INTERVIEW WITH HIS HOLINESS THE XIV DALAI LAMA TENZIN GYATSO, AT HIS PRIVATE OFFICE, MCLEOD GANJ, DHARAMSALA, ON 27 AUGUST 2001.

Note: This interview has been edited minimally to preserve the original essence of His Holiness The XIV Dalai Lama’s answers-in English, to the researchers queries, with a very occasional translation by Lhakdor (Joint Secretary, Religious Assistant and Translator, Office of His Holiness The Dalai Lama) and Tenzin Geyche Tethong (Secretary to His Holiness The Dalai Lama). The text has been italicized to highlight issues of importance.

Question 1
Your Holiness, Interdependence, Non Violence and Compassion, according to my readings are the fundamental concepts in your thought. Are there any other fundamental concepts in your thought, apart from these three?

Answer 1
I think these three things, I think fundamental... beside that... I think they my fundamental thought, they my personal level. Then another... another level which mainly deals with humanity or peace or environment. So, on the level of peace and environment, these three things are the most important. Beside that I don’t know... or certainly, personal level... monk... monkhood... as a bhikshu... including in my dream, I always remember I am monk, I am bhikshu... so there is a thought as a bhikshu... it is fundamental. Then perhaps some other practice. That’s in my personal level. So on that level may be you see few more thought... thoughts on compassion... non-violence, interdependence. Then perhaps deity yoga also. Deity yoga... visualization of oneself as a deity, or one might go through practice. Then I think basic thing is monk. Buddhist follower. I think... of course Buddhist. As a practitioner taking refuge, I think always, Buddha as a my teacher. And also in a way... model. And then some of the Indian context like Nagarjuna and these things. That’s my personal level. Of course when I deal with world peace or environment then I talk about compassion or interdependence. Then of course the Buddhist concept very much involved there... involved there. But itself, I do not... carry these... certain thought as a part of Buddhism. No. On these level as a human value. Interdependence is what to say... effects - reality. Because everything is reality. You see everything interconnected. You see something happen here, its effect reaches elsewhere. So this I feel, you see, very useful in our ‘bhikshu’s’ life. And especially when we think about the world, about... think about our own future with... with... the concept of interdependence then... now for example when we talk about Tibet, Tibetan freedom, then... you cannot ignore the world or humanity as a whole because Tibet is part of the world. Tibet... part of humanity. So therefore when you realize everything... you see... everything interconnected, then they one particular sort of problem now trying to find solution, that since that thing very much related... connected with other, you have to take serious consideration about these factors. You can’t find solution on one particular thing because this is not isolated. Isolate things. If things are isolated then of course you can find solution just there. That things are interconnected. So you have to find... you have to took whole picture.
That's the I think, concept of reality and realization of reality. Then that I think of reality, perhaps then I think... that idea... that concept also bring also importance of our action rather than prayer. Prayer of course, these also some good things, but prayer alone will not change all situation. So you have to act.

Question 2

Your Holiness, as you would be aware, there is a very visible group of writers who call themselves 'engaged Buddhists.' They are represented by Sulak Sivaraksa and Thich Nhat Hanh amongst others. Engaged Buddhism is a movement that shows that Buddhism has a practical relevance. In this way, engaged Buddhism a critique of writers and thinkers who have tried to show that Buddhism does not have any social or practical relevance. Your Holiness, you are being seen as an 'engaged Buddhist' by several writers primarily because of your deep involvement in issues like human rights, environmental rights, non violent means to conflict resolutions, and ways and means to religious harmony.

a) Do you think that Buddhism at any point could have been 'disengaged' or has it always been 'engaged'?

b) What are the chief issues that you see yourself engaged in?

Answer 2.a

Now individual level. Individual level if someone who... really wants to, practice... including deep 'samadhi'... or 'vipassana.' Then... and... that person can practice... could practice. Then it is worthwhile to remain completely isolated situation. Many big practitioners, great masters in India as well as in Tibet in the past... yes... in certain period they remain like usually call wounded animal... wounded wild animal. Hide. Hide themselves because they remain in remote area. And twenty four hours... twenty four hours sleep. Otherwise the rest of the whole day, you see, meditate. Buddhism practice. So that... they directly, yes they are disengaged... disengaged with the welfare of others. But indirectly, they themselves improve or increase in their energy, you see their motivation, so that later days, later part, they can serve more effectively. That's Buddhist way. So in certain period it's disengaged.

Now my own case. Now many years ago I expressed my wish, three years retreat. But that did not materialize. So certain periods... in certain stage... yes... you see they are disengaged. They concentrate on own meditation. One thing... but then they... one of my fundamental belief is, what is the purpose of then religious practice? All religions, all religions you see, teach us sense of concept of brotherhood and sisterhood, so that means you should not forget them. You should respect them, you should have sense of concern for them. So therefore they are now, for example, all the theistic religions - those religions which believe in God or Creator, and I think those people who believe in creator... their aim is not like everything.... Everything you see put on the God, on the creator, then oneself doing nothing, not that way. Isn't it? So as I mentioned earlier, Christian brothers, sisters and Muslims, they are also very much actively involved for improvement of society for education field or health field or some other fields. So therefore sometimes, you see, Latin America, some Christian or Catholic, I think Catholic priest... you see they are very much... sort of active in the revolution or whatever cause, some movement. So some people, you see, little critical about... their attitude... or their involvement. So there I feel their involvement is very right. So now for example Buddhism, firstly, our very concept of no creator but that one individual himself or herself I feel is the creator. So everything
depends on one's own action. Then, I think Buddha, I think he himself I feel spoke very critically about caste system. So that is I think his involvement in the society. If he just taking his bowl and teach his own few disciples... then no need to take certain position about against caste, racial discrimination... these things... so that itself... now this shows... and Jesus Christ also I think similar. Very similar. So all these I think great masters, you see not only their own practice, but they ... they take I think serious concern about the society and existing situation.

Then I think another thing. Buddhism like possibly some ancient Indian tradition... Hindu tradition... 'Brahmacharya' or celibacy... So Buddha himself you see become a brahmachari, a celibate, so his followers, the main adherents, the main followers of his teachings, you see the monk... so eventually monk, eventually it happened - a certain area where monks remain, monks stay... that you see usually become monastery. So the Buddha clearly mentioned monastery should remain isolated from the society and monks daily routine... certain daily routine, as you said. Therefore like Thailand and also I think some extent, I think, Tibet also eventually monk... eventually in remote area in the monastery. So not much contact or interaction with the society. So with that the involvement with society was also becoming much less.

So this does not mean theoretically that monk or nun should not be engaged in the society. But in the practical level I think monk remained in the remote area in the monastery. So now in daily basis morning time with the society and some work then evening return. That's impractical. Some distance. Isn't it? I think, that's one reason. Then perhaps some lazy monk, could say, main reason do not want to do any work. But in the pretext that is also possible. (laughter).

**Question 2.b** Your Holiness, what are the chief issues you see yourself engaged in, since you have been called an engaged Buddhist?

**Answer 2.b** I think the practical reason. If I am just an ordinary monk... I always sort of attracted... to some... like in recent years... now visible. Now there is a very good monk from Ladakh. Of course he (Lhakdor La translates - "very high ranking monk from Ladakh") from Ladakh. So he often used to come here. Listen my teaching. Also carry, perform some poojas. When I ask... when he takes leave for Ladakh. Then often I feel (Lhakdor La translates - "Then often His Holiness will feel how happy he is... kind of envious") Yeah! You see, he go back to Ladakh and at least for a few months retreat or relax... holiday in his own area. So that means if I am just a simple monk, with no responsibility, perhaps I may engage in more retreat. Study. But then you know 'Dalai Lama'. There is more chance to serve, to usefully serve. So then, there is one story from the first Dalai Lama's biography. He mentioned after I think he established one big monastery - 'Tashi Lhungpo' monastery. That time he was very very active. Recording his daily routine. One time he spent for teaching for new monk, young monk. One portion supervised construction. One time he sent some appeal to some of the richer family for donation for the construction of monastery. So almost as an architect! Old age, with stick, he always used to go around, how it is becoming, this construction. So then one time he expressed as a response to some of his followers who had become rather lazy. He expressed with (Tenzin Geyche Tethong translates - "complaining a little bit for lack of appreciation for what he

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was doing, in that kind of an attitude he expressed") he expressed in the 
past he spent one year you see, he spent some time in one area. There he 
just retreat as an individual monk. He did serious practice. At that time 
he really developed certain spiritual experiences. So then he mentioned, 
"If I continue to practice, you see, practice dharma in remote area, then 
today my spiritual practice would be much higher. But I sacrifice that to 
serve for you but if you are not doing well then my effort is useless, small 
effort is useless-wasted." So that inspired me. He chose active engagement 
in the society rather than his going to remote area, although he sacrifice 
his own spiritual development. So now my case is exactly the same. If I 
have, you see more time, and I remain in some remote area, perhaps my 
spiritual practice, I think, I am quite sure would be, I think little bit more. 
But then that of course, long run could be beneficial to others but for 
temporary, no direct sort of benefit. So things are serious. So therefore 
you see, I can balance. This is very necessary, you see to carry some 
work in the society like that.
I think you may have heard main three things. Number one, I as a human 
being. As my own share ... contribution for promotion of human values... 
for betterment of humanity and that is inclusive of world peace or happier 
society, peaceful society. For that, I believe human values are very 
essential, I believe they are the basis of a happier society, happier family. 
Therefore on the level of human being, I try to promote ... make 
contribution regarding promotion of human values. Number one. And 
here... the including environment. 'Environment' is taking care of one's 
own home. This world is our home. So because of the population I think 
mainly population, and also I think lifestyle, major resources are 
becoming limited. And then I think exploitation of nature. So now 
because with population and because of their lifestyle now the... extent 
of damage to nature has reached such a stage ... Now nature cannot cope. 
(Lhakdor La adds - "if damage is small then nature can recover itself").
Now for example, when we have 'teachings' here. For a few days the area 
becomes very dirty. Urines or these things... there is a bad smell. But 
after few weeks if rains come then everything is alright. It is alright. 
Unless we take care, nature cannot (Lhakdor La transalaeas - "recover 
itself") recover itself. So these are the concerns. That is number one.
Number two, Being as a Buddhist monk and the more important I think 
name of one Buddhist leader - Dalai Lama. So there is opportunity and 
my responsibility, my share, for promotion of religious harmony. That's 
on the basis of... level of Buddhist monk. These two things are, of course 
are indirectly related with the Tibetan issue. But directly? No. No direct 
relations.
Then third my responsibility now being as a Tibetan. And then even more 
as the Dalai Lama of Tibet. So, and then the most important, is the 
Tibetan people outside as well as inside Tibet. Specially inside. They 
trusted me. They put on me lot of hope, so therefore, I have a very heavy 
moral responsibility to look after them, to serve them. So now I am fully 
committed to struggle for Tibetan survival. Struggle for freedom. I will be 
precise. Certain degree of freedom. Not independence. That is my 
commitment.

Question-3. Your Holiness, Seen from the contemporary angle could you please 
specify the relevance of Buddhism for four issues:
i. Human Rights
ii. Non-Violence
iii. Environmental Protection and
iv. Religious Harmony

How is Buddhism important for these? Or, what kind of contribution can Buddhism make for these issues?

Answer 3

I think Buddhism has great potential for all these. I think great potential. Number one - Buddhism not only talking of human rights but right of all sentient beings. All living sentient beings... Because we must consider, we human beings and other animals, insects, we consider them as same. Same rights. The basic thing is that so long as sentient being have desire to overcome suffering. That is the main thing. So, their shapes, are different matter. Whether they have the same intellect or not - that's secondary. The important thing is the desire, the feeling of 'I... the desire on that basis- desire to overcome suffering. Wanting happiness. So... all sentient beings, who have the feeling... are the same. Therefore, in Buddhism you see all other sentient beings, specially in the Mahayana tradition - Buddhist Mahayana tradition - similarly we always say... we always pray for all sentient beings, all other sentient being. So then certainly, particularly human being had such nice intelligence. Great potential and furthermore human being also have negative potential. So therefore, it is very essential to take special care about human being. So human right is very much relevant.

Of course the basis of Buddhism, or the basic teaching of Buddha Dharma is 'Karuna', Compassion - Karuna. 'Karuna' is the basis or the root of non-violence. Then non-violence. Demarcation between non-violence and violence is motivation. Compassionate motivation, then action which come out of compassionate motivation - that's non violence. Any action which comes out of hatred or desire to cheat, then actions are essentially violent. So therefore the concept of non-violence is I think the reflection of the Buddhist main message of 'Karuna.' So compassion is motivation. Non-violence is expression of compassion. That's non-violence. So compassion is there, non-violence automatically come. Compassion not there, then superficially it may look non-violent but still not very sure... whether true non-violence or not.

The Buddhists I think, not like some ancient Indian tradition, which believes that plants also have life as sentient beings. Buddhism does not believe that these plants also have the consciousness or the soul. But you see the plants, I think plants, of course all these wild animals, these are, as I mentioned before- You see since they are also sentient beings they also have the feelings. So to help them, to not harm. That is there, then the plant, environment itself, as vegetation these are... although we do not consider these as sentient being... these also have the experience of pain and pleasure. But from two ways - one way, one's own lifestyle should be contented... contented one. You should use material in the minimal way. Of course, Buddha himself when he arranged his own seat, had to collect some trunks, some leaves, if necessary little bit cut, but very limited. Isn't it? So lifestyle contented... simplicity. I think this is one way to make contribution regarding the environment. Then second, the environment, also there are lot of insects... lot of animals... their whole life depend on the forest. So in Tibet, traditionally some farmers in certain area - for cultivation, we are very much against it. Main reason, once you start that in a small area, the limited insects will be killed. Will burn. Then of course in Tibet, government in the past, there was prohibition on fishing, hunting... of course they... some yaks, some sheep, goats - that's exceptional...(Laughter) But basically you see there is some prohibition
and I think that is quite practical. But hunting mouse is exceptional because it harms farmers. Then wolf, hunting wolf is also exceptional because it is very harmful for nomads and their cattle. So these... certainly you see these ideas, even at government level there is some prohibition. So therefore those are I think come out of Buddhist concept. Then today as I think, to me, the Buddhist concept of interdependence. If environment is damaged, eventually it is irrecoverable. Then who'll suffer? The world itself! No feeling! No pain! But will suffer. This is all, isn't it? So these, maximum exploitation of forests and these things are short-sighted. Actually, I think the maximum exploitation of the natural resources also are the destruction of one's own home. So these are I think, due to lack of realization in being interconnected... in Tibet. Buddhism also like any other religion... you see... the belief, their own teaching is the best. For Buddhists... we should not take refuge other master. We should have belief in our own master. Our 'Buddha Dharma Sangha' is the supreme, ultimate. But the, I think big difference is, that Buddha... Buddha himself taught some different philosophy and different concepts. Why? Because Buddha accepted that among his followers there are different mental dispositions, different mental capacities. So therefore, as a recognition and respect for these differences... you see... he taught different philosophies, different concept. So this bring us, this sort of attitude. Yes, among the humanity, there are so many different people, different mental capacity, therefore, Buddhists, just one Buddhist teaching naturally cannot satisfy a variety of people. Therefore we need a variety of philosophy, variety of religion. Now of course for Buddhists some sort of tradition like animals sacrifice, even in Tibet also some very remote area, some animal sacrifices are there. But these are of course Buddhists. Very difficult to accept, to acknowledge. (Lhakdor La translates - "These kind of malpractices cannot be accepted saying that this is the tradition. We need to find some means to discourage such practices.") That is difficult to say or that's also good according to our tradition. That is I think rather difficult, frankly speaking. Basically, all teachings that bring peace of mind and give hope like Christian or Muslim or Judaism of course, all the ancient Indian tradition, just as in Jainism 'ahimsa' is the supreme message. (Lhakdor La translates - "Very strong message which is very good").) So they respect, all other tradition. Perhaps I think, it is a little easier for Buddhists to accept, to respect other tradition because within Buddhism itself, you see, there are so many different (Lhakdor La translates - "Philosophies.") philosophies, taught by one Buddha, one teacher. So that gives us some kind of thought. Some kind (Lhakdor La translates - "that naturally activates us and makes us think that why Buddha taught us so many different philosophies.") Then... answer (Lhakdor La translates - "that brings the answer that Buddha taught of giving such teaching because to the people that he gives the teaching, there are so many different types of disposition and capacities.") So through that way, (Lhakdor La translates - "so that will naturally help us appreciate the need to have different religious traditions, to be able serve people with different mental capacities.")

**Question 4**

Your Holiness, it has been suggested that your position as the leader of an exiled community has forced you to come to terms with a world that is very different from the traditional Buddhist society. (My reference being Christopher Queen's book "Engaged Buddhism in the West," p.230). My question Your Holiness is that, do you really agree with this? Do you
think that this has made you compromise on your Buddhist perceptions? Can you still link your true Buddhist perceptions with the contemporary needs of the 'modern' world?

Answer 4

No need any change. I think specially the so-called Mahayana tradition. Mahayana tradition, you see very much emphasis is on the service to others. The Theravada tradition, mainly they lay emphasis on salvation. Of course that way accordingly, Theravada tradition also, the main practice is 'Karunad - 'Metta'. But then they are I think very actively engaged in the society. So then according to that concept. I think they are serving or are engaged in service of society. Then society where it is usually little bit I think negligent or about basic human values, then that I think is because of ignorance. Because of I think short-sightedness. Then that develop a very extreme self-centered attitude. This helps to create immoral activities. Now short-sighted and too much extreme self-centered. Then killing other, bullying other, abuse, cheating, all these things happen... scandals.

So basically... modern society or today in the world, still human beings, human society. So human values is still very much appreciated. Look at children, I think students in the kindergarten. I think they immediately appreciate if you give smile and show them caring activities of compassion or sense of concern-all children, they appreciate. If you try to cheat them they don't like, or if you try to beat them... if you show bad face, of course, they don't like. So that is human being. Animal also. If you treat them with compassionate attitude more peaceful, respect their... their need... their requirement, they appreciate. (Lhakdor La translates - "in the modern society there is a clear negligence of the fundamental human values. But this does not belittle the importance of fundamental values. So therefore these fundamental human values that go into traditional values are not only important and relevant but more, they are even more necessary at this time because of negligence on this fundamental human values.") So that's why Buddhist concept is concerned... they... I think the clear example is... Buddhism. I think main Buddhist message is dealing with emotion and not economy, not health, not of construction but...so therefore, you see as far as human emotion is concerned... the human emotion... the level of human emotion today in the 21st century when compared with Buddha's time, I think is basically the same. So there's no need for any change of concept or teaching. It came 2500 years ago and is still very relevant in today's world. Now modernity means change of external things. That's modernity. Modernization has nothing to do with human emotion. I think through education you can change, can transform, can make differences about emotion. But the modern education is very much related with external thing... How to make economy work, how do we improve health, how to remove corruption, how do we develop civil society. These things not much talking about human emotion. That's why now modern education is now seems something... something not complete... not sufficient. So the environment... or external things, Now today's world as compared even to hundred years ago, much has changed... still changing.

Question 5

Your Holiness, do you think your perceptions on various issues changed after 1959? For instance in your book "Ethics For the New Millennium" on pages 21-22, you say "I told myself it would be marvelous if everyone
converted." This perhaps was your earlier position? Or, has your position changed? Could you elaborate please.

**Answer 5**

That's right! *My attitude was other religions... There's some... some change. When I was in Tibet... of course I... one translation... Tibetan translation of Bible was there. But otherwise you see... no personal contact with Christian practitioners...* I think in the second part of the twentieth century, one Tibetan scholar visited India. His name is Gedun Chophel. Once he mentioned in one of his book... he mentioned... non-Buddhist sort of ideas... all the weakest points he has raised with pleasure. So that you see, it is easier to argue in order to refute... (Laughter) *So you have the feeling that Buddhism is the best and very superior, that kind of thing. And... then I think because of lack of contact... so you have no idea how much benefit is brought by non-Buddhist and different tradition. After I came to India and have the opportunities meeting with people... people of... follower of different tradition such as some Christian monks and some Christian nuns and also some 'Sadhus', you see some Jain - and I was also introduced to some Muslims and some Jews and Parsis... there are many good human beings... really warm-hearted human beings, very devoted and contented. Then like Mother Teresa. And of course one I think great example - the many Indian freedom fighters. Then like Vinoba Babaji. You know I personally know these great souls. Great human beings.

And Rajendra Babu - The first Indian President. Very religious-minded. But Nehru seems not much religious minded. More westernized... it seems! Then of course I never saw the ... I had no opportunity of seeing Mahatma Gandhi ji. *But of course look here and look his statue... some picture. I thinks he is the great spiritual master. So you see, you get the feeling that all other traditions also have same potential to produce such wonderful good human beings. So that realism makes differences of attitude to other tradition.*

**Question 6**

Although your 'non-violence' stand is visionary, some people think that it is not practical. What is your view? Do you think that your non-violent stand has helped to strengthen the Tibetan people in exile?

**Answer 6**

O yes! I think supporters of Tibetan issue... outside world... I think *the great number of... our supporters mainly you see are due to our non-violent principle. Especially among the young people and then also nowadays you see, amongst Chinese also, specially amongst the intellectual... some writers, thinkers, some artists - who know something about Tibet, now they automatically show their sympathy and their solidarity. I think one of the main reasons, you see, that brings their sympathy and their solidarity is because we are fighting for our freedom through the non-violent way. Non-violent... here as I mentioned earlier, not only just restrained harming on other but keeping of compassionate attitude towards them. There is one Tibetan monk who spend 18 years in Chinese prison... Chinese 'gulag'... In the early 80's he joined here... then one time since I know, since we know each other before 1959, so on one occasion he mentioned that during those years he faced some dangers... Then I asked "what danger?" Then his answer was "the danger of losing compassion towards Chinese." So you see Tibetan genuine Buddhist, genuine practitioner, you see they consider, the keeping of compassionate attitude towards enemy as something very important. That's the reasoning of the non violence. So... and here... then smile...
not doing harm... that is not non-violence. So there is a certainly... I feel there is a lot of observation of positive results. Of course even we Tibetan involve some violence. Then some headlines, more publicity outside the world. Like Middle-East crisis and also Kashmir... problems of India. Some area... some one or two people killed then immediately you see reports in all the newspapers - some headlines sometimes. But does that really help for solution of the problem? I don't think. More violence... this side... involve violence... then counter violence. That creates more violence. More hurt... that I think is very bad for development of mutual trust... And mutual suspicion, mutual hate are easy things. Things which can be easily solved, it creates... it creates then impossible barrier. So that is what exactly happened.

Question 7  
You Holiness, what do you think are the most important means for resolving conflicts? Which are the most important ways to resolve conflicts?

Answer 7  
(Lhakdor La translates - "Unless you have clairvoyance. Unless you have pre-cognition it is difficult to say." [His Holiness's Laughter]). I mean, yes I mean, each conflict there is some, are many aspects. Some cases religion, faith, some cases purely politics, some cases economy, some cases racial... so each, you see, in each case there are so many different aspects... although you see all violent conflicts, they have the same aspect. But within that there are difference of aspects. So difficult to say... But perhaps I think one thing which we can discover everywhere... I think that's the... we should recognize the... other also is a part of you. Not external. So according to the concept of interdependence... the other also is a part of you. Now for example India Pakistan. Pakistan also you see although the political (Lhakdor La translates - "politically separate. different states.") two countries. But in economy or environment or education if you work together... it would be mutually beneficial. Isn't it? If you Pakistan isolate from the India's side... Pakistan isolate... Pakistan side, India isolated... and try to every ways and means to harm India. It actually suffer - Pakistan. Similarly Indian side also if you look Pakistan or something very bad some... So I think every case, I think old concept - very strong concept... 'we' and 'they' - So according to that concept... you know the reality. So then according to that concept, we try to gain every sort of victory, every gain to oneself. And try to harm... every harm to other. So that is I think a mistake. That's I think an outdated concept. In ancient times may be you see, your economy, your environment had nothing to do with your neighbour. Under those circumstances, maybe it is justified that complete destruction of your neighbour is victory on yourself. But now modern time that reality... completely gone. [Laughter]
Appendix-II

The Nobel Peace Prize
Acceptance Speech,
Oslo, Norway, December 10, 1989

Your Majesty, Members of the Nobel Committee, Brothers and Sisters:

I am very happy to be here with you today to receive the Nobel Prize for Peace. I feel honored, humbled and deeply moved that you should give this important prize to a simple monk from Tibet. I am no one special. But, I believe the prize is a recognition of the true value of altruism, love, compassion and non-violence which I try to practice, in accordance with the teachings of the Buddha and the great sages of India and Tibet.

I accept the prize with profound gratitude on behalf of the oppressed everywhere and for all those who struggle for freedom and work for world peace. I accept it as a tribute to the man who founded the modern tradition of non-violent action for change – Mahatma Gandhi – whose life taught and inspired me. And, of course, I accept it on behalf of the six million Tibetan people, my brave countrymen and women inside Tibet, who have suffered and continue to suffer so much. They confront a calculated and systematic strategy aimed at the destruction of their national and cultural identities. The prize reaffirms our conviction that with truth, courage and determination as our weapons, Tibet will be liberated.

No matter what part of the world we come from, we are all basically the same human beings. We all seek happiness and try to avoid suffering. We have the same basic human needs and concerns. All of us human beings want freedom and the right to determine our own destiny as individuals and as peoples. That is human nature. The great changes that are taking place everywhere in the world, from Eastern Europe to Africa area a clear indication of this.

In China the popular movement for democracy was crushed by brutal force in June this year. But I do not believe the demonstrations were in vain, because the spirit of freedom was rekindled among the Chinese people and China cannot escape the impact of this spirit of freedom sweeping many parts of the world. The brave students and their supporters showed the Chinese leadership and world the human face of that great nation.

Last week a number of Tibetans were once again sentenced to prison terms of up to nineteen years at a mass show trial, possibly intended to frighten the population before today's event. Their only "crime" was the expression of the widespread desire of Tibetans for the restoration of their beloved country's independence.

The suffering of our people during the past forty years of occupation is well documented. Ours has been a long struggle. We know our cause is just. Because violence can only breed more violence and suffering, our struggle must remain non-violent and free of hatred. We are trying to end the suffering of our people, not to inflict suffering upon others.

It is with this in mind that I proposed negotiations between Tibet and China on numerous occasions. In 1987, I made specific proposals in a five-point plan for the restoration of peace and human rights in Tibet. This included the conversion of the entire Tibetan plateau into a Zone of Ahimsa, a sanctuary of peace and non-violence where human beings and nature can live in peace and harmony.

Last year, I elaborated on that plan in Strasbourg, at the European Parliament. I believe the ideas I expressed on those occasion are both realistic and reasonable, although they have been criticized by some of my people as being too conciliatory. Unfortunately, China's leaders have not responded positively to the suggestions we have made, which included important concessions. If this continues we will be compelled to reconsider our position.

Any relationship between Tibet and China will have to be based on the principle of equality, respect, trust and mutual benefit. It will also have to be based on the principle which the wise rulers of Tibet and China laid down in a treaty as early as 823 A.D., carved on the pillar which still stands today in front of the Jo-khang, Tibet's holiest shrine, in Lhasa, that "Tibetans will live happily in the great land of Tibet, and the Chinese will live happily in the great land of China.

As a Buddhist monk, my concern extends to all members of the human family and, indeed, to all sentient beings who suffer. I believe all suffering is caused by ignorance. People inflict pain on others in the selfish pursuit of their happiness or satisfaction. Yet true happiness comes from a sense of inner peace and contentment, which in turn must be achieved through the cultivation of altruism, of love and compassion and elimination of ignorance, selfishness and greed.

The problems we face today, violent conflicts, destruction of nature, poverty, hunger, and so on, are human created problems which can be resolved through human effort, understanding and the development of sense of brotherhood and sisterhood. We need to cultivate a universal responsibility for one another and the planet we share. Although I have found my own Buddhist religion helpful in generating love and compassion, even for those we consider our enemies, I am convinced that every-one can develop a good heart and a sense of universal responsibility with or without religion.

With the ever-growing impact of science on our lives religion and spirituality have a greater role to play reminding us of our humanity. There is no contradiction between the two. Each gives us valuable insights into the other. Both science and the teachings of the Buddha tells us of the fundamental unity of all things. This understanding is crucial if we are to take positive and decisive action on the pressing global concern with the environment.

I believe all religions pursue the same goals, that of cultivating human goodness and bringing happiness to all human beings. Though the means might appear different the ends are the same.

As we enter the final decade of this century I am optimistic that the ancient values that have sustained mankind are today reaffirming themselves to prepare us for a kinder, happier twenty-first century.

I pray for all of us, oppressor and friend, that together we succeed in building a better world through human understanding and love, and that in doing so we may reduce the pain and suffering of all sentient beings.

Thank you.

The Nobel Peace Prize Lecture*
Oslo, Norway

Brothers and Sisters:

It is an honor and pleasure to be among you today. I am really happy to see so many old friends who have come from different corners of the world, and to make new friends, whom I hope to meet again in the future. When I meet people in different parts of the world, I am always reminded that we are all basically alike; we are all human beings. Maybe we have different clothes, our skin is of a different color, or we speak different languages. This is on the surface. But basically, we are the same human beings. That is what binds us to each other. That is what makes it possible for us to understand each other and to develop friendship and closeness.

Thinking over what I might say today, I decided to share with you some of my thoughts concerning the common problems all of us face as members of the human family. Because we all share this small planet each, we have to learn to live in harmony and grace

with each other and with nature. That is not just a dream, but a necessity. We are
dependent on each other in so many ways that we can no longer live in isolated
communities and ignore what is happening outside those communities. We need to help
each other when we have difficulties, and we must share the good fortune that we enjoy. I
speak to you as just another human being, as a simple monk. If you find what I say useful,
then I hope you will try to practice it.

I also wish to share with you today my feelings concerning the plight and
aspirations of the people of Tibet. The Nobel Prize is a prize they well deserve for their
courage and unfailing determination during the past forty years of foreign occupation. As a
free spokesman for my captive countrymen and women, I feel it is my duty to speak out on
their behalf. I speak not with a feeling of anger or hatred towards those who are
responsible for the immense suffering of our people and the destruction of our land, homes
and culture. They too are human beings who struggle to find happiness and deserve our
compassion. I speak to inform you of the said situation in my country today and of the
aspirations of my people, because in our struggle for freedom, truth is the only weapon we
possess.

The realization that we are all basically the same human beings, who seek
happiness and try to avoid suffering, is very helpful in developing a sense of brotherhood
and sisterhood—a warm feeling of love and compassion for others. This, in turn, is essential
if we are to survive in this ever-shrinking world we live in. For if we each selfishly pursue
only what we believe to be in our own interest, without caring about the needs of others, we
not only may end up harming others but also ourselves. This fact has become very clear
during the course of this century. We know that to wage a nuclear war today, for example,
would be a form of suicide; or that to pollute the air or the oceans, in order to achieve
some short-term benefit, would be to destroy the very basis for our survival. As
individuals and nations are becoming increasingly interdependent we have no other choice
than to develop what I call a sense of universal responsibility.

Today, we are truly a global family. What happens in one part of the world may
affect us all. This, of course, is not only true of the negative things that happen, but is
equally valid for the positive developments. We not only know what happens elsewhere,
thanks to the extraordinary modern communications technology, we are also directly
affected by events that occur far away. We feel a sense of sadness when children are
starving in Eastern Africa. Similarly, we feel a sense of joy when a family is reunited after
decades of separation by the Berlin Wall. Our crops and livestock are contaminated and
our health and livelihood threatened when a nuclear accident happens miles away in
another country. Our own security is enhanced when peace breaks out between warring
parties in other continents.

But war or peace; the destruction or the protection of nature; the violation or
promotion of human rights and democratic freedoms; poverty or material well being; the
lack of moral and spiritual values or their existence and development; and the breakdown
or development of human understanding, are not isolated phenomena that can be analyzed
and tackled independently of one another. In fact, they are very much interrelated at all
levels and need to be approached with that understanding.

Peace, in the sense of the absence of war, is of little value to someone who is
dying of hunger or cold. It will not remove the pain of torture inflicted on a prisoner of
conscience. It does not comfort those who have lost their loved ones in floods caused by
senseless deforestation in a neighbouring country. Peace can only last where human rights
are respected, where the people are fed, and where individuals and nations are free. True
peace with ourselves and with the world around us can only be achieved through the
development of mental peace. The other phenomena mentioned above are similarly
interrelated. Thus, for example, we see that a clean environment, wealth or democracy
mean little in the face of war, especially nuclear war, and that material development is not
sufficient to ensure human happiness.
Material progress is of course important for human advancement. In Tibet, we paid much too little attention to technological and economic development, and today we realize that this was a mistake. At the same time, material development without spiritual development can also cause serious problems. In some countries too much attention is paid to external things and very little importance is given to inner development. I believe both are important and must be developed side by side so as to achieve a good balance between them. Tibetans are always described by foreign visitors as being a happy, jovial people. This is part of our national character, formed by cultural and religious values that stress the importance of mental peace through the generation of love and kindness to all other living sentient beings, both human and animal. Inner peace is the key: if you have inner peace, the external problems do not affect your deep sense of peace, the external problem do not affect your deep sense of peace and tranquility. In that state of mind you can deal with situations with calmness and reason, while keeping your inner happiness. That is very important. Without this inner peace, no matter how comfortable your life is materially, you may still be worried, disturbed or unhappy because of circumstances.

Clearly, it is of great importance, therefore, to understand the interrelationship among these and other phenomenon, and to approach and attempt to solve problems in a balanced way that takes these different aspects into consideration. Of course it is not easy. But it is of little benefit to try to solve one problem if doing so creates an equally serious new one. So, really, we have no alternative: we must develop a sense of universal responsibility not only in the geographic sense, but also in respect to the different issues that confront our planet.

Responsibility does not only lie with the leaders of our countries or with those who have been appointed or elected to do a particular job. It lies with each of us individually. Peace, for example, starts within each one of us. When we have inner peace, we can be at peace with those around us. When our community is in a state of peace, it can share that peace with neighbouring communities, and so on. When we feel love and kindness towards others, it not only makes of other feel loved and cared for, but it helps us also to develop inner happiness and peace. And there are ways in which we can consciously work to develop feelings of love and kindness. For some of us, the most effective way to do so is through religious practice. For others it may be non-religious practices. What is important is that we each make a sincere effort to take seriously, our responsibility for each other, and for the natural environment.

I am very encouraged by the development which are taking place around us. After the young people of many countries, particularly in northern Europe, have repeatedly called for an end to the dangerous destruction of the environment which was being conducted in the name of economic development, the world’s political leaders are now starting to take meaningful steps to address this problem. The report to the United Nations Secretary General by the World Commission on the Environment and Development (the Brundtland report) was an important step in educating governments on the urgency of the issue. Serious efforts to bring peace to war-torn zones and to implement the right to self-determination of some people have resulted in the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan and the establishment of independent Namibia. Through persistent non-violent popular efforts dramatic changes, bringing many countries closer to real democracy, have occurred in many places, from Manila in the Philippines to Berlin in East Germany. With the Cold War era apparently drawing to a close, people, everywhere live with renewed hope. Sadly, the courageous efforts of the Chinese people to bring similar change to their country was brutally crushed last June. But their efforts too are a source of hope. The military might has not extinguished the desire for freedom and the determination of the Chinese people to achieve it. I particularly admire the fact that these young people, who have been taught that “power grows from the barrel of the gun,” chose, instead, to use non-violence as their weapon.

What these positive changes indicate is that reason, courage, determination, and the inextinguishable desire for freedom can ultimately win. In the struggle between forces
of war, violence and oppression on the one hand, and peace, reason and freedom on the other, the latter are gaining the upper hand. This realization fills us Tibetans with hope that some day we too will once again be free.

The awarding of the Nobel Prize to me, a simple monk from far away Tibet, here in Norway, also fills us Tibetans with hope. It means that, despite the fact we have not drawn attention to our plight by means of violence, we have not been forgotten. It also means that the values we cherish, in particular our respect for all forms of life and the belief in the power of truth, are today recognized and encouraged. It is also a tribute to my mentor, Mahatma Gandhi, whose example is an inspiration to so many of us. This year’s award is an indication that this sense of universal responsibility is developing. I am deeply touched by the sincere concern shown by so many people in this part of the world for the suffering of the people of Tibet. That is a source of hope not only for us Tibetans, but for all oppressed peoples.

As you know, Tibet has, for forty years, been under foreign occupation. Today, more than a quarter of a million Chinese troops are stationed in Tibet. Some sources estimate the occupation army to be twice this strength. During this time, Tibetans have been deprived of their most basic human rights, including the right of life, movement, speech, worship, only to mention a few. More than one sixth of Tibet’s population of six million died as a direct result of the Chinese invasion and occupation. Even before the Cultural Revolution started, many of Tibet’s monasteries, temples and historic building were destroyed. Almost everything that remained was destroyed during the Cultural Revolution. I do not wish to dwell on this point which is well documented. What is important to realize, however, is that despite the limited freedom granted after 1979 to rebuild parts of some monasteries and other such tokens of liberalization, the fundamental human rights of the Tibetan people are still today being systematically violated. In recent months this bad situation has become even worse.

If it were not for our community in exile, so generously sheltered and supported by the government and people of India and helped by organizations and individuals from many parts of the world, our nation would today be little more than a shattered remnant of a people. Our culture, religion and national identity would have been effectively eliminated. As it is, we have built schools and monasteries in exile and have created democratic institutions to serve our people and preserve the seeds of our civilization. With this experience, we intend to implement full democracy in a future free Tibet. Thus, as we develop our community in exile on modern lines we also cherish and preserve our own identity and culture and bring hope to millions of our compatriots on Tibet.

The issue of most urgent concern at this time is the massive influx of Chinese settlers into Tibet. Although in the first decades of occupation a considerable number of Chinese were transferred into the eastern parts of Tibet – in the Tibetan province. Amdo (Chinghai) and Kham (most of which has been annexed by the neighboring Chinese have been encouraged by their government to migrate to all parts of Tibet, including central and western Tibet (which the PRC refers to as the so-called Tibet Autonomous Region). Tibetans are rapidly being reduced to an insignificant minority in their own country. This development, which threatens the very survival of the Tibetan nation, its culture and spiritual heritage, can still be stopped and reversed. But this must be done now, before it is too late.

The new cycle of protest and violent repression, which started in Tibet in September of 1987 and culminated in the imposition of martial law in the capital, Lhasa, in March of this year, was in large part a reaction to this tremendous Chinese influx. Information reaching us in exile indicate that the protest marches and other peaceful forms of protest are continuing in Lhasa and a number of other places in Tibet despite the severe punishment and inhumane treatment given to Tibetans killed by security forces during the protest in March and of those who died in detention afterwards is not known but is believed to be more than two hundred. Thousands have been detained or arrested and imprisoned, and torture is commonplace.
It was against the background of this worsening situation and in order to prevent further bloodshed, that I proposed what is generally referred to as the Five Point Peace Plan for the restoration of peace and human rights in Tibet. I elaborated on the plan in a speech in Strasbourg last year. I believe the plan provides a reasonable and realistic framework for negotiations with the People's Republic of China. So far, however, China's leaders have been unwilling to respond constructively. The brutal suppression of the Chinese democracy movement in June of this year, however, reinforced my view that any settlement of the Tibetan question will only be meaningful if it is supported by adequate international guarantees.

The Five Point Peace Plan addresses the principal and interrelated issues, which I referred to in the first part of this lecture. It calls for (1) Transformation of the whole of Tibet, including the eastern provinces of Kham and Amdo, into a zone of Ahimsa (non-violence); (2) Abandonment of China's population transfer policy; (3) Respect for the Tibetan people's fundamental human rights and democratic freedoms; (4) Restoration and protection of Tibet's natural environment; and (5) Commencement of earnest negotiations on the future status of Tibet and of relations between the Tibetan and Chinese peoples. In the Strasbourg address I proposed that Tibet become a fully self-governing democratic political entity.

I would like to take this opportunity to explain the Zone of Ahimsa or peace sanctuary concept, which is the central element of the Five Point Peace Plan. I am convinced that it is of great importance not only for Tibet, but for peace and stability in Asia.

It is my drawn that the entire Tibetan plateau should become a free refuge where humanity and nature can live in peace and in harmonious balance. It would be a place where people from all over the world could come to seek the true meaning of peace within themselves, away from the tensions and pressure of much of the rest of the world. Tibet could indeed become a creative center for the promotion and development of peace.

The following are key elements of the proposed Zone of Ahimsa:
- the entire Tibetan plateau would be demilitarized;
- the manufacture, testing, and stockpiling of nuclear weapons and other armaments on the Tibetan plateau would be prohibited;
- the Tibetan plateau would be transformed into the world's largest natural park or biosphere. Strict laws would be enforced to protect wildlife and plant life; the exploitation of natural resources would be carefully regulated so as not to damage relevant ecosystems; and a policy of sustainable development would be adopted in populated areas;
- the manufacture and use of nuclear power and other technologies which produce hazardous waste would be prohibited;
- national resources and policy would be directed towards the active promotion of peace and environmental protection. Organizations dedicated to the furtherance of peace and to the protection of all forms of life would find a hospitable home in Tibet;
- the establishment of international and regional organizations for the promotion and protection of human rights would be encouraged in Tibet.

Tibet's height and size (the size of the European Community) as well as its unique history and profound spiritual heritage make it ideally suited to fulfill the role of a sanctuary of peace in the strategic heart of Asia. It would also be in keeping with Tibet's historical role as a peaceful Buddhist nation and buffer region separating the Asian continent's great and often rival powers.

In order to reduce existing tensions in Asia, the President of the Soviet Union, Mr. Gorbachev, proposed the demilitarization of Soviet-Chinese borders, and their transformation into a "frontier of peace and good-neighbourliness." The Nepal government had earlier proposed that the Himalayan country of Nepal, bordering in Tibet, should become a zone of peace, although that proposal did not include demilitarization of the country.
For the stability and peace of Asia, it is essential to create a peace zones to separate the continent’s biggest powers and potential adversaries. President Gorbachev’s proposal, which also included a complete Soviet troops withdrawal from Mongolia, would help to reduce tension and the potential for confrontation between the Soviet Union and China. A true peace zone must, clearly also be created to separate the world’s two most populous states, China and India.

The establishment of the Zone of Ahimsa would require the withdrawal of troops and military installations from Tibet, which would enable India and Nepal also to withdraw troops and military installations from the Himalayan regions bordering Tibet. This would have to be achieved by international agreements. It would be in the best interest of all states in Asia, particularly China and India, as it would enhance their security, while reducing the economic burden of maintaining high troop concentration in remote areas.

Tibet would not be the first strategic area to be demilitarized. Parts of the Sinai peninsula, the Egyptian territory separating Israel and Egypt, have been demilitarized for some time. Of course, Costa Rica is the best example of an entirely demilitarized country.

Tibet would also not be the first area to be turned into a natural preserve or biosphere. Many parks have been created throughout the world. Some very strategic areas have been turned it into natural “peace parks.” Two examples are the La Amistad park, on the Costa Rica-Panama border and the Si A Paz project on the Costa Rica-Nicaragua border.

When I visited Costa Rica earlier this year, I saw how a country can develop successfully without an army, to become a stable democracy committed to peace and the protection of the natural environment. This confirmed my belief that my vision of Tibet in the future is a realistic plan, not merely a dream.

Let me end with a personal note of thanks to all of you and our friends who are not here today. The concern and support which you have expressed for the plight of the Tibetans has touched us all greatly, and continues to give us courage to struggle for freedom and justice; not through the use of arms, but with the powerful weapons of truth and determination. I know that I speak on behalf of all the people of Tibet when I thank you and ask you not to forget Tibet at this critical time in our country’s history. We too hope to contribute to the development of a more peaceful, more humane and more beautiful world. A future free Tibet will seek to help those in need throughout the world, to protect nature, and to promote peace. I believe that our Tibetan ability to combine spiritual qualities with a realistic and practical attitude enables us to make a special contribution in however modest a way. This is my hope and prayer.

In conclusion, let me share with you a short prayer which gives me great inspiration and determination:

For as long as space endures,
And for as long as living beings remain,
Until then may I, too, abide
To dispel the misery of the world.

Thank you.
**Appendix-III**

**FIVE POINT PEACE PLAN**
**FOR TIBET**
**STRASBOURG PROPOSAL**
**JUNE 15, 1988**
**HIS HOLINESS THE DALAI LAMA***

Five Point Peace Plan

The world is increasingly interdependent, so that lasting peace – national, regional, and global – can only be achieved if we think in terms of broader interest rather than parochial needs. At this time, it is crucial that all of us, the strong and the weak, contribute in our own way. I speak to you today as the leader of the Tibetan people and as a Buddhist monk devoted to the principles of a religion based on love and compassion. Above all, I am here as a human being who is destined to share this planet with you and all others as brothers and sisters. As the world grows smaller, we need each other more than in the past. This is true in all parts of the world, including the continent I come from.

At present in Asia, as elsewhere, tensions are high. There are open conflicts in the Middle East, Southeast Asia, and in my own country, Tibet. To a large extent, these problems are symptoms of the underlying tensions that exist among the area’s great powers. In order to resolve regional conflicts, an approach is required that takes into account the interests of all relevant countries and peoples, large and small. Unless comprehensive solutions are formulated, that take into account the aspirations of the people most directly concerned, piecemeal or merely expedient measures will only create new problems.

The Tibetan people are eager to contribute to regional and world peace, and I believe they are in a unique position to do so. Traditionally, Tibetans are a peace loving and non-violent people. Since Buddhism was introduced to Tibet over one thousand years ago, Tibetans have practiced non-violence with respect to our country’s international relations. Tibet’s highly strategic position in the heart of Asia, separating the continent’s great powers – India, China and the USSR – has throughout history endowed it with an essential role in the maintenance of peace and stability. This is precisely why, in the past, Asia empires went to great lengths to keep one another out of Tibet. Tibet’s value as an independent buffer state was integral to the region’s stability.

When the newly formed People’s Republic of China invaded Tibet in 1949/50, it created a new source of conflict. This was highlighted when, following the Tibetan national uprising against the Chinese and my flight to India in 1959, tensions between China and India escalated into the border war in 1962. Today large numbers of troops are again massed on both sides of the Himalayan border and tension is once more dangerously high.

The real issue, of course, is not the Indo-Tibetan border demarcation. It is China’s illegal occupation of Tibet, which has given it direct access to the Indian sub-continent. The Chinese authorities have attempted to confuse the issue by claiming that Tibet has always been a part of China. This is untrue. Tibet was a fully independent state when the People’s Liberation Army invaded the country in 1949/50.

Since Tibetan emperors unified Tibet, over a thousand years ago, our country was able to maintain its independence until the middle of this century. At times Tibet extended its influence over neighbouring countries and peoples and, in other periods, came itself under the influence of powerful foreign rulers – the Mongol Khans, the Gorkhas of Nepal, the Manchu Emperors and the British in India.

It is, of course, not uncommon for states to be subjected to foreign influence or interference. Although so-called satellite relationships are perhaps the clearest examples of

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this most major powers exert influence over less powerful allies or neighbours. As the most authoritative legal studies have shown, in Tibet's case, the country's occasional subjection to foreign influence never entailed a loss of independence. And there can be no doubt that when Peking's communist armies entered Tibet, Tibet was in all respects an independent state.

China's aggression, condemned by virtually all nations of the free world, was a flagrant violation of international law. As China's military occupation of Tibet continues, the world should remember that though Tibetans have lost their freedom, under international law Tibet today is still an independent state under illegal occupation.

It is not my purpose to enter into a political/legal discussion here concerning Tibet's status. I just wish to emphasize the obvious and undisputed fact that we Tibetans are a distinct people with our own culture, language, religion and history. But for China's occupation, Tibet would still, today, fulfill its natural role as a buffer state maintaining and promoting peace in Asia.

It is my sincere desire, as well as that of the Tibetan people, to restore to Tibet, her invaluable role, by converting the entire country comprising the three Provinces of U-Tsang, Kham and Amdo — once more into a place of stability, peace and harmony. In the best of Buddhist tradition, Tibet would extend its services and hospitality to all who further the cause of world peace and the well-being of mankind and the natural environment we share.

Despite the holocaust inflicted upon our people in the past decades of occupation, I have always strived to find a solution through direct and honest discussions with the Chinese. In 1982, following the change of leadership in China and the establishment of direct contacts with the government in Peking, I sent my representatives to Peking to open talks concerning the future of my country and people.

We entered the dialogue with a sincere and positive attitude and with a willingness to take into account the legitimate needs of the People's Republic of China. I hoped that this attitude would be reciprocated and that a solution could eventually be found which would satisfy and safeguard the aspirations and interest of both parties. Unfortunately, China has consistently responded to our efforts in a defensive manner, as though our detailing of Tibet's very real difficulties was criticism for its own sake.

To our even greater dismay, the Chinese government misused the opportunity for a genuine dialogue. Instead of addressing the real issues facing the six million Tibetan people, China has attempted to reduce the question of Tibet to a discussion of my own personal status.

It is against this background and in response to the tremendous support and encouragement I have been given by you and other persons I have met during this trip, that I wish today to clarify the principal issues and to propose, in a spirit of openness and conciliation, a first step towards a lasting solution. I hope this may contribute to a future of friendship and cooperation with all of our neighbours, including the Chinese people.

This peace plan contains five basic components:

1. Transformation of the whole of Tibet into zone of peace;
2. Abandonment of China's population transfer policy which threatens the very existence of the Tibetans as a people;
3. Respect for the Tibetan people's fundamental human rights and democratic freedoms;
4. Restoration and protection of Tibet's natural environment and the abandonment of China's use of Tibet for the production of nuclear weapons and dumping of nuclear waste;
5. Commencement of earnest negotiations on the future status of Tibet and of relations between the Tibetan and Chinese peoples.

Let me explain these five components.
1.

I propose that the whole of Tibet, including the eastern provinces of Kham and Amdo, be transformed into a zone of “Ahimsa”, a Hindi term used to mean a state of peace and non-violence.

The establishment of such a peace zone would be in keeping with Tibet’s historical role as a peaceful and neutral Buddhist nation and buffer state separating the continent’s great powers. It would also be in keeping with Nepal’s proposal to proclaim Nepal a peace zone and with China’s declared support for such a proclamation. The peace zone proposed by Nepal would have a much greater impact if it were to include Tibet and neighbouring areas.

The establishment of a peace zone in Tibet would require withdrawal of Chinese troops and military installations from the country, troops and military installations from the Himalayan regions bordering Tibet, this would be achieved under an international agreement which would satisfy China’s legitimate security needs and build trust among the Tibetan, Indian, Chinese and other peoples of region. This is in everyone’s best interest, particularly that of China and India, as it would enhance their security, while reducing the economic burden of maintaining high troops concentrations on the disputed Himalayan border.

Historically, relations between China and India were never strained. It was only when Chinese armies marched into Tibet, creating for the first time a common border, that tensions arose between these two powers, ultimately leading to the 1962 war. Since then numerous dangerous incidents have continued to occur. A restoration of good relations between the world’s two most populous countries would be greatly facilitated if they were separated-as they were throughout history- by a large and friendly buffer region.

To improve relations between the Tibetan people and the Chinese, the first requirement is the creation of trust. After the holocaust of the last decades in which over one million Tibetans—one sixth of the population—lost their lives and at least as many lingered in prison camps because of their religious beliefs and love of freedom, only a withdrawal of Chinese troops could start a genuine process of reconciliation. The vast occupation force in Tibet is a daily reminder to the Tibetans of the oppression and suffering they have all experienced. A troop withdrawal would be an essential signal that in future a meaningful relationship might be established with the Chinese, based on friendship and trust.

2.

The population transfer of Chinese into Tibet, which the government in Peking pursues in order to force a “final solution” to the Tibetan problem by reducing the Tibetan population to an insignificant and disenfranchised minority in Tibet itself, must be stopped.

The massive transfer of Chinese civilians into Tibet in violation of the Fourth Geneva Convention (1949), threatens the very existence of the Tibetans as a distinct people. In the eastern parts of our country, the Chinese now greatly outnumber of Tibetans. In the Amdo province, for example, where I was born, there are, according to Chinese statistics, 2.5 million Chinese and only 750,000 Tibetans. Even in the so-called Tibet Autonomous Region (i.e., central and western Tibet), Chinese government sources now confirm that Chinese outnumber Tibetans.

The Chinese population transfer policy is not new. It has been systematically applied to other areas before. Earlier in this century, the Manchus were a distinct race with their own culture and traditions. Today only two to three million Manchurians are left in Manchuria, where 75 million Chinese have settled. In Eastern Turkestan, which the Chinese now call Sinkiang, the Chinese population has grown from 200,000 in 1949 to 7 million, more than half of the total population of 13 million. In the wake of the Chinese colonization of Inner Mongolia, Chinese number 8.5 million, Mongols 2.5 million.

Today in the whole of Tibet 7.5 million Chinese settlers have already been sent, outnumbering the Tibetan population of 6 million. In central and western Tibet, now
referred to by the Chinese as the “Tibet Autonomous Region,” Chinese source admit the 1.9 million Tibetans already constitute a minority of the region’s population. These numbers do not take the estimated 300,000–500,000 troops in Tibet into account—250,000 of them in the so-called Tibet Autonomous Region.

For the Tibetans to survive as a people, it is imperative that the population transfer is stopped and Chinese settlers return to China. Otherwise, Tibetans will soon be no more than a tourist attraction and relic of a noble past.

3. **Fundamental human rights and democratic freedoms must be respected in Tibet.** The Tibetan people must once again be free to develop culturally, intellectually, economically and spiritually and to exercise basic democratic freedoms.

Human rights violations in Tibet are among the most serious in the world. Discrimination is practiced in Tibet under a policy of “apartheid” which the Chinese call “segregation and assimilation.” Tibetans are, at best, second class citizens in their own country. Deprived of all basic democratic rights and freedoms, they exist under a colonial administration in which all real power is wielded by Chinese officials of the Communist Party and the army.

Although the Chinese government allows Tibetans to rebuild some Buddhist monasteries and to worship in them, it still forbids serious study and teaching of religion. Only a small number of people, approved by the Communist Party, are permitted to join the monasteries.

While Tibetans in exile exercise their democratic rights under a constitution promulgated by me in 1963, thousands of our countrymen suffer in prisons and labour camps in Tibet for their religious or political convictions.

4. **Serious efforts must be made to restore the natural environment in Tibet.** Tibet should not be used for the production of nuclear weapons and the dumping of nuclear waste.

Tibetans have a great respect for all forms of life. This inherent feeling is enhanced by the Buddhist faith, which prohibits the harming of all sentient beings, whether human or animal. Prior to the Chinese invasion, Tibet was an unspoiled wilderness sanctuary in a unique natural environment. Sadly, in the past decades the wildlife and the forests of Tibet have been almost totally destroyed by the Chinese. The effects on Tibet’s delicate environment have been devastating. What little is left in Tibet must be protected and efforts must be made to restore the environment to its balanced state.

China uses Tibet for the production of nuclear weapons and may also have started dumping nuclear waste in Tibet. Not only does China plan to dispose of its own nuclear waste but also that of other countries, who have already agreed to pay Peking to dispose of their toxic materials.

The dangers presents are obvious. Not only living generations, but future generations are threatened by China’s lack of concern for Tibet’s unique and delicate environment.

5. **Negotiations on the future status of Tibet and the relationship between the Tibetan and Chinese people should be started in earnest.**

We wish to approach this subject in a reasonable and realistic way, in a spirit of frankness and conciliation and with a view to findings a solution that is in the long term interest of all: the Tibetans, the Chinese, and all other peoples concerned. Tibetans and Chinese are distinct peoples, each with their own country, history, culture, language and way of life. Differences among people must be recognized and respected. They need not, however, form obstacles to genuine co-operation where this is in the mutual benefit of both peoples. It is my sincere belief that if the concerned parties were to meet and discuss their future with an open mind and a sincere desire to find a satisfactory and just solution,
a breakthrough could be achieved. We must all exert ourselves to be reasonable and wise, and to meet in a spirit of frankness and understanding.

Let me end on a personal note. I wish to thank you for the concern and support which you and so many of your colleagues and fellow citizens have expressed for the plight of oppressed people everywhere. The fact that you have publicly shown your sympathy for us Tibetans, has already had a positive impact on the lives of our people inside Tibet. I ask for your continued support in this critical time in our country's history.

Thank you.

FRAMEWORK FOR SINO-TIBETAN NEGOTIATIONS

We are living today in a very interdependent world. One nation's problems can no longer be solved by itself. Without a sense of universal responsibility our very survival is in danger. I have, therefore, always believed in the need for better understanding, closer co-operation and greater respect among the various nations of the world. The European Parliament is an inspiring example. Out of the chaos of war, those who were once enemies have, in a single generation, learned to co-exist and to co-operate. I am, therefore, particularly pleased and honoured to address the gathering at the European Parliament.

As you know, my own country-Tibet-is under-going a very difficult period. The Tibetans-particularly those who live under Chinese occupation-yearn for freedom and justice and a self-determined future, so that they are able to fully preserve their unique identity and live in peace with their neighbours.

For over a thousand years as Tibetans have adhered to spiritual and environmental values in order to maintain the delicate balance of life across the high plateau on which we live. Inspired by the Buddha's message of non-violence and compassion and protected by our mountains, we sought to respect every form of life and to abandon war as an instrument of national policy.

Our history, dating back more than two thousand years, has been one of independence. At no time, since the founding of our nation in 127 B.C., have we Tibetans conceded our sovereignty to a foreign power. As with all nations, Tibet experienced periods in which our neighbours-Mongol, Manchu, Chinese, British and the Gorkhas of Nepal sought to establish influence over us. These eras have been brief and the Tibetan people have never accepted them as constituting a loss of our national sovereignty. Infact, there have been occasions when Tibetan rulers conquered vast areas of China and other neighbouring states. This, however, does not mean that we Tibetans can lay claim to these territories.

In 1949 the People's Republic of China forcibly invaded Tibet. Since that time Tibet has endured the darkest period in its history. More than a million of our people have died as a result of the occupation. Thousands of monasteries were reduced to ruins. A generation has grown up deprived of education, economic opportunity and a sense of its own national character. Though the current Chinese leadership has implemented certain reforms, it is also promoting a massive population transfer onto the Tibetan plateau. This policy has already reduced the six million Tibetans to a minority. Speaking for all Tibetans, I must sadly inform you, our tragedy continues.

I have always urged my people not to resort to violence in their effort to redress their suffering. Yet I believe all people have the moral right to peacefully protest injustice. Unfortunately, the demonstrations in Tibet have been violently suppressed by the Chinese police and military. I will continue to counsel for non-violence, but unless China forsakes the brutal methods it employs, Tibetans cannot be responsible for a further deterioration in the situation.

Every Tibetan hopes and prays for the full restoration of our nation's independence. Thousands of our people have sacrificed their lives and our whole nation has suffered in this struggle. Even in recent months, Tibetans have bravely sacrificed their lives to achieve this precious goal. On the other hand, the Chinese totally fail to recognize the Tibetan people's aspirations and continue to pursue a policy of brutal suppression.
I have thought for a long time on how to achieve a realistic solution to my nation's plight. My cabinet and I solicited the opinion of many friends and concerned persons. As a result, on September 21, 1987, at the Congressional Human Rights Caucus in Washington, D.C., I announced a Five Point Peace Plan for Tibet. In it I called for the conversion of Tibet into a zone of peace, a sanctuary in which humanity and nature can live together in harmony. I also called for respect for human rights and democratic ideals, environmental protection, and a halt to the Chinese population transfer into Tibet.

The fifth point of the Peace Plan called for earnest negotiations between the Tibetans and the Chinese. We have, therefore, taken the initiative to formulate some thoughts which, we hope, may serve as a basis for resolving the issue of Tibet. I would like to take this opportunity to inform the distinguished gathering here of the main points of our thinking.

The whole of Tibet known as Cholka-Sum (U-Tsang, Kham and Amdo) should become a self-governing democratic entity founded on law by agreement of the people for the common good and the protection of themselves and their environment, in association with the People's Republic of China.

The Government of the People's Republic of China could remain responsible for Tibet's foreign policy. The Government of Tibet should, however, develop and maintain relations, through its own Foreign Affairs Bureau, in the fields of commerce, education, culture, religion, tourism, science, sports and other non-political activities. Tibet should join international organizations concerned with such activities.

The Government of Tibet should be founded on a constitution or basic law. The basic law should provide for a democratic system of government entrusted with the task of ensuring economic equality, social justice and protection of the environment. This means that the Government of Tibet will have the right to decide on all affairs relating to Tibet and the Tibetans.

As individual freedom is the real source and potential of any society's development, the Government of Tibet would seek to ensure this freedom by full adherence to the Universal Deceleration of Human Rights including the rights to speech, assembly, and religion. Because religion constitutes the source of Tibet's national identity, and spiritual values lie at the very heart of Tibet's rich culture, it would be the special duty of the Government of Tibet to safeguard and develop its practice.

The government should be comprised of a popularly elected Chief Executive, a bicameral legislative, branch, and an independent judicial system. Its seat should be in Lhasa.

The social and economic system of Tibet should be determined in accordance with the wishes of the Tibetan people, bearing in mind especially the need to raise the standard of living of the entire population.

The Government of Tibet would pass strict laws to protect wildlife and plant life. The exploitation of natural resources would be carefully regulated. The manufacture, testing and stockpiling of nuclear weapons and other armaments must be prohibited, as well as the use of nuclear power and other technologies which produce hazardous waste. It would be the Government of Tibet's goal to transform Tibet into our planet's largest natural preserve.

A regional peace conference should be called to ensure that Tibet becomes a genuine sanctuary of peace through demilitarization. Until such a peace conference can be convened and demilitarization and neutralization achieved, China could have the right to maintain a restricted number of military installations in Tibet. These must be solely for defence purposes.

In order to create an atmosphere of trust conducive to fruitful negotiations, the Chinese Government should cease its human rights violations in Tibet and abandon its policy of transferring Chinese to Tibet.

These are the thoughts we have in mind. I am aware that many Tibetans will be disappointed by the moderate stand they represent. Undoubtedly, there will be much discussion in the coming months within our own community, both in Tibet and in exile.
This, however, is an essential and invaluable part of any process of change. I believe these thoughts represent the most realistic means by which to re-establish Tibet’s separate identity and restore the fundamental right to the Tibetan people while accommodating China’s own interests. I would like to emphasize, however, that whatever the outcome of the negotiations with the Chinese may be, the Tibetan people themselves must be the ultimate deciding authority. Therefore, any proposal will contain a comprehensive procedural plan to ascertain the wishes of the Tibetan people in a nationwide referendum.

I would like to take this opportunity to state that I do not wish to take any active part in the Government of Tibet. Nevertheless, I will continue to work as much as I can for the well-being and happiness of the Tibetan people as long as it is necessary.

We are ready to present a proposal to the Government of the People’s Republic of China based on the thoughts I have presented. A negotiating team representing the Tibetan government has been selected. We are prepared to meet with the Chinese to discuss details of such a proposal aimed at achieving an equitable solution.

We are encouraged by the keen interest being shown in our situation by a growing number of governments and political leaders, including former President Jimmy Carter of the United States. We are encouraged by the recent changes in China which have brought about a new group of leadership, more pragmatic and liberal.

We urge the Chinese Government and leadership to give serious and substantive consideration to ideas I have described. Only dialogue and a willingness to look with honesty and clarity at the reality of Tibet can lead to a viable solution. We wish to conduct discussions with the Chinese Government bearing in mind the larger interests of humanity. Our proposal will therefore be made in a spirit of conciliation and we hope that the Chinese will respond accordingly.

My country’s unique history and profound spiritual heritage render it ideally suited for fulfilling the role of a sanctuary of peace at the heart of Asia, its historic status as a neutral buffer state, contributing to the stability of the entire continent, can be restored. Peace and security for Asia as well as for the world at large can be enhanced. In the future, Tibet need no longer be an occupied land, oppressed by force, unproductive and scarred by suffering. It can become a free haven where humanity and nature live in harmonious balance; a creative model for the resolution of tensions afflicting many areas throughout the world.

The Chinese leadership needs to realize that colonial rule over occupied territories is today anachronistic. A genuine union or association can only come about voluntarily, when there is satisfactory benefit to all the parties concerned. The European Community is a clear example of this. On the other hand, even one country or community can break into two or more entities when there is a lack of trust or benefit, and when force is used as the principal means of rule.

I would like to end by making a special appeal to the honorable members of the European Parliament and through them to their respective constituencies to extend their support to our efforts. A resolution of the Tibetan problem within the framework that we propose will not only be for the mutual benefit of the Tibetan and Chinese people but will also contribute to regional and global peace and stability. I thank you for providing me the opportunity to share my thoughts with you.

Appendix-IV

Nobel Peace Laureate Joint Declaration
November 6, 1998*

WE, THE UNDERSIGNED, have gathered in Charlottesville to participate in a conference presented by the University of Virginia and the Institute for Asian Democracy on human rights, conflict, and reconciliation. We wish to use this opportunity to reaffirm our missions to the international community.

Whereas, the children of the world are oftentimes victims of conflict and require protection, we must establish safe havens for children of war and advance the cause of children's rights;

Whereas, the vast majority of arms sales are to non-democratic governments and scarce resources are devoted to education, housing, and health, we call upon all nations to adopt the International Code of Conduct on Arms Transfers and to dedicate their resources to erasing the gap between the world's rich minority and its poor majority.

Whereas, in order to find a peaceful resolution to the Tibet issue, we urge that the Chinese government enter into negotiations that will serve the interests to the Tibetan and Chinese peoples. Also, that these negotiations be conducted expeditiously, as an indication of China's good will and sincere intent;

Whereas, the U.N. General Assembly has adopted resolutions calling for upholding the will of the Burmese people as expressed in the 1990 elections and further calls for the State Peace and Development Council to enter into a substantive political dialogue with Aung San Suu Kyi and representatives of ethnic groups as the best means of promoting national reconciliation and democracy, we urge that the U.N. resolution be implemented fully;

Whereas, the dignity of the indigenous peoples of the world continues to be marginalized, we must accept and respect other peoples, communities, and cultures, and integrate the mosaic languages, traditions, and peoples into the community of nations;

Whereas, the world community has responded to the global landmine crisis with the Mine Ban Treaty, already signed by 133 governments and ratified by 49, we call upon the signatory states to ratify and non-signatories to join as soon as possible and all governments to expand their commitment to mine clearance and victim assistance;

We resolve that, it is our hope that this declaration will advance not only our own initiatives but bring about a more peaceful world. Moreover, we urge the international community to seek new ways of promoting justice, reconciliation, and peace in societies making the transition from repression to democracy and from conflict to civil societies under the rule of law.

Betty Williams, Northern Ireland (1976)
Archbishop Desmond Tutu, South Africa (1984)
President Oscar Arias Sánchez, Costa Rica (1987)
His Holiness the Dalai Lama, Tibet (1989)
Harn Yawngwhe, participating on behalf of Aung San Suu Kyi, Burma (1991)
Rigoberta Menchú Tum, Guatemala (1992)
José Ramos-Horta, East Timor (1996)
Jody Williams, United States (1997)
Bobby Muller, United States (1997), for the International Campaign to Ban Landmines

Appendix-V

TABLE OF THE 14 DALAI LAMAS*

1. Gendun Drup 1391 – 1474
2. Gendun Gyatso 1476 – 1542
3. Sonam Gyatso 1543 – 1588
4. Yonten Gyatso 1589 – 1616
5. Ngawang Losang Gyatso 1617 – 1682
6. Tsangyang Gyatso 1683 – 1703
7. Kelsang Gyatso 1708 – 1757
8. Jampel Gyatso 1758 – 1804
9. Lungtog Gyatso 1805 – 1815
10. Tshultrim Gyatso 1816 – 1837
11. Khedrup Gyatso 1838 – 1855
12. Trinle Gyatso 1856 – 1875
13. Tubten Gyatso 1876 – 1933
14. Tenzin Gyatso 1935 –

Appendix-VI

UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS*

Adopted and proclaimed by General Assembly resolution 217 A (III) of 10 December 1948.

Preamble

Whereas recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world,

Whereas disregard and contempt for human rights have resulted in barbarous acts which have outraged the conscience of mankind, and the advent of a world in which human beings shall enjoy freedom of speech and belief and freedom from fear and want has been proclaimed as the highest aspirations of the common people,

Whereas it is essential, if man is not to be compelled to have recourse, as a last resort, to rebellion against tyranny and oppression, that human rights should be protected by the rule of law,

Whereas it is essential to promote the development of friendly relations between nations,

Whereas the people of the United Nations have in the Charter reaffirmed their faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person and in the equal rights of men and women and have determined to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom,

Whereas Member States have pledged themselves to achieve, in cooperation with the United Nations, the promotion of universal respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms,

Whereas a common understanding of these rights and freedoms is of the greatest importance for the full realization of this pledge,

Now, therefore, the General Assembly proclaims this Universal Declaration of Human Rights as a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations, to the end that every individual and every organ of society, keeping this Declaration constantly in mind, shall strive by teaching and education to promote respect for these rights and freedoms and by progressive measures, national and international, to secure their universal


and effective recognition and observance, both among the peoples of Member States themselves and among the peoples for territories under their jurisdiction.

Article 1
All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.

Article 2
Everyone is entitled to all rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status.
Furthermore, no distinction shall be made on the basis of the political, jurisdictional or international status of the country or territory to which a person belongs, whether it be independent, trust, non-self-governing or under any other limitation of sovereignty.

Article 3
Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person.

Article 4
No one shall be held in slavery or servitude; slavery and the slave trade shall be prohibited in all their forms.

Article 5
No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.

Article 6
Everyone has the right to recognition everywhere as a person before the law.

Article 7
All are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the law. All are entitled to equal protection against any discrimination in violation of this Declaration and against any incitement to such discrimination.

Article 8
Everyone has the right to an effective remedy by the competent national tribunals for acts violating the fundamental rights granted him by the constitution or by law.

Article 9
No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile.

Article 10
Everyone is entitled in full equality to a fair and public hearing by an independent and impartial tribunal, in the determination of his rights and obligations and of any criminal charge against him.

Article 11
Everyone charged with a penal offence has the right to be presumed innocent until proved guilty according to law in a public trial at which he has had all the guarantees necessary for his defence.
No one shall be held guilty of any penal offence of account of any act or omission which did not constitute a penal offence, under national or international law, at the time when it was committed. Nor shall a heavier penalty be imposed than the one that was applicable at the time the penal offence was committed.

Article 12
No one shall be subjected to arbitrary interference with his privacy, family, home or correspondence, nor to attacks upon his honour and reputation. Everyone has the right to the protection of the law against such interference or attacks.

Article 13
Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each State.
Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country.
Article 14

Everyone has the right to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution.

This right may not be invoked in the case of prosecutions genuinely arising from non-political crimes or from acts contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

Article 15

Everyone has the rights to a nationality.

No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his nationality nor denied the right to change his nationality.

Article 16

Men and women of full age, without any limitation due to race, nationality or religion, have the right to marry and to found a family. They are entitled to equal rights as to marriage, during marriage and at its dissolution.

Marriage shall be entered into only with the free and full consent of the intending spouses.

The family is the natural and fundamental group unit of society and is entitled to protection by society and the State.

Article 17

Everyone has the right to own property alone as well as in association with others.

No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his property.

Article 18

Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion: this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance.

Article 19

Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.

Article 20

Everyone has the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association.

No one may be compelled to belong to an association.

Article 21

Everyone has the right to take part in the government of his country, directly or through freely chosen representatives.

Everyone has the right to equal access to public service in his country.

The will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government; this will shall be expressed in periodic and genuine elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret vote or by equivalent free voting procedures.

Article 22

Everyone, as a member of society, has the right to social security and is entitled to realization, through national effort and international co-operation and in accordance with the organization and resources of each State, of the economic, social and cultural rights indispensable for his dignity and the free development of his personality.

Article 23

Everyone has the right to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favourable conditions of work and to protection against unemployment.

Everyone, without any discrimination, has the right to equal pay for equal work.

Everyone who works has the right to just and favourable remuneration ensuring for himself and his family an existence worthy of human dignity, and supplemented, if necessary, by other means of social protection.

Everyone has the right to form and to join trade unions for the protection of his interests.
Article 24
Everyone has the right to rest and leisure, including reasonable limitation of working hours and periodic holidays with pay.

Article 25
Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control.

Motherhood and childhood are entitled to special care and assistance. All children, whether born in or out of wedlock, shall enjoy the same social protection.

Article 26
Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit.

Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.

Parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children.

Article 27
Everyone has the right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts and share in scientific advancement and its benefits.

Everyone has the right to the protection of the moral and material interests resulting from any scientific, literary or artistic production of which he is the author.

Article 28
Everyone is entitled to a social and international order in which the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration can be fully realized.

Article 29
Everyone has duties to the community in which alone the free and full development of his personality is possible.

In the exercise of his rights and freedoms, everyone shall be subjected only to such limitations as are determined by law solely for the purpose of securing due recognition and respect for the rights and freedoms of others and of meeting the just requirements of morality, public order and the general welfare in a democratic society.

These rights and freedoms may in no case be exercised contrary to the purpose and principles of the United Nations.

Article 30
Nothing in this Declaration may be interpreted as implying for any State, group or person any right to engage in any activity or to perform any act aimed at the destruction of any of the rights and freedoms set forth herein.