communists. Those of the prisoners who have read about the history of Tibet are asked by other fellow mates to speak to them about the political history of free Tibet. Criticism and dislike of the alien rule are voiced by the prisoners and other enslaved people through songs which soon spread like a wildfire. The suffering people left in Tibet look up to us. To them we are a symbol of their hopes and aspirations in the fulfilment of the cherished goal of national freedom. It is for this reason that we have been making every effort to fulfil the hopes and trust that have been placed in us by our countrymen in Tibet.

The Tibetan question was raised several times in the United Nations. Constant efforts are being made to arouse the conscience of the world to the anguish and suffering

in which the innocent people of Tibet are being subjected, and to make known the true facts of Tibet. Likewise, we have adopted a number of other measures to draw support and sympathy for our cause.

One should not be oblivious of the fact that the prime necessity of our waging a relentless struggle emerges from the gravity of the situation that has gripped our country, Tibet. It is because people in Tibet have fallen in the abyss of mental and physical miseries going beyond the limit of human endurance, and yet fired by the determined will to live as free people again that we have taken upon ourselves the great and sacred responsibility of unmitigated continuation of the national struggle. There is no point in our participation as a key figure in the national struggle for freedom if the masses of people left in Tibet were contented and at peace as the Chinese claim.

When the day comes for Tibet to be governed by its own people, it will be for the people to decide as to what form of government they will have. The system of governance by the line of the Dalai Lamas may or may not be there. It is the will of the people that will ultimately determine the future of Tibet. In particular, the opinion of the forward-looking younger generation will be an influential factor.

While mindful of the great responsibility that has fallen upon our shoulders, I call upon my countrymen to be wide awake to the developments that are taking place in this fast-changing world. There are many ways in which we can contribute our share to the enrichment of human knowledge. The scope, wealth and opulence of our own culture and learning are vast. Today, more and more people are giving their time and energy to the study and practice of the higher spiritual values. The philosophy of Buddhism, in particular, is attracting the attention of a growing number of people. People make great sacrifices, undergo travail and hardships, in their efforts to dig out and study the wisdom

of Buddhist teachings. It is fortunate for us that our system of learning has diligently retained the complete Buddhist teachings including the profound and subtle subject of philosophy. And, we do not have to take the help of another language in understanding the subtle and deep meanings outlined in it. Our younger people should realise the value of these facilities. I hope more of our youths will make use of these rare facilities so as to contribute our mite to the world of learning and spiritual cultivation.

During the past ten years of our exile, much has been achieved in the education and rehabilitation of our people. The process of rehabilitation is fast nearing completion. When this is complete, attempts should be made to achieve continued progress in the standard of living. We owe much to the government and the people of India for their sympathy and magnanimity which have made possible the favourable conditions we enjoy today. At the same time, it is essential for us who have been able to reach free countries to strive for the liberation of the majority of the Tibetan people still suffering under the yoke of Red Chinese oppression, and, towards the achievement of a free Tibet governed by Tibetans themselves. I call upon my countrymen to rededicate themselves to this sacred task. Whether Tibet will be free and independent in the near future depends on the efforts of the Tibetan people themselves.

The Chinese believe that all activities can be achieved only through violent means. That is why they are giving military training to the old as well as the young. They consider that the acquiring of arms, digging of trenches in strategic areas and the building of roads are the essential groundwork of military preparedness. Moreover, they believe in and strive towards the achievement of these goals purely through the application of Mao's teachings, assuming that these teachings contain the quintessence of wisdom. But as it is impossible for millions of people to think on the same line as one person, Red China is facing today, from

what we learn from various sources, an enormous problem of ideological differences among the elder leaders who have for many years stood firmly and faithfully with Mao. The total outcome of these has been the creation of strife and dissension of a magnitude unknown in the past.

It is necessary for the Chinese leadership to remember that oppression has never, anywhere, succeeded in suppressing the eternal desire of people to live as free men; free to think their own thoughts, free to act as they consider best for the common welfare and live as human beings and not as robots or slaves. Even if the Chinese leave nothing but ashes in our sacred land, Tibet will rise from these ashes as a free country even if it takes a long time to do so. No imperialist power has succeeded for all time to keep other people in colonial subjection for so long.

**Statement of His Holiness the Dalai Lama on
the Eleventh Anniversary of the Tibetan
National Uprising Day**

10 March 1970

March 10th has now become a symbol of our struggle for freedom, for justice and for the right to live as we wish. March 10th today stirs the hearts and minds of all Tibetans. Whether they are in the free countries or still under suppression in Tibet, March 10th, 1959 marked a new era in the history of Tibet—it was on that day when the brave people of Tibet rose against the might of Communist China. It was on that day when unarmed men, women and children paraded through the streets of Lhasa calling for the restoration of Tibet's independence. It was on that day when the people of Tibet united as one force in a heroic attempt to free themselves from bondage. The world knows of the brutal and ruthless oppression that followed the national uprising. That was eleven years ago.

The situation in Tibet has ever since been gradually deteriorating, and conditions worsened with the advent of the so-called Cultural Revolution. Eleven years may not seem long to those of us who have been able to escape into free countries, but to those of our countrymen who are still in Tibet, it has been a period of unending terror and suffering. Yet in the midst of such a desperate and difficult situation the flame of freedom, which was lit on March 10th, 1959, still burns persistently. The Communist Chinese regime in Tibet has experienced constant opposition

from the Tibetans, often in the form of violence. In 1969 alone, we learnt of ambushes and raids by Tibetans on Chinese military camps and ammunition dumps in the area of Chamdo, Poh, Lhoka, Tolung, Nyemo and Shang. There were also incidents where many Chinese officers were killed and many were held prisoners by the Tibetans during meetings organised by the Chinese. Above all, the Communist Chinese must have been shocked to find mounting opposition from the young Tibetans, many of whom have been educated and indoctrinated by the Chinese themselves in Tibet as well as in China. These are clear indications that all is not well in Tibet; that Tibetans are not contented and satisfied under the rule of alien power; that desperate resistance still continues; and that the spirit of liberty is still strong.

It is now nineteen long years since the armed forces of Communist China trampled Tibet under their feet. The Chinese have had all the time required to educate, indoctrinate and produce a new group of Tibetan leaders who would totally support their regime—but this has not happened. They have not been able to produce a single notable, young Tibetan leader. They are still using a few ex-members of the old Tibetan government who are actually considered to be reactionaries according to the Chinese themselves. This is again a clear indication that the Tibetans, young and old, no matter how they are treated or brought up are not prepared to yield completely to the Communist Chinese rulers. Many of these Tibetans may be ideologically Communists, but they are definitely nationalist Communists. To these Tibetans their nation comes first, ideology second. We are fighting against colo-

nialism and not against Communism.

When the hopes and aspirations of our countrymen, struggling to survive in a vast prison camp, are so strong and persistent; so unfailing and determined; it is not sufficient to dedicate this day only to the memory of those martyrs who laid down their lives for the freedom of Tibet. We must, also, renew our pledge to hold high the torch of freedom and to continue the struggle so that the sacred cause for which six million Tibetans are still aspiring can be achieved. It is only fitting that we in the free countries shoulder this responsibility as our duty. We, therefore, solemnly rededicate this day and earnestly renew our pledge for the cause of Tibet's independence.

The world is ever changing. International changes are occurring almost every day of the year. A change in Tibet will definitely come about. The Chinese must realise that the spirit of freedom in the Tibetans is indomitable.

I take this opportunity to express on behalf of the people of Tibet and on my own behalf, our sincere and deep gratitude to the government and people of India for their generous and understanding assistance to the Tibetan refugees living in India. We also remember and remain deeply indebted to those countries, along with India, who have supported us in the United Nations. Last but not the least, we thank the various voluntary agencies that have come forth at a time when help was urgently and desperately needed. Much of what we have achieved in the fields of rehabilitation, education and cultural activities would not have been possible without their help.

Finally, while I call upon my people to strengthen their determination and work conscientiously for the free-

dom of Tibet, I also appeal to all those nations who cherish free-dom to give us their firm and strong support in the just cause of Tibet's independence.

**Statement of His Holiness the Dalai Lama on
the Twelfth Anniversary of the Tibetan
National Uprising Day**

10 March 1971

On the 10th of March 1959, the Tibetan people's uprising in Lhasa was crushed brutally by the Red Chinese Army. So why do we commemorate this day—a day of defeat when thousands of our people died and when Communist China proved her utter ruthlessness and her total disregard for human values? It may sound paradoxical of me to say that we not only dedicate this day to those who died for the cause of Tibet, but that we also celebrate this day as a day of victory. For it was on this day that the failure of the oppressive system of Red China in Tibet became apparent and that the Chinese in their frustration to cover up their deficiencies had to use violence to promulgate what is essentially the reverse to Communist ideals: colonialism. On the other hand, for us it was no defeat. Rather, it was a proof of the Tibetan courage and their determination never to live under alien rule.

A thousand more uprisings may take place and a thousand times the Chinese may crush them, but they will never be able to break the spirit of liberty that resides in each one of us. My people will carry on the struggle till we see Tibet once again in its rightful place among the independent nations of this world. What more proof can I have of my words than the recent reports coming out of Tibet? Determined opposition against the Red Chinese

resulted in the public shooting of 58 Tibetans around the month of February in 1970; while those executed behind closed doors and in prisons remain unknown. In July the same year, Radio Lhasa announced the successful suppression of an armed revolt. No other details were given. Later reports said that revolt was widespread in south-western Tibet inflicting more than 1,000 casualties on the Chinese army. 124 Tibetans were executed when the revolt was crushed. Three months later the Chinese unearthed a secret Tibetan resistance group in Lhasa called the “Organisation for the Struggle of Tibet’s Independence”. The Chinese executed nine of its members and sentenced the others to 20-30 years of imprisonment. All this has been happening despite the fact that the Chinese are now using tactics that would make their atrocities committed a few years ago pale by comparison. I cannot describe in mere words the hunger, the misery and the death that my people face in our country today.

In spite of the fact that we Tibetans have to oppose Communist China I can never bring myself to hate her people. I believe that Tibet will be free only when its people become strong, and hatred is no strength. It is a weakness. The Lord Buddha was not being religious, in the popular sense of the term, when He said that hatred does not cease by hatred. Rather he was being practical. Any achievement attained through hatred can neither be lasting nor binding. It would only be inviting trouble sooner or later. And as for my people at this critical period, hatred would just be an extra mental burden. Moreover, how can we hate a race who do not know what they are doing? How can we hate the millions of Chinese whose

very minds are regulated by their leaders? And how can we even hate those leaders who have themselves in the past been so persecuted and have suffered so much for their nation and for what they believe to be right? I do not believe in hatred, but I do believe, as I have always done, that one day truth and justice will triumph.

I believe in this even though I know that millions march in the Chinese army. She now even possesses mighty nuclear weapons that make her feared by the most powerful nations of this world. But history is unpredictable. Many great empires whose glory knew no bounds have crumbled and passed away. And although never in her history has China been so powerful as she is today, yet there is a weakness in this colossus. Her very foundations are based on fear. Like primitive beings, each person in China lives perpetually in fear of retribution for the slightest mistake from his new “God”. Can such an institution hope to remain? I say no. Nearly every totalitarian regime in history had this in common—they never lasted long. Eventually China has to give way or break. And though tyrants and despots may continue to strut about in the world, truth and justice will ultimately triumph, and as ours is a just cause, I say with confidence that the time will come when my people will fling away the yoke of Communist China’s oppression and rise up to build a new Tibetan Nation.

In conclusion, I take this opportunity to thank again all the countries and individuals who are continuing to give us moral and material support in our hour of need.

**Statement of His Holiness the Dalai Lama on
the Thirteenth Anniversary of the Tibetan
National Uprising Day**

10 March 1972

We commemorate March 10 once more, for it records in history a significant nation-wide expression of the Tibetan people to free themselves from the shackles of foreign domination. It is also a day when one remembers all those who have lost their lives in this violent upheaval and of the thousands who have suffered, physically and otherwise, during these many years of cruel subjugation.

The past period of over a decade has been a time of great test for the people of Tibet, especially for those who are still the victims of this monstrous and alien onslaught on the very way of life that Tibetans cherish. Young Tibetans, both under Chinese control and in the lands where they have sought refuge, are becoming more conscious of their national identity—there is this new awareness in them of the Tibetan nation and the culture that once flourished there.

The truth about Tibet is spreading as each year passes by. And although this is happening much too slowly compared to the urgency of the actual situation, it is reaching nations and peoples of this world irrespective of the system of governments they follow or the continents to which they belong. This, I believe, is happening because more and more people are beginning to recognise the justice and strength behind the people of Tibet's fight

for freedom, and also because truth and justice can never be hidden. In fact they must ultimately prevail and triumph if justice at all exists in this world—and I believe that justice does exist. One recent, encouraging example is the birth of a new nation in Asia—the emergence of Bangladesh. This indeed was a triumph of justice and a triumph of a people's determination. It is another historic landmark in man's never ending pursuit for the freedom to live as they wish.

Although the freedom of Tibet cannot be predicted, changes are bound to come. Even in the international scene great changes, unexpected a decade ago, have occurred. China, too, is changing and she is compelled to do so. She must break away from her isolation and outmoded ideas, for today, she is a responsible member of the United Nations and thus capable of doing much for the peace of mankind. We hope that is what she will do, and we also hope that she will one day recognise the true status of Tibet and the indomitable spirit of our people.

When we see the determination of the people; the national spirit of the youth; and the growing support for our cause; we can see that the future of Tibet is not dark. As long as there is this determination, this national awareness, and this growing support, there is hope for Tibet.

**Statement of His Holiness the Dalai Lama on
the Fourteenth Anniversary of the Tibetan
National Uprising Day**

10 March 1973

This year marks the 2100th anniversary of the founding of the Tibetan Royal Dynasty by Nyatri Tsenpo. The year also marks the fourteenth anniversary of the Tibetan people's struggle against foreign domination. On this occasion when we remember and commemorate these two glorious anniversaries, I send my greetings to all Tibetans, both in and outside Tibet.

I would like to deal briefly with the history of these 2100 years. The earliest Tibetan kings in dynastic succession were the seven Tris, the two Thengs, the six Legs, the eight Dhes and the five Tsens. During the reigns of these twenty-eight kings, Tibet made steady progress in handicrafts and education. In the reign of the twenty-eighth king, Lha Thothori Nyentsen, Buddhism was first planted in Tibet. During the reigns of Songtsen Gampo, the thirty-third king, Trisong Detsen, the thirty-seventh King, and Tri Ralpachen, the fortieth, who are collectively known as the Three Great Religious Kings, Tibet emerged as a powerful state. In the field of religion, many Buddhist scriptural texts were translated into Tibetan. Religious and civil codes were promulgated and Tibetan social behaviour was made decent and civilised. Politically, land was equally distributed to people and in summer and winter people's representatives held regular meetings. All this made the

Tibetan social structure, then prevailing, democratic and modern. The fame of Tibet spread throughout Asia.

The forty-first King, Langdharma, suppressed the Buddhist faith and in his time Buddhism received a severe setback. The two sons of Langdharma made rival claims to the throne of Tibet and western Tibet was divided between them. Consequently, the whole of Tibet was reduced to many petty principalities and the former strength of Tibet, both military and political, greatly decreased. The frontier provinces of Tibet seceded from Tibet and religion and policies suffered degeneration and decline.

Subsequently, since the time Chogyal Phagpa of Sakya, the successive dynastic reigns of Sakya, Pha-drupa, Rinpungpa and Tsangpa, made the strength of Tibetan politics firmer and the hold of religion deeper, unlike during the period of Tibetan disintegration. However, the standard they attained never reached that of the one which prevailed during the reigns of the Three Great Religious Kings of Tibet. Moreover Tibet was internally continually rocked by disunity.

In the reign of the Fifth Dalai Lama, the political influence of the Tibetan government grew and the Tibetan people enjoyed happiness and prosperity. However, in 1949 the Chinese communists invaded Tibet and since then we all know the extent of happiness which we Tibetan people enjoy.

As such, if we look back at Tibetan history, we will realise that during the time of the Three Great Religious Kings of Tibet the country did not only enjoy immense military strength but was culturally rich. Also, as we have seen, after Langdharma, Tibet disintegrated into many

petty principalities and because of Tibetan weakness the country also suffered politically. Even in our times because of the fact that Tibet did not have a strong central government it was easy for the Chinese communists to invade Tibet and the subsequent suffering which has been inflicted upon the Tibetan people is something which can be proved. Mere propaganda is unnecessary here. As such the Tibetans must at all times remember these and remain united, and determined to achieve their rights and freedom.

After the period of Tibetan disintegration and during the time of the Sakyapas the influence of the Mongol rulers of China was first felt in Tibet. After this, during the time of the Manchu emperors China began interfering in the affairs of Tibet. However at that time the Han Chinese themselves were under the domination of at first the Mongols and then the Manchus. The Yuan dynasty of the Mongols came to an end. The Manchus themselves were overthrown by the Chinese revolution of 1911, after which a republican government was established in China. At the same time, after the overthrow of the Manchus, Tibet declared its independence. However, some countries because of their territorial ambitions, concluded several treaties which stated that Tibet was under the suzerainty of China. That these treaties contain neither truth nor they tell the objective reality can clearly be seen from the way earlier and later treaties were made. The violent aggression of the Chinese into Tibet and the way they forced the Tibetans to sign the 17-point Agreement was emphatically and clearly publicised by the Tibetans to the whole world. Besides, looking at any period of Tibetan history, we know

that Tibet existed as an independent nation.

Especially here I would like to touch on the real conditions in Tibet today. After being “liberated” from the “three big feudal lords” the Tibetans were made the “masters” of the country. Through such pleasing propaganda the Chinese are publicising that the progress achieved in Tibet under their rule is unprecedented and all the Tibetan people are happy!

The aim of the struggle of the Tibetans outside Tibet is the attainment of the happiness of the Tibetan people. If the Tibetans in Tibet are truly happy under Chinese rule then there is no reason for us here in exile to argue otherwise. Fourteen years have passed since the 10 March Uprising of 1959. It is needless for me to point to the Tibetans, since they have experienced all these, that our unique culture is being deliberately undermined, that the Tibetans in Tibet are denied the basic rights of religious worship, free expression and movement. The basic need of every human being is adequate food, clothing and shelter. But even here, the Tibetans in Tibet face difficulties. Because of scarce food, many of the elder Tibetans fall sick and die. Every day most Tibetans live in fear, suffering and hardship and do not get a moment of rest and relaxation. Even to the young Tibetans, whom the Chinese have reared and educated, they, the Chinese, do not give jobs corresponding to the type of education which the youths have received. Evoking the ideal of “voluntary work”, the Chinese drive the Tibetans like a herd of cattle to work in the fields, in road-building and construction. In short, the Tibetans in Tibet are not treated like human beings. Because the Tibetan people, like all other peoples

in the world, are endowed with the capacity to differentiate good from bad, all of them, young, old and middle-age, despite their minor individual differences, will never trust and put their faith in foreign aggressors. All of them will want their country to be ruled by their own people. This is the reason why we are continuing to struggle for the rights and freedom of the Tibetan people.

As such, considering the history of Tibet and the present aspirations of the Tibetan people, the present pitiable condition will never be continued to be borne by them for long. There are many changes which have occurred and are occurring in the international political scene and I hope that the Chinese leaders will discard their present narrow-minded policy and listen to reason and see the reality that is lying all around them. There will be a satisfactory conclusion, and there will inevitably be one, for the just cause of the rights and freedom of the Tibetan people. Without working hard at something there will never be a good, positive result. This is only natural. Consequently, all Tibetans must continue to work towards their cause with one mind, and utmost dedication.

**Statement of His Holiness the Dalai Lama on
the Fifteenth Anniversary of the Tibetan
National Uprising Day**

10 March 1974

Six million Tibetans lost the right to determine their destiny, tens of thousands fled homes and many more lost their lives in an era when scores of nations regained their freedom after a long period of colonial slavery. March 10 means all this and much more to us. Eighty-five thousand exiles are on this side of the mighty Himalayas and six million on the other, but the spirit of March 10 binds us as one proud nation.

What is the spirit of March 10? We say it is the cause of Tibet. But what is the cause of Tibet? Is it a struggle against a race, a nation and an ideology? Or is it an unreasonable struggle waged by a minority in exile for their own interests? It is none of these.

The cause of Tibet is the cause of the Tibetan people; it is the cause of six million people. It is the struggle of a people to determine their own identity. Until they are satisfied, the struggle for Tibet will continue.

I believe in justice and truth, without which there would be no basis for human hope. I also believe in the right of every nation to struggle for its freedom, including Tibet and its neighbouring states that have fallen victims to Chinese aggression.

Although there are signs of liberalisation in Lhasa itself and some border areas, this has in no way alleviated

the suffering of the vast majority of the people. Refugees still report that the overall situation in Tibet continues to be very grave. Under such circumstances, is it any wonder that the younger generation see a contradiction between the “socialist paradise” of factories, roads, airfields, and the simultaneous starvation of their countrymen? These imposing monuments of “progress” have no meaning to the common Tibetan. They only serve to highlight the dissatisfaction among the Marxist-educated younger generation of Tibetans.

So long as the people of Tibet are in such dire hardships and discontented with their lot, we have a duty to speak and act on their behalf. It is an onerous duty but one which we will push through with a determination equal to—if not more than—what our brethren are displaying in Tibet.

The future of Tibet is not a gloomy one. The international situation is extremely fluid; great changes are taking place all over the world. A change will definitely take place in Tibet also. Moreover, truth and justice are on our side. We have hope and we have the necessary determination—these are what ultimately count.

**Statement of His Holiness the Dalai Lama on
the Sixteenth Anniversary of the Tibetan
National Uprising Day**

10 March 1975

Wherever there is oppression there will always be opposition. Not wanting to be under the rule of another people, the Tibetans rose against the Chinese rule in Tibet and since then sixteen years have passed. Today, when we commemorate the sixteenth anniversary of this struggle, I send my warm greetings to the Tibetans, in and outside Tibet.

During these last sixteen years, we the Tibetans in exile have made commendable progress in material well-being, both individually and collectively. Especially in the education of our youth we have done remarkably. We enjoy full rights and live as complete human beings like others do in the rest of the world. However, the situation of our people in Tibet is just the opposite to our own in exile. It is common knowledge that the horrible conditions in Tibet are beyond description.

The Chinese aggressors have killed and jailed countless innocent Tibetans. Without caring for the starving people all around them the Chinese are channelling the productivity of the country into armaments. Through guilt, the Chinese are digging trenches in the hillsides and to cover up their crimes and misdeeds, are churning out publications splashed with photographs of dance and drama performances and a few factories, which state that the Tibetans in Tibet are enjoying unprecedented happiness.

This is done to fool the world public opinion. But a mere palm of the hand cannot hide the sun. Responsible and informed people everywhere in the world know that there can never be happiness in a society which is given the name of “new” and in which there is not even the material basics of adequate food, shelter and clothing. The elderly Tibetans through their own experience know, since they have gone through both societies, where there is greater happiness, in the old or the new society.

The Chinese are not only committing barbarous acts in Tibet far removed from normal international behaviour, but they are also trying to sabotage the stability of the Tibetan community in exile. There is a saying: you reap what you sow. One suffers the consequences of one’s actions. No one will be able to change this. This is a natural law. Wherever there is oppression, there will always be opposition and the Chinese actions mentioned above provide strength and inspiration to the Tibetan people’s struggle.

The Tibetan people in Tibet, without caring the least for their personal welfare or safety, are courageously carrying on their struggle for the freedom of Tibet. Naturally this unremitting struggle of the Tibetans in Tibet is causing untold anxiety to the Chinese authorities. Consequently we the Tibetans in the free world, keeping our stand in conformity with the thinking of the masses of Tibet, will never stop our movement for the independence of Tibet. Apart from this we have no reason to interfere in the internal affairs of other people.

The issue of Tibet is deeply linked with the changes in international politics and especially with the progress

of the peace process in Asia. As such, we must steer the ship of our struggle according to the shifting directions of the winds of international relations to reach the shore of Tibetan freedom and happiness. To attain this goal we must not only, by mere words, but through our acts and thoughts, persevere and become ever more united.

**Statement of His Holiness the Dalai Lama on
the Seventeenth Anniversary of the Tibetan
National Uprising Day**

10 March 1976

Seventeen years have passed since the Tibetans began their just struggle for their inherent rights of Tibetan national independence. On this Anniversary Day, I remember with gratitude and reverence all those Tibetans who have sacrificed and who are continuing to sacrifice everything they hold dear for this supreme cause.

Realisation and promotion of the national interest and the national aspirations of the broad masses in Tibet is the cause and objective determining our struggle for Tibetan freedom. Being subjected to coercion and restrictions under enemy's rule, the large masses of Tibetan people have no freedom of movement. Physically, they are afflicted with gnawing hunger and thirst, and the situation is such that when they meet and converse, they invariably first talk of food difficulties. However, the Tibetan people, not content with the sweet Chinese slogan of "equality and progress" and unmindful of the oppression and suppression, hunger and thirst unleashed by the enemy, are locked in waging an unceasing revolt against tyranny and oppression. With courage that knows no frontier of defeat, and sacrifice of their very life-breath, our people are continuing to create a situation of desperate tension and crisis for the Chinese. They are doing this for the fulfilment of the cherished goal of Tibetan freedom.

If our brethren in Tibet are waging such a glorious struggle, and that too against such odds and risks, surely it behoves those of us who are in exile to work with greater zeal and perseverance and without regret so that our brethren in Tibet are speedily emancipated from the anguished torments, and the common cause of the Tibetan freedom, which is a cherished goal of all Tibetans, is realised. Doesn't it become all the more emphatic when we realise that those of us who are in the free countries of the world are free from the sufferings to which our people in Tibet are being subjected?

In this twentieth century, the world has witnessed the rise of the sun of equal freedom. People of many nations are enjoying the warmth of freedom which they did not have before. In ancient times, we Tibetans were known for our high degree of civilisation and courage in all Asia. Should we always remain slaves of the barbarous, suffering under their cruel domination?

The snowland of Tibet is blessed with a bountiful natural wealth, and rich natural beauty. Should this country of ours be converted into a war-machinery manufacturing fortress, and the Tibetan people, its rightful owners, reduced to the status of criminals perpetually subjected to oppression and humiliation?

By virtue of our secular Karma, we Tibetans have been endowed with priceless mineral resources of gold, copper, iron, oil, gas, coal and lead. Do you wish to allow the barbarous brigands who have no right whatsoever, to plunder and cart away these resources of ours as they are doing now?

My countrymen, beware of the yawning chasms!

Forgetting the enemy who invaded and wrested the country, you indulge in squabbles and factionalism. Discarding the thoughts and motives to promote the interest of the larger masses of one's own people, you seek and work to promote your own interest only. Refusing to recognise the grave economic situation that the Tibetan people are in, you desire and emulate luxury life-style of other rich people. These are unhealthy trends and matters of serious concern. So, give a thought to these seriously.

Turning to the situation that the enemy is in, a time has now come when they are being reluctantly forced to admit the one and hundred acts of omissions and commissions they perpetrated in utter violation of their own documentary and oral commitments, their own principles and ideology.

All worldly phenomena are characterised by the inherent nature of arising, developing and passing away. Does it not behoves us to wrestle with greater vigour and determination for the recovery of our rights, taking advantage of the ripe conditions and the timely opportunities?

Every year we commemorate the March Tenth Anniversary Day. This we do neither for gay pageantry and pleasure nor is this forced upon us by others. This solemn occasion is a time for uplifting one's spirit for rethinking and summarising the present plight of the Tibetan people. Reminding ourselves of these, we should strive with renewed dedication and determination for freeing the Tibetan people from the present plight, and for realising the ultimate objective of Tibetan national freedom.

Banish the sense of timidity, lethargy and the ef-

fort to evade hardships. Cultivate and develop the spirit of complete self-reliance. Volunteer for challenges and hardships. Work with devotion and with pleasure in the sense that it is in your own interest, and above all, in unity for achieving the goal of national freedom of the Tibetan people.

**Statement of His Holiness the Dalai Lama on
the Eighteenth Anniversary of the Tibetan
National Uprising Day**

10 March 1977

On this commemoration of the March 10th anniversary, our thoughts turn inevitably to events taking place in Tibet. It is well known that by invading Tibet, the Chinese Communists have stationed military personnel and civilian garrisons in extensive areas in the country. Parallel to this, Chinese settlements have even penetrated into the eastern and north-eastern frontiers of Tibet. In addition to this influx, Chinese migrants continue to arrive in Central Tibet. According to Radio Lhasa broadcasts, between May 1975 and January 1977, 6660 retired PLA veterans as well as graduate students from different parts of China were transported to Central Tibet to raise families and settle there. Forty-three separate batches were thus mobilised for this scheme on the pretext that they were volunteers who “had come to join the socialist revolution and socialist construction work in Tibet”.

Those of our people left behind in Tibet continue to experience a life of poverty and relentless hard labour. To cite an instance of this, according to reports received on the construction of a new dam during the winter at Lhatse, all young and old, male and female inhabitants were summoned to the site of the construction and compelled to work round the clock without any break until the dam had been completed. Even those who developed

open wounds on their backs had no alternative but to work without respite. Many became mutilated as a consequence of severe frostbite. From another report on construction work at Taktse, we learn that the inhabitants were forcibly put to labour on agricultural cultivation by day, and with the assistance of kerosene torches, were compelled to work on a hydro-electric plant by night. These reports have neither been fabricated nor exaggerated by us, but were broadcast by Radio Lhasa three or four weeks ago.

At a meeting convened to mourn the death of Mao a few months ago, 300 Tibetans were arrested and several were executed on the grounds that the accused showed a lack of genuine sorrow and grief at the meeting. A review of these facts will single pointedly indicate the extent of forcible oppression and repression which the Chinese Communists have wrought on the Tibetan people.

At present, the campaign against hegemony and colonialism has taken precedence in international affairs and the call for the equality of all races has gained momentum. Yet the Communist Chinese persist in a policy of invasion and expansionism in Tibet, a renowned nation in the history of Asia, and have reduced its innocent and defenceless people to interminable oppression, suppression and torture. How is it justified to neglect and leave unattended such tragic happenings in Tibet?

Our struggle for the independence of Tibet is compatible with the hopes and aspirations of 6,000,000 Tibetans. It is a fulfilment of our rights and duties, and a just cause. Therefore, in order to realise this goal in its entirety, every Tibetan must endeavour to work in unity, with resolve, courage and determination. It is the responsibility

of every Tibetan, irrespective of age, to preserve, promote and personify the exemplary traditions inherited from our forefathers, to abide by truth and justice and to inculcate respect for our elders, tolerance of problems and difficulties in addition to benevolence to others, while at the same time remaining humble and modest. If deceitful and immoral means are adopted for insignificant and temporary gain and fame, not only will ridicule and abuse befall the subject of such indulgence, it will also be unbecoming of his status as an intelligent human being. It therefore becomes imperative for us all to cultivate the quintessence of a moral and prudent approach at all times.

**Statement of His Holiness the Dalai Lama on
the Nineteenth Anniversary of the Tibetan
National Uprising Day**

10 March 1978

Greetings to all Tibetans on this 19th anniversary of the Tenth March Uprising. On this occasion I also remember and pray for those who have sacrificed their lives for the sake of our people and our country.

Recently the Chinese have intensified their propaganda about the “unprecedented happiness in Tibet today” through radio broadcasts and pictorial magazines. It is very difficult for the few selected foreign visitors, who are taken on guided tours for a few days and have to listen to explanations through interpreters carefully chosen by the Chinese, to know and tell us the actual welfare and conditions of the Tibetan people. It is obvious to impartial observers that these reports which are artificial, biased, one-sided and unreliable, will not be accepted by people who are able to see both sides of the picture.

If the six million Tibetans in Tibet are really happy and prosperous as never before there is no reason for us to argue otherwise. If the Tibetans are really happy the Chinese should allow every interested foreigner to visit Tibet without restricting their movements or meetings with the Tibetan people. This would enable the visitors to really know the true conditions in Tibet. Furthermore, the Chinese should allow the Tibetans in Tibet to visit their parents and relatives now in exile. These Tibetans can

then study the conditions of those of us in exile living in free countries. Similar opportunity should be given to the Tibetans in exile. Under such an arrangement we can be confident of knowing the true situation inside Tibet. This is morally right and practicable. Instead of doing this why are the Chinese indulging only in propaganda to woo the Tibetans in exile to return?

We must remember that nothing can be achieved if we lose courage. Every Tibetan should continue to be determined and dedicated to the goal that our nation, like other nations in this world, is governed by our own people.

**Statement of His Holiness the Dalai Lama on
the Twentieth Anniversary of the Tibetan
National Uprising Day**

10 March 1979

Today, on the commemoration of the 20th Anniversary of the Tibetan National Uprising Day, I express my warmest greetings to every Tibetan inside and outside Tibet, united by our common language, race, traditions and customs while having a variety of ideology, behaviour and profession.

During the past 20 years 100,000 or so Tibetan refugees (mostly in India and 16 countries in the East and the West) have been earning their livelihood by agriculture, small business, handicrafts, etc., and their living standard is improving and they are becoming self-sufficient. Of special importance is the fact that over 20,000 Tibetan youths who were provided with both the traditional and modern education, which are like the wings of a bird—are joining the mainstream of modern life. Our religion and culture—considered poison by the Chinese—are not only preserved and their centres firmly established in the Tibetan settlements in India, but are also spreading among peoples of different social strata and races and gaining much interest and respect in the East and the West. Regarding our political situation, we follow the democratic system and tread the path of freedom, not only in word but in deed. And considering that we were forced to leave our land and wander in other people's lands, the fact that

we have achieved a lot of success for the benefit of both the society and the individual is worth remembering.

We must not, however, be content with what we have achieved so far, for we must still strive for greater progress. Especially, since the main reason why we are in exile is the welfare of the 6 million Tibetans. Learning from our past experiences—without being discouraged by our tragedy—we must persevere and carry on the struggle until the day the 6 million Tibetans are fully satisfied, and peace and freedom are fully restored to our land.

The Chinese, of course, say that we are against progress and revolution, against the Tibetan people and very oppressive, following the wrong path. It is not necessary for us to say repeatedly that these are lies, nor is there a need for us to lie. The free world knows that we have fought for change and reforms, what we have done to preserve our ancient culture and race and how we have tried to work, with justice and impartiality, for the welfare of our people; our actions are clear like a writing on a wall. If friends, enemies or observers investigate, it will be clear as to who is telling the truth, who is following the right path; and where it is that black is changed to white within only a year or two without a single basis for trust, and where earlier statements are contradicted by later ones and statements are like the words of a mad man.

We had no wish to challenge the Chinese military might, but the Tibetan masses in desperation, from 1955 onwards and in 1959, opposed, resisted and rose up in rebellion against the Chinese and cried: “Chinese Quit Tibet! Tibet will be Governed by Tibetans!” This was a spontaneous feeling expressed by all Tibetans against the

Chinese. But the Chinese declared that it was fomented and led by external opponents who were the paper tiger American imperialists and the expansionist Indians, and the internal enemies who were a few reactionaries. They forcibly suppressed the Tibetan national uprising and misrepresented to the world that the Tibetan people actually supported the Chinese.

Similarly, in China, many campaigns were launched from the 1950 onwards, such as the Great Leap Forward, the Cultural Revolution, Learn from Tachai, which, as is known and accepted by all today, contained faults and mistakes and did not succeed but brought heavy losses. But at that time the Chinese said these campaigns were great successes. Moreover in China many old Chinese leaders who had worked for the Revolution for many years were purged under various pretexts and names; and when actual conditions necessitated their reinstatement they were appointed again on various excuses. In a short period it seems that in Chinese politics a person is purged many times and reinstated many times and thousands of reasons are given for the most unexpected changes. But, the Chinese are an intelligent people and can no longer believe the words of their leaders. Also, in the case of nations, the USSR, which was once a trusted and close friend of China, is now regarded as her chief enemy.

For a long time there were successive heavy losses and problems in the Chinese economy, education, and so forth. However to hide these problems, propaganda about great success was drummed up; even workers and common cadres were made to publicise statistics learnt by rote. The amount of energy spent on these could have

moved mountains and churned oceans but all these efforts achieved nothing and only exhausted the people.

So now, in order to catch up with the rest of the world, to cope with realities and to modernise China, great changes in Chinese politics have taken place recently. And, particularly, since their propaganda failed, the Vice-Premier Deng Xiaoping has been repeatedly making statements like: “seeking truth from facts”, “if the masses feel some anger, we must let them express it”, “if you have an ugly face, it is no use pretending to be handsome”, “we must recognise our shortcomings and mistakes”. Unlike the previous Chinese leadership, there now appears to be a desire for honesty, modernisation and leniency.

The present Chinese leaders should give up the past dogmatic narrow-mindedness and fear of losing face and recognise the present world situation. They should accept their mistakes, the realities, and the right of all peoples of the human race to equality and happiness. Acceptance of this should not be merely on paper; it should be put in practice. If these are accepted and strictly followed all problems can be solved with honesty and justice.

During the commemoration of the last 10th March Anniversary, I said that Tibetans inside Tibet who desire to travel abroad should be allowed to do so and those outside Tibet should be able to visit their country and meet with people. If this freedom existed, the truth about conditions on both sides would be clear to the Tibetans. This opportunity is the right of the Tibetans. Such a policy is also practicable and reasonable.

A beginning has now been made of granting such an opportunity for the Tibetans in exile to meet their fam-

ilies and relatives. It is their right and so this is a welcome gesture. But, it is important that, besides the showcases, they must be permitted to see the actual conditions in Tibet, because so far the true conditions have been hidden from all foreigners who have visited Tibet. Such actions may serve the Chinese purpose a few times but will, in the end, bring only disgrace. This is clear from recent events in China. Therefore, I hope the Chinese will not resort to similar attempts when Tibetans visit Tibet in the future.

In short, to find the truth about conditions in Tibet from such visits we shall have to investigate whether all the conditions for a satisfactory meeting of the visitors and residents exist. I hope that any Tibetan who desires to travel outside Tibet will be able to do so without any restriction, and such an opportunity may not be denied on various excuses and pretexts as done in the past.

My statements, which have been based on our experiences of the past 20 years or so might not at first mean much to the present Chinese occupation forces and some Tibetan cadres, but if they discarded bias and chauvinism, and remembered past experiences, stopped being narrow-minded and egoistic and making statements like, “East Wind Will Prevail Over the West Wind”, and instead considered the good and the bad aspects of the actual conditions and welfare of both the East and the West, I hope and believe that this statement becomes the basis for discovering the truth and thereby bringing improvement.

Finally, I would like to make special mention at this time of our 20 years in exile the assistance given by the government of India to the Tibetan people in rehabilitating, educating and in preserving and promoting our

culture and religion. We also deeply appreciate India's humanitarian concern and the warm relationship that exists between the two countries from centuries ago and in particular our religious and cultural relationship, which may be described as that of one between a teacher and student. The incalculable goodwill and assistance that the Tibetan people have received from the people, the central and state governments of India at a particularly tragic period in the history of Tibet, will never be forgotten and will be accorded an important chapter in the history of Tibet as well as the history of world Buddhism.

**Statement of His Holiness the Dalai Lama on
the Twenty-First Anniversary of the Tibetan
National Uprising Day**

10 March 1980

Every year on this day, the anniversary of the Tibetan National Uprising, I greet all my compatriots both in Tibet and in exile.

Twenty-one years have unfolded a shocking experience, which has never had any parallel in the history of Tibet. Never has there been so much systematic and extensive destruction of the religious, cultural, social and educational values of the Tibetan people. The frightening picture of abject poverty, wretched and helpless general conditions, persistent starvation and famine, had never been experienced in Tibet for centuries.

In the past few years, the fluid international political scene has witnessed rapid new developments; the internal situation in China under the present leadership who are “seeking the truth from facts” is also undergoing changes. We hear of the repeated calls by the Chinese government requesting us to return to our homeland. We also hear that the so-called wave of moderation has begun to creep into China and, to some extent, into Tibet. However, it is still too early to predict the outcome of what may happen in the future. In response to these changes, as well as to the request by the Chinese government, I have despatched a fact-finding delegation to visit Tibet through China. It is for the first time in nearly twenty-one years

that we have established contact with the Chinese government, as well as our beloved countrymen.

In view of the present situation and development in Tibet we exiles have a tremendous obligation and responsibility to fulfil the hopes and aspirations of the 6,000,000 Tibetans in Tibet. We should make full use of the wonderful opportunity provided by the government and the people of India, for educating thousands of our young Tibetans as well as enabling us to preserve our religious and cultural identities.

It is for the future that we must prepare ourselves. Even though China, during the Manchu Dynasty had constantly tried to exploit and divide the Tibetans, the present adversity has unified all our people. Never in the history of Tibet have the people been so united as they are today.

It is up to us, the Tibetans in India and elsewhere, to work hard and take inspiration from our compatriots in Tibet. Any failure in our duties would be a mockery to the memory of those who have sacrificed their lives for the cause of Tibet, while undergoing tremendous hardship, but who have remained steadfast to the ideals for which we have left our country.

There is no doubt, despite the current leniency, that we in exile are much better off than our friends and relatives in Tibet. Here we have absolute freedom to go wherever we like, do whatever we like and practice every aspect of our religion and traditions without fear of censure from any quarter. Most important of all, our younger generations have at their disposal all the modern educational facilities of the free world. They can learn whatever

they are interested in or whatever they feel will contribute something worthwhile to their community, whereas what passes for education in Tibet—still to this day—is what the authorities decide is good for them. This, I feel, is one of the worst aspects of the Chinese rule in Tibet—this lack of real education. Children of today are the makers of the future society. If the future of our society is in any way to be meaningful in terms of our being a member of the world community, then they must have a modern education, conducive to a cosmopolitan outlook of life, as well as being familiar enough with their own culture and tradition in order to retain their distinct identity.

The present policy of leniency favoured by the Chinese in Tibet, I think, has also room for our contribution towards overcoming this educational discrepancy of the youth in Tibet. There are some Tibetan refugees visiting Tibet now. Why do not some of our youth, who have received decent educational opportunities, offer their service to take up teaching posts in Tibet on a temporary basis, in schools there? And I see no reason, given the present situation, the Chinese authorities should put any objection to this. So on this 21st anniversary of our fight for truth and justice, I hope our youth will seriously consider this suggestion of mine.

In conclusion, once more I would like to remind everybody that the core of the Tibetan issue is the welfare and ultimate happiness of six million Tibetans in Tibet. The limited leniency that the Chinese have introduced is a welcome first step. But we are still nowhere near being satisfied that the Tibetans in Tibet are content. What the future holds in store only time will tell. The course I fa-

your is to wait and watch to what extent the Chinese leaders are going to improve the conditions in Tibet.

**Statement of His Holiness the Dalai Lama on
the Twenty-Second Anniversary of the Tibetan
National Uprising Day**

10 March 1981

Today marks the twenty-second anniversary of the Tibetan people's struggle for their rights of national freedom, something to be commemorated not only by our own but also by future generations. Recognising the nature and prospective of our struggle, we must on this occasion reinforce the strength of our courage and determination.

During the past twenty odd years, the large masses of Tibetans left in Tibet have been subjected to sufferings of death, hunger and exploitation which defies description; while those who were able to flee were forced to become exiled from their homeland and to live in foreign countries. We Tibetans of the present generation have had to experience tremendous miseries and tribulations unparalleled in our entire past history. Nevertheless, there is no denying the fact that because of these very factors there will definitely be a realisation of positive effects in the long run. No matter how great negative trends such as hypocrisy, deception and arrogant aggression become in the world today, nevertheless as truth and justice always prevail, the true cause of our Tibet is becoming ever more clear to the world. Therefore, with conviction and never becoming discouraged, we should hold firm to our courage and dedication as in the past.

Although Tibet was not advanced in terms of sci-

entific, technological or material progress, yet it is a nation rich in culture and having a history of more than two thousand years. By the power of this rich cultural heritage, the Tibetans are naturally a happy and well-adjusted people, thus forming a distinct society in the family of man. These are qualities praised and regarded as worthy of emulation by sensible people the world over.

Until the conditions ripen for all the people in this world to become one great united fraternal family, each society should have the right to preserve and develop its unique traditional heritage and culture along with modern science and technology. Therefore, at present, one of our principal concerns in the struggle for the right of six million people of Tibet should be the vigilant preservation and continuation of all those excellent aspects of our distinct cultural heritage that are of value to our society, without letting them decline. This is most important.

The Chinese policy towards Tibet in the past has been like the Tibetan proverb, "Before your eyes they show you brown sugar, but in your mouth they give you sealing wax." While outwardly spreading courageous exaggerations which are clear, sweet-sounding, impressive and seemingly convincing, but which falsify the facts, they in actual practice have only been subjecting the Tibetans to torture and oppression. In the face of that, the Tibetans had justified cause to strive to free themselves from the bondage of their sufferings, because all people have the right to free themselves from their own suffering. If in actual fact the distinctly Tibetan way of life were being kept fully intact and the people were happier now than under the former conditions, then there would be no point to

argue.

In recent times the Chinese have realised that their past self-defeating policies of deception, exaggeration and empty propaganda have been of more harm than benefit and have now adopted a new policy of “seeking truth from facts” and are trying to implement what they preach. Their admission of their past mistakes, without trying to cover them up, is praiseworthy. However, since the thirty odd years of actual experience the Tibetan people have had under the domination of the Chinese has not been a short time, it is definitely going to take some time to develop confidence and conviction in a new lenient line. This is a natural way of thinking of sensible people.

Finally, anger cannot be vanquished by anger, and past history has disappeared into the past. What is more relevant is that in the future there actually must be real peace and happiness through developing a friendly and meaningful relation between China and Tibet. For this to be realised, it is important for both sides to work hard to have tolerant understanding and be open-minded.

With prayers for the peace, happiness and welfare of all.

**Statement of His Holiness the Dalai Lama on
the Twenty-Third Anniversary of the Tibetan
National Uprising Day**

10 March 1982

Today on the 23rd anniversary of 10th March, and at a time when the truth of our cause is becoming ever clearer, I send, alongwithmy appreciation, greetings to the Tibetan people, in and outside Tibet.

In any society, the distinction, between truth and falsehood, benefit and harm, is ultimately revealed by time and history. Similarly, the actual history of these last twenty-three years has done a big summing up of whatever was the truth and whatever was false in the issue of Tibet. Without resorting to untruth and lies, without fabricating non-existing accomplishments or belittling past achievements and erasing their traces, it is important to apply the reasonable method of “seeking truth from facts” in analysing and learning lessons derived from a calm and objective study of the roots of right and wrong as they have been revealed and are being revealed by actual history.

At this moment, questions of the old and the new social system, religion, differing ideologies and systems spring to the mind of many Tibetans, in and outside Tibet. As I have mentioned many times before, on this question the Tibetans will have to keep pace with the progressive changes that are occurring in the twentieth century world and move towards democratic revolution. The old

social system will never be resurrected. The teachings of the Buddha, as contained in the Tripitikas (the three baskets) and three Higher Trainings, are beneficial to society since they are based on sound reason and actual experience. These we must preserve and promote. However, the livelihood of lamas and monks and the admiration of the monastic establishment must be of necessity to change with the changing times. Like the fact that all the waters and rivers of different lands and climes have their ultimate meeting point in the ocean, so too the differing viewpoints on society, the variety of economic theories and the means to their attainment, must benefit, and they do certainly benefit, mankind itself. There is no point in indulging in dissension-creating discussions on differing ideologies. The fact that no positive result has accrued from attempting to convert all men of different temperaments and likings into one common ideology and mode of behaviour can clearly be seen from the contemporary history of both the East and West. If a few, without caring the least for the basic welfare of people and the larger interest of mankind, continue to give order, beat and kill, and yet label this atrocious behaviour as “revolutionary”, they are only fooling themselves. This behaviour is both shortsighted and parrot like. A recent issue of Red Flag journal has criticised a few persons who, far from serving the people and looking after their welfare, literally sit on people’s heads and do whatever comes to their mind. Persons who adopt such behaviour are not needed in any society and they certainly do not belong to the ranks of those thinking human beings who work for the benefit of themselves as well as that of others.

In the last two or three years the situation in Tibet has undergone some slight change. Because of this a number of people, comparing this to past suffering, feel content with the present liberalisation and hope that a good result will come about soon. On the other, a number of other people feel that the present liberalisation policy is a new attempt to fool the Tibetans and that in the end the Tibetan people will not be given equal rights to freedom. The Tibetans should neither suffer such inflated hopes nor ingrained suspicion. They should not be impatient and hold hasty views. The issue of Tibet is the issue of people whose history goes back thousands of years and whose religious and cultural heritage is rich. It is also an issue which is deeply linked with the changes in the international political scene. Consequently, the issue of Tibet should inevitably undergo a proper, satisfactory and decisive change since the present situation will never remain as it is. As such all Tibetans must continue to struggle broadmindedly, peaceably and truthfully, for both the short and long term happiness, interests and rights of our people. This struggle must continue right to the end.

**Statement of His Holiness the Dalai Lama on
the Twenty-Fourth Anniversary of the Tibetan
National Uprising Day**

10 March 1983

On the occasion of the 24th anniversary of the March 10th Uprising, I earnestly pray for the complete cessation of the unwholesome Karma of the Tibetan people and for the fulfilment of their wishes. The Tibetan people during the past twenty-four years, under such names as “revolution” and “progress”, as well as through various other means, have had to undergo unimaginable suffering, including the loss of many precious lives. On this occasion we solemnly remember them and convey to them our greetings. We also express our deep admiration for their ever-increasing determination.

As a result of some changes in the policy in Tibet since 1979, slight improvements in food and working conditions and the usage of the Tibetan language have given the Tibetan people a breathing space. However, these improvements not only did not uniformly cover all towns, villages and various parts of Tibet, but even in the areas where these improvements are being implemented, they are temporary, corrupted and inconsistent. Even now the general living conditions have not reached the level that existed before 1959 in spite of various movements initiated to make the poor rich. On top of this, there is a widening gap and increasing differences between Tibetans and Chinese. There also exists a constant feeling of resent-

ment, fear and suspicion and the need to show two faces by one person. Tibetans continue to live in this very sad, unhappy depressed state of mind.

The right to express one's ideas and to make every effort to implement them enables people anywhere to become creative and progressive. This engenders human society to make rapid progress and experience genuine harmony. When differences of opinions are frankly expressed and thoroughly discussed, instead of keeping them within one's breasts, there is no need to grab an opportunity to topple one another with deep-rooted hatred. Just as every people have the right to such freedom, in accordance with the basic principle of morality and justice, we Tibetans, too, definitely have an equal right to it. The deprivation of freedom to express one's views, either by force or by other means, is absolutely anachronistic and a brutal form of oppression. There is bound to be continuous problems of dissatisfaction and unrest in any region where such an act of oppression takes place. The people of the world will not only oppose it but will also condemn it. Hence, the six million Tibetan people must have the right to preserve, and enhance their cultural identity and religious freedom, the right to determine their own destiny and manage their own affairs, and find fulfilment of their free self-expression, without interference from any quarter. This is reasonable and just. Through this it is possible to overcome temporary and long-term problems and thus enjoy the fruits of one's aspired goals.

**Statement of His Holiness the Dalai Lama on
the Twenty-Fifth Anniversary of the Tibetan
National Uprising Day**

10 March 1984

On the occasion of this March 10th anniversary, when we also observe the 25th anniversary of our exile, I convey my warm and sincere wishes to the Tibetans, in and outside Tibet, and earnestly pray for those brave Tibetans who gave up their lives for the common cause of our people, religion and political rights.

When we look back to the past 25 years since we first came into exile, we see that compared to the world's other refugees, our number of 100,000 is small. And although the majority of this number lives in India, amidst its teeming millions, instead of scattering and being absorbed like water in sand, we have managed to preserve our entity and cohesiveness by living in groups of thousands. Most Tibetans in India, Nepal and Bhutan live in agricultural settlements, others make their living in various professions, different handicraft industries and small businesses. There are between two to three thousand Tibetans living in about 30 other countries, earning their living successfully just as the citizens of their country of refuge and succour. As for the young Tibetans, they are taught the themes of our cultural heritage with the Tibetan language as the basis. At the same time, they are given modern education and today's section of young Tibetans are walking shoulder-to-shoulder with the educated youths

of other modern, developed countries. Above all, as for our religion and culture, more than a thousand years ago, the complete teachings of the Buddha, which includes the Mahayana, Theravada and Tantrayana, were introduced from India and along with this came the influence of an enlightened culture. The Tibetans through the generations studied, practised and preserved them. These fine traditions of Tibet recently underwent deterioration, destruction and annihilation. However, we in exile, through great efforts, have collected, preserved and published whatever scriptural texts we could find and we have also established centres for the study and practice of Buddhism where young monks can study the Sutra and Tantra. As a result, firm foundations have been laid for the continuity and further spread of Buddhism. Moreover, hundreds of new centres have been established throughout the world where previously there was no trace of Buddhism. And today, many educated people the world over are studying and practising Buddhism.

Similarly, with regard to the fundamental question of the Tibetan people's freedom struggle, the United Nations passed three resolutions as a result of our appeal to the world body. Furthermore, an increasing number of people throughout the world are acknowledging the fact that the Tibetan race, language, traditions, religion, culture, political and economic systems are completely distinct and separate from that of the Chinese people and the fact that Tibet was an independent country with a recorded history of more than a thousand years. Many are still becoming aware of the present true situation inside Tibet and the aspiration of the Tibetan people. Consequently, there is a

growing number of people who are supporting and sympathising with our just cause.

The main factor that has contributed towards the Tibetan accomplishments briefly sketched above is the tremendous support the government and people of India have given to the Tibetans, a support based on the age-old ties of religion and culture that bind India and Tibet. The Tibetan accomplishments are also due to the help and guidance from various international aid agencies, philanthropists, countries that stand for peace and justice and statesmen, all of whom are motivated by their belief in the oneness of mankind and by their love and compassion for their fellow human beings. On this occasion of the 25th anniversary, I would like, on behalf of the Tibetans, in and outside Tibet, to sincerely thank our supporters and friends. When we are going through immeasurable hardship and suffering, unprecedented in our history, the sympathy, support and help that the people of the world, led by India, have accorded to us will forever be remembered and recorded in history.

Irrespective of varying degrees of development and economic disparities, continents, nations, communities, families, in fact, all individuals are dependent on one another for their existence and well-being. Every human being wishes for happiness and does not want suffering. By clearly realising this, we must develop mutual compassion, love and a fundamental sense of justice. In such an atmosphere there is hope that problems between nations and problems within families can be gradually overcome and that people can live in peace and harmony. Instead, if people adopt an attitude of selfishness, domination and

jealousy, the world at large, as well as individuals, will never enjoy peace and harmony. Therefore, I believe that human relations based on mutual compassion and love is fundamentally important to human happiness.

Regarding the situation inside Tibet during the past four or five years, most of the many innocent Tibetans who have been imprisoned unjustly for about twenty years have been released. There has also been a comparative degree of freedom of movement between Tibet and the outside world. This has enabled those who have survived the ordeal to meet with their long-separated family members, relatives and friends. In the agricultural and nomadic sectors, families have been given full management responsibility as well as the freedom to engage in private sideline production and petty business. Consequently, in Lhasa and some towns and villages, people's livelihood has slightly improved. There is also restoration of the Tibetan language which the Chinese had neglected, undermined and corrupted. New publications in the Tibetan language are being brought out. Because of the lessening in the intensity of unremitting supervised labour, the Tibetans are given a breathing space.

Despite these recent changes the situation is far from satisfactory. Although much publicity has been made about the freedom of religious worship by restoring a few of the destroyed monasteries, obstructions are still placed on those entering the monastic order and those who start to preach, study and practice the Dharma. Similarly, regarding the Tibetan written language, apart from the general publications of some Tibetan folktales, plays and stories, it is not used either in the administration of

the affairs of the country or in its economic management. Instead another language is used. This is a clear indication that the administration of Tibet is in the hands of an alien people who do not know the Tibetan language. The so-called freedom of religious worship and national autonomy through impressive slogans is simply empty talk. Moreover, recently, another issue has been brought to light. Under cover of their campaign to root out criminals, thousands of Tibetans were arrested, imprisoned and sent to hard labour camps, irrespective of whether they were innocent or guilty. Many were executed openly as well as secretly.

The present campaign of terror which the Chinese have unleashed in Tibet has once again made the Tibetan people live in a state of anxiety and fear. The brutal act of playing with the lives of people by believing in the power of weapons cannot subdue the human mind. Till now the number of Tibetans who were killed in action, who were executed, who died through starvation, who were tortured to death, and who were driven to suicide in order to escape a hellish existence, all add up to about one million. What has been achieved by all this killing? If people were given a basically satisfactory standard of living, full opportunity for learning and freedom to pursue their aspiration, then it is possible that eventually a climate of mutual trust, goodwill and fellowship will prevail. The Tibetan people, in and outside Tibet, must examine the facts of the real situation by abandoning speculation and breaking away from the bondage of fear. They must struggle with greater determination and dedication to regain the right which is justly ours and enjoyed by people the world over—the

right to govern ourselves.

With prayers for the cessation of sickness, famine, conflict and the causes of disharmony and human suffering and for the achievement of peace and human brotherhood.

**Statement of His Holiness the Dalai Lama on
the Twenty-Sixth Anniversary of the Tibetan
National Uprising Day**

10 March 1985

The 10th March this year marks the 26th anniversary of our National Uprising. As we remember our long and glorious history, our brave people and our rich cultural heritage at this important moment in our history, let us also remind ourselves of the responsibility that we share for the future of our people and rededicate ourselves to this common cause and pledge that each one of us will sincerely contribute to the best of our ability to achieve this goal.

During the past 26 years, although the vast majority of our people have been living in our own country, they were completely deprived of all basic freedoms and hence had to undergo untold suffering. On the other hand, while those of us in exile have been separated from our own country and scattered in alien surroundings, it has not been necessary for us to live in the state of fear and tension that our fellow countrymen have had to experience. This is not to say that our exile has not been without its own trials and tribulations. In short, we are living in one of the most difficult and trying periods in our history and this generation has had to face unprecedented suffering. But as our old Tibetan saying goes: “if the root has not dried, the tree is not dead”; our situation is not without hope. And, since there have been positive developments to give us cause for hope, it is of utmost importance that we

must not lose heart but find the strength and courage to make a firm pledge to persevere in our struggle.

A concrete achievement of our people in exile has been that we have not only managed to overcome our temporary problems of livelihood but we have also managed to preserve our national identity and our patriotism. And most important of all, our efforts to preserve our cultural heritage—particularly the teachings of the Buddha—have yielded encouraging results. With these achievements—during the past quarter century—it has been possible for us to show to the world at large that, given the opportunity, Tibetans can be creative, industrious, resourceful and most of all we can manage our own affairs. It has also been an opportunity to demonstrate some of our enduring national traits of honesty, fair-mindedness and the ability to face our problems with equanimity. So wherever there are Tibetans, people from every walk of life have come to consider us a good natured and cultured people. Moreover, we have also managed to create a new awareness and understanding of our civilisation as a whole and the Buddhist philosophy in particular. These are achievements that can be counted to our credit. Although there are not many Tibetans in exile, in view of the fact that we have maintained our national identity and our culture, we have been able to arouse renewed interest and concern for our people and our situation. These developments have also helped to bring about positive changes in many areas inside Tibet. By any standards these are no mean achievements and based on this experience, it is important that we should strive harder in the future with greater determination.

One of the factors that has contributed to our suc-

cess during the past two and half decades is the feeling of the fundamental oneness of mankind, the human compassion manifested in the noble tradition of helping those in need—irrespective of the differences in race, language, religion and culture. In our case alone this is evident from the interest, sympathy and assistance that we have received from the government and people of India, from various international voluntary organisations, religious groups and the large number of individuals. I would, therefore, like to take this opportunity to express once again our deep appreciation and to say that their help and kindness will always be remembered with gratitude.

I do not wish to repeat what I have said about the period before 1978-79. For there is nothing but sorrow connected with those years. Since then, however, conditions have improved slightly. Our people inside Tibet are no longer dying of starvation. Even with regard to our culture there have been some improvements in the facilities for the study of Tibetan language. Similarly, in spite of continued difficulties, it is now possible for family members and relatives from inside and outside Tibet to visit one another. We welcome these positive changes.

The basic issue of Tibet is both complicated and deeply rooted in history. So, there can be no immediate and simple solution to our problems. Nevertheless, factors like truth and human determination are important. Moreover, the situation in the world is always changing and will not remain the same.

In ancient times, the problems of one country were seemingly of no concern to the other nations and often remained unknown to them. But today, when the world is

becoming smaller and more interdependent, events even in a remote region arouse the concern and attention of the rest of the world. This is because what happens in one country affects the overall global situation. Based on their own past experience China has also realised that it cannot remain isolated from the rest of the world. As a result, they have been compelled to adopt new ideas and policy. So, compared to the conditions a few years back, there has been some progress in their fundamental policies. But in order to achieve genuine happiness in any human society, freedom of thought is extremely important. This freedom of thought can only be achieved from mutual trust, mutual understanding and the absence of fear. On the other hand, if we only pay lip service to noble sentiments but continue to harbour hatred and ill will within our heart, sooner or later there is bound to be confrontation. In the case of Tibet and China too, unless we can remove the state of mutual fear and mistrust, unless we can develop a genuine sense of friendship and goodwill—the problem that we face today will continue to exist.

It is important for both of us to learn about one another. While the Chinese have forced their point of view regarding the issue of Tibet upon the Tibetans, they have continued to ignore the real fact concerning Tibet. It is now for the Chinese to act according to the enlightened ideals and principles of the modern times; to come forward with an open mind and make a serious attempt to know and understand the Tibetan people's view point and their true feelings and aspirations. This, I feel, is very important. It is wrong to react with suspicion or offence to the opinions that are contrary to one's way of thinking.

It is essential that differences of opinion be examined and discussed openly. When differing viewpoints are frankly stated and sensibly discussed on an equal footing, the decisions or agreements reached as a result will be genuine and beneficial to all concerned. But so long as there is a contradiction between thought and action, there can never be genuine and meaningful agreements.

So, at this time, I feel the most important thing for us is to keep in close contact, to express our views frankly and to make sincere efforts to understand each other. And, through eventual improvement in human relationship, I am confident that our problems can be solved to our mutual satisfaction.

My prayers for the well-being of all sentient beings.

**Statement of His Holiness the Dalai Lama on
the Twenty-Seventh Anniversary of the Tibetan
National Uprising Day**

10 March 1986

My fellow countrymen, in and outside Tibet:

It is 27 years since the people of Tibet, the Land of Snows, started the great movement to regain our freedom and rights. The Tibetan people are sincere, polite, good-natured and intelligent. Consequently, in a world of diverse peoples, the Tibetans have built a good reputation for themselves. And in recent times these very people stood up for their rights against great odds and in the process over a million were killed and many more had to endure immeasurable mental and physical sufferings. Today, we remember these valiant patriots and pledge to continue the struggle with greater courage and determination so that their aims and aspirations are fulfilled. In spite of the recent slight improvement of conditions in Tibet our people have remained steadfast and firmly committed to our aspirations. This is particularly commendable and I take this opportunity to express my deep sense of admiration and gratitude.

Tibet is racially, culturally and geographically distinct from any other nation. But today, it is a colony and most foreign visitors to Tibet observe that the Tibetans do not want to live under alien occupation.

The achievement of the just cause of Tibet depends on many factors, but primarily on the unfailing cour-

age and relentless determination of our people. Until we achieve our ultimate noble goal we must always keep up our morale and determination. We must not be contented with temporary easing of conditions and must never fall prey to complacency.

At this time there is one particular point that I would like to explain and stress. One of the main reasons for the distinctive identity of the Tibetan people is our cultural heritage. We must, therefore, recognise the importance and the value of our own language, literature, and traditions, including our way of dressing. By cherishing our cultural heritage we must make every efforts to preserve and promote all its aspects. With this as a foundation we should develop the desire and will to widen our knowledge in order to acquire a complete modern education. Time and opportunities should not be wasted. This is particularly important for the young, who are at the crucial stage of their mental and physical growth.

Another point I would like to mention is that these days the Chinese, forced by self-interest, are conforming to international norms of behaviour by adopting policies that are less dogmatic. This is to be praised and welcomed. In Tibet, too, there has been some liberalisation of Chinese policies, some efforts to improve the economy of the people and, unlike in the past, a little more interest in the culture of the Tibetan people. However, for the past thirty years or more, the Chinese have looked down on the Tibetans as objects of slavery and oppression and intentionally deprived them of the precious opportunities for proper education. Now under the pretext that Tibetans are not competent large numbers of Chinese, mainly under the

guise of skilled labour, are being brought into the major towns of central Tibet. Especially in parts of Amdo and Kham, large numbers of Chinese are continually setting up agricultural settlements in the more fertile areas and places where there are better facilities. The native inhabitants, the Tibetans, are being pushed away to remote areas and being forced to live as nomads.

No matter how convincing the temporary “nationalities policy” may appear, it will be extremely regrettable and dangerous if the very basis of a distinct culture—the people—are made to disappear without a trace. Similarly, while they say that they are improving the schools in Tibet, the Chinese are taking to China many young Tibetan children on the ground that there are better facilities there. Here, too, there is the danger that eventually these children will forget their way of thinking and living. The parents and the children themselves must make every effort to remember and preserve their distinctive traditions wherever they are. All of us must take serious note of these dangerous developments.

I would also like to add a word of caution about the new Chinese economic policy for Tibet. Apart from liberalising the economic system in Tibet, since 1980, China has recently invited foreign capital investment in Tibet. This is welcome, if it will lead to an improvement in the standard of living of the common Tibetans. But for the last 27 years there has been a systematic exploitation of Tibet’s natural resources. More than anything else, Tibet was made the source of raw material for the economic development of China. If the present trend continues and also if the Chinese hastily and haphazardly plan the economic

development of Tibet to meet their overall modernisation target without taking into consideration the conditions of the country and the needs of the people, there is the danger that not only economic chaos but ecological disaster will befall Tibet.

I also welcome the Tibetan language publications on various subjects of Tibetan learning and history. Nevertheless, many of the important facts published are distorted, biased and inaccurate. This is because of lack of freedom and the need to seek the final approval from the Chinese. We must take note of these and ensure that they do not occur in the future and at the same time make concerted efforts to rectify these from every corner.

For a few years it has been possible for Tibetans in Tibet to visit Tibetans in exile and vice versa. This has enabled many Tibetans to see their family members and friends about whom for many years they had not even heard, leave alone meet. This has been of great benefit to all concerned. The Tibetans in exile availed of the opportunity to visit Tibet purely on humanitarian grounds. Their visits are in no way an indication of their acceptance of the Chinese occupation of Tibet or of their being satisfied with the present conditions inside Tibet. Therefore, if political capital is made out of such a purely humanitarian action, it will not serve any purpose.

With prayers for the well being of all sentient beings.

**Statement of His Holiness the Dalai Lama on
the Twenty-Eighth Anniversary of the Tibetan
National Uprising Day**

10 March 1987

Our struggle is a fight for the rights that are justly upheld in today's modern times—the rights that we have inherited from our past history—and is not an act of hatred towards the Chinese.

The past four decades, which witnessed the invasion and consequent occupation of Tibet by Communist China, have been the most difficult and tragic period in the long history of our country. Yet we responded positively when the new leadership in Beijing showed interest in having direct contact with us in the late seventies. Unfortunately, it seems there is no desire on the part of the Chinese to resolve the issue on the basis of mutual respect and for mutual benefit. The mass arrests of Tibetans in 1983, official encouragement to large-scale Chinese immigration into Tibet contrary to their earlier promises to withdraw the bulk of the Chinese civilian population, continued denial of political rights to our people, and the presence of Chinese military and intelligence personnel in Tibet, are creating obstacles for better understanding the possibility for a mutually satisfactory solution.

The Tibetan people have bravely withstood the unparalleled atrocities committed upon them. They have remained steadfast and strong. Their courage and determination are remarkable—a tribute indeed to the indomi-

table spirit of Man. And today when we commemorate the twenty-eighth anniversary of our National Uprising, we once again remember the brave Tibetan people.

In recent years there have been some changes in Tibet as a result of the policy of liberalisation in China itself. Nevertheless, there has been no fundamental shift in the Chinese attitude to the basic issue of Tibet. We cannot therefore remain complacent and contented with the current limited easing of conditions. In fact, we must be particularly cautious and pay special attention to new developments that threaten our very survival in the long run.

During the last few years there has been unprecedented increase of Chinese civilians throughout Tibet. This policy of colonisation and demographic aggression poses a great threat of reducing our people to a minority in our own country. This has also rendered the much-publicised Chinese claim of respecting Tibetan identity, religion, culture and traditions meaningless. Furthermore, this has resulted in Chinese domination of economic and employment opportunities particularly in the major towns where almost two-thirds of the population are now Chinese.

Today there is greater danger than ever before to the survival of our people, our religion, culture and our country.

Firstly, the so-called religious freedom in Tibet today amounts to permitting our people to worship and practise religion in a merely ritualistic and devotional way. There are both direct and indirect restrictions on the teaching and study of Buddhist philosophy. Buddhism is

thus being reduced to a blind faith which is exactly how the Communist Chinese view and define religion.

Secondly, although economic and other conditions have been eased slightly, in reality the young Tibetans are neither provided with adequate facilities nor are they encouraged in their educational development. Bad habits like drinking and gambling are allowed to spread in the society despite the knowledge of their harmful effects. Deliberate obstacles are being placed before those who are academically inclined. There is thus every danger to Tibetans being turned into a backward and illiterate community devoid of any real culture and education.

Thirdly, the large-scale Chinese influx is threatening to transform Tibet into a Chinese territory.

Thus, while China accuses others of crimes of racial discrimination and injustice, the Chinese themselves continue the worst forms of genocide, racial discrimination and colonisation in the countries under their subjugation.

In any situation of human conflict it is short-sighted to believe that a lasting solution can be found through the use of force. I have always expressed my firm conviction in the wisdom of following a non-violent path. Force and confrontation can only bring about temporary gains. In the case of Tibet too, Tibetan opposition will continue to exist so long as the hopes and aspirations of our people remain suppressed. I would like to reiterate that the issue of Tibet is not about the power and position of either the Dalai Lama or the future of the Tibetan refugees alone but rather it is the question of the rights and freedoms of the six million Tibetans.

It is a mistake to presume that mere economic concessions and liberalisations can satisfy our people. The issue of Tibet is fundamentally political with international ramifications and as such only a political solution can provide a meaningful answer.

In the past, too, Tibet had played an important role as a neutral buffer contributing to the stability of the region. This historical precedence provides the basis for working out a solution to the issue of Tibet for the benefit of all parties concerned. The demilitarisation of Tibet and its transformation into a zone of peace should be the first step. This will contribute in bringing peace not only to this part of Asia but also to the world at large.

Before concluding, I would like to express my solidarity with many of the educated and intelligent young Chinese who are undergoing physical as well as mental suppression. Even the Chinese themselves, who have an ancient civilisation, are deprived of individual freedoms. They are living in a state of great anxiety about the present changes and uncertainty of the future. It is my hope that they too will gain the inalienable rights and freedoms that are basic to all human beings.

My prayers for the well-being of all sentient beings.

**Statement of His Holiness the Dalai Lama on
the Twenty-Ninth Anniversary of the Tibetan
National Uprising Day**

10 March 1988

Today, as we commemorate the twenty-ninth anniversary of our National Uprising against the Chinese occupation, we remember over a million of our compatriots who have given their lives for the cause.

In past months our country has been undergoing the most severe repression since the so-called Cultural Revolution. At least thirty-two people have died during the unrest in Lhasa and hundreds have been arrested, beaten and tortured. Throughout Tibet, additional security forces have been brought in, freedom of movement has now been restricted, and Chinese authorities continue to violate the people's fundamental human rights. Today, we also honour the courage of our brethren in Tibet who have taken to the streets to draw attention to their suffering under Chinese colonial rule.

The current unrest in Tibet is not an isolated event. There have been numerous demonstrations in our country since the crushing by Chinese troops of the National Uprising in 1959. It is unique only in that it was witnessed by the foreign press and tourists and was, therefore, widely reported.

The struggle of our people is, unlike many, a non-violent one. This may have made it more difficult to convince the world of the depth of our misery and the

earnestness of our resolve. It may even have encouraged governments to ignore our just cause. It is indeed a sad reflection of the state of the world that violence seems to be required for the international community to pay attention. Given the global concern for terrorism and other forms of violence, would it not be in everyone's interest to support the non-violent pursuit of just causes?

I have always felt that violence breeds violence. It contributes little to the resolution of conflicts. I, therefore, renew my appeal to all freedom-loving peoples to support our non-violent struggle for the survival of our national identity, our culture and our spiritual tradition, and to persuade the Chinese government to abandon its oppressive policies.

Today, Tibet's very existence is under threat. The massive transfer of Chinese onto the Tibetan plateau jeopardises 2,100 years of Tibet's distinct history and identity and is the immediate cause of our people's renewed determination to openly express, even at the cost of their lives, their dissatisfaction. Not only does China's present policy contravene the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949, which forbids the transfer of civilians onto occupied territory—regardless of disputed claims to sovereignty—it also violates the most fundamental right of a people to survive and be masters of their destiny in their own land. It is my hope that the new leaders of China will see the futility and injustice of attempting to force their dominion on an unwilling people.

Tibet should be for the six million Tibetans. Its future, including its form of government and social system, should be for the Tibetan people themselves to decide. No

Tibetan is interested in restoring outdated political and social institutions. As I have said many times, even the continuation of the institution of the Dalai Lama is for the people to decide. Respect for freedom and democracy is essential for the development of modern Tibet and its people.

Those of us in exile have been fortunate to live in free societies and to learn from these countries the value of freedom and democracy. It is our responsibility as free citizens to exercise the rights we possess in the furtherance of our cause. In 1963 I promulgated the democratic Constitution of Tibet and for the past twenty-five years our exiled community has, under difficult circumstances, responded well to the challenge and experiment of democracy. We can be especially proud of the many younger people who are taking the lead in all fields of our society, including the administration of government, our extensive social services and the free press. Yet, we must work harder to make our institutions more effective and more democratic.

Whether the Constitution of Tibet can be totally implemented or not can be determined only when all Tibetans have been given the opportunity to accept or reject it. Nonetheless, the Tibetan people must do their utmost to give it life, to the extent this is possible, in exile. Thus when elections to our parliament-in-exile, the Assembly of Tibetans People's Deputies, are once again held in July this year, the people must take their right to vote seriously and choose the candidates who best represent their interests. It is not good to rely on me for all major decisions. It is for the Tibetan people to assume that responsibility.

Let us, in the coming year, increase our efforts to create a truly free and democratic Tibet, not only in exile, but also, more importantly in our sacred country. The great sympathy and support, which the international community has shown in the past year, has renewed our hope for a better future. The heroism of our brothers and sisters in Tibet, non-violently opposing a large and brutal force is a constant inspiration. It is a living testament to the oneness of our Buddhist heritage and our national spirit. May that immutable spirit and our people's undaunted courage together strengthen the resolve of all six million Tibetans, in and outside Tibet. May every one of us, in this coming year, give his or her greatest effort towards the achievement of our just and noble cause: a Tibet for Tibetans.

My prayers for the welfare of all sentient beings.

**Statement of His Holiness the Dalai Lama on
the Thirtieth Anniversary of the Tibetan
National Uprising Day**

10 March 1989

Today we pay special tribute to the courage and determination of the Tibetan people, so many of whom have given their lives for our just and noble cause. The suffering our people have been subjected to during these decades marks the darkest period in our long history.

The struggle of the Tibetan people is a struggle for our inalienable right to determine our own destiny in freedom. It is a struggle for democracy, human rights and peace. Most of all, it is a struggle for survival as a people and nation with a unique civilisation.

The Lhasa uprising of 1987 has greatly stirred the people throughout Tibet. Despite the peaceful nature of this and other demonstrations that have since taken place, many people have been confirmed killed, and many more arrested. I am deeply saddened to learn that there has been further bloodshed in Lhasa only days before making this statement. The loss of innocent lives saddened us very much. We not only honour these brave men, women and children today but also the over one million Tibetans who have died as a result of Chinese occupation.

No amount of repression, however brutal and violent, can silence the voice of freedom and justice. The frequent peaceful demonstrations which have taken place spontaneously throughout Tibet over the past years are

clear indications of a much larger problem. Unfortunately, the Chinese leadership still fails to understand the real situation in Tibet and the extent of dissatisfaction among the Tibetan people. In his last public statement before his untimely and sad demise, Panchen Rinpoche expressed the people's feelings when he said that the price Tibetans have had to pay under Chinese rule has been far higher than any benefits they may have gained.

Ours is a non-violent struggle, and it must remain so. The killing, imprisonment and torture of peaceful demonstrators or persons who express unsanctioned opinions is morally repressible and a violation of human rights as internationally recognised. It can never be justified no matter where in the world it occurs. The condemnation by the international community of these actions will, we hope, persuade the Chinese to abandon such methods. The United Nations General Assembly passed three resolutions condemning China's human rights abuses in Tibet. At this time, when the United Nations is increasingly effective in fulfilling its mission in various parts of the world, I call on the international community to urge the implementation of these three resolutions.

I would like to take this opportunity to express our deep sense of gratitude to the countless people who have voiced concern and expressed solidarity with our people at this critical time. We are also grateful for the conscientious reporting by visitors to Tibet of what they have seen and experienced there.

I am encouraged by the support we have received to our initiatives to find a peaceful and just solution to the tragic situation of Tibet. In September of 1987 I presented

a Five Point Peace Plan for the restoration of peace and human rights in Tibet. Then, in June of last year, I formulated further thoughts that could serve as a framework for substantive negotiations with the Chinese on the future of Tibet. The Chinese government has agreed to hold negotiations with us and left the venue and time for such negotiations for me to choose. Although I proposed that the negotiations should start in January in Geneva, the Chinese have for one reason or another delayed commencement of the talks. Nevertheless, as the Chinese have, unlike before, become more realistic these days, I remain hopeful that the Chinese leaders will see the wisdom of resolving the issue peacefully, by negotiations. I firmly believe a resolution based on the framework proposed by us will not only benefit both the Tibetan and the Chinese peoples, but will also contribute to regional and global peace and stability.

I am aware of the deep-felt disappointment of many Tibetans on the stand we have taken at Strasbourg. As I have stated before, the final decision will be left to the Tibetan people themselves to take.

I have always believed that human determination and truth will ultimately prevail over violence and oppression. Today important changes are taking place everywhere in the world which could profoundly affect our future and the future of all humanity and the planet we share. Courageous moves by world leaders have facilitated the peaceful resolution of conflicts. Hopes for peace, for the environment, and for a more humane approach to world problems seem greater than ever before. It is imperative that we Tibetans intensify our modest contribution to these changes through our endeavours both inside and in exile

for the advancement of freedom, democracy and peace.

With my prayers for the well-being of all sentient beings.

**Statement of His Holiness the Dalai Lama on
the Thirty-First Anniversary of the Tibetan
National Uprising Day**

10 March 1990

Thirty-one years ago today, the Tibetan people rose up against the Chinese occupation of Tibet. In commemorating this momentous event in the history of our country, I extend my greetings to every Tibetan. Today, we remember those brave Tibetans who gave up their lives for the freedom of Tibet. We also express our deep admiration for our people's courage and determination in their struggle for freedom, even under the most brutal martial law regulations.

Today, as we contemplate the future of our Tibet, we cannot help but think about the historic events of the past year. In China the popular movement for democracy was crushed last June by unrestrained violence. But I do not believe that the demonstrations were in vain. Rather, the spirit of freedom has been rekindled among the Chinese people and China cannot escape the impact of this spirit of freedom which is sweeping through many parts of the world.

Extraordinary changes are occurring in Eastern Europe: events which have set the pace for social-political change throughout the world. Similarly, Namibia has gained its independence from South Africa and the South African government has taken the first steps towards the dismantling of apartheid. It is encouraging to note that

these changes are the result of a genuine people's movement, and basically due to the irrepressible human desire for freedom and justice. What these positive changes indicate is that reason, courage, determination and the inextinguishable desire for freedom will ultimately win.

Therefore, I urge the Chinese leadership not to resist the trend of change, but to consider the problems of the Tibetan and the Chinese people with imagination and broad-mindedness. I believe that repression will never crush the determination of any people to live in freedom and dignity. The Chinese leadership must look at the problems of China itself, and the Tibetan issue, with new eyes and fresh minds. Before it is too late, they must listen to the voice of reason, non-violence, and, moderation which is spoken by the Tibetan people and by China's own students.

Despite claims of Chinese propaganda, millions of non-Chinese people living in areas presently under the People's Republic of China suffer all kinds of discrimination. The Chinese themselves admit that even after forty years of communist rule these areas are backward and poor. However, the most disturbing effect of Chinese policy towards people in these areas is the demographic transformation which has been imposed upon them. In virtually every area new Chinese immigrants have become the majority community. Manchuria has been completely absorbed. In Inner Mongolia, only 2.6 million Mongols remain surrounded by eighteen million newly arrived Chinese. More than fifty percent of Eastern Turkestan's population are now Chinese while in Tibet, the six million Tibetans are outnumbered by 7.5 million Chinese immi-

grants.

Naturally, the non-Chinese people are restive. Unless China's leadership can take steps to assuage their feelings, there is every likelihood that serious problems will result in the future. It is imperative, I believe, for China to learn a lesson from the Soviet Union and, in particular, to follow the example set by President Gorbachev who is seeking to solve similar problems through dialogue and compromise. The government of China needs to realise that the problems it faces in the non-Chinese areas under its rule are not merely economic. At root they are political and, as such, can only be solved by political change.

To bring about a peaceful and reasonable solution to the question of Tibet I proposed the Five Point Peace Plan and the Strasbourg Proposal. Even after the imposition of martial law in Tibet, we proposed to hold preliminary meetings in Hong Kong to discuss procedure and other matters in an effort to reduce tension and to facilitate an early start to the actual negotiations. Unfortunately, China's leaders to date have not responded positively to our sincere efforts.

Recently the Chinese have vehemently rejected and condemned my stand on the past status and history of Tibet. They want me to change that stand. However, no one can alter truth of facts. By their narrow outlook the Chinese are missing the main message which I have tried to convey to them in my Five Point Peace Plan, the Strasbourg Proposal and the Nobel Lecture which concerns the future relationship between Tibet and China. I am prepared to consider this with an open mind through dialogue.

It is important for the Chinese authorities to recognise the true aspirations of the Tibetan people, the majority of whom live inside Tibet. Virtually all Tibetans long for nothing less than full independence for our country. If the Chinese have any doubts on this then they should permit an internationally-supervised referendum in Tibet to determine the wishes of the Tibetan people.

Any relation between Tibet and China must be based on the principles of equality, trust and mutual benefit. It must also be based on the principles which the wise rulers of Tibet and China laid down in a treaty as early as 823 A.D., engraved on the stone pillar in Lhasa. Among other things the treaty says, "Tibetans will live happily in the great land of Tibet, and the Chinese will live happily in the great land of China".

It is with sadness I note that, far from looking at the Tibetan issue from a fresh perspective, the Chinese authorities continue instead to use their awesome military might to crush the numerous protests of the Tibetans. Last year, in response to Tibetan protest demonstrations, the Chinese authorities imposed martial law in Lhasa. Martial law imposed in Beijing a few months later was recently lifted. In Lhasa, far from lifting the martial law the Chinese are intent on tightening the noose around the Tibetan people. Recent reports from Tibet indicate that further repressive measures are being carried out. These days the Chinese authorities are conducting house searches for participants of the pro-independence demonstrations.

Despite such brutality by the Chinese authorities, the Tibetans in Tibet remain determined and undaunted. It is the right and responsibility of every Tibetan to fight

for freedom and rights. But our struggle must be based on non-violence.

An important event for the Tibetan people has been the award of the Nobel Peace Prize. Though it will not change my status as a simple monk, I am happy for the Tibetan people, for this prize brings well-deserved recognition to the Tibetan people's struggle for freedom and justice. This reaffirms our conviction that armed with truth, courage and determination, we will succeed in liberating our country.

Since our struggle is for the rights, freedom and future well-being of six million Tibetans, we must strengthen our democratic institutions and our democratic process. As I have said many times, respect for freedom and democracy is essential for the development of a modern Tibet and for the development of its people. In 1963, I promulgated the democratic Constitution of Tibet and we have gained valuable experience in the working of democracy. There is still need to further democratise both the Assembly of Tibetan People's Deputies and the Tibetan Administration itself. To make our institutions more effective and democratic, I have sought the opinions and suggestions of our people. I feel that it is the responsibility of every Tibetan to create a truly free and democratic community in exile and, more importantly, in future Tibet where the main responsibility obviously must be shouldered by the educated young and those working inside Tibet under Chinese rule.

In conclusion, I wish to thank all those who have given moral and political support to our struggle for freedom and justice.

**Statement of His Holiness the Dalai Lama on
the Thirty-Second Anniversary of the Tibetan
National Uprising Day**

10 March 1991

Two days ago, on March 8, special prayers were held for all those brave Tibetans who sacrificed their lives for the Tibetan cause and for those who continue to demonstrate for freedom throughout Tibet. This is the day when martial law was declared in Tibet two years ago. We especially remember young Lhakpa Tsering, who was tortured to death in prison recently, and Lobsang Tenzin and others who are reportedly in imminent danger of being executed any day.

I hope that March 8 will be commemorated annually as a day of remembrance and prayer for all those who are being arrested, tortured and executed in Tibet, and for the family members of these victims who also suffer. Today, on this thirty-second commemoration of the March 10, 1959 National Uprising, we remember these brave Tibetans once again.

In Tibet, the situation remains grim. On May 1 last year Chinese authorities announced the lifting of martial law in Tibet. However, there is clear evidence to conclude that the lifting of martial law is in name only. The People's Armed Police, which was withdrawn, has been replaced by thousands of plainclothes policemen. If the situation is normal, as the Chinese claim, then they should immediately withdraw all the plainclothes policemen and

let Lhasa be run by civilian authorities. Before the lifting of martial law, several hundred monks and nuns were expelled from various monasteries and nunneries in Tibet. Unfortunately, some of the most intelligent and serious practitioners of Buddhism have been expelled from these institutions.

After the July visit of Jiang Zemin, General Secretary of the Communist Party, to Tibet, more stringent measures were ordered to suppress all activities of the Tibetans in Lhasa which the Chinese perceive as being political. They have officially declared that “heavy” and “firm punishments” should be meted out “swiftly”.

In spite of all this, the spirit of the Tibetan people remains unbroken and they have continued to demonstrate at least half a dozen times for the freedom of Tibet.

My deep concern for the unending cycle of repression and the massive influx of Chinese into Tibet, thus endangering the very survival of our people and culture, led me to initiate two important proposals with the Chinese: my Five Point Peace Plan in 1987 and the Strasbourg Proposal in 1988.

The Strasbourg Proposal was made with the conviction that they met with the basic hopes of the Tibetan people without denying the reality of present day Chinese rule in Tibet. Many Tibetans have been disappointed and many have criticised these proposals as too conciliatory with unwarranted concessions.

My proposals have not elicited any official response from the Chinese leadership. In fact their state media has been critical. Because of this closed and negative attitude, I feel my personal commitment to these ideas has become

ineffectual. I believe that the logical step is to acknowledge our failure in this endeavour to reach out to the Chinese leadership. If in the near future there are no new initiatives from the Chinese I will consider myself free of any obligation to the proposal I made in the Strasbourg address. However, my dedication to the freedom and legitimate rights of the Tibetan people will always remain steadfast. I also remain committed to negotiations with the Chinese for a peaceful solution to the Tibetan problem.

Last year, many positive and far-reaching changes took place in the world. In the Soviet Union, the steps taken by President Gorbachev to introduce a more representative and responsible form of government had significant and widespread impact. In many countries, in Eastern Europe especially, one-party dictatorships were replaced by popularly elected governments. The dismantling of the Berlin Wall and unification of the two Germanys are testimonies to the end of the Cold War and a step towards a world no longer haunted by the prospect of a war between the East and the West.

In Mongolia too the people went to the polls to elect a new government. I particularly welcome the revival of Buddhism in Mongolia, which had uniquely close cultural and religious ties with Tibet. In our part of the world, I must commend the people of Nepal for their efforts in reviving a multi-party system and His Majesty King Birendra for facilitating the process. Regrettably in many other countries, such as Burma, although the people speak out loudly for greater freedom, the governments have not responded positively.

With such fundamental shifts taking place in the

world, I am confident that China cannot remain isolated and unchanging. The Chinese people will one day see that only through a genuinely democratic form of government will they be able to unleash their creative energies for the good of China, and for peace and progress in the world. Signs of this change are evident. The crushing of the democratic movement, led by students and intellectuals, in June 1989 in Beijing, may have been a temporary setback. However, in the long run, this event will give the Chinese people inspiration to continue their struggle for greater freedom and democracy.

A peaceful and politically stable future for China lies not just in the success of the Chinese democratic movement, but in the fulfilment of the wishes of millions of non-Chinese to regain their own freedom from Chinese occupation. For stability and peace to return to Asia as a whole, a new China should join a democratic community of states created for the mutual benefit of all its members. Such a community could include Tibet, East Turkestan, and Inner Mongolia who seek freedom from Chinese colonialist rule, and could also be extended to include other nations interested in building an Asian community. The idea needs much detailed thought and I hope other Asian leaders and interested persons will be willing to discuss it with me so that we can make it a reality.

I was very saddened by the recent Gulf War and the loss of so many human lives. I consider this crisis an exception in an otherwise encouraging atmosphere. Too often situations that turn explosive are a result of neglect at the early stages when diplomacy and peaceful methods are not adequately applied. A contributing factor to such

hostilities is the “strategies” many nations adopt in an attempt to achieve a balance of power that is supposedly in their interest.

The worst contributing factor to conflicts such as the Gulf War is the arms trade which individuals and nations indulge in for financial gain. Such trade seems senseless, irresponsible and completely lacking in human considerations. If we want to avoid such tragic confrontations we must pay greater attention to situations of potential conflict right from the beginning. We must change our limited selfish strategies and interests and strive for a greater sense of responsibility beyond one’s immediate area. Such a concept will not only preserve peace for one particular nation but will lay the foundation for a lasting peace for all.

Ever since I was young, I looked forward to the time when we could devise a political system suited both to our traditions and the demands of the modern world. Since we came into exile we have tried to build up the Chithu, the elected assembly of representatives, as a key feature of our effort to develop such a system. We are now embarking on changes which will further democratise and strengthen our administration in exile. I hope that these changes will allow the people of Tibet to have a clear say in determining the future of their country.

It is therefore a matter of great pride for me, and I am sure for all of you, that last month the Tibetan exiles went to the polls for the eleventh time to elect a new assembly of representatives. This assembly will have many more members and will have a much greater role in determining the executive branch of our administration. Already,

since the special congress held last May, the members of the Kashag, the executive head of our administration, are elected officials, no longer appointed by me.

I believe that future generations of Tibetans will consider these changes among the most important achievements of our experience in exile. Just as the introduction of Buddhism to Tibet cemented our nation, I am confident that the democratisation of our society will add to the vitality of the Tibetan people and enable our decision-making institutions to reflect the heartfelt needs and aspirations of all Tibetans.

During the last few years, I have been most encouraged by the expression of support for the Tibetan cause both at the government and individual level throughout the world. In recent years the U.S. Congress and several parliaments in Europe, and in Australia, have adopted resolutions of concern and support for Tibet and the Tibetan people. The Friends of Tibet meeting in Dharamsala last March was another encouraging indication of the extent of that support.

Today, this national day has also been declared the first day of the International Year of Tibet 1991-1992, a year-long commemoration of Tibet, its people and its cultural heritage. On behalf of all of us, I thank each of you involved in the numerous exhibitions, conferences, seminars and publications and other events and projects dedicated to this global educational effort.

In conclusion, I want to once again thank the voluntary agencies and individuals still involved in assisting the Tibetan refugee community. A special note of gratitude must be extended to the people and government of India

for their hospitality and understanding all these years, in spite of the many problems and responsibilities of their own.

**Statement of His Holiness the Dalai Lama on
the Thirty-Third Anniversary of the Tibetan
National Uprising Day**

10 March 1992

As we commemorate today the thirty-third anniversary of the March 10 Uprising in 1959, I am more optimistic than ever before about the future of Tibet. This optimism stems from the determination of the Tibetan people inside Tibet and also from the dramatic changes that have taken place everywhere in the world, particularly in the erstwhile Soviet Union. I feel certain that within the next five to ten years some major changes will take place in China.

The collapse of totalitarian regimes in different parts of the world, the break-up of the Soviet empire and re-emergence of sovereign, independent nations reinforce our belief in the ultimate triumph of truth, justice and the human spirit. The bloody October Revolution of 1917, which controlled the fate of the Soviet Union for seven decades, came to an end in the bloodless, non-violent August Revolution of 1991.

We know from history that the mightiest of empires and military powers come and go. No power remains sacrosanct forever. This is particularly true in this modern age when the power of communications is so effective. It is, therefore, quite clear that China cannot remain unaffected by what is happening inside and outside the country.

The present Chinese leadership must have the vi-

sion and wisdom to learn from the current political changes in the world in order to find a lasting and peaceful solution to their own problems. Today, we have, on the one hand, the total disintegration of the Soviet Union, and on the other, the fast emergence of one common Europe voluntarily joining together for common and mutual benefit. We are also seeing the birth of a new Commonwealth of Independent States out of the ashes of the now defunct Soviet Union.

For some years I have been putting forward similar ideas for solving Sino-Tibetan problems. I also said that this could be a model for solving similar problems elsewhere in the world. In today's world of interdependence and interconnectedness, no nation can hope to survive, let alone prosper, on its own. At the same time, no nation or community wants to be a colony or subservient to another.

The present Chinese leadership today has two choices. The first one is to start an enlightened political process for a smooth transition towards a fully democratic society and allow the countries they have forcibly annexed and occupied to become free and equal partners in a new world order. The second choice is to push the country to the brink of bloody political struggles, which in a country populated by a quarter of humanity, would be a great tragedy. On our part, there will be no lack of willingness or sincerity, should the Chinese government show a genuine interest in finding a solution to the Tibetan problem. Even though the Strasbourg Proposal, which I made more than three years ago, is no longer valid, we are committed to the path of negotiations. This willingness is amply

demonstrated in my proposal for an early visit to Tibet. Regrettably, this proposal was turned down by the Chinese government.

With increased awareness of the real situation in present day Tibet, there has been growing world concern and support for our cause. I was very encouraged by the genuine interest and sympathy shown by political leaders I met during my travels in the past year. We consider these favourable changes in the attitude of governments not to be anti-Chinese, but pro-justice and truth.

Today also marks a very successful conclusion of the International Year of Tibet. The International Year of Tibet was celebrated in over thirty-six countries with more than 3,000 different events and activities. The world is much more aware of Tibet today than it was a year back as a result of International Year of Tibet related activities. These activities not only reminded the world of the ongoing suffering of the Tibetan people and the destruction of its environment, but also introduced to the world the unique richness of the Tibetan civilisation through the presentation of performing arts and above all through the many exhibitions.

Having created tremendous enthusiasm and goodwill, we must now globally try to deal with more specific and urgent needs confronting the Tibetan people. Therefore, I strongly endorse the call by the International Campaign for Tibet, the Washington-based organisation, to dedicate the year June 1992 to May 1993 to creating greater awareness and an active international role concerning Tibet's environment and human rights for Tibetans.

The indomitable courage and determination of our

people of Tibet has been the strength of our movement. The unique feature of our struggle has been its non-violent nature. While we continue to strive for our legitimate rights, we must not deviate from the path of non-violence. I have no doubt that one day our people, as well as the peoples of Inner Mongolia and East Turkestan, will be reunited in full freedom in their respective countries.

Meanwhile, in exile, we are preparing the ground for a fully democratic Tibet in future. An official document to this effect has been brought out recently. Entitled Guidelines for Future Tibet's Polity and the Basic Features of its Constitution, this document states that the present Tibetan Administration will be dissolved the moment we return to Tibet, and that I will hand over all my traditional political power to an interim government. The interim government, it explains, will be responsible for drawing up a democratic constitution under which the new government of Tibet will be elected by the people. It assures that there will be no political recrimination against those Tibetans who have worked in the Chinese administration. In fact, because of their experience, the Tibetan officials of the existing administration in Tibet should shoulder the main responsibility.

The future Tibet will be an oasis of peace in the heartland of Asia where man and nature will live in perfect harmony, benefiting not only Tibet and Tibetans, but also helping to create the basis for a more cordial relationship between India and China.

When a genuinely cordial relationship is established between Tibetans and Chinese, it will enable us not only to resolve the disputes between our two nations in

this century, but will also enable the Tibetans to make a significant contribution through our rich cultural tradition for mental peace among the millions of young Chinese.

May our struggle soon lead to the restoration of our legitimate rights and to peace and prosperity in the whole region.

**Statement of His Holiness the Dalai Lama on
the Thirty-Fourth Anniversary of the Tibetan
National Uprising Day**

10 March 1993

Today, as we commemorate the thirty-fourth anniversary of the Tibetan people's National Uprising of 1959, we find the world around us in a uniquely promising moment of change. I believe that many of the recent changes work in favour of the aspirations of the Tibetans and of oppressed people elsewhere in the world. Millions who live under the repressive yoke of communism and other forms of dictatorship are now free and democratic aspirations are on the rise in all the continents.

The Tibetan people continue to resist subjugation and colonisation with courage and determination. No amount of repression and propaganda has lessened their yearning for a life of freedom, peace and dignity.

On this anniversary, I pay homage to the brave men and women of Tibet who laid down their lives for the freedom of our country, and I call upon every Tibetan to renew our dedication until we have regained our rights and freedom.

As we adjust to the changing global scene, we need to focus our efforts on four fronts. Firstly, we must continue to engage the Chinese government in a dialogue that is mutually beneficial and will eventually lead to earnest negotiations to peacefully resolve the question of Tibet. Secondly, we need to intensify our effort to further edu-

cate the world community of the problems of Tibet. International concern and pressure are conducive to bringing about a change in the Chinese government's position on negotiation and respect for human rights. Thirdly, because the new economic policies in Tibet will have a profound impact on the very survival of the cultural identity of the Tibetan nation, we must carefully study and monitor these developments. Fourthly, the democratisation of the Tibetan administration-in-exile and the implementation of democracy at the grassroots level must be further encouraged.

Last June direct contact with Beijing was again established. The Chinese ambassador in New Delhi informed us that in the past the Chinese attitude towards the Tibetans had been "conservative" and that if Tibetans were to adopt a "realistic" stand, the Chinese government could be "flexible". Responding positively to this rapprochement, and an invitation for a Tibetan representative to visit Beijing, Kalon Gyalo Thondup was sent to Beijing. The Chinese government conveyed to Kalon Gyalo Thondup their inflexible, hard-line position with strong pre-conditions for negotiations.

I have responded to the Chinese government expressing my disappointment with their position. Nevertheless, I stated my wish to send three representatives to deliver a detailed note from me, explaining my views and efforts through the year to promote negotiations for the mutual benefit of the Tibetan and Chinese people. I believe it is now time for the Chinese government to make a genuinely meaningful proposal on how they wish to see Tibet and China live in peace. We on our part have gone

to the fullest extent to facilitate a sincere, meaningful and substantial dialogue.

For centuries Tibet and China have lived as neighbours and I am convinced that we can find a way to live in peace and friendship in the future too. I have always believed that this is possible and worthy of our efforts. In this spirit I have, over the years, personally met with Chinese brothers and sisters throughout the world. I have encouraged my fellow Tibetans to engage in friendly discussions with members of the Chinese communities abroad. I am also greatly pleased with the increasing contacts and friendly dialogue between the exiled Tibetans and the members of the Chinese democracy movement. As a result, there is a growing understanding of the just aspirations of the Tibetan people, and therefore a sympathy and support for Tibet among our Chinese brothers and sisters.

Last year we have also been able to establish direct official contact with Taiwan. In the past, there had been considerable misunderstanding between Dharamsala and Taipei which resulted in mistrust and absence of formal relations. Today, with Taiwan on its way to becoming a genuine democracy, it is my hope that the establishment of direct ties will pave the way for a mutually beneficial relationship.

Recently there have been a number of international conferences discussing not only the violation of human rights in Tibet, but also the question of the legal status of Tibet and the right of self-determination of the Tibetan people. Furthermore, a number of governments and parliaments have sent fact-finding delegations to Tibet; have adopted resolutions expressing grave concern about

the continuing human rights abuses in Tibet; and have urged for direct negotiations between the Chinese and Tibetans. These are clear indications that the issue of Tibet has moved from the political fringe and is gaining greater international attention.

Many people throughout the world, who believe in compassion, justice, non-violence and in the ultimate triumph of freedom and democracy, support our cause. On behalf of my suffering people, I express our deep gratitude for this support and solidarity. We are especially indebted to the government and people of India for their continuing hospitality and kindness.

Despite these encouraging and hopeful developments, the situation in Tibet continues to remain bleak. Merciless repression of the slightest political dissent is the order. The demographic aggression of Tibet through a policy of population transfer continues unabated, escalating the marginalisation of the Tibetan people and the assimilation of the Tibetan way of life into the Chinese mainstream. Cultural genocide is being committed, intentionally or unintentionally. Tibet, an ancient country on the roof of the world, is fast becoming a Chinese colony.

China's recent announcement of turning the so-called Tibet Autonomous Region into a special economic zone is, in principle, welcome. However, there are reasons to fear the long-term impact of the new Chinese policy on the survival of the cultural identity of the Tibetan people and on the environment of Tibet. If the best interests of the Tibetan people are not kept in the forefront, there is a real danger that this policy will only promote and intensify the transfer of more Chinese into Tibet. This will further

reduce the Tibetans into an insignificant minority in their own country, thus completing the thorough colonisation of Tibet which will have serious consequences to its fragile environment.

It is against such a background that I appeal to Tibetans and friends of Tibet everywhere, and to international agencies eager to undertake projects in Tibet, to always bear in mind the need to protect and to safeguard the well-being of the Tibetan people and our unique culture and identity.

To those of you who intend to involve yourselves in the development of Tibet, I must emphasise the special attention needed in the fields of education, health and development in the rural areas. You must also discourage the indiscriminate exploitation of Tibet's natural resources and, above all, ensure the full involvement of the Tibetan people if your efforts are meant to benefit the Tibetans.

Since the dramatic events of 1959, we in exile have always aspired for freedom and democracy. In spite of our limitations, we have made significant progress in the practice of democracy. I am very keen and committed to the idea that genuine democracy must prevail in a free Tibet.

I have publicly declared that in the future I will not hold any official position in the government of a free Tibet. I have made such a decision in order to facilitate the development of a healthy democracy. The promulgation of my Guidelines for Future Tibet's Polity and the Basic Features of its Constitution is a reaffirmation of my vision of a free Tibet as a peaceful and truly democratic country, dedicated to demilitarisation and non-violence.

Throughout human history, dictators and totalitar-

ian governments have learned that there is nothing more powerful than a people's yearning for freedom and dignity. While bodies may be enslaved or imprisoned, the human spirit can never be subjugated or defeated. As long as we uphold this human spirit and determination, our inspirations and beliefs have the power to ultimately prevail. The sweeping global changes in recent years reaffirm my beliefs and I am more optimistic than ever before that freedom and peace for the Tibetan people is now within our reach.

With my prayers for the well-being of all sentient beings.

**Statement of His Holiness the Dalai Lama on
the Thirty-Fifth Anniversary of the Tibetan
National Uprising Day**

10 March 1994

Today, as we observe the 35th anniversary of our National Uprising Day, I wish to take stock of our 14 years' effort to find a peaceful and realistic solution to the Tibetan issue through honest negotiations with the Chinese government. In my endeavour to restore freedom, peace and dignity to our country and people, I have always sought to be guided by realism, patience and vision.

For the past 14 years, I have not only declared my willingness to enter into negotiations but have also made maximum concessions in a series of initiatives and proposals which clearly lie within the framework for negotiations as stated by Deng Xiaoping in 1979, that "except for the independence of Tibet, all other questions can be negotiated". The ideas put forward in the Five Point Peace Plan for Tibet in 1987 and the Strasbourg Proposal in 1988 envisage a solution which does not ask for the complete independence of Tibet. However, the Chinese government has even refused to enter into negotiations of any kind. It has also avoided discussing any question of substance, insisting that the only issues to be resolved are those pertaining to my personal return to Tibet. The issue is not about my return to Tibet. I have stated this time and again. The issue is the survival of the six million Tibetan people along with the protection of our distinct culture, identity and

civilisation.

I have made it clear that the negotiations must centre around ways to end China's population transfer policy, which threatens the very survival of the Tibetan people, respect for Tibetans' fundamental human rights and entitlement to democratic freedom, the de-militarisation and de-nuclearisation of Tibet, the restoration of the Tibetan people's control over all matters affecting their own affairs, and the protection of Tibet's natural environment. Moreover, I have always emphasised that any negotiation must comprise the whole of Tibet, not just the area which China calls the "Tibet Autonomous Region".

I have maintained this approach for the last 14 years in spite of the disappointment and criticism expressed by many Tibetans to my moderate stand. I have not forgotten that 1.2 million Tibetans have died and that Tibet has suffered immeasurably since the occupation of our country by Communist China. I also know that every Tibetan hopes and prays for the full restoration of our nation's independence.

Nevertheless, I had hoped that my middle-way approach would eventually create an atmosphere of mutual trust conducive to fruitful negotiations and exert a restraining influence on the repressive Chinese policies in Tibet. Here I appreciate the many Tibetans who have supported my initiatives and felt they were a practical necessity.

The Chinese government has rejected my overtures one after another and has consistently attempted to confuse the real issue. Meanwhile, the magnitude and gravity of the situation inside Tibet has dramatically escalated.

Developments in Tibet have been marked by an intensification of the Chinese policy of suppression, the marginalisation of the Tibetan people in our own country, the gradual extermination of our unique culture and religion, and the destruction and exploitation of Tibet's environment.

I must now recognise that my approach has failed to produce any progress either for substantive negotiations or in contributing to the overall improvement of the situation in Tibet. Moreover, I am conscious of the fact that a growing number of Tibetans, both inside as well as outside Tibet, have been disheartened by my conciliatory stand not to demand complete independence for Tibet. Because of my statements, some Tibetans have come to believe that there is no hope at all of the Tibetan people regaining their basic rights and freedoms. This and the lack of any concrete results from my conciliatory approach towards Chinese government over the past 14 years have caused disillusionment and undermined the resolve of some Tibetans.

Internationally, my initiatives and proposals have been endorsed as realistic and reasonable by many governments, parliaments, and non-governmental organisations. But despite the growing support of the international community, the Chinese government has not responded constructively.

I have left no stone unturned in my attempts to reach an understanding with the Chinese. We have had to place our hopes on international support and help in bringing about meaningful negotiations, to which I still remain committed. If this fails, then I will no longer be

able to pursue this policy with a clear conscience. I feel strongly that it would then be my responsibility, as I have stated many times in the past, to consult my people on the future course of our freedom struggle. Just as the late Indian Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, stated in the Indian Parliament on December 7, 1950, I too have always maintained that the final voice with regard to Tibet should be the voice of the Tibetan people. Whatever the outcome of such a consultation, it will serve as a guideline for our future dealings with China and the re-orientation of the course of our freedom struggle.

I continue to remain committed to finding a peaceful and negotiated resolution to the issue of Tibet with the Chinese government directly. But the Chinese are merely paying lip service to this approach. It is evident that only increased international political and economic pressure can bring a sense of urgency to bear on the Chinese leadership not merely to pay lip service but to resolve the problem of Tibet peacefully and amicably. The tragedy of Tibet can be relieved through the determined and concerted efforts of various governments and NGOs championing human rights, liberty and democracy the world over.

If the Tibetan issue can be resolved peacefully, through mutual openness and understanding, I am convinced that it will help alleviate the anxiety felt in the minds of the six million residents of Hong Kong. It will also have a positive effect on China's relationship with Taiwan and enhance its international image.

Today, we remember those brave Tibetans who fought and died for the cause of our nation and those who are languishing in Chinese prisons. We also pay our re-

spects to our courageous brothers and sisters in Tibet who are continuing the struggle for the freedom of our people under extremely adverse conditions. The course of history and the present world atmosphere are favourable to the aspirations of our nation. Our cause is gathering momentum. Fearful of these developments, China has now formulated policies to undermine our Administration-in-Exile as well as to create discord and division in our community. Therefore, every one of us must be alert and renew our commitment to the just cause of our country.

I firmly believe that the day is close when our beloved Land of Snow will no longer be politically subjugated, culturally ravaged, and economically and environmentally exploited and devastated. Our dedication, sacrifice and hard work will eventually lead our captive nation to freedom and peace in dignity. However, it is important that our struggle must be based on non-violence.

On behalf of all the Tibetan people, I want to take this opportunity to express our deep appreciation and gratitude to our many friends throughout the world for their support of our cause. I must also thank the many parliaments and governments that have started to take a serious look at the Tibetan problem. Another positive development of recent years is support for our cause even amongst the Chinese people. For example, a long letter written on October 5, 1992, by the well-known Chinese dissident Wei Jingsheng, to Deng Xiaoping, speaking out against his government's unjust claims over Tibet and their misguided policies there, has just become public. These expressions are the manifestations of genuine human respect for truth and justice. I take this opportunity especially to

thank our Chinese brothers and sisters the world over for their support and encouragement. Finally, I wish to reiterate our immense gratitude and appreciation to all the countries where Tibetan exiles have been given asylum, particularly to the people and government of this country, which has become a second home for the majority of the Tibetans in exile.

My prayers for the peace and welfare of all sentient beings.

**Statement of His Holiness the Dalai Lama on
the Thirty-Sixth Anniversary of the Tibetan
National Uprising Day**

10 March 1995

The world is today undergoing major changes. While there is a spirit of reconciliation and peace emerging in many troubled parts of the world, unfortunately new conflicts are also breaking out. We have endeavoured to find a peaceful resolution to the Tibetan issue and hoped that positive changes would also come to Tibet. But as we commemorate the 36th anniversary of our people's uprising, I must state with sadness that little has changed in our homeland and our people continue to suffer. In fact, the Chinese government has intensified its repression in Tibet. Recent Chinese policies demonstrate more clearly than ever their intention to resolve the question of Tibet through force, intimidation and population transfer.

The Chinese authorities have lately adopted a series of new measures to tighten political control in Tibet. Under a program of "investigation and scrutiny" tighter security measures were imposed and a new crackdown on advocates of human rights and independence has been launched. Victims of this new political persecution include Tibetans who work for the preservation of Tibetan culture, which includes teaching the Tibetan language and opening private schools. Tibetan cadres and members of the Chinese Communist Party are made to undergo political re-education, reminiscent of the days of the Cultural

Revolution. Those suspected of harbouring religious and national feelings are being purged. Monasteries have been raided by the People's Armed Police and the chain of political arrests has been extended to rural areas. The rebuilding and construction of new monasteries have been prohibited and the admission of new monks and nuns stopped. Tibetan travel agents and tourist guides have been dismissed in order to control the flow of information and Tibetan children are no longer permitted to study abroad. Those who are presently studying abroad have been ordered to return.

At a high-level meeting in Beijing last July these policies were sanctioned and 62 new "economic development projects" in Tibet were announced. As in the past, these projects are designed primarily to increase the immigration of Chinese into Tibet and ultimately drown the Tibetans in a sea of Chinese. Similarly, China's proclaimed intention to build a railway to Central Tibet is particularly alarming. Under the present circumstances this will enable a dramatic acceleration of China's population transfer policy. We only need to look at the large influx of Chinese who are arriving by train every week in different parts of Eastern Turkestan to understand the impact such a railway will have on the survival of the Tibetan people with its unique cultural heritage.

Over the past 15 years, I have tried to resolve the Tibet-China problem in a spirit of genuine friendship and co-operation, discarding any feelings of enmity towards the Chinese people. I have consistently and sincerely made attempts to engage the Chinese government in earnest negotiations over the future of Tibet. Regrettably China has

rejected my proposals for a negotiated resolution of our problem. Instead she has set the pre-condition that I formally recognise Tibet to be “an inseparable part of China” before any negotiations can start. The true nature of the historical relationship of Tibet and China is best left for Tibetan and Chinese historians to study objectively. I also encourage other scholars, as well as international jurists and their institutions, to study the history of Tibet and draw their unbiased conclusions.

In the past I have deliberately restrained myself from emphasising the historical and legal status of Tibet. It is my belief that it is more important to look forward to the future than dwell in the past. Theoretically speaking it is not impossible that the six million Tibetans could benefit from joining the one billion Chinese of their own free will, if a relationship based on equality, mutual benefit and mutual respect could be established. If China wants Tibet to stay with China, then she must create the necessary conditions. However, the reality today is that Tibet is an occupied country under colonial rule. This is the essential issue which must be addressed and resolved through negotiations.

In the past few years our cause has gained increasing international importance and support. This is reflected in the United Nations debates on the situation in Tibet, in the General Assembly’s Third Committee, in the Commission for Human Rights, and in the reports of the United Nation’s Rapporteurs. Last year I appealed to the international community for help in facilitating negotiations between my representatives and the Chinese government. A number of Asian and Western governments have

supported my call for negotiations publicly and through diplomatic channels and have offered their good offices to bring them about. I take this opportunity to thank these governments for their support. It is important that the international community, and especially democratic countries, continue to send a clear message to China that their behaviour in Tibet is deplorable and that the question of Tibet must be resolved through peaceful negotiations without pre-conditions. The need to make real progress in resolving the problem of Tibet is urgent. The present lack of progress increases the danger of violent conflicts breaking out in Tibet.

Many Tibetans have voiced unprecedented criticism of my suggestion that we should compromise on the issue of total independence. Moreover, the failure of the Chinese government to respond positively to my conciliatory proposals has deepened the sense of impatience and frustration among my people. Therefore, I proposed last year that this issue be submitted to a referendum. However, as long as I lead our freedom struggle, there will be no deviation from the path of non-violence.

The referendum should seek to clarify the political course of our struggle. A thorough and honest discussion on the various options open to us must take place among the Tibetan people. I hope that this historic exercise will be carried out carefully and thoroughly. I realise that under the present conditions it would be impossible to hold a fair referendum inside Tibet. Nevertheless, we will be able to find ways to collect representative opinions from different parts of Tibet and to conduct the plebiscite among our exiled community.

While we prepare ourselves for this referendum, I also wish to state that I remain open to any Chinese overtures for negotiations. I am still committed to the spirit of my “middle way” approach, and I am hopeful that continued international efforts to persuade the Chinese government to enter into negotiations with us may eventually yield tangible results. Our negotiating team remains ready to resume talks any time at a mutually agreeable venue. Sooner or later, a flexible and open-minded Chinese leadership must realise the wisdom of resolving the issue of Tibet through negotiations in a spirit of reconciliation and compromise. This is the only proper way to ensure stability, which the Chinese leadership assert, is their primary concern. However, true stability must be based on the mutual trust, consent and benefit of all concerned, not on the use of force.

Tibet’s geographic position in the heart of Asia gives it enormous strategic importance. For centuries, Tibet acted as a buffer ensuring peace in the region. The implications of China’s presence in Tibet go well beyond Tibet’s borders. Over the last more than forty years Tibet has undergone an unprecedented militarisation. Coupled with the increased transfer of Chinese population into Tibet, this has changed the peaceful character of the Tibetan plateau. If this alarming trend continues, it will not only threaten the survival of the Tibetan people and their culture, but will have serious repercussions for the region as a whole.

Tibet’s spiritual and cultural tradition have contributed to peace in Asia. Buddhism not only turned Tibetans into a peace loving nation following a period of

great military might, but also spread from the Himalayas to Mongolia and other places in Central Asia and provided millions of people with a spiritual foundation of peace and tolerance. Buddhism is not alien to China, and I strongly believe that Buddhism can be of great service in providing spiritual values, peace of mind, contentment and self-discipline to millions of Chinese in the future.

With the occupation of Tibet, Tibetan Buddhism has been robbed of its cradle and homeland, not only violating the Tibetan people's right to freedom of religion but also endangering the very survival of this spiritual and cultural tradition in Tibet and Central Asia. This is particularly true of China's policy of cutting Tibet up into many separate administrative units, most of which have been incorporated into neighbouring Chinese provinces. Historically, the contribution of Tibetans from these areas to Tibet's cultural and spiritual heritage has been immense. But as tiny minorities in Chinese provinces it will be very difficult for these Tibetans to preserve their Buddhist culture and distinct identity in the long term. The Tibetan entities outside the so-called Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR) comprise a larger portion of the Tibetan area and roughly four of the six million Tibetans. A solution to the question of Tibet cannot be found without all these parts of Tibet being incorporated into one Tibetan entity. This is essential to the survival of Tibetan culture.

Finally, I wish to pay homage to the brave men and women of Tibet, who have died for the cause of our freedom. I pray also for our compatriots who are enduring mental and physical suffering in Chinese prisons at this moment. Not one day passes without my fervent prayers

for an early end to the suffering of our people. I believe that today the question is not whether Tibet will ever be free, but rather how soon.

With my prayers.

**Statement of His Holiness the Dalai Lama on
the Thirty-Seventh Anniversary of the Tibetan
National Uprising Day**

10 March 1996

As we commemorate today the thirty-seventh anniversary of the Tibetan people's uprising, we are witnessing a general hardening of Chinese government policy. This is reflected in an increasingly aggressive posture towards the peoples of Taiwan and Hong Kong and in intensified repression in Tibet. We also see rising fear and suspicion throughout the Asia-Pacific region and a worsening of relations between China and much of the rest of the world.

Within the context of this tense political atmosphere, Beijing has once again sought to impose its will on the Tibetan people by appointing a rival Panchen Lama. In doing so, it has chosen a course of total disregard both for the sentiments of the Tibetans in general and for Tibetan spiritual tradition in particular, despite my every effort to reach for some form of understanding and cooperation with the Chinese government. Significantly, the official Chinese media compares the present political climate in Tibet with that in Poland during the Solidarity years of the 1980s. This demonstrates a growing sense of insecurity on the part of the Chinese leadership as a result of which, through a continuing campaign of coercion and intimidation, Beijing has greatly reinforced its repression throughout Tibet. I am therefore saddened to have to report that the situation of our people in Tibet continues

to deteriorate.

Nevertheless, it remains my strong conviction that change for the better is coming. China is at a critical juncture: its society is undergoing profound changes and the country's leadership is facing the transition to a new generation. It is obvious too that the Tiananmen massacre has failed to silence the call for freedom, democracy and human rights in China. Moreover, the impressive democratisation in process across the Taiwan Strait must further invigorate the democratic aspirations of the Chinese people. Indeed, Taiwan's historic first direct presidential elections later this month are certain to have an immense political and psychological impact on their minds. A transformation from the current totalitarian regime in Beijing into one which is more open, free and democratic is thus inevitable. The only outstanding question is how and when and whether the transition will be a smooth one.

As a human being, it is my sincere desire that our Chinese brothers and sisters enjoy freedom, democracy, prosperity and stability. As a Buddhist monk, I am of course concerned that a country which is home to almost a quarter of the world's entire population and which is on the brink of an epic change, should undergo that change peacefully. In view of China's huge population, chaos and instability could lead to large-scale bloodshed and tremendous suffering for millions of people. Such a situation would also have serious ramifications for peace and stability throughout the world. As a Tibetan, I recognise that the future of our country and our people depends to a great extent on what happens in China during the years ahead.

Whether the coming change in China brings new life and new hope for Tibet and whether China herself emerges as a reliable, peaceful and constructive member of the international community depends to a large degree on the extent to which the international community itself adopts responsible policies towards China. I have always drawn attention to the need to bring Beijing into the mainstream of world democracy and have spoken against any ideas of isolating and containing China. To attempt to do so would be morally incorrect and politically impractical. Instead, I have always counselled a policy of responsible and principled engagement with the Chinese leadership.

It became obvious during the Tiananmen movement that the Chinese people yearn for freedom, democracy, equality and human rights no less than any other people. Moreover, I was personally very moved to see that those young people, despite being taught that, “political power comes out of the barrel of a gun” pursued their aims without resorting to violence. I, too, am convinced that non-violence is the appropriate way to bring about constructive political change.

Based on my belief in non-violence and in dialogue, I have consistently tried to engage the Chinese government in serious negotiations concerning the future of the Tibetan people. In order to find a mutually acceptable solution, I have adopted a “middle-way” approach. This is also in response to, and within the framework of, Mr. Deng Xiaoping’s stated assurance that “anything except independence can be discussed and resolved”. Unfortunately, the Chinese government’s response to my many overtures has been consistently negative. But I remain confident that his

successor will realise the wisdom of resolving the problem of Tibet through dialogue.

The Tibet issue will neither go away of its own accord, nor can it be wished away. As the past has clearly shown, neither intimidation nor coercion of the Tibetan people can force a solution. Sooner or later, the leadership in Beijing will have to face this fact. Actually, the Tibet problem represents an opportunity for China. If it were solved properly through negotiation, not only would it be helpful in creating a political atmosphere conducive to the smooth transition of China into a new era but also China's image throughout the world would be greatly enhanced. A properly negotiated settlement would furthermore have a strong, positive impact on the peoples of both Hong Kong and Taiwan and will do much to improve Sino-Indian relations by inspiring genuine trust and confidence.

For our part, we seek to resolve the issue of Tibet in a spirit of reconciliation, compromise and understanding. I am fully committed to the spirit of the "middle-way approach". We wish to establish a sustainable relationship with China based on mutual respect, mutual benefit and friendship. In doing so, we will think not only about the fundamental interests of the Tibetan people, but also take seriously the consideration of China's security concerns and her economic interests. Moreover, if our Buddhist culture can flourish once again in Tibet, we are confident of being able to make a significant contribution to millions of our Chinese brothers and sisters by sharing with them those spiritual and moral values which are so clearly lacking in China today.

Despite the absence of positive and conciliatory

gesture from the Chinese government to my initiatives, I have always encouraged Tibetans to develop personal relationship with Chinese. I make it a point to ask the Tibetans to distinguish between the Chinese people and the policies of the totalitarian government in Beijing. I am thus happy to observe that there has been significant progress in our effort to foster closer interaction amongst the people of our two communities, mainly between exile Tibetans and Chinese living abroad. Moreover, human rights activists and democrats within China, people like the brave Wei Jingsheng, are urging their leaders to respect the basic human rights of the Tibetan people and pledging their support for our right to self-rule. Chinese scholars outside China are discussing a constitution for a federated China, which envisages a confederal status for Tibet. These are most encouraging and inspiring developments. I am, therefore, very pleased that the people-to-people dialogue between the Tibetans and Chinese is fostering a better understanding of our mutual concerns and interests.

In recent years we have also witnessed the growth of a world-wide grassroots movement in support of our non-violence struggle for freedom. Reflecting this, many government and parliaments have come forward with strong expressions of concern and support for our efforts. Notwithstanding the immediate negative reactions of the Chinese regime, I strongly believe that such expressions of international support are essential. They are vital in communicating a sense of urgency to the minds of leadership in Beijing and in helping persuade them to negotiate.

I would like to take this opportunity to thank the numerous individuals, also the members of governments,

of parliaments, of non-governmental organisations and of religious orders who have supported my appeal for the safety and freedom of the young Panchen Lama, Gendhun Choekyi Nyima. I am grateful for their continued intervention and efforts on behalf of this child who must be the world's youngest political prisoner. I also wish to thank our supporters all over the world who are commemorating today's anniversary of the Tibetan people's uprising with peaceful activities in every part of the globe. I urge the Chinese government not to construe such support for Tibet as anti-Chinese. The purpose and aim of these activities is to appeal to the Chinese leadership and people to recognise the legitimate rights of the Tibetan people.

In conclusion, I am happy to state today that our exile community's experiment in democracy is progressing well without any major setbacks or difficulties. Last autumn, the Tibetans in exile participated in preliminary polls to nominate candidates for the Twelfth Assembly of the Tibetan People's Deputies, the Parliament-in-Exile. Next month, they return to the polls to elect the members themselves. This accords with my conviction that democracy is the best guarantee for the survival and future of the Tibetan people. Democracy entails responsibilities as well as rights. The success of our struggle for freedom will therefore depend directly on our ability to shoulder these collectively. It is thus my hope that the Twelfth Assembly will emerge as a united, mature and dedicated representative of our people. This will ultimately depend on every franchised member of our community. Each one is called upon to cast his or her vote with an informed and unbiased mind, with a clear awareness of the need of the hour

and with a strong sense of individual responsibility.

With my homage to the brave men and women of Tibet, who have died for the cause of our freedom, I pray for an early to the suffering of our people.

**Statement of His Holiness the Dalai Lama on
the Thirty-Eighth Anniversary of the Tibetan
National Uprising Day**

10 March 1997

In the closing years of the 20th century, as we commemorate the 38th anniversary of the Tibetan people's National Uprising, it is evident that the human community has reached a critical juncture in its history. The world is becoming smaller and increasingly interdependent. One nation's problem can no longer be solved by itself. Without a sense of universal responsibility our very future is in danger.

Today's problems of militarisation, development, ecology, population, and the constant search for new sources of energy and raw materials require more than piece-meal actions and short-term problem-solving. Modern scientific development has, to an extent, helped in solving mankind's problems. However, in tackling these global issues there is the need to cultivate not only the rational mind but also the other remarkable faculties of the human spirit: the power of love, compassion and solidarity.

A new way of thinking has become the necessary condition for responsible living and acting. If we maintain obsolete values and beliefs, a fragmented consciousness and a self-centred spirit, we will continue to hold on to outdated goals and behaviours. Such an attitude by a large number of people would block the entire transition

to an interdependent yet peaceful and co-operative global society.

We must draw lessons from the experience we have gained. If we look back at the development in the 20th century, the most devastating cause of human suffering, of deprivation of human dignity, freedom and peace has been the culture of violence in resolving differences and conflicts. In some ways, our century could be called the century of war and bloodshed. The challenge before us, therefore, is to make the next century a century of dialogue and non-violent conflict resolution.

In human societies there will always be differences of views and interests. But the reality today is that we are all inter-dependent and have to co-exist on this small planet. Therefore, the only sensible and intelligent way of resolving differences and clashes of interests, whether between individuals or nations, is through dialogue. The promotion of a culture of dialogue and non-violence for the future of mankind is thus an important task of the international community. It is not enough for governments to endorse the principle of non-violence or hold it high without any appropriate action to promote it.

With these convictions I have led the Tibetan freedom struggle on a path of non-violence and have sought a mutually agreeable solution to the Tibetan issue through negotiations in a spirit of reconciliation and compromise. Inspired by Buddha's message of non-violence and compassion, we have sought to respect every form of life and abandoned war as an instrument of national policy. For us Tibetans the path of non-violence is a matter of principle. And I am convinced that this approach is the most benefi-

cial and practical course in the long run.

As we commemorate this anniversary, we look back at yet another year of escalating repression in Tibet where the Chinese authorities continue to commit widespread and grave human rights abuses.

Under the “Strike Hard” campaign launched by the Chinese authorities in April last year, Tibetans are subjected to increased torture and imprisonment for peacefully expressing their political aspirations. Political re-education conducted by the authorities in monasteries and nunneries throughout Tibet have resulted in mass expulsions, imprisonment and death. I continue to be concerned about the fate of Gedhun Choekyi Nyima, the boy I have recognised as the 11th Panchen Lama, and whose whereabouts are still not known.

Last year China dropped all pretence of respecting the ancient religious and cultural heritage of Tibet by launching a large-scale reform of its religious policy. The new policy states that “Buddhism must conform to socialism and not socialism to Buddhism”. Under the pretext that religion would have a negative influence on Tibet’s economic development, the new policy aims to systematically undermine and destroy the distinct cultural and national identity of the Tibetan people.

New measures to curtail the use of the Tibetan language in schools were introduced. The Tibet University in Lhasa has been compelled to teach even Tibetan history in the Chinese language at the Tibetan Language Department. Experimental Tibetan language middle schools, established in the 1980s with the active encouragement and support of the late Panchen Lama, are being closed down.

These schools were very successful and were highly appreciated by Tibetans.

These new measures in the field of culture, religion and education, coupled with the unabated influx of Chinese immigrants to Tibet, which has the effect of overwhelming Tibet's distinct cultural and religious identity and reducing the Tibetans to an insignificant minority in their own country, amounts to a policy of cultural genocide. Today, in most major towns and cities Tibetans are already marginalised. If this population transfer is allowed to continue, in a few decades Tibetan civilisation will cease to exist.

Tibetans have reacted to all this repression largely peacefully and I believe all people have the right to peacefully protest injustice. However, recent reports of isolated incidents of bomb explosion in Tibet are a cause of deep concern to me. I will continue to counsel for non-violence, but unless the Chinese authorities forsake the brutal methods it employs, it will be difficult to prevent the situation in Tibet from deteriorating further.

Being a Tibetan, I have been giving particular importance to reaching out to the Chinese people, whether they are in China or elsewhere. It is in the interest of both the Tibetan people and the Chinese that there be a deeper level of understanding between ourselves. It has always been my belief that the cultivation of human relationship is of great importance in the creation of an atmosphere conducive to human understanding, mutual respect and peace.

In recent times the people-to-people dialogue between the Tibetans and Chinese is fostering a better un-

derstanding of our mutual concerns and interests. The growing empathy, support and solidarity from our Chinese brothers and sisters in China as well as overseas for the plight and fundamental rights of the Tibetan people is of particular inspiration and encouragement for us Tibetans.

The recent passing away of Mr. Deng Xiaoping is a great loss to China. I have known him personally. Mr. Deng Xiaoping took the initiative to establish direct contact with us to start a dialogue to solve the Tibetan problem. Unfortunately, serious negotiations could not take place during his lifetime. It is my sincere hope that the succeeding Chinese leadership will find the courage, wisdom and vision for new openings to solve the Tibetan issue through negotiations.

The beginning of a new era in modern China presents an opportunity for constructive change and positive development. The recent military clampdown in East Turkestan (Xingjiang), aimed at quelling the Uighur people's demonstrations and the ensuing cycle of violence are tragic and unfortunate. As in the case of Tibet, similarly also in East Turkestan, a lasting and peaceful solution can be found only through dialogue. Another important task ahead for the Chinese government is the smooth transition of Hong Kong and the implementation of the pragmatic and wise concept of "one country, two systems" in spirit and letter. A constructive approach to these issues provides important opportunities to create a political climate of trust, confidence and openness, both domestically and internationally.

The growing international support for Tibet re-

flects the inherent human empathy for and solidarity with human suffering and the universal appreciation for truth and justice. To portray the support for Tibet as a plot of Western anti-China forces is to evade the truth for political convenience. This is unfortunate because such kind of mental bamboo-walling will continue to prevent a constructive approach to solve the problem.

Ultimately, it is for the Tibetan and the Chinese peoples to find a mutually acceptable solution to the Tibetan issue. Bearing in mind this reality, we have consistently pursued a course of dialogue with the leadership in Beijing. However, Beijing's refusal to listen to and to recognise the genuine grievances of our people left us no other choice but to present our legitimate and just cause to the international community.

The Tibetan people have displayed a remarkable spirit of endurance, courage and patience in the face of the most brutal repression. I urge my fellow Tibetans to continue to resist violent acts of frustration and desperation as a means to protest against injustice and repression. If we give in to hatred, desperation and violence, we would debase ourselves to the level of the oppressors. The way of the oppressors is intimidation, coercion and the use of force. Ours is a belief in and reliance on truth, justice and reason. This distinction is our most effective weapon. The call of the time for us in this period of difficulty is to exert ourselves with greater determination, wisdom and patience.

With my homage to and prayers for the brave men and women who have died for the cause of Tibetan freedom.

**Statement of His Holiness the Dalai Lama on
the Thirty-Ninth Anniversary of the Tibetan
National Uprising Day**

10 March 1998

Great changes are taking place all over the world at the dawn of a new millennium. While there are instances of new conflicts breaking out, it is encouraging that we are also able to witness the emergence of a spirit of dialogue and reconciliation in many troubled parts of the world. In some ways, this twentieth century could be called a century of war and bloodshed. It is my belief that humanity in general has drawn lessons from the experiences gained during this century. As a result, I believe the human community has become more mature. There is, therefore, hope that with determination and dedication we can make the next century a century of dialogue and non-violent conflict resolution.

Today, as we commemorate the thirty-ninth anniversary of our freedom struggle, I wish to express my sincere appreciation and great respect for the resilience and patience shown by the Tibetan people in the face of tremendous odds. The current situation in Tibet and the lack of any substantive progress in resolving the Tibetan problem is no doubt causing an increasing sense of frustration among many Tibetans. I am concerned that some might feel compelled to look for avenues other than peaceful resolutions. While I understand their predicament, I wish to firmly reiterate once again the importance of abiding

by the non-violent course of our freedom struggle. The path of non-violence must remain a matter of principle in our long and difficult quest for freedom. It is my firm belief that this approach is the most beneficial and practical course in the long run. Our peaceful struggle until now has gained us the sympathy and admiration of the international community. Through our non-violent freedom struggle we are also setting an example and thus contributing to the promotion of a global political culture of non-violence and dialogue.

The sweeping changes across the globe have also embraced China. The reforms, initiated by Deng Xiaoping, have altered not only the Chinese economy, but also the political system, making it less ideological, less reliant on mass mobilisation, less coercive, and less stifling for the average citizen. The government is also notably far less centralised. Moreover, the post-Deng Xiaoping leadership in China seems to have become more flexible in its international policy. One indication of this is China's greater participation in international forums and co-operation with international organisations and agencies. A remarkable development and achievement has been the smooth transfer of Hong Kong to Chinese sovereignty last year and Beijing's subsequent pragmatic and flexible handling of issues concerning Hong Kong. Also recent statements from Beijing on restarting cross-strait negotiations with Taiwan reflect apparent flexibility and softening of its stance. In short, there is no doubt that China today is a better place to live in than 15 to 20 years ago. These are historic changes that are commendable. However, China continues to face grave human rights problems and other

formidable challenges. It is my hope that the new leadership in China, with this renewed confidence, will have the foresight and courage to provide greater freedom to the Chinese people. History teaches us that material progress and comfort alone are not the full answer to the needs and yearning of any human society.

In stark contrast to these positive aspects of the development in China proper, the situation in Tibet has sadly worsened in recent years. Of late, it has become apparent that Beijing is carrying out what amounts to a deliberate policy of cultural genocide in Tibet. The infamous “strike hard” campaign against Tibetan religion and nationalism has intensified with each passing year. This campaign of repression—initially confined to monasteries and nunneries—has now been extended to cover all parts of the Tibetan society. In some spheres of life in Tibet, we are witnessing the return of an atmosphere of intimidation, coercion and fear, reminiscent of the days of the Cultural Revolution.

In Tibet human rights violations continue to be widespread. These abuses of rights have a distinct character, and are aimed at preventing Tibetans as a people from asserting their own identity and culture and their wish to preserve it. This Buddhist culture inspires the Tibetan people with values and concepts of love and compassion that are of practical benefit and relevance in daily life and hence the wish to preserve it. Thus, human rights violations in Tibet are often the result of policies of racial and cultural discrimination and are only the symptoms and consequences of a deeper problem. Therefore, despite some economic progress in Tibet, the human rights situa-

tion has not improved. It is only by addressing the fundamental issue of Tibet that the human rights problems can be overcome.

It is an obvious fact that the sad state of affairs in Tibet is of no benefit at all either to Tibet or to China. To continue along the present path does nothing to alleviate the suffering of the Tibetan people, nor does it bring stability and unity to China, which are of overriding importance to the leadership in Beijing. Also, one of the main concerns of the Chinese leadership has been to improve its international image and standing. However, its inability to resolve the Tibetan problem peacefully has been tarnishing the international image and reputation of China. I believe a solution to the Tibetan issue would have far-reaching positive implications for China's image in the world, including in its dealings with Hong Kong and Taiwan.

With regard to a mutually acceptable solution to the issue of Tibet, my position is very straightforward. I am not seeking independence. As I have said many times before, what I am seeking is for the Tibetan people to be given the opportunity to have genuine self-rule in order to preserve their civilisation and for the unique Tibetan culture, religion, language and way of life to grow and thrive. My main concern is to ensure the survival of the Tibetan people with their own unique Buddhist cultural heritage. For this, it is essential, as the past decades have shown clearly, that the Tibetans be able to handle all their domestic affairs and to freely determine their social, economic and cultural development. I do not believe that the Chinese leadership would have any fundamental objec-

tions to this. Successive Chinese leaderships have always assured that the Chinese presence in Tibet is to work for the welfare of the Tibetans and to “help develop” Tibet. Therefore, given a political will, there is no reason why the Chinese leadership cannot start addressing the issue of Tibet by entering into a dialogue with us. This is the only proper way to ensure stability and unity, which the Chinese leadership asserts are their primary concern.

I take this opportunity to once again urge the Chinese leadership to give serious and substantive considerations to my suggestions. It is my firm belief that dialogue and a willingness to look with honesty and clarity at the reality of Tibet can lead us to a viable solution. It is time for all of us to “seek truth from facts” and to learn lessons derived from a calm and objective study of the past and to act with courage, vision and wisdom.

The negotiations must aim to establish a relationship between the Tibetan and Chinese peoples based on friendship and mutual benefit; to ensure stability and unity; and to empower the Tibetan people to exercise genuine self-rule with freedom and democracy, thus allowing them to preserve and cultivate their unique culture as well as to protect the delicate environment of the Tibetan plateau. These are the principal issues. However, the Chinese government is making consistent efforts to confuse the real issues at stake. They allege that our efforts are aimed at the restoration of Tibet’s old social system and the status and privileges of the Dalai Lama. As far as the institution of the Dalai Lama is concerned, I stated publicly as early as 1969 that it is for the people of Tibet to decide whether this institution is to continue or not. In my own

case, I made it clear in a formal public statement in 1992 that when we return to Tibet I will hold no positions in any future Tibetan government. Moreover, no Tibetan, whether in exile or within Tibet, has a desire of restoring Tibet's old social order. It is, therefore, disappointing that the Chinese government continues to indulge in such baseless and distorted propaganda. This is not helpful in creating a conducive atmosphere for dialogue, and I hope that Beijing will refrain from making such allegations.

I also would like to express my sincere appreciation and gratitude to the many governments, parliaments, non-governmental organisations, Tibet support groups and individuals, who continue to be deeply concerned with the repression in Tibet and urge to resolve the question of Tibet through peaceful negotiations. The United States has set a precedent of appointing a Special Co-ordinator for Tibetan Affairs in order to facilitate dialogue between us Tibetans and the Chinese government. The European and Australian parliaments have recommended similar initiatives. Last December, the International Commission of Jurists issues its third report on Tibet, entitled, Tibet: Human Rights and the Rule of Law. These are timely initiatives and most encouraging developments. Moreover, the growing empathy, support and solidarity from our Chinese brothers and sisters in China as well as those overseas for the fundamental rights of the Tibetan people and for my "Middle-Way Approach" are of particular inspiration and a source of great encouragement for us Tibetans.

Furthermore, on this occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of India's independence I wish to express on behalf of the Tibetan people our heart-felt congratulations

and reiterate our immense appreciation and gratitude to the people and government of India, which has become a second home to the majority of the Tibetans in exile. India represents not only a safe haven for us Tibetan refugees, but is also for us a country whose ancient philosophy of ahimsa and deep-rooted democratic tradition have inspired and shaped our values and aspirations. Moreover, I believe India can and should play a constructive and influential role in resolving the Tibetan problem peacefully. My “Middle-Way Approach” is in line with the basic Indian policy vis-à-vis Tibet and China. There is no reason why India should not be actively engaged in encouraging and promoting dialogues between Tibetans and the Chinese government. It is clear that without peace and stability on the Tibetan plateau, it is unrealistic to believe that genuine trust and confidence can be restored in the Sino-Indian relationship.

Last year we conducted an opinion poll of the Tibetans in exile and collected suggestions from Tibet wherever possible on the proposed referendum, by which the Tibetan people were to determine the future course of our freedom struggle to their full satisfaction. Based on the outcome of this poll and suggestions from Tibet, the Assembly of Tibetan People’s Deputies, our parliament in exile, passed a resolution empowering me to continue to use my discretion on the matter without seeking recourse to a referendum. I wish to thank the people of Tibet for the tremendous trust, confidence and hope they place in me. I continue to believe that my “Middle-Way Approach” is the most realistic and pragmatic course to resolve the issue of Tibet peacefully. This approach meets the vital needs of

the Tibetan people while ensuring the unity and stability of the People's Republic of China. I will, therefore, continue to pursue this course of approach with full commitment and make earnest efforts to reach out to the Chinese leadership.

With my homage to the brave men and women of Tibet, who have died for the cause of our freedom, I pray for an early end to the suffering of our people and for peace and welfare of all sentient beings.

**Statement of His Holiness the Dalai Lama on
the Fortieth Anniversary of the Tibetan
National Uprising Day**

10 March 1999

My sincere greetings to my compatriots in Tibet as well as in exile and to all our friends and supporters all over the world on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the Tibetan national uprising of 1959.

Four decades have passed since we came into exile and continued our struggle for freedom both in and outside Tibet. Four decades are a considerable time in a person's life. Many fellow countrymen, both those who stayed back in Tibet in 1959 and those who came out at that time, are now gone. Today, the second and third generations of Tibetans are shouldering the responsibility of our freedom struggle with undiminished determination and indomitable spirit.

During our four decades of life in exile, the Tibetan community has gone through a process of increasing democratisation and has made tremendous progress in education. We have also been able to preserve and promote our unique cultural and religious heritage. Our achievement on all these fronts is now widely recognised and acknowledged by the international community. The credit for this achievement goes to the determination and hard work of the Tibetan people. However, our success would not have been possible without the generous assistance of many international aid organisations and individuals.

We are especially grateful to the people and government of India for their unsurpassed generosity and hospitality ever since the late Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru gave asylum to the Tibetan refugees and laid down the programmes for education and rehabilitation of our exile community.

During the same four decades, Tibet has been under the complete control of the government of the People's Republic of China and the Chinese authorities have had a free hand in governing our country. The late Panchen Lama's 70,000-character petition of 1962 serves as a telling historical document on the draconian Chinese policies and actions in Tibet. The immense destruction and human suffering during the Cultural Revolution, which followed shortly afterwards, are today known world-wide and I do not wish to dwell on these sad and painful events. In January 1989, a few days before his sudden death, the Panchen Lama further stated that the progress made in Tibet under China could not match the amount of destruction and suffering inflicted on the Tibetan people.

Although some development and economic progress have been made in Tibet, our country continues to face many fundamental problems. In terms of history, culture, language, religion, way of life and geographical conditions, there are stark differences between Tibet and China. These differences result in grave clashes of values, dissent and distrust. At the sight of the slightest dissent the Chinese authorities react with force and repression resulting in widespread and serious violations of human rights in Tibet. These abuses of rights have a distinct character, and are aimed at preventing Tibetans as a people from as-

serting their own identity and culture, and their wish to preserve them. Thus, human rights violations in Tibet are often the result of policies of racial and cultural discrimination and are only the symptoms and consequences of a deeper problem. The Chinese authorities identify the distinct culture and religion of Tibet as the root cause of Tibetan resentment and dissent. Hence their policies are aimed at decimating this integral core of the Tibetan civilisation and identity.

After a half a century of “liberation” the Tibetan issue is still very much alive and remains yet to be resolved. Obviously this situation is of no benefit to anyone, either to Tibet or to China. To continue along this path does nothing to alleviate the suffering of the Tibetan people, nor does it bring stability and unity to China or help in enhancing China’s international image and standing. The only sensible and responsible way to address this problem is dialogue. There is no realistic alternative to it.

It is with this realisation that in the early seventies I discussed and decided with my senior officials the main points of my “Middle Way Approach”. Consequently, I opted for a resolution of the Tibet issue, which does not call for the independence of Tibet or its separation from China. I firmly believe that it is possible to find a political solution that ensures the basic rights and freedoms of the Tibetan people within the framework of the People’s Republic of China. My primary concern is the survival and preservation of Tibet’s unique spiritual heritage, which is based on compassion and non-violence. And, I believe it is worthwhile and beneficial to preserve this heritage since it continues to remain relevant in our present-day world.

With this spirit I responded immediately when Deng Xiaoping, in late 1978, signalled a willingness to resume dialogue with us. Since then our relation with the Chinese government has taken many twists and turns. Unfortunately, a lack of political will and courage on the part of the Chinese leadership has resulted in their failure to reciprocate my numerous overtures over the years. Thus, our formal contact with the Chinese government came to an end in August 1993. But a few informal channels through private persons and semi-officials were established after that. During the past one-and-a-half year one informal channel seemed to work smoothly and reliably. In addition, there were some indications that President Jiang personally had taken an interest in the Tibetan issue. When U.S. President Clinton visited China last June, President Jiang discussed Tibet with him at some length. Addressing a joint press conference, President Jiang sought a public clarification from me on two conditions before resuming dialogues and negotiations. We, on our part, communicated to the Chinese government my readiness to respond to President Jiang's statement and our desire for an informal consultation before making it public. Sadly, there was no positive response from the Chinese side.

Late last autumn, without any obvious reason, there was a noticeable hardening of the Chinese position on dialogue and their attitude towards me. This abrupt change was accompanied by a new round of intensified repression in Tibet. This is the current status of our relation with the Chinese government.

It is clear from our experiences of the past decades that formal statements, official rhetoric and political ex-

pediency alone will do little to either lessen the suffering of the concerned people or to solve the problem at hand. It is also clear that force can control human beings only physically. It is through reason, fairness and justice alone that the human mind and heart can be won over. What is required is the political will, courage and vision to tackle the root cause of the problem and resolve it once and for all to the satisfaction and benefit of the concerned people. Once we find a mutually acceptable solution to the Tibetan issue, I will not hold any official position, as I have clearly stated for many years.

The root cause of the Tibetan problem is not the difference in ideology, social system or issues resulting from clashes between tradition and modernity. Neither is it just the issue of human rights violations alone. The root of the Tibetan issue lies in Tibet's long, separate history, its distinct and ancient culture, and its unique identity.

Just as in late 1978, so also today, resumption of contact and dialogue is the only sensible and viable way to tackle this complex and grave problem. The atmosphere of deep distrust between Tibetans and Chinese must be overcome. This distrust will not go away in a day. It will dissipate only through face-to-face meetings and sincere dialogues.

I feel that the Chinese leadership is sometimes hindered by its own suspicions so that it is unable to appreciate sincere initiatives from my side, either on the overall solution to the Tibetan problem or on any other matter. A case in point is my consistent and long-standing call for the need to respect the environmental situation in Tibet. I have long warned of the consequences of wanton exploita-

tion of the fragile environment on the Tibet plateau. I did not do this out of selfish concern for Tibet. Rather, it has been acutely clear that any ecological imbalance in Tibet would affect not just Tibet, but all the adjacent areas in China and even its neighbouring countries. It is sad and unfortunate that it took last year's devastating floods for the Chinese leadership to realise the need for environmental protection. I welcome the moratorium that has been placed on the denudation of forests in Tibetan areas and hope that such measures, belated though they may be, will be followed by more steps to keep Tibet's fragile ecosystem intact.

On my part, I remain committed to the process of dialogue as the means to resolve the Tibetan problem. I do not seek independence for Tibet. I hope that negotiations can begin and that they will provide for genuine autonomy for the Tibetan people and the preservation and promotion of their cultural, religious and linguistic integrity, as well as their socio-economic development. I sincerely believe that my "Middle Way Approach" will contribute to stability and unity of the People's Republic of China and secure the right for the Tibetan people to live in freedom, peace and dignity. A just and fair solution to the issue of Tibet will enable me to give full assurance that I will use my moral authority to persuade the Tibetans not to seek separation.

As a free spokesman for the people of Tibet, I have made every possible effort to engage the Chinese government in negotiations on the future of the Tibetan people. In this endeavour, I am greatly encouraged and inspired by the support we receive from many governments, par-

liaments, non-governmental organisations and the public throughout the world. I am deeply grateful for their concern and support. I would like to make a special mention of the efforts being made by President Clinton and his Administration to encourage the Chinese government to engage in dialogues with us. In addition, we are fortunate to continue to enjoy strong bipartisan support in the United States Congress.

The plight of the Tibetan people and our non-violent freedom struggle has touched the hearts and conscience of all people who cherish truth and justice. The international awareness of the issue of Tibet has reached an unprecedented height since last year. Concerns and active support for Tibet are not confined to human rights organisations, governments and parliaments. Universities, schools, religious and social groups, artistic and business communities as well as people from many other walks of life have also come to understand the problem of Tibet and are now expressing their solidarity with our cause. Reflecting this rising popular sentiment, many governments and parliaments have made the problem of Tibet an important issue on the agenda of their relations with the government of China.

We have also been able to deepen and broaden our relations with our Chinese brothers and sisters, belonging to the democracy and human rights movement. Similarly, we have been able to establish cordial and friendly relations with fellow Chinese Buddhists and ordinary Chinese people living abroad and in Taiwan. The support and solidarity that we receive from our Chinese brothers and sisters are a source of great inspiration and hope. I am

particularly encouraged and moved by those brave Chinese within China who have urged their government or publicly called for a change in China's policy towards the Tibetan people.

Today, the Tibetan freedom movement is in a much stronger and better position than ever before and I firmly believe that despite the present intransigence of the Chinese government, the prospects for progress in bringing about a meaningful dialogue and negotiations are better today than ever. I, therefore, appeal to governments, parliaments and our friends to continue their support and efforts with renewed dedication and vigour. I strongly believe that such expressions of international concern and support are essential. They are vital in communicating a sense of urgency to the leadership in Beijing and in persuading them to address the issue of Tibet in a serious and constructive manner.

With my homage to the brave men and women of Tibet, who have died for the cause of our freedom, I pray for an early end to the suffering of our people.

**Statement of His Holiness the Dalai Lama on
the Forty-First Anniversary of the Tibetan
National Uprising Day**

10 March 2000

My sincere greetings to my fellow countrymen in Tibet as well as in exile and to our friends and supporters all over the world on the occasion of the 41st anniversary of the Tibetan National Uprising Day of 1959.

We are at the beginning of the 21st century. If we look at the events that took place in the 20th century, mankind made tremendous progress in improving our material wellbeing. At the same time, there was massive destruction, both in terms of human lives and physical structures as peoples and nations sought recourse to confrontation instead of dialogue to resolve bilateral and multilateral problems. The 20th century was therefore in a way a century of war and bloodshed. I believe that we have learned valuable lessons through these experiences. It is clear that any solution resulting from violence or confrontation is not lasting. I firmly believe that it is only through peaceful means that we can develop better understanding between ourselves. We must make this new century a century of peace and dialogue.

We commemorate this March 10th anniversary at a time when the state of affairs of our freedom struggle is complex and multifarious, yet the spirit of resistance of our people inside Tibet continues to increase. It is also encouraging to note that world-wide support for our cause

is increasing. Unfortunately, on the part of Beijing there is an evident lack of political will and courage to address the issue of Tibet sensibly and pragmatically through dialogue.

Right from the beginning, ever since the time of our exile, we have believed in hoping for the best but preparing for the worst. In this same spirit, we have tried our best to reach out to the Chinese government to bring about a process of dialogue and reconciliation for many years. We have also been building bridges with our overseas Chinese brothers and sisters, including those in Taiwan, and to enhance significantly mutual understanding, respect and solidarity.

At the same time we have continued with our work of strengthening the base of our exiled community by creating awareness about the true nature of the Tibetan struggle, preserving Tibetan values, promoting non-violence, augmenting democracy and expanding the network of our supporters throughout the world.

It is with great sadness I report that the human rights situation in Tibet today has taken a critical turn in recent years. The “strike hard” and “patriotic re-education” campaigns against Tibetan religion and patriotism have intensified with each passing year. In some spheres of life we are witnessing the return of an atmosphere of intimidation, coercion and fear, reminiscent of the days of the Cultural Revolution. In 1999 alone there have been six known cases of deaths resulting from torture and abuse. Authorities have expelled a total of 1,432 monks and nuns from their monasteries and nunneries for refusing to either oppose Tibetan freedom or to denounce me.

There are 615 known and documented Tibetan political prisoners in Tibet. Since 1996, a total of 11,409 monks and nuns have been expelled from their places of worship and study. It is obvious that there has been little change with regard to China's ruthless political objective in Tibet since the early sixties when the late Panchen Lama, who personally witnessed Communist China's occupation of Tibet from the 50s to the beginning of the 60s, wrote his famous 70,000 character petition. Even today the present young reincarnate Panchen Lama is under virtual house arrest, making him the youngest political prisoner in the world. I am deeply concerned about this.

The most alarming trend in Tibet is the flood of Chinese settlers who continue to come to Tibet to take advantage of Tibet's opening to market capitalism. This along with the widespread disease of prostitution, gambling and karaoke bars, which the authorities quietly encourage, is undermining the traditional social norms and moral values of the Tibetan people. These, more than brute force, are successful in reducing the Tibetans to a minority in their own country and alienating them from their traditional beliefs and values.

This sad state of affairs in Tibet does nothing to alleviate the suffering of the Tibetan people or to bring stability and unity to the People's Republic of China. If China is seriously concerned about unity, she must make honest efforts to win over the hearts of the Tibetans and not attempt to impose her will on them. It is the responsibility of those in power, who rule and govern, to ensure that policies towards all its ethnic groups are based on equality and justice in order to prevent separation. Though lies

and falsehood may deceive people temporarily and the use of force may control human beings physically, it is only through proper understanding, fairness and mutual respect that human beings can be genuinely convinced and satisfied.

The Chinese authorities see the distinct culture and religion of Tibet as the principal cause for separation. Accordingly, there is an attempt to destroy the integral core of the Tibetan civilisation and identity. New measures of restrictions in the fields of culture, religion and education coupled with the unabated influx of Chinese immigrants to Tibet amount to a policy of cultural genocide.

It is true that the root cause of the Tibetan resistance and freedom struggle lies in Tibet's long history, its distinct and ancient culture, and its unique identity. The Tibetan issue is much more complex and deeper than the simple official version Beijing upholds. History is history and no one can change the past. One cannot simply retain what one wants and abandon what one does not want. It is best left to historians and legal experts to study the case objectively and make their own judgements. In matters of history political decisions are not necessary. I am therefore looking towards the future.

Because of lack of understanding, appreciation and respect for Tibet's distinct culture, history and identity China's Tibet policies have been consistently misguided. In occupied Tibet there is little room for truth. The use of force and coercion as the principal means to rule and administer Tibet compel Tibetans to lie out of fear and local officials to hide the truth and create false facts in order to suit and to please Beijing and its stewards in Tibet.

As a result China's treatment of Tibet continues to evade the realities in Tibet. This approach is short-sighted and counter-productive. These policies are narrow-minded and reveal the ugly face of racial and cultural arrogance and a deep sense of political insecurity. The development concerning the flights of Agya Rinpoche, the Abbot of Kumbum Monastery, and more recently Karmapa Rinpoche are cases in point. However, the time has passed when in the name of national sovereignty and integrity a state can continue to apply such ruthless policies with impunity and escape international condemnation. Moreover, the Chinese people themselves will deeply regret the destruction of Tibet's ancient and rich cultural heritage. I sincerely believe that our rich culture and spirituality not only can benefit millions of Chinese but can also enrich China itself.

It is unfortunate that some leaders of the People's Republic of China seem to be hoping for the Tibetan issue to disappear with the passage of time. Such thinking on the part of the Chinese leaders is to repeat the miscalculations made in the past. Certainly, no Chinese leader would have thought back in 1949/50 and then in 1959 that in 2000 China would still be grappling with the issue of Tibet. The old generation of Tibetans has gone, a second and a third generation of Tibetans have emerged. Irrespective of the passage of time the freedom struggle of the Tibetan people continues with undiminished determination. It is clear that this is not a struggle for the cause of one man nor is it that of one generation of Tibetans. It is therefore obvious that generations of Tibetans to come will continue to cherish, honour and commit themselves

to this freedom struggle. Sooner or later, the Chinese leadership will have to face this fact.

The Chinese leaders refuse to believe that I am not seeking separation but genuine autonomy for the Tibetans. They are quite openly accusing me of lying. They are free to come and visit our communities in exile to find out the truth for themselves.

It has been my consistent endeavour to find a peaceful and mutually acceptable solution to the Tibetan problem. My approach envisages that Tibet enjoy genuine autonomy within the framework of the People's Republic of China. Such a mutually beneficial solution would contribute to the stability and unity of China—their two topmost priorities—while at the same time the Tibetans would be ensured of the basic right to preserve their own civilisation and to protect the delicate environment of the Tibetan plateau.

In the absence of any positive response from the Chinese government to my overtures over the years, I am left with no alternative but to appeal to the members of the international community. It is clear now that only increased and concerted international efforts will persuade Beijing to change its policy on Tibet. In spite of immediate negative reactions from the Chinese side, I strongly believe that such expressions of international concern and support are essential for creating an environment conducive for the peaceful resolution of the Tibetan problem. On my part, I remain committed to the process of dialogue. It is my firm belief that dialogue and a willingness to look with honesty and clarity at the reality of Tibet can lead us to a viable solution.

I would like to take this opportunity to thank the numerous individuals, governments, members of parliaments, non-governmental organisations and various religious orders for their support. The sympathy and support shown to our cause by a growing number of well-informed Chinese brothers and sisters is of special significance and a great encouragement to us Tibetans. I also wish to convey my greetings and express my deep sense of appreciation to our supporters all over the world who are commemorating this anniversary today. Above all I would like to express on behalf of the Tibetans our gratitude to the people and the Government of India for their unsurpassed generosity and support during these past forty years of our exile.

With my homage to the brave men and women of Tibet who have died for the cause of our freedom, I pray for an early end to the sufferings of our people.

**Statement of His Holiness the Dalai Lama on
the Forty-Second Anniversary of the Tibetan
National Uprising Day**

10 March 2001

Over fifty years ago Tibet was occupied by China. It is also over 40 years since 1959, when thousands of Tibetans began their life in exile. Three generations of Tibetans have lived through this darkest period of our history, undergoing tremendous hardship and suffering. Yet the Tibetan issue is still very much alive. Whether the Chinese government admits it or not the world is well aware of the grave problems inside Tibet, not only in the Tibetan Autonomous Region but also in other Tibetan areas. The Late Panchen Lama's 70,000-word petition submitted to the Beijing authorities in 1962 clearly shows how terrible the situation inside Tibet was. Since then, although there have been improvements in some fields, basically the situation still remains serious. Besides being a constant source of international embarrassment to China, the Tibetan problem is also harmful and detrimental to the stability and unity of the People's Republic of China.

The Chinese government continues to whitewash the sad situation in Tibet through propaganda. If conditions inside Tibet are as the Chinese authorities portray it to be why do they not have the courage to allow visitors into Tibet without any restrictions? Instead of attempting to hide things as "state secrets" why do they not have the courage to show the truth to the outside world? And

why are there so many security forces and prisons in Tibet? I have always said that if the majority of Tibetans in Tibet were truly satisfied with the state of affairs in Tibet I would have no reason, no justification and no desire to raise my voice against the situation in Tibet. Sadly, whenever Tibetans speak up, instead of listening to them they are arrested, imprisoned and labelled as counter-revolutionaries. They have no opportunity and no freedom to speak out the truth.

If the Tibetans are truly happy the Chinese authorities should have no difficulty in holding a plebiscite in Tibet. Already some Tibetan non-governmental organisations are advocating a referendum in Tibet. They argue that the best way to resolve this issue once and for all is to allow the Tibetans inside Tibet to choose their own destiny through a freely-held referendum. They demand to let the Tibetan people speak out and decide for themselves. I have always maintained that ultimately the Tibetan people must be able to decide the future of Tibet. I would in fact whole-heartedly support the result of such a referendum.

The Tibetan struggle is not about my personal position or wellbeing, but about the freedom, basic rights and cultural preservation of six million Tibetans, as well as the protection of the Tibetan environment. As early as in 1969 I made it clear that it is up to the people of Tibet to decide whether the very institution of the Dalai Lama which is over three hundred years old should continue or not. More recently, in a formal policy announcement in 1992 regarding the future polity of Tibet I stated clearly that when we return to Tibet with a certain degree of freedom I would not hold any position in the Tibetan gov-

ernment. I have always believed that in the future Tibet should follow a secular and democratic system of governance. I am certain that no Tibetan, whether in exile or in Tibet, has any desire to restore Tibet's past social order.

I had always been aware that Tibet needed social changes and had embarked on reforms while in Tibet under very difficult political circumstances. After coming into exile I have been encouraging the Tibetans in exile to follow the democratic process. Today, the Tibetan refugees may be among the few communities in exile that have established all the three pillars of democracy—legislature, judiciary and executive. This year this process will be further strengthened with the changes in the election of the chairman of the Tibetan Cabinet, the Kashag. I will be transferring the day-to-day responsibility of running the Tibetan affairs in exile to the elected chairman of the Kashag and an elected parliament in exile.

However, I do consider it my moral obligation to the six million Tibetans to continue taking up the Tibetan issue with the Chinese leadership and act as the free spokesman of the Tibetan people until a solution is reached. The tremendous trust placed on me by the Tibetan people increases my strong sense of responsibility.

The historical relationship between Tibet (bod) and China (gya) is, to say the least, much more complex and complicated than the simple official version Beijing upholds. Tibet had been existing as a distinct and separate entity for over two thousand years. There is no denying of this fact. History is history and no one can change the past but to accept the facts. I believe that it is best for historians and legal experts to decide the historical status

of Tibet. Irrespective of past history, I am looking towards the future.

Successive leaders of the People's Republic of China, from Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai to Deng Xiaoping and Hu Yaobang have repeatedly acknowledged the "unique nature" and "special case" of Tibet's status. The 17-Point Agreement of 1951 between the Tibetans and the Chinese, embodying the original spirit and concept of "one country and two systems", is the best proof of this recognition. No other province or part of the People's Republic of China has any such agreement with Beijing. The Chinese government promised to respect the "unique nature" of Tibet. Despite these assurances, sadly for the most part of its rule, China's oppressive Tibet policies have been misguided by a deep sense of insecurity, distrust, suspicion and arrogance and by a glaring lack of understanding, appreciation and respect for Tibet's distinct culture, history and identity. What is actually "unique" today about Tibet is that it is the poorest and most oppressed area where policies implemented by ultra-leftist elements are still active even though their influences have long been diminishing in China proper.

As a firm believer in non-violence and spirit of reconciliation and co-operation, I have from the beginning consistently sought to prevent bloodshed and to arrive at a peaceful solution. I also have admiration for China and her people with their long history and rich culture. I therefore believe that with courage, vision and wisdom it is possible to establish a relationship between Tibet and China which is of mutual benefit and based on respect and friendship. Consequently, my position regarding the Tibetan freedom

struggle has been to seek genuine autonomy for the Tibetan people. In spite of increased accusations against me and the worsening situation in Tibet, I remain committed to the policy of my “Middle-Way Approach”. I truly believe that a resolution of the Tibetan issue along the lines of my approach will bring satisfaction to the Tibetan people and greatly contribute to stability and unity in the People’s Republic of China. Over the past more than 20 years our contacts with the Chinese government have taken many twists and turns, sometimes they have been more encouraging and at other times more disappointing.

Last July, my elder brother, Gyalo Thondup, once more made a personal visit to Beijing and brought back a message from the United Front Department reiterating the well-known position of the leadership in Beijing on relations with me. In September of the same year we communicated through the Chinese Embassy in New Delhi our wish to send a delegation to Beijing to deliver a detailed memorandum outlining my thinking on the issue of Tibet and to explain and discuss the points raised in the memorandum. I sincerely hoped that this development would lead to an opening for a realistic approach to the Tibetan issue. I reasoned with the Chinese leadership that through face-to-face meetings we would succeed in clarifying misunderstandings and overcoming distrust. I expressed the strong belief that once this is achieved then a mutually acceptable solution of the problem can be found without much difficulty. So far the Chinese government is refusing to accept my delegation in spite of the fact that between 1979 and 1985 the Chinese government had accepted six Tibetan delegations from exile. Yet, now they

are stalling the acceptance of a Tibetan delegation. This is a clear indication of a hardening attitude of Beijing and a lack of political will to resolve the Tibetan problem.

The current hard-line policy of the leadership in Beijing will not deter us in our quest for freedom and peace through non-violence. Patience, courage and determination are essential for us Tibetans in a situation of such challenge and of fundamental importance. I firmly believe that there will be an opportunity in the future to seriously discuss the Tibetan issue and face the reality because there is no other choice either for China or for us.

When one looks at the situation inside Tibet it seems almost hopeless in the face of increasing repression, environmental destruction, and alarming developments undermining the identity and culture of Tibet as a result of the massive transfer of Chinese into Tibetan areas. However, the Tibetan issue is closely related with what is happening inside China. And China, no matter how powerful she may be, is still a part of the world. The global trend today is towards more accessibility, openness, freedom, democracy and respect for human rights. China is in fact already in the process of changing. In the long run there is no way that China can escape from truth, justice and freedom. It is most encouraging that there are a growing number of informed Chinese, including intellectuals and farsighted thinkers, who are not only showing concern but also expressing their solidarity to the Tibetan cause.

Because the situation inside Tibet still remains serious, as I stated before, and also because the Chinese authorities are refusing to discuss the Tibetan issue, there

is growing criticism of my policy of “Middle-Way Approach”. I have always welcomed the right to have different political views. There are those who hold firmly to the goal of independence of Tibet. There is also criticism that my position is causing division and confusion among our people. I can understand the increasing criticism because China refuses to constructively respond to my “Middle-Way Approach”. Moreover, the overwhelming majority of the Tibetan people have no doubts in their hearts and minds that independence is their historical and legitimate right. While I firmly reject the use of violence as a means in our freedom struggle, I respect the right of every Tibetan to discuss and explore all political options.

I would like to take this opportunity to thank the numerous individuals, governments, members of parliaments, non-governmental organisations and various religious orders for their support. I would also like to express my gratitude to the many unbiased Chinese who are supporting our just cause. Above all I would like to express on behalf of the Tibetans our gratitude to the people and the Government of India for their unsurpassed generosity and support during these past four decades.

In conclusion I pay homage to the brave men and women of Tibet who have and who continue to sacrifice their lives for the cause of our freedom and pray for an early end to the sufferings of our people. I also take this opportunity to pay tribute to our brave Chinese brothers and sisters who have also made tremendous sacrifices for freedom and democracy in China.

**Statement of His Holiness the Dalai Lama on
the Forty-Third Anniversary of the Tibetan
National Uprising Day**

10 March 2002

Today, we commemorate the forty-third anniversary of the Tibetan people's uprising. However, I have always considered the present and future more important than the past.

The world is greatly concerned with the problem of terrorism as a consequence of September 11. Internationally, the majority of the governments are in agreement that there is an urgent need for joint efforts to combat terrorism and a series of measures have been adopted. Unfortunately, the present measures lack a long-term and comprehensive approach to deal with the root causes of terrorism. What is required is a well-thought-out, long-term strategy to promote globally a political culture of non-violence and dialogue. The international community must assume a responsibility to give strong and effective support to non-violent movements committed to peaceful changes. Otherwise, it will be seen as hypocrisy to condemn and combat those who have risen in anger and despair but to continue to ignore those who have consistently espoused restraint and dialogue as a constructive alternative to violence.

We must draw lessons from the experiences we gained. If we look back at the last century, the most devastating cause of human suffering has been the culture of violence in resolving differences and conflicts. The chal-

lenge before us, therefore, is to make this new 21st century a century of dialogue when conflicts are resolved non-violently.

In human societies there will always be differences of opinions and interests. However, the reality today is that we are all inter-dependent and have to co-exist with one another on this small planet. As a result, the only sensible and intelligent way to resolving differences and clash of interests today, whether between individuals, communities or nations, is through dialogue in the spirit of compromise and reconciliation. We need to research, develop and teach this spirit of non-violence and invest in these efforts as much resources as we do for military defence.

Within the context of the present tense political atmosphere the Chinese authorities in Tibet have continued in the past year to subject Tibetans inside Tibet to gross violations of human rights, including religious persecution. This has led to an increasing number of Tibetans risking their lives to flee Tibet and to find refuge elsewhere. Last summer the expulsion of thousands of Tibetan and Chinese monks and nuns from a Tibetan Buddhist learning institute at Serthar in Eastern Tibet highlighted the intensity and scale of the repression in Tibet. These abuses of rights are a clear example of how Tibetans are deprived of their right to assert and preserve their own identity and culture.

I believe that many of the violations of human rights in Tibet are the result of suspicion, lack of trust and true understanding of Tibetan culture and religion. As I have said many times in the past, it is extremely important for the Chinese leadership to come to a better and deeper

understanding and appreciation of the Tibetan Buddhist culture and civilisation. I absolutely support Deng Xiaoping's wise statement that we must "seek truth from facts". Therefore, we Tibetans must accept the progress and improvements that China's rule of Tibet has brought to the Tibetan people and give recognition to it. At the same time the Chinese authorities must understand that the Tibetans have had to undergo tremendous suffering and destruction during the past five decades. The late Panchen Lama in his last public address in Shigatse on January 24, 1989 stated that Chinese rule in Tibet had brought more destruction than benefit to the Tibetan people.

The Buddhist culture of Tibet inspires the Tibetans with values and concepts of compassion, forgiveness, patience and a reverence for all forms of life that are of practical benefit and relevance in daily life and hence the wish to preserve it. Sadly, our Buddhist culture and way of life are under threat of total extinction. The majority of Chinese "development" plans in Tibet are designed to assimilate Tibet completely into the Chinese society and culture and to overwhelm Tibetans demographically by transferring large numbers of Chinese into Tibet. This unfortunately reveals that Chinese policies in Tibet continue to be dominated by "ultra-leftists" in the Chinese government, despite the profound changes carried out by the Chinese government and the Party elsewhere in the People's Republic of China. This policy is unbecoming of a proud nation and culture such as China and against the spirit of the 21st century.

The global trend today is towards more openness, freedom, democracy and respect for human rights. No

matter how big and powerful China may be, she is still a part of the world. Sooner or later China will have to follow the world trend. In the coming months and years the process of change that has already taken place in China will accelerate. As a Buddhist monk, I would like China, which is home to almost a quarter of the world's entire population, to undergo this change peacefully. Chaos and instability will only lead to large-scale bloodshed and tremendous suffering to millions of people. Such a situation would also have serious ramifications for peace and stability throughout the world. And as a human being, it is my sincere desire that our Chinese brothers and sisters enjoy freedom, democracy, prosperity and peace.

Whether the coming changes in China will bring new life and new hope for Tibet and whether China establishes herself as a reliable, constructive, peaceful and leading member of the international community depends largely on whether China continues to define herself mainly through her size, number, military and economic powers or whether she decides to commit herself to universal human values and principles and define her strength and greatness through them. This decision by China, in turn, will be influenced to a large degree by the attitude and policies of the international community towards China. I have always drawn attention to the need to bring Beijing into the mainstream of world democracy and have spoken against any idea of isolating and containing China. To attempt to do so would be morally incorrect and politically impractical. Instead, I have always counselled a policy of responsible and principled engagement with the Chinese government.

It is my sincere hope that the Chinese leadership will find the courage, wisdom and vision to solve the Tibetan issue through negotiations. Not only would it be helpful in creating a political atmosphere conducive to the smooth transition of China into a new era but also China's image throughout the world would be greatly enhanced. It would have a strong, positive impact on the people in Taiwan and will also do much to improve Sino-Indian relations by inspiring genuine trust and confidence. Times of changes are also times of opportunities. I truly believe that one day, there will be the chance at dialogue and peace because there is no other choice for China or for us. The present state of affairs in Tibet does nothing to alleviate the grievances of the Tibetan people or to bring stability and unity to the People's Republic of China. Sooner or later, the leadership in Beijing will have to face this fact. On my part, I remain committed to the process of dialogue. As soon as there is a positive signal from Beijing, my designated representatives stand ready to meet with officials of the Chinese government anywhere, anytime.

For this, it is essential that the Tibetans be able to handle all their domestic affairs and to freely determine their social, economic and cultural development. In exile we continue with the democratisation of the Tibetan polity. Last March, I informed the elected representatives of the Assembly of Tibetan People's Deputies that the Tibetan exiles must directly elect the next Kalon Tripa (Chairman of the Tibetan Cabinet). Consequently, last August for the first time in Tibet's history, the Tibetan exiles directly elected Samdhong Rinpoche as the new Kalon Tripa by a margin of over 84% of the total votes cast. This is a

big step forward in the continuing growth and maturity of democracy in our exiled Tibetan community. It is my hope that in the future Tibet can also enjoy an elected democratic government.

I take this opportunity to thank the numerous individuals, including members of governments, of parliaments and of non-governmental organisations who have been continuing to support our non-violent freedom struggle. It is most encouraging to note that universities, schools, religious and social groups, artistic and business communities as well as people from many other walks of life have also come to understand the problem of Tibet and are now expressing their solidarity with our cause. Similarly, we have been able to establish cordial and friendly relations with fellow Chinese Buddhists and ordinary Chinese people living abroad and in Taiwan. The sympathy and support shown to our cause by a growing number of well-informed Chinese brothers and sisters is of special significance and a great encouragement to us Tibetans. I take this opportunity to pay tribute to and pray for the many Chinese brothers and sisters who have made tremendous sacrifices for freedom and democracy in China. Above all, I would like to express on behalf of the Tibetans our gratitude to the people and the Government of India for their unsurpassed generosity and support. The growing international support for Tibet reflects the inherent human empathy for and solidarity with human suffering and a universal appreciation for truth and justice. I appeal to governments, parliaments and to our friends to continue their support and efforts with a renewed sense of dedication and vigour.

Finally, I pay homage to the brave men and women of Tibet who have and who continue to sacrifice their lives for the cause of our freedom and pray for an early end to the suffering of our people.

**Statement of His Holiness the Dalai Lama on
the Forty-Fourth Anniversary of the Tibetan
National Uprising Day**

10 March 2003

Our sincere greetings to fellow Tibetans in Tibet and in exile and to our friends and supporters all over the world on the occasion of the 44th anniversary of the Tibetan People's Uprising of 1959. While there were positive developments on the overall issue of Tibet, we remain concerned about the continuing marginalisation of Tibetans in their own country and Chinese actions on the human rights and religious freedom of the Tibetan people in the past year.

The 16th Congress of the Chinese Communist Party ushered a new era in China by smoothly transferring the leadership from the third to the fourth generation. This is a sign of political maturity and adaptability. The reforms, initiated by Deng Xiaoping and continued under President Jiang Zemin, have brought about great changes in China, especially in the fields of economy, trade and in the conduct of international relations. I welcome this development since I have always drawn attention to the need to bring China into the mainstream of the world community and have spoken against any idea of isolating and containing China. Unfortunately, in sharp contrast to these positive aspects, such a pragmatic and flexible approach has been lacking when it comes to upholding the basic civil and political rights and freedoms of its citizens,

especially with regard to those of the so-called minorities within the People's Republic of China.

We were encouraged by the release of several Tibetan and Chinese political prisoners of conscience during the past year. Among them Tibetan prisoners such as Takna Jigme Sangpo and Ani Ngawang Sangdrol who spent years in prison solely for daring to express their views on Chinese policies in Tibet and in particular on Tibetan history represent the courage and determination of the Tibetan people inside Tibet.

I was pleased that the Chinese government made it possible for my envoys to visit Beijing to re-establish direct contact with the Chinese leadership and to also visit Tibet to interact with the leading local Tibetan officials. The visit of my envoys last September to Beijing provided the opportunities to explain to the Chinese leadership our views on the issue of Tibet. I was encouraged that the exchanges of views were friendly and meaningful.

I had instructed my envoys to make every effort to pursue a course of dialogue with the leadership in Beijing and to seize every opportunity to dispel existing misunderstandings and misconceptions in Beijing about our views and positions. This is the only sensible, intelligent and human way to resolve differences and establish understanding. It will not be an easy task nor can it be accomplished within a short period of time. However, it provides the Tibetan and Chinese peoples a unique and crucial opportunity to put behind them decades of bitterness, distrust and resentment and to form a new relationship based on equality, friendship and mutual benefit.

Successive Chinese leaders have acknowledged and

promised to respect with understanding and tolerance Tibet's distinct culture, history and identity. In reality, whenever Tibetans demonstrate allegiance and concern for their own people the Chinese authorities resort to their usual "policy of merciless repression", whereby they are labelled as "splittists" and as a result arrested and imprisoned. They have no opportunity to speak out the truth. The recent execution of Lobsang Dhondup and the death sentence given to Tulku Tenzin Delek without due process of law are clear examples of this policy, which cannot resolve the problem and therefore must be changed.

It is my sincere hope that the Chinese leadership will find the courage, vision and wisdom for new openings to solve the Tibetan issue through dialogue. Looking around the world we cannot fail to notice how unattended conflicts with ethnic roots can erupt in ways that make them extremely difficult to solve. It is, therefore, in the interest of the People's Republic of China to address such issues. A new creative initiative to resolve the issue of Tibet would serve as a very convincing sign that China is changing, maturing and becoming more receptive to assuming a greater role on the global stage as a reliable and forward-looking power. A constructive approach to the issue of Tibet provides important opportunities to create a political climate of trust, confidence and openness, both domestically and internationally. Such an expression of Chinese leadership during this time of deep anxiety over international conflicts, terrorism and ethnic strife in the world will go a long way to impressing and reassuring the world.

It is necessary to recognise that the Tibetan free-

dom struggle is not about my personal position or well-being. As early as in 1969 I made it clear that it is up to the Tibetan people to decide whether the centuries-old institution of the Dalai Lama should continue or not. In 1992 in a formal announcement I stated clearly that when we return to Tibet with a certain degree of freedom I would not hold any office in the Tibetan government nor any other political position. However, as I often state, till my last day I will remain committed to the promotion of human values and religious harmony. I also announced then that the Tibetan Administration-in-Exile should be dissolved and that the Tibetans in Tibet must shoulder the main responsibility of running the Tibetan government. I have always believed that in the future Tibet should follow a secular and democratic system of governance. It is, therefore, baseless to allege that our efforts are aimed at the restoration of Tibet's old social system. No Tibetan, whether in exile or in Tibet, has any desire to restore old Tibet's outdated social order. On the contrary, the democratisation of the Tibetan community started soon upon our arrival in exile. This culminated in the direct election of our political leadership in 2001. We are committed to continue to take vigorous actions to further promote democratic values among the ordinary Tibetans.

As far back as the early seventies in consultation with senior Tibetan officials I made a decision to seek a solution to the Tibetan problem through a "Middle Way Approach". This framework does not call for independence and separation of Tibet. At the same time it provides genuine autonomy for the six million men and women who consider themselves Tibetans to preserve their distinctive

identity, to promote their religious and cultural heritage that is based on a centuries-old philosophy which is of benefit even in the 21st century, and to protect the delicate environment of the Tibetan plateau. This approach will contribute to the overall stability and unity of the People's Republic of China. I remain committed to this realistic and pragmatic approach and will continue to make every effort to reach a mutually acceptable solution.

The reality today is that we are all interdependent and we have to co-exist on this small planet. Therefore, the only sensible and intelligent way of resolving differences, whether between individuals, peoples or nations, is through a political culture of non-violence and dialogue. Since our struggle is based on truth, justice and non-violence and is not directed against China, we have been fortunate to receive increasing world-wide sympathy and support, including from amongst the Chinese. I express my appreciation and gratitude for this consistent solidarity. I would also like to express once again on behalf of the Tibetans our appreciation and immense gratitude to the people and the Government of India for their unwavering and unmatched generosity and support.

With my homage to the brave men and women of Tibet who have died for the cause of our freedom, I pray for an early end to the suffering of our people.

**Statement of His Holiness the Dalai Lama on
the Forty-Fifth Anniversary of the Tibetan
National Uprising Day**

10 March 2004

Today we commemorate the 45th anniversary of the Tibetan People's Uprising of 1959. I pay tribute to the many brave Tibetan men and women who have sacrificed their lives for the cause of Tibetan freedom. They will always be remembered.

This year marks 50 years since my visit to mainland China in 1954 to meet with the then Chinese leaders, especially Mao Zedong. I remember very well that I embarked on the journey with deep concerns about the future of Tibet. I was assured by all the leaders I met that the Chinese presence in Tibet was to work for the welfare of the Tibetans and "to help develop" Tibet. While in China I also learned about internationalism and socialism which deeply impressed me. So I returned to Tibet with optimism and confidence that a peaceful and mutually beneficial co-existence could be worked out. Unfortunately, soon after my return China was embroiled in political unrest unleashed by radical political campaigns. These developments impacted the Chinese policy on Tibet resulting in more repression and rigidity leading finally to the Tibetan People's Uprising in March 1959.

My hope is that this year may see a significant breakthrough in our relations with the Chinese Government. As in 1954, so also today, I am determined to leave no

stone unturned for seeking a mutually beneficial solution that will address both Chinese concerns as well as achieve for the Tibetan people a life in freedom, peace and dignity. Despite the decades of separation the Tibetan people continue to place tremendous trust and hope in me. I feel a great sense of responsibility to act as their free spokesman. In this regard, the fact that President Hu Jintao has personal knowledge about the situation and problems in Tibet can be a positive factor in resolving the Tibetan issue. I am therefore willing to meet with today's leaders of the People's Republic of China in the effort to secure a mutually acceptable solution to the Tibetan issue.

My envoys have established direct contact with the Chinese government on two trips to China in September 2002 and in May/June 2003. This is a positive and welcome development, which was initiated during the Presidency of Jiang Zemin. The issue of Tibet is complex and of crucial importance to Tibetan as well as Chinese peoples. Consequently, it requires careful considerations and serious deliberations on both sides before taking any decisions. It will take time, patience and determination to lead this process to a successful conclusion. However, I consider it of highest importance to maintain the momentum and to intensify and deepen this process through regular face-to-face meetings and substantive discussions. This is the only way to dispel existing distrust and misconception and to build trust and confidence.

Consequently, I have instructed my envoys to visit China at the earliest date to continue the process. I hope that they will be able to make this trip without much delay. This will help in building trust and confidence in

the present process among Tibetans as well as among our friends and supporters around the world—many of whom remain strongly sceptical about the willingness of Beijing to engage in a genuine process of rapprochement and dialogue.

The current situation in Tibet benefits neither the Tibetans nor the government of the People's Republic of China. The development projects that the Chinese Government has launched in Tibet—purportedly to benefit the Tibetan people—are however, having negative effects on the Tibetan people's distinct cultural, religious and linguistic identity. More Chinese settlers are coming to Tibet resulting in the economic marginalisation of the Tibetan people and the sinicisation of their culture. Tibetans need to see an improvement in the quality of their life, the restoration of Tibet's pristine environment and the freedom to decide an appropriate model of development.

I welcome the release of Ani Phuntsok Nyidrol, even as we recognise the injustice of her sentence and continue to urge for the release of all political prisoners in Tibet. The human rights situation in Tibet has not seen any marked improvement. Human rights violations in Tibet have a distinct character of preventing Tibetans as a people from asserting their own identity and culture. The violations are a result of policies of racial and cultural discrimination and religious intolerance.

Against this background we are encouraged and grateful that many individuals, governments and parliaments around the world have been urging the People's Republic of China to resolve the question of Tibet through peaceful negotiations. Led by the European Union and

the United States there is growing realisation in the international community that the issue of Tibet is not one of human rights violations alone but of deeper political nature which needs to be resolved through negotiations.

I am also encouraged by the recent improvements in the relationship between India and China. It has always been my belief that better understanding and relations between India and China, the two most populous nations of the world, is of vital importance for peace and stability in Asia in particular and in the world in general. I believe that improved relations between India and China will create a more conducive political environment for the peaceful resolution of the Tibetan issue. I also strongly believe India can and should play a constructive and influential role in resolving the Tibetan problem peacefully. My “Middle-Way Approach” should be an acceptable policy on Tibet for India as it addresses the Tibetan issue within the framework of the People’s Republic of China. A solution to the Tibetan issue through this approach would help India to resolve many of her disputes with China, too.

It is 54 years since the establishment of the People’s Republic of China. During Mao Zedong’s period much emphasis was put on ideology, while Deng Xiaoping concentrated primarily on economic development. His successor Jiang Zemin broadened the base of the Communist Party by enabling wealthy people to become part of the Communist Party under his theory of “The Three Represents”. In recent times Hu Jintao and his colleagues were able to achieve a smooth transition of leadership. During the past decades China has been able to make much prog-

ress. But there have also been shortcomings and failures in various fields, including in the economy. One of the main causes of the shortcomings and failures seems to be the inability to deal with and act according to the true and real situation. In order to know the real and true situation it is essential that there be free information.

China is undergoing a process of deep change. In order to affect this change smoothly and without chaos and violence I believe it is essential that there be more openness and greater freedom of information and proper awareness among the general public. We should seek truth from facts—facts that are not falsified. Without this China cannot hope to achieve genuine stability. How can there be stability if things must be hidden and people are not able to speak out their true feelings?

I am hopeful that China will become more open and eventually more democratic. I have for many years advocated that the change and transformation of China should take place smoothly and without major upheavals. This is in the interest of not only the Chinese people but also the world community.

China's emergence as a regional and global power is also accompanied by concerns, suspicion and fears about her power. Hosting the Olympic Games and World Exposition will not help to dispel these concerns. Unless Beijing addresses the lack of basic civil and political rights and freedoms of its citizens, especially with regard to minorities, China will continue to face difficulties in reassuring the world that she is a peaceful, responsible, constructive and forward-looking power.

The Tibetan issue represents both a challenge and

an opportunity for a maturing China to act as an emerging global player with vision and values of openness, freedom, justice and truth. A constructive and flexible approach to the issue of Tibet will go a long way in creating a political climate of trust, confidence and openness, both domestically and internationally. A peaceful resolution of the Tibetan issue will have wide-ranging positive impacts on China's transition and transformation onto a modern, open and free society. There is now a window of opportunity for the Chinese leadership to act with courage and farsightedness in resolving the Tibetan issue once and for all.

I would like to take this opportunity to express my appreciation and gratitude for this consistent support that we have been receiving throughout the world. I would also like to express once again on behalf of the Tibetans our appreciation and immense gratitude to the people and the Government of India for their unwavering and unmatched generosity and support.

With my prayers for the well-being of all sentient beings.

**Statement of His Holiness the Dalai Lama on
the Forty-Sixth Anniversary of the Tibetan
National Uprising Day**

10 March 2005

On the occasion of the 46th anniversary of the Tibetan People's Uprising, I convey my warm greetings to my fellow Tibetans in Tibet and in exile and to our friends around the world.

During these more than four decades great changes have taken place in Tibet. There has been a great deal of economic progress along with development in infrastructure. The Golmud-Lhasa railway link that is being built is a case in point. However, during the same period much has been written by independent journalists and travellers to Tibet about the real situation in Tibet and not what they have been shown. Most of them portray a very different picture than what the Chinese government claims, clearly criticising China about the lack of human rights, religious freedom and self-rule in Tibet. What has actually happened and is still happening is that since the establishment of the Tibet Autonomous Region the real authority has been solely held by Chinese leaders. As for the Tibetan people, they have been facing suspicions and growing restrictions. The lack of true ethnic equality and harmony based on trust, and the absence of genuine stability in Tibet clearly shows that things are not well in Tibet and that basically there is a problem.

Prominent and respected Tibetan leaders in Tibet

have spoken out on this from time to time and even suffered because of their courageous acts. In the early 1960s, the late Panchen Lama outlined the sufferings and aspirations of the Tibetan people in his petition to the Chinese leaders. Baba Phuntsok Wangyal, one of the foremost Tibetan communist leaders, in his recent biography published in English dwells at length on the need to meet the interests of the Tibetan people. In fact, it is clear that most senior Tibetan officials in Tibet deep in their hearts are extremely dissatisfied.

This year the Chinese government will mark the 40th anniversary of the establishment of the Tibet Autonomous Region. There will be much fanfare and many commemorative events to celebrate the occasion but these will be meaningless when they do not reflect the ground realities. For example, the Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution were celebrated with great pomp as real achievements at the time they took place.

China has made tremendous economic progress during the past more than two decades. China today is not what it was twenty or thirty years ago. Much has changed in China. As a result she has become a major player in the world and China rightly deserves this position. It is a big nation with a huge population and a rich and ancient civilisation. However, China's image is tarnished by her human rights records, undemocratic actions, the lack of the rule of law and the unequal implementation of autonomy rights regarding minorities, including the Tibetans. All these are a cause for more suspicion and distrust from the outside world. Internally, they are an obstacle to unity and stability that are of utmost importance to the

leaders of the People's Republic of China. In my view, it is important that as China becomes a powerful and respectable nation she should be able to adopt a reasonable policy with confidence.

The world in general, of which China is a part, is changing for the better. In recent times there is definitely a greater awareness and appreciation for peace, non-violence, democracy, justice and environmental protection. The recent unprecedented response from governments and individuals across the world to the tsunami disaster victims reaffirms that the world is truly interdependent and the importance of universal responsibility.

My involvement in the affairs of Tibet is not for the purpose of claiming certain personal rights or political position for myself nor attempting to stake claims for the Tibetan administration in exile. In 1992 in a formal announcement I stated clearly that when we return to Tibet with a certain degree of freedom I will not hold any office in the Tibetan government or any other political position and that the present Tibetan administration in exile will be dissolved. Moreover, the Tibetans working in Tibet should carry on the main responsibility of administering Tibet.

I once again want to reassure the Chinese authorities that as long as I am responsible for the affairs of Tibet we remain fully committed to the Middle Way Approach of not seeking independence for Tibet and are willing to remain within the People's Republic of China. I am convinced that in the long run such an approach is of benefit to the Tibetan people for their material progress. It is encouraging that there is support from various parts of the world for this approach as being reasonable, realistic and

of mutual benefit to the Chinese and Tibetans. I am particularly encouraged by the recognition and support that has come from certain quarters of the intellectual circle from within China.

I am happy with our renewed contacts with the Chinese leadership and that the third round of meetings last September shows that gradually our interactions are improving. Now that our elected political leadership is shouldering more responsibility in Tibetan affairs, I have advised them to look into the issues raised by the Chinese side during our third round of talks and to take steps to address or clarify them as needed. We remain hopeful that eventually we will be able to develop the necessary trust and resolve this long-standing issue to our mutual benefit.

Finally, I would like to take this opportunity to express the Tibetan people's gratitude and appreciation to the people and Government of India for their steadfast sympathy and support. I very much feel a part of this nation not only because of the centuries-old religious and cultural ties that India and Tibet enjoyed but also because I and most of the Tibetans in exile have lived in India for the past 45 years.

I offer my prayers to the brave men and women of Tibet who gave their lives for the cause of Tibetan freedom.

