

**CONCERNING
THE QUESTION
OF TIBET**

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PUBLISHER'S NOTE

This collection of documents, speeches, news dispatches, editorials, commentaries and background materials concerning the Tibetan question is published to help readers abroad acquire a full understanding of the recent situation in China's Tibet, the background knowledge of the Tibetan question, and the policy of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China towards the Tibetan region.

The book falls into four parts. The first part covers the important documents, news dispatches, speeches, editorials and commentaries concerning the Tibetan question published during the period between March 28 and April 19, 1959. The second part covers the period between April 20 and April 30, 1959. The third part consists of reference materials and articles giving background information of Tibet. The fourth part contains "The Revolution in Tibet and Nehru's Philosophy," an article by the Editorial Department of *Renmīn Ribao* (People's Daily).

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I

ORDER OF THE STATE COUNCIL OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

The following order is herewith proclaimed:

Most of the *kaloons** of the Tibetan local government and the reactionary clique of the upper social strata colluded with imperialism, gathered together rebellious bandits, rebelled, wrought havoc among the people, held the Dalai Lama under duress, tore up the 17-article Agreement on Measures for the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet and, on the night of March 19, directed the Tibetan local army and rebels in an all-out attack against the People's Liberation Army garrison in Lhasa. Such acts which betray the motherland and disrupt the unification of the country cannot be tolerated by the law.

To safeguard the unification of the country and national unity, in addition to enjoining the Tibet Military Area Command of the Chinese People's Liberation Army to put down the rebellion thoroughly, it has been decided that as from today the Tibetan local government is dissolved and its functions and powers will be exercised by the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region. During the time when the Dalai Lama Dantzen-Jaltso, Chairman of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region, is held under duress, Panchen

*The local government of Tibet is called *kasha* and its six members are called *kaloons* in Tibetan — Ed.

Erdeni Chuji-Geltseng, Vice-Chairman of the Preparatory Committee, shall act as Chairman. Pebala Choliehnamje, member of the Standing Committee of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region, is hereby appointed Vice-Chairman of the Preparatory Committee. Ngapo Ngawang-Jigme, member of the Standing Committee and Secretary-General of the Preparatory Committee, is hereby appointed Vice-Chairman and Secretary-General of the Preparatory Committee.

Eighteen traitors, Surkong Wongching-Galei, Neusha Thubten-Tarpa, Hsinka Jigmedorje (Shasu), Yuto Chahsidongchu, Tsrijong Lozong-Yiehsi, Kachang Lozong-Rentzen, Dala Lozongsungdin, Khemey Sonamwongdui, Rongnamse Thubtan-Norzong, Pala Thubtenwenten, Nonghsi Thubtan-Zongchu, Namselin Panchunjigme, Menjelin Jalyanggeltseng, Karihpen Tsewong-Dorje, Pengchu, Weisegeltseng (Kundelinchasa), Gungalama, and Tsupugamapa Rihpeidorje, are hereby dismissed from their posts as members of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region and from all their other posts and shall be punished respectively according to law.

Sixteen persons, Teng Shao-tung, Chan Hua-yu, Hui Yi-jan, Liang Hsuan-hsien, Tsuiko Dongchutseren, Chantung Lozongnamje, Gahden Tsrifa Thubten-Kunga, Chienpaitzuli, Ngapo Tsrirtenchoga, Dorjetsirten, Shirou Dungchu, Geltsengpintso, Lozong Tzucheng, Chunjue, Pintowongchui, and Wang Pei-sheng, are hereby appointed members of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region. The Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region will lead all the people of Tibet, ecclesiastical and secular, to unite as one and make common efforts to assist the People's Liberation

Army in putting down the rebellion quickly, to strengthen the national defence, protect the interests of the people of all nationalities, maintain social order and strive for the building of a democratic and socialist, new Tibet.

CHOU EN-LAI, Premier

March 28, 1959

COMMUNIQUE ON REBELLION IN TIBET

Issued by the Hsinhua News Agency on March 28

Violating the will of the Tibetan people and betraying the motherland, the Tibetan local government and the reactionary clique of the upper social strata colluded with imperialism, gathered together rebellious bandits and during the night of March 19 launched an armed attack against the People's Liberation Army garrison in Lhasa. Acting on orders to put down the rebellion, the units of the valiant People's Liberation Army stationed in Tibet utterly routed the rebellious bandits in the city of Lhasa by March 22. Units of the People's Liberation Army, assisted by patriotic people of all sections of the population in Tibet, both ecclesiastical and secular, are now mopping up the rebel bandits in some other places in Tibet.

In order to safeguard the unification of the motherland and national unity, Premier Chou En-lai of the State Council issued an order on March 28 which, in addition to enjoining the Tibet Military Area Command of the People's Liberation Army to put down the rebellion thoroughly, announced the decision that as from that day the Tibetan local government which instigated the rebellion would be dissolved and the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region would exercise the functions and powers of the Tibetan local government.

The Tibetan local government and the reactionary clique of the upper social strata began their armed rebellion in Lhasa on March 10. The Dalai Lama was originally scheduled to attend a theatrical performance in the auditorium of the Tibet Military Area Command of the People's Liberation Army on March 10. The proposal was made by the Dalai Lama personally more than a month earlier and the date of March 10 was fixed by the Dalai Lama himself. On that day, however, the rebellious Tibetan clique spread wild rumours alleging that the army units of the Tibet Military Area Command would detain the Dalai Lama; and using this as a pretext, they staged the armed rebellion, put the Dalai Lama under duress, and raised such reactionary slogans as "drive out the Han people" and "independence for Tibet." At the same time, they killed Kanchung Soanamchiatso, a Tibetan official of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region, and wounded Sampo Tsewong-Rentzen, the Tibetan Vice-Commander of the Tibet Military Area, and others who opposed the rebellion. The armed rebels at the same time surrounded the headquarters of the Tibet Military Area Command of the People's Liberation Army and the offices of the Central People's Government agencies in Lhasa.

The Tibetan traitors have carried on their rebellious activities for quite a long time. These rebels represent imperialism and the most reactionary of the big serf-owners in Tibet. Since the Chinese People's Liberation Army entered Tibet and the Central People's Government and the Tibetan local government concluded the Agreement on Measures for the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet (namely, the 17-article agreement)* in 1951, they have been plotting to tear up this agreement and preparing for

armed rebellion. But the motherland thrives and prospers day by day, the policy of the Central People's Government towards Tibet is correct and the garrison units of the People's Liberation Army in Tibet observe strict discipline; all this has won the warm support of the people of all sections in Tibet, and so the rebellious conspiracy of this handful of reactionaries got no support from the Tibetan people. In accordance with the stipulations of the Constitution, the Central People's Government has always upheld the solidarity of all the nationalities in the country and solidarity among the Tibetan people, and the implementation of regional national autonomy in Tibet. This is warmly welcomed by the Tibetan people. The Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region was established as early as April 1956. But owing to obstruction by the reactionaries in the local government of Tibet, the preparatory work for the autonomous region made little progress. The 17-article agreement stipulates that the Tibetan army must be reorganized and that Tibet's social system, which is serfdom, must be reformed in accordance with the wishes of the people. These two important tasks could not be carried out as a result of obstruction by the reactionaries. The Central People's Government, waiting for the reactionaries to see the light, informed them at the end of 1956 that during the next six years, that is, for the duration of the Second Five-Year Plan, the reform would not be carried out and the Tibetan army would not be reorganized.

The local government of Tibet is called *kasha* and its six members are called *kaloons* in Tibetan. Of the six *kaloons*, two are patriots: Ngapo Ngawang-Jigme and Sampo Tsewong-Rentzen, who was wounded by the rebels on March 10. One of the other four, Yuto Chahsidong-

chu, had already turned traitor in 1957 and fled to Kalimpong — the centre of the rebellious elements' activities abroad. The three others, Surkong Wongching-Galei, Neusha Thubten-Tarpa, and Hsinka Jigmedorje (Shasu), came out openly as traitors in the present rebellion. Before this, these traitors had used their legal status in the *kasha* to muster the reactionary forces of the upper social strata, collaborated with the external enemy and actually directed some of the most reactionary big serf-owners in Sikang and Tibet in organizing armed rebel forces in certain regions east, north and south of the Tsangpo River to oppose the Central People's Government and betray the motherland. Their rebellion was engineered by the imperialists, the Chiang Kai-shek bands and foreign reactionaries; the command centre of the rebellion was in Kalimpong; and their leader is the dismissed *sitzub* Lokongwa Tsewongrouten. Many of their arms were brought in from abroad. The rebels' base south of the Tsangpo River on a number of occasions received air-dropped supplies from the Chiang Kai-shek bands, and radio stations were set up there by agents sent by the imperialists and the Chiang Kai-shek bands to further their intrigues.

Beginning in May and June last year, on the instructions of the Tibetan local government and the reactionary clique of the upper social strata, the rebel bandits attacked the Chamdo, Dinching, Nagchuka and Loka areas; they disrupted communications; plundered the people and engaged in rape, arson and murder; they attacked agencies and army units of the Central People's Government in these places. In the spirit of national unity, the Central People's Government repeatedly enjoined the local government of Tibet to punish the rebels

and maintain social order. But the local government of Tibet and the reactionary clique of the upper social strata took the magnanimity of the Central People's Government for a sign of weakness. They were saying: the Han people can be frightened off; in the past nine years, the Han people have not had the courage to lay even a finger on our most wonderful and sacred system of serfdom; if we attack them, they can only defend themselves and not hit back; they dare not suppress the rebellion themselves, but only enjoin us to suppress the rebellion; if we bring a large group of forces to Lhasa from other places to deal them a blow, they will surely run away; if not, we can seize the Dalai Buddha, take him to Loka and gather forces for a counter-attack to retake Lhasa; if we fail, we can run to India; India sympathizes with us and may help us; there is also the powerful United States which can also help us; president Chiang Kai-shek in Taiwan has already given us active help; the Dalai is a god, who dare disobey him? The Americans say that the people's commune movement in China has angered the people who are ready to rebel; it is high time to drive out the Han people and proclaim independence, and so on.

The ambitions of these reactionaries soared sky-high and they were ready to take over the whole universe. They therefore refused to do their duty to check the ravages of the rebel bandits, but instead actively stepped up their treacherous intrigues. After concentrating considerable counter-revolutionary armed forces in Lhasa, they started their armed rebellion on March 10, openly scrapping the 17-article agreement.

After the outbreak of the March 10 rebellion in Lhasa, the Dalai Lama wrote to the representative of the Central People's Government in Tibet on three occasions

saying that he had been seized by the reactionaries and was making all possible efforts to deal with the illegal actions of the reactionary clique. In reply, the representative of the Central People's Government welcomed the attitude of the Dalai Lama and expressed the hope that the local government of Tibet would change its wrong attitude and do its duty in suppressing the rebellion.

The reactionary elements, however, not only failed to show any sign of repentance but were determined to extend the rebellion. They had the effrontery to carry off the Dalai Lama by force from Lhasa on March 17; on the night of March 19 they launched an all-out attack on the People's Liberation Army units stationed in Lhasa. Hopes for a peaceful settlement were thus extinguished. The reactionary forces of Tibet finally chose the road to their own extinction.

At 10 a.m. on March 20, the troops of the Tibet Military Area Command of the Chinese People's Liberation Army were ordered to take punitive action against the clique of traitors who had committed these monstrous crimes. With the aid of patriotic Tibetan lamas and laymen, the People's Liberation Army completely crushed the rebellion in the city of Lhasa in just over two days of fighting. Preliminary statistics show that by March 23, more than 4,000 rebel troops were taken prisoner, and over 8,000 small arms of different kinds, 81 light and heavy machine guns, twenty-seven 81 mm. calibre mortars, six mountain guns and 10 million bullets were captured. Encircled by our troops, many of the rebel troops surrendered in groups.

The rapid suppression of the rebellion in Lhasa shows that the traitorous clique in Tibet is certainly doomed and that the future of the Tibetan people is bright. Pri-

marily this is because the Tibetan people are patriotic; they support the Central People's Government, ardently love the People's Liberation Army and oppose the imperialists and traitors. Tibet (including the three areas of Chamdo, Chientsang [Yu], and Houtsang[Tsang]) has a total population of 1,200,000, while the rebel bandits number only about 20,000. Most of these were deceived and intimidated into joining the rebels. This number also includes some rebellious elements who fled to Tibet from areas east of the Kingsha River in what was formerly Sikang Province, and are known as the Khamba people. The overwhelming majority of the Tibetan people are peasants and herdsmen who live in extreme poverty, and they eagerly hope to free themselves from the darkest feudal serfdom in the world. There are also many patriotic progressive people among the upper and middle social strata in Tibet. They support the Central People's Government, oppose the rebellion and advocate democratic reform of the unjust social system so as to turn Tibet step by step into a civilized, progressive area. Thus, Tibet already has a labouring class determinedly aspiring to emancipation, and fairly large sections of patriotic, progressive people as well as middle-of-the-road elements in the upper and middle social strata who are in favour of reform. The task at present is first to put down the rebellion and establish peace and order. In the course of this, the policy of the Central People's Government in dealing with the rebel elements is to punish without fail those guilty of major crimes, not to punish those who were intimidated into joining, and award those who perform meritorious services. The Central People's Government has instructed the People's Liberation Army units in Tibet to unite on a broad front with all Tibetans who

have not taken part in the rebellion, undertake to protect the lives and property of the peasants, herdsmen, and people of the industrial, business, political and religious circles in Tibet, respect the habits and customs of the local people and their religious beliefs, protect the lamaseries and cultural institutions and relics and safeguard the interests of the mass of the people and social order. It is not permitted to take retaliatory action against, to injure or humiliate those who are taken prisoner and those of the enemy who have laid down their arms.

The Chinese Government, for its part, considers that adherence to the five principles of peaceful co-existence should prevail in relations between China and the neighbouring countries to the southwest, and in the first place in relations between China and the great friendly country of the Republic of India. The five principles of peaceful co-existence were put forward for the first time in the agreement signed between China and India on April 29, 1954, on trade and intercourse between the Tibet region of China and India. Considering the fundamental interests of the two countries, there is no reason at all why both parties should not adhere to these principles fully both now and in the future. Chinese Government quarters welcome the statement of Mr. Nehru, the Indian Prime Minister, on March 23 on non-intervention in China's internal affairs, and consider this statement to be friendly. On China's part, there has never been any interference in the internal affairs of India or discussion of the internal affairs of India at the sessions of the National People's Congress or its Standing Committee. It considers such discussion of the internal affairs of a friendly country to be impolite and improper.

In order to wipe out the rebel bandits thoroughly, the State Council has ordered the units of the Chinese People's Liberation Army stationed in Tibet to assume military control in various places in Tibet. The tasks of the military control commissions are: to suppress rebellion; to protect the people and the foreign nationals who observe the laws of China; to set up, with the authorization of the Preparatory Committee for the Autonomous Region of Tibet and the Tibet Military Area Command of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, administrative bodies at various levels in the autonomous region of Tibet, and organize self-defence armed forces of patriotic Tibetans to replace the old Tibetan army of a little more than three thousand men, which was rotten to the core, utterly without fighting capabilities and has turned rebel. The Military Control Commission in Lhasa was formally established on March 23. Military control commissions will be set up in succession in other places with the exception of Shigatse, the capital of Houtsang [Tsang] area which is under the leadership of Panchen Erdeni, and where there is no need for one. The military control commissions in Lhasa and other places are all composed of the representatives of the Chinese People's Liberation Army and representatives of the local patriotic people. The important cities and areas of Ari, west of Lhasa; Gyantse, Phari, Yatung, southwest of Lhasa; Damshune and Nagchuka, north of Lhasa; Chetang, south of Lhasa; and Taichao, Lingtze, Tsamu, Dinching, Chamdo and Dza-i, east of Lhasa, are now all under the firm control of the Chinese People's Liberation Army. The overwhelming majority of the local people are co-operating closely with the Chinese People's Liberation Army. Rebel bandit activities continue only in some very remote places.

Since the Dalai Lama, Chairman of the Preparatory Committee for the Autonomous Region of Tibet, is still held under duress by the rebels, the State Council has decided that Panchen Erdeni, Vice-Chairman of the Preparatory Committee for the Autonomous Region of Tibet, shall act as Chairman during the period when the Dalai Lama is held under duress. The State Council has also appointed as Vice-Chairmen the Living Buddha Pebala Choliehnamje and Ngapo Ngawang-Jigme, Standing Committee members of Tibetan nationality of the Preparatory Committee for the Autonomous Region. Ngapo is concurrently Secretary-General. As soon as order has been restored, local administrative organs of the autonomous region of Tibet will be set up one after another throughout Tibet at all levels and begin to exercise the functions and powers of autonomy. At the present time, autonomy and the system of military control by the People's Liberation Army are simultaneously in force. Autonomy will gradually and completely replace military control when the rebellion is put down and peace and order are established.

As the result of the rebellion by the reactionary forces in Tibet and the defeat of that rebellion, a new page is unfolding in Tibet's history. The conclusion can now be drawn that the imperialists and Tibet's reactionary forces entirely miscalculated the situation in Tibet. Contrary to their wishes, the rebellion they started in Tibet has not led to a split in the motherland and the retrogression of Tibet, but instead has helped to strengthen national unification, accelerate the doom of the reactionary forces in Tibet, push forward democratization in Tibet and bring about the regeneration of the Tibetan people.

*The seventeen articles of the Agreement on Measures for the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet are as follows:

1. The Tibetan people shall unite and drive out imperialist aggressive forces from Tibet; the Tibetan people shall return to the big family of the motherland — the People's Republic of China.

2. The local government of Tibet shall actively assist the People's Liberation Army to enter Tibet and consolidate the national defence.

3. In accordance with the policy towards nationalities laid down in the Common Programme of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, the Tibetan people have the right of exercising national regional autonomy under the unified leadership of the Central People's Government.

4. The central authorities will not alter the existing political system in Tibet. The central authorities also will not alter the established status, functions and powers of the Dalai Lama. Officials of various ranks shall hold office as usual.

5. The established status, functions and powers of the Panchen Erdeni shall be maintained.

6. By the established status, functions and powers of the Dalai Lama and of the Panchen Erdeni are meant the status, functions and powers of the 13th Dalai Lama and of the 9th Panchen Erdeni when they were in friendly and amicable relations with each other.

7. The policy of freedom of religious belief laid down in the Common Programme of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference shall be carried out. The religious beliefs, customs and habits of the Tibetan people shall be respected, and lama monasteries shall be protected. The central authorities will not effect a change in the income of the monasteries.

8. Tibetan troops shall be reorganized by stages into the People's Liberation Army, and become a part of the national defence forces of the People's Republic of China.

9. The spoken and written language and school education of the Tibetan nationality shall be developed step by step in accordance with the actual conditions in Tibet.

10. Tibetan agriculture, livestock raising, industry and commerce shall be developed step by step, and the people's livelihood shall be improved step by step in accordance with the actual conditions in Tibet.

11. In matters related to various reforms in Tibet, there will be no compulsion on the part of the central authorities. The local government of Tibet should carry out reforms of its own accord, and when the people raise demands for reform, they shall be settled by means of consultation with the leading personnel of Tibet.

12. In so far as former pro-imperialist and pro-Kuomintang officials resolutely sever relations with imperialism and the Kuomintang and do not engage in sabotage or resistance, they may continue to hold office irrespective of their past.

13. The People's Liberation Army entering Tibet shall abide by all the above-mentioned policies and shall also be fair in all buying and selling and shall not arbitrarily take a single needle or thread from the people.

14. The Central People's Government shall conduct the centralized handling of all external affairs of the area of Tibet; and there will be peaceful co-existence with neighbouring countries and establishment and development of fair commercial and trading relations with them on the basis of equality, mutual benefit and mutual respect for territory and sovereignty.

15. In order to ensure the implementation of this agreement, the Central People's Government shall set up a military and administrative committee and a military area headquarters in Tibet, and apart from the personnel sent there by the Central People's Government shall absorb as many local Tibetan personnel as possible to take part in the work.

Local Tibetan personnel taking part in the military and administrative committee may include patriotic elements from the local government of Tibet, various districts and leading monasteries; the name-list shall be drawn up after consultation between the representatives designated by the Central People's Government and the various quarters concerned, and shall be submitted to the Central People's Government for appointment.

16. Funds needed by the military and administrative committee, the military area headquarters and the People's Liberation Army entering Tibet shall be provided by the Central People's Government. The local government of Tibet will assist the People's Liberation Army in the purchase and transport of food, fodder and other daily necessities.

17. This agreement shall come into force immediately after signatures and seals are affixed to it.

PUT DOWN THE REBELLION IN TIBET THOROUGHLY!

*Editorial of "Renmin Ribao" (People's Daily),
March 31, 1959*

The local government of Tibet and the reactionary clique of the upper social strata there, in collusion with imperialism, the Chiang Kai-shek bandits and foreign reactionaries, have openly torn up the 17-article Agreement on Measures for the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet, abducted the Dalai Lama and launched an armed rebellion. These monstrous crimes, betraying the motherland, disrupting unification of the country and undermining national unity, are absolutely intolerable to the people of all nationalities throughout the country including the patriotic people of Tibet. The People's Liberation Army units in Tibet have been ordered to put down the rebellion thoroughly. To protect the unification of the country and national unity, Premier of the State Council Chou En-lai has ordered the dissolution of the local government of Tibet, which organized the rebellion, and has decided that the Preparatory Committee for the Autonomous Region of Tibet exercise the functions and powers of the local government of Tibet. Actively assisted by the Tibetan people, both ecclesiastical and secular, the People's Liberation Army has swiftly stamped out the rebellion in the Lhasa area and

is mopping up the rebel bandits in some other places in Tibet. Patriots of all circles in Tibet, ecclesiastical and secular, have warmly supported the measures taken by the Central People's Government and condemned the clique of traitors. People of all nationalities in other parts of the country have also unanimously condemned the traitorous crimes of the Tibetan reactionary clique. We extend our sincere sympathy to those in all walks of life in Tibet who have suffered at the hands of the rebels and pay our respects to the People's Liberation Army units there which have performed a distinguished service in putting down the rebellion.

The Tibetans are one of China's nationalities with a long history. Like other nationalities in the country, they have contributed to the founding and development of our great motherland. But over a long period in modern times, the Tibetan people have languished in abysmal darkness, poverty and backwardness as a result of imperialist invasion and the policies of national oppression and of sowing dissension among nationalities pursued by the Ching dynasty and the Kuomintang reactionary government. This is also due to enslavement of the people in the region by the Tibetan reactionary ruling clique and its servility to the foreign imperialists. After the founding of the Chinese People's Republic, Tibet was peacefully liberated and rejoined the great family of the motherland. Since then, the Central People's Government has at all times adhered in relation to Tibet to the policy of unification of the motherland, national unity, national equality and the gradual realization of regional national autonomy and democratic reforms. The Central People's Government has carried out a series of measures to promote mutual

understanding and unity between the Han and Tibetan nationalities. It has also spared no effort to promote the internal unity of the Tibetan nationality, primarily the unity between the Dalai Lama and Panchen Erdeni. In April 1956, after full consultation with the local government of Tibet, the Preparatory Committee for the Autonomous Region of Tibet was established with the Dalai Lama as Chairman, Panchen Erdeni as First Vice-Chairman and with wide participation by people of all strata of the Tibetan nationality. The People's Liberation Army units stationed in Tibet have unfailingly observed strict discipline, protected and cared for the interests of the people and respected religious beliefs and customs and habits in the region. They have not taken so much as a needle or thread from the people. They have established farms, factories, hospitals and schools, built bridges and roads and assisted in the economic and cultural development of the region. As a result, the Central People's Government and the People's Liberation Army have won the warm support and affection of the broad masses of the people of Tibet.

The Tibetan people urgently desire democratic reforms because they know that unless reforms are carried out Tibet cannot become prosperous and make progress. The Agreement on Measures for the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet stipulates that the local government of Tibet should institute reforms on its own initiative and that the Tibetan army should gradually be reorganized into the People's Liberation Army. But in view of the special historical conditions in Tibet, it has been the consistent policy of the Central People's Government to strive to strengthen the unity between nationalities and to wait patiently for the upper social strata in Tibet to see

reason. After the peaceful liberation of Tibet, the Central People's Government made no changes in Tibet's existing political system, the original status and authority of the Dalai Lama or the revenues of the lamaseries. Ecclesiastical and secular officials at all levels retained their former positions. The Central People's Government did not go into the past misdeeds of those officials who were formerly pro-imperialist and pro-Kuomintang, and permitted them to retain their posts on condition that they indicated their willingness to sever connections with the imperialists and Kuomintang reactionaries. Even in the case of counter-revolutionaries who continued their counter-revolutionary activities after liberation, the Central People's Government merely enjoined the local government of Tibet to undertake responsibility for their punishment and did not directly arrest them for punishment according to law. The Central People's Government adopted this policy of magnanimity and patience precisely because it has so high a regard for the unification of the motherland and the unity of the nation; it gave the local government of Tibet and members of the upper social strata ample time to think things over. At the end of 1956, the Central People's Government announced to the local government of Tibet that during a period of six years, namely until 1962, it would be permissible not to carry out democratic reforms in Tibet; and that after this period, the question of when to institute reforms would still be settled through consultation among the Tibetan leaders, members of the upper social strata and the mass of the people, in the light of conditions at that time.

But the clique of reactionaries in Tibet do not want regional autonomy at all. What they are after is the

so-called "independence of Tibet" plotted by the imperialist aggressors for many years. Utilizing their positions in the *kasha* (Tibetan term for the local government of Tibet), utilizing Kalimpong, which is outside the country, as a centre for collusion with imperialism, the Chiang Kai-shek bandits and foreign reactionaries, they actively recruited rebellious bandits, directed them in committing arson and in plundering and ravaging the people and attacking the garrisons of the People's Liberation Army and communication lines. They organized the illegal "people's conference" and prepared, once they had mustered considerable forces, to tear up right away the Agreement on Measures for the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet and abolish the Preparatory Committee for the Autonomous Region of Tibet. This reactionary clique believed that they could make use of religious superstitions to dupe the Tibetan people for ever. They thought that imperialism, the Chiang Kai-shek bandits and foreign reactionaries would give them effective support and that India and other neighbouring countries would act as their props. They regarded the patience and magnanimity displayed by the Central People's Government as signs of weakness and impotence. Feeling thus reassured and emboldened, their rebellious activities gradually came out into the open, developed from small to large-scale, and they went as far as to stage an all-out armed rebellion.

Events over quite a long period have shown that the reactionary clique in Tibet is not only the saboteur of the motherland's unification and of unity between the two great nationalities — the Hans and the Tibetans, it is also a stumbling-block in the advance towards prosperity and progress of the Tibetan nationality. The

Central People's Government long ago discovered that the local government of Tibet was engaged in various criminal activities, but still showed the utmost magnanimity, warning it time and again to assume the responsibility for curbing these activities, in the hope that ultimately they would see the error of their ways and repent. Even after the rebellion occurred in Lhasa on March 10, the Central People's Government still made last-minute efforts, urging them to pull back from the brink of the precipice. But the local government of Tibet and the reactionary clique of the upper social strata proved themselves obstinate and incorrigible. They went to the extremity of abducting the Dalai Lama and launching an all-out military attack against the units of the People's Liberation Army garrisoned in Tibet, thus shattering all hopes of a peaceful settlement and taking the path of self-destruction. It was only after the situation had developed to an extent leaving no further room for tolerance that the Central People's Government ordered the People's Liberation Army garrison in Tibet to take punitive measures and thoroughly put down the rebellion. Patriots of all sections in Tibet have therefore realized that the Central People's Government has indeed done all it could to preserve national unity and that the only way now to continue to preserve national unity is to put down the rebellion and thoroughly smash the traitorous clique which has committed these heinous crimes.

The primary task in Tibet at present is to make a clean sweep of all the rebels and to establish peace and order. The proclamation of the Tibet Military Area Command of the Chinese People's Liberation Army and the communique of the Hsinhua News Agency on the rebellion

in Tibet have already clearly explained the policies which the government will adopt in the course of this. The Preparatory Committee for the Autonomous Region of Tibet and the Tibet Military Area Command of the Chinese People's Liberation Army will firmly unite with all ecclesiastical and secular people in Tibet who have not taken part in the rebellion. Even as regards the rebels, each case will be dealt with on its merits in accordance with the policy of leniency. That is to say, the past misdeeds of those who come over will be forgiven; those who perform meritorious service will be rewarded and prisoners will suffer neither death nor indignity. Only those who stubbornly resist will be severely punished. The units of the Chinese People's Liberation Army stationed in Tibet will continue their consistent policy of respecting the religious beliefs and customs and habits of the local people and protecting lamaseries and cultural relics. The Preparatory Committee for the Autonomous Region of Tibet will exercise the functions and powers of the local government and actively promote the realization of regional national autonomy for Tibet. During the period of the Dalai Lama's abduction, Panchen Erdeni will act as Chairman of the Preparatory Committee for the Autonomous Region of Tibet. Of course, the rebellion of the Tibetan traitorous clique has proved the necessity of instituting democratic reforms in Tibet. But the Central People's Government will still fully consult with the patriotic people of the upper and middle social strata and the people of various walks of life in Tibet as to the time, steps and measures to be taken for carrying out reforms. We are confident that when the rebel clique is smashed, unity both between Tibetans and Hans and within the ranks of the Tibetan people will be greatly

strengthened and that on this basis Tibet will gradually advance along the bright road of prosperity and progress.

In carrying out its traitorous activities, the Tibetan reactionary clique has all along had the support of the imperialists. After the outbreak of the Lhasa rebellion on March 10, the imperialists thought that their old dream of an "independent Tibet" would be realized. So they clamorously encouraged the clique of traitors in Tibet. But their elation proved short-lived. The People's Liberation Army swiftly put down the rebellion in the Lhasa area. So the imperialists and foreign reactionaries concentrated their propaganda fire on People's China. The U.S. State Department has issued several statements in succession, full of slanders to the effect that the Chinese Government violated the Agreement on Measures for the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet, saying that China wants to "destroy the religious and political autonomy" of Tibet and hypocritically proffering "profound sympathy" to "the people of Tibet in the face of barbarous intervention." It will be recalled that eight years ago when the Central People's Government of China reached the Agreement on Measures for the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet with the local government of Tibet, the reactionaries in the United States and other countries launched fierce attacks on that agreement. Now they have suddenly shown up as defenders of the agreement. What irony! The slanders of the U.S. State Department are not worth refuting because it is not the Central People's Government but the Tibetan reactionary clique, supported and instigated by the U.S. imperialists and foreign reactionaries, that has violated the agreement and rejected national autonomy for Tibet. No foreign country should interfere in the matter of the

rebellion in Tibet which is purely China's internal affair. The rebellion in Tibet and its suppression are entirely internal affairs of China. Even the spokesmen of the U.S. State Department were forced to acknowledge that the United States had never recognized Tibet as an independent state. It is known that the famous five principles — that is, mutual respect for each other's sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit and peaceful co-existence — were first put forward in the Agreement on Trade and Intercourse Between the Tibet Region of China and India signed on April 29, 1954, between China and India, China's great, friendly neighbour. In June of the same year, Chinese Premier Chou En-lai and Indian Prime Minister Nehru solemnly declared in their joint statement that these five principles were the fundamental principles guiding the relations between China and India. Since then, these five principles have become the common principles of China's relations with the Asian and African countries, especially with the neighbouring states in the southwest. We are very glad to know that after the outbreak of the rebellion in Tibet, India's Prime Minister Nehru issued on March 23 a statement on non-interference in China's internal affairs. We believe that the Chinese and Indian Governments will continue to observe the five principles faithfully, and will not allow friendly relations between our two countries to be impaired.

**LETTERS EXCHANGED BETWEEN THE DALAI
LAMA AND GENERAL TAN KUAN-SAN, ACTING
REPRESENTATIVE OF THE CENTRAL PEOPLE'S
GOVERNMENT IN TIBET AND POLITICAL
COMMISSAR OF THE TIBET MILITARY
AREA COMMAND**

The following six letters were exchanged between the Dalai Lama and General Tan Kuan-san, acting representative of the Central People's Government in Tibet and political commissar of the Tibet Military Area Command. The correspondence took place between March 10 when the clique of Tibetan traitors started their rebellion in Lhasa and the night of March 17 when they carried off by force the Dalai Lama from Lhasa. All three letters from the Dalai Lama are in his own handwriting.

The rebellion in Lhasa was launched on the day when the Dalai Lama was scheduled to attend a theatrical performance in the auditorium of the Tibet Military Area Command. The Dalai Lama himself decided to attend the performance and the date March 10 was also fixed by him. According to a well-prepared plan, however, the rebellious clique in Tibet spread wild rumours alleging that the army units of the Tibet Military Area Command would detain the Dalai Lama, and using this as a pretext, on March 10 they incited many people to surround the Norbu Lingka to prevent the Dalai Lama

from leaving his palace, and openly started the rebellion. Soon after the incident took place, in the afternoon of that day, General Tan Kuan-san wrote a brief letter to the Dalai Lama, explaining to him that, because of the rebellion started by the reactionaries, it would be advisable for him not to come to attend the performance for the time being. The Dalai Lama wrote a letter to General Tan Kuan-san on the 11th, in which he said, "Reactionary, evil elements are carrying out activities endangering me under the pretext of ensuring my safety. I am taking measures to calm things down."

On March 11 General Tan Kuan-san wrote another letter to the Dalai Lama, pointing out that the reactionaries had openly engaged in military provocations, and demanded the Tibetan local government be responsible to stop them at once.

On March 12 the Dalai Lama wrote a letter in reply to General Tan Kuan-san, in which he stated again that under the pretext of ensuring his safety the reactionaries brought about incidents which had seriously estranged relations between the Central People's Government and the local government, and said he was "making every possible effort to deal with them."

On March 15 General Tan Kuan-san wrote again to the Dalai Lama, explaining to him the attitude of the Central People's Government towards the rebellion and welcoming the Dalai Lama's attitude of making every possible effort to deal with the incidents.

On March 16 the Dalai Lama wrote to General Tan Kuan-san, saying that he had already instructed the officials of the Tibetan local government and expressing his willingness to go to the Military Area Command in a few days. But only one day after the Dalai Lama

had delivered this letter, on the night of March 17, the rebellious clique abducted him from Lhasa and went to the Loka area to the southeast of Lhasa. Then on the night of March 19, the rebellious clique launched an all-out attack on the People's Liberation Army units in Lhasa.

The full texts of these six letters are as follows:

I

**THE MARCH 10 LETTER OF GENERAL TAN KUAN-SAN,
ACTING REPRESENTATIVE OF THE CENTRAL
PEOPLE'S GOVERNMENT IN TIBET AND POLITICAL
COMMISSAR OF THE TIBET MILITARY AREA
COMMAND, TO THE DALAI LAMA**

March 10, 1959

Respected Dalai Lama,

It is very good indeed that you wanted to come to the Military Area Command. You are heartily welcome. But since the intrigues and provocations of the reactionaries have caused you very great difficulties, it may be advisable that for the time being you do not come.

Salutations and best regards,

TAN KUAN-SAN

II

THE MARCH 11 LETTER OF THE DALAI LAMA TO GENERAL TAN KUAN-SAN, ACTING REPRESENTATIVE OF THE CENTRAL PEOPLE'S GOVERNMENT IN TIBET AND POLITICAL COMMISSAR OF THE TIBET MILITARY AREA COMMAND

Dear Comrade Political Commissar Tan,

I intended to go to the Military Area Command to see the theatrical performance yesterday, but I was unable to do so, because of obstruction by people, lamas and laymen, who were instigated by a few evil elements and who did not know the facts; this has put me to indescribable shame. I am greatly upset and worried and at a loss what to do. I was immediately greatly delighted when your letter (this refers to the letter sent by General Tan Kuan-san to the Dalai Lama on the 10th — *Ed.*) appeared before me — you do not mind at all.

Reactionary, evil elements are carrying out activities endangering me under the pretext of ensuring my safety. I am taking measures to calm things down. In a few days when the situation becomes stable, I will certainly meet you. If you have any internal directives for me, please communicate them to me frankly through this messenger (this refers to Ngapo Ngawang-Jigme — *Ed.*).

THE DALAI LAMA,

written by my own hand

III

**THE MARCH 11 LETTER OF GENERAL TAN KUAN-SAN,
ACTING REPRESENTATIVE OF THE CENTRAL
PEOPLE'S GOVERNMENT IN TIBET AND POLITICAL
COMMISSAR OF THE TIBET MILITARY AREA
COMMAND, TO THE DALAI LAMA**

March 11, 1959

To Dalai Lama:

The reactionaries have now become so audacious that they have openly and arrogantly engaged in military provocations. They have erected fortifications and posted large numbers of machine guns and armed reactionaries along the national defence highway (the highway north of the Norbu Lingka) thereby very seriously disrupting the security of national defence communications.

On many occasions in the past, we told the *kasha* that the People's Liberation Army is in duty bound to defend the country and to ensure the protection of communications related to national defence; it certainly cannot remain indifferent to this serious act of military provocation. The Tibet Military Area Command has sent letters, therefore, to Surkong, Neusha, Shasu and Pala asking them to tell the reactionaries to remove all the fortifications they have set up and to withdraw from the highway immediately. Otherwise, they will have to take full responsibility themselves for the evil consequences. I want to inform you of this. Please let me know what your views are at your earliest convenience.

Salutations and best regards,

TAN KUAN-SAN

IV

THE MARCH 12 LETTER OF THE DALAI LAMA TO GENERAL TAN KUAN-SAN, ACTING REPRESENT- ATIVE OF THE CENTRAL PEOPLE'S GOVERN- MENT IN TIBET AND POLITICAL COMMISSAR OF THE TIBET MILITARY AREA COMMAND

March 12, 1959

Dear Comrade Political Commissar Tan,

I suppose you have received my letter of yesterday (March 11 — *Ed.*) forwarded to you by Ngapo. I have received the letter you sent me this morning. The unlawful activities of the reactionary clique cause me endless worry and sorrow. Yesterday I told the *kasha* to order the immediate dissolution of the illegal people's conference* and the immediate withdrawal of the reac-

*The "people's conference" is a reactionary organization under the control of the former *sitzub* Lokongwa Tsewongrouten and Lozong Drashi. It first became active publicly in March 1952. On April 1 of the same year, it sent its representatives to petition General Chang Ching-wu, the representative of the Central Government, and unlawfully demanded the withdrawal of the People's Liberation Army from Tibet. At the same moment, the Tibetan army surrounded General Chang Ching-wu's residence and fired on Ngapo Ngawang-Jigme's home. The situation in Lhasa became intensified. This was a well-organized and planned open opposition to the Agreement on Measures for the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet by the Tibetan local government and reactionaries of the upper social strata. They attempted to force us into concession and actively organized armed rebellions. But under General Chang Ching-wu's resolute demand, the Tibetan local government ordered the removal of the two *sitzub*, Lokongwa Tsewongrouten and Lozong Drashi from their office on

tionaries who arrogantly moved into the Norbu Lingka under the pretext of protecting me. As to the incidents of yesterday and the day before, which were brought about under the pretext of ensuring my safety and have seriously estranged relations between the Central People's Government and the local government, I am making every possible effort to deal with them. At eight thirty Peking time this morning a few Tibetan army men suddenly fired several shots near the Chinghai-Tibet Highway. Fortunately, no serious disturbance occurred. I am planning to persuade a few subordinates and give them instructions.

Please communicate to me frankly any instructive opinions you have for me.

THE DALAI

April 27. On May 1 the Dalai Lama ordered the dissolution of the bogus "people's conference" which then carried on its activities in secret.

In July 1954, the gangsters of the bogus "people's conference" again came into the open. Their publicly-known leaders included Alochoitse, A-nan-lag Lozong-yarphel and Jorpel Choitse. When the Dalai Lama went to Peking to attend the First National People's Congress, they clamoured that they would demand the early return of the Dalai Lama and formed the "people's leaders" under this pretext. In January 1955, they formed the "Relief Association." Under the cover of this legal form of organization, the gangsters of the "people's leaders" spared no effort to expand its influence in the other parts of Tibet. Within half of a year, their leaders were found active in Houtsang, Gyantse, Ari, Medu Kongkar, Lanong and Loka. While they distributed *tsamba* and Tibetan money among beggars and the poor and

V

THE MARCH 15 LETTER OF GENERAL TAN KUAN-SAN, ACTING REPRESENTATIVE OF THE CENTRAL PEOPLE'S GOVERNMENT IN TIBET AND POLITICAL COMMISSAR OF THE TIBET MILITARY AREA COMMAND, TO THE DALAI LAMA

March 15, 1959

Respected Dalai Lama,

I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your two letters dated March 11 and March 12. The traitorous activities of some reactionary elements among the upper social strata in Tibet have grown to intolerable proportions. These individuals, in collusion with foreigners, have engaged in reactionary, traitorous activities for quite some time. The Central People's Government has all along maintained a magnanimous attitude and enjoined the local government of Tibet to deal with them in all

gave alms to the lamas in the monasteries, they carried out reactionary propaganda and scattered reactionary propaganda literature. After the Dalai Lama returned to Tibet, they made use of the question of the Tibetan currency and the relation between Dalai and Panchen and put forward petitions, aiming at obstructing the realization of the State Council's Decision on the Founding of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibetan Autonomous Region and other decisions. This intrigue of theirs, however, did not succeed.

After this failure, they continued with their reactionary activities, and scattered reactionary handbills in February 1955 during a summons ceremony. Up to the time of the open rebellion of the Tibetan local government, the bogus "people's conference" was still carrying on their criminal activities—*Ed.*

earnestness, but the local government of Tibet has all along adopted an attitude of feigning compliance while actually helping them in their activities, with the result that things have now come to such a grave pass. The Central People's Government still hopes that the local government of Tibet will change its wrong attitude and immediately assume responsibility for putting down the rebellion and mete out severe punishment to the traitors. Otherwise the Central People's Government will have to act itself to safeguard the solidarity and unification of the motherland.

In your letter, you said: "As to the incidents . . . which were brought about under the pretext of ensuring my safety and have seriously estranged relations between the Central People's Government and the local government, I am making every possible effort to deal with them." We warmly welcome this correct attitude on your part.

We are very much concerned about your present situation and safety. If you think it necessary and possible to extricate yourself from your present dangerous position of being held by the traitors, we cordially welcome you and your entourage to come and stay for a short time in the Military Area Command. We are willing to assume full responsibility for your safety. As to what is the best course to follow, it is entirely up to you to decide.

In addition, I have much pleasure in informing you that it has been decided that the Second National People's Congress will open its first session on April 17.

Salutations and my best regards,

TAN KUAN-SAN

VI

THE MARCH 16 LETTER OF THE DALAI LAMA TO GENERAL TAN KUAN-SAN, ACTING REPRESENTA- TIVE OF THE CENTRAL PEOPLE'S GOVERNMENT IN TIBET AND POLITICAL COMMISSAR OF THE TIBET MILITARY AREA COMMAND

March 16, 1959

Dear Comrade Political Commissar Tan,

Your letter dated the 15th has just been received at three o'clock. I am very glad that you are so concerned about my safety and hereby express my thanks.

The day before yesterday, the fifth day of the second month according to the Tibetan calendar (March 14, 1959 — *Ed.*), I made a speech to more than seventy representatives of the government officials, instructing them from various angles, calling on them to consider seriously present and long-term interests and to calm down, otherwise my life would be in danger. After these severe reproaches, things took a slight turn for the better. Though the conditions here and outside are still very difficult to handle at present, I am trying tactfully to draw a line separating the progressive people among the government officials from those opposing the revolution. In a few days from now when there are enough forces that I can trust I shall make my way in secret to the Military Area Command. When that time comes, I shall first send you a letter. I request you to adopt reliable measures. What are your views? Please write me often.

THE DALAI

**PHOTOCOPIES OF THE ORIGINALS: THE DALAI
LAMA'S THREE LETTERS TO GENERAL
TAN KUAN-SAN, ACTING REPRESENTATIVE
OF THE CENTRAL PEOPLE'S GOVERNMENT
IN TIBET AND POLITICAL COMMISSAR OF THE
TIBET MILITARY AREA COMMAND**

The originals of the three letters from the Dalai Lama in his own handwriting, before he was abducted from Lhasa on the night of March 17, have been brought to Peking from Lhasa. They were photographed and released for publication by the Hsinhua News Agency on April 7. The letters are addressed to General Tan Kuan-san, acting representative of the Central People's Government in Tibet and political commissar of the Tibet Military Area Command.

One letter written personally by the Dalai Lama to General Tan Kuan-san on March 11 is written with a pen in blue ink under the Tibetan translation of General Tan Kuan-san's letter to the Dalai Lama dated March 10. This is the letter, which the Dalai Lama referred to in his second letter, forwarded through Ngapo Ngawang-Jigme.

The letters written personally by the Dalai Lama dated March 12 and 16 and addressed to General Tan Kuan-san are written with black pencil on white letter paper made of thin woodfree printing paper.

In the three letters, the Dalai Lama explained that the clique of Tibetan traitors on the pretext of protecting his safety, was engaged in activities endangering

Handwritten text in Tibetan script, consisting of approximately 15 lines of cursive writing on a lined background. The text is dense and appears to be a formal letter or document.

The Dalai Lama's first letter to General Tan Kuan-san
(in his own handwriting)

himself, was creating incidents seriously estranging relations between the central and local authorities, that he was doing his best to deal with the matter and was giving instructions to officials of the Tibetan local government. On the day following the sending of his third letter (dated March 16) namely, on the night of March 17, the traitors abducted the Dalai Lama from Lhasa. On the night of March 19, they launched a general attack against the units of the People's Liberation Army garrisoned in Lhasa.

**THE DALAI LAMA'S FIRST LETTER
TO GENERAL TAN KUAN-SAN**

(In His Own Handwriting)

This letter dated March 11 is written with a pen in blue ink under the Tibetan translation of General Tan's letter of March 10 to the Dalai Lama. General Tan's letter reads from the first line of the page to the first part of the tenth line. From the second half of the tenth line to the bottom of the page is the Dalai Lama's letter written by himself. The original measures 26.3 cm.×18.7 cm.

English Translation:

Dear Comrade Political Commissar Tan,

I intended to go to the Military Area Command to see the theatrical performance yesterday, but I was unable to do so, because of obstruction by people, lamas and laymen, who were instigated by a few evil elements and who did not know the facts; this has put me to indescribable shame. I am greatly upset and worried and at a loss

what to do. I was immediately greatly delighted when your letter (this refers to the letter sent by General Tan Kuan-san to the Dalai Lama on the 10th — *Ed.*) appeared before me — you do not mind at all.

Reactionary, evil elements are carrying out activities endangering me under the pretext of ensuring my safety. I am taking measures to calm things down. In a few days when the situation becomes stable, I will certainly meet you. If you have any internal directives for me, please communicate them to me frankly through this messenger (this refers to Ngapo Ngawang-Jigme — *Ed.*).

THE DALAI LAMA,
written by my own hand

**THE DALAI LAMA'S SECOND LETTER TO
GENERAL TAN KUAN-SAN**

(In His Own Handwriting)

This letter dated March 12 is written by the Dalai Lama himself with a pencil. The original measures 27.3 cm. × 21.2 cm.

English Translation:

Dear Comrade Political Commissar Tan,

I suppose you have received my letter of yesterday (March 11 — *Ed.*) forwarded to you by Ngapo. I have received the letter you sent me this morning. The unlawful activities of the reactionary clique cause me endless worry and sorrow. Yesterday I told the *kasha* to order the immediate dissolution of the illegal people's conference and the immediate withdrawal of the reac-

འཇམ་མཉམས་ལྷན་དུ་བཞུགས་པའི་མཁའ་མཁོ་བའི་མཚན་ལྟར་
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The Dalai Lama's second letter to General Tan Kuan-san
(in his own handwriting)

འཇུག་པོ་ལ་བཞུགས་པའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ལོ་རྒྱུས་
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The Dalai Lama's third letter to General Tan Kuan-san
(in his own handwriting)

tionaries who arrogantly moved into the Norbu Lingka under the pretext of protecting me. As to the incidents of yesterday and the day before, which were brought about under the pretext of ensuring my safety and have seriously estranged relations between the Central People's Government and the local government, I am making every possible effort to deal with them. At eight thirty Peking time this morning a few Tibetan army men suddenly fired several shots near the Chinghai-Tibet Highway. Fortunately, no serious disturbance occurred. I am planning to persuade a few subordinates and give them instructions.

Please communicate to me frankly any instructive opinions you have for me.

THE DALAI

March 12

**THE DALAI LAMA'S THIRD LETTER TO
GENERAL TAN KUAN-SAN**

(In His Own Handwriting)

This letter dated March 16 is written by the Dalai Lama himself with a pencil. The original measures 27.3 cm. × 21.2 cm.

English Translation:

Dear Comrade Political Commissar Tan,

Your letter dated the 15th has just been received at three o'clock. I am very glad that you are so concerned about my safety and hereby express my thanks.

The day before yesterday, the fifth day of the second month according to the Tibetan calendar (March 14, 1959 — *Ed.*), I made a speech to more than seventy representatives of the government officials, instructing them from various angles, calling on them to consider seriously present and long-term interests and to calm down, otherwise my life would be in danger. After these severe reproaches, things took a slight turn for the better. Though the conditions here and outside are still very difficult to handle at present, I am trying tactfully to draw a line separating the progressive people among the government officials from those opposing the revolution. In a few days from now when there are enough forces that I can trust I shall make my way in secret to the Military Area Command. When that time comes, I shall first send you a letter. I request you to adopt reliable measures. What are your views? Please write me often.

THE DALAI

March 16

PANCHEN ERDENI'S CABLE TO CHAIRMAN MAO TSE-TUNG AND PREMIER CHOU EN-LAI

To Premier Chou En-lai, please forward to Chairman Mao Tse-tung:

I personally, and on behalf of the broad masses of the people in Tibet, ecclesiastical and secular, firmly support the order of the State Council on dissolving the Tibet local government and putting down the rebellion and support the proclamation issued by the Tibet Military Area Command of the People's Liberation Army.

The former Tibet local government and the Tibetan upper strata reactionary clique have all the time obstructed and undermined the efforts made by the Central People's Government and the people and patriots in Tibet to carry out thoroughly the agreement on the peaceful liberation of Tibet. They have all the time been carrying out intrigues to split and undermine national unity. They have all the time opposed the Tibetan people in their advance by means of democratic reforms towards a prosperous and happy socialist society. All these are reactionary acts in opposition to and detrimental to the interests of the Tibetan people and in violation of their will. With regard to their reactionary activities, the Chinese Communist Party and the Central People's Government have all the time been exercising magnanimity, constantly enlightening them as to the just truth,

patiently waiting for them to comprehend, and giving them opportunities to repent. But the upper strata reactionary clique in Tibet has persisted in error, and even regarded the Central People's Government of our powerful motherland as "weak," and the invincible People's Liberation Army "able to be bullied." Last year they supported and expanded the armed rebel forces in Tibet, ravaging the people of Tibet. Since March 10 this year, they have held the Dalai Lama under duress, murdered patriotic and progressive people and persecuted Tibetan functionaries and workers, and openly took to the criminal road of betrayal of the country and the people. In collusion with the imperialists and the Chiang Kai-shek clique, they began to launch an all-out armed attack on the organizations and units of the People's Liberation Army stationed in Lhasa on the night of March 19.

The crimes of the upper strata reactionary clique of Tibet show that they are traitors to the motherland, enemies of the Tibetan people and the dregs of the Tibetan nationality in Tibet. Their crimes of betrayal of the country are impermissible in state law and have already met with firm oppositions from the broad masses of the people and patriots in Tibet. The military actions taken by the People's Liberation Army garrison in Tibet in carrying out resolutely the orders of the State Council, to dissolve the Tibet local government and put down the rebellion, completely conform to the interests of the Tibetan people and therefore are supported by the Tibetan people on an ever broadening scale and with growing enthusiasm. On behalf of the Tibetan people, ecclesiastical and secular and in my own name, I hail the tremendous victory already won by the People's Liberation Army in putting down the rebellion.

I express deep sympathy and concern for the Dalai Lama who is now held under duress by the reactionary rebels. I hope he will soon be able to get out of their control. I fully accept the order of the State Council to act as Chairman of the Preparatory Committee for the Autonomous Region of Tibet, during the time that the Dalai Lama is under duress.

I shall spare no earnest effort to unite the ecclesiastical and secular people and all patriots in Tibet and, with full confidence, to give active assistance to the People's Liberation Army to put down the rebellion and thoroughly smash all the shameless traitorous intrigues carried out by the upper strata reactionary clique in Tibet with the support of the imperialists and the Chiang Kai-shek clique. I am convinced that under the wise leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, Chairman Mao Tse-tung and the Central People's Government, and with the powerful support of the 650 million people of all nationalities of the motherland, the Tibetan people and the People's Liberation Army together can certainly end the rebellion and build up a new, prosperous, happy, socialist Tibet.

Long live the great motherland!

Long live the Chinese Communist Party!

Long live Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the great leader of all nationalities of our country!

PANCHEN

March 29, 1959

MASS RALLIES IN VARIOUS PARTS OF TIBET WARMLY SUPPORT THE STATE COUNCIL ORDER

Warm support for the State Council order dissolving the Tibet local government and putting down the rebellion in Tibet was expressed at a gathering held here on March 30 which was attended by more than a thousand people from all circles.

Panchen Erdeni, Acting Chairman of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region, made an appeal at the meeting to all patriots, ecclesiastic and secular, in Tibet. In his speech, he called upon them to distinguish right from wrong, good from evil, to support the order of the Central People's Government and the proclamation of the Tibet Military Area Command of the People's Liberation Army, to assist the PLA actively in putting down the rebellion and to thoroughly crush all traitorous activities carried out by the Tibetan reactionary clique with the support of the imperialists and Chiang Kai-shek gang.

Lamin Yishitsudin, Vice-Secretary General of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region, said at the meeting: "We support the State Council order. The reactionary elements have now been purged from the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region. This is an indication of the correctness of the policy of the Central People's Government. Let

us, irrespective of where we come from, unite closely in common efforts to build a democratic and socialist Tibet!"

Representatives from all circles in Shigatse also spoke at the gathering.

A representative of government functionaries here said: "Because the rebel elements in the Tibet local government have betrayed the motherland and national interests, they have been cast aside by the people. I firmly support the State Council order. I pledge to answer the call of the proclamation of the Tibet Military Area Command by deeds."

Tsewa, speaking on behalf of all the residents of the eight districts of Shigatse, voiced firm support for the State Council order and promised to assist the People's Liberation Army in putting down the rebellion and to work to maintain order.

Many representatives of people's organizations, Living Buddhas, Kanpoes, officials and ordinary people expressed their endorsement of the State Council order.

A cable in support of the State Council order was unanimously adopted at the meeting amidst warm applause.

(Shigatse, April 1, Hsinhua)

Meetings were held by people of all circles in Lhasa yesterday, at which they expressed full support for the State Council order, condemned the Tibetan rebels and hailed a new birth for the people of Tibet.

Two hundred members of the Association of Patriotic Youth and the Patriotic Women's Association in Lhasa voiced firm support for the State Council order at their meetings. They urged the People's Liberation Army to

continue mopping up the rebels in remote areas in Tibet, so that the people there might rapidly be relieved of suffering. They also called for strict punishment of the ring-leaders of the rebellion.

Many speakers pledged to support and help the People's Liberation Army to put down the rebellion by practical deeds. Ngawongdorje, who had attended the National Conference of Young Active Builders of Socialism held in Peking last year, said: "It is entirely correct to dissolve the Tibet local government which turned against the motherland and disrupted national unification. This has removed a big mountain weighing down on the heads of the people of Tibet. The broad mass of the Tibetan people will enjoy a happy life in the future."

The more than two hundred and eighty representatives of the Hui people living in Lhasa gave whole-hearted support to the State Council order. Ma Ming-chung, member of the Religious Affairs Committee of the Preparatory Committee for the Autonomous Region of Tibet, said at a forum discussion: "It is the earnest desire of the people of all nationalities and circles in Tibet to launch punitive actions against the rebels and put down the rebellion. The State Council order has demonstrated the deep and timely concern of the Central People's Government for the people of all nationalities in Tibet." He expressed his heartfelt gratitude for the Central People's Government.

Imam Ma Liang-chun and Ma Mu-sha angrily accused the rebels of carrying out plunder, arson and murder in Lhasa. They described how the rebels had within a day plundered and burned the belongings and houses of many families. More than twenty households of the Hui nationality had been plundered, and a number of the

houses and shops belonging to the Hui people had been burned. "The rebels even dared set fire to a five-hundred-year old mosque which burned for days," one of them said. All present at the meeting demanded the punishment of the rebels in accordance with law.

Firm support for the State Council order was also expressed by educational, cultural, industrial and business circles.

Chingrobwurseaa, who is teaching at the school to train local functionaries of Tibet, said: "All the people feel profound hatred for the crime of the rebels, their betrayal of the motherland and the people. The rebels are doomed to perish."

Tibetan merchant Wongdi said: "The rebels took advantage of the Dalai Lama's intention to attend the theatrical performance in the Tibet Military Area Command to deceive the masses of the people. But the people have sharp sight. They can see clearly who wishes to safeguard the Dalai Lama and who is holding him under duress."

Wongdi described how he had personally witnessed in the Konbo area how the rebels had ravaged the people. He said: "The rebels plundered the people everywhere, forcing them to act as cannon fodder. The rebels claimed the banner of 'protecting' religion, but actually they are undermining religion and inflicting harm on the people."

Students of the school to train local functionaries of Tibet also met yesterday. They condemned the crimes of the rebels angrily. They pledged to follow the Communist Party, acquire knowledge and skill so as to make contributions to the emancipation of the people of Tibet.

(Lhasa, April 1, Hsinhua)

Meetings supporting the State Council order on the putting down of the rebellion in Tibet and dissolving the Tibet local government have been held in the past few days in Tibetan cities and towns including Yatung, Chetang, Gyantse, Nagchuka and Dinching. At these meetings, the people, secular and ecclesiastic, strongly expressed their hatred of the seditious Tibetan reactionary clique and their warm love for the motherland and Chairman Mao Tse-tung.

In Yatung, a meeting was held by more than four hundred representatives of various patriotic circles, people's organizations, temples, and villages on March 29. At the meeting, more than two hundred of the participants volunteered to undertake transport jobs with their several hundred draught animals to help the People's Liberation Army put the rebellion down.

In Chetang and Gyantse, government employees of Tibetan and Han nationalities, on learning of the State Council order over the radio, immediately held meetings to express their warm support for the order and for the People's Liberation Army in putting down the rebellion.

Herdsmen in Nagchuka and Dinching, areas often ravaged by the rebel bandits, unanimously expressed their firm support for the State Council order and pledged to assist the People's Liberation Army in putting down the rebellion, and not hiding or aiding the enemy. They also promised to inform the PLA of any activities by the enemy.

At present, the State Council order is reaching remote areas of Tibet. On learning of the order, people have been holding meetings to express their support for the order. Lamas tore to shreds the rebel bandits' claim of "protecting the religion" by reporting on their crimes of destroying lamaseries.

(Lhasa, April 1, Hsinhua)

**PANCHEN ERDENI'S SPEECH AT A MASS MEETING
IN SHIGATSE SUPPORTING THE STATE
COUNCIL ORDER**

March 30, 1959

Dear Tibetan lamas and laymen and patriotic people:

The rebels of the Tibetan local government and the reactionary clique of the upper social strata have now openly taken the road of betraying the motherland and the people. The State Council, in the light of the crimes committed by the rebels of the Tibetan local government and the reactionary clique of the upper social strata, issued on March 28 an order for the dissolution of the Tibetan local government and the putting down of the rebellion. The communique released by the Hsinhua News Agency has revealed in detail the facts about the traitorous activities against the country and the people undertaken by the reactionary clique in Tibet. The proclamation of the Tibet Military Area Command of the People's Liberation Army has announced the putting down of the rebellion and the various policies that protect the interests of the people in Tibet. All of you should distinguish right from wrong and good from evil, support the order of the Central People's Government and the proclamation of the Tibet Military Area Command of the People's Liberation Army and assist the PLA actively in putting down the rebellion.

The rebels in the Tibetan local government and the reactionary clique of the upper social strata have committed countless crimes. These reactionaries have persistently obstructed the efforts of the Central People's Government and patriotic Tibetans to fully carry out the Agreement on Measures for the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet. They have long plotted to split the motherland and undermine national solidarity. They have persistently refused to reorganize the Tibetan army, and have opposed the democratic reforms that would have allowed the Tibetan people to march step by step towards a happy, prosperous socialist society. Everything they have done is against your interests and aspirations. In face of their reactionary deeds, the Chinese Communist Party and the Central People's Government have persistently pursued a policy of magnanimity, shown them the right path they should take and patiently given them the time and opportunity to repent. But the rebels of the Tibetan local government and the reactionary clique of the upper social strata have proved themselves obstinate and incorrigible. In collusion with imperialism and the Chiang Kai-shek clique, they cherished the fantastic idea that the powerful motherland was "weak" and that the invulnerable People's Liberation Army could be "bullied." Last year, they supported and spread the armed rebellion, endangering the people, both lamas and laymen, wherever they were. Now they have gone so far as to spread rumours and commit the monstrous crime of abducting the Dalai Lama on the most fantastic pretext. They have murdered patriotic and progressive people, persecuted Tibetan cadres and people, mustered rebellious bandits, coerced and duped some of the masses and launched an

all-out armed rebellion in Lhasa. You, patriotic people, lamas and laymen, should clearly recognize that the rebels of the Tibetan local government and the reactionary clique of the upper social strata are traitors to the motherland, scum of the Tibetan nationality and the common enemy of all the nationalities of our country. They are just like devils.

The Chinese Communist Party and the Central People's Government have always been deeply concerned with the interests of the Tibetan people, and the People's Liberation Army units and working personnel in Tibet have always catered for the interests of the Tibetan people. In spite of all the obstruction and sabotage of the Tibetan local government and the reactionary clique of the upper social strata, they have done so many things beneficial to the masses such as building roads, hospitals and schools, undertaking construction projects, extending loans to the people and issuing relief to people who suffered natural calamities. All this has been done in the interests of the people. However, with the aim of deceiving the masses the rebels have turned black into white and proclaimed themselves as defenders of the "national interests." Does it conform to the interests of the people to betray the motherland, to turn Tibet once more into a colony of imperialism and to cause the people untold suffering? Is it in the interests of the mass of the people, both lamas and laymen, to oppose the building of a new, prosperous Tibet and to prevent the people from enjoying a prosperous and happy life? No, this fundamentally conflicts with the interests of the mass of the people, both lamas and laymen. What they mean by the "national interests" is in essence the private interests of the imperialists and a handful of reaction-

aries. You can see their true faces more clearly from their plunder of the masses.

The People's Liberation Army units and working personnel have faithfully observed the policy of the freedom of religious belief formulated by the Chinese Communist Party and the Central People's Government. Patriotic and law-abiding monasteries and people, both lamas and laymen, have all received protection. In order to deceive the mass of the people, the rebels have ignored the facts, fabricated rumours and proclaimed themselves as the "protectors" of religion. But under the cover of "protecting religion," they have committed the great crime of abducting the Dalai Lama, murdered and insulted monks and nuns, desecrated Buddhist sculptures and stolen ritual articles. Clearly these are not good deeds for protecting religion. On the contrary, they are evil deeds that run counter to the principles of Buddhism. Lamas should always lead a pure, religious life and be patriotic and law-abiding. Among the lamas in some monasteries there are those who have committed murder and other sins. They are not true followers of religion but counter-revolutionaries and bad elements who have wormed their way into the monasteries under cover. To mete out punishment to these gangsters in accordance with the law of the state is to ward off harm from the people and weed out the evil from the religious circles. There is absolutely nothing in this that is against the policy of freedom of religious belief. Neither the law of the state nor the mass of ecclesiastics can tolerate those who have conducted rebellious activities under the cover of religion. Those who were coerced or duped into becoming one of their band should immediately and earnestly repent. Only by so doing will they be treated

leniently by the People's Liberation Army and the Tibetan people.

The armed rebellion of the Tibetan reactionary clique has now been dealt a heavy blow by the PLA units. This is the outcome of the self-destruction they sought. They deserved such punishment.

I wish to express my profound sympathy and concern for the Dalai Lama, who is now held under duress by the rebels, and I hope for his early liberation from the rebels' control. I fully accept the order of the State Council entrusting me with the task of Acting Chairman of the Preparatory Committee for the Autonomous Region of Tibet, and I will actively assist the PLA in putting down the rebellion.

The campaign to suppress the rebellion as conducted by the People's Liberation Army is aimed at consolidating the unity of our motherland, uprooting the evils which threaten the Tibetan people and clearing the obstacles in the way of building up a new Tibet. This is a just action which fully conforms to the interests of the Tibetan people and provides protection for these interests. All patriots, lamas and laymen, I appeal you to recognize the vital issues of right and wrong. The people should draw a demarcation line between themselves and the enemies of the Tibetan people. Under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, Chairman Mao Tse-tung and the Central People's Government, with the vigorous support of the 650 million people of the various nationalities of the motherland, you must unite with the PLA, raise your vigilance and give firm assistance to the PLA to suppress the rebellion and thoroughly crush all the treacherous activities of the reactionary clique in Tibet which is backed by imperialism and the Chiang

Kai-shek clique. Indulging in the wishful thinking that they can count on imperialism and the Chiang Kai-shek clique for armed rebellion, they are as doomed to destruction as the moth which flutters about the light. The eight million reactionary troops of Chiang Kai-shek supported and armed by the imperialists have long since been destroyed by the People's Liberation Army. At present, the East Wind has already prevailed over the West Wind and the force of the socialist camp has already overwhelmed that of the camp of imperialism. The days of imperialism are numbered, not to say those of a handful of reactionaries propped up by the imperialists. Their fate of total failure is sealed. Victory certainly belongs to the People's Liberation Army and the Tibetan people!

Long live the great motherland!

Long live the Chinese Communist Party!

Long live Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the great leader of all nationalities of the people of China!

**RESOLUTION OF THE PREPARATORY COMMITTEE
FOR THE TIBET AUTONOMOUS REGION ON THE
THOROUGH CARRYING OUT OF THE STATE
COUNCIL ORDER OF MARCH 28**

Adopted on April 8, 1959

The Tibetan local government and the reactionary clique of the upper social strata have openly embarked on the criminal path of betraying the motherland and the Tibetan people. In collusion with the imperialists, the Chiang Kai-shek bandit clique and foreign reactionaries, they mustered rebels, staged rebellion, persecuted and murdered the people, abducted the Dalai Lama, tore up the Seventeen-Article Agreement on Measures for the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet, and directed the Tibetan local army and rebels in an all-out attack on the People's Liberation Army units stationed in Lhasa on the night of March 19. We are extremely indignant at their traitorous activities against the motherland and the people. At the same time, we are from the bottom of our hearts grateful to the heroic People's Liberation Army who swiftly quelled the Lhasa rebellion, and extend to them our heart-felt respect. We are in complete support for the order of the State Council on March 28 to put down the rebellion thoroughly and that the Tibetan local government be dissolved and its functions and powers to be exercised by the Preparatory Committee for the Auton-

onomous Region of Tibet. We will resolutely and thoroughly carry out the order for putting down the rebellion and the policy of the Central People's Government towards the rebels, that is, that "the rebel leaders must be punished, those who have been coerced into following them are to be pardoned and those who render meritorious service will be rewarded." In order to swiftly and thoroughly quell the rebellion, we call on the people of all nationalities and of all circles, ecclesiastical and secular, in Tibet to act right away to effectively carry out the order of the State Council and the stipulations and tasks set forth in the proclamations of the Tibet Military Area Command and the military control commissions in various places, give powerful support to the People's Liberation Army in putting down the rebellion, root out counter-revolutionaries, stabilize social order, listen and believe no rumours spread by the reactionaries, and actively take part in production. Administrative personnel of all levels of the former Tibetan local government must register immediately at the local military control commissions or military representatives. They must take up proper responsibilities in looking after the public property and documents and wait for disposal. No destructive and unlawful activities will be permitted. The administrative personnel of all levels of the Preparatory Committee for the Autonomous Region of Tibet and all the people, both ecclesiastical and secular, must unite, under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and the Central People's Government, in a common effort to help the People's Liberation Army put down the rebellion swiftly, strengthen the national defence, consolidate the unity of the motherland and

solidarity between the nationalities, protect the interest of the people of the various nationalities, stabilize social order and struggle for the building of a democratic, socialist new Tibet.

MESSAGE TO ALL NATIONALITIES AND CIRCLES IN TIBETAN REGION FROM THE MASS RALLY IN LHASA IN SUPPORT OF THE THOROUGH SUPPRES- SION OF REBELLION

On April 15, the big rally to quell thoroughly the rebellion in Tibet attended by all circles and nationalities of Lhasa adopted a message addressed to the people of all nationalities and circles in the Tibet region. The full text of the message is as follows:

We, the people of all nationalities and circles of Lhasa, have held today a solemn rally attended by 10,000 people to show our determination to quell the rebellion in Tibet completely. We firmly support the order of the State Council on the thorough suppression of the rebellion in Tibet and the dissolution of the Tibet local government which betrayed the motherland and disrupted its unification. We will give energetic support to the People's Liberation Army in quelling this rebellion firmly and completely.

The former Tibet local government and the reactionary clique of the upper strata have carried out traitorous activities for a long time in a vain attempt to throw the Tibetan people back into the abyss of imperialist slavery.

Since the peaceful liberation of Tibet, the central authorities have persistently adhered to the spirit of national unity and waited for these reactionary elements to wake

up. The masses of the working people have also borne untold suffering under the brutal domination of the former Tibet local government and the reactionary clique of the upper strata. However, taking the lenient attitude of the central authorities as a sign of "weakness," the former Tibet local government and the reactionaries of the upper strata have become even more ferocious, colluded with imperialism and the reactionaries abroad, betrayed the motherland, torn up the Agreement on Measures for the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet and openly staged armed rebellion. All this had driven the people of Tibet beyond the limits of toleration.

Since the peaceful liberation of Tibet, the People's Liberation Army units and the functionaries who entered the region have faithfully carried out the policy of national equality and national unity proclaimed by the Chinese Communist Party and the Central People's Government, and have always respected the religious beliefs and the customs and habits of the people in Tibet. They have helped in construction in the Tibet region, giving us interest-free loans for farming and livestock breeding, setting up hospitals and schools, building highways and dykes, always having in mind the interests of the Tibetan people. All this is as clear as daylight and is corroborated by unmistakable facts. The masses of the people, ecclesiastics and laymen, have felt profoundly the warmth of the big family of the motherland. They have ardent love for the Communist Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung.

Now the Tibet local government, which was reactionary to the marrow and openly carried out traitorous activities, was already dissolved. The criminal, traitorous activities of the reactionaries of the upper

strata have been smashed. The enslaved and oppressed people of Tibet have stood up. We will thoroughly expose and indict the Tibet local government and the reactionaries of the upper strata for their outrageous crimes of colluding with imperialism, the Chiang Kai-shek bandit clique and reactionaries abroad, betraying the motherland and staging armed rebellion. We firmly demand that the rebellion in Tibet be thoroughly suppressed.

Under the leadership of the Communist Party, we are determined to respond warmly to all the calls issued by the Lhasa Municipal Military Control Committee of the Tibet Military Area Command of the People's Liberation Army, maintain the unification of the motherland, safeguard unity among the people of all the various nationalities and, together with the People's Liberation Army, resolutely and completely put down the rebellion and wipe out all the rebels whether in the open or hiding so that the masses of ecclesiastical and secular people in Tibet can live a peaceful and happy life. Under the leadership of the Military Control Committee, we are determined to work well in production, carry out sowing in good time and ensure that not an acre of land lies idle.

Under the wise leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, the people of Tibet have become more closely united. Let our forces, like the turbulent Tsangpo River, sweep away all the rebellious elements that stand in the way of the progress of Tibetan society! Let Tibet march forward along the glorious, democratic and socialist road!

**EXCERPTS FROM PREMIER CHOU EN-LAI'S
REPORT ON THE WORK OF THE GOVERNMENT
DELIVERED TO THE FIRST SESSION OF THE
SECOND NATIONAL PEOPLE'S CONGRESS:
ON THE SITUATION OF TIBET**

April 18, 1959

The recent armed rebellion of the former local government of Tibet and the reactionary clique of the upper social strata in Tibet, aimed at betraying the motherland and disrupting unity, has already met with ignominious defeat. The government has ordered the dissolution of the former local government of Tibet (the *kasha*) and enjoined the Preparatory Committee for the Autonomous Region of Tibet to assume the functions and exercise the powers of local government so that national local autonomy may be speedily realized and democratic reforms instituted step by step in Tibet. This measure is warmly welcomed by the broad mass of patriotic people in Tibet, both clerics and laymen. This is a great victory for our policy of national unity.

The policy of the Central People's Government in regard to the Tibet region has always been clear. In accordance with the stipulations of the Constitution, we have always adhered to the principle of the unity of all the nationalities of our country and the unity of the Tibetan people themselves and have stood for the institution of national local autonomy in Tibet. The Central People's Government has always adhered to the policy of respecting freedom of religious beliefs and has taken

various positive measures to help the economic and cultural development of the Tibet region. All this has been warmly welcomed by the Tibetan people. According to the 17-article agreement on the peaceful liberation of Tibet of 1951, the local government of Tibet should unite the people and drive the imperialist aggressive forces out of Tibet; the backward social system in Tibet must be reformed. In view of the state of mind of the people of the upper social strata in Tibet, we agreed that the reforms there could be put off a bit so as to allow time for the former local government of Tibet and the people of the upper social strata to give full consideration to the question. But the former local government of Tibet and the reactionary clique of the upper social strata continued their collusion with the imperialists, the Chiang Kai-shek gang and foreign reactionaries on whose forces they attempted to rely to split the motherland, restore the imperialist aggressive forces in Tibet, and preserve a backward, dark, reactionary and cruel serfdom in Tibet. They did not want at all to put into effect a democratic local autonomy with the participation of the people, but persistently obstructed the progress of preparatory work for setting up the Tibetan Autonomous Region. Their activities seriously violated the interests of the Tibetan people and the common interests of all the nationalities of the country. That is why their rebellion was instantly and firmly opposed by the people of all nationalities throughout the country, and first and foremost by the broad mass of the Tibetan people, including many patriotic and progressive people of the upper social strata. The reactionaries were totally mistaken in their appraisal of the situation. They failed to see that the day has long since passed when the

imperialists could manipulate China's internal affairs as they please.

The situation in Tibet is now completely under control by the Tibet Military Area Command of the People's Liberation Army and the Preparatory Committee for the Autonomous Region of Tibet. The units under the Tibet Military Area Command of the People's Liberation Army, with the active support of the Tibetan people, both lamas and laymen, are continuing to mop up remnants of the rebels who have fled to remote areas. The Preparatory Committee for the Autonomous Region of Tibet has begun to assume the functions and powers of local government. As for future social reforms in Tibet, the Central Government will conduct full consultation with the patriotic people of the upper and middle social strata and the masses of all walks of life in Tibet to decide on the time, steps and measures for their institution. In any case, the reforms will be carried out step by step with full regard for the specific conditions in Tibet, and in the course of the reforms the religious beliefs and customs and habits of the Tibetan people will be fully respected and the fine aspects of Tibetan culture will be upheld and developed. Although the Dalai Lama has been abducted to India, we still hope he will be able to free himself from the grip of the rebels and return to the motherland.

The Tibetan reactionaries often put on pious airs and express the hope that everyone will go to heaven, but they turned Tibet into a hell on earth; they want to force the Tibetan people to live perpetually in the abysmal darkness of a life of barbarism and cruelty worse than that of the Middle Ages in Europe. They also often pretended to be peace-loving, but in actual fact they directed bandits to work havoc among the people by committing

arson, murder, rape and plunder, and in the end they themselves went to the length of madly launching the armed rebellion, thus bringing about their own destruction. Tibet consists of three parts: Chamdo, Chientsang and Houtsang. Its total population is 1,200,000. Only about 20,000 took part in the rebellion — a majority of these acted under coercion or were duped — including part of the so-called Khambas, rebels who had fled to Tibet from the area to the east of the Kingsha River which used to belong to the former province of Sikang. There are thus in Tibet over 1,100,000 labouring people who demand reforms, progressives of the upper social strata who support reform and middle-of-the-roaders who can be won over. There are now some people abroad who are harping on their sympathy for the Tibetans. But they do not make clear which section of the Tibetans they sympathize with — the working people and progressives who demand and support reform and the middle-of-the-roaders who can be won over, amounting to over 1,100,000 people, or the handful of reactionaries. We hope that all well-intentioned friends — I refer to those who are willing to persist in practising the five principles of peaceful co-existence with our country and have declared for non-interference in China's internal affairs — will in the first place note this clear distinction between the overwhelming majority and the small handful. When one comes to understand the true conditions in Tibet, one ought to sympathize with the overwhelming majority of the Tibetan working people who are oppressed by an out-dated system, and with their demand for social reforms. With the defeat of the rebellion of the Tibetan reactionaries, the Tibetan people are now in a position to shake off the fetters of serfdom and realize their desire for dem-

ocratic autonomy and social progress. With the help of other nationalities of the country, they will build the Tibetan plateau step by step into a true paradise on earth. What a joyful thing this is for the Tibetan people, for the people of all the nationalities of our country, and for all those abroad who genuinely sympathize with the Tibetan people!

Tibet is China's territory, and the rebellion of the Tibetan reactionaries and its suppression are China's internal affairs. Even the imperialists bent on carrying out aggression against Tibet cannot deny these facts. After the outbreak of the rebellion in Tibet, and after the Dalai Lama was abducted to India by the rebels, Prime Minister Nehru of our great friendly neighbour India issued successive statements on non-interference in China's internal affairs and in favour of continued consolidation of friendly Sino-Indian relations. We welcome these statements. Friendship has existed for well over two thousand years between China and India, which, moreover, are the initiators of the five principles of peaceful co-existence. There is no reason at all why either of our two countries should let a handful of Tibetan rebels shake our mutual friendship and the principles in foreign relations jointly adhered to by our two countries. It is true that before the defeat of the rebellion in Tibet, the Tibetan reactionaries and certain foreign reactionaries made use of certain areas on the Sino-Indian border to carry out activities designed to disrupt the unity of our country and undermine Sino-Indian friendship. The plans of these reactionaries, however, have already fallen through. It is our hope that, with the suppression of the rebellion in Tibet and through the joint efforts of China and India, we will lay an even firmer foundation for, and

secure an even more flourishing development of, friendly relations between our two great peace-loving countries in Asia with their populations totalling more than 1,000 million people. All the vicious provocations of those who are deliberately seeking to disrupt Sino-Indian friendship will come to naught.

II

ON THE SO-CALLED "STATEMENT OF THE DALAI LAMA"

by Hsinhua Political Reporter

The so-called "statement of the Dalai Lama," issued through an Indian diplomatic official in Tezpur on April 18, is a crude document, lame in reasoning, full of lies and loop-holes.

Disregarding the fact that China is a unified country made up of the Han, Tibetan, Mongolian, Uighur and dozens of other nationalities, the statement from the very beginning beats the drums for the so-called "independence" of the Tibetans. Actually, Tibet's political and religious systems were all laid down by the central government at Peking over the hundreds of years between the thirteenth and eighteenth centuries. Not even the title, position and powers of the Dalai Lama were laid down by the Tibetans themselves. In modern history, the so-called Tibetan independence has always been a scheme of the British imperialists for carrying out aggression against China, and first of all against Tibet. The fact that the statement starts out with a mention of the so-called independence of Tibet proves that its author is reflecting the will of the imperialist aggressors and is utterly opposed to the 1951 agreement on the peaceful liberation of Tibet. That agreement starts from the affirmation that Tibet is part of the People's Republic

of China, but the statement does not say a single word on this point. This fact alone makes it impossible to believe the statement's claim that the former local government of Tibet "tried their best to adhere to the seventeen-article agreement."

The statement alleges that the seventeen-article agreement of 1951 on the peaceful liberation of Tibet was produced "under the pressure of the Chinese Government" and that after the Chinese People's Liberation Army entered Tibet and took up its position there "the Tibetan Government did not enjoy any measure of autonomy" and that even the Preparatory Committee for the Autonomous Region of Tibet "had little power and decisions in all important matters were taken by the Chinese authorities."

The facts are that this agreement was concluded after repeated negotiations and full consultation between the representatives of the Central People's Government and the local government of Tibet, lasting from late April to late May 1951. After the signing of the agreement, in his October 1951 telegram to Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the Dalai Lama referred to the agreement as one concluded "by the delegates of both parties, on a friendly basis," and said that "the local government of Tibet and the Tibetans, lamas and laymen, unanimously support the agreement." Since entering Tibet, the People's Liberation Army has been carrying out the seventeen-article agreement with complete fidelity. Neither the political system existing in Tibet nor the original position and powers of the Dalai Lama have been changed. Lama and lay officials at all levels remained at their posts as before. Religious activities and the customs and habits of the local people were respected, and Tibetan currency

continued to circulate. The agreement's provisions that the local government of Tibet should carry out reforms of their own accord and that the Tibetan army should gradually be reorganized into People's Liberation Army units have never been put into effect. At the end of 1956, the central authorities announced to the local government of Tibet that it was permissible not to institute democratic reforms before 1962. In a word, in the past eight years, the political, social and religious systems in Tibet remained as they were before the peaceful liberation. There was hardly any internal matter in Tibet which was not carried out through the former local government of Tibet (*kasha*). With the aim of introducing regional autonomy in Tibet in accordance with the Constitution, the central authorities set up the Preparatory Committee for the Autonomous Region of Tibet in April 1956 with the Dalai Lama at its head. The fact that the Preparatory Committee was ineffectual was precisely because of obstructions by the former local government of Tibet, who did not want regional autonomy at all but instead wanted the same "Tibetan independence" that the imperialists wanted. They painstakingly plotted to sabotage the seventeen-article agreement, proceeding from directing the rioting of the Khamba rebels to openly launching an all-out armed rebellion themselves on March 10.

The statement does not point to a single fact showing that the former local government of Tibet had made any effort to abide by the seventeen-article agreement. Nor does it mention a single fact testifying to any violation of the seventeen-article agreement by the Central People's Government. The only fact it mentions is the putting down of the rebellion in the former Sikang area

in 1955 by the Central People's Government. But the whole world knows that the Sikang area was not part of Tibet at all. Formerly it was Sikang Province. Later, it became part of Szechuan Province. As is well known, it was precisely in the summer of 1955, when the Dalai Lama and his entourage were passing through Szechuan Province on their way back to Tibet after attending the National People's Congress, that the reactionary clique of the upper strata in Tibet hastily plotted to start a conflagration and directed the Khambas to rebel immediately. Their plan was to make the Khamba rebellion serve as the frontline, covering their own action to drive out the Han people and proclaim independence in the Tibet region itself. They overestimated the fighting strength of the Khambas and the inaccessibility of the terrain. Therefore, they made a prompt decision, calculating that it would be the wisest thing to do to incite the Khambas to rebel first. But contrary to their calculations, the rebellion was swiftly stamped out. In the fighting to quell the rebellion, of course, some lives were lost and some buildings damaged — and for this the rebels, and first of all those who directed the rebellion, must be held responsible. Aside from this, there was no such thing as large numbers of lamas being killed or many monasteries destroyed, as is alleged. The statement cites the rebellion in the Sikang area, which is not in the Tibet region at all, to accuse the Central People's Government of violating the seventeen-article agreement. This not only sheds light on the fact that the Central People's Government has fully adhered to the agreement, but precisely proves that it is the rebel clique of Tibet that directed the Khamba rebellion.

The statement also distorts the truth where it refers to the course of development of the rebellion launched between March 10 and 19. Everyone knows that March 10 was the date when the rebellion was initiated. The rebel group chose this date, because the Dalai Lama himself decided to go on that day to the auditorium of the Tibet Military Area Command to attend a theatrical performance for which he himself had asked a month in advance. The statement dares not directly deny this fact, but on purpose says confusedly that the Dalai Lama "had agreed" to go to the performance, and the date of March 10 was "suddenly fixed." It does not dare to say who fixed that date. But, it was clearly stated by the Dalai Lama in his letter of March 11 to General Tan Kuan-san, acting representative of the Central People's Government in Tibet. The letter said, "I intended to go to the Military Area Command to see the theatrical performance yesterday (March 10 — *Ed.*), but I was unable to do so, because of obstruction by people, lamas and laymen, who were instigated by a few evil elements and who did not know the facts." The fact that the statement avoids mentioning the Dalai Lama's three letters to General Tan Kuan-san is proof that its author dares not face the facts. The statement asserts that the People's Liberation Army sent reinforcements to strengthen the garrisons in Lhasa and Tibet before March 17, and that "on the 17th of March two or three mortar shells were fired in the direction of Norbu Lingka Palace." This is a brazen, outright fabrication. The fabricator, however, leaves a backdoor open for himself: "Fortunately the shells fell in a nearby pond!" But if the People's Liberation Army really wanted to attack, why was it that it

only fired two or three mortar shells and did not venture to fire one more shell after they fell in a nearby pond?

The way of referring to the Dalai Lama's leaving Lhasa in the statement also arouses attention. It says: "After this, the advisers became alive to the danger to the person of the Dalai Lama and in those difficult circumstances it became imperative for the Dalai Lama, members of his family and his high officials to leave Lhasa." This paragraph demonstrates that it was not the Dalai Lama himself but the "advisers" who realized that they should leave Lhasa. This is also a disclosure of the actual fact of the abduction of the Dalai Lama from Lhasa, which cannot be covered up. The Dalai Lama's letter dated March 11 said: "Reactionary, evil elements are carrying out activities endangering me under the pretext of ensuring my safety." His letter dated March 12 further said: "Yesterday I told the *kasha* to order the immediate dissolution of the illegal people's conference and the immediate withdrawal of the reactionaries who arrogantly moved into the Norbu Lingka under the pretext of protecting me." This bears out the fact that after March 10 the Dalai Lama was encircled by the rebel armed forces and was abducted on March 17. The statement does not dare to deny these facts. This brands as patently deceitful the statement that the Dalai Lama's departure from Lhasa was "of his own free will and not under duress."

There are indications in the statement which arouse suspicions as to whether it is indeed a statement by the Dalai Lama himself. Firstly, the content of the statement entirely contradicts the many statements and articles issued, published or released by the Dalai Lama personally in the past eight years, including the three

letters written by the Dalai Lama himself after the outbreak of the March 10 rebellion. Even when the Dalai Lama was surrounded by a bunch of reactionaries during his previous visit to India in 1956, in his personal talks with Premier Chou En-lai, he never once expressed such ideas as breaking away from the motherland and currying favour with the foreign aggressors, as are contained in the statement. Secondly, the statement has been published as if it were issued by the Dalai Lama himself, but not a single "I," the pronoun of the first person, can be found in it. In every case, "he," the third person pronoun, is used. This is definitely not the Tibetan style of writing, but a European or a near-European style. Some concepts and phrases used in the statement are also of foreign origin, for example, the allegation concerning so-called "Chinese suzerainty" was a creation of the British imperialists, and it was under cover of recognizing so-called Chinese suzerainty over Tibet that British aggression against Tibet was carried out. Such terms were never used in the documents of the Chinese Central People's Government or those of the local government of Tibet. The members of the present gang of Tibetan rebels were entirely trained by the British. Indian expansionist elements inherited this shameful legacy from the British. And that is why the members of this gang were of a mind to join with foreign forces from within our country, with their faces turned to India and their backs to their motherland. See how intimate they are with each other! Calling each other sweet names and reluctant to part! Some phrases of the statement are quite similar to those used by certain foreign newspapers and statesmen commenting on the rebellion in Tibet, such as "the Tibetan people are different from the Han

people of China," the Dalai Lama is the "spiritual head" of all Buddhists in Tibet, etc. Judging from the various points mentioned above, one has reason to suspect that the statement was not by the Dalai Lama himself but was imposed on him by some person or persons.

The statement however does tell a truth: the Tibetans are different from the Hans. This truth applies equally to the Mongolians, the Manchus, the Uighurs, the Huis, the Chuangs in Kwangsi Province, the Miaos and the Yaos in the southern provinces, and dozens of other smaller nationalities. All of them are different from the Hans. However, none of these smaller nationalities ask for independence, but have established autonomous regions, autonomous *chou* and autonomous counties within the big family of their motherland. Tibet in the past several centuries has never been an independent state, and there has never been a country in the world that has recognized Tibet as an independent country or established diplomatic relations with it. And now, all of a sudden it is claimed that it wants independence. What is meant by independence here is in fact to turn Tibet into a colony or protectorate of a foreign country.

The publication at the present moment of this so-called "statement of the Dalai Lama," which harps on the so-called Tibetan independence, will naturally cause people to ask: Is this not an attempt to place the Dalai Lama in a position of hostility to his motherland and thus block the road for him to return to it? Is this not an attempt to create a situation for compelling the Indian Government to permit the Tibetan rebels to engage in anti-Chinese political activities in India?

Observers in Peking point out that the statement made public at Tezpur, India, will have no influence on the

situation in Tibet except that it will enable the Tibetan people to see more clearly the true colours of the Tibetan traitors. The statement expresses the hope that "these troubles will be over soon without any more bloodshed." This hope does conform with reality. The rebellion which broke out more than a month ago will be ended before long. The People's Liberation Army units have not only promptly smashed the rebellion in the Lhasa area, but also rapidly crushed the rebel group in the area south of the Yalutsangpo River. The units of the People's Liberation Army have won great victories in suppressing the armed rebellion, and have in the past few days taken control of our whole frontier north of the Himalayas. Only a small batch of Khamba rebels have fled to India. In the fighting to put down the rebellion, all of the local Tibetan people stand by the side of the People's Liberation Army. Those who were intimidated to join have deserted the rebels en masse and returned to their homes to take part in productive work. Not only the bloodshed, but also the backwardness, darkness and brutality of the old Tibet will become a thing of the past.

(April 20, Hsinhua)

APPENDIX

THE FULL TEXT OF THE SO-CALLED "DALAI LAMA'S STATEMENT"

It is reported that on the way to his place of residence in Mussoorie, north India the Dalai Lama issued a statement at Tezpur on April 18. The English text of the

statement was distributed to the press by an official of the Indian Ministry of External Affairs.

The full English text of the statement broadcast by the Indian Information Service is as follows:

It has always been accepted that the Tibetan people are different from the Han people of China. There has always been a strong desire for independence on the part of the Tibetan people. Throughout history this has been asserted on numerous occasions. Sometimes the Chinese Government had imposed their suzerainty on Tibet and at other times Tibet has functioned as an independent country. In any event, at all times, even when the suzerainty of China was imposed, Tibet remained autonomous in control of its internal affairs.

In 1951 under the pressure of the Chinese Government a seventeen-article agreement was made between China and Tibet. In that agreement the suzerainty of China was accepted as there was no alternative left to the Tibetans. But even in the agreement it was stated that Tibet would enjoy full autonomy. Though the control of external events were to be in the hands of the Chinese Government it was agreed that there would be no interference by the Chinese Government with Tibetan religion and customs and her internal administration. In fact, after the occupation of Tibet by Chinese armies the Tibetan Government did not enjoy any measure of autonomy, even in internal matters and the Chinese Government exercised full powers in Tibetan affairs.

In 1956 a preparatory committee was set up for Tibet with the Dalai Lama as the Chairman and the Panchen Lama as Vice-Chairman and General Chang Kuo-hua as the representative of the Chinese Government. In practice

even this body had little power and decisions in all important matters were taken by the Chinese authorities. The Dalai Lama and his government tried their best to adhere to the seventeen-article agreement but interference of the Chinese authorities persisted. By the end of 1955 a struggle had started in Kham Province and this assumed serious proportions in 1956. In the consequential struggle Chinese armed forces destroyed a large number of monasteries.

Many Lamas were killed and a large number of monks and officials were taken and employed on the construction of roads in China and interference in the exercise of religious freedom increased.

The relation of the Tibetans with China became openly strained from the early part of February 1959. The Dalai Lama had agreed a month in advance to attend a cultural show in the Chinese headquarters and the date was suddenly fixed for the 10th of March. The people of Lhasa became apprehensive that some harm might be done to the Dalai Lama and as a result about ten thousand people gathered around the Dalai Lama's summer palace at Norbu Lingka and physically prevented the Dalai Lama from attending the function.

Thereafter the people themselves decided to raise a bodyguard for the protection of the Dalai Lama. Large crowds of Tibetans went about the streets of Lhasa demonstrating against Chinese rule in Tibet. Two days later thousands of Tibetan women held demonstrations protesting against the Chinese authorities. In spite of this demonstration from the people the Dalai Lama and his government endeavoured to maintain friendly relations with the Chinese and tried to carry out negotiations with

the Chinese representatives as to how best to bring about peace in Tibet and assuage the people's anxiety.

While these negotiations were being carried out reinforcements arrived to strengthen the Chinese garrisons in Lhasa and Tibet. On the 17th of March, two or three mortar shells were fired in the direction of Norbu Lingka Palace. Fortunately the shells fell in a nearby pond.

After this, the advisers became alive to the danger to the person of the Dalai Lama and in those difficult circumstances it became imperative for the Dalai Lama, members of his family and his high officials to leave Lhasa.

The Dalai Lama would like to state categorically that he left Lhasa and Tibet and came to India of his own free will and not under duress.

It was due to the loyalty and affectionate support of his people that the Dalai Lama was able to find his way through a route which is quite arduous. The route which the Dalai Lama took involved crossing Kyichu and Tsangpo rivers and making his way through Loka area, Yarlung valley and Psonadzong before reaching the Indian frontier at Kanzeymane near to Chuttanmu.

On March 29, 1959 the Dalai Lama sent emissaries to cross the Indo-Tibetan border requesting the government of India's permission to enter India and seek asylum there. The Dalai Lama is extremely grateful to the people and Government of India for their spontaneous and generous welcome as well as asylum granted to him and his followers.

India and Tibet have religious, cultural and trade links over a thousand years and for the Tibetans it has always been a land of enlightenment having given birth to Lord Buddha. The Dalai Lama is deeply touched by kind greetings extended to him on his safe arrival in India

by Prime Minister Jawaharalal Nehru and his colleagues in the Government of India. The Dalai Lama has already sent a reply to this message of greeting.

Ever since the Dalai Lama entered at Kanzeymane near Chuttanmu he has experienced in full measure the respect and hospitality extended to him by the people of Kameng Frontier Division of the Northeast Frontier Agency and the Dalai Lama would like to state how the Government of India's officers posted there has spared no effort in making his stay and journey through this extremely well-administered part of India as comfortable as possible.

The Dalai Lama will now be proceeding to Mussoorie which he hopes to reach in the next few days. The Dalai Lama will give thought to his future plans and if necessary give expression to them as soon as he has had a chance to rest and reflect on recent events.

His country and people have passed through an extremely difficult period and all that the Dalai Lama wishes to say at the moment is to express his sincere regret at the tragedy which has overtaken Tibet and fervently hope that these troubles will be over soon without any more bloodshed.

As the Dalai Lama and the spiritual head of all Buddhists in Tibet, his foremost concern is the well-being of his people and in ensuring perpetual flourishing of his sacred religion and freedom of his country.

While expressing once again thankfulness at his safe arrival in India the Dalai Lama would like to take this opportunity to communicate to all his friends, well wishers and devotees in India and abroad his sincere gratitude for many messages of sympathies and concern with which they have flooded him.

DEPUTIES TO THE SECOND NATIONAL PEOPLE'S CONGRESS CONDEMN THE IMPERIALISTS AND INDIAN EXPANSIONISTS WHO OPENLY SUPPORT THE REBELLION IN TIBET

The violent indignation of the 600 million Chinese people against the imperialists and foreign reactionaries for supporting the armed rebellion in Tibet and for interfering in China's internal affairs was voiced in April 22 meeting of the National People's Congress. All deputies who spoke were unanimous in refuting the so-called "statement of the Dalai Lama" issued through an Indian diplomatic official and in solemnly condemning the crimes of the Tibetan rebels who tried to undermine the unity of the motherland and the imperialists and Indian expansionists who openly support the rebellion in Tibet.

Deputy Panchen Erdeni, Acting Chairman of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibetan Autonomous Region, was the first to take the floor. On behalf of all Tibetan people, lamas and laymen, he solemnly declared: "Our Tibet is the Tibet of China, now and always; we will never allow foreigners to interfere in our affairs in Tibet or the rest of China!" Prolonged stormy applause greeted his declaration. The excitement that reigned in the conference hall fully demonstrated the firm will of our people in safeguarding the unification of the motherland and national unity.

"When I compare the so-called 'statement of the Dalai Lama' issued through an official of the Indian Ministry of External Affairs with either the Dalai Lama's usual

statements and actions or the three letters which he himself wrote to Tan Kuan-san, acting representative of the Central People's Government in Tibet, I see the alleged statement has nothing in common with them. The tone of the statement is not that of the Dalai Lama himself, nor does it conform to our ordinary Tibetan usage. It is obvious this so-called 'statement of the Dalai Lama' was imposed on him by foreigners," Panchen Erdeni said.

Panchen Erdeni severely refuted the preposterous argument employed by the so-called statement for the "independence" of Tibet on the grounds that the Tibetan people are different from the Hans. "In the 13th century," he pointed out, "the Tibet region was formally included in Chinese territory. Since then, Tibet has always been a part of China." "The Tibetan people know from their own experience that the inevitable outcome of separation from the motherland would not be independence for Tibet, but the turning of Tibet into a colony or protectorate of a foreign country." "As a result of the vicious machinations of the British aggressors and their running dogs, the former Panchen was driven out, the Living Buddha Rabchen was murdered, the Living Buddha Geda was poisoned and so was the father of the Dalai Lama. Such are the bloody lessons we have learned from so-called 'independence' for Tibet." "Now some Indians are again talking about 'independence' for Tibet and saying that they recognize Chinese suzerainty but do not permit China to interfere in Tibet's internal affairs. It may be asked, why is it that China cannot run Chinese affairs, while other people can? What difference is there between these utterances and those of the British in the past?"

"The Tibetan people, for long victims of foreign aggression, see clearly; they can distinguish friends from

enemies. No matter how skilfully the imperialists and foreign reactionaries may disguise themselves, they can deceive no one.”

When concluding his speech Panchen Erdeni said: “The schemes of the Tibetan rebels for so-called independence have gone bankrupt. It is utterly futile for the rebels under the direction of their foreign masters to usurp the name of the Dalai Lama in carrying out their activities to disrupt and split the motherland.”

He pointed out that the Preparatory Committee for the Tibetan Autonomous Region is now exercising the powers and functions of the Tibetan local government, and that he himself would act as Chairman of the Preparatory Committee according to the State Council order during the period of the abduction of the Dalai Lama. He declared that he was determined to unite under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and the Central People’s Government all the Tibetan cadres and the entire Tibetan people, lamas and laymen, and to endeavour to fulfil the glorious tasks entrusted to him by the state and the people. He sincerely hoped that the Dalai Lama would be able to free himself from his predicament of being held under duress, return to the motherland and, together with the Tibetan people, work for the building of a bright and happy new Tibet.

Deputy Ngapo Ngawang-Jigme, Vice-Chairman and Secretary-General of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibetan Autonomous Region, pointed out in his speech that the aim of the former Tibetan local government and the reactionary clique of the upper social strata in organizing the rebellious bandits in rebellion was to kneel to the imperialists and to for ever enslave the Tibetan people.

Ngapo Ngawang-Jigme was the chief plenipotentiary delegate of the Tibetan local government in the negotiations with the Central People's Government and the conclusion of the 17-article Agreement on Measures for the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet. Speaking from his personal experience, he utterly exposed as lies the allegations in the so-called "statement of the Dalai Lama" that the Central People's Government had compelled them to sign the agreement and then disrupted it. He pointed out that the 17-article Agreement on Measures for the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet was signed after "detailed discussions on an intimate and friendly basis with the plenipotentiary delegates of the Central Government, which arrived at unanimous opinions satisfactory to both parties." "Following the conclusion of this agreement, the People's Liberation Army and working personnel arrived in Tibet to consolidate the national defence. With notable results, under the leadership of the Central People's Government representative in Tibet, they conscientiously abided by the 17-article agreement and the policy of national equality and unity." He said that these facts had been proved by the personal experience of the Tibetan people. But the former Tibetan local government and the reactionary clique of the upper social strata all along tried to thwart the implementation of the agreement in collusion with the imperialists, the Chiang Kai-shek clique and the foreign reactionaries.

Ngapo Ngawang-Jigme is an eye-witness of the armed rebellion of the Tibetan rebels and forwarded letters between General Tan Kuan-san and the Dalai Lama after the rebellion broke out. At today's meeting he tore to shreds the rumours in the so-called "statement of the Dalai Lama" by recalling how the rebellion started and

developed. After the rebellion broke out on March 10, he said, "to help the Dalai Lama, General Tan Kuan-san, acting representative of the Central People's Government in Tibet, successively wrote three letters to the Dalai Lama, two of which were carried by me personally to the Dalai Lama. In reply the Dalai Lama also sent, through me, three letters in his own handwriting to General Tan Kuan-san, in which he described in detail the coercion the rebels were subjecting him to. And then on the night of March 17, the Dalai Lama was abducted by the rebels. Later, starting at 3:40 a.m. on March 20, the rebels launched armed attacks against the People's Liberation Army units in Lhasa and the offices of the Central Government agencies in Tibet. In order to safeguard the unification of the motherland and the security of the Tibetan people, the People's Liberation Army could not but counter-attack at ten o'clock (Peking time) on the morning of March 20. With the all-out support of the broad mass of the people in Tibet, the rebellion in Lhasa area was put down in a very short time. Up to that hour, the People's Liberation Army had not fired a single shot. All the people in the city of Lhasa, both lamas and laymen, can testify to this."

Ngapo Ngawang-Jigme said that since the Dalai Lama had assumed office, he had worked in the closest association with him. "In the past eight years," Ngapo Ngawang-Jigme went on, "neither from his public statements nor from his talks with us Tibetan officials in private, did we ever hear anything about 'the independence of Tibet' or the sundering of the unity of the motherland." "Therefore we can categorically affirm that the statement issued in India in the name of the Dalai Lama definitely does not come from the thought

or wish of the Dalai Lama himself.” “I think that when the Dalai Lama meditates in quiet he will feel the pain of being held under duress and of being utilized by others and will find the proper ways and means of freeing himself from this duress.”

In his speech Deputy Li Chi-shen, Chairman of the Revolutionary Committee of the Kuomintang, refuted the erroneous views openly expressed by some Indian “statesmen” recently and condemned the Indian expansionists for interfering in China’s internal affairs.

Li Chi-shen said: “Some political figures in India have gone so far as to display great ‘enthusiasm’ for the rebellion of a handful of Tibetan upper-class reactionaries. On the one hand, they have said that ‘India recognizes China’s suzerainty over Tibet,’ but on the other hand they describe the rebellion of the Tibetan reactionaries of the upper social strata as ‘an expression of Tibetan patriotic sentiments,’ express ‘sympathy’ for the rebels and ‘distress’ at our suppression of the rebellion in Tibet.”

Li Chi-shen asked: “How can the acts of the Tibetan reactionary clique in betraying the motherland be called ‘an expression of patriotic sentiments’?”

“Is it that the persons who made these statements regard opposition to the Central People’s Government of China and secession from China an act of patriotism?”

“If such is the case, to which country are they patriotic? To China or to India?”

“If their rebellion has no connections with Indian expansionists, why are certain Indian political figures so sympathetic with the traitorous crimes of the Tibetan reactionary clique?”

“Why has it been possible for Kalimpong, for a long time, to be the centre of activities of these rebels abroad?”

“Why is it that the so-called ‘Dalai Lama’s statement’ was distributed by an Indian diplomatic official?”

Li Chi-shen pointed out: The so-called “Dalai Lama’s statement” unfurled a banner inscribed with the so-called independence of Tibet. This not only shows that what the Tibetan rebels are pursuing is absolutely not autonomy, but what is more important, that the expansionists in India have become feverish.

“They have regarded China’s attitude in giving top consideration to Sino-Indian friendship in the past few days and her maximum restraint as a sign of weakness that can be taken advantage of. The ambitions of these expansionists are really not small. They practically want to turn Tibet into their colony or protectorate.”

In concluding his speech Li Chi-shen stressed: “U.S. imperialism is still occupying our Taiwan and now there are people who want to turn our Tibet into their sphere of influence. But China today is not the China of the Ching dynasty, nor of the northern warlords, nor of reactionary Kuomintang rule. We will certainly liberate Taiwan and we will never allow any outsiders to interfere in Tibet. Support given by any outsiders to the armed Tibetan rebels represents interference in China’s internal affairs and violation of China’s sovereignty. This can never be tolerated by China’s more than 600 million people.

“We value greatly the friendship between China and India. We have been making efforts and will continue to do so to consolidate and develop this friendship. But we will never allow expansionist elements to make use of this friendship as a shield for interference in China’s internal affairs. It would be wise for these expansionists to calm down. The time is gone for ever when the Chinese people

would be at the mercy of bullying by others. Those who want to inherit from British imperialism the legacy of carrying on aggression against Tibet will find themselves in a blind alley.”

In his speech Deputy Shen Chun-ju, Chairman of the China Democratic League, said that the upper-class reactionary clique in Tibet dared to launch a rebellion because they were backed by imperialists, the Chiang Kai-shek gang and Indian expansionists.

Shen Chun-ju continued, “We can expect the imperialists and the Chiang Kai-shek clique in Taiwan to plot to undermine the unification of our country, but we never thought that some people in our great neighbouring country India would give support to a handful of Tibetan traitors in their criminal activities to sever Tibet from China.”

“India is a great country with a long traditional friendship with China,” he said. “The Five Principles initiated by our two countries have in recent years been recognized by an increasing number of countries as a yardstick for settling international matters.”

“But after the outbreak of the rebellion in Tibet, many slanders similar to those by the imperialists against China and expressions of so-called sympathy and encouragement for the Tibetan rebellious clique appeared in the Indian press and in the comments and statements of certain political figures in India,” Deputy Shen Chun-ju continued. “And recently an official of the Indian Government even distributed a so-called statement of the Dalai Lama. Does all this conform to the interests of the friendly relations between China and India? Does it accord with the Five Principles initiated by the Indian Government? Are these friendly actions?”

Shen Chun-ju voiced his violent indignation against the Indian expansionists for their interference in China's internal affairs. He condemned the actions of certain Indian politicians as undoing the good name won by India in international matters during the past years. "If such things were allowed to continue and develop, it would be difficult for people to differentiate these from the aggressive acts of the British imperialists against Tibet in the past," he said, and went on to add, "as a friend of India, I think that I should give this frank advice at this crucial moment."

In his speech Deputy Huang Yen-pei, Chairman of the China Democratic National Construction Association, said: "Tibet is an inalienable part of Chinese territory, and this is accepted by the whole world, including India. The rebellion of the Tibetan reactionaries and its suppression is China's internal affair in which no foreign country may interfere."

Huang Yen-pei said that he was greatly incensed by the so-called "Dalai Lama's statement," issued through an Indian diplomatic official and he asked: "Is it possible that Indian official quarters had no beforehand knowledge of such a political document, which openly attacks our government?"

Deputy Huang Yen-pei pointed out that for a long time the Tibetan reactionary elements had used India's Kalimpong as a centre of intrigue against the motherland from abroad. After the outbreak of the rebellion in Tibet, the rebels fled to India where they were accorded hospitality and an enthusiastic welcome. They raised an outcry for so-called "independence." "Now they could even distribute an absurd document through Indian official channels," he said.

Huang Yen-pei asked: "Can one find anything in all these happenings that is in accord with the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence?"

He added that Prime Minister Nehru had declared that no political activities against another country would be permitted in India.

Huang Yen-pei continued: "How can a country friendly to China permit all the above-mentioned political activities against China?"

He asked whether the people and government of India could show tolerance if a country neighbouring on India allowed its territory to be used as a centre of activities against India and to sever this or that province or state from India.

"If this serious question which has a bearing on the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence and on Sino-Indian friendly relations is allowed to take its course in the wrong direction, it would be detrimental to the interests of India which is known as an advocate of peaceful co-existence. It can only make the colonialists happy," Huang Yen-pei added.

Deputy Ngawang Jaltso in a speech at today's meeting pointed out that a handful of traitors in Tibet had long intrigued to disrupt the unification of the motherland in collusion with imperialists and foreign reactionaries. Ngawang Jaltso, who is the Vice-President of the Chinese Buddhist Association and vice-head of the Kantse Tibetan Autonomous *Chou* in Szechuan Province, added, "These traitors who have raised the hue and cry of 'protecting national interests' have long dipped their hands in the blood of the Tibetan people. They committed all kinds of crimes, extorting heavy taxes and levies, committing murder, arson, rape and plunder. They set up

prisons everywhere and resorted to all kinds of torture — gouging out people's eyes, cutting off their noses, pulling out their hearts and skinning people alive — as part of their system of suppression.”

Ngawang Jaltso, who had lived in Tibet for 27 years and had been a *kanpo* of the Sera Monastery in Lhasa, pointed out that the broad mass of the Tibetan people had learned from the events of history that it was these reactionary rulers who clamoured about “protecting national interests” who were their real enemies.

He went on: “The Tibetan traitors disguise themselves as pious Buddhists and conduct their criminal activities under cover of ‘protecting religion.’ I had personally experienced their tricks in using religion as a cover. When they wanted to commit some criminal action under the guise of religion, they called a meeting of the *kanpos* of the three big monasteries in Tibet including the Sera Monastery and imposed their will on the lamas. Then in the name of the three big monasteries they set out to deceive the masses and forced the lamas to commit a crime against all religious precepts of fighting a war and killing people. In 1947, when the reactionaries of the upper social strata colluded with the imperialists, they were opposed by the anti-imperialist, patriotic Jialpo Living Buddha Rabchen. Surkong Wongching-Galei, Lhalu and others went to the lengths of arresting Living Buddha Rabchen and killing him after putting him to cruel torture. The three grand Living Buddhas and many lamas under Living Buddha Rabchen were all persecuted — they were either imprisoned or exiled. That was why I fled to the interior. After my flight, they set a high price on my head. Later they killed my younger brother Chinlie Jaltso, passed off his head as

mine and declared with a flourish of trumpets that they had killed me.”

Ngawang Jaltso went on: “Using the Rabchen incident as a pretext, the Tibetan reactionaries of the upper social strata took troops to attack the Sera Monastery. They killed or injured nearly one hundred innocent lamas of the monastery and sacked the thirteen *khamtsans* under the Sera Monastery. In 1950, when the patriotic Living Buddha Geda came to Chamdo for the peaceful liberation of Tibet, he was poisoned by the reactionary elements of the upper social strata and the British agent Robert Ford.”

Ngawang Jaltso asked: “Is all this what ‘protecting religion’ means? Is all this what is expected of a pious Buddhist?”

Ngawang Jaltso added: “The Tibetan reactionaries of the upper social strata are criminals, traitors to the motherland, the national interests and Buddhist teachings. They are devoid of shame or human feelings; and not a single trace of uprightness can be found among them.”

(Hsinhua summary, April 22)

Forty-one deputies to the National People’s Congress and members of the National Committee of the Chinese People’s Political Consultative Conference, comprising 16 nationalities in all, today gave a warning to the Indian expansionists. “Their plot to realize their ambition of expansion through the Tibetan rebellion will never be accomplished,” they said.

In this afternoon’s meeting of the First Session of the Second National People’s Congress, deputies continued their bitter condemnation of imperialists and foreign reactionaries for supporting the Tibetan rebellion and intervening in China’s internal affairs.

Thirty-eight deputies to the NPC and members of the CPPCC of 15 different nationalities — Tibetan, Uighur, Tai, Yi, Lisu, Nasi, Yao, Hani, Laku, Pai, Chuang, Kawa, Hui, Chingpo and Miao — declared that the unification of the socialist motherland and the unity among nationalities were in the highest interests of all the various nationalities of China. Any imperialists or reactionary elements who attempted to undermine the unification of our great motherland, they said, should expect our firm retaliation.

Deputy Saifudin, Chairman of the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region, pointed out in his speech at the congress that China could brook no imperialist interference in her internal affairs, and that she would never allow any foreigner to meddle in her affairs, whether big or small. In warning to those who wanted to interfere in China's internal affairs, he said: "Whatever intrigues and plots they play against China will be of no avail. The outcome will be nothing but empty bubbles." Giving a series of examples to illustrate the rapid progress in the various fields of construction in Sinkiang after liberation, he fully proved that only under the leadership of the Communist Party and united in the big family of the motherland, could the national minorities in China break away from their position of poverty and backwardness and attain rapid political, economic and cultural growth. He said that all the imperialist intrigues to undermine China's unification and unity among nationalities in the past had failed. Today when the various nationalities in China were united closer than ever under the Communist Party, it would be even more impossible to achieve such a purpose. The imperialists and foreign

reactionaries would gain nothing out of the Tibetan question.

The speech of deputy Shirob Jaltso, Chairman of the Chinese Buddhist Association, at the congress was received with repeated applause. From an upright standpoint and with irrefutable facts, the Venerable Shirob Jaltso, who has lived in Tibet for thirty years, today sternly denounced the imperialists and foreign reactionaries' slanders about the Chinese Communist Party on the religious question and exposed their intrigues aimed at splitting China.

Shirob Jaltso pointed out that the imperialists and Indian expansionists made use of the Tibetan rebellion, created a commotion and made a shameless show of cheap and hypocritical tears over their own allegation that Buddhism was ruined in Tibet and put on an act of being as heart-broken as if their own parents had died. "We are well aware," he said, "to hoodwink religious circles the imperialists sometimes act as if their hearts were breaking. However, feigned tears can by no means deceive Chinese Buddhists into suspecting the Chinese Communist Party which takes action to protect religion in thoroughly implementing its policy of freedom of belief." He said, "We, the Tibetan people, are passionate followers of Buddhism and are good at telling right from wrong. We will never pardon those bogus Buddhists who conspire with the imperialists, betray the motherland, engage in slaughter and arson, and profane sacred Buddhism, and we do not think that their death can relieve them of their crimes." "In doing so we have not only cleared off villains for the country and the people but have performed meritorious service by ridding Buddhist circles of bad elements and purifying Buddhist laws."

Shirob Jaltso pointed out that some of the Indian expansionists "had forgotten the pain when the wound is healed." "They have not only forgotten the disaster of the dark occupation period under the British imperialists, but on the contrary followed the footsteps of the aggressors and attempted to take over the privileges once the British imperialists had in Tibet." If the expansionists did not alter their course, he warned, "not only their expansionist dream can never come true, but they will bring the wolves into their own house."

The Venerable Shirob Jaltso made it clear that the imperialists who were trying by all means to invade China, were shamelessly creating a great commotion over the Tibetan question. Behind all this fuss, he said, "is hidden a still more venomous and greater plot, namely, the imperialists want to take advantage of our suppression of the rebellion to create tension in Asia and undermine the friendly relations between our country and other Asian countries so as to force the latter to give up their policy of neutrality and subject them once again to enslavement."

Deputy Chen Shu-tung, Chairman of the All-China Federation of Industrialists and Businessmen, pointed out in his speech that the Indian expansionists' support for the Tibetan traitors had seriously threatened the friendly relations between China and India and the Five Principles for Peaceful Co-existence and that this situation would not be tolerated by the Chinese people.

Chen Shu-tung went on: "The Indians should fully understand that the Tibetan reactionaries of the upper social strata who have fled to India represent only a handful of scum among the Tibetan people, and that 99 per cent of the Tibetan people are firmly for the unifica-

tion of the motherland and against the criminal activities of the traitors — their sworn enemy.

“The Chinese people who are heroically engaged in socialist construction will by no means allow foreign forces to do damage to our independence and unification or interfere in our internal affairs at will. Nor will open-minded Indian people tolerate for long the criminal anti-Chinese activities carried out by the Tibetan traitors in India in collusion with the Indian expansionists.”

Deputy Cheng Chien, Vice-Chairman of the Revolutionary Committee of the Kuomintang, condemned the imperialists and Indian expansionists for pulling the strings behind the armed rebellion in Tibet, and trying to encourage the rebels and create splits in the relations between China's nationalities. Cheng Chien pointed out that these people, in their avarice, wanted to take advantage of the question in Tibet but contrary to their wish they had only exposed to the roots their ugliness before the world and landed them in more of an isolated position than ever.

Cheng Chien jeered at the Indian expansionists for allowing their eyes to be blinded by a tree-leaf so that they could not see things in a true light. They did not see the changed situation in the world as a whole, they did not see the great change taking place in the People's Republic of China. On the Tibetan question, they attempted to follow the archaic policy of the British imperialists in fishing in muddy waters.

He warned the Indian expansionists who disregarded the real situation and blindly tried to make trouble that they could never succeed in their evil aims and that their attempt to fish in muddy waters would remain for ever a dream. If they continued to try to make some gain

from the Tibetan question, then they would soon find themselves in a blind alley.

As a deputy of Tibetan nationality the Vice-Governor of Kansu and Head of the South Kansu Tibetan Autonomous *Chou*, Lozong Tsewong (Huang Zheng Qing) sharply denounced the Tibetan rebels' shameful cry "to drive out the Hans" as an attempt to disrupt the relationship between the Han and Tibetan peoples. He said that since liberation, under the guidance of the great policy towards nationalities, friendly co-operation between the Han and Tibetan peoples had been developed on an unprecedented scale. Had it not been for the help of the Han people, the Tibetan people's becoming an advanced nationality would have been unthinkable.

Lozong Tsewong said that the unification of the motherland was in the highest common interests of all nationalities. But in order to conceal their criminal activities, the former Tibetan local government and the reactionary clique of the upper social strata assumed an attitude of representing the interests of the Tibetan people but it would not hold water. Their criminal activities were firmly opposed by the people of all nationalities throughout the country, first of all, by the Tibetan people, and had resulted in ignominious defeat.

"Let the foreign aggressors and rebels shout and cry!" Lozong Tsewong said. "The backward, dark, and cruel Tibet is gone for ever; a new democratic and socialist Tibet will soon appear in our motherland."

Deputy Fu Tso-yi, Minister of Water Conservancy and Electric Power, showed great indignation at the imperialists and foreign reactionaries who supported the Tibetan rebellion. He pointed out in his speech that the imperialists and foreign reactionaries would never rest

content with our victory, they would always attempt to sow discord among us; but that all these conspiracies would be doomed to failure.

Fu Tso-yi stressed that the liberated Tibetans would certainly be able to smash quickly the scheme of a handful of Tibetan rebels and imperialists, remove the obstacles in the way of progress, and, led by the Central People's Government and the Preparatory Committee for the Autonomous Region of Tibet, carry on smoothly the democratic reforms so as to build the Tibetan plateau into a real paradise on earth.

Deputy Chao Tsun-hsin, Head of the Hsishuangpanna Tai Autonomous *Chou* in Yunnan Province, spoke on behalf of 22 national minority deputies to the National People's Congress and 13 members of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference. He pointed out that the imperialists' and foreign reactionaries' scheme to split our motherland had gone up in smoke. Following their failure, these reactionaries could no longer conceal their frustration and anger so that they tried desperately to fabricate rumours and utter vicious slanders and cries of woe. They even went so far as to fabricate a so-called "statement of the Dalai Lama" to hoodwink the public and attain their underhand motive. But all their schemes had ended in failure.

Chao Tsun-hsin stressed the need to guard the unification of our motherland and the unity among the nationalities as the apple of our eye. We must wage resolute struggles against all activities to split the motherland and disrupt the unity among the nationalities, he said. We must energetically oppose any attempt of the foreign reactionary forces to interfere in China's internal affairs.

(Hsinhua summary, April 23)

DEPUTY PANCHEN ERDENI CHUJI-GELTSENG'S SPEECH AT THE FIRST SESSION OF THE SECOND NATIONAL PEOPLE'S CONGRESS

April 22, 1959

Chairman, Fellow Deputies,

Today, at this great, historically important congress, I want to express first my sincere support for the report on government work by Premier Chou En-lai, the report on the 1959 national economic plan by Vice-Premier Li Fu-chun, the report on the 1958 final state accounts and the 1959 state budget by Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien, and the report on the work of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress by Vice-Chairman Peng Chen. My presence here, and that of Ngapo Ngawang-Jigme and other deputies, at this First Session of the Second National People's Congress in Peking, happily getting together with the deputies of all the nationalities of the country, to consult and discuss on state affairs, once again fully demonstrate that, under the leadership of the great Chinese Communist Party and the Central People's Government, the people of Tibet and those of all the other nationalities in the country truly enjoy national equality and rights as masters of the state.

Tremendous changes have taken place in our great motherland in the past four years and more since the convening of the First Session of the First National People's Congress. Our country has become more firmly united and consolidated. Solidarity among all the nationalities is stronger than ever before. Our country has not only victoriously overfulfilled the First Five-

Year Plan, but has also made the historically unprecedented 1958 great leap forward. Our beautiful motherland with her great mountains and rivers that extend over nine million square kilometres is a scene of ever-growing prosperity. Now our more than 600 million people are continuing their stride forward with triumphant confidence. All this fully demonstrates the incomparable superiority of the socialist system.

Since the peaceful liberation of Tibet, under the wise leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, the Central People's Government and Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the People's Liberation Army units and the functionaries who entered Tibet have consistently adhered to the 17-article agreement and have always insisted on the principles of unity of the motherland, national solidarity and freedom of religious beliefs. They have adopted positive measures to help in the economic and cultural development of the Tibet region and made tremendous achievements in this work. Therefore, they have gained the warm support, love and respect of the Tibetan people. However, the former Tibetan local government and the reactionary clique of the upper strata, under the direction of the imperialists, the Chiang Kai-shek bandit clique and foreign reactionaries, for a long time persisted in their activities to split and disrupt the motherland and destroy the 17-article agreement; they tried by every means to obstruct progress in the work of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibetan Autonomous Region. Waiting for the reactionary elements to wake up, the central authorities displayed the maximum magnanimity and on occasion after occasion tolerated their actions. But instead of showing remorse, the upper strata reactionaries in Tibet took the central

authorities' attitude for a sign of weakness and, consequently, blatantly held the Dalai Lama under duress and openly staged all-out armed rebellion in March this year. The criminal purpose of the upper strata reactionaries was to throw the Tibetan people back into the depths of imperialist enslavement and perpetuate the darkest, cruelest system of serfdom in the world. The swift putting down of the rebellion in the Lhasa area brought shameful defeat to the traitorous scheme of the reactionaries. In the course of the quelling of the rebellion, the Tibetan people, both the ecclesiastics and laymen and patriotic members of the upper and middle strata in Tibet have shown ardent support for Premier Chou En-lai's order dissolving the former Tibetan local government, have actively helped the People's Liberation Army in putting down the rebellion and have, on every hand, expressed their long-suppressed demand for reform.

I was greatly incensed when I read the so-called "statement of the Dalai Lama" issued through an official of the Indian Ministry of External Affairs in Tezpur on April 18. When I compare it with either the Dalai Lama's usual statements and actions or the three letters which he himself wrote to Tan Kuan-san, the acting representative of the Central People's Government in Tibet, I see that this alleged statement has nothing in common with them. The tone of the statement is not that of the Dalai Lama himself, nor does it conform to our ordinary Tibetan usage. It is obvious this so-called statement of the Dalai Lama was imposed on him by foreigners.

That Tibet is an inalienable part of Chinese territory nobody can deny. From very early times, Tibet has had close political, economic and cultural ties with the interior of the mother country. In the thirteenth century, the Tibet

region was formally included in Chinese territory. Since then, Tibet has always been a part of China.

The so-called statement of the Dalai Lama said: The Tibetan people are different from the Han people. But can this be a ground for “independence”? As everyone knows, apart from the Han nationality, China has more than fifty national minorities that differ in national traits not only from the Han people but also from each other. In regard to nationality they differ, but in relation to the motherland all of them are members of the big family of the motherland. There are many multi-national countries in the world. Difference in nationality cannot in any way be used as a pretext for splitting the motherland.

What the statement asserted, about there having “always been a strong desire for independence on the part of the Tibetan people,” is a complete fabrication. In fact, the overwhelming majority of the Tibetan people, like all the other nationalities of the motherland, consider it is in their best interest to safeguard the unity of the motherland and the solidarity of all the nationalities and to oppose imperialist aggression. The Tibetan people know from their own experience that the inevitable outcome of separation from the motherland would not be independence for Tibet, but the turning of Tibet into a colony or protectorate of a foreign country.

We know that this so-called “independence” for Tibet was first proposed by the British. The British aggressors invaded Tibet on a large scale in 1904, slaughtering many of our Tibetan compatriots and occupying Lhasa by armed force. After that Britain not only plotted to detach Tibet from China and prevented the Chinese Government from “interfering in Tibetan internal affairs,” but created grievous divisions even within Tibet. As a result of the

vicious machinations of the British aggressors and their running dogs, the former Panchen was driven out, the Living Buddha Rabchen was murdered, the Living Buddha Geda was poisoned and so was the father of the Dalai Lama. Such are the bloody lessons we have learned from so-called "independence" for Tibet.

Now some Indians are again talking about "independence" for Tibet and saying that they recognize Chinese suzerainty but do not permit China to interfere in Tibet's internal affairs. It may be asked, why is it that China cannot run Chinese affairs, while other people can? What difference is there between these utterances and those of the British in the past? I think there is none. These statements are approved only by the imperialists, colonialists and reactionaries, and not by the Indian and other peoples of the world, nor by all those people in India who stand for the five principles of peaceful co-existence, treasure Sino-Indian friendship and genuinely sympathize with the Tibetan people.

We Tibetan people are firmly opposed to these statements. On behalf of all the Tibetan people, clerics and laymen, I solemnly declare here before all the deputies to the National People's Congress: Our Tibet is the Tibet of China, now and always; we will never allow foreigners to interfere in our affairs in Tibet or the rest of China!

It goes without saying that Tibet as an autonomous region of the motherland enjoys the right of national regional autonomy. As we all know, national regional autonomy is the basic policy of the Chinese Communist Party and the Central People's Government in solving the nationality problem in our country. The policy has been written into our Constitution and the Agreement on Measures for the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet.

Article 3 of the agreement stipulates: "In accordance with the policy towards nationalities laid down in the Common Programme of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, the Tibetan people have the right of exercising national regional autonomy under the unified leadership of the Central People's Government." The Preparatory Committee for the Autonomous Region of Tibet was set up early in 1956 and the Dalai Lama was appointed Chairman. Such work of the Preparatory Committee as was done in the past was decided on under the personal direction of the Dalai Lama after full consultation among people of all sections. Most of the members and functionaries of the Preparatory Committee were Tibetans from various sections of the population.

All these are incontrovertible facts. As for the lack of progress in the work of the Preparatory Committee, that was due to obstruction and sabotage by the former local government and the reactionary group of the upper social strata in Tibet. This reactionary group persistently obstructed the work of the Preparatory Committee, persecuted functionaries and patriots of Tibetan nationality, tried to create disunity between Tibetans and Hans and among Tibetans themselves, and opposed any democratic and progressive measures. Although Tibet has been liberated for eight years, its political and social system remains unchanged. How can it be said that the local government of Tibet did not enjoy any measure of autonomy? I consider it entirely a matter of duty and normal in relations between a central and a local government for the central government to guide and examine the work of the local government. In the past it was not that the Central Government did too much looking into the work of the former local government of Tibet but rather too little.

In the eight years since liberation, the Central Government has consistently adhered to the policy of national solidarity and acted magnanimously towards the former local government of Tibet. However, those incorrigible reactionaries took the central authorities' attitude as a sign of weakness and went to the extreme of turning frenziedly against the motherland and the people. The facts prove that what they want is not autonomy but so-called "independence" for Tibet. Indeed, it is not "independence" for Tibet either, but an attempt, under the guise of "independence," to sell out the motherland for their personal gains and maintain their reactionary rule. This guise of "independence" is the same as the guise of "Manchukuo" used by the Manchu traitor Pu Yi who sold out to the Japanese aggressors.

In the treatment of religion, the Communist Party and the People's Liberation Army units that entered Tibet have carried out the policy of protecting freedom of religious belief and protecting the lamaseries most faithfully. In the past eight years, no change has been made in the religious system or beliefs in Tibet. This fact is known to all Tibetans, lamas and laymen. In fact, not the People's Liberation Army but those rebels and reactionaries in Tibet undermined religion. They murdered and insulted lamas and nuns, desecrated Buddhist images, stole sacrificial articles and utensils, and even used the monasteries as military strongholds for their rebellion. Obviously these were not benevolent deeds of respect for religion but evil deeds subversive to religion. Moreover, they abducted the Dalai Lama abroad. This is the greatest sabotage of the Tibetan religion. The former Tibetan local government constantly talked about protecting religion but consistently acted contrary to religion. In the past,

they attacked the Sera Monastery, slaughtered the patriotic Living Buddha Rabchen and afterwards poisoned the Dalai Lama's father who was patriotic. Can these criminal actions of theirs also be described as "protecting religion"? The evidence shows that the former local government in Tibet and the reactionary upper strata clique loudly proclaimed protection of religion but actually used religion to deceive the people in order to maintain their ruling position.

Now the situation in Tibet is already completely under the control of the Tibet Military Area Command of the People's Liberation Army and the Preparatory Committee for the Autonomous Region of Tibet. With the active support of the Tibetan people, both lamas and laymen, the People's Liberation Army units are continuing to mop up the remnants of the rebels. I am confident that the rebel remnants in the Tibet region will be fully accounted for in a very short time and that the Tibetan people will embark on the sunny road of prosperity and progress. The schemes of the Tibetan rebels for so-called independence have gone bankrupt. It is utterly futile for the rebels under the direction of their foreign masters to usurp the name of the Dalai Lama in carrying out their activities to disrupt and split the motherland. The imperialists are doing their utmost to use this incident to undermine Sino-Indian relations. This is intolerable. It is worth noting that the reactionaries in India, treading the path of the British imperialists, have always harboured expansionist ambitions towards Tibet and have carried out various forms of sabotage which undoubtedly benefit the imperialists and are unfavourable to the friendship between China and India.

The imperialists and foreign reactionaries disguise themselves as friends of the Tibetan people just as ferocious devils sometimes don the guise of benevolent Bodhisattvas. But the Tibetan people, for long victims of foreign aggression, see clearly; they can clearly distinguish friends from enemies. No matter how skilfully the imperialists and foreign reactionaries may disguise themselves, they can deceive no one.

Following up the order of the State Council, the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region is exercising the duties and powers of the Tibetan local government. By State Council order, I am acting as Chairman while the Dalai Lama is held under duress. I am determined, under the correct leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and the Central People's Government, to unite all cadres, ecclesiastics and laymen in Tibet and do my best in fulfilling the honourable task which the state and the people have entrusted to me. The primary task now in the Tibet region is to weed out the remnant rebels thoroughly. At present, although the rebellion is in the main put down, there are still some odd numbers of remnant rebels engaged in harassing activities in some remote areas. Like Dud Degetoje devils, they stop at nothing in committing rape, arson and slaughter, thus seriously disrupting the life and productive work of the people in those areas. The Tibetan people must continue to assist the People's Liberation Army actively in thoroughly extirpating the remnant rebels in those areas so as to maintain social security and strengthen the national defences of the motherland.

Democracy and socialism, through step-by-step reforms — this is the sole broad way leading us Tibetan people to prosperity and happiness. The old system in Tibet has

subjected the broad mass of working people to brutal oppression. If it is not reformed, the poverty and backwardness of the Tibetan region cannot be changed, just as one cannot attain the paradise and leave behind the bitter sea without taking the barge of compassion. The Tibetan people have long eagerly demanded reform, and a great part of upper strata people also approve it for the sake of the future of Tibet. Through consultation with patriotic people of all strata, the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region should bring about reform step by step and strive to build up a democratic and advanced new Tibet.

The fundamental guarantee for the progress and development of the Tibetan people lies in strengthening the unity between the Han and Tibetan peoples and that among all our nationalities. Without the help of the Han people, the security and development of the Tibet region would be unthinkable. The Tibetan people must respect Han-Tibetan friendship as they do the Buddhist trinity, and work ceaselessly for its consolidation and development.

In conclusion, I express my sincere hope that the Dalai Lama will be able to free himself from his predicament of being held under duress, return to the embrace of the motherland and, together with the Tibetan people, work for the building of a bright and happy new Tibet.

Let us hail: Long live the People's Republic of China!

Long live the great solidarity of all the nationalities of China!

Long live the new Tibet advancing toward prosperity and happiness in the big family of the motherland!

Long live the Communist Party of China!

Long life to Chairman Mao, the great leader of our people of all nationalities!

DEPUTY NGAPO NGAWANG-JIGME'S SPEECH AT THE FIRST SESSION OF THE SECOND NATIONAL PEOPLE'S CONGRESS

April 22, 1959

Mr. Chairman, Fellow Deputies,

I fully agree with Premier Chou En-lai's report on government work, Vice-Premier Li Fu-chun's report on the draft 1959 national economic plan, Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien's report on the final state accounts for 1958 and the draft state budget for 1959, and Vice-Chairman Peng Chen's report on the work of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress.

Under the brilliant, correct leadership of the great Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the great leader of all nationalities, the people of all nationalities in our country have achieved tremendous successes politically, economically, culturally and in all other aspects in the First Five-Year Plan period for national economic construction, especially in the great leap forward in 1958, thus enhancing the international prestige of our country. The national economic plan for 1959, drafted on the basis of the great leap forward in 1958, is another plan for great leap forward. Every patriot cannot but feel honoured and proud to see his great motherland advancing so magnificently with mighty strides.

Tibet is an inseparable part of the territory of China. Only in the big family of the motherland with its equality,

unity, fraternity, and mutual help among all the nationalities, only by carrying out regional national autonomy and taking the road of democracy and socialism, can the people of Tibet gain true happiness. Should any other road be attempted, nothing but endless suffering can be expected. Therefore, the reunion of the people of Tibet with the big family of the motherland, in accordance with the Agreement on Measures for the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet signed between the Central People's Government and the Tibetan local government in 1951, means that the people in Tibet have stepped on to the road of light and happiness. But the former Tibetan local government and the reactionary clique of the upper social strata consistently colluded with the imperialists, the Chiang Kai-shek bandits and foreign reactionaries and thwarted the carrying out of the agreement. For instance, they thwarted the carrying out of democratic reforms, resisted the reorganization of the Tibetan army and were unwilling to realize regional national autonomy in which the people will play their part, etc. The situation continued to develop till recently when they went so far as to dare to assemble large numbers of rebels in Tibet, abducted the Dalai Lama and launched armed attacks on the People's Liberation Army garrison in Lhasa and the Central People's Government organizations in Tibet. By so doing, they attempted to realize their dream of relying on the imperialists and perpetuating the enslavement of the Tibetan people. Following the outbreak of the rebellion, the State Council issued an order on March 28 to dissolve the former local government, entrust the Preparatory Committee for the Tibetan Autonomous Region to exercise the functions and powers of the local government, enjoin the troops of the Tibet Military

Area Command of the People's Liberation Army to put down the rebellion thoroughly and remove Sukong Wong-ching-Galei and other rebels from their posts as members of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibetan Autonomous Region and their other posts as well. This conforms to the interests of the Tibetan people and is therefore absolutely correct. It has gained the sincere support of the broad masses of the Tibetan people. With the active support and aid of the broad masses of the people in Tibet, the People's Liberation Army units there have not only quelled the rebellion in Lhasa and other important areas in a very short period, but are expected to deal with the rebels who have fled to other remote areas thoroughly and soon.

I should now like to speak about the statement issued to the press in the name of the Dalai Lama on April 18 in Tezpur, India.

I am a member of the Tibetan landlord class, and I also held official posts in the former local government of Tibet. I was a *kaloon** of the government for ten years. In 1951, I was the chief plenipotentiary delegate of the local government of Tibet in the negotiations with the Central People's Government. In 1956, when the Preparatory Committee for the Autonomous Region of Tibet was established, I was appointed Secretary-General of that Committee. Therefore, I knew every detail of all the work done in Tibet over the past few years. I also know the age-long history of Tibet quite well.

Tibet is Chinese territory. Historical facts going back some seven hundred years prove this.

**Kaloon* is the Tibetan name for the members of the *kasha*, the former local government of Tibet — *Ed.*



Chou En-lai and Panchen Erdeni Chuji-Geltseng, Chairman and Vice-Chairman of the Second National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, at the recent plenary session of the CPPCC



Panchen Erdeni Chuji-Geltseng, Deputy to the National People's Congress and Acting Chairman of the Preparatory Committee for the Autonomous Region of Tibet, addressing the First Session of the Second National People's Congress on April 22, 1959

Tibetan deputies to the Second National People's Congress and the Tibetan members of the Third National Committee of the CPPCC hold discussions on April 19 and 20. They express furious indignation at the so-called "Statement of the Dalai Lama" issued through an official of the Indian Ministry of External Affairs and solemnly declare that the entire Tibetan people together with the people of all the other nationalities in China will resolutely oppose this "statement"



Before the Potala Palace Tibetan people accuse the rebels of their atrocities



Demonstration by 20,000 citizens in Lhasa voicing determined support for the complete suppression of the rebellion



People of different nationalities in Lhasa read the State Council order for the suppression of the rebellion

Young people of all nationalities in Lhasa hold discussions, enthusiastically supporting the State Council order for the suppression of the rebellion



Here I should like especially to make a brief review of developments since 1951.

In 1951, the former local government of Tibet headed by the Dalai Lama sent five of us as plenipotentiary delegates to Peking by two routes, one group by way of the Kham area, and the other via India. After the two groups met in Peking, they had detailed discussions on an intimate and friendly basis with the plenipotentiary delegates of the Central Government, which arrived at unanimous opinions satisfactory to both parties. After that they signed the seventeen-article agreement.

Following the conclusion of this agreement, the People's Liberation Army and working personnel arrived in Tibet to consolidate the national defence. With notable results, under the leadership of the Central People's Government representative in Tibet, they conscientiously abided by the seventeen-article agreement and the policy of national equality and unity. Before the peaceful liberation of Tibet, there was quite a feeling of fear among the Tibetan people, owing to wild rumours spread by the imperialists and the Chiang Kai-shek band of brigands. But now Tibetans regard the People's Liberation Army as members of their own family.

Take construction in Tibet as another example: the Central Government sent men and material to build thousands of kilometres of highways, and thus relieved the Tibetan people of their difficulties in communications. In addition, hospitals were set up to provide free medical services in various big cities and towns and many primary and middle schools were established. In short, the Central Government has done a great deal to help the Tibetan people develop Tibet's economy, culture, etc.

Politically, in accordance with the agreement, the functions and powers of the former local government in Tibet and the position and powers of the Dalai Lama remained unchanged. Officials at all levels remained at their posts as before. The Central Government never used any compulsion with regard to the political powers and work of the former local government of Tibet.

According to the agreement, the local Tibetan troops should have been reorganized into the People's Liberation Army and the extremely backward system in Tibet has to be reformed. However, since the former local government of Tibet and the reactionary clique of the upper social strata objected, the Central Government, proceeding from a policy of magnanimity and cherishing unity, gave them ample time to think things over. In the end, the Tibetan troops were not reorganized and the system was not reformed in the least. Moreover, the Tibetan local government never stopped the issuance of Tibetan currency.

The Central Government proposed national local autonomy for Tibet. The Preparatory Committee for the Autonomous Region of Tibet was set up in April 1956. The Dalai Lama was appointed Chairman to lead the work of the Committee. The Committee was staffed mostly by Tibetans. The funds for the Committee and its subordinate organizations were provided by the Central Government.

The Central Government and the People's Liberation Army have conscientiously respected freedom of religious belief, protected the lamaseries and respected local customs and habits. There was never any damage done to any monastery in the Tibet region. In a word, the Central Government has consistently and earnestly abided by the seventeen-article agreement and the policy of national

equality and unity.

As stated above, the Central Government has pursued correct policies towards Tibet in the past few years. Everything that is done aims at helping the Tibetan people to free themselves from backwardness and darkness and has awakened them more and more with each passing day. But the former local government of Tibet and the reactionary clique of the upper social strata were bent on subjugating the Tibetan people perpetually under the rule of feudal serfdom. They took fright at the gradual awakening of the Tibetan people, and colluded with the imperialists, the Chiang Kai-shek bandit clique and foreign reactionaries. On the surface they put up a hypocritical semblance of advocating unity and adhering to the agreement, yet in their hearts they were scheming to rely on the imperialist and reactionary forces to sabotage the unity of the motherland, and thus restore in Tibet the imperialist forces of aggression in order to maintain their cruel exploitation of the Tibetan people through the system of feudal serfdom. In order to realize this shameless aim of theirs, they engaged in a series of intrigues. For example: the carrying out of the undertaking laid down in Article Eight of the agreement, i.e. "Tibetan troops shall be reorganized step by step into the People's Liberation Army, and become a part of the national defence forces of the People's Republic of China," would have lightened the heavy burden on the Tibetan people. This is because the former local government only defrayed a very small part of the expenditure on the Tibetan troops, while their clothing and other expenses were all directly supplied by the people. But the reactionaries consistently obstructed the carrying out of this undertaking. Another example: The broad masses

of the people in Tibet and some progressives of the upper and middle social strata were all eager to change the backward system of feudal serfdom in Tibet, in accordance with Article Eleven of the agreement stipulating: "The local government of Tibet should carry out reforms of its own accord." The reactionaries also did all they could to obstruct this. The Preparatory Committee for the Autonomous Region of Tibet was founded on a progressive basis. Because it is progressive it ran counter to the desires of the reactionaries who tried their best both to hinder the development of its work and to terrorize and oppress some progressive people. The People's Liberation Army units and functionaries sent by the central authorities to Tibet have consistently carried out the policy of freedom of religious belief in Tibet, and not the slightest offence has been committed against any temple or monastery there. Due to armed rebellion launched by the reactionaries against the state and the people, some monasteries in certain Tibetan areas in the neighbouring province, were even turned into rebel headquarters. It was unavoidable that some damage was done to these monasteries in the course of suppressing the rebellion. The Tibetan reactionaries, making use of this to spread rumours and deceive the people in every possible way, exaggerated and distorted it by saying that "the monasteries will be destroyed" and so on.

In May and June last year, the Tibetan reactionaries stepped up their efforts to gather together the rebels who had escaped to Tibet from various places in neighbouring provinces and had carried out armed rebellion along both banks of the Tsangpo River. Even then the Central Government still fully respected the

former local government of Tibet and repeatedly ordered it to put down the armed rebellion in the area under its administration. While paying lip-service to the agreement, the former local government clandestinely supported the armed rebels in every way and, as events developed, it concentrated large groups of rebels in Lhasa. Since none of the measures of the Central Government gave them any pretext, they utilized the Dalai Lama's decision to go to the Tibet Military Area Command to attend a theatrical performance to spread rumours and mislead the public.

The course of events was that the Dalai Lama himself had asked, one month in advance, to go to the Tibet Military Area Command to attend a theatrical performance, and the date of March 10 was also fixed by the Dalai Lama himself. The rebels, however, alleged that the Dalai Lama was invited to go to the Military Area Command to see a performance and that this would be the excuse for carrying him off by force to the interior of the country. On March 10, at the gate of Norbu Lingka where the Dalai Lama lived, the reactionaries killed Kanchung Soanamchiatso, a member of the religious affairs committee of the Preparatory Committee for the Autonomous Region of Tibet and brother of Pebala Hutuktu, a principal leader of the Chamdo area, and wounded Sampo Tsewong Rentzen, Deputy Commander of the Tibetan Military Area Command. They occupied by force the inner and outer walls of the living quarters of the Dalai Lama. Their lawlessness knew no bounds. But the central authorities still maintained a magnanimous attitude and, out of a desire for unity, asked the former local government of Tibet to correct its mistakes and take measures to put down the rebellion.

To help the Dalai Lama, General Tan Kuan-san, acting

representative of the Central People's Government in Tibet, successively wrote three letters to the Dalai Lama, two of which were carried by me personally to the Dalai Lama. In reply, the Dalai Lama also sent, through me, three letters in his own handwriting to General Tan Kuan-san, in which he described in detail the coercion the rebels were subjecting him to. And then on the night of March 17, the Dalai Lama was abducted by the rebels. Later, starting at 3:40 a.m. on March 20, the rebels launched armed attacks against the People's Liberation Army units in Lhasa and the offices of the Central Government agencies in Tibet. In order to safeguard the unification of the motherland and the security of the Tibetan people, the People's Liberation Army could not but counter-attack at ten o'clock (Peking time) on the morning of March 20. With the all-out support of the broad mass of the people in Tibet, the rebellion in the Lhasa area was put down in a very short time. Up to that hour, the People's Liberation Army had not fired a single shot. All the people in the city of Lhasa, both lamas and laymen, can testify to this. From the above-stated facts, it is as clear as daylight who has always adhered to and carried out the 17 articles of the agreement and who destroyed the agreement.

The armed rebellion of the former Tibet local government and the reactionary clique of upper social strata, an act that is a betrayal of the motherland, a betrayal of the people and sabotage of the unity of the motherland, has been thoroughly put down in the Lhasa area and in other important areas. Small bands of rebels who have fled into remote mountain areas are being mopped up and it is expected that they will be thoroughly suppressed within a short time. Of the present population of Tibet,

numbering one million two hundred thousand souls only about twenty thousand have taken part in the rebellion. The Tibetan people are clearly aware that swift suppression of the rebellion conforms to the interests of the more than one million one hundred thousand people of Tibet. To act otherwise would mean a long period of suffering all kinds of calamities for the broad mass of the people in Tibet. This is clear from what had happened in the twelve months or so since small bands began to rebel last year. Wherever the rebels have gone, places have been ransacked. Many victimized peasants have been unable to sow their fields during the spring sowing this year. It makes one's heart bleed to see the arson, murder, rape and plunder perpetrated by the rebels. And this is not all. The Tibetan people would be plunged into a situation in which there would be scarcely a chance for them to escape from the cruel exploitation of feudal serf-owners. At this time when the strength of the people of the world is so great that no force can bar their advance, the Tibetan people will, on the basis of the present great victory, establish the Tibetan Autonomous Region as soon as possible and correctly carry out social reforms suited to the concrete conditions in Tibet, so that, like all the people of the other nationalities in our country, they too will take to the broad road of democracy and socialism, happy and prosperous, and fully develop their political, economic and cultural life, increase their population and build a new Tibet.

Since the Dalai Lama assumed office, I have worked with him in an association as close as shadow to body. I am therefore able to comprehend the thoughts and wishes of the Dalai Lama. In the past eight years, neither from his public statements, nor from his talks with us

Tibetan officials in private, did we ever hear anything about "the independence of Tibet" or the sundering of the unity of the motherland. What we heard was that he not only cared deeply for the happiness of the Tibetan people, but also for the consolidation of the unification of the motherland. Therefore we can categorically affirm that the statement issued in India in the name of the Dalai Lama definitely does not come from the thought or wish of the Dalai Lama himself. It is absolutely clear that this statement was not written in the style of the Dalai Lama himself, nor indeed does it sound like writing by Tibetans in the Tibetan language. It does sound very much like a piece written by foreigners and imposed on the Dalai Lama. I think that when the Dalai Lama meditates in quiet he will feel the pain of being held under duress and of being utilized by others and will find the proper ways and means of freeing himself from this duress.

I have no special knowledge, but I know that all people of goodwill can distinguish good from evil, the real from the false or truth from distortion. Therefore I believe that the peoples all over the world will sympathize with the more than one million one hundred thousand people in Tibet who are striving hard to free themselves from the heavy burden of exploitation under feudal serfdom, and not with the handful of rebels who have sucked the blood of the Tibetan people and have now become the scum of the Tibetan nationality.

Since we belong to the same nationality, I still cherish some slight hope for you rebels who have fled to India. To avoid the Dalai Lama being separated for a long time from the Tibetan people, I hope you will cease committing crimes under the instigation of the imperialists, the Chiang Kai-shek agents and foreign reactionaries to block

the way of the Dalai Lama's return to the motherland. Secondly, you may say that your reason for deserting the homeland and living in exile abroad is because the Central People's Government no longer allows you to go on sucking the blood of the Tibetan people as you have done for centuries. But if you want to say that it is for the sake of the happiness of the Tibetan people, then the truth is exactly the opposite. The result will be that you will meet with resolute opposition from the Tibetan people. Finally, if you correct your actions, turn over a new leaf and cease to carry on criminal activities betraying the motherland, the Tibetan people can still forgive you and the Central People's Government will deal with you leniently.

The former Tibetan local government and the reactionary clique of the upper social strata launched the armed rebellion in order to lead the Tibetan people onto the road to disaster and of continued enslavement. They did not comprehend and could not comprehend that the suppression of the rebellion would bring new life to the Tibetan people. From now on, under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, Chairman Mao Tse-tung and the Central People's Government and through the active preparatory work of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibetan Autonomous Region, regional national autonomy will certainly be implemented in Tibet and through democratic reform the Tibetan people, like other nationalities of the country, will advance along the socialist road and build a prosperous, happy new Tibet.

Finally, let me give you these cheers:

Long live the Chinese Communist Party!

Long live the unity of all our nationalities!

Long live the great leader of all our nationalities —
Chairman Mao Tse-tung!

DEPUTY SHIROB JALTSO'S SPEECH AT THE FIRST SESSION OF THE SECOND NATIONAL PEOPLE'S CONGRESS

April 23, 1959

Fellow Deputies, Committee Members:

I fully support the report on government work by Premier Chou En-lai, the report on the 1959 draft national economic plan by Vice-Premier Li Fu-chun, the report on the 1958 final state accounts and the 1959 draft state budget by Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien, the report on the work of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress by Vice-Chairman Peng Chen, and the report on the work of the Standing Committee of the Second National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference by Vice-Chairman Li Wei-han, and I want to express my firm support for their thorough implementation. Now I would like to speak on the measures taken by the government to put down the rebellion in Tibet and the so-called "statement of the Dalai Lama" issued through an Indian diplomatic official at Tezpur, India.

On April 18, the Dalai Lama who had been abducted to India by the Tibetan reactionary clique was forced to issue a so-called statement of the Dalai Lama, in which there is much talk about Tibetan independence. This utterly absurd statement, lame in reasoning, full of lies and loop-holes, is totally different from all that the Dalai Lama said at home and abroad in the past eight years.

It plays the same old tune of Tibetan independence as the imperialists and foreign reactionaries have been doing recently. This is purely a plot. If the Tibetan reactionary clique could hold the Dalai Lama under duress in Lhasa, how could he avoid being forced to make an absurd statement under the direct coercion of the imperialists and the Indian expansionists after he has gone to India? We, therefore, have good reason to suspect that this so-called statement is not made by the real Dalai Lama but by many phoney Dalai Lamas. Everybody knows, the British imperialists used India as a base to invade China's Tibet when they occupied our great neighbour India. However, after the British imperialists were compelled to quit India, some Indian expansionists have not only forgotten the disaster of the dark occupation period, but on the contrary followed the footsteps of the aggressors and attempted to take over the privileges once the British imperialists had in Tibet. They have forgotten the pain when the wound is healed. Tibet is an inalienable part of China's territory. If, as they say, Tibet should be independent because the Tibetans are different from the Hans, cannot it be inferred that four independent states should be established in India because there are the four different castes? The expansionists' outrageous actions seriously violate the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence jointly observed by China and India. It can be assured that, if they do not change their course, not only their expansionist dream can never come true, but they will bring the wolves into their own house. We cherish Sino-Indian friendship, but we are firmly opposed to the foreign expansionists' flagrant interference in China's internal affairs. We are convinced that this clumsy document — the so-called statement — will not succeed in

whitewashing the crimes of the Tibetan reactionary clique, nor will it dupe public opinion in our country and the world; on the contrary, it has served to expose thoroughly the crimes of the Tibetan rebel clique in betraying their country and people, and bring into the open the plot of the imperialists and the Indian expansionists who vainly attempt to disrupt the unity of our country and turn Tibet into their colony or protectorate. We express our extreme indignation at this very unfriendly attitude.

The former local government and upper class reactionary clique in Tibet took up a consistently reactionary stand. On March 10, they went so far as to openly tear up the Agreement on Measures for the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet, abduct the Dalai Lama and muster all the rebel forces. Under the guise of protecting Buddhism, they instigated and intimidated a section of the lamas and laymen who were not clear about the actual facts and, in a vain attempt to reverse the wheels of history and perpetuate the enslavement of the Tibetan people, raised a wild clamour about driving out the Hans and getting independence. People of all nationalities and walks of life throughout the country have been greatly angered and unanimously denounced these acts. The State Council, showing the utmost magnanimity, made every effort for a peaceful solution. It was only when a peaceful solution could no longer be hoped for that the State Council, in order to safeguard the unity of the motherland and the solidarity of all nationalities and the development and prosperity of the Tibetan people, had no alternative but to enjoin the Tibet Military Area Command of the People's Liberation Army to put down the rebellion thoroughly, announce the abolition of the Tibetan local government which instigated the rebellion and order

that its functions and powers should be exercised by the Preparatory Committee for the Tibetan Autonomous Region. These measures won the unanimous support of the whole nation. I, as a pious old Tibetan Buddhist monk who loves the motherland, loves Tibet, loves Buddhism and the Dalai Lama, wish to express my heartfelt support for these wise and correct measures of the State Council and my firm determination to carry them through.

The Tibet region is an inalienable part of Chinese territory and the Tibetan people one of the nationalities composing the big family of the motherland. Like other nationalities of the country, the Tibetan people have contributed their diligent efforts to the creation and growth of the great motherland and so they cherish a passionate and profound love for the great motherland created and developed by the joint efforts of all nationalities. This inborn deep and strong patriotism has cemented the unification of the motherland and the solidarity of the nationalities. The imperialists plotted to divide our country in order to achieve their aggressive aims; the Ching dynasty and the reactionary Kuomintang government pursued a perverted policy of national oppression and discrimination, and the reactionary Tibetan ruling class sold itself out to the imperialists in order to perpetuate its privileges of oppression and exploitation; all this led long ago to the formation of a reactionary clique in Tibet which was servile to the imperialists and determined to split the motherland and enslave the people. This reactionary clique has all along advocated separation from the motherland in disregard of the national interests of the country and against the will of the people. After the people of the whole country, under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, overthrew the reaction-

ary Kuomintang regime and founded the People's Republic of China, national oppression and discrimination came to an end in China, and a new era of national equality and solidarity began in which the people of all nationalities are closely united as never before. The central authorities, after arranging the peaceful liberation of Tibet, have always adhered to the Agreement. They have insisted on the principle of unity of the motherland and solidarity among all nationalities, and have followed the policy of putting national regional autonomy and democratic reforms into effect step by step. They have done many good things in Tibet which were unheard of in history, and thus won the unanimous support of the broad mass of the Tibetan people, both lamas and laymen. In implementing the Agreement, the Central Government, having regard for the specific conditions of Tibet and attaching paramount importance to the interests of the whole nation, adopted an attitude of waiting with maximum patience in regard to the procrastination and stalling of the Tibetan upper class elements in the hope that they would change their minds. If those elements had had the slightest regard for the national interests, they would have repented their past misdeeds, carried out the Agreement and endeavoured to make their contribution to the great cause of building up Tibet. It turned out unexpectedly, however, that the incorrigible Tibetan upper class elements not only failed to give up their evil ambitions in face of the patient and magnanimous policy of the Central Government, but on the contrary harboured their evil intentions in secret ever since the liberation, plotting to tear up the Agreement. Thus on March 10 they went to the length of openly betraying the motherland by conspiring with the imperialists, the

Chiang Kai-shek clique and foreign reactionaries. They killed and wounded patriotic Tibetan cadres, plundered monasteries and villages wherever they went and slaughtered lamas and laymen, disrupting the peaceful life of the Tibetan people and desecrating our sacred Buddhism. The people of the whole country unanimously denounce the rebellion and support the Central Government's just measures in leading the Tibetan people to put down the rebellion and quickly throw the reactionaries into the graves they have dug for themselves.

China is a multi-national country. National regional autonomy gives expression to both a united leadership over our country and the rights of all nationalities to handle their own affairs. It is an administrative system best suited to the specific conditions of the minority nationalities. It is clearly laid down in the Agreement on measures for the peaceful liberation of Tibet that national regional autonomy will be put into effect step by step. In 1956 the Central Government, after full consultations with the former Tibetan local government, set up the Preparatory Committee for the Tibetan Autonomous Region. In recent years, the Preparatory Committee, under the leadership of the Central Government, has achieved unprecedented successes in developing agriculture, animal husbandry, communications and transport, cultural and health work, as well as industry, with the result that a change has begun to take place in the poverty and backwardness of Tibet. But for the incessant obstructions put up by the former Tibetan local government and reactionary upper class clique, there is no doubt that even greater successes would have been achieved. The broad mass of lamas and laymen are deeply aware that the realization of national regional autonomy in the

big family of the unified motherland in which all nationalities are united, means prosperity and happiness for the Tibetan nationality; they are determined to take the road of national regional autonomy. The Tibetan reactionary clique, however, did not want the Tibetan people to institute national regional autonomy and lead a happy, prosperous life; imagining that they would thus fulfil their vicious ambition of perpetuating the enslavement of the Tibetan people, they dreamed of attaining the Tibetan "independence" for which the imperialists had long been scheming in order to disintegrate China. The same noisy talk about Tibetan "independence" in the so-called statement of the Dalai Lama is utterly absurd. The so-called Tibetan independence is utterly groundless and daydreaming. Let us review the history. In the Tang dynasty, there was established in Tibet the rule of the Sron-tsan Gampo dynasty. But by about the time of Emperor Wutsung of the Tang dynasty, the Sron-tsan Gampo dynasty came to an end with the death of Jialpo Lang Darma, altogether running a line of ten kings. Then, in the latter part of the Tang dynasty and through the Sung dynasty, the Tibetan area was in a state of utter disunity. It was after Emperor Shihtsu of the Yuan dynasty unified China that disintegrated Tibet was united and became an administrative region under the jurisdiction of the Yuan Empire, and Pagspa was appointed king to administer Tibet under the unified leadership of the Yuan dynasty. Seventy-five years afterwards his house was overthrown by a subordinate P'agmogruba, whose house, in turn, was overthrown by a subordinate, Rinpung after another seventy-five years. Three successions later, the power was again usurped by a subordinate, Tsangbachienko. Another three successions later, in early



Soldiers of the People's Liberation Army help the Tibetan people in reaping *chingko* (highland barley)

Wen Shao-hua, a squad leader of the People's Liberation Army, presents, on behalf of the fighters in his squad, gifts to the Tibetan girls who come to visit them





The People's Liberation Army units and working personnel in Tibet have always protected the freedom of religious belief among the Tibetan people. Here we see the lamas prostrating themselves before the Jokhan Monastery in Lhasa during the Monlam (Summons Ceremony)



Here come the tractors to the Tibetan plateau



Many new buildings have been constructed in Lhasa in the last few years with the help of the Central People's Government



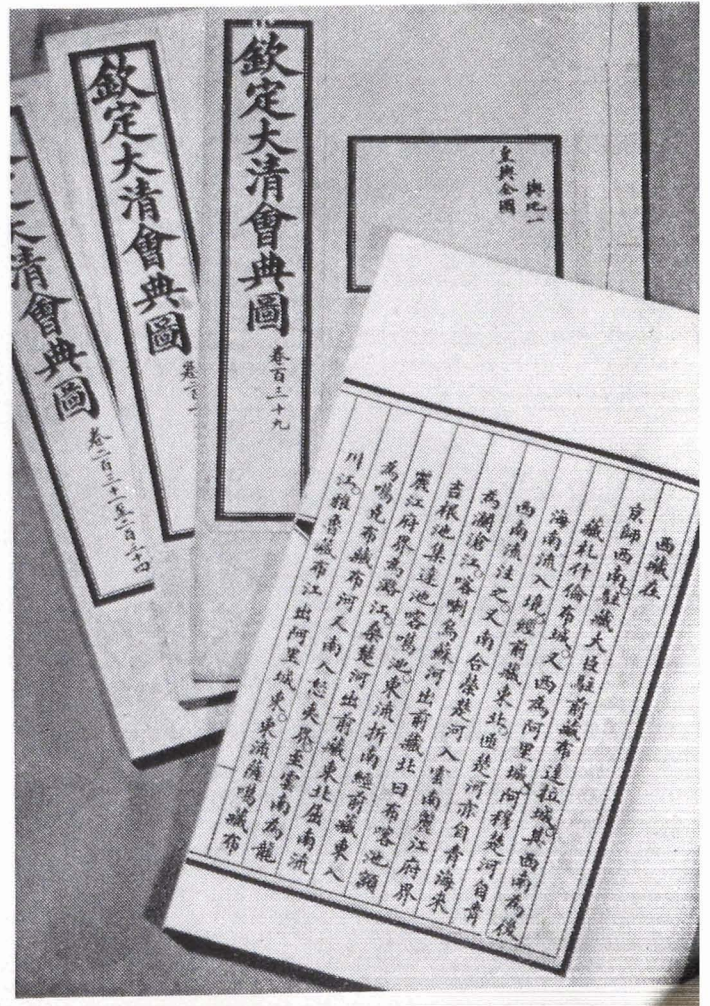
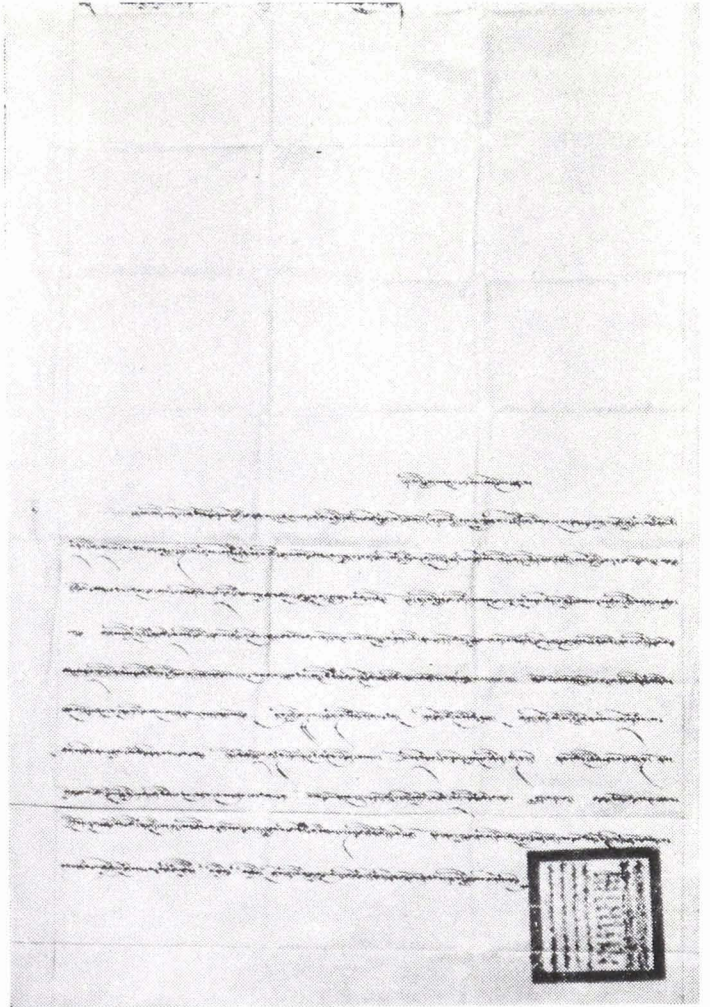
TIBET: CHINA'S TERRITORY

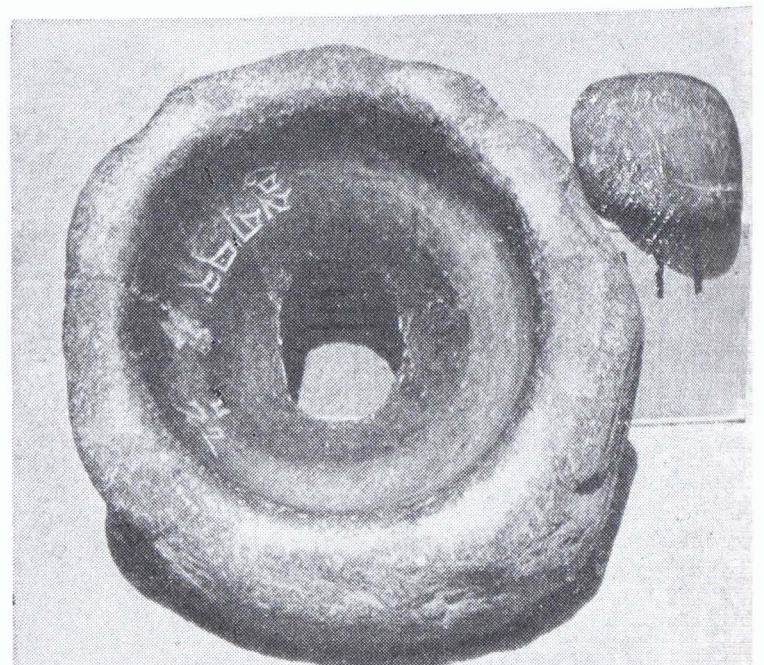
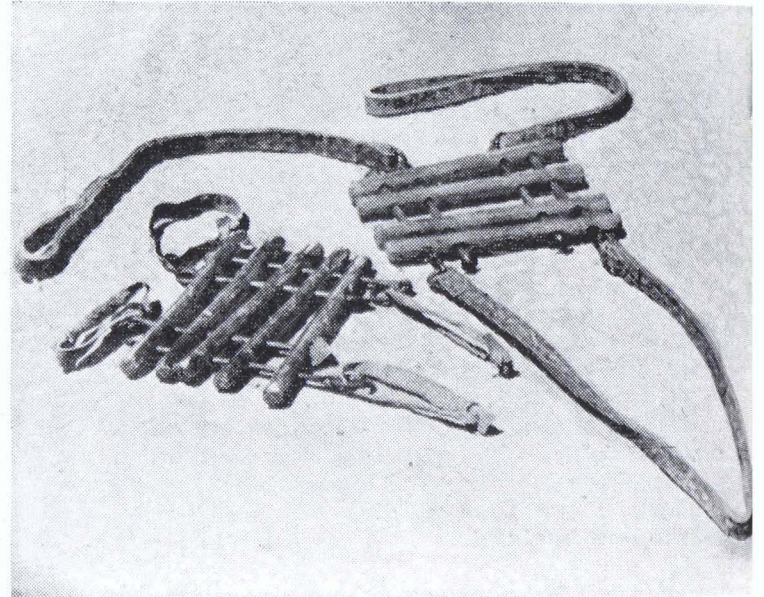
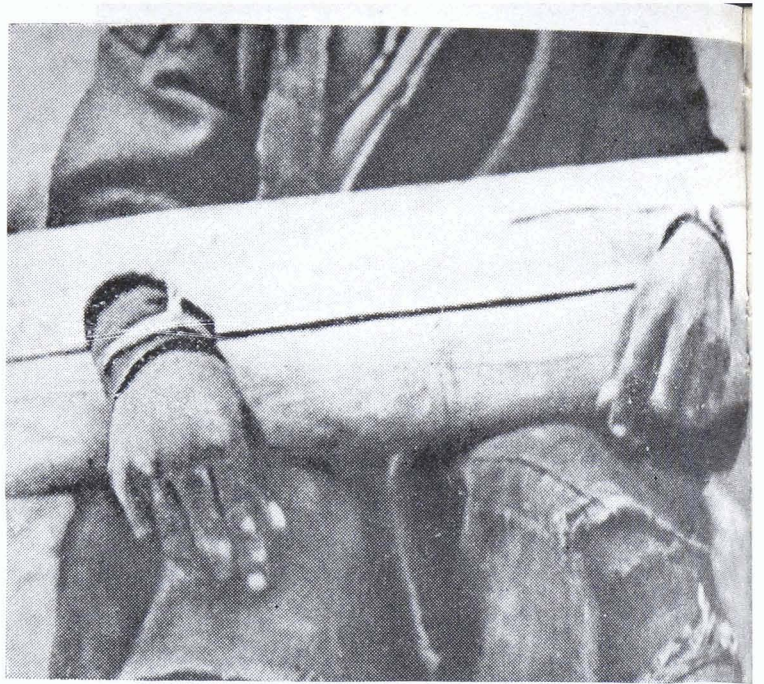
For centuries the Tibetan people entered into close, fraternal relations with China's other nationalities, especially the Hans. Far back in the early Tang dynasty, Emperor Tai Tsung married Princess Wen Cheng to the Tibetan King, Sron-tsan Gampo. During the reign of Emperor Hsien Tsung of the Yuan dynasty, Tibet was officially incorporated into the Yuan Empire and ever since it has been a member of the big family of the motherland.

(Upper right) This is a photostat copy of the original report sent by the Thirteenth Dalai Lama to the Emperor Kwang Hsu of the Ching dynasty. In this the Dalai Lama states: "... for the religion of Sakyamuni and consolidation of the Imperial realm I often recite scripts and prayers. Will Your Majesty please give detailed instruction to the messenger concerning Tibetan affairs. . . ."

(Above) The statue of Princess Wen Cheng enshrined in the Jokhan Monastery in Lhasa

(Lower right) The area of Tibet is clearly defined in the *Ta Ching Hui Tien* (Compendium of Government Institutions of the Ching dynasty) published in the reign of Kwang Hsu of the Ching dynasty. The section about Tibet begins as follows: "Tibet lies to the southwest of the national capital. The Lord Minister stays at the city of Potala (the present Lhasa — Ed.) of Chientsang. To its southwest is Tsashilunpu (the present Shigatse — Ed.) of Houtsang."





CRUEL TORTURES UNDER SERFDOM IN TIBET

The former local government of Tibet used many cruel methods of torture with the aim of consolidating serfdom and safeguarding their special minority privileges of exploiting the majority of the people.

(Above) Fetters for the feet

(Upper right) The stocks

(Middle right) Thumb-screws, instruments to torture the fingers, used in the prison of the nangtzheshag (municipal government) in Lhasa

(Lower right) Instruments to gouge out people's eyes, used in the prison of the nangtzheshag in Lhasa

Ching dynasty, the Tsangbachienko house in Tibet was overthrown by the Gusri Khan (Mongolian Prince of Honan Banner in Chinghai). It was then that Emperor Kangsi of the Ching dynasty appointed the Fifth Dalai Lama as head of Tibet, and Phyang Dsod in charge of administrative affairs. Since then, the Dalai Lama had gradually established leadership in Tibet. Later, in the sixteenth year of the reign of Emperor Chien Lung, at the time of the Seventh Dalai Lama, the Ching Court authorized the setting up of the *kasha*, the local Tibetan government, which was directly under the authority of a Manchu minister stationed in Tibet. The Dalai Lama must kneel three times and kowtow nine times to receive imperial decrees issued by the Ching Court, and the appointment of such higher officials as the *kaloons*, *dzasak* and *tegi* must be ratified by the Ching Court. It can be seen that the leading position of the Dalai Lama in Tibet was bestowed on him by the over-all Chinese government then in power, and the local government of *kasha* was simply a local administrative organ of the over-all government at that time. All these historical facts show that since ancient times Tibet has been one of China's administrative areas. The present situation is that Tibet is a local region of China where a Preparatory Committee for the Autonomous Region has been established. The Dalai Lama has been made not only the Chairman of the Committee by appointment of the state, but also elected one of the leaders of the First National People's Congress, the supreme organ of state power, at its first session. Meanwhile, owing to the fact that the central government has correctly carried out the policy of national equality and unity which has brought happiness and prosperity to the Tibetan people and which will bring them greater

happiness and prosperity step by step, the Tibetan people support this policy which is in conformity with their interests as well as those of the unity of the motherland and national solidarity. Therefore, we can draw the following conclusion: That deceptive "Tibetan independence" claimed by the Tibetan reactionary clique and by the so-called statement of the Dalai Lama not only conflicts with historical facts and actual conditions, but is also against the interests of the Tibetan people and the common interests of all the nationalities of our country. It is aimed at depriving the Tibetan people of the leadership provided by the motherland, so that the reactionary clique can trample them underfoot and enslave them at will. Our answer to this deception is a very simple one. We are resolutely against "independence" aimed at dismembering the motherland, and resolutely for implementation of regional national autonomy within the big united family of the motherland. The whole world acknowledges the fact that Tibet is Chinese territory; even the imperialists who are bent on aggression against China cannot deny this. The real reason why they are making such a shameless fuss about the Tibetan problem and slandering as "naked aggression" the just measures taken by our government to put down the rebellion is that they want to cover up their own monstrous crimes in attempting to achieve their aggressive aims by disrupting the unification of our country. Furthermore, behind this plot is hidden a still more venomous and greater plot, namely, the imperialists want to take advantage of our suppression of the rebellion to create tension in Asia and undermine the friendly relations between our country and other Asian countries so as to force the latter to give up their policy of neutrality and subject them once again

to enslavement. We earnestly call on the Asian countries to see through the tricks being played by the imperialists and unmask these provocations and aggression so that friendly co-operation between the Asian countries may be preserved.

Democratic reform is a problem that must be solved if the Tibetan people are to advance to happiness and prosperity. The traitorous clique in Tibet held the Tibetan people enslaved and was like a great mountain on their backs. Enslavement by means of feudal privilege exercised at different levels prevented the Tibetan people from taking the road to happiness and prosperity. Without democratic reforms it will be impossible to shake off poverty and backwardness. Therefore, it is provided in the Agreement on Measures for the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet that the Tibetan local government should carry out reforms of its own accord. In view of the fact that the level of political consciousness of the people of the upper classes in Tibet was not high, the Central Government, following the peaceful liberation of Tibet, adopted a magnanimous policy of patient waiting and persuading the masses to allow them to retain their privileges for the time being. In 1956, the Central Government announced that no reforms would be carried out within the next six years and that the question of when and how the reforms would be conducted would be determined through joint consultation, in line with objective conditions, by the Tibetan national leaders, the people of the upper class and the mass of the people as a whole. The Central Government gave them ample time for deliberation, which was the height of kindness and benevolence. But the reactionary clique in Tibet utterly disregarding the just demand of the Tibetan people for reform, was always re-

luctant to give up their privileges. At the same time, fearing the growing awakening of the people, and fearful of the shaky position of their reactionary rule under which they enslaved the people, they consistently carried on counter-revolutionary activities. They instigated reactionary elements in Sikang to start an armed rebellion in order to undermine the work of reform in that area. They used this as a frontline of their opposition to the motherland and a cover for their attempts to drive out the Han people and achieve "independence" in the Tibetan area. When the above-mentioned rebellion was put down, they gave shelter in Tibet to the fleeing bandit traitors. They robbed the people, disrupted communications, and attacked from ambush the cadres and armed forces of the Central Government stationed in Tibet. In spite of all these acts, the Central Government again and again adopted an attitude of leniency and tolerance in the hope that they would realize their mistakes. But the reactionary clique took all this as a sign of weakness and openly started the armed rebellion, in the fantastic hope of driving out the Communist Party at one stroke, burying the people's aspirations for reform and consolidating their slave rule. The Tibetan people urgently need reform and are well aware that the Communist Party supports the people's desire for reform. Therefore, they unanimously supported the People's Liberation Army in rapidly putting down the rebellion so as to implement reform step by step. Premier Chou En-lai pointed out in his report that "in any case, the reforms will be carried out step by step with full regard for the specific conditions in Tibet, and in the course of the reforms the religious beliefs and customs and habits of the Tibetan people will be fully respected and the fine aspects of

Tibetan culture will be upheld and developed.” This statement completely conforms with the conditions in Tibet and we fully support it. Now there are some people abroad who deliberately pretend not to understand the desire for reform of the masses of the Tibetan people. They hypocritically put on a look of sympathy for the Tibetan people but they sympathize only with a minority of about 20,000 reactionaries out of a population of 1,200,000 in Tibet. Such sympathy, even if it does not have an ulterior motive, is a manifestation of ignorance and we do not welcome it. We welcome their sympathy with the majority, the more than 1,100,000 working people of Tibet. This majority of people who are going to build an earthly paradise on the Tibetan plateau deserves the sympathy of all well-intentioned people throughout the world.

The policy of freedom of religious belief is the established, unalterable policy of the Communist Party towards religion. That old trick used by the internal and external reactionaries of slandering the Communist Party as one that undermines religion, and the calumny against the Party in regard to the religious question contained in the so-called “statement of the Dalai Lama” issued recently cannot in the least shake our confidence in the Party. Since liberation, the Party and the People’s Government have adopted protective measures for all religions in the country alike. Politically, the Dalai Lama and Panchen Erdeni are among the ranks of the leaders of the supreme organ of state power. I myself and many other people in Buddhist circles have also participated in the leadership of the state administrative organs at all levels. There has not been the slightest discrimination against the political rights of religious believers. The

Chinese Buddhists Association, a national organization of Buddhists, has been set up with branches in Tibet, Inner Mongolia and other places. Legal Buddhist activities not only enjoy freedom at home but enjoy the same freedom abroad. The Dalai Lama, Panchen Erdeni, I myself and many other Buddhists of various nationalities have participated in quite a number of international Buddhist gatherings. The religious life of Buddhists is respected by the people and their material life is looked after by the government. With the financial help of the government, many famous Buddhist shrines and temples have been repaired and assumed a new look. These include the Wutai Shan shrine which was destroyed by the Japanese and the puppet troops during the War of Resistance Against Japanese Aggression; Gumbun (Ta-erh) Monastery which is the birthplace of Venerable Tsonkha-pa, founder of the Yellow Sect of Tibetan Buddhism; the Chiatsun Monastery in Hwangchung County, Chinghai Province, the birth place of the Dalai Lama; the Yung Ho Lamasery in Peking and the Lingying Monastery in Hangchow. The government has also allocated large sums of money to build the Sarira-stupa the Holy Tooth reliquary in the beautiful Western Hills on the outskirts of Peking. Many Buddhist cultural and ancient relics such as the murals in Tunhuang and Pingling, the stone carvings in Yunkang and Lungmen, the stone scriptures in Fangshan and the editions of the scriptures in Ginling have been preserved and put in good order with the help of the government. Take the Tibet area which the rebels are familiar with for instance. The Central Government has not changed the original status and authority of the Dalai Lama or the income of the lamaseries. Ecclesiastical officials at all levels have carried on their

duties as usual. The People's Liberation Army units stationed in Tibet and the cadres who have gone there to work have consistently respected the religious beliefs of the local people. When Vice-Premier Chen Yi went to Lhasa to greet the establishment of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region, he provided meals for more than 200,000 lamas throughout Tibet and presented gifts and made contributions to various monasteries. All these are expressions of the great national policy of the Communist Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung, respected and loved by Buddhists. These are really boundless merits; even those of China's Emperor Liang Wu Ti and India's Emperor Asoka, who are known in Chinese and foreign Buddhist annals for their defence of Buddhism, cannot be compared with them. It is in vain that the traitorous group in Tibet, who have lost the last shreds of conscience, should try to shake Buddhists' confidence and loyalty to the Party with the shopworn cry that the Communist Party "destroys Buddhism." Let us look at the traitorous group who have advertised their protection of Buddhism. They have abducted the Dalai Lama, smeared the reputation of that Buddhist leader, threatened and hoodwinked Buddhist believers into killing to protect the prerogatives of traitors, burned and destroyed Buddhist scriptures, statues, dagobas and monasteries, carried away Buddhist cultural relics and treasures, murdered lamas and committed all kinds of heinous crimes, which are intolerable not only to the law of the state but also to religious precepts. These are really beasts of prey who have donned Buddhist garb. On the other hand, our People's Liberation Army, even in the battles to put down the rebellion, still persisted in respecting religious beliefs and protecting monasteries

and cultural relics. For instance, treasuring the place where the Dalai Lama lived as well as the architectural art of Tibet, they took care to preserve intact the building of the Potala Palace which was the headquarters where the rebellion was mapped out. From these sharp contrasts, it is not difficult to see that it is the traitorous group itself, and not the Party and the Government, as charged by them, who are wrecking Buddhism. The allegation that many lamas were killed, made in the so-called "statement of the Dalai Lama," does not conform to the facts. There were a few bad elements in Buddhist robes who were found dead, struck by indiscriminating bullets, among the armed rebel bandits killed in the fight to quell the rebellion; apart from these the allegation that many lamas were killed is far from true. It is the rebels, and first and foremost the instigators of the rebellion, who must be held responsible for this. We, the Tibetan people, are passionate followers of Buddhism and are good at telling right from wrong. We will never pardon those bogus Buddhists who conspire with the imperialists, betray the motherland, engage in slaughter and arson, and profane sacred Buddhism, and we do not think that their death can relieve them of their crimes. It is justifiable to kill a mad dog trying to hurt people. It is too childish to fondly expect us not to defend ourselves when a mad dog is ferociously sinking its fangs into us. We are of the opinion that it is completely right for us to kill a few bogus lamas who betrayed the motherland, the people and Buddhism. In doing so we have not only cleared off villains for the country and the people but have performed meritorious service by ridding Buddhist circles of bad elements and purifying the Buddhist laws. The imperialists and their spokesmen are using all this to create

disturbances and, with a great show of sorrow, as if their very parents had died, they are weeping heartbroken tears over Buddhism "destroyed" in Tibet. We are well aware that the imperialists often use the allegation of Buddhism being "destroyed" to create apprehension of the Buddhists towards the Communist Party. To hoodwink religious circles they sometimes act as if their hearts were breaking. However, feigned tears can by no means deceive Chinese Buddhists into suspecting the Chinese Communist Party which takes action to protect religion in thoroughly implementing its policy of freedom of belief. But there may be people among Buddhist circles abroad who, not knowing the facts, harbour suspicions. There is no need for such misgivings. We are of the opinion that our many sober-minded friends in international Buddhist circles were quite right when they said that the present Tibetan rebellion has nothing whatsoever to do with Buddhism. Some, for instance, have said that no followers of Buddhism worthy of the name would take up machine guns supplied by the imperialists to fire on people who had demonstrated with deeds their respect for freedom of religion. This is a forceful condemnation of the shameless slanders of the imperialists.

In the past, the Buddhist leaders, the Dalai Lama and Panchen Erdeni, were for a long time estranged on account of discord sown by the reactionaries, both at home and abroad. After liberation, they were reconciled and co-operated with each other under the correct leadership of the Communist Party and Chairman Mao, to whom all Buddhists are very grateful. Since the abduction of the Dalai Lama from China by the reactionary clique, our country and people have all shown their understanding of the position in which he has been placed and have re-

served all his posts for him. The concern of the state for the Dalai Lama is fully expressed in Premier Chou En-lai's report to the National People's Congress in which he clearly stated the hope that he will free himself from the grip of the traitors and return to the motherland. Even after the issuance of the absurd, so-called "statement of the Dalai Lama," the Communist Party, the government and the entire Chinese people have made a clear distinction between things and suspected that that statement was not the Dalai Lama's but was imposed on him by other people. I am very grateful for the concern and love shown to the Dalai Lama. My revered Dalai Lama, I want to tender you some advice. As mentioned above, the leading position of the Dalai Lama in Tibet has been established ever since the Ching dynasty, and after the founding of New China, because the Dalai Lama upholds the unification of the motherland, he has gained more trust among the people and has been nobly honoured as one of the leaders of the supreme state organ. It can thus be seen that only by accepting the leadership of the motherland, persisting in upholding the unity of the motherland and solidarity among all nationalities can he gain the trust of the people and be honoured by them. Do not divorce yourself from the motherland and lose the trust the people have placed in you! I would like to offer you a *hata* from afar, in the earnest hope that you will persist in your patriotic stand for the unity of the motherland and solidarity among all nationalities. Do not waver in your stand on account of the reactionary clique; try your best to free yourself from their grip and return to the motherland to join the people of the entire nation in building the Tibetan plateau into a real paradise on earth!

Among the Tibetan reactionary clique, some have been my pupils and some used to be my friends. Now you have betrayed the motherland and have all turned into my enemies. I want to advise you solemnly that there is definitely no future for you if you persist in your reactionary stand; your life of exile in a foreign country is also most deplorable and you will not escape the people's judgement. The only way out for you is to cut yourselves off from the imperialists, the Indian expansionists and the reactionary Chiang Kai-shek clique and admit your crimes against the people. The people are benevolent and the door of leniency is open to those who return with sincere remorse, quickly render meritorious service for their past misdeeds and ask leniency of the people. Take not the wrong road, for the choice is up to you.

Now the Tibetan rebel clique has been put down, the big mountain on the shoulders of the people has been removed, the unity of the motherland and solidarity among all nationalities have become stronger and the Preparatory Committee for the Tibetan Autonomous Region under the leadership of the acting Chairman Panchen Erdeni is exercising the functions and powers of the former Tibetan local government. The regional national autonomy and democratic reforms which the Tibetan people have longed for will be put into effect thoroughly step by step. From now on the industrious, heroic Tibetan people, under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao and with the support of all the other nationalities and the Han people in particular, will bring their revolutionary energy into full play and will do all in their power to build the Tibetan plateau into a real paradise on earth.

Finally I hope that a complete victory will be quickly won in mopping up the rebel bandits in the remote areas of Tibet, and that the work of construction and reform in all fields and the cause of Buddhism will make swift progress in the new-born Tibet.

THE ORIGIN OF THE SO-CALLED "STATEMENT OF THE DALAI LAMA"

A brief statement in the name of the Dalai Lama was read out in Mussoorie yesterday by Tibetan rebels who abducted the Dalai Lama to India, according to a PTI report.

The new statement, striving to deny that the so-called "Statement of the Dalai Lama" issued through an Indian diplomatic official in Tezpur on April 18 was imposed on the Dalai Lama, only served to make the fact more obvious.

The Mussoorie statement followed a commentary on the earlier so-called "Dalai Lama's Statement" by a Hsinhua political reporter on April 20. The reporter noted that the Tezpur statement was so filled with loop-holes that one had reason to suspect the statement was not by the Dalai Lama himself but was imposed on him by some person or persons.

The new statement issued in the name of the Dalai Lama neither clarified nor replied to the numerous loop-holes pointed out by the Hsinhua political reporter and also by unbiased public opinion of India or by other observers. This shows that the author of the new statement dared not face up to the facts, nor could he deny them.

On April 22, too, a statement was issued by Menon, the Indian diplomatical official who has been with the

rebels who abducted the Dalai Lama and whom the Indian press has revealed to have taken part in the "discussion" of the Tezpur statement. Eager to whitewash for himself, he alleged that the Tezpur statement was "made by the Dalai Lama" and "translated by the Tibetans themselves and no one else is responsible for this statement."

But the statement of the Indian official was made so hastily that it again let the cat out of the bag. According to the Mussoorie statement issued in the name of the Dalai Lama, the Tezpur statement on April 18 was issued under the "authority" of the Dalai Lama and was not "made by the Dalai Lama." How could the Dalai Lama write a statement under his own authority? No clarifications have been provided for this absurd contradiction.

It is notable that even though its purpose is to alter the impression that the Dalai Lama was abducted, the statement of April 22 was still not issued by the Dalai Lama himself, but was issued by the "reactionaries" who, as he mentioned in his three letters to General Tan Kuan-san, abducted the Dalai Lama. When the statement was released, the Dalai Lama did not even make his appearance.

What differs from the previous one is that the drafter of this statement, drawing a lesson from its loop-holes, changed all the third persons to first persons.

(Hsinhua Dispatch from Peking on April 23)

APPENDIX

THE STATEMENT ISSUED IN THE NAME OF THE DALAI LAMA ON APRIL 22

On April 18, I issued a statement at Tezpur. I did not wish to follow it up with another statement at that stage. However I have seen a New China News Agency report implying that I was not responsible for this earlier statement. I wish to make it clear that the earlier statement was issued under my authority and indicated my view and I stand by it. I am making this brief statement to correct the wrong impression created by the New China News Agency's report and do not propose to state anything more at present.

REBELS IN THE LOKA AREA OF TIBET SMASHED

Troops of the Tibet Military Area Command of the People's Liberation Army, which were ordered to take punitive military action against the Tibetan clique of traitors guilty of monstrous crimes, have gained tremendous victories in the Loka area following the complete quelling of the rebellion in the Lhasa area. In ten days, the PLA troops swept across hundreds of kilometres and wiped out the rebel nests at one stroke. The PLA is now in control of the vast area south of the Tsangpo River and north of the Himalaya Mountains.

After rapidly putting down the rebels in Lhasa, the PLA troops who are quelling the rebels sped southward on April 8 from Lhasa across the Tsangpo River by three routes — east, west and centre — and mopped up the hard-pressed rebels. Pursued and mopped up by the PLA troops, the rebels broke up and scattered in disorder the moment they were attacked. In more than ten days of fighting, the PLA troops captured over thirty *dzong* and *chi* (administrative units — *Ed.*) south of the Tsangpo River, east of Gyantse, north of the Himalaya Mountains and west of Tsela Dzong, including Rinphung Dzong, Lhagyari, Nedong Dzong, Tsetang, Potrang Chika, Chonggye Dzong, Tsachi, Tsanang, Cheku Dzong, Dhama Dzong, Lhaxhang Dzong, Songe Dzong, Towa Dzong, Lhuntse Dzong, Chayul Dzong, Tra Chika, Kongka Dzong, Tsono Dzong, Nangkartse Dzong, Ling Chi,

Pede Dzong, Tralung Dzong, Chitishio, Lasui Chi, Guru Namgye Dzong, Nang Dzong, Kyimdong Dzong, Shagyan, Shalo and Dho Dzong, and a vast number of villages, crushed the rebel forces who had taken up positions in the various places and killed, wounded or took prisoner nearly two thousand rebels. By the morning of April 21, the PLA had taken Pen Pass, Karta and other places. Thus all the key points in the border area of the Loka area and in the northern ranges of the Himalaya Mountains are now completely under the control of our army. Under our heavy blows, the rebellious bandits crumbled like mud wall and apart from those put out of operation, many intimidated followers have deserted the rebel units, handed over their weapons to PLA troops and returned home to take part in production. A part of rebellious elements fled to India. Now only a few remnant bandits have fled to remote mountainous areas. With the active support of the Tibetan people in those localities, the PLA troops are continuing to hunt out and mop up the scattered remnants of the rebels. The remnants will be wiped out in the near future.

While the PLA troops, who are putting down the rebels, are carrying out military mopping up operations, they have rapidly set up military control institutions on a wide-scale in various places in the Loka area, smashed the reactionary regime that ravaged the local people for a long time and given relief to the local people ravaged by the rebel bandits. The Tibetan people in the Loka area stand fully on the side of the PLA troops and warmly support the PLA troops in the thorough putting down of the rebellion. As soon as the PLA troops arrived, they treated them like kinsmen returned home after a long absence. They told the PLA troops, with great indigna-

tion, of the monstrous crimes committed by the rebels, urging the PLA to avenge them. When they saw the abolition of the seal, army and whip used by the reactionary regime in long-term brutal slaughter and persecution of the Tibetan people, they rejoiced greatly. The Tibetan people cried: "The three mountains (referring to the seal, army and whip of the reactionary regime) are overthrown! Now we can straighten our backs." Many Tibetans have lighted incense and paid homage to celebrate their new life. In gratitude, they have hailed the Communist Party and People's Liberation Army as their saviours.

The PLA troops have shown good discipline in the fight to put down the rebellion. They have strictly adhered to the Communist Party policy toward nationalities and religion. Wherever they have gone, they have caused not the slightest inconvenience to the people and have maintained excellent order. The officers and men of the PLA are eagerly helping the people in spring sowing and giving medical treatment in the course of their military advance. These actions have been highly praised by the local inhabitants. The masses of patriotic people, ecclesiastical and secular, in the Loka area, through their concrete deeds, have given warm and active support to the PLA in putting down the rebellion. They have eagerly prepared tea for the PLA troops, set aside housing for them and volunteered to serve as guides along the snowy paths in pursuing the remnant bandits. The Tibetan peasants living in *dzong* and *chi* of Kongka, Tsetang, Nedong, Chitishio, Tsachi and other places along the banks of the Tsangpo River, who had long been trampled on by the rebels, volunteered to organize themselves to rush the repair of the highways and bridges destroyed

by the rebels and prepare the way for the PLA to advance. Many Tibetans have volunteered to transport grain and other supplies for the PLA on yaks, mules and horses. They have firmly declared the great cause of the unity of the motherland, a new life of Tibet and a settled happy life for them require that the rebels be thoroughly wiped out. They have said they would aid the PLA troops wherever they go.

The Loka area is southeast of Lhasa — south of the Tsangpo River and north of the Himalaya Mountains. It is China's border area with India and Bhutan. The rebels headed by Amdutsong Gomputashi, Khmatsong and Sandu Tsong long colluded with imperialists and foreign reactionaries and carried out rebellious activities here against the motherland under the direction of the former Tibet local government and the group of upper strata reactionaries. They constantly received arms from abroad and supplies airdropped from unidentified foreign planes and carried out criminal activities in destroying communications and ravaging the people, committing plunder, rape, arson and murder. One of the main forces taking part in the Lhasa rebellion was the gang of bandits under Amdutsong Gomputashi. The swift crushing by the PLA of this gang of rebels has been of great significance in speeding up the putting down of the rebellion in the Tibet region.

(Lhasa, April 23, Hsinhua)

HAIL THE IMPORTANT VICTORY OF THE SUPPRESSION OF THE REBELS IN THE LOKA AREA OF TIBET!

Renmin Ribao Editorial, April 25

The units of the Tibet Military Area Command of the People's Liberation Army which were ordered to take punitive military action against the Tibetan clique of traitors turned south after thoroughly suppressing the rebels in the Lhasa area and gained a fresh important victory in cleaning out the nests of the rebels headed by Amdutsong Gomputashi in the Loka area. At present our troops are in control of the wide area south of the Tsangpo River and north of the Himalaya Mountains and of all key frontier outposts for national defence in this area. With the active support of local Tibetan people, they are following up their victory by mopping up scattered rebels whose thorough elimination is expected in the near future. The whole nation is elated by these triumphant tidings. This is a blessing to the Tibetan people and to the people of all nationalities in the country as well.

The Loka area was long the haunt of the rebels. Acting on the directions of the former Tibetan local government and the upper strata reactionary clique, these bands of rebels colluded with imperialism and foreign reactionaries and carried out rebellious activities in betrayal of the motherland. Taking advantage of the fact that the area

adjoins foreign countries, they continuously received shipments of arms from abroad and airdropped supplies from foreign planes. They also wrought havoc on the people by carrying out criminal activities such as plunder, rape, arson and murder. Therefore the fact that our army eliminated these bands of bandits in one sweep and liberated this area has especially important significance in accelerating the putting down of the rebellion in the Tibet region. Scattered remnant rebels in other remote areas of Tibet are like a turtle in a jar, with no way out. If they do not promptly lay down their arms, abandon evil and embrace the light, they will be thoroughly, cleanly and entirely eliminated!

From a long time ago imperialism and foreign reactionaries have been bent on splitting Tibet away from the great family of the motherland and turning the Tibetan people into their slaves and beasts of burden. With the aim of seizing Tibet from our country, imperialism and foreign expansionists have all along been rearing their own followers among the Tibetan ruling clique and plotting for the "independence of Tibet," so that they could have a pretext in their further aggression against Tibet and finally turn Tibet into their colony or "protectorate." The open armed rebellion in betrayal of the motherland by a handful of upper strata reactionaries in Tibet this time was staged precisely on the incitement and instigation of imperialism and foreign expansionists. But, the Tibetan clique of traitors, imperialists and foreign reactionaries all made an entirely wrong evaluation of the situation in Tibet. The prompt elimination of the old haunts of the rebels in the Loka area is the most resounding reply made in action by the People's Liberation Army and the Tibetan people to the plot of imperialism and

foreign reactionaries of splitting Tibet away. We should once more warn imperialism and foreign expansionists: Tibet is an inalienable part of China. Any plot which so much as dares to set aggression against Tibet as its aim will be smashed to smithereens by the iron fist of the unity of the people of all nationalities in China. The Chinese people do not want an inch of land from any foreign country, but they will never let other people seize an inch of land from them. The swift putting down of the rebellion in Tibet should serve as a useful lesson for imperialism and foreign expansionists!

The great victory of the suppression of the rebels in the Loka area is a mortal blow to the Tibetan clique of traitors. It is also a heavy blow to imperialism and the foreign expansionists. This victory not only greatly strengthens the cause of national unity and solidarity among the nationalities, but also further strengthens our national defences in the southwestern part of our country and protects the integrity of our territory and sovereignty. With the People's Liberation Army stationed in the key frontier outposts of national defence, imperialism and the foreign reactionaries will no more be able, as they did before, to send agents and spies freely, to smuggle arms and ammunition, cross and recross our frontiers and carry out aggressive activities. Their hopes of splitting China through instigating rebellion have been thoroughly shattered! This, of course, is a very fine thing for the security of China. It is also a very fine thing for peace in Asia. It is only a very bad thing for imperialism and foreign reactionaries.

The People's Liberation Army, in putting down the rebellious bandits in the Loka area, have received the enthusiastic support of the local Tibetan people. This is

the important reason why complete victory was rapidly won. Wherever the army arrived, the Tibetan people would offer them food and drink, repair damaged bridges and roads and act as guides in pursuing and sweeping away the rebellious bandits. All this has fully shown that the Tibetan people in Loka area stand entirely on the side of the People's Liberation Army and they enthusiastically support the thorough quelling of the rebellion by the People's Liberation Army. For a long time the people in Loka area lived under rebel control and suffered intensely from exploitation and oppression by the rebellious bandits and local reactionary serf-owners. They desperately hoped to be liberated from this abyss of darkness. It is for this reason that as soon as the People's Liberation Army arrived, they met them as kinsmen. They rejoiced at the opening of a new page in their life and thanked the Communist Party and the People's Liberation Army as their saviours and contributed all they could to help the People's Liberation Army to put down the rebellion. The relationship between the Tibetan people in the Loka area and the People's Liberation Army, close as that between fish and water, illustrates the brilliant achievements of our country's national policy. It also demonstrates the strict discipline of the People's Liberation Army which has caused not the least inconvenience to the people. Because the broad masses of the local Tibetan people stand entirely on the side of the People's Liberation Army and the rebellious bandits find themselves completely isolated from the local people, the People's Liberation Army is able to make astonishing progress and the rebellious bandits flee in panic and collapse immediately on encounter. This again illustrates forcefully that the Tibetan clique of traitors do not at all rep-

resent the Tibetan people. They are only a handful of reactionary elements of the upper strata, the enemy of the Tibetan people. The so-called "national independence movement" is a shameless fabrication, a creation of the imperialists and foreign reactionary clique in describing the rebellion, staged by a handful of reactionary elements of the upper strata who colluded with foreign countries and wanted to ruin the country and the people.

The Tibetan reactionary clique has thoroughly failed in the armed rebellion which they made in collusion with imperialism and foreign reactionaries. The only way out for the scattered remnant bands of bandits is to lay down their arms immediately and seek lenient treatment. The policy of the government and the People's Liberation Army toward rebels is: those who give up their arms and surrender will be treated with leniency; those who make a meritorious contribution will be rewarded; those who were forced to take part will not have anything brought up against them; only those leading elements who commit serious crimes and persist in error will be punished in accordance with the law. In the fighting in Loka area a few rebels fled and took refuge in India. This road is a blind alley.

The rapid quelling of the Tibetan rebellion marks another big event in the political life of the people of our country. From now on the Tibetan people will steadily free themselves from the life of backwardness and darkness and march along the bright road to prosperity and progress. The extinguishing of the rebellion paves the way to carrying out democratic reform in Tibet and will also ensure that Tibet realizes national regional autonomy with all speed. Now the Preparatory Committee for the

Autonomous Region of Tibet is already exercising the functions and powers of the Tibetan local government. As to the concrete steps and measures in carrying out democratic reform, full consultation will be made with the various strata in Tibet by the Preparatory Committee for the Autonomous Region of Tibet. In this, the interests of the patriotic and progressive persons in the upper and middle strata of Tibet will be given proper consideration. Freedom of religious belief will continue to be protected. As democratic reform is the inevitable road that leads Tibet to prosperity and happiness, it will undoubtedly receive the enthusiastic support of the people of all strata in Tibet.

Ever since the People's Liberation Army entered and was stationed in Tibet in 1951, it has performed many deeds beneficial to the Tibetan people. It has fully developed all the fine traditions of the army, and correctly executed the various policies of the Party and government. It has won the affection and admiration of the broad masses of people and patriots in Tibet. In the fighting to put down the rebellion, the People's Liberation Army, disregarding the difficulties of terrain and high snow mountains, bravely pursued and swept away the rebellious bandits and accomplished the sacred task that the country and the people had entrusted to them well. They have rendered meritorious service for the unity of the motherland and solidarity among the nationalities. We pay our highest respects to all the loyal and brave commanders and fighters of the Tibet Military Area Command of the People's Liberation Army, and hope that they will quickly and thoroughly wipe out the remnant bandits to consolidate the defence of the motherland.

DEPUTY ULANFU'S SPEECH AT THE FIRST SESSION OF THE SECOND NATIONAL PEOPLE'S CONGRESS

April 25, 1959

Fellow Deputies:

I am in full agreement with Premier Chou En-lai's Report on the Work of the Government and the reports made by Vice-Premiers Li Fu-chun and Li Hsien-nien and Vice-Chairman Peng Chen.

During the four years from the First Session of the First National People's Congress to the present session our country, led by the Communist Party of China and Chairman Mao, has gained splendid victories on all fronts of socialist construction. Tremendous achievements were also achieved in the work concerning nationalities. At present regional autonomy has been instituted among more than 90 per cent of the national minorities who live in compact communities; and more than 95 per cent of the national minority people have carried out democratic reforms and socialist transformation. Tremendous progress was achieved in their economic and cultural life and their livelihood has made remarkable improvement. This has brought about profound changes of historic significance in the society of national minorities. On the new socialist basis the unity of our motherland and the relation of equality, solidarity, friendship and co-operation between the nationalities have been consolidated and developed as never before.

When the people of all nationalities are leaping forward along the socialist path the British imperialists and the Indian expansionists instigated the reactionary clique of the upper social strata of Tibet to betray the motherland and stage an armed rebellion in an attempt to separate Tibet from China to become their colony or protectorate under the false sign of "Tibetan independence."

The entire people of all nationalities of China are firmly opposed to and sternly condemn such crimes of the British imperialists, the Indian expansionists and the reactionary clique of the Tibetan upper social strata. This is because the people of all nationalities know well from their personal experience that the imperialists, foreign reactionaries and their lackeys in the various nationalities brought them grave calamities. They also know clearly that in the big family of the united motherland tremendous progress and development have been and will continue to be scored among all nationalities through unity and mutual help.

The Inner Mongolians are a case in point. During the past hundred years before liberation the Inner Mongolian people suffered much brutal oppression and exploitation of the imperialists, the reactionary ruling class of China and the reactionary forces within their own nationality. For a long period of time the Inner Mongolian people were extremely backward in social production and led a very poor life. The population dropped shortly and fate of our people was at stake. In order to free themselves from this state the Inner Mongolians waged many heroic struggles. At that time the Inner Mongolian people were confronted with two entirely different roads. One was the path chosen by the reactionary upper strata. It resembles the path now taken by the

reactionary clique of the upper social strata in Tibet, who rely on the British imperialists and the Indian interventionists in an attempt to separate Tibet from China. This handful of Inner Mongolians sold themselves to the imperialists and their agents in China. They betrayed the national interests and plotted to form a puppet government, the so-called "Mongolian Autonomous Government," to split China under the conspiracy of their master, the Japanese imperialists. Notorious traitors like Demchigdonrob (Prince Teh) and Li Shou-hsin were the ringleaders who chose this path. This path of the imperialist lackeys which brought tremendous harm to the Inner Mongolian people was long ago shown to be wrong by history. After liberation traitors like Demchigdonrob and Li Shou-hsin who for a time lorded it over the people were all arrested and punished by law.

The other road for Inner Mongolia was the people's revolutionary road chosen by the labouring people and the revolutionary intellectuals. They closely linked the destiny of their nationality with the fate of the people of all the other nationalities of the country and fought together against the imperialist aggression and the rule of the domestic reactionary ruling class. They accepted the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and blended their struggle for national emancipation with the mighty flow of the great revolution of the entire Chinese people. In addition, they actively took part in the revolutionary struggles led by the Communist Party of China until they won completely liberation and march along the broad path of socialism, together with the people of all other nationalities in the country. This is a road which completely conforms with the interests of the Inner Mongolian people. It is the only road to victory.

In 1945, after the victory was achieved by the whole Chinese people in the War of Resistance Against Japanese Aggression, the people in Inner Mongolia, under the leadership of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung, actively carried on the preparatory work for exercising regional autonomy and in 1947 the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region was established. Since then, the people in Inner Mongolia started the democratic reform, abolished the feudal system, restored and developed production in various fields and took an active part in the Third Revolutionary Civil War. Since the founding of the People's Republic of China, the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region, together with the other autonomous regions in the country, gained a big success in the socialist revolution and set up the people's communes throughout the region. Big progresses have also been made in the fields of economics and culture. Especially the great leap forward in 1958 greatly promoted the production in industry, agriculture, animal husbandry and forestry as well as the development of the socialist construction in various fields. The total output value of industry and agriculture reached 2,973,200,000 yuan in 1958, an increase of more than five times as compared with the 553,800,000 yuan in 1947; the industrial value (including handicrafts) rose from 52,960,000 yuan to 1,156,490,000 yuan, an increase of twenty-one fold; the total output of grain increased from 3,469,000,000 catties to 11,800,000,000 catties, an increase of 3.4 times; the total head of livestock increased from 8,280,000 to 24,470,000, an increase of nearly three-fold. On the basis of the steady development of production, the material and cultural life of the people of different nationalities were very much bettered. The pur-

chasing power of the people both in the city and the countryside in 1958 increased on the average five and half times as compared with 1947. In 1947, when the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region was set up, there was not a single higher educational institution, but by 1958 18 higher educational institutions were set up with an enrollment of 6,041 students. In 1947 there were 29 middle schools and the number increased to 700 in 1958; the number of primary schools in 1947 was 3,769 and it increased to 14,700 in 1958. The number of middle school students in 1958 was twenty times that of in 1947; the number of pupils attending primary school registered an increase of five and half times. During the eleven years from 1947 to 1958 the number of hospitals increased by 40 times and the number of ward beds increased by twenty-six times. As a result of the improvement of the people's livelihood, and the popularization of the sanitation and health work, a big rise is registered in the population of the various nationalities. Among which an increase of more than 300,000 people is added to the population of Mongolian nationality during the period of eleven years between 1947 and 1958. A new, prosperous atmosphere prevails all over the places in the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region.

The complete victory achieved by the Inner Mongolian people in their struggle for liberation and the big development made since the implementation of regional autonomy, convincingly prove that the road taken by the Inner Mongolian people is the only correct road. The correctness of this road is also proved by the experience of other national minorities in our country. But the reactionary clique of the upper strata in Tibet on the contrary chooses to take another road, the road which the Mongo-

lian traitors Prince Teh and Li Shou-hsin and the like had trodden but met ignominious defeat, and that is the road leading to the surrender to the imperialists, to the disruption of the motherland and the betrayal of the national interests.

Instigated by British imperialists and Indian expansionist elements, the Tibetan traitors, with a view to attaining their sinister aim of severing Tibet from the big family of the motherland, have shamelessly concocted many lies, alleging that "historically Tibet is an independent country." This is an utter fallacy which the reactionary elements in Tibet have been clamouring for a long time. There is long-standing friendship between the Mongolian and Tibetan peoples, and we Mongolians are concerned about the destiny of the Tibetans as we do ours. Therefore, I can't help speaking a few more words. Everybody knows that Tibet has long been an integral part of our great motherland. Long before the Sui and Tang dynasties, extensive connections had been established between the Han and Tibetan peoples in the political, economic and cultural fields. During the Tang dynasty such connections were greatly extended. Kublai Khan of the Yuan dynasty unified the divided Tibet and in 1251 conferred on the King of the Law Pagspa, of the Sakya (coloured) Sect of Buddhism in Tibet, the title of "Tutor of the Great Yuan Empire" and put Tibet under his control. Since then Tibet has been formally and definitely incorporated into the territory of our great motherland. The title of Dalai Lama was also conferred by a Mongolian Khan in the sixteenth century. In Ming dynasty religious and official titles were conferred upon the King of the Law of the Kagyud Sect in Tibet. As soon as the Ching dynasty was set

up, the Fifth Dalai Lama came to Peking to pay tribute and in 1653 the Ching Emperor Hsun Chih conferred upon him the title of "King of the Law in the Western Land of the Buddha, Religious Lord on Earth, All Knowing, Holder of the Thunderbolt." In 1713 Emperor Kang Hsi bestowed on the sixth Panchen the title "Panchen Erdeni." Emperor Chien Lung dispatched a resident representative to Lhasa to take charge of Tibetan affairs. Later, the Commission for Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs of the Kuomintang government set up its office in Lhasa and the Tibetan local government had an office established in Nanking. The ceremony of the present Dalai Lama's enthronement was presided over by officials despatched by the Kuomintang government. No one can deny or throw overboard these historical facts. Regardless of these facts, however, the handful of traitors who fled to India have asserted Tibet is an "independent country." What else can this mean but that they, after betraying the motherland and the Tibetan people, have sold out themselves to the British imperialists and the Indian expansionist elements?

The reactionary clique of the upper strata in Tibet also used the argument that "Tibetans are different from the Han people" in a vain attempt to sever Tibet from the motherland, but such reasoning simply cannot hold water. So far as nationality is concerned, the Han nationality is surely different from the Tibetan nationality. But difference in nationality can never be used as a reason to sever Tibet from China. There are many multi-national countries in the world, and India is an example. But we have not heard any Indian statesman come out to suggest that because the various other nationalities are different from the Hindustani people, they

should be severed from India. It is quite clear that the difference in nationality cannot be used as a pretext to divide a country. Precisely because China is a multi-national state and because the Han is the predominant nationality which is politically, economically and culturally more advanced than other fraternal nationalities, it is necessary to strengthen the solidarity and co-operation among the various nationalities with the Han as the centre. This is the basic condition for building socialism in our motherland and for promoting the development and prosperity of the various national minorities; it poses a paramount question which concerns the vital interests of the various nationalities. The fundamental reason why the economic and cultural construction in Inner Mongolia surge ahead in such a quick speed is because solidarity and co-operation have been achieved between the Mongolian and Han peoples under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, and because they have made a joint endeavour. Many years of experience have fully proved that unification of the motherland and solidarity of the various nationalities centred round the Han people are not only an unavoidable outcome of the historical development in China but also a basic guarantee for the flourishing development of the various nationalities. They conform to the supreme interests of all the nationalities in our country. If anyone wants to sever his nationality from the great family of the motherland or oppose his nationality to unite and co-operate with the Han nationality in the united, great family of the motherland, he is acting against the common interests of the various nationalities, and, above all, the fundamental interests of his own nationality. Such an action absolutely will not be permitted by the various

nationalities in our country, including his own. If anyone is bent on doing it, he will break his skull and meet with ignominious defeat. The rebellion of the reactionary clique of the upper strata in Tibet and their defeat serve to prove by their negative example this unshaken truth.

The traitors' clique in Tibet also raised the outcry that the Tibetan people have not been given the right to autonomy and that the Tibetan local government has not enjoyed any degree of autonomy. This is, of course, a fabrication which not only does not tally with the facts but is ill-intentioned. In China regional autonomy is implemented in practically all areas where the national minorities live in compact communities and they have become masters of their own houses and are able to manage their own internal affairs. In Inner Mongolia regional autonomy has been exercised for twelve years. Thanks to the obstructions undertaken by the upper strata reactionary clique, autonomous region has not yet been set up formally in Tibet and also because of their sabotage the Preparatory Committee for the Autonomous Region in Tibet has been unable to do any tangible work since its establishment in April 1956. As I have said before, what they want is "Tibetan independence" long plotted by the British imperialist aggressors rather than regional autonomy. Their machinations, of course, will never materialize.

In violation of the seventeen-article Agreement for the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet, the Tibetan upper strata reactionary clique opposed social reforms, trying to maintain their system of serfdom for ever. On this question, the Central People's Government declared that reforms in Tibet would not be carried out before 1962,

waiting for the small number of people of the Tibetan upper strata who were opposed to the reforms to come to their senses. Whether or not the reforms will be carried out after 1962 during the period of the Third Five-Year Plan would depend on the conditions obtaining at that time. However, the Tibetan reactionary group of upper strata, instigated by the British imperialists and Indian expansionists, openly tore to pieces the seventeen-article agreement and launched the rebellion, attempting to separate Tibet from China. They hoped that they could compel the Central People's Government to make still further concessions. But, contrary to their calculations, the rebellion was quickly put down. As a result, the relations between the Tibet region and the rest of the motherland and between the Tibetan people and the other nationalities in the great family of the motherland have all been further consolidated. The Tibetan people can now advance on the highway to democracy and socialism quickly. Objectively the rebels have done a good thing. It is quite out of the expectations of either the Tibetan upper strata reactionary clique or their foreign masters that a bad thing should turn into a good thing. They miscalculated completely and chose for themselves a quick way to extinction. The serf system in Tibet is the extremely dark, backward, reactionary and cruel social system in the world of today. There the secular and ecclesiastical feudal lords who account for about 5 per cent of the population, and their so-called local government possess all the land and other means of production. The mass of the serfs not only own nothing, but their wives and children are at the disposal of the serf-owners. The serf-owners register in their account books the children born to the serfs as they do their possessions. They

may torture serfs at will, whip them, beat them, cut off their noses, gouge out their eyes, mutilate them and put them to death cruelly. They may present them, together with the farms, to other people as gifts, use them as dowry. Although the serfs get "a share" of land from the serf-owners, they give most of their time to working without compensation the land of the latter. They must also do various kinds of services without payment for the local government, monasteries and serf-owners. They can use only the little time left to till their shares of land which often remain barren. The serfs live in extreme misery. To save themselves from dying of starvation, they have no choice but to contract debts from the serf-owners. More than 70 to 80 per cent of the serfs in Tibet are in debt to the serf-owners. Many of the debts are "handed down from several generations," that the serfs and even their offsprings are unable to pay off and there are debts which the serf-owners just do not want them to pay off. Under such cruel oppression and exploitation by the serf-owners, the serfs can find no way out, but by fleeing away. According to investigation, there have been an amazing number of serfs in Tibet who have fled away in the past hundred years. The social productive forces in Tibet are seriously damaged and the social and economic development in Tibet greatly hampered. Now the serfs who have been ruthlessly oppressed for generations will be emancipated before long. The people in Tibet will henceforth march along the road of rapid progress and prosperity. Here we warmly greet the new birth of the Tibetan nationality.

The upper strata reactionary clique of Tibet harped on "protecting religion," an attempt to mislead the public and expand the rebellion. In this their hopes have also

failed as the facts speak for themselves. In the past few years the units of People's Liberation Army and the functionaries who entered Tibet have strictly adhered to the policy of religious freedom of the Communist Party and government, and respected the religious belief, customs and habits of the Tibetan people. They have protected the temples and lamaseries, and broadly united the patriotic people of all religious circles. Even in the course of putting down the rebellion units the People's Liberation Army have done all they can to protect the temples and lamaseries and the cultural relics. All this the Tibetan people have seen with their own eyes. No rumours and slanders by the upper strata reactionary clique of Tibet can cover up these iron facts, nor can they undermine the great prestige of the Party and government which has been firmly established among the Tibetan people. Of course our adherence to the policy of religious freedom does not mean that religion can be used as a cloak to organize rebellion and betray the motherland without being punished by the government and people. Nor does it mean that the armed forces of the counter-revolutionary rebels can use the lamaseries and monasteries as bases or fortifications to attack the People's Liberation Army and to avoid counter-attacks by the latter. Anybody who betrays the motherland and stages a rebellion must be dealt with by law and punished by the people no matter in what religion he believes. For this is what they should get for what they have done. The upper strata reactionary clique of Tibet harped on "protecting religion" while directing the rebels to ravage the people by committing flagrant arson, murder, rape, and plunder. Where is the freedom of religious belief if the lives and property of the people are

not secure. Obviously the Tibetan people can enjoy genuine freedom of religious belief only when the rebel clique is wiped out.

The reactionaries of all nationalities always pretend to be the defenders of national interests. But actually they are the betrayers of their national interests. What they care is not the interests of the working people who account for more than 90 per cent of the population but the selfish interests of the minority class of exploiters. They are prepared to sell out their own nationality for their own ends, betray their motherland and throw themselves into the arms of the imperialists and foreign reactionaries. History tells us that this was the way with the reactionaries of Inner Mongolia and this is also the way with the upper strata reactionary clique of Tibet today. It is only by resolutely and thoroughly suppressing the rebellion in Tibet, by wiping out from Tibet all the remnant influences of the imperialists and foreign reactionaries that we can consolidate the unity of the motherland and further strengthen the solidarity between the various nationalities of China, ensure the smooth carrying out of our work of socialist construction, and enable the Tibetan people to quickly go onto the path of happiness and prosperity.

Before conclusion, it must be pointed out that the Tibetan rebellion and the putting down of it are China's internal affairs. No interference from any foreign country can be allowed at all. It is worthy of note that ever since the Tibetan rebellion started, a number of people in Indian official quarters and political figures have displayed special "enthusiasm" in and "sympathy" for the handful of Tibetan traitors as if they were their kinsfolk. The Indian expansionists who are openly

clamouring for interference in China's home affairs, say that China's sovereignty over Tibet has "no historical basis" and that the relationship between India and Tibet is "one of mother and child." They have gone so far as to regard China's Tibet as if it were a part of India. The imperialists, while flagrantly attacking the Chinese people, have let loose their propaganda machinery in an effort to damage the friendly relations between China and India. Under such circumstances, all people who sincerely value Sino-Indian friendship and stand for the five principles of peaceful co-existence must heighten their vigilance against the imperialists and Indian expansionists who are plotting to undermine the friendly relations between China and India. The people of all nationalities of China have always held dear their friendship with the Indian people. But the British imperialists and the Indian expansionists take this friendly attitude on the part of China for a sign of weakness and are stepping up their interference in our internal affairs, trying to sever Tibet from China through the hands of the Tibetan upper strata reactionaries and to turn it into their colony or protectorate. We must warn the Indian expansionists who have inherited that inglorious legacy from British imperialism that they had better keep their heads a bit cooler. The 600 million Chinese people have already stood up and the days when the Chinese people were bullied and oppressed by others at will have gone for ever. No foreign reactionary forces can separate Tibet from China or save the Tibetan reactionary clique from extinction or prevent the Tibetan people from advancing along the road of democracy and socialism!

Let the imperialists and reactionaries howl. Victory belongs to the people of all the nationalities of China!

DOCUMENTS CAPTURED BY THE PEOPLE'S LIBERATION ARMY IN THE HEADQUARTERS OF THE TIBETAN REBELS

Hsinhua Dispatch from Lhasa, April 27, 1959

Documents captured from the rebels in Tibet prove that the Dalai Lama opposed the rebellion and was being held in duress, besieged, and deprived of freedom of movement by the rebels during the rebellion.

The documents were captured by the People's Liberation Army at Kungtehlin, one of the famous monasteries in Tibet which once housed the rebels' headquarters.

One of the documents is headed "Opinions of the Nangma Khanchhen Kanchung." ("Nangma" means the Dalai Lama's retinue, "Khanchhen" stands for ecclesiastical officials of the grand fourth rank and "Kanchung" for ecclesiastical and secular officials of the fourth rank. The term "Nangma Khanchhen Kanchung" refers to officials of the fourth rank working alongside the Dalai Lama.)

This document reveals that the Dalai Lama "became angry" when the reactionaries incited the ecclesiastics and laymen to prevent him from going to the theatrical performance at the auditorium of the Military Area Command. This conforms to the situation described by the Dalai Lama in his first letter to General Tan Kuan-san on March 11, which stated:

I decided to go to the Military Area Command to see the theatrical performance yesterday, but I was unable to do so, owing to obstruction by people, eccle-

siastical and secular, who were instigated by a few bad elements and who did not know the facts. This has put me to indescribable shame. I am greatly upset and worried and at a loss what to do . . . reactionary, evil elements are carrying out activities endangering me under the pretext of protecting my safety. I am taking measures to calm things down.

The document also discloses that the reactionaries, violating the will of the Dalai Lama, insisted on holding meetings in the Norbu Lingka, saying that it was “harmful, not advantageous” to move the place of meeting elsewhere — so as to create the impression that the Dalai Lama stood with the reactionaries, so endangering the Dalai Lama.

It also reveals that the reactionaries deployed large numbers of armed men around the Dalai Lama to keep him under house arrest.

Another captured document has the heading “Opinions of the Three Big Monasteries” (these monasteries are the Daipung, Sera and Gerden Monasteries, which were major hideouts of the rebels). It reveals that the reactionary elements and the former Tibet local government (*kasha*) abducted the Dalai Lama and forbade the Dalai Lama to move about freely. The document also exposes their scheming against national regional autonomy and in favour of so-called independence.

The English translation of the full text of the “Opinions of the Nangma Khanchhen Kanchung” follows:

The common opinion of the humble Nangma Khanchhen Kanchung:

Yesterday though the Dalai Lama became angry when the ecclesiastics and laymen of Tibet prevented

the Dalai Lama from going out, in fact, it was for the good of his Holiness the Dalai Lama as the political and religious leader; they had no intention of opposing the Dalai Lama. As it is said — for the sake of the living, the Buddha cannot be involved. Therefore, please immediately explain and report and offer thanks for this. To hold meetings in the Norbu Lingka may beget doubts about the Dalai Lama's name; it is harmful, not advantageous, to move the place of meeting elsewhere; therefore the meetings can still be held in the original place.

(Editor's note — According to the depositions of captured rebel on March 10 the rebels encircled the Norbu Lingka and prevented the Dalai Lama from going to the auditorium of the Military Area Command to attend a theatrical performance and a meeting of the so-called "people's conference," which was run by the rebels, was held in the Norbu Lingka under the auspices of Talama Rongnamse Thubten-lozong, the Grand Secretary of the kasha, and Khemey Tsewong-dundrub, an official of the kasha in charge of personnel and financial affairs.

After the conference declared for Tibet's "independence," the Dalai Lama became very angry and ordered that no more meetings be held in the Norbu Lingka. When this happened, some people maintained that the place of meeting should be moved elsewhere, but the rebel authors of these opinions categorically refused to obey the Dalai Lama and insisted on meeting in the Norbu Lingka.)

Responsible for the personal safety of his Holiness the Dalai are the Kusung unit (the first regiment responsible for protecting the personal safety of the

Dalai Lama — *Ed.*) and the reinforcements thrown in last night; but additional forces will have to be put in later, otherwise the task cannot be done satisfactorily.

To the list of leading people should be added Kundelin Dzasak (He was the commander-in-chief of the rebellious troops and has fled to India — *Ed.*), Kanchung Kalzang Ngagwang (a rebel, an ecclesiastical official of the fourth rank, already captured — *Ed.*), Phebgo Rimzhim Shagob-ba (alias Shagob-ba Lobzong-Dondrub, already captured. He is the brother of Tsipton Shagob-ba Wongchiudedden, one of the ring-leaders of the Tibetan rebels who fled to Kalimpong in 1951. Phebgo is the name of the office whose holder is in charge of the bearers of the Dalai Lama's sedan-chair. Rimzhim is the title of an official of the fourth rank — *Ed.*), Lachhag Lhadingsae (alias Lachhag Surnam Balndur, already captured. Lachhag is a title of office whose holder, an official of the fourth rank, is in charge of general affairs — *Ed.*) so as to assist the original members of the leadership. Naichung (Tibet's oracle — *Ed.*) has decreed silent prayer and, in order to propitiate things harmful to the personal safety of his Holiness the Dalai, that lamas should do heavenly divination and bring the widespread prayer saying to a speedy conclusion. Henceforth the direction, the whole history of the race, the religion, the spoken and the written language and other aspects, must be bent for sure into a course favourable to an independent state and the general public of Tibet should act in accord with what has been repeatedly expounded of the political and religious history of Tibet.

Of the twenty-two signatories to the opinions of the Nangma Khanchhen Kanchung, many are ringleaders of the rebellious clique including Pelava Tudin-younding, Rimzhim Shagob-ba, Kongchung Kalzong Ngagwang, Makhi (the deputy commander-in-chief of the Tibetan troops), and Kongchung Lobcho Gaisang.

The full text of the English translation of the "Opinions of the Three Big Monasteries" follows:

Daipung Monastery, Sera Monastery and Gerden Monastery have this unanimous opinion: all the Tibetan people want the Dalai Lama from now on not to leave the palace, not attend banquets and theatrical performances, of the central authorities. The *kasha* and Kuchia Chikyab Kanpo (Dalai Lama's attendant, an ecclesiastical official of high rank, referring here to the rebel Kadrang Lozong-jentzen) have undertaken to see to it and this should be observed without any change. The above should also be reported clearly to the Dalai Lama and from now on no joint meetings of Han and Tibetan nationals, chiefly those of the Preparatory Committee for the Autonomous Region, are needed any more; we will look after our own affairs ourselves. For the time when Tibet's independence shall be put into effect, for the Dalai Lama's life and for the prosperity of the cause, trustworthy representatives of ecclesiastical and secular officials of the three big monasteries, and of the army and the people should be rapidly elected to hold regular meetings for serious discussions. The meetings, apart from the neighbourhood of the palace, can also be held in the Jokhan Monastery or other suitable places. Please look into this.

Master copies of two secret messages of the rebels, captured during the suppression of the rebellion, provide fresh, incontrovertible evidence of Kalimpong being the commanding centre of the rebellious elements of Tibet.

They also reveal that the upper strata reactionaries in Tibet have been working for open intervention by the Indian Government.

The two secret messages were captured at Kungtehlin, one of the famous monasteries in Tibet which was used by the rebels as their headquarters. They were sent by the upper strata reactionaries in Tibet to Shagob-ba (namely Tsipon Shagob-ba Wongchiudedan), one of the rebel leaders who fled from Lhasa to Kalimpong in 1951 and has since carried out traitorous activities there in collusion with the imperialists and the Indian expansionists.

One of the secret messages is dated the seventh day of the second month of the Tibetan calendar, namely March 16, and the other the eighth day, March 17. The "Society for the Cause of Tibetan Welfare" referred to in the messages is a counter-revolutionary organization set up in Kalimpong by the rebels to carry out subversive and splitting activities in India against the motherland. Shagob-ba is one of the leaders of this counter-revolutionary organization.

The March 16 secret message reads in full:

Kalimpong, Shagob-ba, to be forwarded to all members of the Society for the Cause of Tibetan Welfare:

Independent state of Tibet already established on first day of second month, Tibetan calendar (namely March 10, the day the rebellion was started — *Ed.*). Please announce this to all. Please go to Gangtok (i.e.

capital of Sikkim — *Ed.*) to receive telephone call on March 18.

(signed) Tibet independence conference.

Seventh day of second month, Tibetan calendar.

This message to be sent by Tzechhag Kanchung (namely, Thubten Lekmuun, one of the rebel leaders — *Ed.*).

The March 17 secret message reads in full:

Kalimpong, Shagob-ba Tsipon (Tsipon is an official in charge of personnel and financial affairs of the *kasha* — *Ed.*), to be forwarded to the Society for the Cause of Tibetan Welfare stationed in India:

Recently, on first day of second month, Tibetan calendar, all Tibetans, high and low, ecclesiastics and laymen, unanimous in their will, already declared standing up from under power of Red Communist Party of Hans and establishment of independent state. Should make propaganda about this in your place. Han government already preparing large-scale suppression in areas surrounding Lhasa. This being likely, to avoid swallowing of weak by strong, please report to government of neighbouring country, India, Buddhist Conference, United Nations; send delegates here immediately to inspect real situation. Also please find ways to wire Indian representative in Lhasa who should know situation beforehand. In short, better seek support by some means. Please carry on with all efforts in spirit of past knowledge of situation. Also please send (us) inside information.

**(signed) Plenary Meeting of People's Conference
of Independent State of Tibet.**

Eighth day of second month, Tibetan calendar

**PHOTOCOPIES OF DOCUMENTS
CAPTURED BY THE P.L.A. IN THE HEADQUARTERS
OF THE TIBETAN REBELS**

The image shows a page of handwritten Tibetan script. The text is written in a cursive style, characteristic of traditional Tibetan calligraphy. The script is dense and fills most of the page, with some horizontal lines visible. The paper appears aged and slightly yellowed. The text is arranged in approximately 25 horizontal lines, with some variations in line length and spacing. The overall appearance is that of a historical document or manuscript.

The "Nangma Khan-
chhen Kanchung," one
of the reactionary do-
cuments captured at
Kungtehlin Lamasery.
"Nangma" means the
Dalai Lama's retinue,
"Khanchhen" stands
for ecclesiastical offi-
cials of the grand
fourth rank, and "Kan-
chung" for ecclesias-
tical and secular offi-
cials of the fourth
rank. The term "Nang-
ma Khanchhen Kan-
chung" refers to offi-
cials of the fourth
rank working along-
side the Dalai Lama.
The document reveals
the fact that the Dalai
Lama became angry
when the reactionaries
prevented him from
going to the theatrical
performance at the
auditorium of the Mil-
itary Area Command
and the reactionaries'
use of armed force to
keep the Dalai Lama
under house arrest

“Opinions of the Three Big Monasteries,” another reactionary document captured in the Kungtehlin Lamasery. The three big monasteries of Tibet are the Daipung, Sera and Gerden Monasteries, which were once major hideouts of the rebels. This document shows that the reactionary elements and the former Tibetan local government (*kasha*) abducted the Dalai Lama and forbade him to move about freely. It also exposes their scheming against regional autonomy and in favour of so-called “independence”.

མཚན་མོ་གཤམ་པོ་ལོ་ལྔ་པའི་ཚེས་ལྔ་པའི་ཉིན་གསལ་བྱས་པའི་མཚན་མོ་
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མཚན་མོ་གཤམ་པོ་ལོ་ལྔ་པའི་ཚེས་ལྔ་པའི་ཉིན་གསལ་བྱས་པའི་མཚན་མོ་
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མཚན་མོ་གཤམ་པོ་ལོ་ལྔ་པའི་ཚེས་ལྔ་པའི་ཉིན་གསལ་བྱས་པའི་མཚན་མོ་
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The master copy of a secret message sent by Tubten Lekmunn, one of the chief rebels, to Shagob-ba, another chief Tibetan rebel staying in Kalimpong, on the seventh day of the second month of the Tibetan calendar, i.e. March 16

Handwritten text in Tibetan script, likely a secret message. The text is written in a cursive style and is arranged in approximately 15 horizontal lines. The script is dense and difficult to decipher without specialized knowledge of the Tibetan language and its historical context.

The master copy of a secret message sent by Tibetan rebels under the name of the so-called "Plenary Meeting of the People's Conference of the Independent State of Tibet" to Shagob-ba, one of the chief rebels staying in Kalimpong, on the eighth day of the second month of the Tibetan calendar, i.e. March 17

RESOLUTION ON THE QUESTION OF TIBET

Adopted on April 28 by the First Session of the Second National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China

The First Session of the Second National People's Congress, after detailed discussion of various questions relating to Tibet, has decided as follows:

(1) Congress fully approves all the measures taken by the State Council after the former local government and the reactionary clique of the upper social strata in Tibet started their rebellion on March 10, 1959. Congress greets the Chinese People's Liberation Army units stationed in Tibet which have quickly put down the rebellion, as well as the Tibetan lamas, laymen of all circles and patriotic people of all social strata who have actively helped the People's Liberation Army quell the rebellion; and expresses its appreciation of the services rendered by them.

(2) The rebellion of the former local government and the reactionary clique of the upper social strata in Tibet was not fortuitous. Since the latter part of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, when the British imperialists engaged in military, political and economic aggression against the Tibet region of our country with India as their base, an acute, long-term struggle has been waged between the patriotic Tibetan people who oppose aggression and a handful of Tibetan traitors who were bought over and made use of by the

aggressive foreign forces. On the eve of the liberation of China, the pro-imperialist elements were dominant in the leading group of the former local government of Tibet. After the peaceful liberation of Tibet in 1951, the Central People's Government, in order to give these pro-imperialist elements time to come to their senses, adopted a magnanimous attitude towards them, let them remain in their posts in the former local government of Tibet, and would not look into their past misdeeds so long as they broke with the imperialists and other foreign interventionists and did not engage in disruptive activities. This policy of the Central People's Government was completely correct because it facilitated the Central People's Government and the People's Liberation Army in establishing ties with the broad mass of the Tibetan people and many people of the upper and middle social strata and enabled them to win the latter's confidence. The traitors in the former local government of Tibet, however, while feigning compliance with the 17-article agreement on the peaceful liberation of Tibet, continued to conspire with the imperialists and foreign interventionists, plotted to bring about the so-called "independence of Tibet" as demanded by the imperialists and foreign interventionists, and finally launched the armed rebellion. It was only after the rebels attacked the People's Liberation Army units stationed in Lhasa that the Central People's Government directed the People's Liberation Army to put down the rebellion, and ordered the dissolution of the former local government of Tibet. In this way, the crimes of these traitors were completely exposed before the Tibetan people of all strata as well as before the people of the whole world. Right is all on the side of the Central People's Government and all those who support its policy. All

those foreigners who express their "sympathy" with these treacherous and inhuman rebels betraying and trying to split their motherland and engaging in slaughter and arson, and who attempt to seize this opportunity to interfere in China's internal affairs, will only enable the people of all the nationalities of our country and the people throughout the world to see them in their true colours and to draw the necessary lessons.

(3) National regional autonomy under the unified leadership of the Central People's Government should be resolutely implemented in Tibet as in other national minority areas of our country. The former local government and the reactionary clique of the upper social strata in Tibet, in making a vain attempt to bring about the so-called "independence of Tibet," were actively opposed to national regional autonomy. Following the dissolution of the former local government of Tibet and the failure of the rebellion launched by the reactionary clique of the upper social strata in Tibet, it is now already possible, while enforcing military control by the People's Liberation Army, to set up, step by step, local administrative organs of the Tibetan Autonomous Region at all levels and build up self-defence forces of the Tibetan people under the leadership of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibetan Autonomous Region, and for the Preparatory Committee to begin to carry out the functions and exercise the powers of autonomy. Representatives of the broad mass of people and of patriots of all social strata should participate in the local administrative organs of the Tibetan Autonomous Region at all levels. All officers and men of the People's Liberation Army units in Tibet and all working personnel of the Han and other nationalities in Tibet must establish the closest fraternal ties with the

Tibetan people, work hard and make heroic endeavours in serving the interests of the Tibetan people.

(4) The existing social system in Tibet is an extremely backward system of serfdom. The degree of cruelty which characterized the exploitation, oppression and persecution of the labouring people by the serf-owners can hardly be paralleled in any other part of the world. Even those who have repeatedly expressed "sympathy" for the Tibetan rebels cannot explain why they are so enthusiastic in backing up such a backward system. The Tibetan people for a long time have firmly demanded the reform of their social system. Many open-minded people of the upper and middle social strata have also come to realize that without reform the Tibetan people will never get the chance to enjoy a prosperous life. With the putting down of the rebellion started by the reactionary elements of the former local government of Tibet who are opposed to reform, conditions have been provided for the smooth realization of the desire for reform of the broad mass of the Tibetan people. The Preparatory Committee for the Tibetan Autonomous Region should, in accordance with the Constitution, the aspirations of the broad mass of the Tibetan people and the social, economic and cultural characteristics of Tibet, carry out democratic reforms in Tibet step by step and free the Tibetan people from suffering so as to lay the foundations for the building of a prosperous, socialist new Tibet. In the course of reform, the patriotic people of all social strata throughout Tibet, both lamas and laymen, should be closely united, and distinctions should be made in dealing with those who have taken no part in the rebellion, those who were forced to join the rebellion but later surrendered quickly, and those serf-owners who determinedly joined the rebellion. At-

tention should be paid to protecting the freedom of religious belief of all the Tibetan people and religious and cultural relics.

(5) Tibet is an inalienable part of China. It belongs to the big family of the Chinese people, to the broad mass of the Tibetan people, not to the handful of reactionaries, much less to the imperialists and foreign interventionists. The rebellion of the handful of Tibetan reactionaries and its suppression are wholly internal affairs of China which do not permit of any interference by foreigners. It is the firm and unalterable policy of the People's Republic of China to implement national regional autonomy in the Tibet area under the unified leadership of the Central People's Government and with the broad masses and patriotic people of all walks of life as the masters, to carry through democratic reforms under the unified leadership of the Central People's Government and to build a prosperous, socialist new Tibet by relying on the fraternal unity and mutual assistance of the working people of all nationalities. The rebellion of the handful of Tibetan reactionaries is not only powerless to prevent realization of this policy but will only accelerate the awakening of the Tibetan people and thus speed up its implementation. Similarly, no intervention against this policy of ours in Tibet by any foreign forces, no matter under what pretext or form, can prevent its realization. On the contrary, it can only rouse the Chinese people of all nationalities, including the Tibetan people, to wage a patriotic struggle against intervention. The People's Republic of China has consistently abided by the Five Principles, co-existing peacefully with its neighbours in the southwest, respecting their sovereignty and territorial integrity and not interfering

in their internal affairs. The National People's Congress notes with regret that certain people in Indian political circles have recently made extremely unfriendly statements and committed extremely unfriendly acts which interfere in China's internal affairs. These statements and acts do not conform to the common interests of the peoples of the two countries, they only conform to the interests of their common enemy, the imperialists. Congress hopes that this abnormal situation will quickly disappear and that through the joint efforts of both sides, the great and long-standing friendly relations between China and India will be further consolidated and developed.

**PANCHEN ERDENI'S SPEECH DELIVERED AT THE
FIRST SESSION OF THE THIRD NATIONAL
COMMITTEE OF THE CHINESE PEOPLE'S
POLITICAL CONSULTATIVE CONFERENCE**

April 29, 1959

Recently, at the First Session of the Second National People's Congress, I made a speech which was in accordance with the will of all the Tibetan people, ecclesiastical and secular, and was based upon ample facts. The speech, however, evoked hatred and revilement from certain Indian newspapers and journals. What was unexpected to me was that even Prime Minister Nehru said my speech "did not do justice." I would like to take this opportunity in the C.P.P.C.C. meeting to say a few words on this question.

Prime Minister Nehru did not elaborate when he made his charge against me. To the present I do not understand precisely what it was in my speech that "did not do justice." Could it be that my solemn declaration of the indisputable fact that Tibet is an inseparable part of China "did not do justice" to India? Could it be that what I said about our not allowing any foreigners to interfere in the affairs of our Tibet and our motherland — the Chinese People's Republic — "did not do justice"? Is it that I "did not do justice" when I expressed my indignation at the absurd outburst of certain expansionists in India to disrupt the unity of my motherland and the friendship between China and India? I think all

these cannot be made grounds to say that I "did not do justice." I should like to inquire whether, should the domestic affairs of any state in India be subjected to brutal foreign interference, Indian patriots would give their consent, or welcome it, or keep silent? When the internal affairs of my motherland are being frenziedly interfered with by foreigners, it is not only absolutely just for me, but is also my duty to give solemn warning in the interests of upholding the unity of the motherland and national solidarity, and in the interests of the friendship between China and India.

Prime Minister Nehru mentioned in his speech that he would welcome my going to India to meet the Dalai Lama or any person I wanted to meet. He also said that India would receive me with every courtesy. Undoubtedly one should be appreciative of any invitation. But it is said that this invitation is meant to make me verify that the Dalai Lama was not abducted to India. I think since Prime Minister Nehru also said that the Dalai Lama admitted to the authenticity of his three letters to General Tan Kuan-san, then this alone is convincing proof of the fact that the Dalai Lama was abducted. In these circumstances, I cannot see the value of my visiting India. If Prime Minister Nehru meant that he hoped I would go to India to enter into talks on the so-called Tibet question, then I must solemnly declare that the Tibet question can be solved only in Tibet. It can be solved only in China, definitely not in any foreign country. The reason is obvious. I do not believe that anybody can fail or should fail to understand this point.

Before the return of the Dalai Lama, I am acting as Chairman of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region and, much as I am concerned over

the Dalai Lama, it is difficult for me to make a long journey because of the heavy responsibilities on my shoulder. I take great pleasure in comforting the Dalai Lama by telling him:— one: the National People's Congress has elected the Dalai Lama and myself Vice-Chairmen of the Standing Committee of the Congress, and two: the reactionary rebellion in Tibet has been put down in the main, the bloodshed and fighting have in the main come to a stop, social order has been quickly restored, the relations between the army-men and civilians are like members of a family, the people are settling down in happiness, national autonomy in the region is being promoted and preparations are underway for democratic reform. I myself and the people of Tibet hope the Dalai Lama will be able to return to the motherland at an early date to see that his long cherished wishes for Tibetan reform are being realized smoothly.

India is our great neighbour. For India and the Indian people, I have complete respect. In 1956, the Dalai Lama and I visited India at the invitation of the Indian Vice-President. The Indian people gave both the Dalai Lama and me a cordial welcome. For this I express my deep gratitude. This was another demonstration of the profound friendship between the people of China and India. But incidentally, I also remember one small matter: during the visit, some Indian officials often showed a certain discrimination against me in arranging receptions. My entourage had to sleep on the trains sometimes because they were not provided with housing. The Indian people of course did not know about this. I thought this might not be the arrangements planned by the Indian Government. But this could not but make an impression on me,

Mr. Nehru said that India's interest in Tibet was "historical, sentimental and religious and not essentially political." This statement cannot explain the recent words and deeds of certain political figures in India in intervening in our internal affairs. The people of the whole world clearly know that India's Kalimpong has, in the past few years, become a centre of intrigues and manoeuvres against the People's Republic of China by imperialists, Kuomintang bandits and rebellious elements of Tibet. Recently some frantic Indians have used the rebellion in Tibet and the so-called "statement of Dalai Lama" to launch slanderous attacks against our great motherland, destroy the Five Principles, intervene in our internal affairs, advocate what is called "Tibetan independence," and provoke feelings against China. How can it be said that the talk and behaviour of these people is not political?

As for interest of a religious character, I cannot help recalling the experience I had myself. Buddhism once was popular in India, and there are many sacred Buddhist spots in that country. But in our visit to India in 1956, we saw for ourselves that the famous Nalanda, Sarnath of Varanasi (the monastery where Buddha first preached), and Rajgir and quite a number of other monasteries were in poor state, with small attendance, and almost no charity services. The Buddhist images were either toppling over or had damaged noses, blinded eyes, with mutilated limbs. We are aware that there are now few followers of Buddhism in India. But is it not strange that those people who care so little for Buddhism in their own country yet talk so much about their concern for Tibetan Buddhism and ancient cultural relics? We are faithful religious believers. But we resolutely oppose activities of

intervention in another country's internal affairs conducted by any person under the pretext of religion. Tibetans or Indians, we should all heighten vigilance against these persons, beware not to fall into their traps!

Now with the rebellion of the reactionary elements in Tibet put down in the main, the so-called Tibet question has been basically solved. A handful of foreign interventionists are still attempting to make use of the so-called Tibet question to create disturbances. I believe that all our Indian friends who are not in sympathy with the criminal rebels who abducted the Dalai Lama but have real regard for the Dalai Lama and the mass of the people, ecclesiastical and secular, of Tibet, and who stand for the Five Principles and the maintenance of Sino-Indian friendship, will certainly condemn severely and bring to a halt the wild clamouring of these interventionists. The over six hundred million people of all nationalities of China and the four hundred million people of India will never permit any sabotage, no matter under what pretence, of the great friendship between the peoples of China and India!

III

TIBET IS AN INTEGRAL PART OF CHINA

(Background material)

When the armed rebellion started by the reactionary clique of the upper strata in Tibet was quickly put down, the imperialists and foreign reactionary elements who had long engineered and supported such a plot were thrown into a state of dejection and frenzy. Since then they have launched a smearing campaign against the Chinese people. They shouted at the top of their voices that "Tibet is not Chinese territory," "Tibet is an independent country," and so on, in a vain attempt to deceive the people of the world and deny China's sovereignty over Tibet. In the name of "Tibetan independence" they want to cover up their ambitions to invade Tibet and to interfere in Chinese internal affairs. But lies can never overshadow facts and slanders can never face evidence. The Tibetan people have long established fraternal relations with other nationalities in China, and with the Han nationality in particular. They are a member of the great multi-national family of China. For a long time Tibet has been an inalienable and component part of Chinese territory. This is a fact which nobody can deny.

(I) THE TIBET REGION HAS LONG BEEN AN INALIENABLE PART OF CHINA

China is a country composed of scores of nationalities; Hans, Tibetans, Mongolians, Uighurs, Chuangs and many others. All of its nationalities, through long years of co-operation, contributed to its formation as a united country. Tibet became a component part of the motherland in the course of a long historical process.

Friendly contact between the Tibetans and China's other nationalities, mainly the Han nationality, began a long time ago. By the 7th century, in the early Tang dynasty, common associations and contact were already quite extensive. Apart from economic and cultural ties, close political relationships had also been established. In 641 A.D. Emperor Tai Tsung of the Tang dynasty married Princess Wen Cheng to the Tibetan King, Sron-tsan Gampo. She took with her to Tibet a large number of Han craftsmen specializing in brewing, rice-milling, paper and ink-making. She also brought with her silk-worm eggs. This played no small part in promoting the economic and cultural development of Tibet at that time. The memory of Princess Wen Cheng is held in very high esteem by the Tibetan people. Statues are in the Jokhan Monastery and the Potala Palace in Lhasa. One of the best traditional Tibetan plays sings her praises.

When Emperor Tai Tsung died and Emperor Kao Tsung was enthroned, King Sron-tsan Gampo wrote to the Tang prime minister, saying: "On this occasion of the enthronement of the emperor, if there are subordinates who show disloyalty I am willing to dispatch troops to join in the expedition against them." He also sent fifteen kinds of gold and pearl articles to Emperor

Tai Tsung's tomb. The new emperor bestowed him many titles of honour. This fully shows the close relationship enjoyed by the Han and Tibetan nationalities at that time.

In A.D. 710, during the reign of Emperor Chung Tsung, another Han Princess, Chin Cheng, was married to the Tibetan King Tridetsogtan. Princess Chin Cheng took with her several thousands of pieces of silk and brocade, as well as Han acrobats and musical instruments. Later she asked for copies of the classic works of *Mao-shih (Book of Odes with the Commentary of Mao Chang)*, *Li-chi (Book of Rites)*, *Tso-chuan (Tso's Commentary)* and *Wen Hsuan (General Anthology of Prose and Verse)* by Hsiao Tung of the Liang dynasty. Tibet thus obtained further access to the handicrafts, production techniques, music, scholarship and culture of the Han nationality.

In A.D. 729, the Tibetan King Tridetsogtan wrote a memorial to Tang Emperor Hsuan Tsung in which he said: "I, a relative of the former emperor, also have the honour to be married to Princess Chin Cheng and we are thus members of one family, and the common people throughout the land live in happiness and prosperity." This is a historical document of great significance, for the Tibetan King at that time was of the opinion that Tibet and the Tang Empire were "members of one family."

In A.D. 821, a "Monument of the Unity of Uncle and Nephew" was jointly erected by the Tang Emperor Mu Tsung and the Tibetan King Triralpajian, another important historical relic marking the close friendship of the Tibetan and the Han peoples. This monument, erected a thousand years ago and still in good condition,

stands in front of the Jokhan Monastery in the centre of Lhasa.

Throughout the Tang dynasty, Tibetan emissaries were frequently sent to the Tang court. When a Tsanpu (Tibetan ruler) died or a new Tsanpu was installed, the fact would be reported to the Tang Court, and when a new emperor of the Tang dynasty was enthroned, greetings would come from Tibet. Besides, large numbers of Tibetan emissaries went to the Tang Court to present tributes, and apply for trade. The Tang dynasty was an era which saw the great development of friendly contact between the Tibetan and Han peoples. This laid a foundation for the unity between the Tibetan people and the other nationalities of China, first of all, between the Tibetan and Han peoples, and for the Tibetan people to join the great family of the motherland and work together with the other nationalities to build a unified country.

At the close of the Tang dynasty, in the middle of the ninth century, internal disturbances broke out in Tibet as a result of the strife between the Tibetan King Lang Darma and the upper strata of the lamas. Lang Darma was killed by the lamas and chaos reigned in Tibet. Some people proposed to instal a new Tsanpu. A general, who opposed this action and started an uprising, declared: "How can a new Tsanpu be installed without the conferment of the title by the great Tang dynasty?" Many of the family members of the fallen Tibetan King and his ministers and subordinates fled to the Tang Court. Tibet was then divided into many small tribes. Each ruled supreme in the areas under his control and fought one another. Incessant internecine strifes brought untold sufferings to the Tibetan people. This chaotic situation

lasted for 400 years, until the beginning of the thirteenth century. No tribes had the power to reunite Tibet.

The chaos in Tibet was brought to an end and unity was achieved when Mongko, Emperor Hsien Tsung of the Yuan dynasty, sent an armed force to Tibet in 1253. Tibet was then incorporated into the Yuan Empire, and it has been a part of the territory of China ever since.

The political and religious systems were gradually defined by the successive central governments of China from the thirteenth to the eighteenth century. The present system of merging political and religious rule into one entity was first introduced in 1275. At that time Kublai Khan, Emperor of the Yuan dynasty, in recognition of the services of King of the Law Pagspa, of the Sakya (coloured) Sect of Buddhism in Tibet, in helping to introduce a new script for the Mongolian language, conferred the title "Tutor of the Great Yuan Empire" on him. At the same time Kublai Khan placed the Tibet area under Pagspa's rule. This marked the beginning of the combination of the political and religious rule in Tibet. From then on, the successive Yuan emperors appointed a "Peace Commissioner" in Tibet (resembling the Resident Representative [*Amban*] in Tibet appointed by the Ching dynasty). It was his duty to levy a certain amount of taxes and collect tributes from the Tibetan people every year. The Yuan dynasty also set up a number of courier stations and military posts in Tibet, conducted a census and instituted the check-up of the service records of the local officials.

The end of the internal rifts and the consolidation of Tibet during the Yuan dynasty gave the Tibetan people an opportunity for peace and stability and for productive activities. After living through 400 years of internecine

wars, this was just what the Tibetan people aspired for. Although the Tibetan people suffered oppression and exploitation at the hands of the Yuan rulers, the end of the chaos which prevailed in the previous 400 years brought them no small benefits, and created favourable conditions for the rehabilitation and expansion of the productive forces in Tibet.

With the fall of the Yuan dynasty, the regime of the Sakya King of the Law in Tibet came to an end, and King of the Law Pagmochupa of the Kagyud (white) Sect came to power. This, however, did not bring any change in the relations between Tibet and the motherland. In 1372, King of the Law Chiayang, the second ruler of the Kagyud Sect, sent an emissary to Nanking to congratulate on the enthronement of Emperor Tai Tsu of the Ming dynasty and to ask the Emperor to approve his rule in Tibet. Emperor Tai Tsu conferred several titles of honour upon him and made him the Tibetan ruler. From then on, when each King of the Law acceded to his high position, he never failed to send an emissary to Peking to ask for titles of honour to be conferred on him.

Friendly contact between the Tibetan people and the other nationalities of China was further developed during the Ming dynasty. In 1409 four imperial emissaries were sent by Emperor Cheng Tsu to Lhasa to invite Tsong-Kha-pa, founder of the Yellow Sect, to preach the Buddhist canons in the interior of the country. Tsong-Kha-pa was unable to go himself and sent his disciple Jamchingchuje as his representative to Peking. Emperor Cheng Tsu granted him a title of honour.

The statistics of the Board of Rites of the Ming dynasty show that in the 1450's about three to four hundred Tibet-

ans came to Peking to present tributes every year, and in the 1460's the number reached three to four thousand.

When the Ming dynasty was on the verge of collapse the rule of the King of the Law of the Kagyud Sect in Tibet also tottered. In 1643, the 16th year of the reign of Emperor Chung Chen, the Fifth Dalai and the Fourth Panchen, leaders of the Gelug (yellow) Sect, overthrew the power of the Kagyud Sect with the help of the armed forces of Gushi Khan, a Mongolian chieftain in Chinghai. From that time on, the Tibetan people came under the rule of the group headed by the Dalai Lama.

After the Manchu troops pushed forward south of the Great Wall, the Fifth Dalai Lama came to Peking from Tibet in 1652 to offer his congratulations and asked Emperor Shun Chih to confer titles of honour on him. In 1653, when the Fifth Dalai returned to Tibet, the Emperor conferred upon him the title of Dalai Lama which was officially established from then on. The functions, powers and organization of the Tibetan local government (*kasha*) were defined by Emperor Chien Lung of the Ching dynasty. The Emperor laid down that the *kasha* was the highest administrative body in the Tibet area and that it was composed of four *kaloons* who were the highest officials in the local government of Tibet, second to the regent in rank.

Relations between the Tibetan and other nationalities in China became closer in the Ching dynasty, and particularly so during the reign of Emperor Chien Lung. In 1791, the 56th year of the reign of Emperor Chien Lung, the Gurkhas from Nepal launched a large-scale aggression against Tibet on the pretext of a minor incident on the Tibet-Nepal border. The invading forces pushed forward to Shigatse. They seized the areas west of

Shigatse. The troops of the local Tibetan government were defeated by the invaders and all of Tibet was in danger of being occupied. The Dalai and Panchen then sent their representatives to the central authorities of that time in Peking to ask for help. The Ching Court sent an army of about 20,000 men to Tibet. With the support of the Tibetan people, the troops of the Ching Court succeeded in driving the invaders, who had occupied Houtsang (Tsang), out of Tibet in May 1792.

The sending of troops to Tibet by the central authorities of that time, the Ching Court, had far-reaching significance. The invading forces were driven out of Tibet, the southwestern frontiers of the motherland were consolidated and the Tibetan people were brought to understand from their personal experience the value of the great support given them by the motherland. This enhanced the fraternal feelings between the Tibetan people and the other nationalities of the country and further strengthened the ties of Tibet and the motherland.

In the closing years of the Ching dynasty and the beginning of the founding of the Republic, the relations between Tibet and the rest of the motherland were seriously impaired because of the intensified efforts of the imperialists to incite the reactionaries in Tibet to carry out all kinds of criminal activities against the motherland. Tibet, however, has long been an inalienable part of the territory of China. Fraternal friendship between the Tibetan people and the other nationalities of China has deep roots and they have forged a common destiny, sharing each other's joy and sorrow. The imperialists and the handful of reactionary elements in Tibet could never undermine that friendship. Although the Tibetan people opposed the policy of national oppression pursued by the

Ching Court and the northern warlords, they have always loved the motherland and have ardently desired to maintain close ties with it. Fearful of this pressure, the reactionaries of the upper social strata in Tibet, much as they worked in collusion with foreign countries, had to acknowledge Tibet as a part of China and maintain contact with the central authorities to allay the discontent of the masses of the Tibetan people and consolidate their rule in Tibet.

In 1930, the Kuomintang government sent an official to Tibet to contact the local authorities. In the same year the local government of Tibet also sent its representative, Konchio Trongnier, to Nanking and set up an office of the Tibetan local authorities there. When the Thirteenth Dalai Lama died on December 17, 1933, the local government of Tibet, in accordance with traditional practice, reported this to the Kuomintang government in Nanking on January 1, 1934. In April of the same year, the Kuomintang government sent Huang Mu-sung as a special envoy to Tibet to express condolences. Huang arrived in Lhasa in September, and bestowed a posthumous title on the Thirteenth Dalai Lama. He also set up in Lhasa an Office of the Commission for Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs.

In the winter of 1938, the local government of Tibet found the incarnation of the Dalai Lama at Tangtsai, Huangchung County, Chinghai Province, and asked the central government of the Kuomintang to send a senior official to Tibet to preside over the installation of the holy throne. In March 1939, the Kuomintang government sent Wu Chung-hsin, Chairman of its Commission for Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs, to Tibet. On February

22, 1940, the ceremony of the installation of the Fourteenth Dalai Lama, presided over by Wu Chung-hsin, was held in the Potala Palace.

After the death of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama, Rabchen Hutuktu carried out the duties of the Dalai Lama. Rabchen was fairly patriotic. During his administration the relations between the Tibet region and the motherland improved somewhat. In the early period of the War Against Japanese Aggression, Rabchen led three great monasteries in Lhasa to pray victory for the motherland.

In the following ten years and more, although the British and U.S. imperialists and other foreign reactionary forces became more active in engineering splitting activities to sever Tibet from China, Chinese sovereignty over the Tibet region has been maintained all along.

**(II) CHINA'S SOVEREIGNTY OVER TIBET IS
WELL-ESTABLISHED IN THE WORLD. NO ONE
CAN DENY THIS FACT**

The historical record proves that Tibet, during its long history, has never been an independent country, but a part of China. Even the imperialists could find no way to deny this irrefutable fact. In 1903 Lord Hamilton, the British Secretary of State for India, stated: "(Tibet) must still be regarded as a province of China." On June 14, 1904, the British Foreign Minister, in his official dispatch to the British ambassador to Russia, cited Tibet as "that province of the Chinese Empire." Later, in the Peking Convention signed by China and Britain in 1906 and the Anglo-Russian Convention signed in 1907

although Britain used the words "Chinese suzerainty over Tibet" to cover up her aggression against Tibet, she still could not openly deny that Tibet was China's territory. Even recently, the spokesman of the U.S. State Department had to admit that the United States has never regarded Tibet as an independent country. The spokesman of the British foreign office reiterated on March 31 that Britain recognized China's sovereignty over Tibet.

India, after gaining her independence, has repeatedly expressed her respect of China's sovereignty over Tibet. On the basis of such mutual respect for territorial sovereignty, China and India signed the Agreement on Trade and Intercourse Between the Tibet Region of China and India on April 29, 1954, and established the famous five principles of peaceful co-existence. After the signing of this agreement, Indian Prime Minister Nehru, in his speech in the Lok Sabha (House of People) on May 15, criticized certain statements that ignored China's sovereignty over Tibet. He said, "I am not aware that at any time during the last few hundred years, Chinese sovereignty, or if you like, suzerainty, was challenged by any outside country."

Obviously, it is impossible for anyone to deny directly China's sovereignty over Tibet. So, the imperialists and some people in India are manoeuvring to find a round-about way to reach this end. They say that the "Tibetan people" are different from the "Chinese people" and therefore Tibet seems to be another "country." To oppose the idea of a "Tibetan people" to the idea of a "Chinese people" is a preposterous argument. It is known to all that China is a multi-national country and the Chinese

people include Hans, Mongolians, Uighurs, Huis, Chuangs and dozens of other nationalities, not excepting Tibetans. Today many countries in the world are also composed of many nationalities. Is it possible to deny they are unified countries because in these countries one nationality is "different" from another?

There is another group of people who recognize China's sovereignty over Tibet but hold that "autonomy" must be its prerequisite. This argument is even more illogical. Now that Tibet is part of China, its autonomy is simply a matter of China's internal affairs. Then, how can autonomy be made a condition of, and a restriction on, China's sovereignty over Tibet? In its aide-memoire to the Chinese Government dated August 26, 1950, the Indian Government, referring to autonomy for Tibet, recognized that this is "autonomy within the framework of Chinese sovereignty." Such being the case, autonomy has nothing to do at all with the question of China's sovereignty over Tibet. The Government of New China has always advocated the institution of regional autonomy for the national minorities. In fact many national minorities have successively set up autonomous regions, autonomous *chou* and autonomous counties in the big family of the motherland. Autonomy would have long been realized in Tibet had the Tibetan reactionaries not sabotaged or obstructed it. It is obvious that those who are showing extraordinary enthusiasm for Tibetan "autonomy" are actually using it to create a big noise on this question so as to interfere in China's internal affairs and deny Chinese sovereignty over Tibet. They really don't know how far they have overestimated their strength.

(III) IMPERIALISM HAS ALWAYS CARRIED OUT FEVERISH AGGRESSION AGAINST THE TIBET REGION OF CHINA. THE STRUGGLE OF THE TIBETAN COMPATRIOTS AGAINST IMPERIALISM IS AN INTEGRAL PART OF THE STRUGGLE OF ALL THE NATIONALITIES IN CHINA AGAINST IMPERIALISM

If China's sovereignty over Tibet had suffered injuries, it was entirely because of imperialist aggression but in no way can this be offered as a reason for denying China's sovereignty over Tibet.

Imperialism began its rabid aggression against all the nationalities in China from the beginning of the 19th century, militarily, politically, economically and culturally. Tibet was no exception. At the very outset, imperialism resorted to brute force in the hope of occupying Tibet by armed invasion and turning it into one of its colonies.

The first armed invasion of Tibet by the British imperialists took place between the years 1886 and 1888. In the face of a formidable enemy, the Tibetan people displayed unrivalled perseverance and great courage. Their armed resistance, which was carried out without active support from the central government in Peking (the Ching Court at that time), which was corrupt and inefficient. The resistance went on for two years but was defeated in the end because the enemy was far superior in strength. This resulted in the seizure of Sikkim by the British invaders.

The second armed invasion took place in 1904. The Tibetan people again put up brave resistance. But for the same reasons as in the first invasion, they suffered serious losses.

On both occasions, however, the British imperialists had failed to annex Tibet, thanks to the heroic resistance of the Tibetan people. So they changed their tactics and bought over a handful of reactionaries in Tibet to act as their agents in an attempt to disintegrate Tibet from within. They egged on their lackeys in Tibet to fight the Ching government in the name of opposing national oppression so as to divert the Tibetans from their struggle against imperialism to fighting against their own motherland. From then on there existed among the reactionaries of the upper social strata in Tibet a so-called pro-British clique bent on severing Tibet from its motherland and drawing it into the imperialist sphere of influence. The clamour for so-called "independence" for Tibet in modern times has from the very beginning been a dirty trick of the imperialists.

After the outbreak of the 1911 Revolution in China to overthrow Manchu rule, the British imperialists lost no time in inciting their protégés, the reactionaries of the upper social strata in Tibet, to stage a revolt. The Lord Minister of the Ching government in Lhasa was expelled. Many Tibetan patriots of the ecclesiastical order and the nobility were murdered in cold blood. Even the Ninth Panchen Erdeni, who was loyal to the motherland, was forced to flee to the interior to avoid persecution.

The next step taken by the British imperialists was to put their plot into motion in the diplomatic field. Hand in glove with the Tibetan reactionaries, they engineered the Simla Conference in 1913-14, the so-called "Conference Between China, Great Britain and Tibet," at which they brought pressure to bear upon the then warlord government of China. At the conference, the British

terms were deliberately designed to annex Tibet and extend its colonial rule there through its colonial government in India. This aroused the indignation of the Chinese people, the Tibetans in particular. The Chinese representative to the Simla Conference refused to sign the treaty and the treaty was never recognized by the Chinese government.

In 1918, the British imperialists instigated the Tibetan reactionaries to send their troops to Chamdo, Darge and other places. The British Minister to China then offered his "mediation," demanded the convocation of another "conference between China, Britain and Tibet," and tried to get the Chinese government to sign the Simla Conference draft treaty which aimed at the British seizure of Tibet. But their scheme came to naught once again in the face of the strong opposition of the Chinese people, including those of Tibet.

In the following decade or so, the British imperialists never ceased to foster its influence in Tibet and its underhand activities to undermine the normal relations between the Chinese central government and the local government of Tibet.

Following the death of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama in 1933, Rabchen Hutuktu was named regent to administer Tibetan affairs until the present Dalai Lama assumed power. Rabchen, reflecting the patriotic will of the lamas and laymen in Tibet, worked to cement the ties between Tibet and the motherland. This, of course, was not to the liking of the British imperialists and the reactionaries in Tibet. They spread slanders about Rabchen and succeeded in forcing him to resign in 1941. But they didn't stop there. They framed up false charge against him, produced false evidence of an alleged "plot to

revolt," and in 1947 put Rabchen under arrest and murdered him. They also poisoned Chochotsering, father of the Fourteenth Dalai Lama, who was closely related to Rabchen and had the interests of the motherland at heart.

After Rabchen resigned from the office, the most reactionary imperialist henchmen in the ruling clique in Tibet, headed by Tagcha, Lokongwa, Lozong Drashi, Shagob-ba, Lhalu, Shasu and Surkong, became the rulers in Tibet. They made no secret of their intention of breaking away from the motherland and turning Tibet into an imperialist colony. In the summer of 1943, the Tibetan local government (*kasha*), encouraged by the imperialists, abruptly announced the establishment of a so-called "Bureau of Foreign Affairs." This infuriated the people throughout China. The Kuomintang government at that time ordered its office in Lhasa not to have anything to do with this "Bureau."

The British imperialists and the Tibetan reactionaries sought to play another trick. In 1947, an Asian Conference was convened in New Delhi, India, to which all Asian countries were invited. Tibet was also invited as a separate "country." They deliberately displayed the "snow mountains and lions," the pennant of Tibetan Buddhism, as the "national flag" of Tibet at the conference side by side with the national flags of other Asian countries. On a map of Asia displayed at the conference hall, Tibet was drawn outside the Chinese boundary in a vain attempt to make Tibet's "independent" status a *fait accompli*. But they were forced to make a correction when the Chinese people learned of this with indignation and the Chinese delegation to the conference lodged a strong protest against it.

In plotting for the "independence of Tibet" the British imperialists looked for pretexts in the relations between China and India. The British imperialist Sir Basil Gould, once British representative in Tibet, for instance, openly declared that there should be a "buffer state" between the two big powers, and that China should make Tibet a "buffer state" so as to avoid conflict with India. China and India have lived in peace for many years and there is no need for any such "buffer." This proposal for a "buffer state" is obviously just another guise for expansion and aggression.

It is clear that the murder of Rabchen, the "Bureau of Foreign Affairs," and the "Asian Conference" were all plots of British imperialism to carry out aggression against Tibet.

(IV) THE U.S. AND BRITISH IMPERIALISTS TRIED IN EVERY WAY TO THWART THE PEACEFUL LIBERATION OF THE TIBET REGION OF CHINA AND PREVENT THE TIBETAN PEOPLE FROM LEADING A NEW LIFE. BUT HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENTS SHOW THAT ALL SCHEMING BY THE IMPERIALISTS AND FOREIGN EXPANSIONISTS WILL BE CRUSHED AND THAT THE TIBETAN PEOPLE, ALONG WITH THE OTHER NATIONALITIES OF THE MOTHERLAND, WILL ADVANCE FROM VICTORY TO VICTORY UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY AND CHAIRMAN MAO TSE-TUNG

After the victory of the Chinese people's War of Resistance to Japanese Aggression, U.S. imperialism stepped into the shoes of Japanese imperialism in China and tried by hook or by crook to turn China into its colony. On the one hand, it helped and instigated the

Kuomintang reactionaries to launch an all-out attack against the liberated areas; on the other, when the situation of the Chinese people's War of Liberation became increasingly unfavourable to the Kuomintang reactionaries, it resorted to all kinds of plots and schemes in its attempt to thwart the complete liberation of the Chinese people. Back during the Second World War, U.S. imperialism had begun its conspiratorial activities to get its fingers into Tibet. After the Japanese surrender, the U.S. actively poked its nose into Tibet and worked hand in hand with the British imperialists to plot for the so-called "independence of Tibet."

In October 1947, at the dictation of the imperialists, particularly the U.S. imperialists, the reactionary elements in Tibet organized a "trade mission" led by Tsipon Shagob-ba to visit the U.S., Britain and other countries and in the name of "trade" to receive secret instructions from the U.S. government on how to carry out the above-mentioned plot.

In early 1948, the "Tibetan trade mission" arrived in Nanking. The Kuomintang government at that time tried to dissuade the "Tibet trade mission" from going abroad and told them that if they insisted on going abroad they should take Chinese passports. While feigning compliance the Tibetan reactionaries went into secret dealings with the U.S. ambassador John L. Stuart in Nanking, who told them to go to the U.S. Consulate in Hongkong. The American consul there having viséd the "passports" coined by the Tibetan local government (*kasha*) itself, they set off by air and arrived in the United States on July 19, 1948.

After its arrival in the U.S., as arranged by the U.S. government, the "Tibetan trade mission" acted shamelessly

against the motherland and betrayed the interests of the Tibetan nationality. Members of the "mission" went about spreading the nonsense that "Tibet has only religious ties with China; China has no right whatsoever to govern the Tibetan people; and China has no right whatsoever to interfere as to what passports we go abroad with."

Later events proved that the Tibetan reactionaries sent the "trade mission" to the U.S. and Britain for the purpose of discussing directly with their masters how to carry out further activities against the motherland. In the summer of 1949, the People's Liberation Army crossed the Yangtse River and liberated Nanking and Shanghai and the Kuomintang government fled to Canton. The People's Liberation Army in the Northwest also liberated Sian and was advancing towards the remoter northwest. At this time when the whole mainland was about to be liberated completely, a so-called "campaign to drive out the Hans" broke out in Lhasa. This was engineered jointly by the U.S. and British imperialists and the Tibetan reactionaries. On July 8, 1949, the Tibetan local government (*kasha*) suddenly notified all staff members of the office of the Kuomintang government in Lhasa and their families to leave Tibet immediately. At the same time, the Tibetan local government cabled from Kalimpong in India a message to the Commission for Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs of the Kuomintang government, which reads: "In order to prevent the Communist Party from poking its nose into Tibet, all staff members of the office of the Central Government in Tibet are requested to leave Tibet and they and their families have been notified to return to the interior within the set time."

The aim of the U.S. and British imperialists and the Tibetan reactionaries was to alienate the Tibet region from China, prevent the Chinese People's Liberation Army from entering Tibet and continue to enslave the Tibetan people by expelling from Tibet the entire staff of the office of the Kuomintang government in Lhasa and cutting off the ties of Tibet with the motherland. After the "campaign to drive out the Hans" broke out, therefore, the U.S. and British news agencies raised a series of clamours about Tibet breaking with China. The United Press said that diplomatic authorities had said that by making use of the difficulties of the Chinese government the Tibetan authorities might shake themselves free from China's nominal religious sovereignty. A British news agency also said that Britain had never accepted the Chinese allegation that Tibet was part of China and subjected to Chinese jurisdiction. These statements fully expose the dirty schemes of the U.S. and British imperialists in instigating the Tibetan reactionaries to launch the so-called "campaign to drive out the Hans" so as to alienate Tibet from the motherland.

Shortly after the "campaign to drive out the Hans," in August 1949 the U.S. imperialists directly dispatched Lowell Thomas, a top special agent, from Washington to Lhasa to carry out conspiratorial activities there. In October 1949, when Lowell Thomas returned to the U.S. from Tibet, the American papers clamoured that the U.S. was ready to recognize Tibet as an independent state and support its application for membership of the United Nations, and that it would give "military aid" to the Tibetan local government.

After returning to the U.S., Thomas published a book entitled *Outside of This World* which exposed before the

whole world the criminal activities of the U.S. imperialists in instigating the Tibetan reactionaries to oppose the motherland and undermine the solidarity between the Han and Tibetan peoples. Thomas himself admitted that he had instructed *kasha* (Tibetan local government) to be firm in opposing the Chinese People's Liberation Army to enter Tibet and said that so long as Tibet could organize a technically equipped guerrilla force the People's Liberation Army could be prevented from entering Tibet.

The so-called "campaign to drive out the Hans" greatly enraged people throughout the country, including the patriotic Tibetans. The Hsinhua News Agency was authorized to publish an editorial on September 2, 1949, in which it was pointed out that the July 8, 1949 incident of expelling Han people and the Kuomintang personnel in Tibet by the Tibetan local authorities was engineered by the British and the U.S. imperialists. The aim of the British and the U.S. reactionaries in instigating this "anti-Communist" incident in collusion with the Tibetan reactionary local authorities was not only to prevent the Tibetan people from attaining liberation at a time when the People's Liberation Army was about to liberate all China but also further to deprive them of independence and freedom and turn them into the colonial slaves of foreign imperialism.

By the end of 1949 the entire country had been liberated with the exception of Tibet and Taiwan, and the establishment of the Central People's Government was declared in Peking on October 1, 1949. In order to complete the great cause of liberating the Chinese mainland, the People's Liberation Army decided to enter Tibet in order to free the Tibetan people from the enslavement

and oppression of the imperialists and reactionaries. It started in 1950 preparations for entering Tibet, and its advanced troops reached the Kantse area, east of the Kingsha River. By then, the U.S. and British imperialists and the reactionaries in the Tibetan local government became more panic-stricken and in January 1950, the United Press of the U.S. reported that the Tibetan authorities were going to dispatch a "goodwill mission" to the United States, Britain, India, Nepal and Peking respectively, to declare Tibet's "independence." The U.S. and British imperialists tried thus to create a pretext for their open interference in China's internal affairs so as to attain their aim of preventing the People's Liberation Army from entering Tibet.

In a statement released by the Hsinhua News Agency on January 20, 1950, the spokesman of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of China, strongly denouncing the above plot, said, "Tibet is the territory of the People's Republic of China. This is a fact which is known to everybody in the world and which has never been denied by anybody. Since this is the case, the Lhasa authorities, of course, have no right to arbitrarily send out any 'mission' and, still more, to announce Tibet's 'independence.' Since the 'independence' of Tibet has to be publicized to the governments of the United States, Britain, India and Nepal, and has to be announced by the American United Press it is not difficult to see that, if the content of such news is not a United Press fabrication, it is at most merely a puppet show directed by American imperialism and its accomplices who are invading Tibet."

To bring about early negotiations and the conclusion of an agreement on the peaceful liberation of Tibet between the Tibetan local government and itself, the Cen-

tral People's Government sent in July 1950 Living Buddha Geda (a Tibetan patriot), Vice-Chairman of the Sikang Provincial People's Government, to Tibet to dispel the misunderstandings of the Tibetan local government about the Central People's Government so that negotiations could be carried out at an early date. As soon as he arrived in Chamdo on July 24, Living Buddha Geda met with obstructions placed by the British imperialist agent Robert Webster Ford so that he was prevented from proceeding further to Lhasa. On August 21 Ford poisoned Living Buddha Geda, who died the next day. After Living Buddha Geda's death his whole body turned black and the skin came off at a touch. To hide the crime Ford burned the corpse of Living Buddha Geda and sent his retinues in custody to Lhasa. (After the liberation of Tibet this British imperialist element, who had committed heinous crimes, was arrested.)

Seeing that the U.S. and British imperialists were intriguing so wantonly in Tibet and desiring to clear up the situation there and drive the imperialist forces out of Tibet at an early date, the Central People's Government ordered the People's Liberation Army to enter Tibet. At the instigation of the U.S. and British imperialists the reactionaries in the Tibetan local government directed the Tibetan army to put up resistance and obstruction at Chamdo. This crime, of course, could not go unpunished. The People's Liberation Army gave a smashing blow to the Tibetan army, and, on October 19, 1950, wiped out the main force of the Tibetan army, over five thousand men, and liberated Chamdo. This shattered the scheme of the British and U.S. imperialists and the handful of Tibetan reactionaries to prevent the

entrance of the People's Liberation Army into Tibet and the liberation of the Tibetan people.

After Chamdo's liberation, the British and U.S. imperialists set us frantic clamours. At a press conference held in Washington on November 1, 1949, the then U.S. Secretary of State Acheson openly slandered the entry of the People's Liberation Army into China's own territory Tibet as "aggression" and said that the U.S. considered this as the most unfortunate and most serious incident. On November 15, the *New York Times*, the mouthpiece of the U.S. State Department, ran an editorial, urging the United Nations to interfere in the question of Tibet. In an editorial on October 31, 1950, the *London Times* said brazenly, "Long ago, all Chinese maps . . . showed Tibet as a part of Chinese territory. The claim cannot be justified in history." It incited the governments of India and Pakistan to raise "protests" with China.

A handful of reactionaries in the Tibetan ruling clique headed by Regent Tagcha, in collusion with the imperialists and foreign expansionists, abducted the Fourteenth Dalai Lama to Yatung from where they planned to take him to India. This aroused the opposition of the three major Tibetan monasteries as well as of the broad mass of the Tibetan people. Many *kanpos* and *káloons* near the Dalai Lama also disapproved of his flight to India and stood for negotiations with the Central People's Government. The struggle ended in victory for the patriotic, progressive forces which opposed the Dalai Lama's flight and represented the wishes of the broad mass of the Tibetan people. Consequently, in spring 1951, Tagcha relinquished his post and the Fourteenth Dalai Lama "assumed power." Following his assumption of power, the

Dalai Lama appointed Kaloön Ngapo Ngawang-Jigme and four others as plenipotentiaries of the Tibetan local government to conduct negotiations in Peking. By then, the conspiracy of the U.S. and British imperialists to obstruct direct negotiations between Tibet and the motherland had gone completely bankrupt.

Upon its arrival in Peking, the Tibetan delegation started negotiations with the representatives appointed by the Central People's Government for the peaceful liberation of Tibet. Under the direct leadership of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the negotiations proceeded very smoothly. In the short period of one month, agreement was reached on all important questions. On May 23, 1951, the Agreement on the Measures for the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet between the Central People's Government and the Tibetan local government was signed. The agreement provided correct solutions to the questions of the relations between Tibet and the motherland and that of disunity within the Tibetan nationality — disunity between the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama which had been outstanding for thirty years. This agreement was a brilliant achievement of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung in settling a very intricate domestic nationality question.

Subsequent to the signing of the agreement on the peaceful liberation of Tibet, the Fourteenth Dalai Lama returned from Yatung to Lhasa on August 17, 1951. On October 26, the units of the People's Liberation Army also arrived in Lhasa, and were warmly welcomed by the Tibetan people, both lamas and laymen. The Tibetan people had thus shaken off the fetters of the imperialist forces and returned to the big family of the motherland,

and began to take part in its construction together with the people of all fraternal nationalities.

After the signing of the seventeen-article agreement, the Chinese Communist Party and the People's Government adopted a series of energetic measures to help the Tibetan people in political, economic and cultural construction. Highways connecting all important areas of Tibet were built; hospitals which give the Tibetan people free medical treatment were established in various places; schools were set up for the children of the Tibetan people; factories, farms and ranches were set up to develop industry, agriculture and animal husbandry in Tibet; low-interest loans were granted to poor Tibetan people to help them promote production; state-run commercial establishments were set up to purchase Tibetan local produce at high prices, and supply at low prices the daily necessities the Tibetan people need such as tea, piece-goods, silks, sugar and tobacco in order to raise the Tibetan people's standards of living. In 1956, the Preparatory Committee for the Autonomous Region of Tibet was established to prepare for the realization of national regional autonomy. All these measures won hearty support from the masses of the people in Tibet.

However, the imperialists and the Tibetan upper strata reactionary clique were not willing to see Tibet return to the big family of the motherland. They plotted all along to scrap the seventeen-article agreement, and prepared for an armed rebellion. They had always in mind the plot to detach Tibet from the motherland and turn it into a colony of the imperialists. And the Indian expansionists inherited the shameful legacy of the British imperialists' aggression against Tibet. They encouraged the Tibetan reactionary clique to carry out their criminal

activities in betraying the motherland. In the past few years, the Central People's Government has accomplished scrupulously all that it should do in accordance with the agreement and has continuously shown maximum tolerance to the Tibetan local government (*kasha*) and waited patiently. But the Tibetan local government (*kasha*) not only has failed to observe and act on the stipulations of the seventeen-article agreement as they should, but on the contrary, priding themselves on the backing of the imperialists, the sympathy and support of the Indian expansionists and the arms airdropped by the Chiang Kai-shek gang, has become more and more arrogant and finally launched an all-out rebellion on March 10 this year in Lhasa.

The Tibetan reactionaries' rebellion is a fresh plot laid by the imperialists and foreign expansionists with the aim of invading Tibet. The ringleaders of the rebellion are still traitors like Lokongwa who have long been repudiated by the Tibetan people and the people of the motherland and fled abroad. The centre from where the rebellion was directed is located in Kalimpong. With the Tibetan people standing firmly with the people of all other nationalities in China and resolutely supporting the Central People's Government, the Chinese People's Liberation Army rapidly put down the rebellion. The course of history shows that all the conspiracies of the imperialists and foreign expansionists will be smashed, and the Tibetan people together with other nationalities of the motherland will, under the brilliant leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung, advance with bold strides, and swiftly transform themselves from a backward nationality with a system of serfdom into an advanced socialist one.

THE DARK, BACKWARD, CRUEL SERF SYSTEM IN TIBET

The darkest, most backward and cruel serf system in the world still exists in Tibet, a region of about 1.22 million square kilometres, a beautiful land, exceedingly rich in natural resources. The serf system consumes the blood and sweat of the Tibetan labouring people and impedes their economic and cultural development.

WHO OWNS THE LAND IN TIBET?

Tibetan society may be divided in the main into two big classes: the feudal lords and the serfs. At present, out of a population of 1.2 million people in Tibet the number of feudal lords and their government functionaries is less than 5 per cent, while the peasants account for 60 per cent, herdsmen 20 per cent, and lamas 15 per cent. There are, in addition, a small number of handicraftsmen and merchants. It is the feudal lords and their officers, less than 5 per cent of the total population, who control the chief means of production in Tibet — all the agricultural and non-agricultural lands including mountains, waterways, pastures, forests. Shackled by the serf system and exceedingly backward farming technique, the level of agricultural production in Tibet is extremely low, each person averaging only 150

catties of grain a year. Actually all the land in Tibet belongs either to the local government of Tibet, or the aristocracy, or the monasteries. Each of these three big landowners owns about a third of Tibet's land.

The Tibetan local government is not only the biggest feudal landlord in Tibet, but also the instrument of dictatorship of the serf-owners. It has political power and control of the army, both of which are to maintain the interest of the privileged class. It has land under its direct control which is called *zhungchi* or official manors. Besides, the Tibetan local government has power over the land of the aristocracy and of the monasteries either to confiscate it or grant it to others. The aristocracy also owns land which is called *gerichi*. The aristocracy of Tibet consists of about two or three hundred families of whom twenty or thirty have decisive political control of the Tibetan local government. Yuto, Shagob-ba, and Pala, who revolted against the motherland and fled to Kalimpong in India are among the wealthiest families of the aristocracy. Each family keeps a special band of men to take charge of its manors. All the monasteries in Tibet own land which is called *chhoechi*. The upperstrata lamas, besides owning private manors, have control over all the income derived from the land of the monasteries. Each monastery also keeps a special force to take charge of its manors.

SERFS, TILLERS OF THE SOIL, LEAD A MISERABLE LIFE

The tillers of the soil of Tibet are all serfs who are attached to the land. They do not have a single inch of land themselves. They can only till the land assigned to

them by the feudal lords. The serfs have to spend two thirds or even three quarters of their time to work on the land of their owners without compensation so as to enable the feudal lords to lead extravagant, parasitic lives. The amount of land assigned by the feudal lords to each serf household ranges from several *ko** to 40 *ko*. The amount seldom exceeds 60 *ko*.

The serfs fall into three strata — *chapa*, *tuichiung* and *langsheng*. The *chapas*, the highest strata, comprise about 45 per cent of the serfs in Tibet. They are given a piece of land to till by the feudal lords but have to do compulsory labour for the landowners on the one hand and for the Tibetan local government on the other. Over 70 per cent of the *chapas* live in poverty and an overwhelming majority of the remaining 30 per cent also live on their own labour. According to an investigation of Penang Dzong, only about 1.5 per cent of the *chapas* are somewhat similar to the sub-tenant landlords in interior China before the land reform. They either do not work at all or only take part in the auxiliary labour, but rent the land, which they have rented from the feudal lords, to serfs for cultivation.

The *tuichiungs* (those having no social position and considered as low-caste) are bankrupt and impoverished *chapas*, who have run away from the land. They account for 45 per cent of the serfs in Tibet. The amount of land they till is small and the cattle and farm implements they own are few. They are poorer than the *chapas* and their social position is also much lower.

**Ko* is a measure of weight varying from place to place. Generally speaking 1 *ko* is equal to about 27 pounds. Thus 1 *ko* of land would be a plot of land on which 27 pounds of seeds can be sown.

The *langshengs* are household servants who work for the feudal lords all their lives without pay and their children do not belong to them, but when they grow up must continue to serve their masters as their parents did. The *langshengs* are serfs who are in the lowest position in the Tibetan society of serfdom and their living conditions are the poorest of all. In fact their status is very close to slavery.

Serfs enjoy no freedom. If the feudal lords transfer their estates to other people, the serfs are also transferred to the new owner, together with the cattle and farm implements. If the serfs want to leave the land, they must get the "permission" of their owners. If they run away, they will be fined heavily and punished cruelly once they are caught. Rifles, leather whips and leather palms (a flat piece of leather the size of a palm, used for beating) are some of the instruments of torture used to subdue the serfs on the feudal estates. Serf-owners and their stewards enjoy the supreme power over the serfs whose lives are entirely at their mercy. They can whip and flog them, hack their noses and limbs, gouge out their eyes and even put them to death by slow torture. The serfs' children, as soon as they are born, are registered in a book and listed as future serfs.

All the comparatively larger flocks of livestock in Tibet belong to the feudal lords and the animals are tended by the serfs who are attached to the grazing areas and cannot leave at their own free will.

The serfs in Tibet, whether on the farms or in the grazing areas, are all leading miserable lives and, understandably, they have no enthusiasm for increased production. When they can no longer stand the suffering, their only alternative is to flee to other places at the risk of

great dangers. Therefore, large tracts of land throughout Tibet are left uncultivated each year.

The serfs who flee to other regions to offer their services to new feudal lords are known as *yenhohu* among the *tuichiungs*. They have no fixed compulsory service on the new estates. They render about ten days' *yenho* service every year for the landowner, and the rest of the time they can work as hired labourers. They enjoy only partial freedom for they can move about freely on condition that they pay the corvee tax. This partial freedom has been won by the serfs through struggle in the form of running away from their former masters.

FORMS OF FEUDAL LAND RENT IN TIBET

There are two different forms of land rent in Tibet. The main form is the labour rent. The other is a combination of labour rent, money rent and rent in kind. There are also a few cases where the rent is paid entirely in kind.

Labour rent weighs down like a huge rock on the labouring people, allowing them no possibility to get to their feet.

The feudal lords usually divide their land into two parts. They retain the best land which accounts for about 70 per cent of all their land, for their direct management. The rest is allotted to the serfs. All the farm work on the land directly run by the feudal lords is undertaken by these serfs without any compensation. As a rule any serf who has a family of four or tills about 10 *ko* of land must send a member of his family to work for his feudal lord all the year round. Apart from the

field work, the serf must cut grass, thresh and mill *chingko* (barley) and do other odd jobs for the feudal lord. The grain the feudal lords get usually comprises from 65 to 85 per cent of the total crops yielded from their land. Whenever the feudal lords want a certain work to be done, it is invariably assigned to their serfs. The serfs must work by rotation as household servants for their feudal lords, building houses, carrying grain and other things. All this is done without pay.

The serfs must also do unpaid labour service for the Tibetan local government. A considerable part of the land owned by the three kinds of big landowners is put entirely in the service of the local government. Such land is called *cha kang* land in Tibetan. (A *kang* ranges from 40 to 80 *ko* of land.) Any serf who has been given *cha kang* land must offer services and pay rent to the local government. One of the services is called *tukang*. It chiefly refers to transport, more familiarly known as *wula*. The serfs should offer free service of their own draught animals to carry all persons and goods with the certificates issued by the Tibetan local government; do construction work for the local government without pay; provide food, lodging and transport for travelling officials, messengers and army men of the Tibetan local government; and supply the Tibetan local government everything it needs, such as butter, *chingko*, firewood, fodder and paper. The maximum amount of *tukang* service to be performed by a family in a year is equivalent to the work that can be done by 500 persons and 400 animals in a day, in addition to the products and money that are required, the minimum amount requires a person working 200 days and an animal working 100 days, in addition to the necessary products and money. Another service is

called *makang* service, which means military service in lieu of land rent. Anyone who cultivates a *kang* of the *makang* land must send a certain number of his family to serve in the army and supply part of the food and clothing they needed.

Ordinarily land rent in kind amounts to a third of the income derived from land. (The ratio of crop division between the feudal lords and the serfs is sometimes fifty-fifty and sometimes forty-sixty.) The rent in kind paid by the serfs includes, besides farm products, the following: handicraft articles, such as the serge made from yak hair of which the serf has to hand to his lord a definite amount every year; *tsamba*, a kind of Tibetan food made of roast *chingko* (barley) mixed with tea and butter; and bags. Many of the serfs are handicraftsmen themselves. They have to pay rent in kind too. If, for example, they are potters they pay with pottery articles; if they are makers of wooden bowls they pay with wooden bowls.

Besides what has been said above there are money-lenders demanding usurious rates of interest. Corvee tax is sometimes also required of the serfs. All those things are a drain on the blood and sweat of the Tibetan working people.

The Tibetan local government, aristocracy, and monasteries all do business of lending money at usurious rates of interest. After liberation the rates of interest have been lowered, the interest charged by the former being 10 per cent and that by the latter two 16 to 20 per cent. In Tibet 80 or 90 per cent of the serfs are in debt. Owing to high and compound interests the serfs are often unable to pay their debts. Sometimes the amount of debt a serf owes his lord may rise to more than 10,000 *ko* (about 250 tons) of grain, and there are cases when debts

may remain unsettled for more than 100 years. The feudal lords often take advantage of the serfs' inability to pay their debts for generations to tie them to the soil.

Corvee tax differs in amount in various places. It also differs in accordance with the physical prowess and technical skill of the serfs. The amount of this tax ranges from 2 or 3 taels of silver a year to 8-10 taels. But in some cases it may be as high as 150 taels a year. A serf is obliged to pay this tax when he is 18 years old and is not free from the obligation until he is sixty.

THE HEAVY SHACKLES WILL SOON BE BROKEN

The "Resolution on Tibet" adopted on April 28, 1959 by the First Session of the Second National People's Congress pointed out: "The existing social system in Tibet is an extremely backward system of serfdom. The degree of cruelty which characterized the exploitation, oppression and persecution of the labouring people by the serf-owners can hardly be paralleled in any other part of the world. Even those who have repeatedly expressed 'sympathy' for the Tibetan rebels cannot explain why they are so enthusiastic in backing up such a backward system. The Tibetan people for a long time have firmly demanded the reform of their social system. Many open-minded people of the upper and middle social strata have also come to realize that without reform the Tibetan people will never get the chance to enjoy a prosperous life. With the putting down of the rebellion started by the reactionary elements of the former local government of Tibet who are opposed to reform, conditions have been provided for the smooth realization of the desire for re-

form of the broad mass of the Tibetan people. The Preparatory Committee for the Tibetan Autonomous Region should, in accordance with the Constitution, the aspirations of the broad mass of the Tibetan people and the social, economic and cultural characteristics of Tibet, carry out democratic reforms in Tibet step by step and free the Tibetan people from suffering so as to lay the foundations for the building of a prosperous, socialist new Tibet." The dark, backward, and cruel serf system which has been heavily pressed upon the Tibetan labouring people will be gradually changed, and the serfs will be emancipated. The people throughout our nation will be happy and delighted over their rebirth which they will soon achieve.

THE REBIRTH OF THE TIBETAN PEOPLE CANNOT BE HALTED

by **CHANG LU**

The armed rebellion in Tibet has met with ignominious defeat. Aimed at selling out the motherland and striking at the unification of China, this rebellion was launched by the reactionary clique of the upper social strata in Tibet and at the instigation of imperialism and the expansionist elements in India.

In the eight years since its peaceful liberation the people of Tibet, including the broad mass of working people and the patriotic and progressive elements of the upper and middle sections of Tibetan society, supported the agreement on the peaceful liberation of Tibet and upheld the unification of the motherland. But the reactionary clique of the upper social strata aided and abetted by the imperialists and the Indian expansionists were bent on tearing up the agreement and splitting the mother country. Thus there has been a constant struggle between the two forces, one seeking to preserve the unity of the motherland and the other to undermine it. The quelling of the rebellion proves that the former has won a great victory.

The agreement on peaceful liberation signed between the Central People's Government and the local government of Tibet in May 1951 upholds the unity of the

motherland and strengthens solidarity among the nationalities of China. Article I of the agreement stipulates: "The Tibetan people shall unite and drive out the imperialist aggressive forces from Tibet; the Tibetan people shall return to the big family of the motherland — the People's Republic of China." And Article II stipulates: "The local government of Tibet shall actively assist the People's Liberation Army to enter Tibet and consolidate the national defence."

The personnel sent by the central authorities to work in Tibet and the People's Liberation Army units stationed there have consistently observed the provisions of the agreement during the past eight years. They have done much to unite with the Tibetan people in manning the ramparts of our country and driving the forces of imperialism out of Tibet.

It may be recalled that in 1904, the British imperialists seized the prerogative of setting up trading posts at the towns of Yatung, Gyantse and Gartok in Tibet. They, and later the Indian Government, appointed officials, garrisoned troops, opened postal and telegraph services, built schools and hospitals in these three places and set up post-stages along the routes; furthermore, they enjoyed the right of extraterritoriality in Tibet. These special privileges were abrogated lock, stock and barrel after the conclusion of the negotiations held between the Central People's Government and the Government of the Republic of India in 1954. The various special privileges wrested from Tibet after the invasion by the Kingdom of Nepal, egged on by the British imperialists, were also abrogated in 1956 after negotiations between the Chinese and Nepalese Governments. The peaceful liberation of Tibet enabled the Tibetan people to put an end to nearly

a century of enslavement by the imperialists, it turned into a reality the unification of the motherland and secured the integrity of China's sovereignty.

Since its peaceful liberation, Tibet has made much progress in the development of its economy and culture. This was achieved with the assistance of the central government and with the support of the brother nationalities and in spite of all manner of obstruction by the reactionary clique of the upper social strata in Tibet. All this has further tightened the solidarity between the Tibetans and their brother nationalities and internal unity among the Tibetans themselves and has created favourable conditions for the Tibetan people to build a new life.

Nevertheless, the imperialists and the Indian expansionists did not give up their aggressive designs against Tibet. Nor did the reactionary clique of the Tibetan rebels, who had always worked hand in glove with the British imperialists and the Indian expansionists, take Tibet's peaceful liberation in good part. They conspired together to sabotage the agreement. For eight years the band of traitors, headed by Lokongwa Tsewongrouten, Surkong Wongching-Galei, Tsrijong Lozong-Yiehsi, Pala Thubtenwenten, Neusha Thubten-Tarpa, Tsipon Shagobba, Jialo Dundrub, Yuto Chahsidongchu, and Weisegelt-seng (Kundelinchasa), never ceased plotting against the motherland with the backing of the imperialists, especially the British imperialists, and the Indian expansionist elements.

In the winter of 1951 when the People's Liberation Army units were moving into Tibet, a number of reactionaries led by Lokongwa, the *sitzub* of the former local government of Tibet and head of the gang of traitors, and Thrijang Lozong Drashi, another *sitzub*, knocked to-

gether a so-called people's conference to oppose openly the agreement on peaceful liberation and clamour for the withdrawal of the People's Liberation Army from Tibet. The former local government of Tibet, after being seriously reprimanded by the central authorities, could not but proscribe this reactionary "people's conference" and removed Lokongwa and Thrijang Lozong Drashi from their posts. All the same, the reactionary activities of the imperialists and the Indian expansionists and the reactionary clique in Tibet to split the motherland went on unabated. At the end of 1956, while the Dalai Lama and Panchen Erdeni were on a visit to India to attend the celebrations of the 2,500th anniversary of the Buddha's entrance into Nirvana, they took advantage of the opportunity to try to abduct the Dalai Lama and prevent his return to Tibet. At the same time, they were hatching a rebellion in Lhasa.

The central authorities had knowledge of all these criminal activities all the time, but did not take a hand in dealing directly with the case. They held the former local government of Tibet responsible for putting an end to these activities and meting out due punishment and made it perfectly clear time and again that these rebels would not be called to account for past misdeeds if they saw their mistakes and made amends.

The former local government of Tibet and the reactionary clique of the upper social strata however were unmoved by this magnanimity on the part of the central authorities. Not only did they show no sign of repentance but they carried their criminal activities further. They brought outrageous pressure on a small number of people who had fallen under their influence in various places to go along with them; thus they expanded their

ranks. They held up and attacked motor convoys, wrecked highways, murdered cadres, killed and maimed people, and sniped at the People's Liberation Army. Their activities culminated in the all-out armed rebellion launched in Lhasa on March 10 this year, when they openly raised the slogan of "Independence for Tibet!" and "The Han People Must Get Out!" and abducted the Dalai Lama in their flight to India.

At this juncture the gang of traitors clustered round Kalimpong in India and who had long been carrying on criminal activities in league with imperialist agents and the Indian expansionists, became frantically active; they turned Kalimpong into a centre of activities to direct the rebellion. At the same time, the Indian expansionist elements left no stone unturned to interfere in China's internal affairs, with such cries as "Tibet is an independent country," "the relations between India and Tibet are like the relations between mother and son," the suppression of the rebellion by the Chinese Government was an "act of aggression," etc., etc. This chorus of the clique of Tibetan traitors and the Indian expansionists, this collaboration between people inside and outside Tibet, exposed the rebellion as being the handiwork of the imperialists and Indian expansionists from beginning to end. The rebellion instigated by them is of the same character as the armed rebellions instigated by the imperialists in Indonesia, Iraq and other nationalist countries with the aim of undermining national independence and the unification of these countries. If there exist "the relations between India and Tibet like the relations between mother and son," then the handful of Tibetan traitors who "look upon the robbers as their fathers" are indeed the flesh and blood of the Indian expansionists,

both of whom are descendants of the British imperialists. That the imperialists and Indian expansionists should cry their hearts out, as if they were bereft of their very parents, when the rebellion was suppressed in Tibet is therefore quite understandable.

It is said in the so-called "statement of the Dalai Lama" distributed by an Indian diplomatic official that "there has always been a strong desire for independence on the part of the Tibetan people," and that "at other times Tibet has functioned as an independent country." These fantastic remarks are a complete distortion of the historical facts. Ever since the thirteenth century the political and religious systems in Tibet, and even the titles, position and powers of the Dalai Lama were laid down by the courts in Peking. The enthronement of the Fourteenth Dalai Lama Dantzen-Jaltso in 1940 was sponsored by an official sent to Lhasa by the then central government. People throughout the world know that Tibet is an integral part of China and nobody can deny this fact. The so-called "Tibetan independence" of modern history has always arisen from the plots of the British imperialists to launch an aggression against China, and in the first place against Tibet. It is the cry raised by the British imperialists and their lackeys in Tibet. From the rostrum of the recent National People's Congress, the delegates Panchen Erdeni, Ngapo Ngawang-Jigme, Shirob Jaltso and Ngawang Jaltso have, on the basis of a wealth of historical facts, refuted in just and serious terms the fallacies aimed at severing Tibet from the great family of the motherland.

For nearly a century British imperialism has carried out wanton aggression against Tibet. It may be recalled that from 1886 to 1888, the British Army for the first

ranks. They held up and attacked motor convoys, wrecked highways, murdered cadres, killed and maimed people, and sniped at the People's Liberation Army. Their activities culminated in the all-out armed rebellion launched in Lhasa on March 10 this year, when they openly raised the slogan of "Independence for Tibet!" and "The Han People Must Get Out!" and abducted the Dalai Lama in their flight to India.

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time invaded the borders of Tibet and occupied Sikkim. In 1904, British imperialism launched another attack on Tibet, took Lhasa and acquired various privileges in Tibet from the effete Ching government. The resolute resistance of the Tibetan people, however, showed the British imperialists that armed aggression alone could not enslave the Tibetan people. After 1904, they resorted to more subtle means. In order to hoodwink the Tibetan people, divert their attention, and get them to oppose their motherland instead of imperialism, they now claimed to be helping to bring about "independence" for the Tibetans. To carry out this plot, British imperialism selected a group of traitors from among the big Tibetan serf-owners — men who were willing to seek personal gain at the expense of their own country and serve as willing claws of the tiger — and supported them in seizing power in Tibet. Thus, as early as the beginning of the 20th century the British imperialists have planted a group of agents in Tibet.

During the Second World War, U.S. imperialism tried to penetrate Tibet. Following 1947, the Indian expansionists inherited the British imperialist policy of interference and disruption in Tibet. Since then, the group of Tibetan lackeys trained for so many years by the British imperialists have become the servants of the trio of British and U.S. imperialism and Indian expansionists. This group represents, on the one hand, the interest of imperialism and the Indian expansionists and, on the other hand, that of the big serf-owners in Tibet. It is not fortuitous that they have become the faithful and willing lackeys of imperialism and the Indian expansionists. This is closely bound up with the interests of the counter-revolutionary classes who have so cruelly

exploited the Tibetan people. A study of the biographies of some of the ringleaders of the recent rebellion makes this very clear.

Surkong Wongching-Galei was a *kaloön* of the former local government of Tibet. Members of his family have been imperialist lackeys for generations. As a youth, he studied in the English school run by the British imperialists in Gyantse and received slavish education from the imperialists; in 1941 the local government of Tibet sent him to buy arms from the British imperialists. It was he and Lhalu, another *kaloön*, who murdered the Tibetan patriot Rabchen Hutuktu in 1947. He fled to India before the peaceful liberation of Tibet but returned to Tibet in 1952 to undermine the unity of the motherland, a task entrusted to him by the British imperialists and Indian expansionists. His father, once director of the "bureau of foreign affairs" before the peaceful liberation of Tibet, was also an agent trained by the British imperialists and had close ties with the Indian expansionists.

Surkong Lhawang Dorje, younger brother of Surkong Wongching-Galei, studied in the English school in Darjeeling, India, and received training at the British army camp in Gyantse. As a member of the "Tibetan trade mission" he went to the United States and Britain in 1947 and since the liberation of Tibet has lived in Kalimpong taking part in traitorous activities.

Thrijang Lozong-Drashi is generally known as the "Living Buddha Thrijang." He comes from the Tibetan aristocratic family of Kemad and is a big compradore as well, holding a large number of shares in the Himatsang Company, a compradore trading agency in Tibet. He is a trusted follower of the former *sitzub* Tagcha, faithful henchman of the imperialists. Before the peaceful

liberation of Tibet, he went to India to establish contacts with the imperialists and the Indian expansionists. Since the peaceful liberation he has persistently plotted against the motherland and has been one of the chief "advisers" of the traitorous clique in Tibet. In 1955 as he passed through areas inhabited by Tibetans in Szechuan Province on his return to Tibet from Peking in the company of the Dalai Lama, he incited the Khambas to launch a rebellion.

Pala Tudin Younding, an ecclesiastical official, was Dalai Lama's aide-de-camp in the former local government of Tibet. He has long been a lackey of the imperialists, a henchman of the former *sitzub* Tagcha. Before liberation, he established close contacts with the Indian army unit stationed in his home town of Gyantse. He was one of the plotters who in 1952 set up the bogus "people's conference," a counter-revolutionary organization. His brother Pala Darje Tsetan was trained in British military camp in Gyantse, was commander of Dalai Lama's guards regiment and was the keyman in the recent rebellion.

Yuto Chahsi-dongchu was an acting *kaloon* of the former local government of Tibet. While in India, he took military training under the British imperialists. In 1948, he bought arms and munitions from the British imperialists on behalf of the former local government of Tibet. In 1950, the local government of Tibet appointed him leader of a "goodwill mission" to Britain. After Tibet was liberated, he travelled between Kalimpong in India and Lhasa carrying on his traitorous activities.

Lokongwa Tsewongrouten was acting *sitzub* of Tibet before its peaceful liberation. He is a faithful agent trained by the British imperialists. After the peaceful

liberation, he zealously carried out the orders of the imperialists and the Indian expansionists, organized the bogus "people's conference," engaged in counter-revolutionary activities, and after his dismissal from his post, fled to Kalimpong, to become leader of the Tibetan traitors living in exile there. After the recent armed rebellion in Tibet broke out, he led a so-called "Tibetan delegation" to appeal to the Indian Government for help; they sent a representation to Prime Minister Nehru declaring with servile submission "to prostrate ourselves before you."

Tsipon Shagob-ba was an important official of the former local government of Tibet in charge of finance, personnel and training of lay officials throughout Tibet. A returned student from England, he is a loyal agent of the British imperialists. In 1948, the local government of Tibet appointed him leader of the "Tibetan trade mission" to contact the U.S. and British authorities and beg for "aid" from the United States. In 1950, he was again appointed leader of the "goodwill mission" which was preparing to go to the United States and Britain to ask for intervention by Britain, the United States, India and Nepal to prevent the People's Liberation Army from entering Tibet. Since the peaceful liberation of Tibet, he has lived in Kalimpong, engaging in traitorous activities in close association with Jialo Dundrub, Alochoitse and other reactionaries.

This group of traitors trained up by the British imperialists are political agents in Tibet of the imperialists and the Indian expansionists and at the same time big compradores of the foreign aggressors engaged in the economic plunder in Tibet. They monopolized the local and external trade of Tibet. Through them the imperial-

ists squeezed raw materials out of Tibet: wool, borax, hides, deer's antlers, musk and medicinal herbs, and dumped in surplus goods such as cotton piece-goods, knitwear, tobacco, sugar, hardware, etc. The result was that before liberation the Tibetan market was completely flooded with foreign goods.

These loyal agents of the foreign aggressors all come from the families of the big serf-owners in Tibet. Each of their households owned from 1,000 to over 10,000 serfs, from whom they squeezed rent from 2,000 to over 30,000 *ko* of grain each year (each *ko* is about 25 catties). To preserve this brutal and backward serf system in Tibet, they needed the backing of the imperialists, and the imperialists and Indian expansionists on their part, in order to enslave the Tibetan people and prevent their awakening, have done all they could to maintain the serf system in Tibet and perpetuate the brutal rule which this handful of traitors has imposed on the Tibetan people.

The serfdom of Tibet is more brutal, more obscurantist and more reactionary than the social system in Europe of the Middle Ages. Under this cruel evil system of exploitation, all land and other means of production in Tibet are owned by the nobles, monasteries and the local government. In Tibet, there are altogether between 200 and 300 households of nobles; over 20 of these are big serf-owners, while only seven or eight rank as the biggest serf-owners. Government-owned land may be distributed to the nobles and monasteries, and land owned by the nobles and monasteries may be given as gifts between them, used as alms and mortgaged, but it cannot be bought or sold. It is through ownership of these lands that the Tibetan serf-owners have imposed their vicious system of exploitation and oppression on the serfs of

Tibet. They allot their serfs a small portion of land so as to chain them more firmly to the land. Each year a serf has to give two-thirds or even three-quarters of his time to unpaid labour service on the land of his overlord. The overlord provides him with seed only, while draught oxen, farm tools and labour power must all be contributed by the serf. Spring sowing, summer cultivation, autumn harvesting and winter storing are all done by the serfs. When they work on the land of their overlords they have to provide their own food, and as a rule they work under the whips of stewards. They have no personal freedom. If they attempt to run away and are captured, heavy punishment is inflicted on them, they may have their eyes gouged out, their noses cut off or their hands and feet amputated. As soon as a child is born to a serf it is registered by the nobles as their property. To suppress the resistance of the serfs, the nobles have set up prisons with implements of torture on many of their estates. They may give serfs away to another as a gift together with their estates, or mortgage them, hand them over as alms or even may take them as part of a marriage dowry.

The serfs are liable to be drafted for heavy labour for the nobility, the monasteries and local government of Tibet. The serfs have to provide free lodging for passing officials of the local government, get them fresh mounts, make them offering of beef, mutton, buttered tea, garden peas or *tsamba* and, in addition, to send young women to wait on them. They are also responsible for the transport of food supplies for the army and other materials of the local government by contributing their own services and beasts of burden without pay. They must repair and build houses for the local government without remuneration. Besides these services to the local govern-

ment serfs belonging to the nobility and monasteries are also burdened with various odd jobs imposed on them by their masters such as repairing houses, bringing in rents in kind and other goods, carrying water, collecting or cutting firewood, tending horses and other household chores. Little time is thus left to them to work for themselves and much of their "own" land is thus left untended.

They are often driven into debt in order to survive. According to an investigation made in the four *dzong* (counties) of Longtang, Katse, Linchou and Pangto to the north of Lhasa, all 166 serf households in Pangto are in debt; in Linchou, 217 out of the 227 households are in debt; 185 of the 215 households in Katse are in debt; and 40 of the 50 households in Longtang are in debt. Roughly about 90 per cent of all serf households are in debt. Twelve owed a debt of over 10,000 *ko* of grain; 14 owed over 5,000 *ko*; 159 owed over 1,000 *ko*; 106 over 50 *ko* and 266 over 100 *ko*. These debts were inherited; some, it is said, ran back 120 years, or had been incurred in their grandfathers' time.

The former local government of Tibet represented the dictatorship of the serf-owners. The serfs are not allowed to take any part in politics; they are never allowed to remain seated in front of the nobility, nor to intermarry with members of the nobility; even the style of their dress is prescribed; they are not allowed to dress like the nobility, and cannot use certain expressions in conversation. In religious world, poor lamas coming from families of serfs or herdsmen are not allowed to take part in political life, and are oppressed and exploited by the upper ranks of the clergy.

Progressive mankind demands that serfdom with its cruelty and darkness must go. The only people who op-

pose this are the imperialists, the expansionists in India and the reactionary clique in Tibet who wish to perpetuate this serfdom. But this, of course, is a vain hope that runs counter to the laws of social development.

To carry out social reforms and take the socialist road is an inevitable trend in the social development of this country and the common aspirations of the peoples of all its nationalities. This is an historical law no one can change, although the time, steps and ways for such a social reform may not be the same because the concrete conditions of each nationality differ. As early as 1951, in the Agreement on Measures for the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet signed between the Central People's Government and the local government of Tibet, it was affirmed that social reforms should be carried out in the Tibet region. But, in the light of the actual conditions in various fields in Tibet, and in order to give the former local government of Tibet and the people of the upper social strata ample time for consideration, the Central Government was of the opinion that democratic reform in Tibet might be carried out at a later date, to be settled in a peaceful way through democratic negotiations between the people and the members of the upper social strata. In 1956, in the light of conditions in Tibet at that time, the Central Government again declared that social reforms might not be carried out in Tibet during the Second Five-Year Plan, that is, before 1962, and that whether reforms were to be carried out during the Third Five-Year Plan, would be decided according to the conditions then. The religious beliefs and sentiments of the Tibetan people are given the fullest consideration in accordance with the basic policy of the Party and the state with regard to religious be-

liefs. Since the peaceful liberation of Tibet the working personnel sent to Tibet by the central authorities and the People's Liberation Army units stationed in Tibet, guided by the Communist Party's Tibetan Working Committee, have consistently and resolutely carried out the agreement and the above-mentioned provisions of the central authorities. The serfdom in Tibet goes unchanged; officials of all levels, ecclesiastical and secular, remain in their original posts; the position and powers of the Dalai Lama are respected as before; monasteries are protected, irrespective of which sect they belong to. They receive the same income as they used to do and are free to proceed with their usual religious activities. All these are facts which cannot be glossed over. But the rebel clique in Tibet and the expansionists in India are hoping to hoodwink the people of the world by spreading such nonsenses as the claim that the rebellion was caused by the social reforms being carried out in Tibet by the Central Government. They just want to cover up the ugly face of the rebels who have betrayed their motherland and the interests of the Tibetan people, to cover up the despicable schemes of the expansionists in India to invade Tibet and interfere in China's internal affairs.

Contrary to the wishes of the imperialists, the expansionists in India and the rebel clique in Tibet, the rebellion of the reactionary elements in Tibet and its suppression have helped the unification of the motherland and brought a new life to the Tibetan people. They attempted, through armed rebellion, to block the way to the social reforms in Tibet, and to realization of democratic regional autonomy there. But, on the contrary, their rebellion has aroused the indignation of the mass

of the Tibetan people, and spurred the long pent-up desire for democratic reforms; more and more people of the middle and upper social strata too have come to realize the necessity of such reforms. The suppression of the rebellion, and the dissolution of the former reactionary local government of Tibet have also cleared the way for introducing democratic reforms in Tibet; this will lead to an early realization of democratic reforms in Tibet so that the mass of the Tibetan people may become the masters in their own house and really bring about democratic regional autonomy. Future democratic reforms in Tibet will be carried out step by step, in accordance with the wishes of the Tibetan people, with regard for the specific conditions there, and by appropriate means. In the course of and after the reform, proper arrangements will be made both for the political status and material livelihood of all members of the nobility and others of the middle and upper social strata who set store by the unification of the motherland, both the progressives who advocate reform and those middle-of-the-roaders who may agree to the reform after persuasion.

Tibetans are one of the nationalities in China with a long history. The Tibetan people, like other brother nationalities, have fulfilled their glorious duty in the course of building and developing our great motherland. It is the imperialist aggression and the shackles of serfdom which have impeded progress in Tibet and have plunged most Tibetans into a dark, hellish life. At the present time the days when the big serf-owners in Tibet can do what they like have gone for ever. A new era of rebirth for the Tibetan people and the time for them to shake off the shackles of serfdom has come. There is no doubt that once the Tibetan people are rid

of their many shackles, they will succeed in creating an earthly paradise on the Tibetan plateau. The Tibetan nationality, like other brother nationalities of our country, will become an advanced nationality with a prosperous economy, thriving culture and happy life. A brilliant future of boundless promise has unfolded before the Tibetan people. Patriotic and progressive people of Tibet! Unite and march towards the rosy future under the leadership of the Communist Party of China and the Central People's Government!

— From *Hongqi* (Red Flag), No. 9, 1959

IV

THE REVOLUTION IN TIBET AND NEHRU'S PHILOSOPHY

by The Editorial Department of
"Renmin Ribao" (People's Daily)

May 6, 1959

The war of rebellion unleashed by the handful of traitors in Tibet has in the main been quelled. With the ignominious defeat of the rebels, the sanguinary conflict they created has ended over the overwhelming portion of Tibet. Now Tibet faces a peaceful revolution, that is, the democratic reforms in Tibet referred to in the resolution of the National People's Congress and which the broad masses of people in Tibet have long expected and urgently demanded. This is a revolution—the continuation in Tibet of the great people's revolution which swept the Chinese mainland around 1949. Because of obstruction by the former Tibetan local government this revolution has all along been delayed in Tibet during the past 8 years since the peaceful liberation of Tibet. The revolution to be carried out following the putting down of the rebellion will be a peaceful one, that is to say, a revolution without bloodshed. The Tibetan people will pursue a policy of redemption towards those of the upper classes in Tibet who have not taken part in the rebellion—almost the same policy adopted in the Han areas towards the national bour-

geoisie. Ample conditions exist for the Tibetan people to do so, because they are backed up by China's hundreds of millions of people, who have already completed democratic reforms and the socialist transformation.

At present, public opinion in many countries of the world is talking quite a lot about the question of Tibet. This is an excellent thing. The more than 1,000,000 people living on the roof of the world, to whom no serious attention has ever been paid before, have every right to enjoy the honour of holding the attention of the whole world, and to be enlightened and steeled in the course of world-wide discussions. Some foreigners say that the rebellion of the handful of reactionaries in Tibet is a "revolution," a "nationalist," "anti-aggressive," "anti-colonialist" and "anti-imperialist" "revolution" and that these reactionaries are entitled to "full" and "inviolable" autonomy or "independence." On the other hand, they describe the putting down of the rebellion by the People's Liberation Army with the active support of the Tibetan people as "armed intervention," "aggression," "colonialism" and "imperialism," an action of "Hitler." Talking like this are the Western imperialists and the reactionaries of various countries, like Nobusuke Kishi, Syngman Rhee, Sarit Thanarat, Ngo Dinh Diem and Chiang Kai-shek in Asia (nevertheless Chiang Kai-shek does not favour independence for Tibet, but demands that Tibet pledge its allegiance to Taiwan). There are certain sections of the bourgeoisie in some capitalist countries, whose political attitude in general is different from that of the above-mentioned people, but who line up with imperialism on this question. Certain bourgeois elements in India are such an example. All the above-mentioned people are a minority in the world as well as in their own countries.

But they control considerable propaganda machines and appear to be kicking up quite a big fuss for the time being. A greater number of people in the world say that the rebellion in Tibet is reactionary and that putting down the rebellion is a just action. The people of the socialist countries unanimously support the Chinese people's struggle against the rebels. Even in the capitalist world, the majority are on the side of the Chinese people. They include the working people of all lands, people who stand for justice and progress, and those national bourgeois who are fighting foreign aggression and foreign intervention. These national bourgeois understand that approving foreign interference in Tibet would mean approving foreign interference in the internal affairs of Indonesia, Ceylon, Cambodia, Nepal, Iraq, Cuba and many other countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America, or approving encroachment on the sovereignty and territorial integrity of these countries. However, in some capitalist countries, this voice of righteousness for the time being does not sound so loud as the noisy clamour of those anti-Chinese propaganda machines. Some people feel sorry: Here we have the fine People's Republic of China; here we have the fine Sino-Indian friendship; would it not be better if there had been no rebellion in Tibet! These people are well-intentioned, but they fail to see that as the rebellion in Tibet broke out and was rapidly stamped out, a bad thing has been turned to good account. The revolution in Tibet has been accelerated by this rebellion and with the democratization of Tibet the history of foreign intervention in Tibet will finally come to an end. This is absolutely necessary for the true consolidation of Sino-Indian friendship. In short, not only the people of Tibet and of China as a whole should carefully examine

and draw lessons from these different opinions but the people of many capitalist countries, particularly those capitalist countries where there has been much ballyhoo on the Tibet question, will also examine them and draw the lessons they need.

Here we would like to talk about the statement made by Mr. Nehru in the Indian *Lok Sabha* on April 27. (*The Editorial Department's note: Since writing this commentary, we have read Prime Minister Nehru's May 4 speech in the Indian Rajya Sabha. The principal points contained in that speech did not go beyond the scope of his April 27 speech. Therefore, we have made no revisions or additions to our commentary.*) This was the 7th time since March 17 up to the end of April that Mr. Nehru had spoken on the question of Tibet in the Parliament. Mr. Nehru has on many occasions expressed his sympathy with the so-called "aspirations of the Tibetans for autonomy" and his opposition to what he called "armed intervention" by China. His statement of April 27 is somewhat more systematic. And its full text appeared in our paper on April 30. For the convenience of our readers, we here again quote certain passages from this statement which, to a very large extent, can be taken as a summing-up of his views on the rebellion in Tibet and on India's role:

The circumstances were undoubtedly difficult. On the one side there was a dynamic, rapidly moving society; on the other, a static, unchanging society fearful of what might be done to it in the name of reform. The distance between the two was great and there appeared to be hardly any meeting point. Meanwhile change in some forms inevitably came to Tibet. Com-

munications developed rapidly and the long isolation of Tibet was partly broken through. Though physical barriers were progressively removed, mental and emotional barriers increased. Apparently, the attempt to cross these mental and emotional barriers was either not made or did not succeed.

To say that a number of "upper strata reactionaries" in Tibet were solely responsible for this appears to be an extraordinary simplification of a complicated situation. Even according to the accounts received through Chinese sources, the revolt in Tibet was of considerable magnitude and the basis of it must have been a strong feeling of nationalism which affects not only the upper class people but others also. No doubt, vested interests joined it and sought to profit by it. The attempt to explain a situation by the use of rather worn-out words, phrases and slogans, is seldom helpful.

When the news of these unhappy developments came to India, there was immediately a strong and widespread reaction. The government did not bring about this reaction. Nor was this reaction essentially political. It was largely one of sympathy based on sentiment and humanitarian reasons. Also on a certain feeling of kinship with the Tibetan people derived from long-established religious and cultural contacts. It was an instinctive reaction. It is true that some people in India sought to profit by it by turning it in an undesirable direction. But the fact of that reaction of the Indian people was there. If that was the reaction here, one may well imagine the reaction among the Tibetans themselves. Probably this reaction is shared in other Buddhist countries of Asia. When there are such strong feelings, which are essentially not political,

they cannot be dealt with by political methods alone, much less by military methods. We have no desire whatever to interfere in Tibet; we have every desire to maintain the friendship between India and China; but at the same time we have every sympathy for the people of Tibet, and we are greatly distressed at their hapless plight. We hope still that the authorities of China, in their wisdom, will not use their great strength against the Tibetans but will win them to friendly co-operation in accordance with the assurances they have themselves given about the autonomy of the Tibet region. Above all, we hope that the present fighting and killing will cease.

Nehru did not explain what kind of society in Tibet he referred to as a "static, unchanging society fearful of what might be done to it in the name of reform." But this is precisely the starting point of the whole question. Our discussion must and can only begin here.

Tibetan society is a serf society based on manorial estates. In Tibet, the main means of production — all the land and most of the cattle belong to three kinds of feudal estate holders or serf-owners, namely, the official-dom (the feudal government), the monasteries and the nobles. These three kinds of serf-owners only account for approximately five per cent of the population, that is, about 60,000 of the 1,200,000 population of Tibet. All the peasants have no land of their own; most of the herdsmen have no cattle of their own. They can only toil for the serf-owners. Together with their children, they have for generation after generation belonged to different serf-owners. A part of the estate of the serf-owners is especially for service to the feudal government. The serfs

that are assigned to cultivate such land have to do various kinds of corvee for the feudal government. Military service is also borne by some of the serfs on such land. The rest of the estates are the so-called "self-managed land" of the serf-owners. On this kind of manorial land, the serfs have to cultivate all the land for the estate owners with their own draught animals and farm implements (sometimes also having to bring their own food), while the lords only allot a small piece of inferior land (about three-tenths of the land of the lords) to the serfs as payment. The serfs spend the great bulk of their time every year working on the land of the serf-owners, and also have to do all kinds of corvee for them. On the above-said two kinds of estates, more than 70 per cent of the income derived from the toil of the serfs goes into the pockets of the serf-owners through exploitation. It is generally difficult for the serfs to live on their incomes and, therefore, they are forced to borrow on usurious terms from the serf-owners. A great many serfs are unable to repay the debts they have incurred, and there are even some debts hundreds of years old. The serfs not only have no political rights, they do not even have ordinary freedom of movement. They must get permission from the lord of the manor for even a short term of absence.

The nobility in Tibet is hereditary. At present, there are two or three hundred noble families in Tibet, their positions vary according to the amount of their property. The big nobility make up around one-tenth of this number, or some twenty-odd families; they each own dozens of manorial estates and thousands of serfs. In the feudal government of Tibet, the power has always been in the hands of these big nobles. The distinctions of rank

between nobles and serfs are extremely rigorous. On seeing nobles, the serfs have to make themselves scarce or bow and stick out their tongues as an expression of awe. When they speak they have to follow a definite pattern of speech with no slips. The nobles torture at will on the serfs who run away and are recaptured or who are considered to have otherwise violated the law. Besides the commonest form, flogging, there are even such frightfully cruel tortures as gouging out the eyes, cutting off the nose and the hands, hamstringing and chopping off the knee-caps.

Monasteries occupy an important place in Tibet's social life. The proper religious activities of the monasteries and the people's freedom of religious belief must at all times be protected and respected. But up to the present all rulers of the monasteries in Tibet are at the same time serf-owners. The exploitation of the serfs by the monasteries through usury and trade is even harsher than that by the officialdom or the nobles. The monasteries have an additional kind of exploitation of the serfs carried out in the name of religion. Distinctions of rank in the monasteries are also strict. The poor lamas that come from serf families and the small lamas are also exploited in the monasteries. The monasteries also have various instruments of torture and prisons. They can punish the serfs and the lower ranking lamas at will. The cruelty of such punishment is not different from that imposed by other serf-owners.

Roughly speaking, the nobles and the monasteries each hold around 30 per cent of all the land in Tibet. The rest, approximately 40 per cent, belongs to the feudal government.

It is natural that, based on such a reactionary, dark, cruel and barbarous serf system, the political and religious hub in Tibet was a tiny collection of the biggest serf-owners. All kinds of shocking corruption and internal strife inevitably arise among these biggest serf-owners. Countless cases of murder and poisoning have occurred among part of the high-ranking power-wielding officials surrounding the Dalai Lama in their fight for power and gain. The Dalai Lama is by no means highly respected unconditionally by these people, as Nehru says. On the contrary, they often make the Dalai Lama their puppet, impose their opinions on him and even do him to death when they deem it necessary. For example, it is well-known that the 11th Dalai Lama met with sudden death in the Potala Palace in 1855 when he was only 18 years old. After that, in 1875, the 12th Dalai Lama also died a sudden death in the Potala Palace at the age of 20. After the British imperialists' invasion of Tibet, the upper strata reactionary rulers in Tibet resorted to even baser and crueller methods of squeezing out those not in their own gang. In 1923, the 9th Panchen Lama was forced to flee Tibet to the interior of the country for the rest of his life. In 1947, the Rabchen Hutuktu, regent for the Dalai Lama for 8 years, was arrested and strangled to death in prison. In the same year, the father of the present 14th Dalai Lama now in Mussoorie, was poisoned for his patriotic ideas by reactionaries who had connections with foreign countries in order to facilitate their control over the Dalai Lama. In 1950, Living Buddha Geda who worked for the peaceful liberation of Tibet was poisoned in Chamdo and his body was burned in order to destroy the evidence. All these notorious

crimes were committed by stooges of foreign interventionists within the Tibetan ruling clique.

This society was indeed static in the past. Not only was the economy depressed and the culture backward, but even the population was unable to increase. However, the system of this society was not in the least "moderate" or "humane." It was a thoroughly backward, reactionary, cruel and barbarous system!

May we ask all those vociferous self-styled sympathizers of the Tibetan people, just who are the "Tibetan people" you sympathize with? Whose autonomy or independence is the autonomy or "independence" of Tibet you propagandize? Whose defeat is the defeat of the rebellion in Tibet which you weep and mourn over? It seems that many of the so-called "sympathizers" are only usurping the name of the Tibetan people, the name of Tibetan autonomy and the name of humanitarianism. It is not the Tibetan people they sympathize with, but those who for generations have oppressed, exploited and butchered the Tibetan people, those chiefs of the cannibalistic system in Tibet. When the big serf-owners in Tibet gouged out the eyes and hearts of the serfs, these people who made sympathizing their special job did not feel it a tragedy and did not demand of these serf-owners moderation and humanitarianism. When these big serf-owners launched armed attacks on the People's Liberation Army stationed on the soil of their own country, when they used savage methods to butcher captured People's Liberation Army fighters and People's Government personnel, these sympathizers only cried "bravo," and blustered that these serf-owners would carry on a one hundred-year guerrilla war; they did not demand of them moderation and humanitarianism. Only when the People's Liberation

Army went over from the defensive to the offensive against those beasts who persisted in rebellion, that is to say, only when this cruelest and most savage serfdom in the world finally met with crisis as a result of the defeat of the rebellion of the armed bandits, only then did all the hue and cry of "tragedy," "sympathy," "humanitarianism," "autonomy" and "independence" flood forth like a torrent bursting through the sluice-gates. From this it can be seen that except for some who are under misapprehension, those who uttered such cries are precisely the defenders of the most reactionary serfdom and the most barbarous big serf-owners, precisely the enemies of the freedom and liberation of the Tibetan people. And it is precisely for this reason that this counter-revolutionary "holy alliance" of the Metternich type has bound together the U.S. State Department, British colonialists, Syngman Rhee of South Korea, Ngo Dinh Diem of South Vietnam, Chiang Kai-shek of China and India's reactionary parties — the Praja Socialist Party and the Jan Sangh Party. There is nothing strange about all this.

What surprises us is that the Indian Prime Minister Mr. Nehru, on the one hand, obviously has major contradictions with many disreputable characters in that alliance and understands their plots and tricks detrimental to India, to Sino-Indian friendship and to Nehru himself; on the other hand, he has involuntarily been pushed by that alliance into an important role in their so-called sympathy-with-Tibet movement, enabling them to look on with glee like someone watching tigers fight from a hill top. We feel greatly distressed at being forced now to argue with Mr. Nehru in our comment. Mr. Nehru, the respected Prime Minister of our friendly

neighbour — India, is one of the statesmen who enjoy prestige in the world. So far as China is concerned, we cannot forget, in particular, that he is a friend of China and an opponent of the imperialist policy of war and aggression. Furthermore, he has also made a number of enlightened statements on social progress. For instance, in his *Autobiography* written in prison between 1934 and 1935, although he showed many misconceptions and prejudices towards communism (he admits himself to be “a typical bourgeois,” “with all the prejudices” fostered in bourgeois surroundings), he admitted, nevertheless, that owing to the application of scientific methods in the study of past history and current events, “the most revealing and keen analysis of the changes that are taking place in the world today come from Marxist writers.” He also wrote: “Economic interests shape the political views of groups and classes. Neither reason nor moral considerations override these interests. Individuals may be converted, they may surrender their special privileges, although this is rare enough, but classes and groups do not do so. The attempt to convert a governing and privileged class into forsaking power and giving up its unjust privileges has therefore always so far failed, and there seems to be no reason whatever to hold that it will succeed in the future.” Nehru put it quite right here. But what a different tune he was piping in his statement on April 27, 1959! Either he has completely cast away the views he once expressed, or else he really did not understand the scientific Marxist methods which he had thought he understood. Now he blames us for not having been able to convert the privileged ruling class in Tibet into forsaking power and giving up its privileges, and tries to write off at one stroke the class analysis of Tibetan society as “worn-out

words, phrases and slogans.” Moreover, he described the two extremely antagonistic classes of serfs and serf-owners as a single society “fearful of what might be done to it in the name of reform.” Of course, we find it impossible to agree with this attempt of Nehru’s. The class antagonism in Tibetan society is a living fact. It is by no means a matter of words, phrases or slogans, to say nothing of being worn-out. Reforms naturally call for action, and they should naturally be in the interests of the overwhelming majority who demand reforms and detrimental only to the tiny minority who stubbornly oppose reforms. As the situation stands in Tibet, reforms should benefit first of all the 1,140,000 people who account for 95 per cent of the population. As for the 60,000 who make up the other 5 per cent of the population, the situation with them also varies. Only a tiny minority of them resolutely oppose reform, to the extent of launching a rebellion and refusing to repent to the last. As we have said, the majority of the 20,000 or so rebels are labouring people, who have been coerced or hoodwinked into joining the rebellion, as is the case with all counter-revolutionary armies. If the Khambas who account for about one-third of the rebels are subtracted, the Tibetans who took part in the rebellion were only a little over one per cent of the 1,200,000 population of Tibet. To think that the entire upper class in Tibet rebelled is not correct. Furthermore, among these 60,000 there is quite a section of enlightened persons who approve of reforms. Therefore, it is necessary to differentiate among the members of the upper class too, and to give them appropriate treatment accordingly; we have always adhered to this policy. To say that all those in the varying circumstances we mentioned above have the

same fear of reform and the same mental and emotional barriers to reform does not accord with the facts. As for the overwhelming majority who demand reforms, why should they be fearful of reforms and have mental and emotional barriers?

In discussing Tibetan society, although Nehru does not oppose reforms and does not deny the part vested interests played in the rebellion, still on the whole he not only fails to touch on its extremely cruel system of exploitation, but virtually lumps together the vast majority of the exploited with the tiny minority of the exploiters. On this basis, he denies that a handful of upper strata reactionaries are responsible for the rebellion in Tibet, describes the just action of the Chinese people in putting down the rebellion as a "tragedy" and expresses sympathy for the rebellion. Thus, he commits a most deplorable error. As friends of India and as the people whose affairs Nehru is discussing, we deem it necessary to point out this error. If one agrees with Nehru's logic, not only the revolution in Tibet, but the whole Chinese revolution would be impermissible. It will be recalled that before liberation the area of China inhabited by the Han nationality had basically not emerged from the orbit of feudal society, although it was not serfdom. It, too, had always been called a static, unchanging, isolated society. Some people also sneered at us for proceeding from a worn-out, outdated, and extremely simplified imported ideology — Marxism-Leninism, which was said to be entirely unsuited to specific Chinese conditions. They asserted that our reform movement would meet with resistance from the entire society, the whole nation. They even declared that we split the nation, betrayed the motherland, and that

we were agents of so-called "Red imperialism" acting on orders from Moscow, and so on and so forth. Now, history has rendered its verdict: It is we who are right, not they. All the attacks and slanders against the Communists have gone completely bankrupt. Under the leadership of the proletariat, China, once static and unchanging, has all of a sudden become a China full of vitality and moving swiftly forward—a proof that Marxist-Leninist analysis is applicable anywhere on earth. The static state of the past was merely due to the fact that the development of the forces of production was shackled by the backward relations of production. Marxist-Leninists and Communists truly represent the interests of the nation and the motherland, while the handful of anti-Communist elements who claimed to represent the interests of the whole nation proved indeed to be agents of imperialism, although they temporarily hoodwinked a section of the masses. We believe that Prime Minister Nehru is not likely to oppose this conclusion from Chinese history. But according to Nehru's logic on the Tibet question, if his sympathy were not simply confined to the "Tibetan people" but extended to the whole of the "Chinese people," then the whole Chinese revolution would become a many times more distressing and unprecedentedly great "tragedy." During the period of the Chinese people's liberation war, Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang and the Kuomintang troops greatly outnumbered the 20,000 Tibetan rebel bandits, there were many more "reasons" to say they were not merely "upper strata reactionaries," and the war was on a much bigger scale. In a word, it should have warranted much stronger "sympathy." Yet, so far as we know, when Prime Minister Nehru sympathized

with the whole of China he did not sympathize with the “big serf-owners” of the Han people; nevertheless, when he sympathizes with Tibet which is a part of China, his sympathy goes to the “little Chiang Kai-sheks” in Tibet. How is this most glaring contradiction to be accounted for?

Perhaps Mr. Nehru will say that we are not doing him justice, because what he said was limited to Tibet and the Tibetans are different from the Hans. This is to say, the Han people, in leading the revolution among the Tibetan people, would inevitably meet with national barriers. The Tibetans are different from the Hans — that’s perfectly true. And that is not all: the Mongolians, Uighurs, Chuangs, Huis, Miaos, Koreans and many other minority nationalities of China are all different from the Hans. The Chinese Communists and the Chinese Government are confronted with the question of minority nationalities in the country. We have approached this question with extreme caution. For nearly ten years we have trained up indigenous cadres among the various national minorities, and have seriously carried out education against Han chauvinism among the Han people, especially among the Han cadres, the Han members of the Communist Party and the Han officers and men of the People’s Liberation Army. We adopted a method unprecedented in the capitalist world: We persuaded the Han people in multi-national areas where they were in the majority to establish minority nationality autonomous regions. The Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region, the Kwangsi Chuang Autonomous Region, the Ningsia Hui Autonomous Region and the autonomous *chou* and autonomous counties were established in this way. In Tibet, we displayed especially great patience in order to win the co-operation of Tibetan upper strata elements. For

eight long years since the peaceful liberation of Tibet we maintained intact the former Tibetan local government, its complete system, its army and even its currency and persuaded the people of Tibet not to carry out for the time being the reforms they urgently demand. If the Central People's Government had not given the former Tibetan local government any right of autonomy as alleged in the so-called statement of the Dalai Lama, then those reactionaries, whose treason had been established would have been arrested and punished long ago and the democratic reforms in Tibet would not have been put off up to the present. The Central People's Government adopted such an attitude of extreme magnanimity towards the reactionaries that even after the outbreak of the rebellion in Lhasa, and after learning that the Dalai Lama had been abducted from Lhasa, the troops of the Tibet Military Area Command of the People's Liberation Army did not start the counter-attack until seven hours after the rebel bandits had launched a direct armed attack on the Military Area Command headquarters. Quite clearly, by then the reactionaries had blocked all roads to peaceful settlement, and the only possible recourse left open was resolutely to launch a punitive expedition and put down the rebellion. Since the People's Liberation Army had the strength quickly to put down the rebellion in the Lhasa area, if it had chosen to make the first move, it could certainly have surrounded the Norbu Lingka in good time and prevented the rebel bandits from abducting the Dalai Lama. Any sensible person need only think for a moment and he will understand this, and will pay no attention to the fairy-tales about two or three mortar shells fired in the direction of the palace and falling in a nearby pond. The policy adhered to

by the Central People's Government and the People's Liberation Army from beginning to end not to fire the first shot in the face of such a serious situation precisely shows that the Communists have always dealt very carefully with the question of nationalities, and in particular have exerted the maximum efforts to win over the upper strata elements in Tibet. Such a policy can only be carried out in earnest by the revolutionary proletariat. The bourgeoisie or other exploiting classes could never carry it out, even if they wanted to.

Here, in the relations between nationalities, the fundamental key point is still the method of class analysis. Mr. Nehru hopes that we "will win them to friendly co-operation." No doubt this is a good idea, though it was meant by Mr. Nehru as an indirect charge that we have not done so and are not doing so. In point of fact, only the revolutionary proletariat can find a thorough and correct solution to the national question inherited from the past. Disputes and barriers between nationalities are in the main created by the exploiting classes and can never be eliminated by them. But under the correct leadership of the revolutionary proletariat, it is entirely possible for the working people of different nationalities to eliminate, through certain efforts, all the disputes and barriers left over from the past and enter into a cordial, fraternal friendship. Chinese history has witnessed long-standing national oppression and national strife. Mongolian and Manchu rulers once oppressed the Hans, Uighurs and Tibetans. Han rulers, too, oppressed the Mongols, Manchus, Uighurs and Tibetans. This state of affairs has been radically changed since the founding of the Chinese People's Republic led by the proletariat. The Hans, who form the overwhelming

majority of the population and the main revolutionary force, now still have to send personnel to Inner Mongolia, Sinkiang and Tibet. They no longer go there to oppress and exploit the national minorities, but rather, together with the revolutionary cadres of the local nationalities, to help the working people there to win freedom and liberation from the oppressors and exploiters of their own nationalities and to achieve democracy and socialism, that is, to lay the foundation for the flourishing economy and culture of the national minorities. The communist personnel of the Han nationality who work in those areas, including the Han officers and men of the People's Liberation Army, do not ride on the backs of the people of the national minorities there and lord it over them; on the contrary, they go there to work, together with the revolutionary cadres of the local nationalities, as the servants of the people of the national minorities. They share the weals and woes of the labouring people of the national minorities and fight for their rights and happiness in disregard of difficulties and perils. Thus, the working people of the national minorities and those upper and middle strata elements of the national minorities who are patriotic and favour reforms, have united with the working people of the Han nationality and overthrown, as the Han people did, the reactionary rule of the upper strata reactionaries of their own nationalities. Thus, the sources of national disputes and barriers disappeared and friendly co-operation among different nationalities was placed on a really solid foundation. This is the process which has been carried out in Inner Mongolia, in Sinkiang, in Ning-sia, Kansu and Chinghai of the northwest and in Szechuan, Kweichow, Yunnan and Kwangsi of the south-

west. In the course of this process, the personnel who lead the reforms make every effort to unite with people of various strata among the national minorities who approve of reforms, and maintain close co-operation with them before, during and after the reforms. True, it would be impossible not to have struggles, and armed rebellions occurred in the Tibetan-inhabited areas in Szechuan, Kansu and Chinghai. But, as we have pointed out elsewhere, the rebellions in these Tibetan-inhabited areas were directed and instigated precisely by the reactionaries in Tibet, taking advantage of their special position.

In Tibet, where the rule of the big serf-owners had not been changed in the course of the peaceful liberation, it was still possible for them to utilize their legal position to direct the old Tibetan army and the Khamba rebels and other reactionary political organs which defended the system of serfdom and continue to collude with some foreign interventionists. It is for this reason that reforms have not been carried out there and it was even possible to launch this rebellion. But in spite of all this, the Tibetan people have time and again eagerly demanded reforms since the entry of the People's Liberation Army troops into Tibet. The long-suffering Tibetan people were not afraid of reforms; they were fearful lest the Central People's Government delay reforms year after year by being too accommodating to the big serf-owners of Tibet! Messrs. Humanitarians of the world should know that the serfs in Tibet are also human beings. It is impossible to make them believe that the monsters who brutally exploit them, flog them and gouge out their eyes are their protectors. Nor is it possible to make them believe that the People's Liberation Army men who warm-heartedly and amiably help them in their

labours and treat their diseases, who do not take from them so much as a needle or a piece of thread are their enemies. There lies the fundamental reason why the rebellion was entirely without support from the Tibetan people and was utterly routed in the twinkling of an eye, in spite of the national and religious signboards held up by the rebels, the difficult terrain with high mountains and precipitous valleys and the many different kinds of foreign aid they got. In putting down the rebellion, the People's Liberation Army confiscated the official seals of the feudal government, the arms of the rebel bandits and the court whips — serf-owners' instruments of torture. The Tibetan people everywhere greeted this with the joy of hailing rain after a long drought. How they have suffered under the oppression of these three things! They volunteered to serve as guides for the People's Liberation Army troops, and of their own accord supplied them with information about the bandits, and helped them to round up remnant rebels and to search for arms. The People's Court in Lhasa alone has received hundreds of rifles collected and turned in by the people on their own initiative. In many villages of the Loka area, the people gathered together as soon as they learned that the People's Liberation Army men were coming, to present them with *hata* (ceremonial scarves), to bring them crimson peach blossoms and fresh willow wands and at the same time pouring out to them bitter tales of rape, plunder, murder and arson by the rebel bandits and asking the People's Liberation Army to avenge them. At Kung Ke-tsong, the rebels had dug four ditches across the highway in an attempt to prevent the advance of the People's Liberation Army. But as soon as the rebels were gone, the local inhabitants filled the ditches up. When the People's Liberation Army

troops arrived at Lintze, the local inhabitants immediately organized a pack animal caravan of their own accord to help them carry ammunition and rations and move on with them as they mopped up the remnant bandits. Such moving examples are endless. When the rebellion was put down, the broad masses of people very quickly assisted the People's Government to restore order and, with the assistance of the People's Government, quickly went back to production. Spring ploughing in the Loka area, though delayed for half a month by the harassment of the rebel bandits, was finished with the assistance of the People's Liberation Army troops without delaying the sowing. Large numbers of people there are now taking manure to the fields, sowing and repairing irrigation canals and ditches. They are singing songs of joy which they had ceased to sing for a long time. The peasants are everywhere asking when the land will be distributed. After it was announced, in response to popular request, that whoever sowed could reap the crop this year on the land formerly belonging to the chief rebels, the serfs of the big serf-owner Surkong Wongching-Galei, one of the chief culprits in abducting the Dalai Lama, at Kai-shuhsika immediately of their own accord organized the entire labour power into mutual-aid teams to cultivate all the land jointly to strive for a bumper harvest. It is very clear that the Tibetan peasants are confident that the day is fast approaching when they will stand on their feet and be their own masters on Tibetan soil. Excuse us for being so lengthy here. . . . However, let all well-intentioned people who care about Tibet see for themselves how different all this is from the picture that met the old-type Chinese armies that entered Tibet from the Ching dynasty on! What a sharp contrast it pre-

sents to the picture met with by the British aggressive forces storming Lhasa from India! Therefore, how can one depict the just action of the People's Liberation Army, together with the Tibetan people, in suppressing the rebel bandits who committed murder, arson and all other evils as national oppression and national aggression?

Mr. Nehru asserts that there appeared to be hardly any meeting point between the Han and Tibetan societies and that the attempt to break down the mutual mental and emotional barriers was either not made or did not succeed. So far as the Tibetan working people are concerned, this question has been answered by the facts and will be answered in greater quantity and more vividly in the future. Even for the people of the upper strata in Tibet, the mental and emotional barriers have undergone varying degrees of change for many of them. The three letters to General Tan Kuan-san written by the Dalai Lama secretly and entirely on his own volition when he was held under duress and the speeches of Panchen Erdeni, Ngapo Ngawang-Jigme, Shirob Jaltso, Ngawang Jaltso and Lozong Tsewang at the National People's Congress furnished a part of the obvious evidence in this respect. Standing on the side of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibetan Autonomous Region are many patriotic members of the upper and middle social strata in Tibet. Lhasa's middle and primary school pupils, a large number of whom are from families of upper and middle social strata, went back to class as soon as the rebellion was quelled, and their number now is much greater than before the rebellion. It can thus be seen that there is no ground to call the rebellion a national "revolution" and to describe the putting down of the rebellion as a national "tragedy."

It is possible that some Indian friends who bear China no ill-will misunderstood, for a time, China's position and policy, owing to the long-time influence of biased propaganda, and to the fact that they have not seen the true conditions of life in Tibetan society and the activities of the People's Liberation Army first-hand, while their newspapers rarely publish full Chinese data. However, facts speak louder than eloquence and the truth will prevail in the end. We are fully confident that those Indian friends who labour under misapprehensions for the time being and who still hesitate to believe what we are saying now will ultimately arrive at an objective conclusion. We hope that Mr. Nehru will be one of them. Of course, Mr. Nehru has great confidence in himself, and he has his own set of independent views on the question of Tibet. He is inclined to assume that the powerful group in the former local government of Tibet are a flock of milk-white lambs. So even after they had attacked us, he still held that we were to blame. We cannot demand that our foreign friends must see the Chinese scene the way we do, much less can we demand that Mr. Nehru change his philosophical, historical and political viewpoints. Obviously, there exist contradictions in Mr. Nehru's thinking. But we do not propose to discuss how these contradictions are to be resolved. On such matters, we could engage in a friendly debate, or we need not debate at all. Both our households have plenty to do. We are busy enough minding our own business, and why should either of us poke his nose into the other's business? When Mr. Nehru was in Peking, he said with good reason: "Any attempt to impose the will of one nation on another or the ways of life of one people on another must necessarily produce conflict and endanger peace." However, the point now

is that a group of Indians, unfortunately including Mr. Nehru, insist that we do things according to their opinions. We are very good friends and neighbours and can easily live in peace with each going his own way. If your way of doing things yields good results in India, it will not be too late for us to learn from you. Where, indeed, is the need for this urgency, not even scrupling to resort to certain acts of interference which impair friendship? We have thought it over and over again and are still unable to figure out why.

Prime Minister Nehru denies that India has interfered in Tibet. He recalls the course of events before and after India's independence and partition to show that India has never had "political or ulterior ambitions" in Tibet. We acknowledge that Nehru's remarks conform with reality in the sense that the Indian Government has no desire to annex Tibet or send its armed forces to intervene in Tibetan affairs. India has all along recognized Tibet as a part of China and that the Chinese Government enjoys sovereignty over Tibet. India concluded with China in April 1954 the Agreement on Trade and Intercourse Between the Tibet Region of China and India based on the Five Principles, and later withdrew its troops from Tibet and handed over its post and telegraph installations. The Chinese people view all this with satisfaction. However, interference by one country in the internal affairs of another may take diverse forms. To say that the Indian Government has not interfered in China's Tibet in any way in the past and at present is not convincing.

It may be recalled, as this newspaper reported, that the Indian Government intervened through diplomatic channels in October 1950 when the Chinese Government

ordered its troops to enter Tibet. At that time, the Chinese Government, while ordering its troops to enter Tibet, asked the local government of Tibet to send its representatives to Peking for negotiations. This was exclusively an internal affair under Chinese sovereignty. The Indian Government, however, delivered three notes to the Chinese Government, on October 21, October 28 and November 1, 1950, declaring that "the invasion by Chinese troops of Tibet cannot but be regarded as deplorable" and with "no justification whatever" and that the Indian Government deemed it "most surprising and regrettable." It was further alleged in these notes that Chinese troops' entry into their own territory of Tibet "will give those countries in the world which are unfriendly to China a handle for anti-Chinese propaganda at a crucial and delicate juncture in international affairs"; that on the question of restoring Chinese representation in the United Nations, it "will have serious consequences and will give powerful support to those who are opposed to the admission of the People's Government to the United Nations and the Security Council"; that it "may prejudice the position of China in the eyes of the world," while the "peaceful negotiations (between the Central People's Government and the local government of Tibet) can hardly be synchronized with it"; that it will not be "in the interests of China or of peace," has "greatly added to the tensions of the world and to a drift toward general war," and has "affected these friendly relations (between India and China) and the interests of peace all over the world." In this regard, the Chinese Government in its reply notes to the Indian Government pointed out that in entering Tibet, the People's Liberation Army was exercising the nation's sovereign rights, that the Tibet question was

China's internal affair, and that no foreign interference was to be tolerated. This had nothing whatever to do with the Chinese People's Republic's right of representation in the United Nations. If those countries which were unfriendly to China went so far as to exploit the question of representation in the United Nations for the purpose of threatening China against its exercising of sovereign rights on its own territory, that would only confirm once again their hostility towards China. Only after the Chinese Government had repeatedly made known this solemn attitude in resolute terms, and especially after the People's Liberation Army had scored an important victory in the Chamdo area, wiping out the main forces of the Tibetan army which attempted to bar its advance into Tibet, only then did the delegation of the local government of Tibet which remained in India arrive in Peking for negotiations in the latter part of April 1951. After negotiations, the seventeen-article Agreement on the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet was finally concluded in May of the same year.

It may not be pleasant to recall this episode. However, facts are facts. How can it be said that the Indian Government has never interfered in Tibet?

Unfortunately, such interference still continues in certain forms. Such interference is all the more regrettable since it has taken place after the Chinese and Indian Governments jointly declared that relations between their two countries should be guided by the Five Principles of peaceful co-existence. Take Prime Minister Nehru himself for example. In his statements and remarks made since the rebellion in Tibet there are not a few friendly indications, but there are some utterances which, we feel, cannot be said to be conformable to the

Five Principles of peaceful co-existence. For instance, he said: "The agreement between Tibet and China on the autonomous status of Tibet and the assurances given to India had not been kept by Peking. Armed intervention was taking place there" (April 13); "I do earnestly hope that the Tibetan people will be able to maintain and be able to enjoy their autonomy and not be oppressed and suppressed by others" (April 14). It may be asked, to describe China's putting down a rebellion in its own territory as "armed intervention," as "oppressing and suppressing" their "autonomy," and to say that "the assurances given to India" have not been kept — how can it be said that all this is not interference? The Indian Government insists that the Dalai Lama is not held under duress by the rebels but is the head of the rebels. If this is so, did not the impressive welcome extended to the Dalai Lama by the Indian Government and the visit to Mussoorie by Prime Minister Nehru himself mean giving a welcome to and holding a meeting with the leader of a rebellion in a friendly country? Because the Indian Government has never pursued a clear-cut policy of non-interference, it is quite understandable why both Madame Indira Gandhi, President of the ruling National Congress Party, and Madame Sucheta Kripalani, General-Secretary of the Party, have declared that Tibet was a "country" or an "autonomous country," and why the "People's Committee in Support of Tibet" which was formed by most of the political parties in India including the National Congress Party openly demanded that the Tibet question be submitted to the United Nations, and why Indian papers openly slandered the Chinese Government as "practising banditry and imperialism," insulted China's head of state as an "abominable snow-

man” and demanded the convening of a so-called tripartite conference of India, Tibet and China on the pattern of the Simla Conference to settle the Tibet question, which is purely China’s internal affair. After the outbreak of the rebellion in Tibet and even before, certain political figures and papers in India launched a smear campaign against China of a scope reminiscent of the intervention of U.S. political and press circles in the execution of counter-revolutionary criminals in Cuba. We must ask, applying such political pressure to the internal affairs of a friendly country — can this be considered conformable to the Five Principles?

Prime Minister Nehru says that the Indian reaction on the question of Tibet is essentially not political but instinctive, largely one of sympathy based on sentiment and humanitarian reasons, also on a feeling of kinship derived from long-established religious and cultural contacts with the Tibetan people. We understand that the Indian people have a feeling of kinship for the people of China’s Tibet. Not only that, the Indian people have a feeling of kinship for the whole of the Chinese people. When Premier Chou En-lai visited India, the ardent slogan “Indians and Chinese are brothers” was heard everywhere, and these scenes and sentiments seem like a matter of only yesterday. But how can feelings towards the people in Tibet be used by certain political figures as a pretext for impairing feelings towards the Chinese people and for interference in China’s internal affairs? This kind of logic is fraught with obvious dangers, because if such logic can stand, then when Tibet has taken the road of democracy and socialism, the road of strength and prosperity, could not a “people’s committee to support Assam” and a “committee for Uttar Pradesh affairs” be

set up to interfere in the affairs of India's state of Assam or Uttar Pradesh under the pretext of ancient religious and cultural links? Could not the Government of the Autonomous Region of Tibet or the Government of China as a whole declare deep sympathy with the people of Assam or Uttar Pradesh as a basic policy and in pursuance of such a policy find fault with this and that in the affairs of these states? If the Indian Government can demand certain assurances from the Chinese Government on the grounds of deep sympathy and ancient links with the Tibetan people, could it not on the grounds of deep sympathy and ancient links with all the people of China make the outright demand for certain assurances from the Chinese Government as regards all its internal affairs? Similarly, could not the Chinese Government, also on the grounds of deep sympathy and ancient links with the Indian people, demand certain assurances from the Indian Government as regards its internal affairs? Where would peaceful co-existence and the Five Principles be? Would not the world sink into the chaos of mutual interference? We believe that our friends in India would no more welcome or tolerate such an international order than we do.

When India's interference in China's Tibet on these two occasions is taken into account, it is not difficult to see that although the Indian Government has no desire to occupy Tibet or make Tibet formally independent, it really strives to prevent China from exercising full sovereignty over its own territory of Tibet. In this respect certain political figures in India have followed the tradition of the British Government of the past — they only recognize China's "suzerainty" over Tibet, like India's "suzerainty" over Bhutan and Sikkim. What they call "autonomy" for Tibet is different from national

regional autonomy as laid down in clear terms in the Constitution of China, different from the national regional autonomy practised in Inner Mongolia, Sinkiang, Kwangsi and Ningsia; rather is it a kind of semi-independent status. True, Tibet is not a province but an autonomous region of the People's Republic of China, with greater powers and functions than a province as laid down in the Constitution and by law; but it is definitely no protectorate — neither a Chinese protectorate, nor an Indian protectorate, nor a joint Chinese-Indian protectorate, nor a so-called buffer state between China and India. The People's Republic of China enjoys full sovereignty over the Tibet region just as it does over the regions of Inner Mongolia, Sinkiang, Kwangsi and Ningsia; there can be no doubt whatever about this, and no interference by any foreign country or by the United Nations under whatever pretext or in whatever form will be tolerated. Consequently, any question concerning Tibet can only be settled by China and in China, and not in any foreign country. Any status of semi-independence for Tibet would be detrimental to the Tibetan people, to the Chinese people, to the Indian people, to Sino-Indian friendship and to Asian peace. It would only serve the interest of the traitorous, reactionary big serf-owners of Tibet and their foreign interventionist backers, as well as of the expansionists and imperialist schemers who seek to sow discord between China and India. China and India are two peace-loving countries whose friendship is of long standing. Our two countries have every reason to live together in harmony, and refrain from aggression and interference, and have not a single reason for mutual conflict, or for wanting to set up any buffer zone; and if establishment of such

a buffer zone were pressed for, it would indeed create a truly deplorable conflict where none existed before. In view of the attitude of the Indian Government on this question, in view of the statements by certain Indian figures who are by no means irresponsible, we think it vital for the consolidation of Sino-Indian friendship to make this point absolutely clear. In his April 27 statement, when Prime Minister Nehru referred to the Five Principles he mentioned only "mutual respect" (which is undoubtedly necessary), but did not mention "mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty" (those are the original words from the Five Principles, and moreover are preconditions for any sort of mutual respect). We hope that this was only an oversight.

Interference in China's internal affairs by certain political figures in India is not fortuitous. It bears the sign of the times. India is a country that has gained independence after shaking off the colonial rule of British imperialism. It desires to develop its national economy in a peaceful international environment and has profound contradictions with the imperialist and colonialist forces. This is one aspect of the picture. Another aspect is that the Indian big bourgeoisie maintains innumerable links with imperialism and is, to a certain extent, dependent on foreign capital. Moreover, by its class nature, the big bourgeoisie has a certain urge for outward expansion. This is why, while it opposes the imperialists' policy of intervention, it more or less reflects, consciously or unconsciously, certain influences of imperialist policy of intervention. In international affairs, the Indian Government, headed by Prime Minister Nehru, has been reflecting generally the will of the Indian people and playing an important and praiseworthy

role in opposing war and colonialism and safeguarding peace, in carrying out a foreign policy of friendship with China, with the Soviet Union and with other socialist countries, of not joining in the military blocs of United States imperialism. But for historical reasons India's big bourgeoisie has inherited and is attempting to maintain, certain legacies from the British colonialist rulers. Of course, the great Indian people are not in the least responsible for this dual character of the Indian bourgeoisie. We also believe that not only the Indian people, but all far-sighted and wise members in the Indian Government, acknowledge that the way for India lies in progress, in looking forward not backward. We, as they do, hold that for the authorities of a country which gained independence not long ago and is now still subjected to threats from imperialist interventionists to interfere in the internal affairs of its neighbour is a regrettable phenomenon in contemporary international politics.

We and Mr. Nehru may differ on this point or that, but there is not likely to be any difference of opinion on this: China has not interfered in India's internal affairs. It was only after a large volume of slanderous utterances had appeared in India that the Chinese people began to hit back. Prime Minister Nehru in his April 27 statement rightly censured certain Indians' statements and actions intended to undermine the friendly relations between China and India. Unfortunately, he followed this up with a concentrated attack on the public opinion in China which opposed interference. Nehru says that "the comments and the charges made against India by responsible people in China" are "regardless of truth and propriety" and "used the language of cold war." But China's charge of Indian interference, as already stated,

is well-founded. The suspicions voiced by Chinese public opinion about the authenticity of the so-called statement of the Dalai Lama are also based on facts. The numerous loop-holes and traces of forgery in that statement are still there objectively. It is very obvious that those Tibetan reactionaries who abducted the Dalai Lama to India, together with those Tibetan reactionaries who have assembled in Kalimpong for a long period of time carrying on traitorous activities, are sparing no effort to make use of the so-called statement of the Dalai Lama to bar the way to the Dalai Lama's return to his motherland, and this does not conform with the desire repeatedly expressed by Prime Minister Nehru.

As to attaching importance to truth and propriety, we regret that much that was said about China by some political figures and publications in India in the past month and more can by no means be considered as showing regard for truth and propriety. The people of our country took note of the fact that Prime Minister Nehru more than once exerted a restraining influence in this respect. This is undoubtedly beneficial to Sino-Indian friendship. But when he accused the Central People's Government of China of violating the seventeen-article agreement and spoke about China's so-called "assurances" to India and so forth, we, after all, cannot say that his remarks showed regard for truth and propriety. Speaking of the language of cold war, some Indian political figures and publications have slandered China as "a new and sinister form of imperialism" and "expansionist imperialism" and attacked China's putting down the rebellion in Tibet as "military intervention," "colonization" and "banditry." Is not all this precisely the "language of cold war"? Towards such "language of cold war," we, for quite a

long time, exercised forbearance time and again, exercising the maximum self-restraint. Our papers maintained almost complete silence. It will be recalled that as late as April 18, Premier Chou En-lai issued an earnest appeal for upholding Sino-Indian friendship at the Second National People's Congress. But, sad to say, all it got in return was a great clamour about the so-called statement of the Dalai Lama and even more unbridled attacks on our government and people. When further retreat was impossible, we had to rise and hit back. Some people try to use "freedom of speech" to justify India's slander campaign against China. But why do they not think for a moment: cannot the Chinese people have freedom of speech too? Tibet is our territory. The question of Tibet is our internal affair. If even foreigners can have so-called instinctive responses on this question, how indeed could the people of our country not have instinctive responses? At present, it seems that the slander campaign against us in certain foreign countries is already ebbing, and reason is once again getting the upper hand; but there are still a tiny number of people trying to continue fanning the flames. We can tell these people plainly: "So long as you do not end your anti-Chinese slander campaign, we will not cease hitting back. We are prepared to spend as much time on this as you want to. We are prepared, too, if you should incite other countries to raise a hue and cry against us. We are also prepared to find all the imperialists in the world backing you up in the clamour. But it is utterly futile to try to use pressure to interfere in China's internal affairs and salvage the odious rule of the big serf-owners in Tibet. The more violently all the anti-Communist, anti-Chinese elements in the world vilify us, the more clearly will

they reveal their true colours, and the better lesson will they provide for the people of the whole world.

As we said before, a great many people in the world today are talking about the Tibet question, from a great many different standpoints. Prime Minister Nehru is different from many persons who obviously bear ill-will towards China. He disagrees somewhat with us on the Tibet question. But in general he advocates Sino-Indian friendship. Of this we have no doubts whatsoever. We have made such a detailed reply to Prime Minister Nehru's reproaches (touching, of course, in not a few parts of the article also on those people who obviously bear us ill-will) precisely because we are fully confident that differences can be reduced and the argument can be settled. The argument may have been a bit sharp, because the vital interests of our motherland and the Tibetan people are involved. But we still hope that, in substance, our argument will benefit the mutual understanding between our two peoples and the friendship between our two peoples and two governments and that in the use of language friendship and propriety have not been overlooked. We are in full agreement with those friendly words to the Chinese people spoken with such feeling and sincerity by Prime Minister Nehru: "We have every desire to maintain friendship between India and China" and "it would be a tragedy if two great countries of Asia, India and China, which have been peaceful neighbours for ages past should develop feelings of hostility against each other." Sino-Indian friendship is of long duration and rests on a solid foundation. Our basic interests are the same and our main enemy is also the same; we will certainly not forget our common interests and fall into the trap of our common enemy.

Although it is regrettable for this argument to have taken place, we firmly believe that it will not result in feelings of hostility, nor will it shake the friendship between our two countries. Prime Minister Nehru has announced that India has no desire whatever to interfere in Tibet. We warmly welcome this friendly statement. Once the Indian side stops its words and deeds of interference in Tibet, the present argument will also come to an end. China never has interfered and never will interfere in India. We would like solemnly to assure all Indian patriots who are concerned for the security of India that a democratic and prosperous Tibetan Autonomous Region as a member of the big family of the people of various nationalities of China is bound to be a factor for consolidating and strengthening friendship between China and India: It certainly will not be, nor can it possibly be, any sort of "menace" to the Republic of India. The peaceful, good-neighbour policy of socialist China is for ever unshakable and the friendship of the nearly 1,100 million people of our two countries is for ever unshakable, just as the Himalayas are unshakable. All the drivel poured out by those slanderers is utterly groundless. When Prime Minister Nehru visited China in October 1954, he said: "China and India are great countries facing similar problems who have set out resolutely on the road to progress. To the extent that they will understand each other shall depend the well-being not only of Asia but of the whole world. The tensions in the world today demand that we should jointly work for peace." It is our wish that the peoples of our two countries for ever remember the truth pointed out here by Prime Minister Nehru. Like the Chinese people, the great Indian people have always treasured Sino-Indian friendship. We

are firmly convinced that the slanders poisoning Sino-Indian relations will be recognized as such and repudiated by the broad mass of the Indian people as the true facts become known and common efforts are made by all personages concerned in both countries. China and India, and the peoples of the two countries, will continue their friendly co-operation in the cause of peaceful construction and will continue to join hands in their struggle for peace in Asia and the whole world.

关于西藏問題

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