

Resolution of the All India Tibet Convention,

Calcutta, 30-31 May, 1959

THIS Convention places on record its deep sympathy with the Tibetans in their struggle for freedom and the sufferings and tribulations through which they have passed in recent years due to the aggression of China. The Convention is firmly of the opinion that the Tibetans have the same claim to the right of self-determination as any other nation of the world. Racially, linguistically, and culturally different from the Chinese, they are a nation according to all standards of nationality. Although China claimed and intermittently exercised suzerainty over Tibet since the eighteenth century, that suzerainty was not based on the willing consent of the Tibetans, and they had virtually shaken it off in the second decade of this century. The Sino-Tibetan Agreement of 1951 which re-imposed Chinese rule over Tibet was the result of force and violence and lacked that basis of morality and law which springs from popular consent. Even the limited rights of autonomy, which were conceded to the Tibetans under that Agreement, were systematically and deliberately violated by the Chinese in subsequent years, and the present national uprising in Tibet is the cumulative result of such violation. This Convention emphasizes the fact that India had long and intimate cultural relations with both China and Tibet and has always maintained friendly relations with both. It stresses the necessity and desirability of maintaining such relationship, and therefore, notes with regret the present strained relation between the two. After a careful consideration of all the relevant issues this Convention feels bound to place on record its protest against China for the denial of the fundamental human rights to the Tibetans, the violation of Agreement

with Tibet, dated May 23, 1951, the ruthless suppression of the national uprising in that country, causing untold miseries and hardships to the people, and the destruction of Tibetan monasteries, involving loss of priceless treasures of art and manuscripts. This Convention repudiates the claim of China that she has a right to impose, by force, the so-called social, economic and scientific progress upon another nation, against its will, simply because she considers it backward and superstitious.

This Convention regrets that the Government of China thought fit to carry on a campaign of slander against India, a friendly nation, by spreading mischievous and baseless allegations such as that the statement made by the Dalai Lama at Tezpur was influenced by the officers of the Government of India, or that the political commotion of Tibet was caused by the machination and wirepulling of Indian 'imperialists' and 'expansionist'. This Convention also deplores the threat held out by some Chinese leaders to India that unless she stops expressing sympathy with the Tibetans she will be crushed to pieces under the iron fist of 650 million Chinese people.

This Convention endorses the view of Prime Minister Pandit Nehru that the changed political condition in Tibet constitutes a major problem affecting the security of India. The Convention feels that the seriousness of this problem is aggravated by the existence, in this country, of political party or parties who have given clear evidence of their anti-national outlook and extraterritorial allegiance by their attitude towards the present Sino- Tibetan question. It cannot but be a matter of deep concern to India if any political party demonstrates, by either words or deeds, that it places the interest of a foreign country above the national interest of India, as conceived by the overwhelming majority of her people.

This Convention whole-heartedly approves of the action of the Government of India in giving political asylum to the Dalai Lama and the thousands of Tibetans who have sought shelter in this country, and endorses the views and sentiments expressed by the Prime Minister in the Lok Sabha on April 2, 3 & 27 regarding the nature and origin of the national upsurge in Tibet. This Convention hopes that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru will exert his great influence in the world on behalf of the oppressed people of Tibet and in co-operation with Afro-Asian countries, devise ways and means to secure the right of self-determination to them, thereby allaying the fears and suspicions aroused in the minds of the weaker and peace-loving nations of Asia by the Chinese aggression in Tibet.

This Convention authorises its President, Sri Jayaprakash Narayan, to set up an Afro-Asian Committee on Tibet with a view, among other things;

- (1) to mobilise world opinion particularly in Asian and African countries;
- (2) to arrange for appointment of an International Commission of neutral countries with a view to report on the alleged violation of the human rights including the destruction of monasteries in Tibet.

**Resolution of Bharatiya Jana Sangh
on Tibet's Independence, 8 July, 1959**

SINCE March last, the outrageous atrocities of the Chinese occupation authorities in Tibet have shocked public opinion in India and elsewhere in the world, and in India all the more because of her very close and long-standing relations with Tibet. They have, however, had their origin some 9 years ago, when in 1950-51, Communist China overtook Tibet by sheer force of arms and imposed an agreement upon the Tibetan Government of His Holiness the Dalai Lama under duress, effecting the subjugation of Tibet and conceding her only a semblance of autonomy. At the time, India did protest against the forcible occupation of Tibet, but very feebly; and that feeble protest was contemptuously brushed aside by the Communist rulers of China. What followed, however, was still more unfortunate. In 1954, India entered into an agreement with China popularly known as 'Panchsheel Agreement', by which India formally recognised Chinese occupation of Tibet, and handed over - not to the Tibetan Government but to the Chinese occupation authorities - Indian outposts and installations in Tibet, and all India's rights there which had been in force for half a century, mainly for security reasons in defence of India's rightful interests. Further, in 1956, when the Chinese authorities in Tibet made their occupation still more rigorous, His Holiness the Dalai Lama felt so uncomfortable that he came over to India. But about the same time Communist China's Prime Minister also came down to India, and assured the Prime Minister of India that Tibet's autonomy would be respected and that there would be no interference with economic, social and religious life and institutions. On this assurance being

conveyed to His Holiness the Dalai Lama by the Prime Minister of India and at his request, the Dalai Lama returned to Tibet.

Chinese Atrocities

All these assurances have been thrown to the winds and the Communist regimentation is now being introduced. Tibet's social economy is being upset, her religious institutions and monasteries are being defiled and desecrated, and millions of Chinese Hans are being settled in Tibet to out-number and swamp the Tibetans on their own soil. The position has become so unbearable that even the peaceful, harmless, and religious minded people of Tibet have arisen in widespread rebellion against the Chinese who are seeking to put down the national uprising by merciless slaughter. His Holiness the Dalai Lama has been forced to seek asylum in India, along with thousands of Tibetans fleeing from the Chinese terror. In deference to India's public opinion, the Government of India has very properly offered asylum to them all.

Security of India Imperilled

It appears, therefore, that for the tragedy that has now overtaken Tibet, India cannot escape her share of responsibility. In fact, it has been the weak-kneed and short-sighted policy followed by the Nehru Government that has encouraged Communist China in her aggressive policy in Tibet, and which has brought a big military and aggressive power, right on the borders of India herself, imperilling her own security.

Bharatiya Jana Sangh feels that it is morally incumbent on India to redeem her past remissness with regard to Tibet, and so India should take immediate and effective steps to see that China's aggressions in

Tibet may cease, her armies of occupation are withdrawn from Tibet, and that Tibet's independence is secured.

Jana Sangh accordingly proposes that:

(1) India herself should move the United Nations to take up Tibet's case. In fact, the Tibet issue had been raised in the UN when China overran her about 9 years ago, but it was at India's request and insistence that the matter was shelved and practically dropped. Now that China has gone back upon her pledge of respecting Tibet's autonomy, and her words have proved undependable. India owes it to herself to raise the Tibetan issue at the UN.

(2) India should approach the Free Nations of Asia (outside Communist orbit) on the issue of China's aggression in Tibet - so that they might make common cause in support of Tibet's independence. Already, China's aggression in Tibet has caused apprehension in Eastern Asia; and people there are beginning to feel that the occupation of Tibet is only the first step of China's ambition towards imperialistic expansion. The banding together of the Free Nations of Asia in an attitude of protest may produce some sober effect even on the ruthless and ambitious rulers of Communist China who may yet pause in their predatory activities. Even at this late stage, China may care something for Asian opinion.

(3) In the meantime, full facilities should be given to His Holiness the Dalai Lama to function in India on the political plane as the Government of Tibet. If Tibetan independence is to be striven for and secured, it will not do simply to grant him asylum and to keep him in a sort of enforced retirement free to function only in his spiritual

capacity, but he should be allowed in India to work for cause of Tibet's independence. Further - apart from all other considerations - from the point of view of India's own safety and security alone, it is essential that China must clear out of Tibet, and that Tibet should become an Independent State. India should, therefore, direct all her efforts towards securing Tibet's independence.