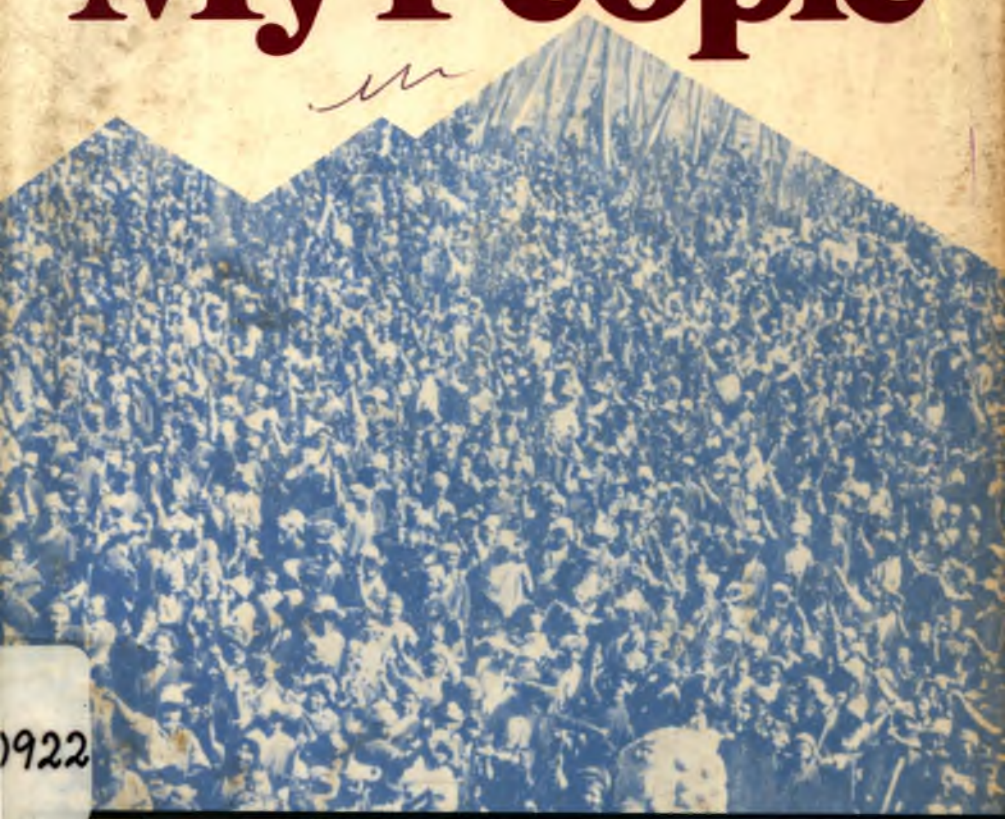


# My Land and My People



1922

Memoirs of the Dalai Lama of Tibet

MY LAND AND MY PEOPLE





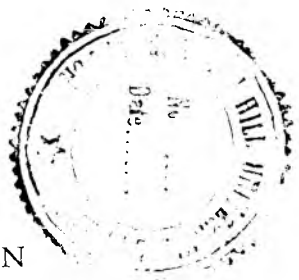
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MY LAND  
AND  
MY PEOPLE

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BY HIS HOLINESS, THE  
DALAI LAMA  
OF TIBET

POTALA CORPORATION  
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## PREFACE

When the Chinese Communist armies marched into Tibet in 1950 and occupied the eastern part of it, I and my people found ourselves in a helpless and almost hopeless situation. We appealed to several of the leading nations of the world, and to the United Nations, to intervene on our behalf, but our pleas for help were rejected. It was many centuries since Tibet had been a military power, for we believe in the path of peace and have tried to follow it ever since the wisdom of Lord Buddha was brought to our country from India over a thousand years ago; and since our national life was devoted to our religion, our material resources were very small. So, denied the help of other nations, we were soon overwhelmed by the armed might of China. We sent a delegation to Peking, in the hope of making an honorable treaty, but it was coerced by threats into signing away our sovereignty. Our government never ratified the agreement which was forced on us; but it was clear to all of us that if we rejected it, more bloodshed and destruction would inevitably follow. To save my people from worse disaster, I and my government tried to abide by

the agreement, unjust though it was; but the Chinese broke every promise they had made in it.

The grim tragedy which followed in Tibet has been told in great detail in the reports of the International Commission of Jurists. In this book, I have tried to give a more personal account of our life in Tibet, and of the sad events which for the present have brought it to an end. I have also mentioned some Principles of Buddhism, and the religious course from suffering to the path of happiness; for nobody can understand Tibet without some understanding of our religion.

I am a steadfast follower of the doctrine of nonviolence which was first preached by Lord Buddha, whose divine wisdom is absolute and infallible, and was practised in our own time by the Indian saint and leader Mahatma Gandhi. So from the very beginning I was strongly opposed to any resort to arms as a means of regaining our freedom. All my efforts through these years were spent in a search for a just and peaceful settlement with China, and I tried my best to discourage violence even at the risk of displeasing some of my own people. For nine years I managed to persuade those of my people who were still under the authority of the Tibetan government not to take to arms against the Chinese oppression, because I believed that course would be immoral and knew it would cause havoc on both sides. But in the eastern part of the country which had already been invaded, neither I nor my government had any means of communication through which we could use our influence on the people; and there they rose in revolt against the Chinese. Finally, the oppression by the invaders throughout the country became intolerable, and the patience of my people broke.

This is the story I have done my best to tell, in a manner which everyone will understand, and I am happy to leave my readers to form their own conclusions. But I must add that we Tibetans still have no feeling of hatred for the great Chinese people, although their representatives in Tibet have treated us so barbarously. Our only wish is to live our own lives

in peace and friendship with all our neighbors, including the Chinese; but for that we appeal to all men and women all over the world who value tolerance and gentleness.

I would like to express my sincere thanks to David Howarth for his advice and help in the preparation of this book; and I am also grateful to Sonam Topgay Kazi for interpreting very skillfully between Mr. Howarth and myself.

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MY LAND AND MY PEOPLE

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## THE FARMER'S SON

I was born in a small village called Taktser, in the northeast of Tibet, on the fifth day of the fifth month of the Wood Hog Year of the Tibetan calendar—that is, in 1935. Taktser is in the district called Dokham, and that name is descriptive, for *Do* means the lower part of a valley that merges into the plains, and *Kham* is the eastern part of Tibet where the distinctive race of Tibetans called Khampa lives. Thus Dokham is the part of Tibet where our mountains begin to descend to the plains of the east, towards China. Taktser itself is about 9,000 feet above the sea.

It was beautiful country. Our village, which lay on a little plateau, was almost encircled by fertile fields of wheat and barley; and the plateau, in turn, was surrounded by ranges of hills which were covered by grass—thick and vividly green.

To the south of the village there was a mountain which was higher than the rest. Its name was Ami-chiri, but the local people also called it The Mountain which Pierces the Sky, and it was regarded as the abode of the guardian deity of the place. Its lower slopes were covered by forests; above them a rich

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## THE QUEST FOR ENLIGHTENMENT

My education began when I was six, and as I was taught entirely by the traditional system of Tibet, I must explain its methods and purposes. Our system has proved effective, so far, in maintaining a fairly high moral and intellectual standard among Tibetans, although it was established many centuries ago. By modern standards, it has the defect of entirely ignoring the scientific knowledge of recent centuries, but the reason for that, of course, is that Tibet remained entirely isolated until very recent times.

The basic purpose of the Tibetan system is to broaden and cultivate the mind by a wide variety of knowledge. For the advanced standard of secular education, the curriculum includes drama, dance and music, astrology, poetry, and composition. These are known in Tibet as the "five minor subjects." They are not reserved for lay pupils alone, but pupils receiving religious education can also choose one or more of them, and most of them choose astrology and composition.

For higher education, the course includes the art of healing, Sanskrit, dialectics, arts and crafts, and metaphysics and the philosophy of religion. Of these "five higher subjects," as they

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## PEACE OF MIND

Before I tell of the disaster which has overtaken Tibet, I must try to give an impression of the life of our people in our happier days.

Tibet has many neighbors: China, Mongolia, East Turkestan in the east and north, and India, Burma, and the states of Nepal, Sikkim, and Bhutan in the south. Pakistan, Afghanistan, and the Soviet Union are also close to us. For many centuries, we have had relationships with several of these neighbors. With India in particular, we have had strong religious ties during the past thousand years; indeed, our alphabet was derived from Sanskrit, because when Buddhism was brought to Tibet from India there was no Tibetan script, and a script was needed so that religious works could be translated and read by Tibetans. We also had religious and political ties with Mongolia and China. And in earlier times we had connections with Persia and eastern Turkey, so that there is still a resemblance between Persian and Tibetan dress. In more recent history, about the beginning of the twentieth century, we had political relations with Russia, and after that, for a longer period, with Britain.

## OUR NEIGHBOR CHINA

During the few years of my active rule in Tibet, our legal status as a nation, which had never worried us before, suddenly became tremendously important to us. At this point, therefore, I want to give a factual history of our position in the world.

In prehistoric times Tibet is supposed to have been an inland sea surrounded by forests and snow mountains which no human beings claimed. When humans appeared there, some of them gained recognition by the rest as chiefs, and these chiefs guided the life of their tribes.

The amalgamation of these tribes as a single Tibetan nation, with Nya-Tri-Tsenpo as the first king, was achieved no less than 2,000 years ago, in the Wood Tiger Year, corresponding to 127 B.C., or 418 years (according to the Indian manner of reckoning) after the death of Lord Buddha. He was succeeded by forty generations of kings. During the reigns of the first twenty-seven, the religion called Bön flourished in the country, together with many strange beliefs.

It was during the reign of the twenty-eighth king, whose name was Lha-Tho-Ri-Nyen-Tsen, that the next most signifi-

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## INVASION

In 1948, while I was still a student, the government heard there were Chinese Communist spies in the country. They had come to find out how strong our army was, and whether we were receiving military aid from any foreign power.

They cannot have found it very hard to discover the facts they wanted. Far from receiving military aid, we had only six Europeans in Tibet, so far as I am aware. Three of them, one missionary and two radio operators, were British. The other three were two Austrians and one White Russian, all of whom had been refugees from British internment camps in India during the war. None of them had anything to do with military matters.

As for the army, its strength was 8,500 officers and men. There were more than enough rifles for them, but only about fifty pieces of artillery of various kinds—250 mortars and about 200 machine guns. The purpose of the army, as I have said, was to stop unauthorized travelers and act as a police force. It was quite inadequate to fight a war.

Soon after this first sign of impending trouble, more serious news was heard from the eastern parts of Tibet. The governor

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## IN COMMUNIST CHINA

The people of Lhasa were very unwilling that I should go to China. They were afraid I might never be allowed to come back. But I had no fear of being kept prisoner, and I had made up my mind that it was my duty to go. Therefore, at a religious ceremony in the Norbulingka, when there were a great many people present, I did my best to reassure them by promising to be home within a year.

At that time, a session of the Chinese People's National Assembly was being prepared in Peking to frame a constitution, and the Chinese had allotted ten seats in the assembly to Tibet. The Chinese representatives were said to have been elected, but I had been asked to nominate the Tibetan members, and the Chinese government had suggested that I should lead the delegation myself. Many of our people thought it was not in keeping with the dignity of the Dalai Lama to be a member of such an assembly, but it seemed to me there was nothing to be gained by refusing. On the contrary, if we refused we might lose whatever chance of autonomy we possessed; whereas, to agree might possibly help in persuading the Chinese to keep their promises.

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## REPRESSION AND RESENTMENT

It was on my way home that I had the chance to visit Taktser again, the village where I was born. That was a moment of happiness in a journey of foreboding. I was proud and thankful to remember that I had been born in a humble and truly Tibetan family, and I enjoyed reviving my faint memories of the places I had left when I was four. But whenever I spoke to the people, I was brought back abruptly to the present. I asked them if they were happy, and they answered that they were "very happy and prosperous under the guidance of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung." But even while they said it, I saw tears in their eyes, and I realized with a shock that even to me they were afraid to answer the question except by this Chinese Communist formula.

But in one of the neighboring monasteries, I had some long talks with the lamas, and of course they had the confidence to be more outspoken. I found them very anxious. The Chinese had already started to enforce collective farming, and the peasants bitterly resented it. The lamas foresaw that the Chinese would take more and more drastic action to compel the

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## A PILGRIMAGE TO INDIA

My friend the Maharaj Kumar of Sikkim had come to Lhasa especially to bring me the invitation, and his visit was like a ray of sympathy and sanity from the outside world. I was invited by the Mahabodhi Society of India, which is an institution founded seventy years ago to spread the teaching of Lord Buddha and to care for pilgrims and shrines in India. They asked me to come to attend the Buddha Jayanti, the two thousand five hundredth anniversary of the birth of Lord Buddha.

For every reason, political and religious, I very much wanted to go. The Buddha Jayanti itself would be an occasion of immense significance to all Buddhists. Besides, every Tibetan hoped to be able to go one day on a pilgrimage to India. For us, it had always been the Holy Land. It was the birthplace of the founder of Buddhist culture and the source of the wisdom brought to our mountains hundreds of years ago by Indian saints and seers. The religions and societies of Tibet and Indian had developed on different lines, but Tibet was still a child of Indian civilization.

And from the secular point of view, a visit to India seemed

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## REVOLT

At last the weather improved and the way was open. At the top of the Nathu-la I said good-bye to the last of my friends from India and Sikkim. As I walked across the top of the pass, into Tibet, I saw that among the little prayer flags which Tibetans always like to fly in high places, enormous red flags of China had been hoisted, and portraits of Mao Tse-tung. No doubt this was meant as a welcome, but it was a melancholy welcome to my own country.

A Chinese general was waiting to receive me. But luckily, it was General Chin Rhawo-rhen, a deputy divisional commander, and he was one of the Chinese officers I really liked. He was a sincere, straightforward man; not the only one by any means—I had met others who were equally honest and sympathetic. I am perfectly certain that many of them would have liked to help us, but they were all subject to strict Communist discipline, and there was very little they could do. One of them, however, felt so strongly that he joined our guerrilla forces in 1958 and fought with them for nine months, and is now a refugee in India.

I had decided that on my way back to Lhasa I would speak

## CRISIS IN LHASA

On the first of March, 1959, I was in the Jokhang, the main temple of Lhasa, for the celebrations of the Monlam Festival. It was during that festival that I took my final examination as Master of Metaphysics. Of course, through all our political misfortunes, my religious education had been continuing. It was still my greatest interest. All my own inclination would have been to pursue religious studies in peace, if that had been possible. The examination by dialectical debate before a vast audience of monks and lamas, which I have described already, was a tremendously important occasion for me, and indeed for the whole of Tibet, and I was entirely preoccupied at that moment with religious questions.

In the middle of all the ceremonies and preparations for my final test, I was told that two Chinese officers wanted to see me. They were shown in—two junior officers who said they had been sent by General Tan Kuan-sen. They wanted me to tell the general a date on which I could attend a theatrical show he had decided to stage in the Chinese army camp. I had already heard of this plan and had promised to go, but I really could not concentrate on anything else just then, so

## ESCAPE

On our way down to the river, we passed a large crowd of people, and my Chamberlain stopped to talk to their leaders. A few of them had been warned I was leaving that night, but of course the crowd in general did not know. While they talked, I stood and waited, trying to look like a soldier. It was not pitch dark, but I could not see well without my glasses, and I could not tell whether people were looking at me with curiosity or not. I was glad when the conversation ended.

We came to the river bank above the crossing place and had to walk down it, on white sandbanks interspersed with dark clumps of bushes. The Abbot is a big man, and he had chosen to carry an enormous sword, and I am sure he was ready to do destruction with it—at least, he adopted a very threatening attitude at every bush. But none of them concealed an enemy.

We crossed in coracles. On the other bank we met my family. My ministers and tutors, who had come out of the Norbulingka hidden under a tarpaulin in a truck, also caught up with us there. About thirty Khampa soldiers were waiting for us, with three of their leaders: Kunga Samten, Tempa

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## INTO EXILE

So we went on, and our journey was even sadder than before. I was young and strong, but some of my older companions were beginning to feel the effects of the long journey we had already made so quickly, and the most formidable part of it was still ahead.

But before we left Chongay, I had a most welcome chance to meet some more of the leaders of the Khampas and talk to them frankly. In spite of my beliefs, I very much admired their courage and their determination to carry on the grim battle they had started for our freedom, culture, and religion. I thanked them for their strength and bravery, and also, more personally, for the protection they had given me. I asked them not to be annoyed at the government proclamations which had described them as reactionaries and bandits, and told them exactly how the Chinese had dictated these and why we had felt compelled to issue them. By then, I could not in honesty advise them to avoid violence. In order to fight, they had sacrificed their homes and all the comforts and benefits of a peaceful life. Now they could see no alternative but to go on fighting, and I had none to offer. I only asked them not to use violence except in defending their position in the moun-

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## PRESENT AND FUTURE

Nobody could have remained quite despondent after the sympathy I received as soon as we reached the first villages and towns in India. We still had about a week's march, and several more mountain passes, before we came to a road or a railway. But on the way I was delighted to be met by an official I had known when I was in India before, and later by the liaison officer and the interpreter who had been with me on my previous visit. And then a very cordial telegram from Mr. Nehru was delivered to me. "My colleagues and I welcome you and send you greetings on your safe arrival in India," he said. "We shall be happy to afford the necessary facilities for you, your family, and entourage to reside in India. The people of India who hold you in great veneration will no doubt accord their traditional respect to your personage. Kind regards to you." And when we came down to the railway at Tezpur I was astonished and quite overwhelmed to find thousands of telegrams of good wishes and about 100 journalists and photographers, representing newspapers all over the world, who had come to that remote place to meet me and hear what they called "the story of the year." I was touched

## Appendix I

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### AN OUTLINE OF THE BUDDHISM OF TIBET

#### *The Need for Religion in Our Present Lives.*

One reason for the pursuit of religion is that material progress alone will not give lasting pleasure or satisfaction. It seems, indeed, that the more we progress materially, the more we have to live under constant fear. Scientific technology has made marvelous advances, and no doubt will continue to develop. Man may reach the moon and try to exploit its resources for the advantage of human beings—the moon which some ancient believers regarded as the home of their god; and planets may also be conquered. Perhaps in the end, this progress will reveal potential enemies outside our world. But in any case, it cannot possibly bring ultimate and permanent pleasure to human beings, for material progress always stimulates desire for even further progress, so that such pleasure as it brings is only ephemeral. But on the other hand, when the mind enjoys pleasure and satisfaction, mere material hardships are easy to bear; and if a pleasure is derived purely from the mind itself, it will be a real and lasting pleasure.

No other pleasure can be compared with that derived from spiritual practice. This is the greatest pleasure, and it is ultimate in nature. Different religions have each shown their own way to attain it.

A second reason for the pursuit of religion is that we depend

on religion even for the enjoyment of an appreciable amount of material pleasure. Pleasure and pain, in a general sense, do not arise only from external factors, but from internal factors as well. In the absence of the internal response, no amount of external stimulation can effect pleasure or pain. These internal factors are the after effects or impressions left on our minds by past actions; as soon as they come into contact with the external factors, we experience pleasure or pain again. An undisciplined mind expresses evil thoughts by evil actions, and those actions leave evil after-effects on the mind; and as soon as external stimulation occurs, the mind suffers the consequences of its past actions. Thus, if we suffer miseries, they have their remote causes in the past. All pleasures and pains have their mental origins; and religions are required because without them, the mind cannot be controlled.

#### *The Need of Religion for Our Future Lives.*

How do we know that there is an afterlife? According to Buddhism, although the nature of cause and effect may be different, they must have the same essential properties, they must have a definite connection; otherwise the same cause cannot result in the same effect. For example, the human body can be perceived—it has form and color—and therefore, its immediate source or cause must also have these qualities. But mind is formless, and hence its immediate source or cause must also be formless. In analogy, the properties of the seeds of medicinal plants produce medicines, and the seeds of poisonous plants produce poison.

Most beings have physical bodies (though in some regions of existence beings have only minds). Both mind and body must have immediate sources. Both mind and body begin in this life as soon as conception occurs. The immediate source of a body is that of its parents. But physical matter cannot produce mind, nor mind matter. The immediate source of a mind must, therefore, be a mind which existed before the conception took place; the mind must have a continuity from a previous mind. This we hold to prove the existence of a past life. It has been demonstrated by the accounts of adults and children who remember their past lives—a phenomenon not only found in historical records but also observed today. On this basis, we can conclude that past life existed, and thence that future life will exist also. If belief in afterlife is

accepted, religious practice becomes a necessity, which nothing else can supplant, in the preparation for one's future life.

*One of the Many Religions of the World:  
Buddhism and Its Founder.*

Just as a particular disease in the world is treated by various medical methods, so there are many religions to bring happiness to human beings and others. Different doctrines have been introduced by different exponents at different periods and in different ways. But I believe they all fundamentally aim at the same noble goal, in teaching moral precepts to mould the functions of mind, body, and speech. They all teach us not to tell lies, or bear false witness, or steal, or take others' lives, and so on. Therefore, it would be better if disunity among the followers of different religions could come to an end. Unity among religions is not an impossible idea. It is possible, and in the present state of the world, it is especially important. Mutual respect would be helpful to all believers; and unity between them would also bring benefit to unbelievers, for the unanimous flood of light would show them the way out of their ignorance. I strongly emphasize the urgent need of flawless unity among all religions. To this end, the followers of each religion should know something of other religions, and that is why I want to try to explain a little of the Buddhism of Tibet.

I must begin, however, by saying that it is very difficult to find exact English words to translate the philosophical terms of Buddhism which we use in Tibetan. It is hardly possible at present to find a scholar who has both a perfect knowledge of English and a perfect knowledge of Tibetan Buddhist philosophy and religion. Nor are there many authentic translations to consult. Books written or translated in the past have certainly done a great service to Buddhism, but some of them are rather rough translations, giving only superficial meanings. I hope that in the future this problem will be gradually solved, so that the more profound aspects of our religion can be understood in English. In the meantime, a very free translation is being used for this appendix, in order to make the English as simple as possible. I myself can only write of these matters with confidence in Tibetan, and have to rely on others, so far, for the precise choice of English words.

I have already explained in the course of my story that we Buddhists believe all beings are reborn, and strive, through a series of lives, toward the perfection of Buddhahood. We do not take it for granted that this perfection will be attained in a single lifetime, although it can be.

Of the mind and body of a man, we consider the mind superior; both speech and body are subject to it. Sins do not affect the intrinsic nature of mind. The essential mind is naturally pure. Sins are defects of peripheral or secondary minds. In the quest for enlightenment, these defects are removed one by one from the peripheral minds, and when no more defects remain in them, true perfection, or Buddhahood, is attained.

We believe that during the present Kalpa (aeon) a thousand incarnations of supreme Buddhas will come into this world. These Buddhas were living beings like ourselves before they attained perfection. They have the power to project reincarnations of their mind, body, and speech into millions of forms within a moment of time, in order to benefit all living beings in millions of worlds like ours. Each of these supreme incarnations will preach his own doctrine, and will work eternally for the salvation of all living beings.

We regard Lord Buddha, or Gautama Buddha, as he is also called, as one of these thousand Buddhas. He was born in a royal family in India over 2,500 years ago. In the early part of his life, he lived as a prince; but he became aware of cases of suffering which awakened him to the precariousness of human existence, so that he renounced his kingdom and turned to an ascetic life. From the limited point of view of ordinary beings, his life was marked by twelve main events: his descent from the heaven called Tushita, his conception, birth, schooling, marriage, renunciation, penance, meditation under the Bodhi tree (the tree of knowledge), defeat of Mara (the tempter), attainment of Buddhahood, preaching, and departure from Samsara (the round of existence).

His teaching differs from that of other Buddhas, for most of them preached only on Sutras (doctrinal treatises), but he also preached on Tantras (instructions in spiritual method).

After he attained Enlightenment, the Perfection of Buddhahood, at Budh Gaya, he preached three sermons, each at a different place

in the part of India called Bihar. The first, at Varanasi (the modern Benares), was on the Four Noble Truths, about which I shall have more to say. It was mainly addressed to the Sravakas, meaning "hearers," who were people spiritually gifted but of limited outlook. The second sermon, at Girdhakuta, was about Shunyata (Voidness), the nonexistence of an ultimate self-nature, which I shall also mention again. This was addressed to Mahayanists, or followers of the Great Way, who were men of the highest intellect. The third sermon, at Vesali, was mainly meant for Mahayanists of a somewhat less acute intellect.

Thus he not only preached on Sutras for Mahayanists and Hinayanists (followers of the Great and Lesser Ways, the two main schools of Buddhism), but also, after attaining the status of Vajra Dhara, that is to say on his initiation into the most profound methods, he preached many Tantras for Mahayanists. The great scriptures translated in Tibet under the title of Kangyur are all Lord Buddha's teachings.

Kangyur is divided into Sutra and Tantra. Sutra again is subdivided into three groups: Vinaya, which deals with teachings on moral codes; Sutantra on meditation; and Abhidharma on philosophical work concerning transcendental wisdom. These three subdivisions are called Tripitakas, and their fundamental principles are known in Sanskrit as Shila, Samadhi, and Prajnya. The Tantric part of Kangyur has four subdivisions. In Tibet these subdivisions of Tantra are sometimes included in the Sutantra division of the Sutra or Tripitaka.

### *The Spread of Buddhism in Tibet.*

Before Buddhism was brought from India to Tibet, the bön religion was widespread in our country. It had originated in the neighboring country called Shang-Shung, and until recently there were still centers in Tibet where the followers of bön pursued deep study and meditation. In its beginning, I believe, it was not such a fruitful religion, but when Buddhism began to flourish in Tibet, bön also had an opportunity to enrich its own religious philosophy and meditational resources.

It was King Lho-Tho-Ri-Nyen-Tsen of Tibet who first introduced Buddhism to the country, well over a thousand years ago.

It spread steadily, and in the course of time many renowned Pandits of India came to Tibet and translated texts of Sutras and Tantras with their commentaries.

This activity suffered a setback for some years during the reign of the irreligious King Lang-Dar-Mar in the tenth Christian century; but that temporary eclipse was soon dispelled, and Buddhism revived and spread again, starting from the eastern and western parts of Tibet. Soon scholars, both Indian and Tibetan, were busy once more in translating religious works, and distinguished Pandits were visiting our country again for that purpose. But as Tibet began again to give birth to eminent native scholars, so, from that period, the numbers of scholars who came to Tibet from India and Nepal began gradually to diminish.

Thus, in what may be distinguished as the later period of Buddhism in Tibet, our religion developed separately from the later school of Indian Buddhism. But it remained exactly based on the teachings of Lord Buddha. In its essentials, it never suffered alterations or additions at the hands of Tibetan lamas. Their commentaries are clearly distinguished as commentaries, and they authenticated their work by constant references to the main teachings of Lord Buddha or the Indian Pandits.

For this reason, I cannot think it correct to regard Tibetan Buddhism as separate from the original Buddhism preached in India, or to call it Lamaism, as some people have. Certainly in minor matters there have been differences due to local conditions—as for example, the effect of climate on the habit worn by the religious. But I believe that a thorough study of the Tibetan language and Tibetan texts is essential now for anyone who would understand the entire teachings of Lord Buddha on both Sutras and Tantras.

Buddhism, as we have seen, was not brought to Tibet all at once; scriptures were introduced by different scholars at different times. In India during that period there were great Buddhist institutions, like Nalanda and Vikramasila Universities, which showed slight differences in their style of teaching, although they offered the same fundamental religion and philosophy. Consequently, separate groups grew into separate organizations or sects, all having the same basic tenets. The most prominent of these Tibetan schools are the Nyingma, Kagyud, Sakya, and Geluk. Each

of them adheres to all the teachings of Hinayana and Mahayana, including Tantrayana, for Tibetan Buddhists do not separate these teachings, but pay equal respect to them all. For moral guidance, they conform to the Vinaya rules which are principally followed by Hinayanists, while for more esoteric practices, of every degree of profundity, they use the methods of the Mahayana and Tantrayana schools.

### *The Meaning of Chös or Dharma.*

The Tibetan word *Chös* is known as Dharma in Sanskrit, and it means "to hold." All the objects of this world which have definable identities of their own are known as Dharmas. Another meaning of Dharma is "to hold back from impending disaster," and it is in this sense that Dharma can mean "religion"; religion, that is to say, as opposed to secularism. Roughly speaking, any noble activities of mind, body, and speech are Dharma, or religion—which can save or hold one back from disaster. One is said to be practicing religion if one implements these activities.

### *The Four Noble Truths.*

Lord Buddha said: "This is true suffering; this is true cause; this is true cessation; this is the true path." He also said: "Know the sufferings; give up their causes; attain the cessation of suffering; follow the true paths." Again he said: "Know the sufferings although there is nothing to know; relinquish the causes of misery although there is nothing to relinquish; be earnest in cessation although there is nothing to cease; practice the means of cessation although there is nothing to practice." These are three views of the intrinsic nature, action, and ultimate result of the Four Noble Truths.

According to the Madhyamika theory (originally taught by Nagarjuna, a scholar of the third century of the Christian era), a theory which remains supreme among all the theories of different Buddhist schools, the explanation of these Truths is this:

True suffering means Samsara (the entire round of existence, of birth and rebirth), arising from Karma (that is, action and reaction) and from delusion.

True cause means Karma and delusion, which are the causes of true suffering.

True cessation means the complete disappearance of the preceding two truths.

The true path is the method by which true cessation is achieved.

Thus the true cause of suffering leads to true suffering, but in following the true path, true cessation is achieved. Although this is the natural sequence, Lord Buddha preached the Four Truths by putting the effects first and the causes after. The reason for this was that if the suffering is known, the cause of it may be deduced; and when a strong desire to forsake the cause of suffering exists, means will be found to forsake it.

### *Samsara and Beings.*

Samsara is the whole round of existence, and it with its miseries is the true suffering. To Samsara belongs everything which does not contain its own sufficient cause, everything which proceeds from a chain of other causes and thus is involved in Karma and delusion. Its essential nature is misery, and its function is to give a basis for the production of misery and to attract miseries for the future.

Spatially, Samsara is divided into three worlds—the Sensual World, the World of Form, and the Formless World. The beings in the first of these enjoy external sensual pleasures. The second of them, the World of Form, has two parts, in the lower of which the beings cannot enjoy external sensual pleasures but can enjoy undisturbed pleasure of internal contemplation. In the Formless World, the five sensual objects do not exist, nor do the five sensual organs to enjoy them; only a bare mind, void of distraction, exists and dwells entirely in a state of equanimity.

Samsara may also be divided according to the nature of the beings it contains, and by this means there are six divisions:

**GODS** These include beings in the world of celestial forms and of formless spirits, and the six kinds of gods found in the sensual world.

**DEMI-GODS, OR TITANS** These are like Gods in every respect except that they are mischievous.

#### **HUMAN BEINGS**

**YI-DAG, OR PRETAS** Living spirits who are afflicted constantly with the miseries of hunger and thirst.

## ANIMALS

HELLS There are different grades of hells, and the living beings in each of them are also of various natures, according to their past Karma.

*The Causes of the Miseries of Samsara.*

The true causes of suffering are Karma and delusion.

Karma has been defined as "concordant action and reaction." According to the higher schools of Buddhism, it has two divisions, known in Tibetan as Sempai Lé and Sampai Lé. Sempai Lé is the initial stage of Karma in which physical action is yet to follow: the stage in which there is a subconscious impulse to act. Sampai Lé is the subsequent stage in which physical and oral action occurs. From the point of view of its results, there are three kinds of Karma. Meritorious Karma causes beings to take rebirth in the realms of gods, demi-gods, and men. Demeritorious Karma causes rebirth in the lower realms of animals, pretas and hells. Thirdly, Achala Karma, Invariable Karma, causes beings to take rebirth in the upper worlds, Rupa and Arupa Dhatu, a world of form and a formless world. The results of Karma may be experienced in this present life, or in the next life, or in subsequent lives.

Delusion is not a part of the essential or central mind, which, as I have said, is intrinsically pure: it is a defect of one of the peripheral or secondary minds. When this secondary mind is stimulated, delusion becomes influential, dominating the central mind and causing sin.

There are very many kinds of delusion: passion, anger, pride, hatred, hostility and so on. Passion and hostility are the main delusions: by passion we mean a passionate attachment to men or things. Passion may become self-attachment or egoism, and from it one may develop pride through a sense of superiority; or, on encountering hostility toward oneself, one may develop a counter-hatred. Again, through ignorance and lack of understanding, one may be led to oppose the truth. This strong "I-consciousness" has been fostered in all beings in Samsara since time immemorial, and they are so habituated to it that they experience it even in their dreams.

In fact, all cognizable things are empty from their very nature,

but through delusion they appear as self-originating and self-sufficient entities. Conversely, this distorted conception is at the root of all delusion.

### *The Essence of Nirvana.*

Samsara, in another sense, implies a bondage. Nirvana implies a liberation from this bondage: the true cessation, the third of the Noble Truths. I have explained that the causes of Samsara are Karma and delusion. If the roots of delusion are thoroughly extracted, if creation of new Karma to cause rebirth in the Samsara is brought to an end, if there are no more delusions to fertilize the residual Karmas of the past, then the continual rebirth of the suffering being will cease. But such a being will not cease to exist. It has always existed in a body with a mortal residue, a body given birth by previous Karma and delusion. But after the cessation of rebirth, after the liberation from Samsara and the achievement of Nirvana, it will continue to have consciousness and a spiritual body free of delusion. This is the meaning of the true cessation of suffering.

Nirvana can indicate a lower stage, in which there is simply no suffering, and also it can mean the highest stage, called Mahaparinirvana. This is the stage of supreme Enlightenment, total and unqualified, free from all moral and mental defilement, and from the defilement caused by the power of discriminative thought: the stage of Buddhahood.

### *Hinayana.*

A prescribed path must be followed to attain either of the states of Nirvana described above: the true path, the fourth of the Noble Truths. Hinayana and Mahayana represent two schools of thought concerning this path. Hinayanists, the followers of the Lesser Way, basically seek to attain Nirvana for the individual's own sake. According to this school, the mind should have a strong will to renounce Samsara; it should pursue religious ethics (Sila), and simultaneously practice concentration (Samadhi) and meditation (Vipessana, *Tibetan*: Lhag-thong), so that delusion and the seeds of delusion may be purged, and may not grow again. Thus Nirvana is attained. The paths to be followed include the Paths of Preparation, of Application, of Seeing, of Practice, and of Fulfillment.

### *Mahayana.*

Mahayanists aim at attaining the highest stage of Nirvana, Buddhahood, for the sake not only of the individual but of all other sentient beings. Motivated by the thought of Enlightenment (Bodhichitta) and by compassion, they follow almost the same paths as those of Hinayana. But in addition to those paths, they practice other methods (Upayas) such as the six Paramitas (transcendent virtues). By this practice, Mahayanists seek not only to rid themselves of delusion but also of the defilement of sin, and thus to attain Buddhahood. The five Mahayanic paths are likewise known as the Paths of Preparation, Application, Seeing, Practice and Fulfillment. But although the names of the paths are the same as those of Hinayana, there is a qualitative difference between them. And since Mahayanists have a different fundamental motive and in general follow different paths and practice different methods, the final goal which they achieve is different.

The question is sometimes asked whether Hinayanists, having achieved Nirvana, will be confined to the stage they have attained, or whether they will subsequently follow the Mahayana. The answer must be that they will not regard their own stage of Nirvana as the final goal, but will certainly then adopt ways to attain Buddhahood.

### *Tantrayana.*

The paths I have mentioned are doctrinal paths, and they must be followed to provide a sound foundation before Tantrayana (the way of Yogic Method) is practiced. In Tibet, the greatest care was taken before any Tantric doctrine was introduced. Spiritual teachers always investigated whether the doctrine was among those preached by Lord Buddha, and submitted it to logical analysis by competent Pandits, and also tested its effects in the light of experience, before confirming its authenticity and adopting it. This was necessary because there are many non-Buddhist Tantric doctrines which were apt to be confused with those of Buddhism because of superficial resemblances.

The Tantrayana falls into four classes, and it has a vast number of treatises which cannot be enumerated here. In the simplest terms, this is its system: as already explained, bad Karmas are held

responsible for the various kinds of miseries we suffer. These bad Karmas are created through delusion. Delusion is essentially due to an undisciplined mind. The mind should therefore be disciplined and trained by stopping the flow of evil thought. This flow may be stopped, and the wandering or projecting mind brought to rest, by concentration on the physical makeup of one's body and the psychological makeup of one's mind.

The mind may also be focussed on external objects of contemplation. For this, strong contemplative powers are needed, and the figures of deities are found to provide the most suitable objects. For this reason, there are many images of deities in Tantrayana. These are not arbitrary creations. Images, as objects of contemplation to purify the body, mind, and senses have to be created in wrathful as well as peaceful aspects, and sometimes with multiple heads and hands, to suit the physical, mental, and sensual aptitudes of different individuals in striving for the final goal.

Progress towards this goal is achieved in some cases mainly through a strong power of faith and devotion, but in general it is achieved by the power of reason. And if the transcendental path is systematically followed, reason will provide in the course of it many causes for heartfelt belief.

### *Dual Truth.*

Every religious path has a Wisdom (Prajna) and a Method (Upaya).

Wisdom is concerned with Absolute Truth (Paramarthasatya), and Method with Relative Truth (Sambrithsatya). Nagarjuna has said: "Dharmas revealed by the Buddhas are always fully in accordance with the Dual Truths, both Absolute and Relative Truth."

When the final end, Buddhahood, is achieved, an individual acquires two forms of Buddha Kayas or Bodies. These two Kayas are the effects of his practice of Wisdom and Method in following the doctrinal paths; and his Wisdom and Method are the results of the two truths which provide the universal basis. An understanding of the Dual Truths is therefore very important, but it involves some difficulties. Different schools of Buddhist thought hold different views concerning these truths. According to Uma Thal Gyurpa (the theory of Madhyamaka held by the Prasangika School of

Buddhism), things we perceive with our senses have two aspects—perceptible and imperceptible. Roughly speaking, Relative Truth is concerned with the knowledge of things and of mental concepts in their perceptible aspects, and Absolute Truth with knowledge of their imperceptible aspects.

Universal Voidness and True Cessation are Absolute Truths; all else is relative.

### *Outline of the Method of Following Buddhism.*

The perfect practice of Buddhism is not achieved merely through superficial changes, for example through leading a monastic life or reciting from holy books. It is even open to question whether these activities in themselves should be called religious or not; for religion should be practiced in the mind. If one has the right mental attitude, all actions of body and speech can become religious. But if one lacks the right attitude, if one does not know how to think properly, one will achieve nothing even by spending the whole of one's life in monasteries and in reading from the scriptures. So that proper mental attitude is the first essential. One should take the Three Jewels—Buddha, Dharma, and Sangha—as one's final refuge; one should observe the laws of Karma and its fruits; and one should cultivate thoughts of benefit to other beings.

If religion is earnestly followed by renouncing the world, it brings great joy to its follower. There are many people in Tibet who have renounced the world in this way, and they gain an indescribable mental and physical satisfaction. The sum total of worldly pleasure, gained through the motive of self-love and the struggle to fulfill that love, is not comparable to a fraction of it. Such people are also of the greatest benefit to others, by virtue of their own inward state, which enables them to diagnose not only the true causes but also the true remedies of the ills of mankind. And yet this renouncing of the world is not possible for everybody, because the sacrifices it demands are very great.

What sort of Dharma, what sort of religion, can then be prescribed for people in ordinary walks of life? Immoral worldly activities, of course, are to be ruled out; these activities are never compatible with any religion. But morally justifiable activities, such as helping to administer the government of a country, or

indeed anything useful and productive, any steps towards promoting the pleasure and happiness of others, can certainly go together with the practice of Dharma. Kings and ministers of India and Tibet have promoted Dharma. Salvation can be achieved, if one truly seeks for it, merely in leading a household life. But there is a saying: "People who make no mental effort, even if they remain in retreats in the mountains, like animals hibernating in their holes, only accumulate causes for descending into hell."

Perhaps I may conclude with an old Tibetan story:

Once long ago there was a famous lama whose name was Drom. One day he saw a man walking around a stupa. "Look," he said, "it is quite a good thing that you walk around a stupa. But it would be better to practice religion."

"Well, I had better read a holy book then," the man said to himself. And so he started laboriously reading from a book till one day Drom happened to see him again.

"Reading from a holy book is no doubt very good," Drom said, "but it would be better still if you would practice religion."

And the man thought: "Even recitation is no good. How about meditation?"

Before long, Drom saw him in meditation and said: "It is no doubt very good to meditate. But it would really be better if you would practice religion."

"Pray, what then do you mean by practicing religion?" the bewildered man replied.

"Turn your mind away from the forms of this worldly life," Drom told him. "Turn *your mind* towards religion."

## Appendix II

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### APPEALS BY HIS HOLINESS THE DALAI LAMA OF TIBET TO THE UNITED NATIONS

DOCUMENT A/1549.

November 11, 1950, Kalimpong

The attention of the world is riveted on Korea where aggression is being resisted by an international force. Similar happenings in remote Tibet are passing without notice. It is in the belief that aggression will not go unchecked and freedom unprotected in any part of the world that we have assumed the responsibility of reporting to the United Nations Organization, through you, recent happenings in the border area of Tibet.

As you are aware, the problem of Tibet has taken on alarming proportions in recent times. This problem is not of Tibet's own making but is largely the outcome of unthwarted Chinese ambition to bring weaker nations on its periphery under its active domination. Tibetans have for long lived a cloistered life in their mountain fastnesses, remote and aloof from the rest of the world, except in so far as His Holiness the Dalai Lama, as the acknowledged head of the Buddhist Church, confers benediction and receives homage from followers in many countries.

In the years preceding 1912, there were indeed close friendly relations of a personal nature between the Emperor of China and His Holiness the Dalai Lama. The connection was essentially born of belief in a common faith and may correctly be described as the relationship between a spiritual guide and his lay followers; it had no political implications. As a people devoted to the tenets of Buddhism, Tibetans had long eschewed the art of warfare, practiced peace and tolerance, and for the defense of their country relied on its geographical configuration and on noninvolvement in the affairs of other nations. There were times when Tibet sought but seldom received the protection of the Chinese Emperor. The Chinese, however, in their natural urge for expansion, have wholly misconstrued the significance of the ties of friendship and interdependence that existed between China and Tibet as between neighbors. To them China was suzerain and Tibet a vassal State. It is this which first aroused legitimate apprehension in the mind of Tibet regarding China's designs on its independent status.

The conduct of the Chinese during their expedition of 1910 completed the rupture between the two countries. In 1911-1912, Tibet, under the Thirteenth Dalai Lama, declared its complete independence—even Nepal simultaneously broke away from allegiance to China—while the Chinese revolution of 1911, which dethroned the last Manchurian Emperor, snapped the last of the sentimental and religious bonds that Tibet had with China. Tibet thereafter depended entirely on its isolation, its faith in the wisdom of the Lord Buddha, and occasionally on the support of the British in India for its protection. No doubt in these circumstances the latter could also claim suzerainty over Tibet. Tibet, notwithstanding Anglo-Chinese influence from time-to-time, maintained its separate existence, in justification of which it may be pointed out that it has been able to keep peace and order within the country and remain at peace with the world. It continued to maintain neighborly good will and friendship with the people of China, but never acceded to the Chinese claim of suzerainty in 1914.

It was British persuasion which led Tibet to sign a treaty which superimposed on it the nominal (noninterfering) suzerainty of China and by which China was accorded the right to maintain a mission in Lhasa, though it was strictly forbidden to meddle in

the internal affairs of Tibet. Apart from that fact, even the nominal suzerainty which Tibet conceded to China is not enforceable because of the nonsignature of the treaty of 1914 by the Chinese. It will be seen that Tibet maintained independent relations with other neighboring countries, such as India and Nepal. Furthermore, despite friendly British overtures, it did not compromise its position by throwing in its forces in the Second World War on the side of China. Thus it asserted and maintained its complete independence. The treaty of 1914 still guides relations between Tibet and India, and China not being a party to it may be taken to have renounced the benefits that would have otherwise accrued to it from the treaty. Tibet's independence thereby reassumed *de jure* status.

The slender tie that Tibet maintained with China after the 1911 revolution became less justifiable when China underwent a further revolution and turned into a full-fledged Communist State. There can be no kinship or sympathy between such divergent creeds as those espoused by China and Tibet. Foreseeing future complications, the Tibetan Government broke off diplomatic relations with China and made a Chinese representative in Lhasa depart from Tibet in July, 1949. Since then, Tibet has not even maintained formal relations with the Chinese Government and people. It desires to live apart, uncontaminated by the germ of a highly materialistic creed, but China is bent on not allowing Tibet to live in peace. Since the establishment of the People's Republic of China, the Chinese have hurled threats of liberating Tibet and have used devious methods to intimidate and undermine the Government of Tibet. Tibet recognizes that it is in no position to resist. It is thus that it agreed to negotiate on friendly terms with the Chinese Government.

It is unfortunate that the Tibetan mission to China was unable to leave India through no fault of its own, but for want of British visas, which were required for transit through Hong Kong. At the kind intervention of the Government of India, the Chinese People's Republic condescended to allow the Tibetan mission to have preliminary negotiation with the Chinese Ambassador to India, who arrived in New Delhi only in September. While these negotiations were proceeding in Delhi, Chinese troops, without warning or provocation, crossed the Di Chu river, which has for long

been the boundary of Tibetan territory, at a number of places on October 7, 1950. In quick succession, places of strategic importance such as Demar, Kamto, Tunga, Tshame, Rimochegotyu, Yakalo and Markham, fell to the Chinese. Tibetan frontier garrisons in Kham, which were maintained not with any aggressive design, but as a nominal protective measure, were all wiped out. Communist troops converged in great force from five directions on Chamdo, the capital of Kham, which fell soon after. Nothing is known of the fate of a minister of the Tibetan Government posted there.

Little is known in the outside world of this sneak invasion. Long after the invasion had taken place, China announced to the world that it had asked its armies to march into Tibet. This unwarranted act of aggression has not only disturbed the peace of Tibet, but it is also in complete disregard of a solemn assurance given by China to the Government of India, and it has created a grave situation in Tibet and may eventually deprive Tibet of its long-cherished independence. We can assure you, Mr. Secretary-General, that Tibet will not go down without a fight, though there is little hope that a nation dedicated to peace will be able to resist the brutal effort of men trained to war, but we understand that the United Nations has decided to stop aggression whenever it takes place.

The armed invasion of Tibet for the incorporation of Tibet in Communist China through sheer physical force is a clear case of aggression. As long as the people of Tibet are compelled by force to become a part of China against their will and consent, the present invasion of Tibet will be the grossest instance of the violation of the weak by the strong. We therefore appeal through you to the nations of the world to intercede in our behalf and restrain Chinese aggression.

The problem is simple. The Chinese claim Tibet as a part of China. Tibetans feel that racially, culturally, and geographically they are far apart from the Chinese. If the Chinese find the reactions of the Tibetans to their unnatural claim not acceptable, there are other civilized methods by which they could ascertain the views of the people of Tibet; or, should the issue be purely juridical, they are open to seek redress in an international court of law. The conquest of Tibet by China will only enlarge the area

of conflict and increase the threat to the independence and stability of other Asian countries.

We Ministers, with the approval of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, entrust the problem of Tibet in this emergency to the ultimate decision of the United Nations, hoping that the conscience of the world will not allow the disruption of our State by methods reminiscent of the jungle.

The Kashag (Cabinet) and National Assembly of Tibet,  
Tibetan delegation, Shakabpa House, Kalimpong.

Dated Lhasa, the twenty-seventh day of the ninth Tibetan month of The Iron Tiger Year (November 7, 1950).

New Delhi  
September 9, 1959

His Excellency Secretary General  
United Nations  
New York

Your Excellency,

Kindly refer to the proceedings of the General Committee of the United Nations General Assembly held on Friday, November 24, 1950, at which it was resolved that the consideration of El Salvador's complaint against "invasion of Tibet by foreign forces" should be adjourned in order to give the parties the opportunity to arrive at a peaceful settlement. It is with the deepest regret that I am informing you that the act of aggression has been substantially extended with the result that practically the whole of Tibet is under the occupation of the Chinese forces. I and my Government have made several appeals for peaceful and friendly settlement, but so far these appeals have been completely ignored. Under these circumstances, and in view of the inhuman treatment and crimes against humanity and religion to which the people of Tibet are being subjected, I solicit immediate intervention of the United Nations and consideration by the General Committee on its own initiative of the Tibetan issue, which had been adjourned.

In this connection I and my Government wish to emphasize that Tibet was a sovereign State at the time when her territorial integrity was violated by the Chinese armies in 1950. In support of this contention the Government of Tibet urges the following:

First, no power of authority was exercised by the Government of China in or over Tibet since the Declaration of Independence by the Thirteenth Dalai Lama in 1912.

Second, the sovereign status of Tibet during this period finds conclusive evidence in the fact that the Government of Tibet concluded as many as five international agreements immediately before and during these years.

Third, the government of Tibet takes its stand on the Anglo-Tibet Convention of 1914 which recognized the sovereign status of Tibet and accorded the same position to the Tibetan plenipotentiary as was given to the representatives of Great Britain and China. It is true that this convention imposed certain restrictions on the external sovereignty of Tibet, but these did not deprive her of her internal position. Moreover, these restrictions ceased to have any effect on the transfer of power in India.

Fourth, there is no valid and subsisting international agreement under which Tibet or any other power recognized Chinese suzerainty.

Fifth, the sovereign status of Tibet is equally evident from the fact that during the Second World War Tibet insisted on maintaining her neutrality and only allowed the transport of nonmilitary goods from India to China through Tibet. This position was accepted by the Governments of Great Britain and China.

Sixth, the sovereign status has also been recognized by other powers. In 1948 when the Trade Delegation from the Government of Tibet visited India, France, Italy, the United Kingdom, and the United States of America, the passport issued by the Tibetan Government was accepted by the governments of these countries.

Your Excellency, I and my government also solicit immediate intervention of the United Nations on humanitarian grounds. Since their violation of the territorial integrity of Tibet, the Chinese forces have committed the following offenses against the universally accepted laws of conduct:

First, they have dispossessed thousands of Tibetans of their

properties, and deprived them of every source of livelihood, and thus driven them to death and desperation.

Second, men, women, and children have been pressed into labor gangs and made to work on military constructions without payment or on nominal payment.

Third, they have adopted cruel and inhuman measures for the purpose of sterilizing men and women with view to the total extermination of the Tibetan race.

Fourth, thousands of innocent people of Tibet have been brutally massacred.

Fifth, there have been many cases of murder of leading citizens of Tibet without any cause or justification.

Sixth, every attempt has been made to destroy our religion and culture. Thousands of monasteries have been razed to the ground and sacred images and articles of religion completely destroyed. Life and property are no longer safe, and Lhasa, the capital of the State, is now a dead city. The sufferings which my people are undergoing are beyond description, and it is imperatively necessary that this wanton and ruthless murder of my people should be immediately brought to an end. It is under these circumstances that I appeal to you and the United Nations in the confident hope that our appeal will receive the consideration it deserves.

*The Dalai Lama*

Swargashram,  
Dharmasala, Cantt.  
East Punjab, India  
September 2, 1960

His Excellency  
Dag Hammarskjöld,  
Secretary General of the United Nations,  
New York.

Your Excellency:

Last year when I formally appealed to Your Excellency for the intervention of the United Nations on behalf of the people of

Tibet, Your Excellency was kind enough to help my representatives with your inestimable advice and valuable support. I have, therefore, ventured to approach you once again in the name of the people of Tibet who are today groaning under an intolerable burden of terror and tyranny.

As Your Excellency is no doubt aware, the situation in Tibet has now become a grim tragedy. Hundreds of Tibetans have been arriving in India and Nepal to escape from merciless persecution and inhuman treatment. But there are thousands of others who find it impossible to seek asylum in the neighboring countries and are, therefore, threatened with immediate death and destruction. I feel most strongly that something must be done immediately to save the lives of these innocent men, women, and children, and have accordingly sought the assistance and support of the governments of many member States of the United Nations. His Excellency the Prime Minister of the Federation of Malaya, and the Government of Thailand have generously responded to my appeal and have declared their intention to raise the Tibetan question at the next session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. It is in this connection that I have ventured to approach Your Excellency once again. As on the last occasion, I trust Your Excellency will find it possible to use your good offices and influence in devising a practical solution to the tragic problem of Tibet. Your Excellency, I hope, will permit me to express my own feelings in the matter. I firmly believe that the only effective and speedy way in which the United Nations can help the unfortunate people of Tibet is by way of mediation, either through an *ad hoc* body appointed for the purpose by the General Assembly or through Your Excellency's good offices. This is what I feel, and have also expressed this view to His Excellency Tunku Abdul Rahman and His Excellency Marshal Sarit Thanarat. This, however, is only a suggestion I am making for Your Excellency's consideration, and I would be most grateful if Your Excellency could see your way to favor me with your personal advice.

With assurances of my highest esteem and consideration.

I remain,  
The Dalai Lama.

Swargashram,  
Dharmasala, Cantt.  
East Punjab, India  
September 29, 1960

His Excellency  
Dag Hammarskjöld  
Secretary-General,  
United Nations,  
New York, N. Y.

Your Excellency:

May I convey to the United Nations and to Your Excellency my warm appreciation of the great work which has been and is being done in Congo under the auspices of the U.N.

2. Kindly refer to my letter of September 9, 1959, circulated by you as Note No. 2033, and also to my letter to Your Excellency of September 2, 1960.

3. I am happy to learn that the Question of Tibet has been inscribed on the agenda of the U.N. Assembly for this year at the instance of Malaya and Thailand to whom I am deeply grateful. I do hope that all the peaceloving countries will take heed of the voice of my people and provide for them a ray of light in the night of subjugation and oppression through which they are passing.

4. I am happy to note that in his speech in the Assembly on September 24, 1960, H.E.N. Khrushchev called for the freedom of all colonial peoples. Unfortunately my country has been reduced to the status of a colonial country, and I hope that along with other countries the USSR will also raise its powerful voice in support of the restoration of freedom to my country.

5. I assert that long before 1911-12 there was no vestige of Chinese authority in Tibet, but it is not necessary for me to examine the historical aspect of this question for the purposes of this appeal.

6. Whatever the position of Tibet may have been prior to 1911-12, in any event, from the day that the Thirteenth Dalai Lama proclaimed the independence of Tibet, after the invading

Chinese armies had been driven out of Tibet, Tibet was not only independent *de facto* but *de jure*.

7. In 1913 the Tibetan Government entered into a treaty with the Government of Mongolia. This entreaty was entered into under the authority of the Dalai Lama. By this treaty Tibet and Mongolia declared that they recognized each other as independent countries.

8. With a view to settle some outstanding questions, Tibet agreed to enter into tripartite discussions which commenced in 1913, at Simla. The parties to the discussion were the British Government, Chinese Government, and Tibetan Government. The representative of each government being a plenipotentiary on behalf of his government. This appears clearly from the text of the Convention which was initialed by the representatives of all the parties.

9. This fact is also emphasized by the White Paper No. 11 issued by the Government of India (page 38) entitled "Notes, Memoranda, and Letters Exchanged between the Governments of India and China, September-November, 1959." This has been further emphasized in the note of the Government of India dated February 12, 1960 (pp. 94, 95) in the White Paper No. III issued by the Government of India.

10. Although the text of the Convention was initialed by the representative of the Chinese Government, the Chinese Government backed out and ultimately on the third of July, 1914, the signatures on behalf of the Dalai Lama, in his capacity as the head of the Tibetan State, and the British plenipotentiary were appended. At the same time the plenipotentiaries of Great Britain and Tibet, in view of the refusal of the Chinese Government, signed the following Declaration:

11. "We the plenipotentiaries of Great Britain and Tibet, hereby record the following declaration to the effect that we acknowledge the annexed Convention as initialed to be binding on the governments of Great Britain and Tibet, and we agree that so long as the Government of China withholds signature to the aforesaid Convention, she will be debarred from the enjoyment of all privileges accruing therefrom.

12. "In token whereof we have signed and sealed this declaration, two copies in English and two in Tibetan.

13. "Done at Simla this third day of July, A.D. 1914, corresponding with the Tibetan date—the tenth day of the fifth month of The Wood Tiger Year.

A. Henry McMahon,  
British Plenipotentiary

(Seal of the British Plenipotentiary)

(Seal of the Dalai Lama)

(Seal of the Lonchen Shatra) (*Signature of the Lonchen Shatra*)

(Seal of the Drepung Monastery)

(Seal of the Sera Monastery)

(Seal of the Gaden Monastery)

(Seal of the National Assembly)"

14. The Chinese Government, never having adhered to the terms of the Convention, never became entitled to any of the advantages which they may have derived from the terms of the Convention.

15. In 1926 Tibet was represented at a Boundary Commission consisting of the representatives of Tibet, Tehri, and Great Britain which met at Nilang.

16. Between 1912 and 1950 there was not even a semblance of Chinese authority in Tibet. There was a Chinese mission in Tibet which arrived in 1934 to offer condolences on the death of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama. This Mission was permitted to continue to stay in Tibet on the same footing as the missions from Nepal and from the Government of India.

17. On numerous occasions after 1936 the officers of the Chinese mission to Lhasa used to travel via India to Tibet. On every occasion the Indian Government granted or refused transit visas after consulting the wishes of the Government of Tibet.

18. In 1949 even this mission was expelled from Tibet.

19. Tibet was not a party to the Sino-Japanese war, and even during the Second World War Tibet insisted on its position as a neutral and did not permit the transport of war material from India to China.

20. The Chinese claim that Tibetan delegates participated in the Constituent Assembly in 1946 and that they also sat in the Chinese National Assembly in 1948. This claim is absolutely

false. Dzasak Khemey Sonam Wangdo, who was the leader of the Delegation which went to China says, "In 1946 the Tibetan Government had sent a good will Mission headed by Dzasak Rongpel-lhun, Thubten Samphel and myself Dzasak Khemey Sonam Wangdo with assistants to offer victorious greetings to Britain, America, and the Kuomintang Government; we traveled via Calcutta to New Delhi, and offered the greetings to Britain and America through their Ambassadors; from there we went by air to Nanking and offered greetings. Due to illness and medical treatment we remained there for a few months. Then we toured several provinces and on our return to Nanking they were having their big assembly. We attended the assembly in order to study the behavior of the Khamba and other Tibetan emigrants who attended the assembly as pretended Tibetan representatives. But we did not recognize or sign the new constitutional law (*Shenfa*) which was then made.

As for 1948, our mission in Nanking, namely the Khandon Losum, also attended the Chinese Assembly as visitors but no special representative was deputed from Lhasa, and they similarly did not recognize or sign the resolutions of the assembly.

21. In 1947 after India became independent, in reply to a communication from the Tibetan Government, the Government of India replied as follows:

"The Government of India would be glad to have an assurance that it is the intention of the Tibetan Government to continue relations on the existing basis until new agreements are reached on matters that either party may wish to take up. This is the procedure adopted by all other countries with which India has inherited treaty relations from His Majesty's Government."

22. Between 1912 and till the Seventeen-Point Agreement was signed on May 23, 1951, Tibet continued to conduct its foreign affairs without reference to any outside authority. Tibetan delegations in 1946 and in 1948 traveled extensively on Tibetan passports.

23. Mr. H. E. Richardson, who was in charge of the British and later Indian Mission at Lhasa, stated to the Legal Inquiry Committee on Tibet, constituted by the International Commission of Jurists that, . . . "the duties of the Officer in Charge of the British

and later Indian Mission at Lhasa after 1936 were principally to conduct the diplomatic business of his Government with the Tibetan Government" (page 146 of the report entitled "Tibet and the Chinese Peoples Republic").

24. The foregoing facts should suffice to show that Tibet was completely independent. Since, however, doubts were raised last year regarding the status of my country, the following facts may be usefully stated:

25. Sir Eric Teichmann in *Affairs of China* wrote: "Since (1912) no vestige of Chinese authority has survived or reappeared in Lhasa-ruled Tibet. In more than twenty years he (the Thirteenth Dalai Lama) ruled as undisputed master of autonomous Tibet, preserving internal peace and order and maintaining close and intimate relations with the Indian Government."

26. In 1928 Sir Charles Bell in *The People of Tibet* pointed out that Chinese authority in Tibet had ceased.

27. M. Amaury de Riencourt who was in Tibet in 1947, states, "Tibet ruled itself in all respects as an independent nation." He goes on to say that "Government's writ ran everywhere."

28. Tsung Lien-shen and Shen Chi-liu who were both members of the Chinese Mission in Lhasa, say, "Since 1911 Lhasa has to all practical purposes enjoyed full independence." In support of this they mention that Tibet had its own currency and customs, its own telegraph and postal service, and its own civil service different from that of China, and its own army.

29. In 1950 when the proposal of El Salvador to place the question of the invasion of Tibet on the agenda of the General Assembly was being considered, the Jam Saheb of Nawanagar, the representative of India said his government had given careful study to the problems raised by the proposal of El Salvador to place the question of the invasion of Tibet by foreign forces on the General Assembly agenda. That was a matter of vital interest to both China and India. The Committee was aware that India, as a neighbor of both China and Tibet, with both of which it had friendly relations, was the country most interested in a settlement of the problem. That was why the Indian government was particularly anxious that it should be settled peacefully. (A/BUR/SR. 73, page 19)

30. The claim of the Chinese to suzerainty over Tibet is based on the 1907 Convention between Great Britain and Russia. It may be pointed out that Tibet was not a party to that Convention and was in no way bound by that Convention.

31. As the head of the Tibetan government I say that what happened on October 7, 1950, was a flagrant act of aggression on the part of China against my country.

32. The Tibetan government appealed to the United Nations for help. As a result of the defeat of the Tibetan army, and after the efforts of the Tibetan government to get the help of the United Nations had failed, we were compelled to send a delegation to Peking. The delegation was compelled to sign what is known as the Seventeen-Point Agreement on May 23, 1951.

33. The events since then and till my departure from Tibet in March, 1959, are too well known to require any detailed recounting. Even now refugees are coming into Nepal, Bhutan, Sikkim, and India practically every day. The number of the refugees is 43,500. From the accounts of these refugees, the oppression and wholesale terror, to which I referred in my letter to you last year and also this year, have in no way lessened.

34. In this connection may I draw the attention of the United Nations to the excellent reports on the question of Tibet published by the International Commission of Jurists. In the second report, the distinguished Committee that closely examined the question came to the conclusion, *inter alia*, that Chinese authorities had been guilty of genocide within the meaning of the Genocide Convention. I trust that the United Nations will carefully examine the facts on which this conclusion is based and will take appropriate action to deal with this matter. Genocide, even apart from the Genocide Convention, has been recognized as a crime against International Law.

35. As a result of a wholesale breach of all the important terms of the Seventeen-Point Agreement, the General Assembly (consisting of officials and public, mainly the public) repudiated that Agreement, as it was well entitled to do, and reasserted the independence of Tibet on March 10, 1959.

36. The fighting in Tibet against the occupiers and the oppressors is still going on. I appealed to the United Nations last

year, and I am making this appeal again in the hope that the United Nations will take appropriate measures to get China to vacate its aggression. In my opinion, any measure short of this is not going to be of much help to my country where the Communist steamroller is every day crushing out the freedom of my people.

37. May I request Your Excellency to place this Appeal before the United Nations.

*The Dalai Lama*

### *The General Assembly*

*Recalling* the principles regarding fundamental human rights and freedoms set out in the Charter of the United Nations and in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted by the General Assembly on 10 December 1948,

*Considering* that the fundamental human rights and freedoms to which the Tibetan people, like all others, are entitled include the right to civil and religious liberty for all without distinction,

*Mindful also* of the distinctive cultural and religious heritage of the people of Tibet and of the autonomy which they have traditionally enjoyed,

*Gravely concerned* at reports, including the official statements of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, to the effect that the fundamental rights and freedoms of the people of Tibet have been forcibly denied them,

*Deploring* the effect of these events in increasing international tension and in embittering the relations between peoples at a time when earnest and positive efforts are being made by responsible leaders to reduce tension and improve international relations,

1. *Affirms its belief* that respect for the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights is essential for the evolution of a peaceful world order based on the rule of law;

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

834th plenary meeting,  
21 October 1959

## QUESTION OF TIBET

*Resolution of the General Assembly—Sixteenth Session (1961)*

*Recalling* its resolution 1353 (XIV) of 21 October 1959 on the question of Tibet,

*Gravely concerned* at the continuation of events in Tibet including the violation of fundamental human rights of the Tibetan people, suppression of their distinctive cultural and religious life which they have traditionally enjoyed,

*Noting with deep anxiety* the severe hardships which these events have inflicted on the Tibetan people as evidenced by the large scale exodus of Tibetan refugees to the neighboring countries,

*Considering* that these events violate fundamental human rights and freedoms set out in the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, including the principle of self-determination of peoples and nations, and have the deplorable effect of increasing international tension and embittering relations between peoples,

1. *Reaffirms its conviction* that respect for the principles of the Charter and of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights is essential for the evolution of a peaceful world order based on the rule of law:

2. *Solemnly renews* its call for the cessation of practices which deprive the Tibetan people of their fundamental human rights and freedoms including their right to self-determination:

3. *Expresses the hope that* member States will make all possible efforts as appropriate toward achieving the purposes of the present resolution.

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This dignified testament by a great spiritual and temporal leader, driven into exile by Communist China, is one of the most heart-breaking documents ever published. His Holiness the Fourteenth Dalai Lama of Tibet relates the story of his brief, tumultuous reign climaxed by the appalling humiliation and systematic murder of his people by the Communists.

A civilized, compassionate man and a sincere reformer, he writes of the simple Tibetan life into which he was born, and among whom he, as the reincarnation of his predecessor, was discovered and declared Dalai Lama according to his country's ancient customs.

During and after the invasion, the Dalai Lama appealed to the United Nations, and the International Commission of Jurists undertook a detailed study of the situation. The horror uncovered by the Commission surpassed sanity and reason, and it is detailed in these pages. **MY LAND AND MY PEOPLE** is a tragic book. Yet it is deeply inspiring, for the whole story is told with the gentle forgiving of a Buddhist monk.

## **Memoirs of the Dalai Lama of Tibet**



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