

**DHARAMSALA
AND
BEIJING**

**Initiatives and Correspondences
1981-1993**

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Preface

In 1979 China's Premier Deng Xiaoping told an emissary of the Dalai Lama that "the door to negotiations remains wide open" and "except for the independence of Tibet, all other questions can be negotiated". In July 1993, fourteen years later, two representatives of His Holiness the Dalai Lama were fed the selfsame rhetoric in Beijing. This stance was reaffirmed by a Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman in August 1993.

As the Governor of Hong Kong, Chris Patten, has discovered, political negotiations with China are a long-term exercise in futile expectations.

Between 1979 and 1993 His Holiness the Dalai Lama has made every possible effort to alleviate the untenable situation in Tibet and effect a solution in line with Deng Xiaoping's 1979 suggestion. In addition to the flexible and constructive approach for negotiations suggested in his Strasbourg Proposal, many attempts have been made to meet the Chinese at negotiating tables in various world venues. These have consistently come to naught since China insists on reducing the Tibetan issue to that of His Holiness the Dalai Lama's personal status.

In recent years, China has come under increasing international pressure to engage in dialogues with the Tibetan people and their leader, His Holiness the Dalai Lama. Many resolutions towards this end have been passed by the United States Congress and parliaments worldwide. Beijing's response to this mounting international pressure has been to misrepresent Tibetan stance in order to create confusion among its critics and supporters. The Tibetan Administration in Dharamsala is portrayed as the party unwilling to negotiate.

While Beijing presents an image to international governments and influential fora of being willing to enter into reasonable and flexible dialogue on the future status of occupied-Tibet, the reality of China's official contact with the Exile Tibetan Administration, as with Hong Kong, has been inflexible, pre-determined, and ultimately, evasive.

The documents presented here set the record straight for all those interested in seeing the Tibet-China problem resolved peacefully.

The readers of these documents will see that His Holiness the Dalai Lama's approach to negotiations on the status of future Tibet has been clear and consistent over more than a decade. China, however, chooses to misunderstand and misrepresent his thoughts on the Tibetan-Chinese relationship and the very motives guiding his proposals.

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Dharamsala
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**Dharamsala, India: 23 March 1981
(Translated from Tibetan)**

Your Excellency,

I agree with, and believe in the Communist ideology which seeks the well-being of human beings in general and the proletariat in particular, and in Lenin's policy of equality of nationalities. Similarly, I was pleased with the discussions I had with Chairman Mao on ideology and policy towards nationalities.

If that same ideology and policy had been implemented it would have brought much admiration and happiness. However, if one is to make a general comment on the developments during the past two decades, there has been a lapse in economic and educational progress, the basis of human happiness. Moreover, on account of the hardship caused by the unbearable disruptions, there has been a loss of trust between the Party and the masses, between the officials and the masses, among the officials themselves, and also among the masses themselves.

By deceiving one another through false assumptions and misrepresentations, there has been, in reality, a great lapse and delay in achieving the real goals. Now, signs of dissatisfaction are naturally emerging from all directions and are clear indications that the objectives have not been fulfilled.

To take the case of the situation in Tibet, it is regrettable that some Tibetan officials, who lack the wisdom and competence required for promoting basic human happiness and the short-and-long-term welfare of their own people, indulge in flattering Chinese officials and collaborate with these Chinese officials who know nothing about Tibetans and work simply for their temporary fame, indulging in fabricating impressive reports. In reality, the Tibetan people have not only undergone immeasurable suffering, but large numbers have also unnecessarily lost their lives. Besides, during the Cultural Revolution, there was immense destruction of Tibet's ancient cultural heritage. All these regrettable events present a brief impression of the past.

Now, taking into account the experiences of past mistakes, there is a new policy of "Seeking Truth from Facts" and a policy of modernisation. With regard to the Tibetan issue, I am pleased with, and applaud, Comrade Hu Yaobang's efforts to make every possible attempt to right the wrongs by frankly admitting the past mistakes after his visit to Lhasa.

As you are aware, during the past twenty years, we Tibetans abroad, apart from trying to preserve our national identity and traditional values, have been educating our youth to enable them to decide their future through a knowledge of right conduct, justice and democratic principles leading to a better Tibetan community.

In brief, considering the fact that we are living in an alien country, we can be proud of our achievements in the history of refugees in the world. On the political front, we have always pursued the path of truth and justice in our struggle for the legitimate rights of the Tibetan people. We have never indulged in distortions, exaggerations, and criticism of the Chinese people. Neither have we harboured ill will towards them. Above all, we have always held to our position of truth and justice without siding with any of the international political power blocs.

In early 1979, at your invitation, Gyalo Thondup visited China. Through him you had sent a message saying that we should keep in contact with you. You had also invited us to send fact-finding delegations to Tibet. Thereafter, three fact-finding delegations were able to find out both the positive and negative aspects of the situation in Tibet. If the Tibetan people's identity is preserved and if they are genuinely happy, there is no reason to complain. However, in reality, over ninety percent of Tibetans are suffering both mentally and physically, and are living in deep sorrow. These sad conditions have not been brought about by natural disasters, but by human actions. Therefore, genuine efforts must be made to resolve the problems in accordance with the existing realities in a reasonable way.

In order to do this, we must improve the relationship between China and Tibet as well as between Tibetans in and outside Tibet. With truth and equality as our foundations, we must try to develop friendship between Tibetans and Chinese through better understanding in the future. The time has come to apply, with a sense of urgency, our common wisdom in a spirit of tolerance and broadmindedness in order to achieve genuine happiness for the Tibetans.

On my part, I remain committed to contribute my efforts to the welfare of all human beings, and in particular the poor and the weak, to the best of my ability and without any distinction based on national boundaries. As the Tibetan people have great trust and hope in me, I would like to convey to you their wishes and aspirations for their immediate and future wellbeing.

I hope you will let me know your views on the foregoing points.

With assurance of my highest regard and esteem.

**Separate Note Attached to His Holiness the Dalai Lama's Letter to Deng
Xiaoping: 23 March 1981
(Translated from Tibetan)**

In recent times, in accordance with the contacts made by Beijing through Gyalo Thondup, three fact-finding delegations have already visited Tibet. The fourth one is scheduled to leave in April this year. Although Beijing had already agreed to the deputation of fifty teachers from India to various schools in Tibet for a period of two years, and the opening of a liaison office in Lhasa to facilitate mutual contacts, recently Gyalo Thondup received the following message from Beijing through *Xinhua News Agency* in Hong Kong:

1. As regards the fourth fact-finding delegation, nothing has been confirmed so far. A response will be given later either through Hong Kong or the Chinese Embassy in New Delhi.
2. Although we have agreed in principle to the opening of a liaison office in Lhasa, and the deputation of teachers, it would be better to defer the opening of the liaison office. Instead more contacts should be made through Hong Kong and the Chinese Embassy in Delhi.
3. The teachers, having been brought up in India with good facilities, would find it difficult to live in Tibet where facilities are lacking at the moment. This could harm their morale. It is, therefore, suggested that the sending of teachers to Tibet be deferred. For the time being, some teachers may be deputed to the nationality schools inside China from where they could gradually be sent to Tibet.

(Subsequently, a message received through the Chinese Embassy in Delhi, conveyed that the fourth delegation should be postponed for this year).

The following is our response to the above matters:

1. We agree to the postponement of the fourth delegation for this year, as well as the opening of the liaison office in Lhasa for the time being.
2. On the matter of sending teachers to Tibet, since the teachers are already aware of the difficult conditions in the schools in Tibet, this will neither lower their morale, nor come in the way of carrying out their task. Above all, the main reason for sending the teachers is to uplift the standard of education of the students living in difficult conditions. We hope you will reconsider this matter. The teachers will be concerned solely with educational matters and will not indulge in any political activities. There is, therefore, no need to worry on this point.

**China's 'Five-point Policy towards the Dalai Lama'
Delivered by**

CCP General Secretary Hu Yaobang

to

Gyalo Thondup

Beijing: 28 July 1981

(English translation reproduced from *Beijing Review*, No 49, 3 December, 1984)

1. The Dalai Lama should be confident that China has entered a new stage of long-term political stability, steady economic growth and mutual help among all nationalities.
2. The Dalai Lama and his representatives should be frank and sincere with the Central Government, not beat around the bush. There should be no more quibbling over the events in 1959.
3. The central authorities sincerely welcome the Dalai Lama and his followers to come back to live. This is based on the hope that they will contribute to upholding China's unity and promoting solidarity between the Han and Tibetan nationalities, and among all nationalities, and the modernisation program.
4. The Dalai Lama will enjoy the same political status and living conditions as he had before 1959. It is suggested that he not go to live in Tibet or hold local posts there. Of course, he may go back to Tibet from time to time. His followers need not worry about their jobs and living conditions. These will only be better than before.
5. When the Dalai Lama wishes to come back, he can issue a brief statement to the press. It is up to him to decide what he would like to say in the statement.

Five Point Peace Plan for Tibet

Address to the United States Congressional Human Rights Caucus

by

His Holiness the Dalai Lama

Washington, DC: 21 September 1987

The world is increasingly interdependent, so that lasting peace—national, regional, and global—can only be achieved if we think in terms of broader interest rather than parochial needs. At this time, it is crucial that all of us, the strong and the weak, contribute in our own way. I speak to you today as the leader of the Tibetan people and as a Buddhist monk devoted to the principles of a religion based on love and compassion. Above all, I am here as a human being who is destined to share this planet with you and all others as brothers and sisters. As the world grows smaller, we need each other more than in the past. This is true in all parts of the world, including the continent I come from.

At present in Asia, as elsewhere, tensions are high. There are open conflicts in the Middle East, Southeast Asia, and in my own country, Tibet. To a large extent, these problems are symptoms of the underlying tensions that exist among the area's great powers. In order to resolve regional conflicts, an approach is required that takes into account the interests of all relevant countries and peoples, large and small. Unless comprehensive solutions are formulated, that takes into account the aspirations of the people most directly concerned, piecemeal or merely expedient measures will only create new problems.

The Tibetan people are eager to contribute to regional and world peace, and I believe they are in a unique position to do so. Traditionally, Tibetans are a peace loving and non-violent people. Since Buddhism was introduced to Tibet over one thousand years ago, Tibetans have practised non-violence with respect to all forms of life. This attitude has also been extended to our country's international relations. Tibet's highly strategic position in the heart of Asia, separating the continent's great powers—India, China and the USSR—has throughout history endowed it with an essential role in the maintenance of peace and stability. This is precisely why, in the past, Asia's empires went to great lengths to keep one another out of Tibet. Tibet's value as an independent buffer state was integral to the region's stability.

When the newly formed People's Republic of China invaded Tibet in 1949/50, it created a new source of conflict. This was highlighted when, following the Tibetan national uprising against the Chinese and my flight to India in 1959, tensions between China and India escalated into the border war in 1962. Today large numbers of troops are again massed on both sides of the Himalayan border and tension is once more dangerously high.

The real issue, of course, is not the Indo-Tibetan border demarcation. It is China's illegal occupation of Tibet, which has given it direct access to the Indian sub-continent. The Chinese authorities have attempted to confuse the issue by claiming that Tibet has always been a part of China. This is untrue. Tibet was a fully independent state when the People's Liberation Army invaded the country in 1949/50.

Since Tibetan emperors unified Tibet, over a thousand years ago, our country was able to maintain its independence until the middle of this century. At times Tibet extended its influence over neighbouring countries and peoples and, in other periods, came itself under the influence of powerful foreign rulers—the Mongol Khans, the Gorkhas of Nepal, the Manchu Emperors and the British in India.

It is, of course, not uncommon for states to be subjected to foreign influence or interference. Although so-called satellite relationships are perhaps the clearest examples of this, most major powers exert influence over less powerful allies or neighbours. As the most authoritative legal studies have shown, in Tibet's case, the country's occasional subjection to foreign influence never entailed a loss of independence. And there can be no doubt that when Peking's communist armies entered Tibet, Tibet was in all respects an independent state.

China's aggression, condemned by virtually all nations of the free world, was a flagrant violation of international law. As China's military occupation of Tibet continues, the world should remember that though Tibetans have lost their freedom, under international law Tibet today is still an independent state under illegal occupation.

It is not my purpose to enter a political/legal discussion here concerning Tibet's status. I just wish to emphasise the obvious and undisputed fact that we Tibetans are a distinct people with our own culture, language, religion and history. But for China's occupation, Tibet would still, today, fulfil its natural role as a buffer state maintaining and promoting peace in Asia.

It is my sincere desire, as well as that of the Tibetan people, to restore to Tibet her invaluable role, by converting the entire country—comprising the three provinces of U-Tsang, Kham and Amdo—once more into a place of stability, peace and harmony. In the best of Buddhist tradition, Tibet would extend its services and hospitality to all who further the cause of world peace and the well-being of mankind and the natural environment we share.

Despite the holocaust inflicted upon our people in the past decades of occupation, I have always strived to find a solution through direct and honest discussions with the Chinese. In 1982, following the change of leadership in China and the establishment of direct contacts with the government in Peking, I sent my representatives to Peking to open talks concerning the future of my country and people.

We entered the dialogue with a sincere and positive attitude and with a willingness to take into account the legitimate needs of the People's Republic of China. I hope that this attitude would be reciprocated and that a solution could eventually be found which would satisfy and safeguard the aspirations and interests of both parties. Unfortunately, China has consistently responded to our efforts in a defensive manner, as though our detailing of Tibet's very real difficulties was criticism for its own sake.

To our even greater dismay, the Chinese government misused the opportunity for a genuine dialogue. Instead of addressing the real issues facing the six million Tibetan people, China has attempted to reduce the question of Tibet to a discussion of my own personal status.

It is against this background and in response to the tremendous support and encouragement I have been given by you and other persons I have met during this trip, that I wish today to clarify the principal issues and to propose, in a spirit of openness and conciliation, a first step towards a lasting solution. I hope this may contribute to a future of friendship and co-operation with all of our neighbours, including the Chinese people.

This peace plan contains five basic components:

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

Let me explain these five components:

One

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

The establishment of such a peace zone would be in keeping with Tibet's historical role as a peaceful and neutral Buddhist nation and buffer state separating the continent's great powers. It would also be in keeping with Nepal's proposal to proclaim Nepal a peace zone and with China's declared support for such a

proclamation. The peace zone proposed by Nepal would have a much greater impact if it were to include Tibet and neighbouring areas.

The establishment of a peace zone in Tibet would require withdrawal of Chinese troops and military installations from the country, which would enable India also to withdraw troops and military installations from the Himalayan regions bordering Tibet. This would be achieved under an international agreement which would satisfy China's legitimate security needs and build trust among the Tibetan, Indian, Chinese and other peoples of the region. This is in everyone's best interest, particularly that of China and India, as it would enhance their security, while reducing the economic burden of maintaining high troop concentrations on the disputed Himalayan border.

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

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

Two

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

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

The Chinese population transfer policy is not new. It has been systematically applied to other areas before. Earlier in this century, the Manchus were a distinct race with their own culture and traditions. Today only two to three million Manchurians are left in Manchuria, where 75 million Chinese have settled. In Eastern Turkestan, which the Chinese now call Xinjiang, the Chinese population has grown from 200,000 in 1949 to 7 million, more than half of the total population of 13 million. In the wake of the Chinese colonisation of Inner Mongolia, Chinese number 8.5 million, Mongols 2.5 million.

Today, in the whole of Tibet 7.5 million Chinese settlers have already been sent, outnumbering the Tibetan population of 6 million. In central and western Tibet, now referred to by the Chinese as the "Tibet Autonomous Region", Chinese sources admit the 1.9 million Tibetans already constitute a minority of the region's population. These numbers do not take the estimated 300,000-500,000 troops in Tibet into account—250,000 of them in the so-called Tibet Autonomous Region.

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

Three

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

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

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

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

Four

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

Tibetans have a great respect for all forms of life. This inherent feeling is enhanced by the Buddhist faith, which prohibits the harming of all sentient beings, whether human or animal. Prior to the Chinese invasion, Tibet was an unspoiled wilderness sanctuary in a unique natural environment. Sadly, in the past decades the wildlife and the forests of Tibet have been almost totally destroyed by the Chinese. The effects on Tibet's delicate environment have been devastating. What little is left in Tibet must be protected and efforts must be made to restore the environment to its balanced state.

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

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

Five

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

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

Let me end on a personal note. I wish to thank you for the concern and support which you and so many of your colleagues and fellow citizens have expressed for the plight of oppressed people everywhere. The fact that you have publicly shown your sympathy for us Tibetans has already had a positive impact on the lives of our people inside Tibet. I ask for your continued support at this critical time in our country's history.

Thank You

**Memorandum from Yang Minfu
Head of the United Front Work Department
of the CCP Central Committee
to
the Exiled Tibetan Administration
Beijing: 17 October 1987
(Translated from Chinese)**

It has been about two weeks since you, Mr. Gyalo Thondup, arrived in Beijing. I have learnt about the two rounds of discussions you had with our comrades in the Second Bureau. Today, I would like to further discuss certain issues with you.

1. On 19 September, this year, the Dalai Lama visited the United States and openly raised an outcry about "Tibet's independence" on 21 September by propounding a "Five Point Peace Plan" at the Congressional Human Rights Caucus. A few splittists in Lhasa supported the Dalai Lama's splittist activities and created disturbances on 27 September and 1 October.

The Central Government views with extreme seriousness the Dalai Lama's splittist activities and Lhasa disturbances. Our steadfast position on the recent disturbances is clear from the editorials in the People's Daily. It was pointed out: "The Lhasa disturbances, fomented by a few splittists, are serious political incidents instigated and planned by the Dalai group. Their aim is to undermine the unity of the Motherland and sabotage the unity and stability in Tibet by supporting the Dalai's illegal splittist activities in foreign countries."

We have quelled the disturbances with determined efforts and will punish the guilty according to the law. The unity of the Motherland is correlated with stability and unity in Tibet. Under no circumstances will there be any ambiguity on this matter from our side.

We will never allow the Dalai Lama to spread his activities to destroy the unity and stability of Tibet as well as the unity of Motherland.

One thing that needs to be pointed out is that we had to deal with the Lhasa demonstrations the way we did, because we were left with no alternatives. We showed restraint. It is our hope that there will be no repeat of such disturbances.

Before the Dalai Lama departed to the United States we reminded him, through Mr. Gyalo Thondup, that he should exercise utmost care. In reply, you (Mr Thondup) informed us that the Dalai Lama's visit had no political motivation. But then, as it turned out, there was a big discrepancy between what you assured us and what the Dalai Lama did.

The Dalai group has made "Tibet's independence" a major issue in foreign countries. Bolstered by foreign support, they harboured an empty hope of sponsoring splittist activities in Tibet. Taking advantage of our policy of allowing our overseas Tibetan brethren to visit Tibet, they sent people into Tibet and instigated the formation of underground organisations.

The Lhasa disturbances were the result of the Dalai Lama's splittist campaigns conducted as a political exile. Therefore, the full responsibility for recent events in Lhasa lies solely with the Dalai group and the few splittists.

2. Since the Dalai Lama revived his contact with the Central Government in 1979, the Central Government has made consistent efforts to improve relations with him. The officials of the Central Government not only met with all his fact-finding delegations and representatives, but also answered all their questions with care, dignity and responsibility.

Communicating its concerns for, and hope in, the Dalai Lama the Central Government sent him a message stating that he was welcome to come back to the Motherland to preserve the unity of the Motherland and good relations between the nationalities. Regrettably, the Dalai Lama, choosing to ignore the Central Government's sincere and kind gesture as inconsequential, did not correct his mistaken behaviour. On the contrary, he continued to increase the distance between him and us, and persisted in campaigning in foreign countries for the dismemberment of the Motherland. We strongly disapprove of these acts.

In the past, "ultra leftist" influences had crept into our Tibet affairs. However, we admitted the past mistakes and took steps to rectify the situation. This was made known on numerous occasions. In recent years there has been great progress in the fields of economy and education. We have also implemented nationality and cultural policies. The Central Government has injected a massive infusion of financial and material aid for the development of Tibet.

Today, the Tibetan people are leading happy lives and working hard. Every objective observer will agree to this. Regrettably, the Dalai Lama overlooks these obvious changes and persists in humiliating the Government by fabricating lies from his own desire to insinuate that "Tibet is under military occupation and that nationality discrimination is being practised". So much so that it strikes terror in the hearts of listeners.

Naturally, we can't help wondering whether the Dalai Lama is genuinely concerned for the welfare of the Tibetan people, or holding on to his conservative position of splitting the Motherland for "his personal status" and for the vested interests of his coterie.

To further his vested interests, the Dalai Lama instigated and planned the Lhasa demonstrations. He encouraged violence and engineered the polarisation of the Tibetan and Han nationalities. By doing so, he disrupted the stability, peace and happiness of the various nationalities in Lhasa. This conduct is incompatible with Buddhism which preaches "gentleness and peace, espousal of meritorious deeds and eschewing of non-meritorious deeds."

During a press conference in the United States on 7 October, the Dalai Lama was forced to admit that his visit there was "of course, one cause of the Lhasa demonstration." By indulging in such practices, the Dalai Lama is only damaging his own reputation.

3. The choice is up to the Dalai group to decide what the next step should be. If the Dalai Lama continues to engage in splittist activities, we will be forced to take even more serious measures. The Dalai Lama will have to bear responsibility throughout history if his splittist activities result in the reversal of reform, and open-door policies in Tibet, affecting the productivity and livelihood of the Tibetan people.

Clinging to their conservative position, some people are exacerbating the situation. Through terrorist campaigns, such as bombing, poisoning, assassination, etc, they hope to create more disturbances than ever before. Such people are misjudging the changing times.

There are few people who champion splittist activities and "Tibet's independence". The majority of Tibetans have experienced the exemplary characteristics of socialism.

Furthermore, since the Third Session of the Central Committee meeting, they have begun to enjoy the fruits of Party policies. They will not destroy their happiness, and be led by the few splittists. If the splittists create a hullabaloo over "Tibet's independence", sponsor violence, intrigue and instigation, the people of Tibet as well as those of all the nationalities in China will spit them out, crack their heads and cause brain haemorrhage.

The Dalai group is depending on foreign support to spread splittist activities in Tibet. Mobilising foreigners to meddle in Tibet and, thus, in China's internal affairs, buying over and misleading a few people in Lhasa into forming organisations to create disturbances, and mustering international anti-China forces to create lobby groups, will neither help to pressure the Central Government into back-tracking, nor lead to the materialisation of the dream of "Tibet's independence." To believe so is a misjudgement.

The signal from our side is crystal clear. No one is allowed to harm the territories under China's ownership. Foreigners are not allowed to interfere in China's internal affairs.

It is the mistake of the US Congress to offer the Dalai Lama a forum to talk about splitting the Motherland. This is in violation of the Shanghai Communiqué as well as the Communiqué on the Establishment of Sino-US diplomatic relations. Some members of the US Congress are among the foreigners indulging in such practices. These people are stretching out long arms to interfere openly in our domestic matters. Their actions have come under strong criticism from our people. Their intrigue will never bear fruits.

As a matter of fact, soon after the Lhasa demonstrations the governments of the United States, India and France stated that Tibet is an inalienable part of China. Several foreign diplomats in Beijing have stated that no nation will support "Tibet's independence".

If you bet everything you have on foreign support, and spread destructive and splittist activities, the result will be counterproductive. Not only will you find yourself alone and friendless in the international arena, you will also incur the wrath of Tibetans and other nationalities in the country.

We want to point out emphatically that there is absolutely no scope for discussions as far as the question of the nation's ownership and territories are concerned.

On the issue of ownership, China will not be influenced, let alone be pressured, by any international fora. The CPC and the People's Government are determined to defend the ownership and national integrity of China. On this question, our nation will not tolerate interference from any quarter.

We have only one response to the disturbances and incendiary activities of the splittist elements: to strengthen our determination and make firmer the base of our national integrity, and make greater efforts towards the implementation of people's democracy.

It is my hope that Mr. Gyalo Thondup will advise the Dalai Lama not to misjudge the changing times and indulge, once again, in activities which will undermine the interests of the Tibetan people and other nationalities in China, activities that will please his foes and sadden his friends.

4. Irrespective of whether such a crisis situation develops or not, we continue to hope that the Dalai Lama will consider the interests of the people and work skillfully. The words of Comrade Deng Xiaoping, Comrade Hu Yaobang and others reflect the common national policy of China and there will be no

variations in this regard. Their words are not the personal opinions of individuals, but the established policy of the Central Government.

The essence is this: Tibet is an integral part of China. You should give up the struggle for "Tibet's independence." So long as you do not agree on this there will be no negotiations whatsoever. Here I would like to further clarify this stance. There is no change in the Central Government's policy towards the Dalai Lama. There is no change in our "Five-Point Policy." The Dalai Lama should always protect the unity of the Motherland. He should protect the relationship between nationalities and contribute towards establishing a socialist Motherland. We welcome him to return to the Motherland.

The 1959 revolt was also a mistake on your part. We should also try to forget this part of past history. Let's forget it, we told you. If the Dalai group gives up its splittist activities now, we will revert to the Central Government's policy stated in the past.

5. From 1979 you, Mr. Gyalo Thondup, have visited Beijing several times and established contacts with the Central Government. We applaud this gesture of hard work on your part. During these visits, you expressed your reservation about advocating "Tibet's independence". You told us that you did not support the idea of splitting Tibet from China and expressed your reservations with the Lhasa demonstrations. You told us these things on numerous occasions.

Mr. Gyalo Thondup, once, you said: "The experience of the past several decades has proved that there is no way one could walk the path to Tibet's independence. The thing to do is to develop a good relationship with the Central Government, return to the Motherland and do good work for our Tibetan nationality. This will help bring about the speedy development of our nationality."

We appreciate this observation of yours.

We have agreed to your present visit to Beijing since we are fully able to gauge your (Gyalo Thondup's) influential position with regard to the Dalai Lama. We hope that you, Mr. Gyalo Thondup, would put the unity of the Motherland and the interests of the Tibetan people above everything else, and make concrete efforts to safeguard the unity of the Motherland as well as that of the nationalities by prevailing on the Dalai Lama to return soon to the Great Family of the Motherland.

**Response to the Memorandum of
Yang Minfu
by
The Exile Tibetan Administration
Dharamsala, India: 17 December 1987
(Translated from Tibetan)**

We are in receipt of Yang Minfu's five-point memorandum sent through Gyalo Thondup. We have also been informed of the discussions Gyalo Thondup had in Beijing.

It was with great regret and surprise that we read your memorandum. The memorandum does not address the historical complexity of the issue of Tibet. The human rights problems, the undermining of this ancient world culture, and Tibet's relationship to peace and stability in the eastern region of the world. On the contrary, it seeks to draw conclusions by intimidation through use of abrasive words. Using abrasive words, laying down the law, and reliance on strong-arm tactics are only destructive, and will not lead to progress.

Despite being refugees, we are living in a free country and enjoying freedom of expression. Exercising this freedom, we would like to make some clarifications based on facts. Deng Xiaoping stated that one must seek truth from facts. However, there is no way one can find truth if the "facts" are misrepresented. If distortions are seen as facts, the "truth" sifted from these "facts" will also become fabrications.

At a cursory glance, the content of this document may seem to be the opinion of the handful forming the exile population. You may gain the impression that people in Tibet would never subscribe to such opinions. However, a people living under oppression are forced to live a duality. There is no channel for them to express what is in their minds. Let alone Tibetans, it is very obvious that even the Chinese themselves have lost mutual trust and are wary of each another.

1. **Your Statement:** (T)he Dalai Lama visited the United States and openly raised an outcry about "Tibet's independence" on 21 September by propounding the "Five Point Peace Plan" at the Congressional Human Rights Caucus. A few splittists in Lhasa supported the Dalai Lama's splittist activities and created disturbances on 27 September and 1 October.

Clarification: His Holiness the Dalai Lama's Five Point Peace Plan outlines the direction for achieving long-term mutual benefits, and a good relationship between the Tibetans and Chinese.

No one can dispute the fact that historically Tibet was a self-reliant, independent country with its distinct people, language, territory, religion and culture, and customs and habits. Today, the Tibetan problem has become an international issue.

The problem has been created by the deprivation of the people's freedom. We hope you have the desire to resolve this problem just as we do.

In 1979 Deng Xiaoping told Gyalo Thondup that, except for the question of Tibet's independence, China was willing to discuss any issue with us. Li Xiannin also stated that, apart from the question of "splitting the country", it was fine to discuss any issue.

His Holiness the Dalai Lama has repeatedly pointed out that what the Tibetan people want is happiness and full satisfaction.

From 1979 onwards we have sent a series of fact-finding delegations and emissaries. Through our delegation in 1982, we informed you unequivocally of His Holiness the Dalai Lama's statement. "In the changed historical situation, when nations are working for political, economic and military union, it may be better for the Tibetan people to live with one billion people, rather than separately as six million, provided this arrangement serves mutual interests better."

In the light of these facts, we hope you will shed your extreme viewpoint, fear and suspicion, and think carefully.

2. Your statement: (T)he Lhasa disturbances, fomented by a few splittists, are serious political incidents instigated and planned by the Dalai group.

Clarification: We have neither instigated nor planned the Lhasa demonstrations. As a matter of fact, there is no need for anyone to instigate them. The demonstrations are the manifestations of the Tibetan people's suffering. The direct provocation, however, was your attempt to misrepresent the Five Point Peace Plan and discredit His Holiness the Dalai Lama.

3. Your statement: The Dalai group has made "Tibet's independence" a major issue in foreign countries. Bolstered by foreign support, they harboured an empty hope of sponsoring splittist campaigns in Tibet.

Clarification: Both the Chinese and Tibetan historical treatises testify to Tibet's independent status. It is becoming clearer that the reality of Tibetan independence is something which springs spontaneously to the minds of every objective observer. Small wonder then that, even after over thirty years of occupation, you still have to keep on repeating, "Tibet is a part of China". Certainly you don't have to say the same thing about the regions which are truly yours. Similarly, unlike in dealing with other regions, you were forced to come up with the "Seventeen Point Agreement for the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet" when the People's Liberation Army invaded Tibet. These facts clearly show that Tibet and China are separate entities with different histories.

4. **Your statement:** Taking advantage of our policy of allowing our overseas Tibetan brethren to visit Tibet, they sent people into Tibet and instigated the formation of underground organisations.

Clarification: Visiting families and friends in Tibet and those in exile is a human right, and both sides—China and we—should protect and cherish it. We have certainly used this opportunity to share our experiences and opinions, but not to form underground organisations or to instigate destruction.

5. **Your Statement:** (T)he full responsibility for recent events in Lhasa lies solely with the Dalai group and the few splittists.

Clarification: As stated earlier, since we did not foment recent events, how could we be held responsible? We hope you will conduct an on-site-study to determine whether the Lhasa demonstrations involved a few or a large number of people. If, indeed, they were the work of a few people, it would seem that you would not have expelled the foreign journalists present in Lhasa at the time. Rather, you would have had the confidence to seize the opportunity and allow them to see the real situation. Similarly, there would have been no need to bring in security reinforcements.

6. **Your Statement:** (T)he Dalai Lama, choosing to ignore the Central Government's sincere and kind gesture as inconsequential, did not correct his mistaken behaviour.

Clarification: Since 1979, when contacts between Tibet and China was revived, His Holiness the Dalai Lama has sent four-fact finding delegations and two groups of emissaries. He did this in a determined effort to find a mutually acceptable peaceful solution to the problems between us.

We made it clear that the problem to be resolved was the plight of the Tibetan people and had nothing to do with the Dalai Lama's personal status. Numerous suggestions were put forward towards this end. However, no reasonable response came from your side. On the contrary, you have only tried to use strong-arm tactics. The following are some instances:

- a. We asked you to consider the idea of confederation, with all the three provinces of Tibet united in a self-governing entity.
- b. Citing your offer of a Nine-point Plan for Taiwan, we stated, "it is only fitting that China should come up with a better deal for Tibet". In response, Yang Jian Rin told us that Tibet has already been "liberated", and that, therefore, its status cannot be compared with that of Taiwan. This seems to pre-suppose that since Tibet has already come under the sway of China, its freedom and right to equality must be suppressed.
- c. With humility and far-sight, His Holiness the Dalai Lama wrote to Deng Xiaoping in an attempt to establish contacts to resolve the Tibetan issue. But Deng Xiaoping has not even bothered to reply to his letter.

d. For the purpose of making it easier for the two sides to communicate, we proposed the establishment of a liaison office either in Lhasa or Beijing. This proposal was rejected.

e. In view of the importance of educating the younger generation of Tibetans in Tibet, we volunteered to send some young Tibetan teachers there. This was also turned down.

f. In 1983 Yin Fatang announced on *Radio Lhasa* that the Dalai Lama had done the Tibetan people a bad turn. When we asked the Chinese Government for clarifications as to whether this was, indeed, its official stand, no reply came.

g. In 1982 our delegations requested China that, from among the Tibetan prisoners, the Ven. Lobsang Wangchuk be allowed to come to India, stating that he was not only an old man, but also a scholar of Tibetan Buddhism and literature. At that time, Yang Jian Rin said that he had made inquiries in Tibet and found that no such prisoner existed. Subsequently we made the same request through your Embassy in New Delhi. The Delhi Embassy said that the Ven. Lobsang Wangchuk was in prison because he had broken the law. Sadly, the Ven. Wangchuk is no more; he died in prison.

7. **Your Statement:** (T)he Dalai Lama overlooks these obvious changes (in Tibet).

Clarification: We did admit and appreciate the fact that compared to the pre-1980s era, some positive changes have taken place. In his 10 March statement of 1979, His Holiness the Dalai Lama said:

...Deng Xiaoping has been repeatedly making statements like "seeking truth from facts", "the people of China must be given the right to express their long-felt grievances through wall posters and demonstrations", "if you have some shortcomings and if you are backward, it is no use pretending otherwise", "we must recognise our shortcomings and backwardness", etc. Unlike with the previous Chinese leadership, there now are signs of honesty, progress and openness, which are worthy of unequivocal appreciation.

In 1981, when Hu Yaobang became the General Secretary of the Communist Party of China, His Holiness the Dalai Lama sent a telegram of felicitations.

Then, in his 10 March statement of 1984, His Holiness the Dalai Lama said:

Regarding the situation inside Tibet, during the past four or five years most of the many innocent Tibetans who were 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 their long-separated relatives and friends. In the agricultural and nomadic sectors, families have been given full management responsibility as well as freedom to engage in private side-line production and petty business. Consequently, in Lhasa and some towns and villages, people's livelihood has improved slightly. There is

also the 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 a lessening in the intensity of unremitting supervised labour, Tibetans are now given breathing space.

These quotes should make it amply clear that the Dalai Lama does not overlook the changes in Tibet.

8. Your Statement: (the Dalai Lama persists in) fabricating lies from his own desire to insinuate that "Tibet is under military occupation and that nationality discrimination is being practised".

Clarification: The military and civil authority in Tibet is concerned totally in the hands of the Chinese. The deployment of thousands of troops in population centres is certainly an embodiment of military occupation. Also, we do have a strong basis for claiming the existence of nuclear installations in Tibet.

Furthermore, it is true that Tibetans are discriminated against in comparison to Chinese in every field, be it in the allotment of housing and school facilities, medical care, jobs etc. When you talk about rights, every "nationality" of the "Big Socialist Family" is said to be equal. However, in reality the "minorities" are treated as backward and second-class "nationalities".

Using the weapon of language, every aspect of life is being sinicised. There are numerous instances of discrimination in the way school examinations are conducted and in the way students and technical personal are recruited. Naturally, mutual resentment between Tibetans and Chinese is growing perceptibly.

9. Your Statement: (W)e can not help wondering whether the Dalai Lama is genuinely concerned for the welfare of the Tibetan people or holding on to his conservative position of splitting the Motherland for "his personal status" and the vested interests of his coterie.

Clarification: This is a shocking distortion, completely beyond the imagination of the Tibetan people. As a matter of fact, this is merely your age-old mistaken belief, which you continue to pretend is valid. His Holiness the Dalai Lama has always said that he is merely a spokesman of the Tibetan people, and that the Tibetan issue will be decided by the people of Tibet for their own welfare.

The Tibetan people are deeply aware of the fact that His Holiness has been working hard only to promote their interests. We have never discussed the personal interests of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, nor is there any reason to do so in the future.

In 1982, when our emissaries attempted to discuss the problems between Tibet and China with you, you attempted to derail the discussion by putting forward a five-

point proposal which sought to reduce the issue to a discussion of your policy towards His Holiness the Dalai Lama and his "group". What we wanted to discuss was the plight of the Tibetan people and not the personal interests of His Holiness the Dalai Lama and his so-called group. Naturally, communications were deadlocked and nothing came out of the discussion.

Again when we expressed His Holiness the Dalai Lama's wish to visit Tibet and see actual conditions for himself, you refused to meet even the basic conditions for the visit.

Amongst other things, you said that you would not be able to organise the reception since development projects are underway in the "Tibet Autonomous Region". Through persistent rejection of our straightforward proposals, you are wilfully pushing us towards "splittism".

10. Your Statement: To further his vested interest, the Dalai Lama instigated and planned the Lhasa demonstrations. He encouraged violence and engineered the polarisation of the Tibetan and Han nationalities. By doing so, he disrupted the stability, peace and happiness of the various nationalities in Lhasa. This conduct is incompatible with Buddhism which preaches "gentleness and peace, espousal of meritorious deeds and eschewing of non-meritorious deeds".

Clarification: Murder and bloodshed was carried out only by those armed with weapons (Chinese troops), not by unarmed Tibetans.

11. Your Statement: During a press conference in the United States on 7 October, the Dalai Lama was forced to admit that his visit there was "of course, one cause of the Lhasa demonstrations".

Clarification: His Holiness the Dalai Lama made this statement in a different context. The fact of the matter is this: The Chinese Government tried to mobilise the Tibetan people to rise in demonstration against His Holiness the Dalai Lama's Five Point Peace Plan. This exercise exacerbated the people's resentment and sparked off the Lhasa demonstrations.

Generally speaking, Tibetan resentment has long been there. The Lhasa demonstrations were not the manifestation of a new-found sentiment. Rather, they were eruptions of a pain symptom borne of a long-dormant ailment.

At that time press reporters asked His Holiness the Dalai Lama if the Lhasa demonstrations marked a turning point in the Tibetan struggle. His Holiness replied in the negative and said that the turning point was the events of March 1959. The cause of the problems, His Holiness said, was the suffering of the Tibetan people under Chinese rule.

12. Your Statement: The choice is up to the Dalai group to decide what the next step should be. If the Dalai Lama continues to engage in splittist activities, we will be forced to take even more serious measures.

Clarification: The contacts we have made since 1979 are spelled out in foregoing sections. Talking about what you call "splittism", His Holiness the Dalai Lama has repeatedly stated that if China does not want Tibet to split, it is for you to act accordingly. Towards this end, he said, the Tibetan identity must be preserved and the people should be given equal rights. There should also be religious, educational, economical and political developments, he said. He added that Tibetans should not be made a minority in their own homeland and that they should be given the right to self-determine their own future.

In his recent Five Point Peace Plan, the Dalai Lama called for the commencement of earnest negotiations on the future status of Tibet and of relations between the Tibetan and Chinese peoples.

To all these gestures of goodwill from us, the powerful and numerically-strong Chinese have only responded with intimidation. Memories of your past brutality against our people are still fresh in our minds. From 1959 the whole of Tibet was turned into a vast prison. Thousands of people died in prison under political persecution. Many committed suicide or simply died of starvation. These atrocities gave birth to resentment by Tibetans towards the Chinese.

13. Your Statement: If the splittists create a hullabaloo over "Tibet's independence", sponsor violence, intrigue and instigation, the people of Tibet as well as those of all the nationalities in China will spit them out, crack their heads and cause brain haemorrhage.

Clarification: We have never indulged in violence, intrigue and instigation. If the Tibetan people are given the freedom to express their opinions without fear, they, including the Tibetan cadres, will certainly agree to His Holiness the Dalai Lama's ideas on the Tibetan-Chinese relationship and the plight of the Tibetan people as well as to his recent Five Point Peace Plan. Similarly, interesting ideas may come out if other "minorities" are also given this freedom of expression.

Now, regarding the Chinese people, although they have been subjected to many years of propaganda drives by their government, a considerable number of ordinary citizens, students in and outside China, and officials have expressed their sympathy and belief that their government has not treated the issue of Tibet with justice.

To cite an example, a student in Beijing heard a Chinese official say, "Despite cultural affinity between the Japanese and Chinese, the Chinese people, even today, have not able to overcome their resentment against past Japanese

atrocities. In the light of this fact, it is only natural for Tibetans to be resentful of Chinese atrocities since the two peoples come from very different cultural contexts."

If there is greater awareness of Tibet among the Chinese people, and if they are given the opportunity to express themselves without fear, diverse opinions may come out to explain why the Tibetans have to suffer so much pain and the Chinese so much embarrassment. Likewise, interesting opinions may come out if the Chinese people in their fifties and sixties are asked to narrate their first-hand experiences during the following periods: a) Pre-"liberation", b) "Liberation" to the start of "Let a Hundred Flowers Bloom" campaign, c) "Let a hundred Flowers Boom" era to the Cultural Revolution, d) The Cultural Revolution to now.

If, indeed, the Communist Party's policy has been so good and faultless, and if it has been able to fulfil the needs of the people, there would have been no need to come up with a new policy of "liberalisation". Liberalisation became necessary because of the problems created by too tight a control. Whatever you tell us by using high-sounding words, this is a fact as we perceive it.

14. You often state that the aim of the "splittists" is to revive the old, feudal society. How can one expect honesty on the question of Tibetan-Chinese relations when you distort the facts about our own country?

You used to claim that Tibet was "liberated" because it was an extremely dark, backward, oppressive and barbarous society. Then, recently, the adjective "extremely" became noticeable by its absence. And now you say that Tibetan culture has served the "Motherland". To present a distorted picture of traditional Tibetan society, you made films such as those entitled, *Story of Jampa, the Serf*; *Story of the Children Forbidden to Take Birth* etc. But now you balk at showing these films, having realised that they stretch the imagination of viewers to the point of incredulity.

We have no desire to revive the old social system. In 1963 His Holiness the Dalai Lama promulgated a democratic constitution for Tibetans. As far back as 1969, His Holiness the Dalai Lama said:

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 government 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.

As can be seen by any international observer, the exile Tibetan community practices democracy.

Conclusion:

We applaud your professed policy of "Seeking Truth From Facts". Encouraged by this policy, we have taken the opportunity to communicate a few basic facts.

The aim of this communication is to improve relations between Tibetans and China, and to secure the welfare of the Tibetan people. This communication is spurred by our desire to have good relations with China, a nation with a long history and rich culture. It is by no means prompted by our dislike or hatred of China. This will become evident at an opportune time.

We are clear in our determination to resolve the Tibetan issue through peaceful negotiations. As an instrument of fulfilling this aim, His Holiness the Dalai Lama proposed the Five Point Peace Plan. Since the Five Point Peace Plan is a very reasonable basis for negotiations, we look forward to the start of negotiations to resolve the differences between the Tibetans and Chinese. We hope the Chinese Government will study His Holiness the Dalai Lama's Peace Plan and give us a positive response.

The Strasbourg Proposal
Address to Members of the European Parliament
by
His Holiness the Dalai Lama
Strasbourg, France: 15 June 1988

We are living today in a very interdependent world. One nation's problems can no longer be solved by itself. Without a sense of universal responsibility our very survival is in danger. I have, therefore, always believed in the need for better understanding, closer co-operation and greater respect among the various nations of the world. The European Parliament is an inspiring example. Out of the chaos of war, those who were once enemies have, in a single generation, learned to co-exist and to co-operate. I am, therefore, particularly pleased and honoured to address this gathering at the European Parliament.

As you know, my country—Tibet—is undergoing a very difficult period. The Tibetans, particularly those who live under Chinese occupation, yearn for freedom and justice and a self-determined future, so that they are able to fully preserve their unique identity and live in peace with their neighbours.

For over a thousand years we Tibetans have adhered to spiritual and environmental values in order to maintain the delicate balance of life across the high plateau on which we live. Inspired by the Buddha's message on non-violence and compassion, and protected by our mountains, we sought to respect every form of life and to abandon war as an instrument of national policy.

Our history, dating back more than two thousand years, has been one of independence. At no time, since the founding of our nation in 127 BC, have we Tibetans conceded our sovereignty to a foreign power. As with all nations, Tibet experienced periods in which our neighbours—Mongol, Manchu, Chinese, British and the Gorkhas of Nepal—sought to establish influence over us. These eras have been brief and the Tibetan people have never accepted them as constituting a loss of our national sovereignty. In fact, there have been occasions when Tibetan rulers conquered vast areas of China and other neighbouring states. This, however, does not mean that we Tibetans can lay claim to these territories.

In 1949 the People's Republic of China forcibly invaded Tibet. Since that time, Tibet has endured the darkest period in its history. More than a million of our people have died as a result of the occupation. Thousands of monasteries were reduced to ruins. A generation has grown up deprived of education, economic opportunity and a sense of its own national character. Though the current Chinese leadership has implemented certain reforms, it is also promoting a massive population transfer onto the Tibetan plateau. This policy has already reduced the six million Tibetans to a minority. Speaking for all Tibetans, I must sadly inform you, our tragedy continues.

I have always urged my people not to resort to violence in their efforts to redress their suffering. Yet I believe all people have the moral right to peacefully protest injustice. Unfortunately, the demonstrations in Tibet have been violently suppressed by the Chinese police and military. I will continue to counsel for non-violence, but unless China forsakes the brutal methods it employs, Tibetans cannot be responsible for a further deterioration in the situation.

Every Tibetan hopes and prays for the full restoration of our nation's independence. Thousands of our people have sacrificed their lives and our whole nation has suffered in this struggle. Even in recent months, Tibetans have bravely sacrificed their lives to achieve this precious goal. On the other hand, the Chinese totally fail to recognise the Tibetan people's aspirations and continue to pursue a policy of brutal suppression.

I have thought for a long time on how to achieve a realistic solution to my nation's plight. My cabinet and I solicited the opinions of many friends and concerned persons. As a result, on 21 September 1987, at the Congressional Human Rights Caucus in Washington, DC, I announced a Five-Point Peace Plan for Tibet. In it I called for the conversion of Tibet into a zone of peace, a sanctuary in which humanity and nature can live together in harmony. I also called for respect for human rights and democratic ideals, environmental protection and a halt to the Chinese population transfer into Tibet.

The fifth point of the Peace Plan called for earnest negotiations between the Tibetans and the Chinese. We have, therefore, taken the initiative to formulate some thoughts which, we hope, may serve as a basis for resolving the issue of Tibet. I would like to take this opportunity to inform the distinguished gathering here of the main points of our thinking.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

These are the thoughts we have in mind. I am aware that many Tibetans will be disappointed by the moderate stand they represent. Undoubtedly, there will be much discussion in the coming months within our own community, both in Tibet and in exile. This, however, is an essential and invaluable part of any process of change. I believe these thoughts represent the most realistic means by which to re-establish Tibet's separate identity and restore the fundamental rights of the Tibetan people while accommodating China's own interests. I would like to emphasise, however, that whatever the outcome of the negotiations with the Chinese may be, the Tibetan people themselves must be the ultimate deciding authority. Therefore, any proposal will contain a comprehensive procedural plan to ascertain the wishes of the Tibetan people in a nation-wide referendum.

I would like to take this opportunity to state that I do not wish to take any active part in the Government of Tibet. Nevertheless, I will continue to work as much as I can for the well being and happiness of the Tibetan people as long as it is necessary.

We are ready to present a proposal to the Government of the People's Republic of China based on the thoughts I have presented. A negotiating team representing the Tibetan Government has been selected. We are prepared to meet with the Chinese to discuss details of such a proposal aimed at achieving an equitable solution.

We are encouraged by the keen interest being shown in our situation by a growing number of governments and political leaders, including former President Jimmy Carter of the United States. We are also encouraged by the recent changes in China which have brought about a new group of leadership, more pragmatic and liberal.

We urge the Chinese Government and leadership to give serious and substantive consideration to the ideas I have described. Only dialogue and a willingness to look with honesty and clarity at the reality of Tibet can lead to a viable solution. We wish to conduct discussions with the Chinese Government bearing in mind the larger interests of humanity. Our proposal will therefore be made in a spirit of conciliation and we hope that the Chinese will respond accordingly.

My country's unique history and profound spiritual heritage render it ideally suited for fulfilling the role of a sanctuary of peace at the heart of Asia. Its historic status as a neutral buffer state, contributing to the stability of the entire continent, can be restored. Peace and security for Asia as well as for the world at large can be enhanced. In the future, Tibet need no longer be an occupied land, oppressed by force, unproductive and scarred by suffering. It can become a free haven where humanity and nature live in harmonious balance; a creative model for the resolution of tensions afflicting many areas throughout the world.

The Chinese leadership needs to realise that colonial rule over occupied territories is today anachronistic. A genuine union or association can only come about voluntarily, when there is satisfactory benefit to all the parties concerned. The European Community is a clear example of this. On the other hand, even one country or community can break into two or more entities when there is a lack of trust or benefit, and when force is used as the principal means of rule.

I would like to end by making a special appeal to the honourable members of the European Parliament and through them to their respective constituencies to extend their support to our efforts. A resolution of the Tibetan problem within the framework that we propose will not only be for the mutual benefit of the Tibetan and Chinese peoples but will also contribute to regional and global peace and stability. I thank you for providing me the opportunity to share my thoughts with you.

Withdrawal of the Strasbourg Proposal by the Kashag, the Cabinet of the Exile Tibetan Administration

The following is the English translation of the public address given in Dharamsala on 2 September 1991 by the Chairman of the Kashag, Kalon Gyalo Thondup:

Ever since direct contact was made between Dharamsala and Beijing in 1979, His Holiness the Dalai Lama took a number of initiatives to find a negotiated solution to the Tibet issue. Two high-level delegations were sent to Beijing in 1982 and 1984 to have exploratory talks with the Chinese leaders. In September 1987, His Holiness put forward a five-point peace plan, and a year later, in June 1988, His Holiness presented a more detailed proposal for negotiations with the Chinese Government in an address in Strasbourg.

Even after the imposition of martial law in Tibet in March 1989, His Holiness the Dalai Lama suggested a meeting of representatives from both sides in Hong Kong as a measure of mutual confidence-building and to discuss ways and means for the early start of serious negotiations on the basis of the Strasbourg Proposal.

However, judging from the official statements and the experiences of our recent contact with the Chinese Government, it is clear that the present leadership lacks a sincere commitment to finding a solution to the issue. At the same time, the situation in Tibet continues to be very grave and serious. The unabated repression of the Tibetan people and the continued massive influx of Chinese into Tibet are causing serious political, social and economic problems.

His Holiness the Dalai Lama made it very clear in his statement on 10 March this year that because of the closed and negative attitude of the present Chinese leadership he felt that his personal commitment to the ideas expressed in the Strasbourg Proposal had become ineffectual, and that if there were no new initiatives from the Chinese he would consider himself free of any obligation to the proposals he had made in his Strasbourg address. He, however, remains firmly committed to the path of non-violence and in finding a solution to the Tibetan issue through negotiations and understanding.

Under the circumstances His Holiness the Dalai Lama no longer feels obligated or bound to pursue the Strasbourg Proposal as a basis for finding a peaceful solution to the Tibetan problem. We once again urge the Chinese leadership to abandon the policy of repression, the continuing violation of human rights, and the systematic destruction of Tibetan identity through the massive transfer of Chinese into Tibet, and to show a positive attitude for finding a negotiated settlement. On our part, we are open and willing to

consider any realistic initiative by the Chinese leaders which takes into account the historical facts, the changing situation of the world, the legitimate rights and aspirations of the Tibetan people, and the long-term mutual interests of both Tibet and China.

'Embracing the Enemy'

**Address to Yale University
by
His Holiness the Dalai Lama
New Haven, Conn., USA: 9 October 1991**

Thank you very much for your warm welcome. Master (Dr.) Lytton, brothers and sisters of the Yale community, I am very honoured to be here.

We live in truly extraordinary times. The world has changed dramatically in the last few years. The aspirations of peoples and nations for freedom and democracy, and the desire for self-determination, have resurfaced full of unexpected vigour and tenacity. The events in Eastern Europe and Mongolia, the fall of the Berlin Wall, and more recently, the changes in the Soviet Union after 70 years of communist control are all examples of this phenomenon.

I have just completed a most memorable visit to Mongolia, the Baltic States, and Bulgaria. Seeing millions of human beings enjoying the freedom they were denied for so many decades filled me with much happiness. Their triumph is a compelling reminder that the human desire for freedom will ultimately prevail no matter the length or the severity of any repression. And, most importantly, that the inevitable transition can be made without resorting to violence.

Recently announcements by both President George Bush and President Mikhail Gorbachev could eventually lead to a world without arms. I would like to congratulate them for their historic decisions. Years ago, when I spoke of my dreams of a world without arms many people, including some friends, felt that it was too idealistic. However, these new developments indicate the possible realisation of this dream. It will, nevertheless, be a difficult task and there will be numerous obstacles. All of us must continue to make our own contributions to this effort no matter how small they may be.

It is within this rapidly changing political climate that the struggle of the Tibetan people to regain our freedom after more than 40 years of oppression by the Chinese government must now be seen. Since China invaded Tibet in 1949-1951, 1.2 million Tibetans, one-fifth of the population, have lost their lives. Through 42 long years, we have struggled to keep our cause alive and preserve our Buddhist culture of non-violence and compassion.

It would be easy to become angry at these events. To feel nothing but hatred for the Chinese authorities. Labelling them as our enemies, we could self-righteously condemn them for their brutality and dismiss them as unworthy of further thought

or consideration. But that is not the Buddhist way. And, as recent events have so clearly demonstrated, that is not the way to achieve peace and harmony.

Our most valuable teachers are our enemies. Not only is this a fundamental Buddhist teaching, it is a demonstrated fact of life. While our friends can help us in many ways, only our enemies can provide us the challenge we need to develop tolerance, patience, and compassion. These three virtues are essential for building character, developing peace of mind, and bringing us true happiness.

In Christianity there is an inspiring teaching about turning the other cheek when struck by the enemy. This same ideal underlies Buddhist philosophy. Through a systematic practice, we can develop a tolerance so powerful that when an enemy strikes, we feel actual appreciation for his actions, for the opportunity for growth he has provided. We feel at ease, free from anger and hate, and clearly see the compulsions triggering his behaviour. We can feel genuine compassion for the sad fate he brings upon himself as a result of his harmful conduct.

Through good times and bad times, we Tibetans try to keep our spiritual health and our good humour, remembering that all people, whether they harm us or help us, are ultimately our friends. I often tell the Tibetan people that as long as we remember these fundamental truths, we are truly invincible. Our determination will never die, and we will eventually be able to help our friends in China too.

I am a firm believer that relations between peoples and between nations must be based on human understanding. Only by candidly sharing ideas will we find solutions to the many challenges now facing the global community. In this context, I believe that the world should engage China whenever she is willing to take part in the international community in a constructive manner. But when she persists in violating fundamental norms of civilised behaviour she should not be indulged like a spoiled child. China must be made accountable for her actions as a responsible member of the international community.

As you know, during my last visit to the United States I had the privilege of meeting President George Bush. His public statements, such as his speech here at Yale this past spring, reflect his heartfelt commitment to encouraging democratic change in China which encompasses one quarter of humanity.

We Tibetans believe that the United States and others must send clear signals to the Chinese government that its repressive policies cannot be tolerated. Political and economic pressure are appropriate incentives for inducing necessary change. The same standards must be applied to China which the International community invoked in response to colonialism and human rights abuses in other parts of the world. The situations in Eastern Europe, the Baltic States, the Soviet Union and South Africa would not have changed when they did without international pressure including diplomatic and economic sanctions.

Some contend that China will revert to the isolation of the Maoist era if she is pressured by the international community to change her behaviour. China's leaders have themselves threatened to do so to prevent international pressure. But experience has shown that China will not be able to take that path, even if some of her leaders want to. The Chinese people have already demonstrated their appetite for democracy and freedom. They have seen it prevail in the foremost communist states. As the organisers of the failed coup in the Soviet Union learned, the spirit of freedom and democracy cannot be crushed once it has been released.

It has also been suggested that the Asian view of human rights is fundamentally different from that of the West and that Asians attach less value to human life. This is not at all correct. As Buddhists, we revere human life as the most precious gift. My view of human rights is no different than yours. Suffering and pain are the same for all human beings. Tibetans, and other Asians, feel them the same way that you Americans, Europeans, Africans, South Americans and others do. Distress over abuses in China and Tibet is as legitimate as international concern over human rights violations in the Soviet Union and South Africa. These matters are not the internal affairs of any country but fundamental concerns of human beings everywhere for the sufferings of their brothers and sisters.

China now stands alone as the last totalitarian, communist empire. But as the recent events in the Soviet Union have made clear, it cannot remain that way for long. Freedom and democracy will come to China. I believe that for the sake of world peace and stability, the international community must actively encourage China to make this transition as quickly, as smoothly, and as non-violently as possible. The peaceful revolutions in many parts of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union should serve as models. We should not allow a repeat of the situation in Yugoslavia, where the world community's failure to recognise early enough the seriousness of the problem contributed to the turmoil now consuming the region and causing vast suffering to its people.

In the absence of any international pressure, the Chinese government's response to developments such as those in the Soviet Union is likely to be more repression, in an attempt to hold on to its eroding power base. Recent reports from Tibet indicate this attitude. So when the inevitable change occurs, there will be more violence and greater human suffering. The world has a responsibility to prevent this from happening.

The changes in the Baltic States are particularly inspiring. Although it took a long time, in the end even the Soviet Government, the former occupying power, accepted the inevitable consequences of the people's demands.

Just as the people of the Baltic States have been successful in regaining their freedom, I am confident that we Tibetans will soon regain ours. We have maintained a steadfast determination to achieve this goal during 42 years of occupation.

In the past, I made a number of proposals to the Chinese leaders which I hope would provide the impetus for resolving our differences and finding a comprehensive solution to the question of Tibet. I presented these proposals as a free spokesman of the six-million Tibetan people.

In 1987, I advanced a "Five Point Peace Plan" as an overture to the Chinese to begin negotiations. The following year, I elaborated on this plan during a speech at the European Parliament in Strasbourg suggesting a form of association between Tibet and China. But Chinese leaders rejected the proposal and refused to enter into negotiations. Many Tibetans, in exile and in Tibet, were strongly opposed to the proposals which they felt contained unnecessary concessions to the Chinese. It is, therefore, clear that the Strasbourg proposal can no longer serve any useful purpose, and I have recently announced that we are no longer committed to its terms.

I have always stated that the central issue is that the Tibetan people must ultimately choose their own destiny. It is not for the Dalai Lama, and certainly not for the Chinese, to make that decision. This principle was explicitly expressed by the late Prime Minister Nehru during an address to the Indian Parliament on 7 December 1950: "...since Tibet is not the same as China, it should ultimately be the wishes of the people of Tibet that should prevail..."

However, I do not want the situation to come to a standstill. Given the rapid pace of world-wide changes, I believe there are no new opportunities for resolving long-standing issues such as Tibet. I have thus asked the Tibetan Parliament-in-exile and others to come forward with fresh ideas for peacefully resolving the Tibetan issue. But above all, I must reiterate that six million Tibetans inside Tibet must have the final say on the future of our country.

The People's Republic of China claims that Tibetans are happy under Chinese rule, and that it is only a "handful of splittists" who think otherwise. As I have said before, the feelings of the Tibetan people can best be ascertained by plebiscite. But the official Chinese attitude concerns me deeply because Beijing refuses to accept the reality of the situation. So long as the Chinese do not understand the true feelings and aspirations of the Tibetan people, it will be very difficult to find a satisfactory solution to the problem.

The Chinese Government's refusal to reciprocate my efforts to start negotiations has increased the impatience of many Tibetans, especially young Tibetans in Tibet, with the non-violent path we follow. Tension in my country is increasing as China encourages demographic aggression in Tibet, reducing Tibetans to a second class minority in our own country. The harsh repression and intimidation of Tibetans is increasingly polarising the situation. I am extremely anxious that, in this explosive situation, violence may break out. I want to do what I can to help prevent this.

In view of these developments, I am considering the possibility of a visit to Tibet as early as possible. I have in mind two purposes for such a visit.

First, I want to ascertain the situation in Tibet myself on the spot and communicate directly with my people. By doing so I also hope to help the Chinese leadership to understand the true feelings of Tibetans. It would be important, therefore, for senior Chinese leaders to accompany me on such a visit, and that outside observers, including the press, be present to see and report their findings.

Second, I wish to advise and persuade my people not to abandon non-violence as the appropriate form of struggle. My ability to talk to my own people can be a key factor in bringing about a peaceful solution. My visit could be a new opportunity to promote understanding and create a basis for a negotiated solution.

A visit to Tibet can, of course, only take place if Tibetans are permitted to meet with me and to speak freely with me, without fear of retaliation. For my part, I must be free to travel wherever I want and to meet with any Tibetan I wish to meet. Many of my friends who will be keen to accompany me on such a trip should be free to do so without any hindrances. This courtesy must also be extended to the international media in a spirit of goodwill and openness.

In view of the urgency of finding a resolution to the decades of all the conflicts between the Chinese and the Tibetans, I hope that Chinese leaders will now respond positively to this new initiative of mine. I trust they will make a commitment which can withstand public scrutiny and satisfy all those involved in the search for change and peace in Tibet.

I call for these precautionary measures so that each step we take will be forward and neither party can conveniently retract from moving ahead. In the past, many promises and assurance were given to me by Chinese leaders, none of which were honoured. In 1951 in Lhasa, in 1954 in Peking, and in 1956 in India, I was given explicit assurance concerning Chinese behaviour towards my people by Mao Tse-tung and Chou En Lai among others. Since then, Chinese authorities have repeatedly failed to implement many of their own declared policies to respect the Tibetan national, cultural and religious identity.

Many world leaders, parliamentarians, and individual friends have, in recent years, made efforts to persuade the Chinese Government to respond positively to my overtures. I take this opportunity to express my sincere gratitude to them and seek their continued support for my efforts.

It is my hope that China's leaders will work with their own people, with their neighbours, with the United States and with the rest of the world to live in harmony and peace. Only then will this ancient country, now constituting a quarter of humanity, finally assume its rightful place in the global family. This is in keeping

with the Buddhist vision of a world based on compassion; a world without enemies,
a world of peace and true happiness.

Thank you.

**Memorandum to
Deng Xiaoping
and
Jiang Zemin
from
His Holiness the Dalai Lama
Dharamsala, India: 1 September 1992 (date to be confirmed with Masood
Butt)
(Translated from Tibetan)**

On 22 June 1992, Mr. Ding Guangen, head of the United Front Work Department of the CCP Central Committee, met with Mr. Gyalo Thondup in Beijing and restated the assurance given by Mr. Deng Xiaoping to Mr. Gyalo Thondup in 1979 that the Chinese Government was willing to discuss and resolve any issue with us except total independence. Mr. Ding Guangen also said that, in the Chinese Government's view, "the Dalai Lama is continuing with independence activities," but the Chinese Government was willing to immediately start negotiations as soon as I give up the independence of Tibet. This position, repeatedly stated in the past by the Chinese Government, shows that the Chinese leadership still does not understand my ideas regarding the Tibetan-Chinese relationship. Therefore, I take this opportunity to clarify my position through this memorandum.

1. It is an established fact that Tibet and China existed as separate countries in the past. However, as a result of misrepresentations of Tibet's unique relations with the Mongol and Manchu Emperors, disputes arose between Tibet and the Kuomintang and present Chinese Governments. The fact that the Chinese Government found it necessary to conclude a "17-Point Agreement" with the Tibetan Government in 1951 clearly shows the Chinese Government's acknowledgement of Tibet's unique position.
2. When I visited Beijing in 1954, I had the impression that most of the Communist party leaders I met there were honest, straightforward and open-minded. Chairman Mao Zedong, in particular, told me on several occasions that the Chinese were in Tibet only to help Tibet harness its natural resources and use them for the development of the country; General Zhang Jingwu and General Fan Ming, were in Tibet to help me and the people of Tibet, and not to rule the Tibetan Government and people, and that all Chinese officials in Tibet were there to help us and to be withdrawn when Tibet had progressed. Any Chinese official who did not act accordingly would be sent back to China. Chairman Mao went on to say that it had now been decided to establish a "Preparatory Committee for the Establishment of the Tibet Autonomous Region" instead of the earlier plan to put Tibet under the direct control of the Chinese Government through a "Military-Political Commission." At my last meeting with Chairman Mao, before I left China, he gave me a long explanation about democracy. He said that I must provide leadership and advised me on how to keep in touch with the views of the

people. He spoke in a gentle and compassionate manner which was moving and inspiring.

While in Beijing, I told Premier Zhou Enlai that we Tibetans were fully aware of our need to develop politically, socially and economically, and that in fact I had already taken steps towards this.

On my way back to Tibet, I told General Zhang Guohua that I had gone to China with doubts and anxiety about the future of my people and country, but had now returned with great hope and optimism and a very positive impression of the Chinese leaders. My innate desire to serve my people, especially the poor and the weak, and the prospect of mutual co-operation and friendship between Tibet and China made me feel hopeful and optimistic about Tibet's future development. This was how I felt at that time about the Tibetan-Chinese relationship.

3. When the "Tibet Autonomous Region Preparatory Committee" was set up in Lhasa in 1956, there was no alternative but to work sincerely with it for the interest and benefit of both parties. However, by then the Chinese authorities had already started to use unthinkable brutal force to impose Communism on the Tibetan people of the Kham and Amdo areas, particularly in Lithang. This increased the resentment of Tibetans against Chinese policies, leading to open resistance.

I could not believe that Chairman Mao would have approved of such a repressive policy because of the promises he had made to me when I was in China. I, therefore, wrote three letters to him explaining the situation and seeking an end to the repression. Regrettably, there was no reply to my letters.

In late 1956, I visited India to attend Buddha Jayanti, the anniversary of the birth of Buddha. At that time, many Tibetans advised me not to return to Tibet, and to continue talks with China from India. I also felt that I should stay in India for the time being.

While in India, I met Premier Zhou Enlai and told him how deeply saddened I was by the military repression inflicted upon Tibetans in Kham and Amdo in the name of "reforms." Premier Zhou Enlai said that he regarded these matters as mistakes committed by Chinese officials and that "reforms" in Tibet would be carried out only in accordance with the wishes of the Tibetan people, and that in fact the Chinese government had already decided to postpone the "reforms" in Tibet by six years. He then urged me to return to Tibet as soon as possible in order to prevent further outbreaks of unrest.

According to the Indian Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, Premier Zhou Enlai told him that the Chinese Government "did not consider Tibet as a

province of China. The people were different from the people of China proper. Therefore, they (the Chinese) considered Tibet as an autonomous region which could enjoy autonomy." Prime Minister Nehru told me that he had assurances from Premier Zhou Enlai that Tibet's autonomy would be respected and, therefore, advised me to make efforts to safeguard it and co-operate with China in bringing about reforms. By then, the situation in Tibet had become extremely dangerous and desperate. Nevertheless, I decided to return to Tibet to give the Chinese Government another opportunity to be able to implement its promises. On my return to Lhasa through Dromo, Gyangtse and Shigatse I had many meetings with Tibetan and Chinese officials; I told them that the Chinese were not in Tibet to rule Tibetans, that Tibetans were not subjects of China, and that since the Chinese leaders had promised to establish Tibet as an autonomous region with full internal freedoms, we all had to work to make it succeed. I emphasised the point that the leaders of China had assured me that all Chinese personnel in Tibet were there to help us, and that if they behaved otherwise, they would be going against the orders of their own government. I believe I was once again doing my best to promote co-operation between Tibet and China.

4. However, because of harsh military repression in the Kham and Amdo parts of eastern Tibet, thousands of young and old Tibetans, unable to live under such circumstances, began to arrive in Lhasa as refugees. As a result of these Chinese actions the Tibetan people felt great anxiety and began to lose faith in the promises made by China. This led to greater resentment and a worsening of the situation. Nevertheless, I continued to counsel my people to seek a peaceful solution and to show restraint. At the risk of losing the trust of the Tibetan people I did my best to prevent a break-down of communications with the Chinese officials in Lhasa. But the situation continued to deteriorate and finally exploded in the tragic events of 1959, which forced me to leave Tibet.

Faced with such a desperate situation, I had no alternative but to appeal to the United Nations. The United Nations, in turn, passed three resolutions on Tibet in 1959, 1961 and 1965, wherein it called for the cessation of practices which deprived the Tibetan people of their fundamental human rights and freedoms including their right to self-determination" and asked member-states to make all possible efforts toward achieving that purpose.

The Chinese Government did not respect the United Nations resolutions. In the meantime, the Cultural Revolution started and there was absolutely no opportunity for solving the Tibetan-Chinese problems. It was, in fact, not even possible to identify a leader with whom we could talk.

5. In spite of my unfulfilled hopes and disappointments in dealing with the Chinese Government, and since Tibet and China, will always remain as neighbours, I am convinced that we must strive to find a way to co-exist in

peace and help each other. This, I believe, is possible and worthy of our efforts. With this conviction I said in my statement to the Tibetan people on 10 March 1971: "In spite of the fact that we Tibetans have to oppose Communist China, I can never bring myself to hate her people. Hatred is not a sign of strength, but of weakness. When Lord Buddha said that hatred can not be overcome by hatred, he was not only being spiritual. But his words reflect the practical reality of life. Whatever one achieves through hatred will not last long. On the other hand, hatred will only generate more problems. And, for the Tibetan people who are faced with such a tragic situation, hatred will only bring additional depression. Moreover, how can we hate a people who do not know what they are doing? How can we hate millions of Chinese, who have no power and are helplessly led by their leaders? We cannot even hate the Chinese leaders for they have suffered tremendously for their nation and the cause which 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."

In my 10 March statement of 1973, referring to the Chinese claim of Tibetans being made the "masters of the country" after "being liberated from the three big feudal lords" and enjoying "unprecedented progress and happiness," I stated: "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."

Again in my 10 March 1979 statement, I welcomed Mr. Deng Xiaoping's statement "to seek truth from facts", to give the Chinese people their long cherished rights, and of the need to acknowledge one's own mistakes and shortcomings. While commending these signs of honesty, progress and openness, I said: "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 into practice. If these are accepted and strictly followed, all problems can be solved with honesty and justice." With this conviction I renewed my efforts to promote reconciliation and friendship between China and Tibet.

6. In 1979, Mr. Deng Xiaoping invited Mr. Gyalo Thondup to Beijing and told him that apart from the question of total independence all other issues could be discussed and all problems can be resolved. Mr. Deng further told Mr. Thondup that we must keep in contact with each other and that we could send fact-finding delegations to Tibet. This naturally gave us great hopes of resolving our problem peacefully and we started sending delegations to Tibet.

On 13 March 1981, I sent a letter to Mr. Deng Xiaoping, in which I said:

"The three fact-finding delegations have been able to find out both the positive and negative aspects of the situation in Tibet. If the Tibetan people's identity is preserved, and if they are genuinely happy, there is no reason to complain. However, in reality, over 90% of Tibetans are suffering both mentally and physically, and are living in deep sorrow. These sad conditions had not been brought about by natural disasters, but human actions. Therefore, genuine efforts must be made to solve the problem in accordance with the existing realities in a reasonable way.

"In order to do this, we must improve the relationship between China and Tibet as well as between Tibetans in and outside Tibet. With truth and equality as our foundation, we must try to develop friendship between Tibetans and Chinese in future through better understanding. Time has come to apply our common wisdom in a spirit of tolerance and broad-mindedness to achieve genuine happiness for the Tibetan people with a sense of urgency. On my part, I remain committed to contribute to the welfare of all human beings and, in particular, the poor and the weak, to the best of my ability without making any distinction based on national boundaries.

"I hope you will let me know your views on the foregoing points."

There was no reply to my letter. Instead, on 28 July 1981, General Secretary Hu Yaobang gave Mr. Gyalo Thondup a document, entitled "Five point Policy Towards the Dalai Lama". This was a surprise and a great disappointment. The reason for our consistent efforts to deal with the Chinese Government is to achieve lasting and genuine happiness for six million Tibetans who must live as neighbours of China from generation to generation. However, the Chinese leadership chose to ignore this and, instead, attempted to reduce the whole issue to that of my personal status and the conditions for my return without any willingness to address the real underlying issues.

Nevertheless, I continued to place hope in Mr. Deng Xiaoping's statement "seeking truth from facts" and his policy of liberalisation. Therefore, I sent several delegations to Tibet and China and wherever there was opportunity we explained our views to promote understanding through discussions and dialogues. As initially suggested by Mr. Deng Xiaoping, I agreed to send Tibetan teachers from India to improve the education of Tibetans in Tibet. But for one reason or the other, the Chinese Government did not accept this.

These contacts resulted in four fact-finding delegations to Tibet, two delegations to Beijing, and the start of family visitations between the Tibetans in Tibet and in exile. However, these steps did not lead to any substantial progress in resolving the problems between us owing to the

rigidity of the Chinese leaders' positions which, I believe, failed to reflect Mr. Deng Xiaoping's policies.

7. Once again, I did not give up hope. This was reflected in my annual 10 March statements to the Tibetan people in 1981, 1983, 1984 and 1985, wherein I said the following:

"... past history has disappeared in the past. What is more relevant is that in the future there actually must be real peace and happiness through developing friendly and meaningful relations 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." (1981)

"The right to express one's ideas and to make every effort to implement them enables people everywhere to become creative and progressive. This engenders human society to make rapid progress and experience genuine harmony.... 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.

...The people of the world will not only oppose it, but will 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 quarters. This is reasonable and just." (1983)

"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-beings. 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." (1984)

" ...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. ...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 problems that we face today will continue to exist.

It is important for both of us to learn about one another. ...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. ...It is wrong to react with suspicion or offence to the opinions that are contrary to one's own 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 relationships, I am confident that our problems can be solved to our mutual satisfaction." (1985)

In these and other ways I expressed my views clearly. But, there was no reciprocity to my conciliatory approaches.

8. Since all the exchanges between Tibetans and Chinese yielded no results, I felt compelled to make public my views on the steps necessary for an agreeable solution to the fundamental issues. On 21 September 1987, I announced a Five Point Peace Plan in the United States of America. In its introduction, I said that in the hope of real reconciliation and a lasting solution to the problem, it was my desire to take the first step with this initiative. This plan, I hoped, would in the future contribute to the friendship and co-operation among all the neighbouring countries including the Chinese people for their good and benefit. The basic elements were:

- 1) Transformation of the whole of Tibet into a zone of *ahimsa* (peace and non-violence);
- 2) Abandonment of China's population transfer policy which threatens the very existence of the Tibetans as a people;
- 3) Respect for the Tibetan people's fundamental human rights and democratic freedoms;
- 4) Restoration and protection of Tibet's natural environment and the abandonment of China's use of Tibet for the production of nuclear weapons and dumping of nuclear waste;

5) Commencement of earnest negotiations on the future status of Tibet and relations between the Tibetan and the Chinese peoples.

As a response to this initiative, Mr. Yang Mingfu, met Mr. Gyalo Thondup on 17 October 1987 and delivered a message containing five points criticising me for my above peace initiative and accusing me of having instigated the demonstrations in Lhasa of 27 September 1987 and of having worked against the interests of Tibetan people.

This response, far from giving a serious thought to my sincere proposal for reconciliation, was disappointing and demeaning.

Despite this, I tried once again to clarify our views in a detailed 14-point response on 17 December 1987.

9. On 15 June 1988, at the European Parliament in Strasbourg, I once again elaborated on the Five-Point Peace Plan. I proposed, as a framework for negotiations to secure the basic rights of the Tibetan people, that China could remain responsible for Tibet's foreign policy and maintain a restricted number of military installations in Tibet for defence until a regional peace conference is convened and Tibet is transformed into a neutral peace sanctuary. I was criticised by many Tibetans for this proposal. My idea was to make it possible for China and Tibet to stay together in lasting friendship and to secure the right for Tibetans to govern their own country. I sincerely believe that in the future a demilitarised Tibet as a zone of *ahimsa* will contribute to harmony and peace not only between Tibetans and Chinese but to all the neighbouring countries and the entire region.
10. On 23 September 1988, the Chinese government issued a statement that China was willing to begin negotiations with us. The announcement stated that the date and venue for the negotiations would be left to the Dalai Lama. We welcomed this announcement from Beijing and responded on 25 October 1988, proposing January 1989 as the time and Geneva, an internationally recognised neutral venue, as our choices. We announced that we had a negotiating team ready and named the members of the team.

The Chinese Government responded on 18 November 1988, rejecting Geneva and expressing preference for Beijing or else Hong Kong as the venue. They further stated that my negotiating team could not include "a foreigner" and consist only of "younger people," and that it should have older people, including Mr. Gyalo Thondup. We explained that the foreigner was only a legal advisor and not an actual member of the negotiating team and that Mr. Gyalo Thondup would also be included as an advisor to the team.

With a flexible and open attitude we accommodated the Chinese Government's requests and agreed to send representatives to Hong Kong to

hold preliminary meetings with representatives of the Chinese Government. Unfortunately, when both sides had finally agreed on Hong Kong as the site for preliminary discussions the Chinese Government refused to communicate any further and failed to live up to its own suggestion.

11. Although I championed this proposal for over two years, there was no evidence of consideration, or even an acknowledgement, from the Chinese Government.

Therefore, in my 10 March statement in 1991, I was compelled to state that unless the Chinese Government responded in the near future I would consider myself free from any obligation to abide by the proposal I made in France.

Since there appears to be no benefit from the many solutions I had advocated concerning Tibet and China, I had to find a new way. Therefore, in a speech at Yale University on 9 October 1991, I said:

" ...I am considering the possibility of a visit to Tibet as early as possible. I have in mind two purposes for such a visit.

"First, I want to ascertain the situation in Tibet myself on the spot and communicate directly with my people. By doing so, I also hope to help the Chinese leadership to understand the true feelings of Tibetans. It would be important, therefore, for senior Chinese leaders to accompany me on such a visit, and that outside observers, including the press, be present to see and report their findings.

"Second, I wish to advise and persuade my people not to abandon non-violence as the appropriate form of struggle. My ability to talk to my own people can be a key factor in bringing about a peaceful solution. My visit could be a new opportunity to promote understanding and create a basis for a negotiated solution."

Unfortunately, this overture was immediately opposed by the Chinese Government. At that time, I was asked on many occasions by the press whether I was renewing the call for Tibetan independence since I had declared that the Strasbourg proposal was no longer valid. To these questions, I stated that I did not want to comment.

12. The Chinese Government has, with great doubt and suspicion, described our struggle as a movement to restore the "old society" and that it was not in the interests of the Tibetan people but for the personal status and interest of the Dalai Lama.

Since my youth, I was aware of the many faults of the existing system in Tibet and wanted to improve it. At that time, I started the process of reform in Tibet. Soon after our flight to India, we introduced democracy in our exile community, step by step. I repeatedly urged my people to follow this path. As a result, our exiled community now implements a system in full accordance with universal democratic principles.

It is impossible for Tibet to ever revert to the old system of government. Whether my efforts for the Tibetan cause are, as charged by the Chinese, for my personal position and benefit or not, is clear from my repeated statements that, in a future Tibet, I will not assume any governmental responsibility or hold any political position. Furthermore, this is reflected clearly in the Charter which governs the Tibetan Administration in Exile and in the *Guidelines for Future Tibet's Polity and the Basic Features of Its Constitution*, which I released on 26 February 1992.

In the conclusion of these guidelines, I suggested that Tibet shall not be influenced or swayed by the policies and ideologies of other countries but remain a neutral state in the true sense of the term. It shall maintain a harmonious relationship with its neighbours on equal terms and for mutual benefits. It shall maintain a cordial and fraternal relationship with all nations, without any sense of hostility and enmity.

Similarly, in my statement of 10 March 1992, I stated, "When a genuinely cordial relationship is established between the Tibetans and the 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".

My endeavours to establish a personal relationship with Chinese leaders include my offer, presented through your Embassy in New Delhi in the latter part of 1980, for a meeting with General Secretary Hu Yaobang during one of his visits abroad at any convenient place. Again in December 1991, when Premier Li Peng visited New Delhi, I proposed to meet him there. These overtures were to no avail.

13. An impartial review of the above points will clearly show that my ideas and successive efforts have consistently sought solutions that will allow Tibet and China to live together in peace. In the light of these facts it is difficult to understand the purpose of the Chinese Government's position that Mr. Deng Xiaoping's statement on Tibet of 1979 still stands and that as soon as "the Dalai Lama gives up his splittist activities," negotiations could start. This position has been repeated over and over again with no specific responses to my many initiatives.

If China wants Tibet to stay with China, then China must create the necessary conditions for this. The time has come now for the Chinese to show the way for Tibet and China to live together in friendship. A detailed step by step outline regarding Tibet's basic status should be spelt out. If such a clear outline is given, regardless of the possibility and non-possibility of an agreement, we Tibetans can then make a decision whether to live with China or not. If we Tibetans obtain our basic rights to our satisfaction then we are not incapable of seeing the possible advantages of living with the Chinese.

I trust in the farsightedness and wisdom of China's leaders and hope that they will take into consideration the current global political changes and the need to resolve the Tibetan problem peacefully, promoting genuine lasting friendship between our two neighbouring peoples.

Statement issued to the Press
by
His Holiness the Dalai Lama
New Delhi, India: 4 September 1993

(The text of His Holiness' letter to Deng Xiaoping and Jiang Zemin was released to the Press with this Statement)

It is, once again, necessary for me to state clearly what my position is with respect to the future of Tibet. The problem of Tibet is not a question of the Dalai Lama's return and status. It is the problem of the rights and freedom of the six million Tibetans in Tibet. I am convinced that this problem can be solved only through negotiations. My position over the years has been consistent, but the Chinese Government statements create confusion by suggesting that it is always open to negotiations, but that Tibetans are not.

One such statement, made by a Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman on 25 August 1993, repeats the position first conveyed to my emissary by Mr Deng Xiaoping in 1979: "Except for the independence of Tibet, all other questions can be negotiated". The statement also says that the "door to negotiations remains wide open".

For the past fourteen years, since that position was first stated, I have not only declared my willingness to enter into negotiations, but have also made a series of proposals which clearly lie within the framework for negotiations proposed by Mr Deng Xiaoping. The ideas put forward during the discussions that my representatives had with Chinese officials in Beijing, and later made public in the Five Point Peace Plan for Tibet (1987) and the Strasbourg Proposal (1988), envisage a solution which does not ask for the independence of Tibet. However, China has refused to enter into negotiations of any kind to seriously discuss any of those proposals or to constructively respond to them. Indeed, the Chinese Government has refused to discuss any question of substance, insisting that the only issue to be resolved is that pertaining to my personal return to Tibet, about which it has made a number of statements.

As I have stated again and again, my return is not the issue. The issue is the survival and welfare of the six million Tibetan people and the preservation of our culture and civilisation.

I have made it clear that negotiations must centre around ways to end China's population transfer which threatens the survival of the Tibetan people, respect for fundamental human rights and freedom of Tibetans, demilitarisation and de-nuclearisation of Tibet, restoration of control to the Tibetan people of all matters affecting their own affairs, and protection of the natural environment. I have always

emphasised that any negotiations must include the whole of Tibet, not just the area which China call the "Tibet Autonomous Region".

I am releasing today the text of my most recent letter and accompanying note to Mr Deng Xiaoping and Mr Jiang Zemin which my emissaries delivered to them in Beijing in July 1993, as well as my first letter to Mr Deng Xiaoping. They show the consistency of my approach and my determined efforts to seek a peaceful, reasonable, and just solution within the framework formulated by Mr. Deng Xiaoping. I have never called for negotiations on the independence of Tibet. Nevertheless, there has been no constructive response by China to these letters.

I am deeply concerned about the Chinese Government's intentions with regard to Tibet: Official Chinese statements are aimed at confusing the real issue and delaying any substantial discussion on the problem. While repeating the position that China is prepared to negotiate, the Chinese Government continues to seek a "final solution" which is to flood Tibet with Chinese settlers so as to entirely overpower and assimilate the Tibetan people. This concern is heightened by the revelation last week of a secret meeting, held on 12 May 1993 in Sichuan, in which a dual strategy was agreed upon by the Chinese authorities in order to suppress Tibetan resistance:

- to transfer even larger numbers of Chinese into Tibet in order to make it demographically "impossible for the Tibetans to rise up", and
- to manipulate important Tibetan religious persons, to infiltrate religious institutions and to create divisions in the Tibetan movement.

If the Chinese Government is sincere about finding a negotiated solution to the question of Tibet, it must unequivocally reverse this decision, not only in words, but in practice. I call upon the Chinese Government to start negotiations without delay and preconditions.

Back Cover Note

This Compilation of correspondences, initiatives and statements documents official communications and political signals between Dharamsala and Beijing over a period of twelve years. It clarifies why negotiations on the status and future of Tibet are currently at an impasse.

Included are memoranda that have been translated and published for the first time. Read in sequence and in their entirety, the contents are illuminating material for those who care about the survival of Tibet, its people and its unique endangered culture.