

## **Debate in the Indian Parliament**

**21 August 1959**

**(Lok Sabha)**

Sir, I would like to move the motion: "The opinion of this house is that the government should send the Tibetan issue to the UN."

Sir, the General Assembly of the UN will have a sitting on the 15th of September 1959. The Indian Government has decided to raise the question of the inclusion of China in the United Nations. By this motion, I would like the House to suggest to the government to also raise the Tibetan question.

India is a strong supporter of the UN. It is the one ray of hope in this world living under the threat of a nuclear war. We have always said that the international quarrels should be solved by sitting at the negotiation table, that force should not be used and that all disagreements should be solved through talks.

In the international domain, we have adopted the policy of remaining free from the different groups quarrelling between themselves, because we believe that not only it is in the best interests of our country, but it is also the right policy in the interest of the world-peace. By this policy India has got some prestige. We are respected. When people of the world are in trouble, they turn towards our Prime Minister, not because we are powerful militarily speaking, not because we have weapons, but because we have adopted a policy based on a moral understanding. The moral power that India has acquired demands that whenever there is an

invasion, we should support the just side. And in the past, whenever the freedom of a country was endangered, India did not remain silent. We supported the right and just side without fearing any power.

You know that the problem of Tibet was raised in the UN in 1950, when the Chinese army entered that country. On 25 October 1950 the Chinese armies entered Tibet and the 7 November 1950, the leaders of Tibet sent a protest to the UN against the Chinese invasion. The 18 November 1950, the representative of El Salvador officially put a proposal to the UN asking the General Assembly that a special committee be formed to study which means the UN should adopt for helping Tibet against the unjustified attack by China. But when the General Committee of the UN met, the Indian representative asked the Committee to cancel the whole issue and gave assurance that the advancing Chinese armies had stopped and there was no need for the Committee to deliberate on these issues.

The Indian Government wanted China and Tibet to solve the problem by peaceful talks and the Prime Minister advised the Dalai Lama to consider the assurances of the Prime Minister of China, who had come to India at that time, and to arrive at a compromise. On our assurances, the Dalai Lama made an agreement, the 17 Point Agreement with China.

Now I don't need to go into history. What happened in Tibet is clear. It is clear that there has been a violation of the 1951 agreement between India and China. The Dalai Lama was obliged to leave his country and take refuge in India. With him, thousands of Tibetans have come to our country. Even then, the Indian Government hopes that the situation will calm down so that a satisfactory solution can be found, based on reason.

What is happening in Tibet is painful for all those who love freedom and who believe in the dignity of man. They are astonished at the fate of the Tibetans. Now the question of the independence or autonomy of Tibet is not there any more. The question has become: will the existence of Tibet continue? Will the distinct existence of Tibet continue or will the people of Tibet be annihilated? We know, and the Dalai Lama has confirmed it, that huge numbers of Chinese are settled in Tibet. They have already installed there 50 lakhs Chinese and are in the process of settling 40 lakhs more.

The whole intention of China is to make the Tibetans a minority in their own country; in this way, the Tibetan individuality will be destroyed. This is a new scene, this is a new kind of imperialism. Except for South Africa, the Western countries, I mean the imperialists, reduced other races in servitude but they never tried to make them a minority in their own country so that they are completely wiped out from the world map. France has colonised Algeria but the French Government respect the distinct individuality of Algeria. But it seems that the people of Tibet will have to go the way of inner Mongolia. The exterior Mongolia, although not completely free, has something her own, but China has absorbed inner Mongolia in itself and its existence as a free entity has ended. This is what is happening in Tibet. China has taken part in the Bandung meeting in which the declaration of the human rights has been accepted and is amongst the countries who signed this declaration, but these same human rights are being violated in Tibet.

According to the International Commission of Jurists, the right of the people of Tibet to freedom, the right to life and safety have being violated and are still being violated. The Tibetan are made to work by

force. They are treated in a cruel and inhuman way. The right to home and privacy is being violated. The right to travel inside the country, to go outside the country and come back is violated, marriages are forced on unwilling persons, right to property is being arbitrarily violated, and the liberty of worship is murdered in a planned manner. If the human rights are violated in this manner by a country which wants to be included in the United Nations, the world, and specially our country, cannot and should not remain a silent spectator.

Along with the violation of human rights, the International Commission of Jurists has arrived at the conclusion, and they have proofs also, that prima facie there is a deliberate will to entirely or partly destroy Tibet as an independent country and put an end to the Tibetan interests. The commission called it prima facie a case of genocide according to the terms of the 1948 Convention. I will not go into these accusations. As long as a commission of free countries does not find out what is happening in Tibet by going there themselves, nothing can be said. Besides the Dalai Lama said that in the present movement 65000 people have disappeared and the people of Tibet are not given the right to build their future according to their ideals and principles.

Now it has been said that China is not a member of the UN, so to bring this affair to this organisation will not serve any purpose. May I say that India was among those countries who declared North Korea the aggressor, although North Korea was not a member of the UN. At that time, we did not say that "North Korea is not in UN, so we will not participate in the condemnation of North Korea as an aggressor." We want China to be part of UN because we have faith in the UN and we think that whatever the form of the government of the people of China,

the government of China is a real government, therefore China should be made part of the UN. But it does not depend only on us. China is not there. But it does not mean that we should not bring the Tibetan problem to the UN.

People also argue that if we bring the Tibetan problem to the UN, the cold war will be accentuated. When British and French attacked Egypt, the whole world condemned this aggression and no country, including India, expressing fear or apprehension said: no, we should not criticise the French-British aggression because it will become a part of the Cold War. There is no relation between the Tibetan problem and the cold war. This is a question of human rights. The question is: will the small countries survive in this world or not? Or will they have to lose their existence, will they be erased? India has a moral responsibility towards the people of Tibet. There is the aspect of the security of India, and at the same time, considering our age-old relations with Tibet, how can India remain silent when before our very eyes the existence of the people of Tibet is being destroyed?

Let us suppose that India does not raise this issue in the UN. Some other country can raise it. I want to know that in this situation what will be our policy? We cannot prevent another country from raising the issue. What will be the policy of our government? All our efforts for peacefully resolving the Tibetan problem have failed. In spite of the good will of our Prime Minister, the Chinese communist leaders are not prepared to listen to the voice of justice and reason. On the contrary they call India and the people of India imperialists. India has abandoned the border rights obtained by the British government. Our Prime Minister has objected to calling the border India-China the McMahon line, in fact he has opposed it; he said that that he did not like it because, I think,

only the name of McMahon smells of British imperialism. As Shakespeare said, there is nothing in a name. But it shows how deep are our feelings against imperialism. Nevertheless the Chinese communists call us imperialists.

The Chinese make propaganda against India, against the people of India. A journalist has estimated that from April 23 to April 30, in seven days, in the governmental newspapers, press-conferences and through the radio, 77 articles commentaries and editorials, in all 44000 words against India, using a very uncontrolled language, have been published, distributed and spread. In Lhasa the police are still there in front of our embassy. The Indian currency has been declared illegal. The attack on an area of 30000 square miles of India by means of maps continues. No answer was given to our letter in which we had objected. Do we think that in the present circumstances China can be persuaded to accept the just rights of the Tibetan people?

The Dalai Lama has clearly stated that he and his followers are not against economic or social reforms in Tibet. But this is not the point anymore and I don't think that there is any other alternative for India but to prepare the world opinion against the Chinese aggression.

Although China is not a member of UN, if the Indian Government raises this issue in the UN and we prepare the world opinion in favour of the Tibetan people, I believe that something good will come out of it. As a country who believes in the UN, this is the only way which is open to us. When the Indian government, in spite of all that has been said and done against India by the Chinese communists, raised the issue of recognising and including China in the UN, it is only proper, I feel, that the Tibetan

issue also be raised by our government in the next General Assembly of the United Nations.

The Government will gain by knowing the wishes of the House on this matter. I believe that my proposal will get an extensive support, that the Government will accept it and fulfil its moral responsibility towards the people of Tibet.

With these words, I move the motion. Thank you.