

United Nations  
**GENERAL  
ASSEMBLY**

TWENTIETH SESSION

Official Records



**1394th  
PLENARY MEETING**

Tuesday, 14 December 1965,  
at 10.30 a.m.

**NEW YORK**

CONTENTS

	Page
<i>Agenda item 91:</i>	
<i>Question of Tibet . . . . .</i>	<i>1</i>

*President:* Mr. Amintore FANFANI (Italy).

AGENDA ITEM 91

Question of Tibet

1. Mr. LOPEZ (Philippines): When the Philippines joined El Salvador and Nicaragua in sponsoring the inclusion of the question of Tibet in the agenda of this session [See A/5931], it took upon itself a task that is wholly in keeping with the humanitarian and libertarian traditions of the Filipino people. The history of our people over the last four hundred years revolves mainly around their heroic attempts to resist foreign domination and to safeguard their national integrity and independence. They fought a long and bitter struggle that culminated only a few months after the birth of the United Nations in 1946. That we should now lend our efforts in this Assembly to the cause of Tibet and its people in their fight against oppression and foreign domination is a natural consequence of our history and of our resolute support of the principles embodied in the Charter of the United Nations and enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

2. We have not come to this forum to raise cold-war issues or to exacerbate conflicts arising from differences in ideology. That would be self-defeating and would not serve the just cause of the people of Tibet. It would also becloud the central issue, which is whether the Communist Government of Peking has the right to continue to inflict upon the Tibetan people violations of the fundamental rights and freedoms which they have traditionally enjoyed.

3: It may be recalled that, on two previous occasions, this Assembly, in the face of massive and irrefutable evidence of violations of the rights and freedoms of the people of Tibet, adopted, by overwhelming majorities, resolutions 1353 (XIV) and 1723 (XVI). The first called for

"... respect for the fundamental human rights of the Tibetan people and for their distinctive cultural and religious life".

The second renewed the call of the Assembly for

"the cessation of practices which deprive the Tibetan people of their fundamental human rights and freedoms, including their right to self-determination".

4. Many representatives in this Assembly have entertained the hope that a debate at this time would be rendered unnecessary by some visible proofs of compliance with the injunctions of the Assembly in its two resolutions. Many more would have been gladdened by the return of the Dalai Lama and the tens of thousands of Tibetan refugees to their ancestral homeland in dignity and peace. To our deep regret, however, these have not come to pass. Our call to the conscience of the Communist Chinese overlords has fallen into a bottomless well.

5. From the sworn testimony of Tibetan refugees who have escaped from the tight military garrison that is present-day Tibet, it is already apparent that famine stalks the length and breadth of that once self-sufficient land; that sacred places of worship are being systematically despoiled, torn down and converted into barracks for the large Chinese army that oversees every phase of Tibetan life; that a large number of religious leaders are being tortured and killed, and that those who are spared are subjected to the worst forms of degradation and public humiliation; that children are being forcibly torn from their families and deported to various parts of China for communist indoctrination; that a harsh system of forced labour has resulted in the death of thousands of young and old people alike; that the migration of Chinese settlers continues in massive numbers into Tibet. In sum, the Chinese Communist plan to destroy the distinctive character of the Tibetan nation is nearing completion.

6. The worst fears entertained by the Dalai Lama as regards the true intentions of the Chinese Communists in Tibet have been confirmed by subsequent events. In a message to the Afro-Asian Convention on Tibet and against Colonialism in Asia and Africa, which met in New Delhi in April 1960, the Dalai Lama said:

"A massive colonization of Tibet is in progress. I cannot express it better than by repeating what I said in my statement to the Press on 20 June 1959. I said: 'The ultimate Chinese aim with regard to Tibet, as far as I can make out, seems to be to attempt the extermination of the religion and culture and even the absorption of the Tibetan race' ... I have reliable information that ... this process of colonization is growing apace. If this is not halted there may be no Tibet."

7. When the Peking army invaded Tibet in 1950, there was very little information on what was actually happening there. The physical isolation of Tibet, which for centuries had served as a natural shield against foreign incursions, now just as effectively concealed the armed intervention of the Chinese Communists

from the eyes of the world. The Tibetans and their leaders, finding themselves standing alone against the armed might of the aggressors, were forced to accept what is known as the 17-point Agreement which included the anachronistic concept of suzerainty. This precarious state of affairs lasted until 1959, when the Tibetans rose in revolt and the Dalai Lama, in an epic trek through the Himalayan passes, escaped and sought asylum in India. Only then did the outside world learn of the scope of the inhuman oppression that characterized the Communist Chinese occupation of Tibet. The flow of refugees by the thousand bore testimony to the severity of the occupation.

8. In 1959, the International Commission of Jurists, a non-governmental and non-political organization of judges, lawyers and teachers of law, in consultative status with the Economic and Social Council, published a preliminary report after two months of extensive investigation to ascertain the true facts of the situation in Tibet. On the issue of violations of the fundamental human rights of the Tibetans, the report had this to say:

"... a summary of the rights denied to the Tibetans points to a denial of almost everything that contributes to the dignity of man."<sup>1/</sup>

It then went on to enumerate instances of violations of rights that included the rights to life, liberty and security, to religious worship and freedom of expression. The report continued:

"In short, almost all the rights which together allow the full and legitimate expression of human personality appear to be denied to the Tibetans at the present time and, in most cases, for some time past. On the basis of the available evidence it would seem difficult to recall a case in which ruthless suppression of man's essential dignity has been more systematically and efficiently carried out."<sup>2/</sup>

9. In 1960, the Legal Inquiry Committee on Tibet, constituted by the International Commission of Jurists to continue its previous inquiry on the question, using evidence in the form of documents, interviews, commentaries and statements, arrived at these grim conclusions:

"The Committee found that acts of genocide had been committed in Tibet in an attempt to destroy the Tibetans as a religious group, and that such acts are acts of genocide independently of any conventional obligation... The evidence established four principal facts in relation to genocide:

"(a) That the Chinese will not permit adherence to and practice of Buddhism in Tibet;

"(b) That they have systematically set out to eradicate this religious belief in Tibet;

"(c) That in pursuit of this design they have killed religious figures because their religious belief and practice was an encouragement and example to others;

"(d) That they have forcibly transferred large numbers of Tibetan children to a Chinese materialist

environment in order to prevent them from having a religious upbringing.

"The Committee therefore found that genocide had been committed against this religious group by such methods."<sup>3/</sup>

10. On the issue of violations of the human rights and fundamental freedoms of the Tibetan people, the Legal Inquiry Committee, after careful examination of the evidence in relation to human rights within the framework of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, arrived at the conclusion that the Chinese Communist authorities had, in the ten years of armed occupation of Tibet, violated the following rights of the Tibetans as provided in the Declaration:

"Article 3. The right to life, liberty and security of person was violated by acts of murder, rape and arbitrary imprisonment.

"Article 5. Torture and cruel, inhuman and degrading treatment were inflicted on the Tibetans on a large scale.

"Article 9. Arbitrary arrests and detention were carried out.

"Article 12. Rights of privacy, of home and family life were persistently violated by the forcible transfer of members of the family and by indoctrination turning children against their parents. Children from infancy upwards were removed contrary to the wishes of the parents.

"Article 13. Freedom of movement within, to and from Tibet was denied by large-scale deportations.

"Article 17. The right not to be arbitrarily deprived of private property was violated by the confiscation and compulsory acquisition of private property otherwise than on payment of just compensation and in accordance with the freely expressed wish of the Tibetan people.

"Article 18. Freedom of thought, conscience and religion were denied by acts of genocide against Buddhists in Tibet and by other systematic acts designed to eradicate religious belief in Tibet.

"Article 19. Freedom of expression and opinion was denied by the destruction of scriptures, the imprisonment of members of the Mimang group and the cruel punishments inflicted on critics of the regime.

"Article 20. The right of free assembly and association was violated by the suppression of the Mimang movement and the prohibition of meetings other than those called by the Chinese.

"Article 21. The right to democratic government was denied by the imposition from outside of rule by and under the Chinese Communist Party.

"Article 22. The economic, social and cultural rights indispensable for the dignity and free development of the personality of man were denied. The economic resources of Tibet were used to meet the needs of the Chinese. Social changes were adverse to the interests of the majority of the Tibetan people.

<sup>1/</sup> The Question of Tibet and the Rule of Law (Geneva, International Commission of Jurists, 1959), p. 58.

<sup>2/</sup> Ibid., p. 59.

<sup>3/</sup> Tibet and the Chinese People's Republic (Geneva, International Commission of Jurists, 1960), p. 3.

The old culture of Tibet, including its religion, was attacked in an attempt to eradicate it.

"Article 24. The right to reasonable working conditions was violated by the exaction of labor under harsh and ill-paid conditions.

"Article 25. A reasonable standard of living was denied by the use of the Tibetan economy to meet the needs of the Chinese settling in Tibet.

"Article 26. The right to liberal education primarily in accordance with the choice of parents was denied by compulsory indoctrination, sometimes after deportation, in communist philosophy.

"Article 27. The Tibetans were not allowed to participate in the cultural life of their own community, a culture which the Chinese have set out to destroy."<sup>4/</sup>

11. We have quoted in extenso the report of the Committee on violations of human rights in Tibet in order to bring into focus the incredible extent of the brutal repressions practised on the people of Tibet. On the basis of overwhelming evidence, the Chinese Communists are known to have violated sixteen of the thirty articles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Any State which makes even the feeblest pretension to civilized conduct must recoil at this long litany of violations. And these violations have been committed ostensibly in the process of "liberating the people of Tibet from aggressive imperialist forces". To this day, the Chinese Communists have not identified the "aggressive imperialist forces" in Tibet. Is it any wonder that the people of many emerging countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America have come to look with deep suspicion on what have been euphemistically described as "movements of national liberation"? The phrase, sacred in the memory of freedom fighters everywhere, has been abused for selfish ideological reasons. The record of the Chinese Communist occupation of Tibet conforms to the worst type of imperialism and colonialism, past or present.

12. Fifteen years after the mock liberation of Tibet and notwithstanding the two solemn calls by this Assembly for the cessation of practices which deprive Tibetans of their fundamental rights and freedoms, there is reason to believe, on the basis of eyewitness reports of refugees fleeing oppression in that unhappy land, that these rights and freedoms continue to be forcibly denied to the people of Tibet; that the situation at the present time is in many respects even worse than when General Assembly resolution 1723 (XVI) was adopted on 20 December 1961.

13. In his statement on 10 March 1963, the Dalai Lama described the nightmare of oppression and cruelty through which his people were passing in this way:

"... 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 the land. Refugees are fleeing to the neighbouring States to escape from cruel and inhuman persecution... Vivid accounts of unspeakable misery are still being brought to us in exile. The situation continues to be desperate and hopeless."

14. In December 1964 the International Commission of Jurists reported, in an article in its Bulletin, the receipt of further evidence, in the form of statements from Tibetan refugees arriving in India, to the effect that the domination and persecution of the Tibetan people at the hands of the Chinese People's Republic and its army of occupation in Tibet continue unabated.

15. As regards acts of religious persecution, the article stated that the latest evidence

"... discloses a continuance of ill-treatment of many monks, lamas and other religious persons, resulting in death through excessive torture, beatings, starvation and forced labour and a continuance of the forcible transfer of children to China, against the wishes of their parents with the consequence of having them indoctrinated in Communist beliefs and depriving them of a religious upbringing.

"...

"It is clear"—the article continues—"that since 1960 there has been no alteration in the pattern of life under Chinese authority. There is a denial of the right to self-government through freely elected representatives responsible to the people. There is a deprivation of most other social, civil, economic and private rights and liberties. The process of change from the pattern of life prior to Chinese occupation to the present way of life has been and is being accompanied by unjust, inhuman and brutal treatment."

The article concluded that:

"... neither the Resolutions of the General Assembly nor the call of human conscience have had any effect upon Chinese policy."<sup>5/</sup>

16. In the 29 June 1965 issue of the Hindustan Times the crisis brought about by the increasing ruthlessness of the Chinese occupation troops is reported to be comparable to that which led to the widespread revolt of 1959. The gravity of the situation is borne out by the severity of the food rationing and the savage sentences imposed as a result of which many prisoners have died. So serious has the situation become that the Chinese Communist authorities no longer try to conceal it in external propaganda.

17. In every town and village, committees have been set up to watch the local population for any sign of dissatisfaction or intrigue and to indoctrinate the people. A rigid system of rationing has been introduced and no Tibetan can find food unless he or she performs the imposed quota of road-building or other forms of allocated labour and attends the required number of evening indoctrination classes. The picture that emerges of the situation in Tibet is indeed grim and desperate. There is more than enough evidence flowing from Tibet to prove that the masters in

<sup>4/</sup> Ibid., pp. 4-5.

<sup>5/</sup> Bulletin of the International Commission of Jurists, No. 21, December 1964, pp. 44, 45 and 47.

Peking have not deviated from their plan to transform Tibet into a Communist Chinese colony.

18. We are aware that some delegations have consistently opposed the discussion by the Assembly of the question of Tibet on the ground that the problem is "non-existent" and "false". The representative of Albania, during the debate on inscription of this item, flying in the face of the voting records of the Assembly on this question, went so far as to say that the cause of Tibet has "suffered total defeat". The ideological friends of Peking may wish to conceal the depredations of the Communist Chinese army in Tibet, but they are not likely to convince anyone of the non-existence of a problem that has brought thousands of Tibetan refugees to Nepal, Sikkim, Bhutan and India. How do they explain the massacre of Tibetans who refuse to submit to the indignities of Chinese rule? How do they explain the hundreds of destroyed houses of worship in Tibet? How do they explain the exile of the spiritual and temporal leader of the Tibetans?

19. The apologists of Communist China have always used the issue of material progress to cloak the inhuman methods of Communist administration in Tibet. We consider this to be beside the point. We have brought the question of Tibet before the Assembly not to justify its ancient feudal system, not to defend the status quo in Tibet, in Asia or anywhere else in the world. Our minds remain hospitable to the constructive, revolutionary social and economic forces at work in our part of the globe. The old fabric of society in Asia is in need of change. Pockets of colonialism and imperialism must be eradicated. The imperatives of historical progress cannot be permanently obstructed. But no persons of any sensibility can accept the tragic events in Tibet as the normal growing pains of a nation moving towards economic, social and political progress. The monumental repressions of the fundamental rights and freedoms of the Tibetan people can never be justified in the name of any dogma, doctrine or ideology.

20. Tibet stands as an object lesson for the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, who must decide whether they are prepared to barter their rights and liberties for the trappings of a ruthless, efficient, materialist society.

21. The question of Tibet has a human rights aspect and a political aspect. Since the United Nations first considered the question, the political aspect has been shrouded in historical and legal controversy. While the human rights aspect has aroused world-wide sympathy, there has been a tendency to de-emphasize the political aspect. This, my delegation regrets, believing that the two aspects are closely linked, and that unless the political problem is solved, the human situation will be extremely difficult to alleviate. This attitude is all the more to be deplored, since there are elements of the political question that are beyond challenge. Who would question the fact that the Tibetans are a separate people having their own distinct culture, language, religion, and system of government? This fact cannot be gainsaid by the circumstance that in some period of Chinese imperialist expansion, Tibet did come under some form of Chinese suzerainty.

22. Nor can it be denied that from 1912, when the thirteenth Dalai Lama proclaimed his formal independence from China, up to 1950, when the 17-point Agreement was forced upon the Tibetans, Tibet functioned as an independent country. During this long period, Tibet maintained its own army, issued its own passports and currency, and ran its own customs, postal and telegraph services. From this it is clear that on the eve of the Chinese invasion in 1950, Tibet was not under the rule of any foreign country.

23. My delegation makes this reference to the political aspect of the question of Tibet to make it clear that the historical facts concerning the political status of Tibet serve merely to reinforce the arguments based on humanitarian concern for the fundamental rights and freedoms of the people of Tibet. For, if the people of Tibet are entitled as members of the human family to the protection of the Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, then they are doubly entitled to such protection by reason of their status as an independent nation.

24. Mr. President, seven delegations, including my own, have submitted a draft resolution on the question of Tibet [A/L.473]. The proposal reaffirms the two previous resolutions of the General Assembly and renews the call for the cessation of all practices which deprive the Tibetan people of their fundamental rights and freedoms.

25. There may be those who think it more prudent to remain silent at this time concerning the transgressions of Communist China. For some curious reason, such silence is held to be in keeping with the new status of Communist China as a nuclear Power, being assiduously courted to enter and take its seat in the United Nations. My delegation thinks precisely the opposite. The more Communist China approximates the status of a great Power, and the more likely it is to enter our gates, the more necessary it becomes to expose its misdeeds for all the world to see. Those who are eager to unroll the red carpet for Peking should not ask us to sweep under the rug the many transgressions of that régime.

26. The dedication of the Philippine delegation to the cause of human rights is well known to this Assembly. Human rights have been the special vocation of Filipino representatives to the United Nations and its various organs, since 1946. It is in the name of this cause and in line with this vocation that, today, we speak out once again on behalf of the martyred people of Tibet.

27. This Assembly, which, year after year, has proclaimed its belief in the dignity of man by its unrelenting struggle against the policy of apartheid, cannot remain deaf to the anguished appeals of the Tibetan people. To do so would be to commit a strange and inexplicable act of discrimination. The people of Tibet have at least an equal, though not a greater, right to call on the support of this Assembly as have the oppressed inhabitants of South Africa or Southern Rhodesia. They have a right to expect that support although the Power which oppresses them is not a white nation, and although that Power happens to be a vast, populous and powerful State armed with nuclear weapons.

28. All oppressed peoples everywhere, regardless of race, colour, creed or nationality, must be afforded the right and opportunity to seek redress of their grievances in this Assembly. By the same token, all oppressors everywhere, regardless of race, colour, creed, nationality or the power they wield, must expect the condemnation of this Assembly. Only by applying the rule of impartial justice can the Assembly retain the confidence of all mankind. This Assembly, by adopting the draft resolution and reaffirming its previous recommendations on behalf of the people of Tibet, would be fulfilling this universal trust.

29. Mr. ZAKARIA (India): As representatives are aware, for the past fifteen years the question of Tibet has been, from time to time, under the consideration of the United Nations. It was first raised here in 1950 at the fifth session of the General Assembly, but it could not be placed on the agenda. In fact, my country opposed its inclusion at that time because we were assured by China that it was anxious to settle the problem by peaceful means. However, instead of improving, the situation in Tibet began to worsen, and since then the question has come up several times before the General Assembly of the United Nations. Our delegation participated in the discussion at the fourteenth session, in 1959, and although we abstained from voting we made it clear that, because of our close historical, cultural and religious ties with the Tibetans, we could not but be deeply moved and affected by what was happening in that region. We hoped against hope that wiser counsel would prevail among the Chinese and that there would be an end to the sufferings of the people of Tibet.

30. However, the passage of time has completely belied our hopes. As the days pass, the situation becomes worse and cries out for the attention of all mankind. As we know, ever since Tibet came under the strangle-hold of China, the Tibetans have been subjected to a continuous and increasing ruthlessness which has few parallels in the annals of the world. In the name of introducing "democratic reforms" and of fighting a "counter-revolution", the Chinese have indulged in the worst kind of genocide and the suppression of a minority race.

31. To begin with, we in India were hopeful that, as contacts between the Chinese and the Tibetans under the changed set-up became closer and more intimate, a more harmonious relationship would emerge. In fact, in 1956, as a result of his long talks with Mr. Chou En-lai, the Chinese Premier, my late Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, felt confident that a mutually agreeable adjustment between the two peoples would be established. Even the Dalai Lama expressed a similar hope to our late Prime Minister, but, as subsequent events have proved, the Chinese never believed in living up to their assurances. They promised autonomy to Tibet and the safeguarding of its cultural and religious heritage and traditions but, as the International Commission of Jurists in its June 1959 report on Tibet has emphasized, they attempted, on the contrary,

"to destroy the national, ethnical, racial and religious group of Tibetans as such by killing members

of the group and by causing serious bodily and mental harm to members of the group." <sup>6/</sup>

32. The world is aware that it was in protest against the oppression and enslavement of Tibet that the Dalai Lama, who is held in the highest esteem by all Tibetans and, indeed, respected as a spiritual leader by all Indians, fled from Lhasa and took asylum in India. Today there are thousands of Tibetan refugees in my country—approximately 50,000—who have left their hearths and homes and fled from their country to join their leader and seek refuge in India. The flight of these refugees still continues, for the Chinese have transformed Tibet into a vast military camp, where the indigenous Tibetans are made to live like hewers of wood and drawers of water.

33. Although the relationship between Tibet and India is centuries old and has flourished all through the ages in all its manifestations, whether religious, cultural or economic, we have always taken care not to make that relationship a political problem. In recent years, despite the fact that the Dalai Lama and thousands of his Tibetan followers have come to our land, and despite the fact that China has turned Tibet itself into a base for aggression against our northern borders, we have not exploited the situation. Undoubtedly, our national sentiments are now and again aroused as a result of the atrocities and cruelties committed by the Chinese against Tibetans, but we have exercised the greatest caution, for we believe that what should concern all of us is the much larger human problem, namely, the plight of these good and innocent people who are being victimized merely because they are different, ethnically and culturally, from the Chinese.

34. Here I feel that it would not be out of place to put before this Assembly the following facts which stand out stubbornly and irrefutably in connexion with Chinese policy in Tibet:

(1) The autonomy guaranteed in the Sino-Tibetan Agreement of 1951 has from the beginning remained a dead letter;

(2) Through increasing application of military force, the Chinese have in fact obliterated the autonomous character of Tibet;

(3) There has been arbitrary confiscation of properties belonging to monasteries and individuals and Tibetan Government institutions;

(4) Freedom of religion is denied to the Tibetans, and Buddhism is being suppressed, together with the system of priests, monasteries, shrines and monuments;

(5) The Tibetans are allowed no freedom of information or expression;

(6) There has also been carried out a systematic policy of killing, imprisonment and deportation of those Tibetans who have been active in their opposition to Chinese rule;

(7) The Chinese have forcibly transferred large numbers of Tibetan children to China in order to

<sup>6/</sup> The Question of Tibet and the Rule of Law (Geneva, International Commission of Jurists, 1959).

denationalize them, to indoctrinate them in Chinese ideology and to make them forget their own Tibetan religion, culture and way of life; and

(8) There has also been a large-scale attempt to bring Han Chinese into Tibet, and thereby make Tibet Chinese and overwhelm the indigenous people with a more numerous Chinese population.

35. These atrocities, carried out ruthlessly, with utter disregard for Tibetan sentiments and aspirations, and in complete violation of universally recognized human rights, add up to a frightful programme of the suppression of a whole people. It surpasses anything that colonialists have done in the past to the peoples whom they ruled and enslaved. That is why the United Nations General Assembly took note of the situation in Tibet and passed two resolutions, one in 1959 and the other in 1961, deploring the denial of these human rights to the people of Tibet by the Chinese Government and appealing to it to restore those rights to the Tibetan people. But all such pleas have fallen on deaf ears.

36. Is this situation not a challenge to human conscience? Can we—dedicated as we are here to the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights—remain mute spectators to the ghastly tragedy that is being enacted by a ruthless and oppressive régime in Tibet? In a recent appeal to the Secretary-General of the United Nations and to the Member States [see A/6081], the Dalai Lama, who has been a model of restraint, serenity and, indeed, of humanity, has warned the Organization that the Chinese, if unchecked, would "resort to still more brutal means of exterminating the Tibetan race". There is no limit to the hardships that the Tibetan people are suffering. Even their supply of food is restricted and controlled by the Chinese, who first feed their military forces in Tibet, and then whatever remains is given to the indigenous Tibetans. My delegation naturally feels concerned about the terrible deterioration in the situation in Tibet. On 17 December 1964, for instance, the Dalai Lama was formally deprived of his position as Chairman of the Preparatory Committee for the Autonomous Region of Tibet and denounced as "an incorrigible running dog of imperialism and foreign reactionaries"; this was immediately followed by the deposition on 30 December 1964 of the Panchen Lama, whom the Chinese tried assiduously to take under their wing, and by his condemnation as a leader of the "clique of reactionary serf owners".

37. Thus the Chinese have severed the remaining political links between Tibet and its two politico-religious structures, and have given a final blow to what they fondly used to call, in the past, "the special status of Tibet".

38. Moreover, the campaign to dispossess Tibetan peasants of their land and to distribute their properties is also being accelerated with the definition of what precisely constitutes feudal elements being expanded, from time to time, to cover a wider and wider range of peasants. In fact, these so-called land reforms are being used by the Chinese Government to advance its own political purpose and to turn the Tibetan peasants into slaves of its system. The naked

truth—which all of us must face—is that the Chinese Government is determined to obliterate the Tibetan people; but surely no people can remain for long suppressed. I have faith in the world community. I believe it will be able to help restore to the Tibetans all the freedoms which we have enshrined, with such dedication, in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

39. For our part, we assure the United Nations that—as in the past—we shall continue to give all facilities to the Tibetan refugees, and do our best to alleviate their sufferings and hardships. The Dalai Lama has been living in India for some years now, and is carrying on his religious and humanitarian activities without any restrictions from us. We shall continue to give the Dalai Lama and his simple and peace-loving people these facilities and all our hospitality.

40. It is for these reasons that we support, fully and wholeheartedly, the cause of the people of Tibet. Our hearts go out to them in their miserable plight and in the terrible suppression that they are suffering at the hands of the Government of the People's Republic of China. Although that régime has given us, and continues to give us, provocations, we have refused to use the Tibetan refugees as pawns in our conflict with China. We do not believe that the sufferings of one people should be made a weapon in the armoury of another.

41. Finally, may I express the fervent hope, on behalf of the United Nations, that there will soon be an end to the reign of misery and oppression in Tibet, and that the people of Tibet will be able to share with us all those human rights that all of us, in different lands, are so fortunate as to possess and enjoy.

42. My delegation will therefore vote in favour of the draft resolution in document [A/L.473], and I commend the same to this Assembly.

43. Mr. PACHARIYANGKUN (Thailand): This is the third time that the General Assembly of the United Nations has had before it for discussion the sad and depressing question of Tibet. Since 1959 the General Assembly has adopted two important resolutions [1353 (XIV), 1723 (XVI)] on this question, calling for the cessation of practices which deprive the Tibetan people of their fundamental human rights and freedoms, including their right to self-determination. The decision of the General Assembly to place the question of Tibet on its agenda once again this year is justified by the continuing concern of the vast majority of Member States over the tragic and deplorable situation affecting the lot and destiny of about 1.5 million souls of an ancient and peaceful people—the people of Tibet.

44. This indicates, once again, the determination of the United Nations to reaffirm its faith in fundamental human rights and to ensure respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion.

45. In the debate on the inclusion of this item in the agenda, my delegation had the occasion to state briefly [1336th meeting, para. 64] the main reasons which promoted it to join with other like-minded delegations in supporting its inclusion. With your

permission, Mr. President, I should like to take this opportunity to state the position and opinions of my delegation in a more detailed manner.

46. One of the most valuable lessons which mankind has learned from the untold misery, incalculable destruction and appalling chaos resulting from the two world wars is that whatever measure might be taken, real peace and security cannot be hoped for in our world without respect for human rights, for the dignity and worth of the person and for the fundamental freedoms of all peoples. Recognition of this dominant fact is well reflected in many parts of the Charter and in various measures taken to that effect by the United Nations.

47. The Charter asserts in the precise and impressive terms of its Preamble that the Members are "Determined . . . to reaffirm faith in fundamental rights". Article 1 of the Charter lists among the purposes of the Organization "promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all. . ." Article 13 assigns to the General Assembly the task of initiating and making recommendations directed to the accomplishment of these purposes. Article 55 c commits the United Nations to promote "universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms . . ." Article 56 represents a pledge by all Member States "to take joint and separate action. . . for the achievement of the purposes set forth in Article 55". Article 62 directs the Economic and Social Council to make recommendations in pursuance of Article 55 c, while Article 68 sets up a commission for the promotion of human rights.

48. It is indeed a source of gratification to note that, in the twenty years of its existence, the United Nations has fared well in this noble direction. Apart from many concrete achievements of a general character, such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Declaration of the Rights of the Child, and the Declaration on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination, the General Assembly has adopted a number of resolutions on specific human rights issues wherever violations have occurred in the world, be it in Europe, Africa, Asia or elsewhere. Even if these achievements are still modest and gradual, one cannot deny that thanks to the determination, efforts and influence of the United Nations there is wide and growing respect for human rights.

49. The question of Tibet with which we are now confronted is essentially another issue of human rights concerning the Tibetan people, who have forcibly been denied even the most fundamental human rights and freedoms. In this particular connexion, those who oppose the role and competence of the United Nations in this question have contended that Tibet is an integral part of Communist China. In their view, it therefore follows that consideration of the case constitutes a violation of Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter which reads:

"Nothing contained in the present Charter shall authorize the United Nations to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state . . ."

50. In this respect, my delegation does not want to raise the question here again as to whether Tibet is part of China or not. Even if we overlook the views of the majority of States refuting the contention that Tibet is part of China, one cannot deny that there is a background of separate identity between the Tibetans and the Chinese against which one could consider the evidence of suppression of fundamental human rights. Moreover, according to the long and consistent practices of the United Nations, the General Assembly has jurisdiction over situations anywhere involving a breach of the specific Charter provisions dealing with human rights. Were this not so, the United Nations would never have taken up such a case as the question of apartheid in South Africa or the question of Angola. Various cases of violations of human rights, which were considered and which are now under consideration of the General Assembly, provide ample proof that the claim of domestic jurisdiction as a "reserved domain" is untenable in regard to issues of international concern, in particular those involving systematic suppression of the human rights of multitudes of human beings.

51. The question of Tibet is one of long standing, but since six years have elapsed since the issue was first taken up by the General Assembly in 1959, what really happened to the people of Tibet since then may be blurred in some people's memory. So my delegation deems it not inappropriate that we retrace briefly the facts, the situation and the subsequent developments in Tibet leading to its present cruel tragedy which has become a matter of universal concern.

52. The Tibetan people belong to one of the most ancient races in the world. The splendid and glorious culture of the Tibetan people ranks among the world's oldest. Their language represents a fountain of many streams of other kindred languages in Asia. Their distinctive national identity as well as their cultural and religious life has all along been an unquestionable fact. Although there is historical evidence that Chinese suzerainty over Tibet was established in the eighteenth century, Tibet's distinctive identity was recognized even by China, at least up to 1951 when a formal treaty was signed between Communist China and the Government of Tibet recognizing the autonomous status of Tibet. In spite of its promise to respect Tibet's autonomy, Communist China immediately and undisguisedly violated the treaty through systematic oppression and tyranny which finally brought about a revolt in 1959.

53. It has embarked upon a policy of forced labour and compulsory exactions, confiscation of properties, executions of leading Tibetans, and the destruction of national, ethnic and religious groups of Tibet, which amount to genocide. Dalai Lama, the spiritual and temporal ruler of Tibet, was forced to flee to India, and Panchen Lama, chosen by Peking, was installed as puppet ruler up to 1964 when he himself was, in turn, ousted.

54. The question of Tibet was brought up before the General Assembly for the first time at its fourteenth session. On 21 October 1959, the General Assembly adopted resolution 1353 (XIV) affirming its belief that respect for the principles of the United Nations Charter

and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was essential for the evolution of peaceful world order based on the rule of law. The resolution also called for respect for the fundamental human rights of the Tibetan people and for their distinctive cultural and religious life. Two years after the first resolution was adopted, the fundamental rights of the Tibetan people continued to be systematically disregarded. Sustained attempts to destroy their traditional and distinctive way of life and their religious and cultural autonomy had been relentlessly continued. The General Assembly, which had not found it possible to consider the item at its fifteenth regular session, took the issue up again for consideration at its sixteenth session. By the second resolution [1723 (XVI)], adopted on 20 December 1961, the General Assembly reaffirmed its conviction concerning respect for the principles of the Charter and of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and called for the cessation of practices which deprive the Tibetan people of their fundamental human rights and freedoms, including their right to self-determination. Hope was expressed that Member States would make all possible efforts, as appropriate, towards achieving the purposes of the resolution.

55. However, reports had been received continually that, in the following years, terror still reigned in this unfortunate land. Tibetan people were ruthlessly oppressed by the Chinese authorities. Revered places of worship were wantonly desecrated or converted into arsenals for suppression and oppression. Famine and starvation stalked the land. Refugees were forced to flee to neighbouring countries to escape inhuman persecution. All this demonstrates clearly a lamentable deterioration of the situation in Tibet under what is described by the International Commission of Jurists as "the worst form of colonialism".

56. Recent developments in Tibet are reportedly more and more distressing. The Communist régime in China still pursues resolutely its insidious policy aimed at enslaving the Tibetan people and suppressing the culture, tradition and religion of Tibet. Religious persecution increases in scale and atrocity. Thousands of monasteries and temples have been destroyed and plundered of their priceless treasures, as well as sacred and historic objects. The lamas and monks are mercilessly persecuted, tortured or sent to concentration camps. Prayers and religious activities are proscribed. It is reported that even the Panchen Lama, who was once installed by the Peking régime as the puppet ruler of Tibet, has now been put in prison and ill-treated. The conditions of the population of Tibet in general are no less distressful. All private properties have been confiscated. Foodstuffs produced by the Tibetan people, are all appropriated and controlled by the Communist Chinese. They have often been denied even the minimum quota of food, with the result that many have died of starvation or malnutrition.

57. In view of this alarming situation, my delegation holds the view that all Members of the United Nations should continue to have the duty under the Charter to do everything possible to save, or at least to alleviate the plight of, the Tibetan people. Respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms of peoples everywhere should continue to be our indestructible faith. The people of Tibet, like other peoples everywhere

in the world, should be allowed to live in peace and freedom, which they cherish. It is, therefore, my delegation's further view that, in spite of the fact that the previous resolutions of the General Assembly in this connexion have not been duly heeded, the United Nations, through the General Assembly, should renew its efforts towards the achievement of these purposes.

58. It is with this consideration in mind that my delegation has joined in co-sponsoring the draft resolution contained in document A/L.473, and it is the earnest hope of my delegation that this draft resolution will receive the overwhelming support of the members of the Assembly.

59. Mr. AIKEN (Ireland): As the representatives of the Philippines, India and Thailand have just pointed out, this is the third session at which the General Assembly is called upon to protest against the violation of the rights of the people of Tibet. The Irish delegation had hoped that the very clear condemnation by the fourteenth and sixteenth sessions of the persecution undertaken by the People's Republic of China against the ancient people of Tibet would have led to an improvement in the situation. Unfortunately, this has not been so. Consequently, my delegation has joined with El Salvador, Malaysia, Malta, Nicaragua, the Philippines, and Thailand, in co-sponsoring the draft resolution which is before the Assembly.

60. What we are raising here is the violation of the rights of the Tibetan people in breach of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and also in breach of the 17-point Agreement of May, 1951,<sup>2/</sup> whereby the People's Republic of China guaranteed the religious, cultural and political autonomy of Tibet.

Mr. Aznar (Spain), Vice-President, took the Chair.

61. As members are aware, the Government of Peking solemnly undertook in point four of the 1951 agreement not to alter "the existing political system in Tibet" or "the established status, functions and powers of the Dalai Lama". And point seven of the agreement stated explicitly that "the religious beliefs, customs and habits of the Tibetan people shall be respected".

62. Fourteen years after this pledge was given, His Holiness the Dalai Lama finds himself in exile, forced to flee from Tibet because of the pressures to which he was subjected by the Chinese authorities who, in 1951, formally confirmed his traditional rights.

63. It is not my purpose to deal at length with the international status of Tibet prior to the Chinese invasion of 1950. I may say, however, that Tibet can rightly claim to be historically an independent country, and that the relatively short periods in the course of the last 2,000 years in which it was partially occupied cannot be held to constitute a denial of its right to independence. There are, after all, many States Members of this Organization which would not be in the United Nations today if their claim to independence had been statute-barred because they had been occupied by a foreign Power for a period of time.

<sup>2/</sup> Agreement of the Central People's Government (CPG) and the local Government of Tibet on measures for the peaceful liberation of Tibet, signed in Peking on May 23, 1951.



64. In the debate on this question at the 1084th plenary meeting on 19 December 1961, I said:

"All available evidence points to the conclusion that the people of Tibet are the victims of a cruel and relentless repression. In keeping with the worst kind of colonialism, Tibetans are being stripped of their lands which are being handed over to Chinese settlers. Thousands of refugees from Tibet are pouring into neighbouring friendly States. Their plight is proof enough that the People's Republic of China is perpetrating a violent and systematic suppression of the fundamental human rights of the Tibetan people. To ignore such a large-scale violation of human rights would be to betray the purposes and principles of the United Nations." [1084th meeting, para. 239]

65. I went on to urge that the maintenance of the principles of the Charter was of vital interest to every Member of this Organization, and particularly to small nations, both those which had achieved freedom and those which had yet to be free; that the Assembly had clearly recognized on many occasions that the provisions of the Charter regarding human rights overrode any objection on the grounds of domestic jurisdiction; that progress towards just, stable and peaceful international relations could not be ensured unless the principles of the Charter were steadily asserted wherever they were violated; and that the violation of the Charter in Tibet should not be condoned or allowed to be forgotten, however little it might be possible to do to redress it in the prevailing circumstances.

66. After a lapse of four years, it is fitting and timely, I think, that the Assembly, with its increased membership, should again consider the plight of the Tibetan people in the light of the new information available, based on interviews with many Tibetan refugees and from other sources.

67. In December 1964, the International Commission of Jurists reported<sup>8/</sup> that not only was the right to self-government denied by the Chinese authorities but that "there is a deprivation of most other social, civil, economic and private rights and liberties". The Commission also found that there had been large-scale confiscation of property and that a number of important private rights had been abused; for instance, a system of forced marriages had apparently been designed to promote assimilation. The Commission concluded that since 1960 "no improvement of the tragic fate of the Tibetan people has materialized", that the methods employed by the Chinese authorities to bring about economic and political reforms "cannot possibly be justified and are quite contrary to the means recognized by the Rule of Law" and that "most of the liberties proclaimed by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, including those fundamental civil, social and economic rights with which the Rule of Law is concerned, do not exist under Chinese rule in Tibet".

68. Finally, the Commission urged the United Nations, in view of the terms of its Charter and of the resolutions adopted in the past, to try without further delay

to "forestall a situation which could result in Tibetans becoming completely absorbed by the Chinese and ceasing to exist as a distinct ethnical entity". The Commission further asked that this Organization should try to enlist world support "to restore at least some vestige of human rights and dignity to the Tibetan people".

69. In the debates of previous sessions, those who opposed discussion of the Tibetan question cited, in support of their arguments, statements attributed to the Panchen Lama which were held to show that there was no ground for complaint. For instance, at the 831st plenary meeting, on 20 October 1959, it was said that he had stated that there had been no changes at all in the religious system or in the religious beliefs in Tibet during the previous eight years. That statement of the Panchen Lama was repeated at the next plenary meeting. Two years later, at the plenary meeting of 20 December 1961, we find the Panchen Lama again invoked to show the benefits that the People's Republic of China had conferred on Tibet.

70. It is reasonable to assume that those who in 1959 and 1961 regarded the Panchen Lama as reliable would concede equal authority to his testimony in subsequent years. But in 1961, during a visit to Peking, he is reported to have protested against the persecution of Tibetans and to have insisted that religious freedom be preserved. On 1 September last, Mr. Hsieh Fu-Chih, head of the central delegation from Peking to the first session of the Congress of the Tibet Autonomous Region, accused the Panchen Lama of having organized a counter-revolutionary clique.

71. In declaring the country an Autonomous Region, the People's Republic of China has abandoned any pretense of applying its alleged policy of "gradualism", and that step, rather than providing autonomy, is calculated to achieve the eventual absorption of the Tibetan people. The measure can thus be described only as a ruthless attempt to extinguish forever the light of freedom in Tibet and to secure the liquidation of the people of Tibet as a distinctive race.

72. For this Assembly to ignore such a large-scale violation of human rights would be to betray the purposes and principles of the Charter, which, in Article 55, calls for "universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion". It would, moreover, offend against the terms of resolution 1514 (XV), the Declaration which has as its aim the speedy ending of colonialism and which was co-sponsored by forty-three members of this Assembly. In the view of my delegation, the terms of that Declaration—as we stated when it was being adopted—are as much applicable to Tibet as to any other Territory, whether in Asia, Africa, Europe or elsewhere.

73. No doubt the argument will again be advanced that no practical purpose can be served by discussing this item as long as the People's Republic of China is not represented here. As on previous occasions, my delegation rejects such an approach to this problem. For we feel that, whenever a flagrant violation of human rights occurs, it is the duty of this Assembly to speak out in defence of the

<sup>8/</sup> Bulletin of the International Commission of Jurists, No. 21, December 1964, pp. 42-48.

principles to which all Members are pledged, irrespective of whether or not the Governments at fault are Members of this Organization.

74. It may also be argued, as in the past, that to raise this issue here tends to add to world tensions and to create an atmosphere prejudicial to the smooth discharge of the Assembly's work. This is not our intention. Rather, it is our aim to ensure a calm and objective vindication by the Assembly of the rights of the small and isolated people of Tibet. What we seek is the reaffirmation of their rights; that those rights be duly respected and that anything that can be done to uphold the liberties of the Tibetan people should be done.

75. This is what the draft resolution contained in document A/L.473 calls for. We believe that, if that draft had the effect of inducing the People's Republic of China to reconsider its actions in Tibet, it would constitute an important and valuable step, not only towards the preservation of the rights of the Tibetan people, but also towards the improvement of relations among all States of the Far East.

76. We believe that we should not be deterred from asking the Peking Government to live up to the principles to which it pledged itself at Bandung and that we should appeal to that Government to open negotiations with His Holiness the Dalai Lama for a peaceful settlement of the Tibetan question.

77. In our view, the coming vote will be watched by the friends of human freedom everywhere in order to measure the extent to which Members of this Organization are today prepared to discharge their responsibility for the impartial maintenance of their Charter pledges. I should like to repeat, in this connexion, what I said from this same rostrum four years ago:

"If the Assembly were to fail to take a firm stand in the case of Tibet, the moral force of its voice on other issues would be greatly weakened. This aspect of the matter should be carefully pondered, especially by the smaller Members of the Organization, any one of which might one day find itself or its friends in the same plight as Tibet finds itself today. . . . We would be deceiving ourselves if we were to think that, in order to achieve a just and peaceful world order, it is sufficient to have high and admirable principles inscribed in our Charter and in the Universal Declaration . . . . What is needed is to give the principles life, to make them a reality, by bringing to bear against all who would violate them, no matter where they may be or who they may be, the moral force of public opinion. . . . I would earnestly appeal, in conclusion, to all delegations to cast their vote in favour of this draft resolution, so that the plea for justice which the people of Tibet have made to us will not go unheeded and that we may mobilize the forces of world opinion against all manifestations of aggression and in support of just and neighbourly relations between peoples everywhere." [1084th meeting, para. 246]

78. Mr. HSUEH (China) (translated from Chinese): The delegations of El Salvador, Nicaragua and the Philippines are to be congratulated for their initiative

in bringing the question of Tibet once again to the attention of the General Assembly. The consideration of this question gives the United Nations another opportunity, not only to express its continuing concern over the fate of the people of Tibet, but also to re-dedicate itself to the principles of peace and freedom enshrined in the Charter.

79. Four years have passed since the General Assembly adopted resolution 1723 (XVI) on 20 December 1961. That resolution—like a preceding one, General Assembly resolution 1353 (XIV) of 21 October 1959—has been completely ignored. In these four years, communist oppressive rule in Tibet has not only continued but has become even more unbearable. As His Holiness the Dalai Lama informed us in his letter to the Secretary-General of 23 September 1965 [see A/6081], "the situation in Tibet has deteriorated since then and the people of Tibet are now facing immense hardships".

80. From our own tragic experience, the Chinese people have the deepest sympathy for the people of Tibet in their sufferings. The question of Tibet is really a part of the question of China. It is the result of the fact that an inhuman, oppressive and tyrannical communist régime has been imposed on the mainland of China. The fundamental rights and freedoms of the people of the Chinese mainland are violated daily.

81. The oppressive nature of the communist measures taken in violation of these rights and freedoms is more keenly felt in Tibet, because the Tibetan people is an ethnically distinct minority group in the multi-racial society of China. Until the communist take-over, the people of Tibet had always been left alone in peace to pursue their own way of life, to practise their own form of religion and to preserve their own treasured heritage. It is this free society of Tibet that the Chinese Communists are bent upon destroying.

82. The brutal measures of oppression taken by the Chinese Communists in Tibet are given in the name of "social reform". Reform is a magic but unfortunate word, which is sometimes used to cover dark deeds. This reminds me of the so-called "agrarian reform" in China, a term so fondly used by the self-styled progressives and liberals in earlier years, in reference to the communist rebellion on the mainland of China. As a result, world public opinion was confused. When the tragic consequences of that agrarian reform became obvious, those same progressives and liberals became speechless, without even the courtesy of making an apology for their misrepresentation. They seemed to be content that it was the Chinese people and not they, who were to suffer from these tragic consequences. Likewise, it is the Tibetan people who are suffering from the consequences of the so-called "social reform".

83. My delegation, together with other delegations, had occasion to present facts about this so-called "social reform" to the General Assembly during its consideration of the question of Tibet at earlier sessions. What has become of it since 1961, when the General Assembly last considered the question? Let me quote a few brief passages from a report issued in December 1964 by the International Commission of Jurists, which, as the General Assembly is

well aware, is a non-governmental organization enjoying consultative status, category B, with the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations. The Commission previously published two other detailed reports on Tibet following the uprising of 1959. This is the third report based on the evidence received from Tibetan refugees recently arriving in India. We are indeed indebted to the Commission for its continuous efforts to bring the situation in Tibet to the attention of the world.

84. In one section of this document, the International Commission reports:

"The latest evidence discloses a continuance of ill-treatment of many monks, lamas and other religious figures, resulting in death through excessive torture, beatings, starvation and forced labour and a continuance of the forcible transfer of children to China, against the wishes of their parents, with the consequence of having them indoctrinated in Communist beliefs and depriving them of a religious upbringing."<sup>9/</sup>

85. The report goes on to tell about other acts of religious persecution and says:

"Many monasteries have been destroyed, abandoned or converted into military or Chinese governmental establishments, religious figures have been imprisoned, accused of being reactionaries, tortured, put to forced labour and subjected to brutal treatment in various forms which sometimes has had the effect of causing the persons to commit suicide; monks and nuns have been forced to marry and to commit other acts contrary to religious belief; in order to discredit religion some have been challenged to perform superhuman feats or display supernatural powers, such as surviving indefinitely without food."<sup>10/</sup>

86. There is no doubt that the Chinese Communists seek, above all, to destroy religion in Tibet. For religion is the centre of the social structure in Tibet; if religion is destroyed, the whole Tibetan society is destroyed. But the non-religious life in Tibet under communism is by no means less harsh. The report of the International Commission shows that the major proportion of crops, after harvest by Tibetan farmers, and many of the animals of the Tibetan nomads are confiscated by the Chinese Communists. Furthermore, the extensive grain reserves traditionally kept by Tibetans as a security against famine have been seized and used by the Chinese Communists. The report contains the following explanation:

"The reason for the large scale confiscation of food and livestock appears from the evidence to be to feed the army of occupation and the large volume of civilian Chinese who have settled in Tibet, and also to send to China to meet shortages there."<sup>11/</sup>

The report also says:

"Severe punishment and forced labour is incurred for the breach or alleged breach of Chinese regula-

tions which extend to most aspects of Tibetan daily life."<sup>12/</sup>

87. Such, then, is the picture of Tibet after the so-called "social reform". Before the "reform", there were perhaps the so-called "serf-owners"; now, the only serf-owners are the communists. Formerly, there were, perhaps, the so-called "serfs" in Tibet; now all Tibetans have become serfs. All Tibetans are now subjected to the torture and brutal treatment imposed by their communist masters, on a far larger scale and in a far more horrible manner than could have ever been dreamed of by any serf-owners.

88. Even the Panchen Lama, who had been brainwashed in Peiping and was once used by the communist serf-owners to rule the serfs, could not escape a serf's fate. Lately, the Panchen Lama appears to have been bothered by his conscience. He refused to denounce the Dalai Lama in public as told to do by his communist masters. As a result, toward the end of last year, Panchen Lama, after a number of years of co-operation with the Chinese Communists, was ousted from his post and was insulted and beaten in public. His whereabouts at present are unknown. The Dalai Lama, in his letter to the Secretary-General, to which I referred earlier, expressed his fear that "the Panchen Lama's life is in grave danger".

89. The experience of the Panchen Lama gives the lie to the announced establishment of the so-called autonomous Government of Tibet on 1 September 1965 and the related elections. It would be extremely naive to believe that any Tibetan not thoroughly brainwashed by the communists and who is not a completely willing puppet would be elected or appointed to any post in the so-called autonomous Government. In the words of the Dalai Lama: "the recent reports on the so-called 'autonomy of Tibet' are nothing more than a veil to cover the crimes committed by the Chinese Communists and to strengthen their power to suppress the people" [A/6081]. The fact is that not only have all Tibetans lost their freedom but they are in great danger of being exterminated as a race.

90. The report of the International Commission of Jurists, which I have just quoted, makes mention of the forcible removal of Tibetan children to other parts of China to be indoctrinated in communism. This measure is also intended as a programme of racial assimilation. At the same time, the Chinese Communists have encouraged Chinese people from other parts of the mainland to migrate to Tibet. However, here the Chinese Communists have encountered difficulties. This measure has been resisted by Chinese people who are unwilling to go to Tibet because of its high altitude and unaccustomed climate. The migrated civilian population therefore has not increased much beyond the 200,000 of a few years ago. However, the Chinese Communists have ordered over 300,000 troops to Tibet. Thus the migrated population, civilian and military, now stands at over half a million, among the original small Tibetan population of 1.2 million.

<sup>9/</sup> Ibid., p. 44.

<sup>10/</sup> Ibid.

<sup>11/</sup> Ibid., p. 46.

<sup>12/</sup> Ibid., p. 47.

91. The Communist troops in Tibet serve, of course, other purposes aside from racial assimilation. As a part of China, Tibet has to be occupied and communized in implementation of the Chinese Communist programme. At the same time, Tibet lies in the path of communist expansion into South Asia. To the Chinese Communists, the Tibetan plateau is a strategic base from which to intimidate countries south of the Himalayas into submission by use or threat of force. It is indeed important to the Chinese Communists to bring South Asia under their influence in order to carry out the programme recently blueprinted by Lin Piao, the so-called Defence Minister, in his statement on the "encirclement of cities by rural areas".

92. This explains why 300,000 troops are necessary in Tibet, where a defence force of only 5,000 was formerly maintained under the Dalai Lama. This also explains why, since 1950, the Chinese Communists have been building, at high cost, airfields in Tibet and a network of highways and bridges through most difficult mountainous terrain capable of carrying heavy tanks and linking Tibet with other parts of China. Many of these airfields and highways are now completed and are carrying traffic. New airfields and highways are still being constructed.

93. The recurrent armed clashes, large and small, between the Chinese Communist and Indian troops along the Tibetan border can be understood only against this background. Another series of such clashes occurred only a few days ago. They cannot and will not be stopped by protests, by negotiation, by mediation or even by appeasement. These clashes will continue until the Chinese Communist régime is overthrown or until the countries south of the Himalayas are subjugated by the Chinese Communists.

94. All hope is not lost, however. So far as Tibet is concerned, there are a number of encouraging signs for a brighter future.

95. In the first place, tribute must be paid to the Tibetans for their unbending and lasting determination to fight their communist oppressors. I do not have to refer again to the continuous uprising which occurred before 1961, in particular the uprising of 1959. Since then, resistance against communist repression has continued unabated, in spite of great odds. Only last July, a large-scale Tibetan armed rebellion occurred in southern Tibet, involving 25,000 Khamba tribesmen. The Chinese Communists had to rush 5,000 well-armed troops in to quell it. The communist radio in Lhasa admitted this rebellion and, while claiming that it had been put down, indicated at the same time that it was continuing by calling for training in "killing the enemy within short range". This is not an isolated event. Anti-communist movements on various scales and in various forms have spread all over Tibet. These compelled Chang Kuo-hua, communist troop commander in Tibet, to admit in a recent political report that he had not been able to suppress the rebellious elements in Tibet.

96. Secondly, the Chinese Communists have failed in indoctrinating the younger generation of Tibet. According to the latest information, between 4,000 and 5,000 youths from various parts of Tibet, who have returned from Peiping after a period of brainwashing ranging

from three to ten years, are now rebelling against the Chinese Communists. These youths, after their return from Peiping, have been posted throughout Tibet as teachers, interpreters and leaders in various youth organizations and groups. They were expected to form a nucleus of Communist agents throughout Tibet. However, these youths have not only neglected the duties assigned to them but are actively engaged in anti-communist activities. Thus the torch of freedom in Tibet, as in the rest of the Chinese mainland, is held high by the younger generation and will not be extinguished.

97. Thirdly, more than 60,000 anti-communist Tibetans, under the leadership of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, have escaped from Tibet to safety. In spite of their hard life in refuge, they continue to fight for the freedom of their motherland. When the time arrives, these Tibetans will be a strong force to join their brothers and sisters in liberating themselves from the communist yoke.

98. In their gigantic task of liberation, the Tibetans are receiving, and will continue to receive, help from the Chinese Government and the free Chinese people in Taiwan. The Deputy Commander-in-Chief of the Tibetan anti-communist army, General Chiamasangpei, who fought in the uprising of 1959, is now in Taiwan. In a recent radio broadcast to Tibet, he called upon all the Tibetans to unite solidly, and never give up hope of regaining their freedom. The free Tibetans and the free Chinese people have now joined hands in their common fight for the common objective—freedom for their brethren on the mainland of China.

99. As for the basic policy of the Chinese Government towards the future of Tibet, it has been authoritatively expressed by President Chiang Kai-shek in his message to the Tibetan people on 26 March 1959, in which he said:

"The Government of the Republic of China has always respected the traditional political and social structures of Tibet, and upheld the religious faith of its people, as well as their freedom to have their own way of life. Today I wish to affirm emphatically that, regarding Tibet's future political institutions and status, as soon as the puppet communist régime on the mainland is overthrown and the people of Tibet are once again free to express their will, the Government will assist the Tibetan people to realize their own aspirations in accordance with the principle of self-determination."

100. Only when the Communist régime is overthrown by their joint efforts can the Tibetans and the Chinese people in the rest of the Chinese mainland enjoy again peace, freedom and prosperity. There is no short-cut, no easy way out.

101. From their own long struggle against communist oppressors, the Chinese people have learned that they cannot expect substantial help from the United Nations, nor can the Tibetans expect much more. What the United Nations can do for the Tibetans is limited. But can the United Nations do less than to show its concern for the people of Tibet, whose human rights continue to be violated and who continue to live in slavery? Can the United Nations close

its eyes when the principles of its own Charter are violated, and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights is challenged?

102. The seven-Power draft resolution [A/L.472] now before us represents the minimum that the General Assembly should do for the people of Tibet. In adopting this draft resolution, the General Assembly

at least shows that it has not forgotten the people of Tibet in distress, that the United Nations yields to no reactionary forces of appeasement, within or without, and that it is an organization dedicated to the principles of its Charter.

*The meeting rose at 1.20 p.m.*