

Statement of His Holiness the Dalai Lama

10th March 1963

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

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

Today in this modern world, when colonialism in every form is being eliminated and the equal right to freedom of all people is being realised, I think it is a grave mistake on the part of China to believe that she can forcibly occupy and claim Tibet to be a part of her

territory. She must realise that history has proved, in many instances, a country no matter how powerful, can never continue to dominate another country forever. I, therefore, earnestly appeal for the complete withdrawal of the Chinese from Tibet.

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

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

I invoke the blessings of Divine Providence on all mankind.

The Dalai Lama
March 10, 1963