

REPORTS ON TIBET AND THE
SINO-INDIAN BORDER ISSUE

(RESEARCH BACKGROUNDER)

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C O N T E N T S

	<u>Page</u>
I. Decade in Tibet	1
II. NCNA Quotations From the Indian Press on Tibet	40
III. Chronology of Chinese Propaganda Themes re Tibet	48
IV. Chinese Communist Propaganda Themes Concerning Tibet	54
V. The Tibetan Rebellion and Chinese Communist Propaganda	105
VI. A Review of Communist Chinese Propaganda Line On Tibet	107
VII. Book Review: <u>Concerning the Question of Tibet</u>	126
VIII. Communist China Press Statements re Nehru During Anti-Indian Campaign	130
IX. Communist China's Anti-Indian Campaign	137
X. Chinese Communist Propaganda re McMahon Line	145

On April 5, 1959 the Dalai Lama, nominally the supreme ruler of both Church and State in Tibet, arrived at the Indian frontier monastery of Towang, fleeing from the land where he is revered as a God-King. He had effected a dramatic secret escape from the Tibetan capital of Lhasa, where his people had risen in violent revolt against the Chinese Military Forces occupying Tibet. Rumours that the Chinese Communists were about to arrest and abduct the Dalai Lama had sparked the rebellion, which was eventually brutally suppressed by the powerful Chinese Communist occupation forces. The circumstances surrounding these events, as well as the state of affairs in Tibet since April, 1959 are of sufficient historical and political interest to merit recapitulation. *Summary*

The Dalai Lama fled from Lhasa once before in December, 1950. He then went as far as Yatung on the Indian border (but still inside Tibet), because of the apparently imminent capture of Lhasa by an invading Chinese Communist Army. This army had already defeated Tibetan forces defending Eastern Tibet (the Changtu or Chamdo area) in November, 1950.

A Tibetan protest against the Chinese invasion of Eastern Tibet charging China with "open aggression" was registered with the United Nations on November 17, 1950. But the Chinese chose not to continue military conquest after their initial victory, seeking instead to gain complete control over Tibet by diplomatic means.

AGREEMENT ON MEASURES FOR "PEACEFUL LIBERATION" OF TIBET

Negotiations were initiated and six months later, on May 23,

1951 , an "Agreement of the Central People's Government of Tibet on Measures for the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet" was signed in Peking by Communist Chinese and Tibetan representatives. The Dalai Lama, then barely 16 years old, was persuaded to accept the inevitable and returned to Lhasa on August 17, 1951. Late in October, 1951 the Dalai Lama finally informed Mao Tse-tung of Tibetan acceptance of the Agreement of May 23, which in effect, acknowledged Tibet's inability to resist Chinese demands and made the Tibetan Government subservient to the Chinese Military Commander in Tibet and the State Council of the Chinese People's Republic.

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The 17-point Agreement provided, among other things, that "the Tibetan people shall return to the big family of the Motherland, the People's Republic of China". Furthermore, the Tibetan people were granted "the right of exercising national regional autonomy under the unified leadership of the Central People's Government". The Central Authorities were pledged not to "alter the existing political system in Tibet". Also the "religious beliefs, customs and habits of the Tibetan people" were to be "respected" and the monasteries "protected". In matters relating to "various reform in Tibet" there was to be "no compulsion on the part of the Central Authority. When the people raise demands for reform, they shall be settled by means of consultation with the leading personnel of Tibet."

The agreement also provided: "The Central People's Government shall have centralized handling of all external affairs of the areas of Tibet....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."

ESTABLISHMENT OF CHINESE COMMUNIST MILITARY AREA HEADQUARTERS

October 7 1951 saw the entry of powerful Chinese Army forces into Lhasa, and the establishment of a Chinese Communist Military Area Headquarters there; thus marking the beginning of the consolidation of their military-diplomatic conquest of Tibet. One of the first steps taken to undermine the Dalai Lama was the enthronement of Panchen Ngoertehni—a longtime Chinese Communist protege and potential rival of the Dalai Lama— as the Tenth Panchen Lama at Shigatse in June, 1952.¹ Tibet's isolation having been one of the main reasons for Communist China's feeling of insecurity in spite of their military superiority, the building of two major military motor highways into the interior of Tibet was another important step in consolidating the Chinese position.

In December 1954 Radio Peking announced that two links between Lhasa and Communist China proper had been established; one through Tsinghai Province and the other through Sikang Province. At the same time airfields and additional highways were also being constructed at a rapid pace.

Between 1952 and 1955 there were occasional rumblings of discontent and trouble in Tibet, but the Chinese Communists on the whole tried very hard to win the confidence and friendship of the Tibetans by restraint, and avoiding open conflicts and disagreements.

1/ Tibet Panchen Ngoertehni is regarded as a Chinese Communist puppet. The question as to his status as a "true incarnation" is unresolved.

In the autumn of 1954 the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama separately travelled to Peking to attend the first National People's Congress as Deputies from Tibet. They both remained in Communist China until the following March and had repeated discussions with leaders of the Communist Government in Peking. They also toured the country, attended the First Plenary Session of the Second Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference National Committee, and finally attended the Seventh Meeting of the State Council on March 9, 1955 in Peking.

CURTAILMENT OF DALAI LAMA'S POWERS

It was at this meeting that a number of important "Decisions" regarding Tibet were passed by the State Council, notably the "Decision of the State Council Concerning the Setting Up of a Preparatory Committee for the Tibetan Autonomous region". This Preparatory Committee, subject to the authority of the Tibet Area Military Headquarters and the State Council in Peking, in fact was to become the new Government of Tibet in circumstances considerably reducing the weight carried by the Dalai Lama and his Tibet Local Government.

The Dalai Lama was to be the nominal Head of State as Chairman of the Committee, but his Tibet Local Government held only 15 out of a total of 51 seats on the Committee. The Panchen Lama's Kanpo Lija Committee held 10 seats, and the People's Liberation Committee of the Changtu Area² also held 10, so that the latter two bodies, both

2/ The People's Liberation Committee for the Changtu Area was established on Jan.1,1951, removing this area from the political jurisdiction of the Dalai Lama and his Tibetan Local Government.

under Peking's control, could easily outvote the Dalai Lama's faction.

The two Vice-Chairmen of the Committee were the Panchen Lama, and General Chang Kuo-hua, the Commander of the Tibet Military District who had also been the Commander of the Chinese invasion of Tibet. The effect of the "Decision" of March 9, 1955 was to formalize what had been a fact for some time, namely the partition of Tibet into three separate areas, over only one of which the Dalai Lama had even nominal political authority. While the Dalai Lama's political powers had been curtailed in this manner, and in clear violation of the 17-point Agreement the "Preparatory Committee", which was now to become the Government of Tibet, nevertheless still partook of the great spiritual and popular prestige of the Dalai Lama since he was to be its official head.

Three other "Decisions" regarding Tibet were passed at the March 1955 State Council Meeting, concerning communications, highway administration, construction projects and personnel administration, which marked a definite advance in the programme of the Chinese Communist Government to establish their control over Tibet.

ESTABLISHMENT OF PREPARATORY COMMITTEE

On March 12, 1955, an NCNA dispatch announced the departure for Tibet (each by a different route) of the Dalai and Panchen Lamas. As the Calcutta Statesman reported on September 14, 1954, the departure and absence of the Dalai Lama from Tibet had been the occasion for widespread grief and anxiety among his people, some of whom discnsolately drowned themselves in the Kyichu River as their beloved leader crossed it on his way to Peking. His return to Tibet by motor caravan in the spring of 1955 therefore, became the occasion

for great crowds of his followers to demonstrate their rejoicing and their loyalty to him. He did not reach Lhasa until June 1955, since an endless series of delegations from tribes, localities, and monasteries delayed his progress along the way.

Apparently as the result of opposition among the Dalai Lama's followers, the establishment of the Preparatory Committee for the Autonomous Region of Tibet was not accomplished, despite persistent Chinese Communist pressure, until April 1956. The Communist Government chose to make a grand occasion of the inauguration by sending a delegation of 57 official members (and close to 750 entertainers and workers) headed by Vice-Premier Chen Yi to take part in the ceremonies and offer the Central Government's congratulations.

Vice-Premier Chen Yi and Chang Kuo-hua, the Chinese Military Commander, in their speeches at the inaugural meeting announces "a new stage of work", saying that "necessary reforms would be introduced to rid Tibet of its backward situation" so that Tibetans could catch up with the level of the "advanced" Han nationality.

REPORTS OF REVOLT

During and after the inaugural meeting of the Preparatory Committee, it was reported that a rebellion was under way and that the Chinese Communist Army and Air Force had been called in to quell the revolt. These reports first appeared in Indian and Burmese newspapers and originated in Katmandu where the word was spread among diplomats attending the coronation of King Mahendra of Nepal. Later, individual refugees arriving in Kalimpong, India, substantiated these stories, which told of uprisings by the Golok tribe ambushes of Chinese Communist units, and the siege and destruction by Chinese bombers of

the Litang Monastery in the Eastern Tibetan border area.

While the Chinese Communist Government denied that a revolt had occurred, the following passages from the Dalai Lama's speech before the Preparatory Committee, published in the Peking People's Daily on April 25, 1956, take on added meaning in the light of reports of revolt.

"Recently, news from neighbouring provinces and municipalities where reforms are being carried out or are under preparation.... have reached Tibet and aroused the suspicion and anxiety of some people here. At the same time some people.... state that with the establishment of the Preparatory Committee for the Autonomous Region of Tibet, reforms will be introduced in this area. This is malicious rumour-mongering and instigationTibet has no other alternative but to take the road of socialism. Present conditions in Tibet, however, are still a far cry from socialism, and we must carry out reforms step by step. When to carry out the reforms and how to reform depends on the development of the work and practical conditions in various respects. In 1954...Chairman Mao... repeatedly told us that we should carry out the reforms slowly and with patience. At the same time, he also clearly told us that reform was intended to improve the people's livelihood, and not to degrade it. Therefore it is unnecessary to have apprehensions and fears about reforms, or to worry too much."

Clearly, the Dalai Lama was seeking to assuage the fears of his people over the dreaded reforms. Later in the same speech he reassured his listeners that freedom of religion was to be observed in Tibet not only then, but also in the future.

Chinese Communist admission that the revolts of spring 1956

had actually taken place came gradually later in the year. On June 25, NCNA reported that Suo Kuan-ying, Deputy Governor of the Szechuan Aps Tibetan Autonomous Chou had told the National People's Congress that "revolts broke out in some areas" as the result of "defects in our work". On August 7th NCNA reported an interview given by Liu Ke-ping, Chairman of the Nationalities Affairs Commission with L'Unita correspondent Franco Calamandrei, who quoted Liu Ke-ping as saying

"The rebellion started around the end of February, limited to the area of Batang and Litang in the southern part of Kantze Chou..... The rebellion was instigated by remnant Kuomintang agents, and launched by a few feudal landlords hostile to the introduction of even the most elementary reforms in the backward social structure of that region." Liu Ke-ping further confirmed that "military measures against the rebels were necessary.... and the rebellion has been mainly settled and its leaders were being treated leniently".

The revolts had the effect of slowing the pace of reform, and when General Chang Kuo-hua spoke to the Eighth Congress of the Communist Party of China on September 20, 1956 he made the following points.

"Social reforms are at present a matter of general concern among people of all levels in Tibet... This is good, but it does not mean that social reforms will be carried out right away. The following conditions are necessary:

"1) The demand of the working people for such reforms and the genuine support of the people of the upper social strata for them;

"2) Measures for carrying them out, based on a scientific investigation of the socio-economic conditions of Tibet...and

"3) A sufficient number of Tibetan cadres.

"At present, however, it is clear that we do not have all these conditions present, and we shall have to wait a considerable time before social reforms can be put into effect.

Meanwhile more details regarding the spring revolt in Tibet were being reported in the world press. Thought Magazine of New Delhi reported Chinese Communist Army strength in Tibet to be over 100,000 men. Dispatches from Kalingpong stated that according to travelling merchants from Tibet, handbills demanding the withdrawal of the Chinese Armed Forces had appeared in Lhasa. The Rangoon Daily Hanthawadon reported that the Tibetan revolutionaries had killed 850 Chinese soldiers stationed in Golok in North-eastern Tibet. A New York Times dispatch from Katmandu referred to Tibet sending "two delegates from each district to Lhasa to say....that they would be very happy if the Chinese withdrew.... The Chinese answered by arresting many of the delegates".

In spite of the unsettled conditions, the Chinese Communist regime pressed on with its programme of integration Tibet into the Chinese People's Republic. On May 6, 1956, NCNA reported that the Standing Committee of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibetan Autonomous Region (Dalai Lama, Panchen Lama, Chang Kuo-hua and others) had decided to reorganize the Tibetan local government, to survey six new highways, and to train 2,000 cadres in schools in Tibet within the year.

At the end of May 1956 a Peking-Lhasa Air Transport Service was initiated. Vice-Premier Chen Yi was on the first flight to Peking from the barely completed Lhasa airfield, quite probably because the

overland highways were still endangered by rebellious tribesmen.

It is interesting to note that Chen Yi waited for more than a month after the end of the inauguration ceremony he came to attend, before flying back to Peking. According to an article by the pilot of Chen Yi's plane, appearing in Vol. 5, No.9, of China Reconstructs, the airfield and ground facilities in Lhasa were constructed in a record 40 days during Chen Yi's stay in Lhasa.

Throughout June 1956 reports of a "wave of rebellion in Eastern Tibet" continued to come in from Kalimpong. The revolts were said to be most serious in the Chamdo area, where the Chinese Communists were taking the first steps toward "socialist reform". One dispatch listed Tibetan grievances as : "heavy taxation, interference in religious indoctrination of Tibetan Youth, crippling land reforms, and a general desire for the return of independence." Late in June a group of Tibetans in India , headed by a brother of the Dalai Lama, addressed a petition to Indian Prime Minister Nehru charging that the Chinese Communists had killed more than 4,000 Tibetans in the April bombing of the village of Litang.

The petition reported by news dispatch from Kalimpong, stated: "To us Tibetans the phrase 'liberation of Tibet' is a deadly mockeryIt is an irony of history that the people of Asia who have recently cast off the yoke of Western colonialism, should now be treated to the spectacle of one great Asian nation invading and colonizing her weaker Asian neighbour. It was a great blot on the conscience of Asia that not a single finger was lifted by an Asian power to prevent this forcible occupation of a free country."

In July 1956 there were reports of heavy tanks being moved into

Tibet by the Chinese Army. The trains of lorries which travelled the newly built highways into Tibet were now significantly being referred to as "convoys" by the New China News Agency.

CHOU EN-LAI STATES: " CHINA WILL NOT TOLERATE INDIA'S INTERFERENCE."

1956 was celebrated in India as the 2500th anniversary of Buddhism. As perhaps the most distinguished Buddhist alive, the Dalai Lama was naturally invited to participate in these celebrations by the Indian Government. The Dalai Lama accepted the invitation, ignoring the Chinese Communists' instruction to refuse. On November 20, 1956 NCNA reported that the Dalai Lama had left Lhasa for India and would be joined by the Panchen Lama in Shigatse.

When the Dalai Lama arrived in New Delhi on November 25, he was joined by Pan Tzu-li, Communist China's Ambassador to India, who thereafter was his constant companion, and was instrumental in preventing the free press from gaining access to the young ruler. Nevertheless, the Dalai Lama did have two long private interviews with Prime Minister Nehru. While the subject of their talks was not announced, it is now known that the Dalai Lama appealed to Nehru for help in freeing Tibet from the Chinese invaders; Nehru however, was not in a position to help.

To emphasize Nehru's dilemma Chou En-lai was due to arrive in New Delhi for a 13-day state visit within three days of the Dalai Lama's arrival. At the same time reports of continued fighting between Tibetan rebels and Chinese forces were still filtering into India, along with growing numbers of refugees. On Chou En-lai's arrival in New Delhi on November 28 he made it clear to Nehru that Communist China would not tolerate India's interference in Tibet. At public functions the Dalai Lama was never allowed to stray too far

from the watchful eyes of Chou En-lai and Pan Tzu-li.

At a press conference held by Chou En-lai in Calcutta on December 9, 1956, on the eve of his departure for Rangoon, he was questioned about the revolt in Tibet. Chou replied: "The Chinese Government has no knowledge of any such revolt nor do the two distinguished Lamas who are at present in India." As for the rebellion admitted by Liu Ke-ping this had been "armed conflict between a group of people and Chinese Government troops in Szechwan Province... This conflict was caused by the lack of understanding on the part of these people of the policy of the Chinese Government. But all this has long since been settled." He also maintained that the Chinese Government had never taken any decision not to allow foreign correspondents to enter Tibet.

DALAI LAMA RETURNS TO TIBET

Ten days later on December 19, 1956, reports reached Nepal that the Chinese had bombed the Tibetan village of Kham Chiri Gawa, killing or injuring 83 Tibetans, and that new uprisings were raging west of Chandu and even in Lhasa. Chou En-lai now made it clear that he wanted the Dalai Lama to return to Lhasa at once and that he expected the Indian Government to "safeguard" the Tibetan ruler from the many Tibetans who had fled to India including the so-called resistance leaders in Darjeeling and Kalimpong.

Meanwhile members of the Dalai Lama's party, his personal advisers, pilgrims to India, Tibetan refugees and delegations from Tibet's tribes and monasteries all were urging the Dalai Lama to

stay in India in voluntary exile, so that the people of Tibet could carry on their struggle against the Chinese without fear of reprisal against his person. The three top advisers accompanying the Dalai Lama to India under the leadership of Ragashar Shape had protested to Chou En-lai in New Delhi about Chinese Communist actions in Tibet and had demanded withdrawal of the Chinese forces. Premier Chou had been pleasant and reasonable during these discussions and had suggested that the Tibetan officials continue their talks with the Chinese representatives in Lhasa upon their return to Tibet.

While the Dalai Lama's ministers felt they would be in a stronger position to negotiate with the Communists if their God-king remained in India, the Dalai Lama himself, after several days of meditation decided that his presence would be required to carry on the struggle. With his ministers he drew up a list of minimum demands they intended to present to Communist China on their return to Tibet. These demands included:

- 1) the evacuation of Chinese troops;
- 2) restoration of the former status of the Dalai Lama;
- 3) reinstatement of two former Prime-Ministers; and
- 4) the abandonment of the so-called "democratic reforms".

The Dalai Lama's decision to return was based on many considerations; the welfare of his people and a desire to do all he could to ameliorate their plight were undoubtedly the most important. However, he realized that his continued presence in India against the express wishes of Peking was embarrassing to the Indian Government. Thus it was reported by NCNA that on February 13, 1957 the Dalai Lama had re-entered Tibet. It was later reported in India

that his speeches made at several of his stops were unfriendly to communism; his last stop on the way to Lhasa was the Panchen Lama's seat in Shigatse. After a farewell banquet in Shigatse, Ragashar Shape, who had presented the Tibetan demands to Chou En-lai in New Delhi, suddenly felt dead. He had been very close to the Dalai Lama and perhaps the most vigorous among Tibetan officials in opposing Communist demands.

The NCNA news release stated that he had died of "bad circulation" but Tibetans who took care of the body stated that he had been poisoned. Ragashar was 54 years old and had seemed in perfect health when he left India. His death came as a terrible blow to the Dalai Lama, and was no doubt intended as a warning to him not to continue to make trouble.

NO DEMOCRATIC REFORM IN TIBET DURING SECOND FIVE-YEAR PLAN

Meanwhile on February 27, 1957, nine days after the Dalai Lama's re-entry into Tibet, Mao Tse-tung delivered his famous speech "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People" at the Eleventh Session of the Supreme State Conference. While this speech was not published until June 18, the following important reference to Tibet was contained in the augmented text released in June:

"Because conditions in Tibet are not ripe, democratic reforms have not yet been carried out there. According to the 17-point agreement reached between the Central People's Government and the local Government of Tibet, reform of the social system must eventually be carried out. But we should not be impatient; when this will be done can only be decided when the great majority of the people of Tibet and their leading public figures consider it practicable.

It has now been decided not to proceed with democratic reform in Tibet during the period of the Second Five-Year-Plan in the light of the situation obtaining at that time."

In March 1957, the Third Session of the Second National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Committee (CPPCC) convened in Peking, and reference was made to the situation in Tibet by two of the speakers. Living Buddha Pabala after a dutiful review of Communist achievements in Tibet (highways etc.) said simply:

"The people of Tibet are faithful believers in Buddhism. They have worries and doubts as regards the estates of lamaseries, the funds of religious orders, and the livelihood of monks after democratic reforms."

Pabala added that after a tour of various places he was now "more confident of the policy of freedom of religious belief and of protection for temples."

Speaking before the same CPPCC meeting on March 18, 1957, **Pangda** Yangpel, the famous Khamba leader and the official who headed the Industry and Commerce Department of the Preparatory Committee, made the following comments:

"The imperialist elements have remarked that the Dalai Lama has no freedom. Is not the fact of the recent tour of India by the Dalai Lama and Panchen Brdeni enough to indicate that they have their freedom intact?..... On the question of social reforms in Tibet.... when reforms were carried out last year in the Tibetan areas of Szechwan and in the area of Derge on the east bank of the Kinsha river,

deviations were started by the cadres and worries and doubts started to spread. The rich and poor families on the east bank of Kinsha River fled to the west bank and some to Lhasa, which caused the Tibetan people to start to worry and doubt about the reforms. These worries and doubts of Tibetans about social reforms in Tibet have now been removed after Chairman Mao Tse-tung ordered that they would not be carried out in the Second Five-Year Plan period.... After the visit of the delegations from the central authorities in the Tibetan areas of Szechwan the ruined temples and lamaseries were repaired and the disaster-affected masses were resettled."

Worries and doubts must indeed have been quite severe to induce people to flee from the east bank of the Kinsha river all the way to Lhasa, a distance in excess of 600 miles; deviations must also have been rather severe to result in the destruction of temples and lamaseries and to affect the masses with such disaster that they needed to be resettled.

SHORTCOMINGS IN PREPARATORY COMMITTEE'S WORK

On April 1, 1957 NCNA announced that the Dalai Lama had arrived in Lhasa from Shigatse and was welcomed by a crowd of more than 40,000 people lined up on his route of approach. Significantly Lt. General Tan Kuan-san, the Political Commissioner for the Chinese Communist Army in Tibet extended the official welcome greeting to him. On April 22, 1957, NCNA reported from Lhasa that a celebration had been held of the first anniversary of the Preparatory Committee. Speeches by the Dalai Lama and Chong Kuo-hua announced the new policy of the postponement of democratic reforms at least until 1952.

The Dalai Lama's speech was remarkable for its frankness. He

mentioned that friction had existed between Han and Tibetan cadres; there had been a lack of understanding of the practical circumstances in Tibet and a lack of regard for local customs and habits. He also hinted at delaying tactics used by Tibetan cadres to avoid carrying out the policies of the Committee. General Chang Kuo-hua also announces that because of the postponement of democratic reforms "we are now retrenching and transferring a number of staff to China Proper".

CHINESE COMMUNIST TROOP WITHDRAWAL

The Indian press now reported Chinese Communist troop withdrawals from Lhasa, a stoppage of Chinese construction projects in Tibet, and the majority of Chinese workers returning to Communist China. Some Chinese schools were closing, and propaganda activities for Communism greatly abated. Thus, there were many signs that some headway was being made in the direction of the "four demands" the Dalai Lama had drawn up with his ministers in India.

On June 16, 1957, NCNA reported from Lhasa: "Most of the Han personnel now working in Tibet will be withdrawn and dispatched to other parts of the country. A decision to this effect was made by the Standing Committee of the Preparatory Committee.... here today The decision pointed out that since the Central Government had resolved not to carry out democratic reform in Tibet within the next six years, the present set up and staff were too big".

In this new atmosphere of conciliation and retrenchment Tibetan resistance to the Chinese Communist officials became slightly bolder. According to reports reaching India the "four demands" were printed

on leaflets and circulated among Tibetans. The Dalai Lama started a programme of public religious sermons which attracted close to a hundred-thousand pilgrims and refugees to Lhasa. To the reduced Communist Chinese contingent in Lhasa, it seemed as if they were being intimidated by the tens of thousands of grim-looking Tibetans camped around the city. When the leaflet on the "four demands" fell into Communist China's hands, they forced the Tibetan Government to disavow its contents and blame "imperialist dominated" Tibetans in Kalimpong for its circulation. The Tibetan Government complied, but significantly omitted the Dalai Lama's seal from the disavowal.

On August 2, 1957, Tibet Daily published a detailed outline of propaganda to be used in connection with "No Reform in Six Years". The positive aspects of the policy were to be stressed. "Although there is nothing much to be done at present, because of the decision of 'no reform in six years' which is the result of the fact that the majority of the upper-level personages are against the reform, yet proper....arrangements should be made for ... Tibetan cadres. Under the principle of voluntariness, ...they may be sent to inland parts of the country for advanced training. There are also a number of Tibetan cadres who,...harbour doubts and worries and wish to leave their post and go home. To these cadres we may render certain assistance and send them home to engage in production."

Another part of this remarkable document states: "From now on all affairs of a local nature in Tibet should be managed by the Tibetans themselves; Han cadres still are responsible for rendering assistance, but should not monopolize things and do things on behalf of the Tibetans." While the general tone was thus clearly conciliatory,

and reform was definitely in abeyance, the progressive elements were encouraged to "firmly maintain their ...progressive stand, and carefully and patiently win over the unity with personages from various quarters ...to do a really good job of the work in Tibet."

On August 8, 1957, Tibet Daily reported from Lhasa that "by the end of July, organs and units under the direct jurisdiction of the CCP Tibetan Working Committee have already transferred and sent away 91.6 per cent of the Han cadres and workers, as well as Tibetan cadres who ought to be transferred or sent away... the recent adjustment has been conducted entirely in the spirit... that 'those who leave, do so happily, and those who stay, stay with a composed mind'. The principle of voluntariness has been fully implemented when sending Tibetan cadres to study in inland parts of the country."

Reference is further made to elaborate preparations made for the cadres travelling on transfer, guaranteeing their safety and health during the trip. Both the Sikang-Tibet Highway and the Tsinghai-Tibet Highway were far from safe for travel by Communist cadres at this time.

On August 9, 1957, NCNA reported from Lhasa that the commissions and departments under the Preparatory Committee for the Autonomous Region of Tibet were being extensively reorganized. Over 90 per cent of the personnel in the departments were henceforth to be Tibetans. Eleven existing departments were to be merged into four, and most local administrative organs were to be dissolved.

REBELLION STILL RAGING IN TIBET

In spite of retrenchment, reorganization, and conciliation,

rebellion was still raging in parts of Tibet. On August 23, 1957, Tibet Daily reported from Lhasa: "There wereelements disturbing the social peace in the Chamdo area. For more than a year the Government had tried many times to win them over. However... they declined to respond to the Government's appeal and were determined to be enemies of the people ... As long as they lay down their arms they will not be prosecuted. Should they still refuse to repent in the face of such magnanimity, the Government and the people will not be lenient any more and they will pay for what they have done. Comrade Wang Ch'i-mei, Secretary of the Chamdo Committee.... urged the Chamdo People's Liberation Committee to adopt measures to deal with these rebels of Chamdo in order to protect the life and property of the people...."

During the remaining months of 1957 the policy of "no reform in six years" and "retrenchment" was carried out widely in Tibet. In the explanations given to cadres and the general public it was invariably stressed that this was because most of the people in the upper strata still did not want them, or even opposed them. It was always pointed out however, that a happy life for the masses could only be brought about by socialism, and therefore everybody would benefit if the backward elements would soon realize their mistake

and give their support to democratic reform. The campaign for "no reform in six years" gave the Chinese Communists the opportunity to clothe themselves in self-righteousness and magnanimity in not pressing a reluctant people to accept reforms which were, after all, entirely for their own good, a fact they would realize sooner or later. The advice to the people was that meanwhile, they should do their work properly, study, and create conditions favourable for the reform. While the Chinese Communist authorities were withdrawing the cadres and labourers, the Chinese Communist Army, was being bolstered and reinforced all over Tibet, except in Lhasa where the number of soldiers had been reduced, probably for propaganda purposes.

CONTINUING PROBLEMS IN TIBET

On October 19, 1957, Tibet Daily published a speech delivered by General Chang Kuo-hua to the China Buddhist Association in Tibet, in which he indicated some of the continuing problems in Tibet.

Chang Kuo-hua stated: "There are people who, because they are often liable to fall prey to the rumours created by the imperialist and reactionary elements, adopt a certain unpatriotic attitude..... They have always opposed democratic reform. When the policy of 'no reform in six years' was put forward, they, naturally, expressed themselves in favour of it... Some of them are now vainly attempting

to carry out activities permanently refusing reform, attempting to make the Tibetan people live in a permanent state of poverty and starvation; they do not want Tibet to take the socialist road towards prosperity and development. With such people we must carry out even more patient socialist education on a long-term basis....

"In addition there is an extremely small minority of people who have an ulterior purpose. By taking advantage of the policy of 'no reform in six years' they created disturbances... Under the cloak of nationalism and religion, they were actually imperialists and rebels carrying out counter-revolutionary activities,... Therefore we must continue,... to expose thoroughly, and resolutely attack those counter-revolutionaries hidden under the cloak of religion, and forever deny them any facilities. However, if they recognize their own mistakes, stop their counter-revolutionary activities, genuinely repent and decide to become patriotic, law abiding religious people, we will welcome them and will not investigate their past crimes."

While persuasion and propaganda were extensively employed by the Chinese authorities, more forceful measures such as raids on individual monasteries, house to house searches for weapons, and terror were also increasingly employed according to reports reaching India.

Perhaps to try to off set the antagonism toward the Chinese Communist

Army, the Tibetan Military District issued a directive that officers and men of army organs and units were to help Tibetan peasants to harvest their crops without accepting any compensation or "even a drop of water".

Tibet Daily reported on October 18, 1957 that Tibetans were saying: "Needless to say, their help at this time in the autumn harvests has fully proved that the Liberation Army is helping the Tibetan people sincerely. One by one, (Tibetans).... made known their determination to resolutely continue to follow the Communist Party and Chairman Mao and not to listen to bad elements."

RECTIFICATION CAMPAIGN

On January 1, 1958, NCNA reported from Lhasa that Chang Ching-wu, representative of the Central People's Government in Tibet, speaking at a New Year's gathering of Tibetan and Han cadres said: "According to a directive of the CCP Central Committee, the local organizations of the Communist Party and the Young Communist League in Tibet will carry out a rectification campaign in order to universally and seriously combat the practises of bureaucratism, subjecticism, sectarianism, big-nation chauvinism, local nationalism and individualism."

The rectification campaign was expected to last for about six months and was to permit "all flowers to bloom boldly" to overcome defects and rectify mistakes. NCNA reported from Lhasa on January 16, 1958, that some of these mistakes were: "Among Party members and cadres of Tibetan nationality, some comrades had practised the deviation of local nationalism, neglected the importance of solidarity of nationalities in the big family of the fatherland, over-empha-

sized the interests of their own nationality to the neglect of the overall interest of the whole country, were unaware of the important significance in having Han cadres help them, failed to see clearly that Tibet had a brilliant future only if it travelled the road of socialism, and were not completely aware that the development and prosperity of the Tibetan people were indivisible from the socialist construction of the fatherland."

In other words, even among Tibetan Party members and cadres the desire for Tibetan autonomy and dislike of the Chinese Communists were irrepressible.

COMMUNIST CHINA CANCELS DALAI LAMA'S INVITATION TO PREMIER NEHRU

On February 9, 1958, at the meeting of the Nationality Affairs Commission of the State Council in Peking, there were more reports of continued unrest in Tibet. While details were not given, the unrest seems to have been fairly widespread and may have been one of the main reasons why in July, 1958 the Chinese Communist Government, took it upon themselves to cancel the Dalai Lama's invitation to Premier Nehru to visit Tibet.

G.L.Jain, of the Times of India in a recent article in the Atlantic Monthly has reaffirmed that the invitation to Nehru to visit Lhasa in August, 1958 was to ensure that Chou En-lai's promise to Prime Minister Nehru to respect Tibetan Autonomy would not be forgotten. The Dalai Lama agreed to return to Tibet only after this assurance was given and the visit by Nehru had been planned. The entire programme of "no reform in six years" and retrenchment of Han cadres and workers was the price paid by Peking for the Dalai Lama's return; and the visit by Nehru was intended to reassure the Dalai Lama that

there would be no betrayal once he had returned.

The invitation to Nehru was nevertheless revoked by Communist China at the last moment. The cancelling of the invitation again aggravated anti-Chinese feelings among the Tibetans, who felt that their ruler had been humiliated since he could not even invite a guest to his own palace.

FULL-SCALE REVOLT IN TIBET

On August 1, 1958 reports reached India that a full-scale revolt was in progress in Tibet. This, was not acknowledged by the Chinese Communist press. But two months later, on October 1, 1958 in neighbouring Tsinghai Province the periodical Hung Yu Chuan (Red and Export) disclosed that the "great socialist revolution", which took place in Tsinghai, "within the few short summer and autumn months this year (1958)" was met with one major armed revolt followed by a succession of lesser revolts. "Richards among livestock owners and counter-revolutionaries in religious circles staged an armed revolt against socialism, the people, and the Communist Party in an attempt to stop the huge wheel of history. The result was their utter defeat." Hung Yü Chuan however acknowledged that the victory of the forces of history was not yet complete since "livestock owners today organize armed revolt, openly resist transformation, and attempt to subvert the People's Regime." Applied to the broad area of Tibet proper, these proved to be prophetic words indeed.

Another more detailed report on the 1958 revolts in the Tsinghai area contiguous with Tibet was published in the Sining Tsinghai Jihpao on December 6, 1959, as part of a speech delivered by the

Governor at the Second Session of the Second Tsinghai Provincial People's Congress. The Governor stated:

" As socialist transformation of animal husbandry progressed, cattle owners and richards of the religious upper strata, unwilling to see the extinction of the feudal class, fanatically resisted the transformation and began to engage in insidious counter-revolutionary activities....When they were about to stage a rebellion and even after they had started it, we still reasoned with them.... however they did not awake from their illusion and, at the instigation of the imperialists and the Tibetan upper-level reactionary clique, staged a counter-revolutionary armed rebellion.... they occupied monasteries as bases of operation, threatened and coerced the masses, attacked the People's Government, murdered revolutionary cadres and activists, destroyed pastures and livestock, burned down dwelling houses, committed rape and robbery and massacred the people. In the circumstances, it was impossible to carry out the Party's policy of 'peaceful reform'. The Party and the Government took steps to quell the rebellion.... Rebels who surrendered were pardoned when they pledged themselves to obey law and order... The heroic fighting of the rebellion-suppressing units of the Chinese People's Army... quickly quelled the revolt."

Meanwhile, in the Tibetan Autonomous Areas of Szechuan Province, where according to Chou En-lai everything had "long since been settled" as of December 9, 1956, things were again rather unsettled in the spring of 1957. According to a "Work Report of the People's Council of the Tibetan Autonomous Chou of Kanze", published in the Kangting Kanze Pao in April 1958:

... The reactionary feudal lords and landlords opposed the just demands of the people and carried out counter revolutionary armed revolt. They besieged the Government, burned government stores and warehouses, disrupted communications robbed the masses, killed cadres, attacked the People's Liberation Army, and cruelly mutilated those activists who wanted reform by gouging out their eyes, cutting off their noses, and crippling them by cutting their hamstrings, causing great losses to the people in life and property.... The Party and Government were compelled to wage armed struggle to put down the rebellion."

The report adds that up to March 1958, "democratic reform" had not yet been completed in several counties.

In November and December 1958 there were again reports indicating that revolt was continuing in Tibet as well as in the Tsinghai, Szechuan, and Chando areas referred to above. In a book published by the Peking Foreign Languages Press in the autumn of 1959, and written by the well-known friend of the Peking regime, Anna Louise Strong, there is some discussion of the Tibetan revolts in the period between 1956 and 1959. Anna Louise Strong reports: "The March (1959) rebellion in Lhasa did not break from a clear sky. It was a storm that smouldered long, giving many thunders of approach.... The rebellion in the Kangting Area (Kantse Chou) broke in the winter of 1955-56.... when the army reached any place, they could put down the rebels at once, but the area is large and wild, and the rebels spread over the back country, communication through the monasteries. As the Szechuan Area was cleared, they infiltrated into Chando... when beaten in Chando a considerable part of these rebels went into

area of Tibet nearer to Lhasa and joined the next rebellion under direct Lhasa command. These were the forces known as 'Khanbas' or 'the Sikang troops' and were cavalry, wild, undisciplined, living by loot. This Szechuan-Chando rebellion was 'basically suppressed' by the end of 1956. It is estimated that there were some 10,000 at the highest point. A few still left in the hills will probably remain there as long as they are supplied with food from the monasteries or from local nobles.... In Tsinghai and Kansu the revolts broke out in spring, 1958, as a protest against the 'democratic reform' which had been promoted in the previous winter, and which aroused armed resistance from landlords, pasture lords and monastery chiefs. These revolts were much smaller than the earlier revolt, and had some 2,000 to 3,000 rebels in each. In Kansu the revolt was over by mitsunmer; in Tsinghai by late autumn, except in a few nomad areas where it dragged on into winter."

Mrs. Strong interviewed a Captain Yang Ching-hwei of the People's Liberation Army, who was stationed in Lhasa for eight years from 1951 to 1959. Captain Yang told Mrs. Strong: "At the beginning of 1958 we began to hear of a secret conspiracy that planned a rebellion.... Disorders were increased by those defeated rebels from other provinces... We got complaints. We referred these complaints to the Kashag, which was Tibet's local government charged with keeping law and order. In 1958 they also began raiding our transport.... we kept referring it to the kashag and took no action ourselves. They always agreed to handle the matter.... Actually they were fomenting the disorders."

However, in Communist China's press dispatches from Tibet during

1958 there were no indications of the actual situation prevailing. It is now known that the Tibetan areas controlled either by Khamba tribesmen or other elements increased in 1958 to the point where the main cities only were held by the Chinese Communists, who were in constant danger whenever they ventured out of their main strongholds. The Chinese army repeatedly carried out raids on villages and monasteries suspected of being centres of the Mingang resistance movement.

On December 31, 1958 NCNA reported from Lhasa that Panchen Ertegni had pledged to Mao Tse-tung that he would "crush thoroughly the plots and sabotage activities by imperialist elements and counter-revolutionaries."

REPUDIATION OF 17-POINT AGREEMENT

On February 12, 1959 more than 20,000 lamas travelled to Lhasa for the celebration of the "Monlam" festival; when elements of a new Chinese Communist Army Division arrived, tension mounted in the city. Riots broke out, resulting in shooting, angry mob scenes, demonstrations, destruction of Chinese Communist posters and the appearance of anti-Communist posters.

The Chinese Military Commander invited the Dalai Lama to attend a Chinese Cultural Programme on March 10, 1959, specifying that he should travel without his ministers and usual bodyguard. The Tibetans concluded that the Chinese Communists intended to kidnap and harm their ruler, and many thousands of them immediately surrounded the Norbulingka Palace to protect him. The Dalai Lama then announced that he would not accept the invitation.

A meeting of all government officials - except those collaborating with the Chinese - was held on March 11, and a cabinet proclama-

tion that Tibet was independent was issued. Repudiation of the 17-Point Agreement and claims for independence were announced to the crowd by Tibetan officials on March 12, and almost the entire population of Lhasa joined in street demonstrations for independence and withdrawal of Chinese Communist forces in the next few days.

DALAI LAMA'S ESCAPE

On March 17, the Chinese attempted to get to the Dalai Lama, but the palace was immediately surrounded by thousands of rioting Tibetans. When the Chinese Communists fired two mortar shells which fell into an artificial pond in front of his residence, the Dalai Lama decided that the time had come for him to agree with the wishes of his people and ministers and seek safety in flight, thereby becoming the leader and symbol of the resistance movement. Late that night, accompanied by members of his family, four of the six cabinet members and many loyal officials, the Dalai Lama escaped; the entire party evaded the Chinese Communist patrols, crossed the Kjichu River on the ferry, and under cover of darkness joined a group of Khamba Tribesmen. The Party reached the India border on March 31 and was immediately granted asylum by the Indian Government.

Demonstrations and fighting in Lhasa continued on March 18, in order to divert the attention of the Chinese Communist forces who were unaware of the escape. The following day, the Norbulingka Palace was damaged by heavy shelling, and on realising that the Dalai Lama had escaped, a large-scale manhunt was organised, entailing the use of aeroplanes, paratroops and thousands of men using the latest military equipment.

Anna Louise Strong, in her book Tibetan Interviews tries to

explain the Chinese fiasco by quoting the Tibetan collaborator Apci (Ngapo Ngawang Jigme) who told her the Dalai Lama was permitted to escape, as the Chinese Communists feared to endanger his life. Mrs. Strong points out that while the wicked Kashag government which "abducted" the Dalai Lama had been dissolved by the Chinese, the Dalai Lama's position as Head of the Preparatory Committee, also his Vice-Chairmanship of the National People's Congress were kept open for his return.

(The "Tezpur Statement" of the Dalai Lama issued to the press on April 18, 1959 categorically denied he was in India under any sort of "duress" or that he had been "abducted". He expressed gratitude to the Indian Government for giving him shelter, and voiced the hope that the revolt in Tibet would be over quickly without further bloodshed. The Indian Ministry of Foreign Affairs had announced on April 13, that the Dalai Lama was to stay in Mussoorie, a hill station in Uttar Pradesh. The Dalai Lama has stated categorically that he will not return to Tibet unless the Tibetan Government is restored to the status it had prior to the Chinese Communist invasion of 1950)

Superior organization, training and equipment enabled the Chinese Communist troops to quell the rebellion in Lhasa.

In a speech to the Indian Parliament on April 27, 1959, Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru of India, who is noted for his diplomatic tact towards the Chinese People's Republic spoke the following forthright words:

"To say that a number of 'upper class reactionaries' in Tibet were responsible for this, appears to be an extraordinary simpli-

fication 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 upper class people but others also,... The attempt to explain a situation by the use of rather worn out words, phrases, and slogans, is seldom helpful."

TIBETAN LOCAL GOVERNMENT DISSOLVED

Meanwhile an order of the Chinese State Council signed by Chou En-lai and dated March 28, 1959, declared that the Tibetan local government was dissolved and that its functions and powers would be exercised by the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region. The order installed Panchen Ertegni as Acting Chairman of the Committee while the Dalai Lama was "held under duress". The collaborators Pebala and Apei were named Vice-Chairmen. The order went on to relieve eighteen traitors of their posts and also install sixteen collaborators in their place.

On April 8, 1959 the Preparatory Committee met in plenary session in Lhasa, and NCNA reported the speech given by Panchen Ertegni, the Acting Chairman of the Committee.

"... Although the armed rebellion in the city of Lhasa has been completely crushed, yet a certain number of armed rebels in Tibet are still engaging in the criminal activities of arson, murder, pillage, rape, persecution of patriotic and progressive personages, oppression of the people, and rebellion against the Motherland.... To give all out support and assistance to the PLA in putting down the rebellion is an important current task of the Preparatory Committee... The... Committee... and all Chichiao offices... should

feed information to the PLA units engaged in quelling the rebellion, take part in transportation and supply work, and organize comfort activities, to insure that the People's Liberation Army will successfully crush the rebellion."

On April 9, 1959 the Tibetan freedom fighters formed a provisional government; they denounced the Chinese for violation the 17-point agreement, attempting to partition Tibet, undermining the Buddhist religion, and "colonizing" Tibet with more than five million settlers. On arrival at Sian on April 12, 1959 to attend the Second National People's Congress, the Panchen Lama, according to an NCNA dispatch, stated:

"We firmly believe that under the brilliant leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and with the support of all the 650 million people in the country, the rebellion in Tibet will certainly be thoroughly put down, at the earliest possible time."

REGIONAL AUTONOMY

Premier Chou En-lai, in his Report on the Work of the Government, delivered to the first session of the Second National People's Congress, on April 18, 1959, made extended remarks on Tibet. He forecast the realization of "Regional Autonomy" and the "step-by-step institution of democratic reforms". He reported that the Chinese Army was "continuing to mop up some remnants of the rebels who have fled to remote areas". He added that there was no reason why Sino-Indian friendship should be shaken because of "a handful" of Tibetan rebels. The Panchen-Lama, Apei, Shirob Jaltso, and other Tibetan collaborators subsequently spoke at the National People's Congress and echoed the established propaganda line that the rebellion had

had been the work of a few bandits, supported by a small number of selfish serf-owners and foreign imperialists, The Dalai Lama was said to be the unwilling captive of these elements.

On April 23, 1959, NCNA reported from Lhasa that "Troops of the Tibetan Military Area Commandhave gained tremendous victories in the Loka area, southeast of Lhasa.... In 10 days the PLA troops swept across hundreds of Kilometres and wiped out the rebel nest."

The National People's Congress on April 28, 1959 unanimously adopted a resolution on Tibet, thanking the PLA for suppressing the rebellion and blaming the rebellion on reactionaries and imperialists. The resolution continued:

".... It is now already possible, while enforcing military control.... to set up, step by step, local administrative organs of the Tibet Autonomous Region. With the putting down of the rebellionthe Preparatory Committee should... carry out democratic reforms in Tibet step by step...."

The resolution concluded by gently chiding Indian political circles for unfriendly interference.

REFORM PROGRAMME

On July 2, 1959 the Second plenary session of the Preparatory Committee was opened to discuss the carrying out of the Chinese Communist Party's so-called reform programme.

The Panchen Lama announced that a policy of buying out (compensation) would be adopted towards the upper-strata members who did not take part in the rebellion. Different treatment thus would be enjoyed by those who joined the rebellion and those who did not join the rebellion. Irrational religious systems should be constantly

reformed. It was dangerous, he added, for certain persons of the religious circles to resist reform under the pretext of protecting religion. The aim of reform was to wipe out all systems of feudal exploitation and oppression - including the lamaseries.

General Chang Kuo-hua disclosed some new details about the rebellion in his speech to the same gathering. The Loka area, he said, had been a centre of rebellion since June 1958. He added: "Nowthe PLA is calling on the rebels to surrender.... while also launching annihilative attacks against these small numbers of rebels who refuse to wake up and persist in seeking to escape. The rebels have virtually been wiped out."

Chang Kuo-hua also disclosed that the campaign to eliminate the "remnant and escaped rebels" was continuing and that a policy of "whoever cultivated the land of the rebellions upper strata elements shall own the crops" was being carried out. A new policy for the masses was the "Three-Antis and Two-Reductions Movement" (Anti-rebellion, Anti-Ula (corvee), Anti-slavery, Reduce rent, and Reduce interest).

"The democratic reform , " said Chang Kuo-hua, " will be carried out in two stages. The first stage will consist of suppression of the rebellion and the campaign to oppose rebellion, and the conducting of the 'three-antis'and 'two-reductions' movements. The second stage will be the redistribution of land.....

"In the meantime'.... peasant association will be established. These associations will become the basic form of organization to organize and lead the masses of people to carry out democratic reforms. In the period of democratic reform, these associations will, in

effect, exercise the functions and power of government at the basic level in the countryside. To protect and encourage livestock raising, the herds of livestock in the pastoral areas will not be redistributed. The herds of the rebels will be confiscated and given to those who tend them. Livestock owners who have not taken part in the rebellion will still retain their animals...

"A campaign will be carried out in the monasteries and temples to oppose rebellion, and privileges. In the course of land redistribution, the land, extra houses, draft animals, and farm tools of those who have not taken part in the rebellion will be bought out in the same way as those of the bourgeoisie in other parts of China."

Essentially the above formula is the same as that already used in China. The class struggle, the setting of peasants against landlords, of workers against employers, of progressives against reactionaries, with the Chinese Army to enforce the rules and the consequences, and the peasant associations to administer the reforms; this was to be the new social order in Tibet.

On March 1, 1960, The People's Daily carried an article by Chang Ching-wu, Secretary of the Tibetan Work Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, entitled: The Victory of Democratic Reform in Tibet. The contents of the article give the impression that while a beginning has certainly been made, the title tends to claim too much.

Chang Ching-wu reports: "With the liquidation of the rebellion in Tibet, Party committeemen at various levels... deployed large batches of cadres in work teams to join in the democratic reform movement in the rural areas There are all told 78 hsien (counties) in the region. According to statistics ending on

January 31, of the current year, democratic reforms have been launched in 57 Hsien in the agricultural areas involving 790,000 persons, of which 40 hsien with about 610,000 persons have completed the 'three-antis and double reductions' routine. Of these 40 hsien 35 with about 470,000 persons have completed the land distribution. The 'three-antis' and 'two-benefits' (beneficial to the livestock-owners and herdsmen) movement is being launched in 12 hsien in the pastoral areas, involving about 70,000 persons.... Agricultural production mutual aid teams have been launched in many places and in some districts 80% of the peasant have joined such outfits."

It is evident from these figures that in the pastoral areas, removed from centres of concentration of Chinese Communist armed forces the Party's "reform" programme is moving more slowly. Chang Ching-wu has no progress report about the monasteries, saying merely: "The Party.... should determinedly proceed to abolish the special feudal privileges of and exploitation by monasteries, and smash the employment of religion as a front for counter-revolutionary activities."

To what extent armed resistance to the Chinese Communist Army continues is difficult to assess, but it is a fact that armed resistance is continuing. In the 12 months since the March 1959 rebellion 16,000 Tibetan refugees have crossed over into India according to a statement by Prime Minister Nehru on March 31, 1960. Included among these refugees are all classes of Tibetans, both rich and poor, educated and illiterate. Tibetans are still coming over the border at the rate of 150 to 200 people per month, and seeking

refuge in India.

It has been estimated that more than 80,000 Tibetans have been killed in the struggle against the Chinese during the past 10 years; and yet the fight continues. The Indian Newspaper The Nation on March 7, 1968 published an interview with the Dalai Lama in which the exiled ruler stated:

"The struggle for freedom continues in Tibet in spite of a year of Chinese suppression." The Dalai Lama asserted that the Tibetans were "morally strong" and "had the courage to face aggression both through guerilla warfare and passive resistance". He added that there were pockets of resistance scattered throughout various areas of the vast and difficult Tibetan terrain, and that those who could not stand the "ruthlessness" of the Chinese Communists had left for "hurling" in India. The Dalai Lama also expressed the opinion that "even the Panchen Lama would serve the interests of his people." The Panchen incidentally, has spent much time in Tibet since the rebellion, being absent from Lhasa between September 1959 and February 15, 1960.

CONCLUSION

What the future will bring for Tibet and the Tibetans is hard to say, but it seems certain that the Chinese Communist regime will continue to push the "democratic reforms" and advance its policy of integration Tibet into China. It also seems probably that considerable segments of the Tibetan population will continue to resist Peking, actively or passively. At this time, the odds are heavily against the Tibetans who have chosen the road of resistance; they can only hope to harass, not dislodge the Chinese.

However, should the Chinese Central Government ever show any signs of weakness, the Tibetans will be quick to reassert their independence.

NCNA Quotations from the Indian Press on Tibet

SUMMARY: NCNA DREW HEAVILY ON INDIAN PRESS DURING TIBETAN INCIDENT; THE COMMUNIST NEWS AGENCY WAS UNUSUALLY MILD IN ITS CHARACTERIZATION OF THE NON-COMMUNIST INDIAN PRESS; LITTLE CRITICISM OF INDIAN PRESS; FEW HARSH TERMS USED; DISCUSSION OF TACTICS EMPLOYED. NCNA GENERALLY CARRIED SAME THEMES AS INDIAN COMMUNIST-CONTROLLED PRESS WITH MINOR VARIATIONS; INDIAN COMMUNIST STRATEGY TO LINK THE WEST WITH TIBETAN INCIDENT.

During the course of the recent Tibetan incident, the New China News Agency (NCNA) drew heavily on statements from the Indian press to substantiate or reinforce its own propaganda line on Tibet. This post has assembled these statements covering the period of March 27 to June 1, classifying them under thirty-four headings for easy reference. The results necessitated some thirty-five single-spaced pages to encompass all Indian press statements used by NCNA. Thirty-three Indian newspapers and periodicals were quoted by the communist news agency.

Since analysis of these quotations is more properly done by USIS Delhi, we shall restrict ourselves to calling attention to a few of the more obvious characteristics of NCNA usage at this time.

NCNA was unusually mild in its description of the non-communist Indian press. The harshest words applied to non-communist press were "hostile", "unscrupulous" or "slanderous". In a May 5 despatch from Peking, NCNA complained about treatment given to communist China by certain Indian newspapers:

Since the rebellion in Tibet, five English language papers in the Indian capital have given wide coverage to reports distorting the truth of the issue and remarks slandering China and interfering in China's affairs. On the other hand, they have given only little space in obscure corners to China's views on the rebellion in Tibet, usually quoting Western news agencies... These five English papers are the Times of India, the Indian Express, the Hindustan Times, the Hindusthan Standard and Statesman. During the period from March 21 to April 28, each of the five newspapers published two to three hundred items of news concerning Tibet, but of these each of the papers published only around 30 items of news on China's views. The versions of the reports from China are generally abridged or distorted by Reuter from Peking or Hongkong and the Associated Press from Tokyo... The report given by Premier CHOU En-lai to the National People's Congress published by the Hindustan Times on April 19 contained only 700 words and took up as much space as a photo of the Dalai Lama's sisters published on the same page! The other four papers carried only Reuter's abridged reports from Peking. On April 20, only two of the papers carried excerpts of the part in Premier CHOU En-lai's report concerning Tibet. The other three papers never even mentioned it. But all these papers carried the so-called Dalai Lama's statement under banner headlines.

While carrying Premier CHOU En-lai's report, the Times of India gave it a single column thin type headline "CHOU Harps on 'Duress' Theme" near the bottom of column seven. Only the Hindustan Times published a photostat copy of one of the three letters by the Dalai Lama to General TAN Kuan-san. The Hindusthan Standard and Indian Express published copies of these letters in their inside pages with headlines which cast doubts on their authenticity... Generally speeches by deputies in the National People's Congress were dismissed with one or two sentences each and quotations from articles and editorials from the People's Daily and other papers were distorted to show as though China was determined to reject her friendship with India and the Indian people. Everyday they gave such headlines to these reports: "Indian Sympathy for Tibet Angers Peking," "Deputies in Peking Again Attack India," "Chinese Press Steps up Tirade against India," "No Foolish Hogs in Our Garden; More Blasts From Peking," "Veiled Threat By Chinese Daily."

NCHA's coordination with the communist-controlled press of India was reflected in a number of instances. As an example, we cite below an editorial-type NCHA despatch of April 20 and a clever article from Calcutta's communist organ, Swadhinata. The latter was published the same day as the NCHA release, covering the same topic, and with the same propoganda line. The NCHA release said:

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... 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... 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... 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? ...

An article in the Swadhinata on the same day said:

... Doubt has arisen even in circles most sympathetic to the Dalai Lama whether this statement is really by the Dalai Lama. Not only the language and style of the statement but even its clever embellishments had to be noted by them. The question remains why this unnatural method was adopted. Was it premeditated? If so, was not India's External Affairs Ministry aware and cautious about it? This question will very justifiably arise in the mind of every Indian today...

To cope with Indian press statements and articles on Tibet, NCMA employed a wide variety of tactics such as:

1. Utilization of favorable statements from the Indian communist press, which in turn, aggressively sought out propaganda material favorable to the Chinese communists. For instance, a statement from Blitz of April 11 and quoted by NCMA on April 28 said:

... There is a lot of bla bla in the press and public speeches in the country over the fate of the Dalai Lama and the Tibetan way of life and what not. None of the leaders of the government nor the Congress have felt it necessary to take the nation in confidence and tell us: What is India's stake in Tibet? ... The cultural and commercial relations between India and China's Tibetan region have not been harmed. While some Indians have taken sides in the rebellion in Tibet, China's sovereignty over Tibet is recognized by India even today. It must be noted that the side with which our sympathy is expressed is the representative of the medieval feudal decadent order. Why? Why has this new change come about? Here is one answer, without diplomatic mumbo jumbo: Delhi wants Tibet to continue as a buffer zone - if not a buffer state - between communist China and non-communist India. That is the meaning of the "powerful request" that Tibetan autonomy should not be disturbed. In other words, the Chinese system of political and economic life - communism - must not replace the ancient lama theocracy. Borders of India must not meet, but across them must lay the mass of this Himalayan plateau. From Tibet to Nepal and Bhutan and Sikkim a breeze sweeps straight forward. The air of communism will reach these Indian "protectorates" much sooner than anything else. India cannot risk to have the communist giant of Asia on its physical frontiers. Let Tibet be the cordon sanitaire! ... India needs a belt of friendly states surrounding it - Tibet included. Is this our real stake in Tibet? ... Let the ghost of "secret diplomacy" not spread a veil of confusion and cold war over India-China relationship by muted voices and concealed motives...

2. Quotation of favorable excerpts from non-communist press sources. Since this post does not have Indian papers from which NCMA quotations were drawn, we cannot determine to what extent the material is excerpted out of context. However, because of the very short quotations used and our previous experience with NCMA use of foreign press materials, the chances are that the sections of material used are quoted correctly but not in context. Two examples of quotations of favorable material from non-communist press source follow:

NCMA New Delhi, May 12:

The Urdu daily Milap today (May 12) said editorially: "Many speeches full of falsehood and many more stupid statements were made in our country. Listening to and reading these statements, one felt surprised." It pointed out: "Some people in our country used the

Tibetan events as a pretext for their anti-China propoganda. They kicked up such fuss as if a war was about to break out between India and China, as if Tibet were a province of India and not of China. It expressed its stand for non-interference in China's affairs and said: "The internal dispute of China should not be turned by us into a dispute between India and China."

NCMA New Delhi, May 13:

The National Herald in its editorial on May 12 criticized the Praja Socialist Party's so-called "All-Party Tibet Convention" held at Jullundur on Sunday (May 10) and said that "such a 'convention' can do great harm to India and the peace of Asia. Panch Sheel remains the basis of India's policy. India wants to remain friends with China and hopes that normalcy would soon return to Tibet, enabling the Dalai Lama to return to Lhasa. The suggestion that India should sponsor the United Nations' demand for Tibetan independence is not only to involve India in a cold war with China but to destroy the entire basis of India's foreign policy and to destroy the peace of the whole of south and southeast Asia." The editorial disapproved of the Praja Socialist Party's slanders against the Indian Communist Party by utilizing the Tibet rebellion.

3. Quotation of unfavorable material only where a forceful rebuttal can be made. On one occasion this took the form of a short anti-communist-line article from one Indian paper answered by a long pro-communist-line quotation from another. For example, NCMA of May 18 stated:

The Anand Bazar Patrika (May 16) charged:

The Indian Communist Party's resolution on Tibet is under instructions from Peking. The Indian communists are traitors and a danger to India.

The Swadhinata (May 17) returned:

There is no originality in Anand Bazar charges that "the Indian Communist Party owes loyalty to Moscow and Peking". Year after year this very same thing is said by imperialist agents and the representatives of vested interests. According to Anand Bazar, patriotism means blindly supporting injustice when it is committed by one country against another. It is this type of patriotism that the imperialists propagate to serve their own interests by engineering clashes between nations. Anand Bazar is using the Tibet issue as a smokescreen to cover up the U.S.-Pakistan Military Pact. The Indian Communist Party support the stand of China and the version of the Chinese government on Tibet. It is doing so because China's stand is correct and China's version is true to the last letter; and that truth is proved beyond any doubt by the fact that Nehru could not make any protest against China's stand. Anand Bazar, too has not been able to do so and because

of this Anand Bazar has completely suppressed this truth. But when a liar can be stupid there is no end to his troubles. It does not seem that its foreign and national patrons will be able to hold on for long. That is why Anand Bazar Patrika, the declared enemy of panch sheel and Sino-Indian friendship and clandestine supporter of imperialist conspiracy against Indian independence, is taking cover behind Panch Sheel and India-China friendship in desperation and out of fear of being caught red-handed, and is spitting at the Communist Party. One really feels pity for Anand Bazar Patrika."

At another time, NCMA gave only incidental mention to the source of an anti-communist-line statement. In a May 21 despatch from New Delhi, NCMA reported:

The Tamil language daily Janasakthi in a leading article on May 18 asserted that the rebellion in Tibet was launched by the upper strata reactionary elements. By way of replying to criticisms of the Indian Communist Party's resolution on Tibet contained in the Hindu of Madras, the paper said: "The Hindu says Tibetan rebellion was a national uprising. This assumption is based on the fact of over 10,000 refugees seeking asylum in India. According to critics of China this large number of Tibetans seeking asylum in India could not explain the statement that only a few feudal elements organized the rebellion. To these critics we would say this: CHANG Kai-shek who was driven out of the mainland now controls much more than 10,000 supporters who support him because of fearsome reprisals if they don't. The Dalai Lama was surrounded by feudal lords and slave labor chieftains. They have been literally controlling the affairs in Tibet - People's China has always been very tolerant - surprisingly tolerant of the regime in Tibet. Taking advantage of this tolerance, would it be difficult for the feudal elements around the Dalai Lama to muster 10,000 people around them? Again, after all what is their percentage in the total population? Simply because 10,000 Tibetans have been given asylum in India, should it be said that the Tibet rebellion is an international affair. It is scandalous even to think in those terms. The imperialists have always thought and spoken in those terms of rebellions in socialist countries which they themselves organized from time to time, through their agents. India certainly should not give any quarter to such imperialist thinking.

4. Avoidance of many well worded anti-Chinese communist press statements and reports. For instance, on March 30, the Hindustan Times, referring to the India-China Agreements on Tibet, wrote:

An elaborate enunciation of principles which describe non-interference in five different ways was surely an extravagant way of safeguarding a few lakhs' worth of business. Our meaning was, and the Chinese seemed to understand it then, that Panch Sheel had a validity in the ordering of relations between China and Tibet. We were not wrong in experimenting with the begetting of trust by trust.

If to depend upon Chinese good faith was a risk, it was a calculated risk. Since then we have had several warnings that the Panch Sheel pipeline of good-will was one-ended. And now, when we should be torn between feelings of shame and impotence, the Chinese have had the audacity not only to frighten us into continued silence by giving us the undeserved credit of harboring the "commanding center" of the rebellion in Indian territory at Kalimpong but to tell us how we shall conduct ourselves in our sovereign Parliament.

Much the same sentiment was expressed on April 1 by the leading nationalist daily of Calcutta, the Anrita Bazar Patrik:

Do the communist rulers of China seriously believe that the world will be taken in by their version of the tragedy that has overtaken the Land of the Lamas, though words and phrases like "counter-revolutionary forces", "traitorous clique", "reactionary forces of Tibet", and "patriotic people" are there to hit the reader's eye? No, truth cannot be smothered by words. There is enough in the State Council's orders and the New China News Agency's separate despatch to corroborate and strengthen the impression already formed on the basis of reports received from other sources that what the Chinese People's Liberation Army under orders from Peking has suppressed and is engaged in suppressing is a valiant people's last desperate fight for political and religious freedom.

NCHA chose to ignore these two articles in its coverage but seized on two letters-to-the-editor from the same paper to re-emphasize its line:

Many Indians have expressed their opinion on the rebellion in Tibet in letters to Indian newspapers ever since the rebellion broke out... Some of the letters objected to statements by certain Indian circles which attempted to wreck the friendship between India and China and to intervene in China's internal affairs...

One such letter published in Anrita Baza Patrika (April 1) said: "We Indians will do better to be particularly careful about using uncomplimentary if not harsh remarks about China with whom we have one of the longest records of peace between two countries... When most of the Afro-Asian countries are almost silent on the flare-up in Tibet why should we speak in a tongue which sounds similar to that characterizing utterances from anti-China quarters..."

Even the Hindustan Times which published an editorial clamoring that "Tibet is dead", published a letter on April 9 from a reader who said: "Much hue and cry has been arised (sic) in our country over the happenings in Tibet, and in the resultant din, the real issues involved have been lost sight of. It seems as if certain interested persons were waiting for the opportunity to malign our great neighbor China whose successes have earned praise even from unexpected quarters..."

Referring to the actual situation in Tibet, the letter said that "any government worth the name could not have done anything other than what the Chinese Government did to deal with the rebellion." It objected to the description by some Indians of the Tibetan rebels as "martyrs" and China as an "aggressor".

Major themes of the Indian communist-controlled press as quoted by NCNA included:

1. The Tibetan rebellion is China's internal affair (Jana Shakti, March 27);
2. Tibetan rebels are reactionaries (Jugantar, March 30);
3. Dalai Lama's April 18 Tezpur statement invites serious danger to India's own interest (Swadhinata, April 20);
4. Western benefactors are using the tragedy of Tibet to rake India into the cold war (Blitz, April 25);
5. Mehru's April 27's parliament statement encourages Indian reactionaries in the imperialist conspiracy (Swadhinata, April 29);
6. Joint Indo-Pakistani defense of the sub-continent is anti-communist and anti-Chinese (the monthly New Age, May Issue).

Among minor themes were:

1. Kalimpong has long been the center of intrigues (the India Press Agency, early April);
2. Masonis and Asoka Mehtas who talk about the "rape of Tibet" are out to disrupt India's relation with China (the New Age weekly, third issue of April);
3. The Dalai Lama is not a free man (Blitz, May 2);
4. Indian people cherish friendship with China (the New Age weekly, second issue of May);
5. India should not give any credence to the thought that Tibetan rebellion is an "international affair" (Janasakthi, May 18).

Some of the above themes indicate that the Indian communists aimed at reducing the influence of the Praja Socialist Party leader Kripalani, and inspiring confidence in the China-India friendship policy of the Indian Communist Party. This was particularly apparent in an NCNA quoted article by Joshi, secretary of the Secretariat of the National Council of the Indian Communist Party, in the New Age (third issue of May). Joshi declared:

"... The Indian Communist Party is the most consistent defender of India's independent foreign policy and friendship with China."

Chronology of Chinese propaganda themes re Tibet

SUMMARY: VARYING PATTERN OF CHINESE COMMUNIST THEMATIC EMPHASIS WITH RESPECT TO TIBET EVIDENCED. THE "NEW LOOK" THEME NOW ASSUMES GREATER IMPORTANCE.

On the night of March 19 of this year, fighting between the Tibetan people and the Chinese communist forces in Lhasa began, the rebels charging that the "Chinese Communist Party had destroyed religion in Tibet". Beginning in May and June, the Tibetan people clashed with the communist forces in Chamdo, Dinching, Nagchuka and Loka areas.

In their replies to the rebel charges concerning destruction of religion, the Chinese communist propagandists made stereotyped countercharges that "the Tibetan rebels desecrated lama temples and raped nuns." The Chinese communists, perhaps with the Tibetan audience in mind, also sought to sow suspicion concerning the intentions of the rebels. The latter were characterized as collaborating with imperialists and bandits.

In their propaganda for the Chinese and foreign audience, the Chinese communists attempted to arouse sentiments not only against the Tibetan rebels but also against the "Indian expansionists", to create a picture of Tibetan "good will" toward Peiping, and to portray a rosy picture of the "new Tibet".

Throughout the period, various themes were stressed according to their utility of the moment. The research monitor, Robert Carin, who wrote the enclosed report, divides the period since the beginning of the rebellion into five stages of propaganda. From March 20, the day of the proclamation of the PLA Military Area Command, to the eve of the opening of the 1st plenary meeting of the Preparatory Committee on April 7, major thematic stress was placed on suppression of the rebellion. Between April 8 and 17 major thematic stress was placed on the implementation of State Council order. After the Dalai Lama's Tezpur statement of April 18, Communist China-India relations deteriorated. At this time anti-India statements clearly dominated Peiping's propaganda efforts. On May 6, the PEOPLE'S DAILY criticized Indian Prime Minister Nehru's viewpoint in strong terms. From May 7 to June 27 Chinese communist thematic emphasis shifted to rehabilitation and development in Tibet.

Since June 28, the convening day of the 2nd plenary meeting of the Preparatory Committee, major thematic stress has been placed on "democratic reform". Themes about the "new look" such as "bumper harvest" and "first nursery" now are given greater emphasis in Chinese communist propaganda output.

INDEX OF CHINESE COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA THEMES CONCERNING TIBET

I. Rebellion Suppression Period March 20 - April 7

Themes:

1. Strict discipline of the PLA, proclamation of the Tibet Military Area Command of the PLA, March 20, 1959, p.1
2. Assumption of military control, NCHA Peking, March 28, 1959, p.1
3. Dalai Lama under duress, NCHA Peking, March 29, 1959, p.2
4. Peace and order, NCHA Lhasa, March 30, 1959, p.3
5. Treatment of rebels with magnanimity, PEOPLE'S DAILY, March 31, 1959, p.3
6. Rebel collaboration with imperialists and bandits, NCHA Peking, March 31, 1959, p.4
7. Maintenance of religious beliefs, NCHA Lhasa, April 7, 1959, p.5

Media outlets:

1. Mass meetings, NCHA Lhasa, April 1, 1959; NCHA Shigatse, April 1, 1959; NCHA Lhasa, April 6, 1959, p.5
2. Speeches, SOHG-gi I-shi, Vice-Governor of Szechwan Province, HUANG Cheng-ching, Chairman of the South Kansu Tibetan Autonomous chow, NCHA Peking, April 4, 1959, pp. 6-7; NGAWANG Jaltse, Vice-Chairman of the Chinese Buddhist Association, Drotsangtsang, Vice-Chairman of the CPCPC Committee of the Alpha Tibetan Autonomous chow, Tzuchin, Abbot of the Chaokioh Monastery in Chengtu, NCHA Chengtu, April 4, 1959, p.7; Living Buddha Pebala Choliehnamje of the Chamdo Lamasery, NCHA Lhasa, April 6, 1959, pp. 7-8
3. Publication of Dalai Lama's three letters, NCHA Peking, April 7, 1959, pp. 8-9

II. State Council Order Implementation Period April 8-17

Major theme: Thorough liberation of the working class, NCHA Lhasa, April 8, pp. 9-10

Media outlets:

1. Reproduction of favorable foreign press statements, NCHA Tirana, April 8, 1959, p.10; NCHA Bucharest, April 9, 1959, p.11; NCHA New Delhi,

April 12, 1959, pp. 11-12

2. Demonstration, NCMA Lhasa, April 15, 1959, p.12

3. Special relief teams, NCMA Shigatse, April 16, 1959, pp. 12-13

III. Anti-India Period April 18 - May 6

Themes:

1. The Dalai Lama's Tezpur statement of April 18 a forgery, NCMA Peking, April 20, 1959, pp. 13-14
2. Tibet, an inalienable part of China, NCMA Peking, April 23, 1959, pp. 14-15
3. No interference in China's internal affairs allowed, NCMA Peking, April 24, 1959, pp. 15-17
4. Indian Government encourages and supports the Tibetan rebels, NCMA Peking, April 24, 1959, pp. 17-18
5. Panchen Erdeni's charge against Indian expansionists entirely correct, NCMA Peking, April 25, 1959, pp. 19-20
6. The Chinese people oppose cold war, NCMA Peking, April 25, 1959, p.21
7. Indian expansionists attempt to separate Tibet from China and turn it into a protectorate, NCMA Peking, April 26, 1959, pp. 22-23
8. Indian expansionists use the Dalai Lama as a hostage, NCMA Peking, April 27, 1959, pp. 23-24
9. Religious feelings and religious freedom exploited to disguise Indian demand for political independence in Tibet, NCMA Peking, April 28, 1959, pp. 24-25
10. Indian expansionists have a hand in Tibet independence plot, NCMA Peking, April 29, 1959, pp. 25-26
11. India has no right to talk about Tibet's autonomy, NCMA Peking, April 29, 1959, pp. 26-27

IV. Rehabilitation and Development Period May 7 - June 27

Themes:

Serfdom:

1. 1.1 million Tibetan peasants demand end of serfdom, NCMA Lhasa,

May 7, 1959, p.28

2. Tibetan people's torture and humiliation have now been brought to an end, NCM Lhasa, May 12, 1959, pp. 28-29
3. Exorbitant taxes under Tibetan serfdom, NCM Lhasa, May 16, 1959, pp. 29-30
4. Not a single serf-owner in Tibet without practice of usury, NCM Lhasa, June 4, 1959, pp. 30-31

New Look:

1. Yatung breathes freely once again, PEKING REVIEW, No. 19, May 12, 1959, p. 31
2. Peasants in Tibet are really free from the fetters of usury, NCM Lhasa, May 17, 1959, pp. 31-32
3. Another power station, the largest on Tibet Plateau, under construction, NCM Lhasa, May 23, 1959, p.32
4. Lhasa celebrates Buddha's Birth and Purnima with real joy, NCM Lhasa, May 23, 1959, pp. 32-33
5. Five-starred red flags on Lhasa taller buildings, PEKING REVIEW, No. 21, May 26, 1959, pp. 33-34
6. PLA men and Tibetan peasants work side by side in the fields, NCM Lhasa, May 27, 1959, p.34
7. Children of many serfs and slaves have enrolled in schools for the first time, NCM Lhasa, June 2, 1959, pp. 34-35
8. Vegetables: scarcely any before, now more than 20 types, NCM Lhasa, June 4, 1959, p.35

Media outlets:

1. Jubilant celebration, NCM Lhasa, May 29, 1959, pp. 35-36
2. Publications in Tibetan, PEKING REVIEW, No. 22, June 2, 1959, p. 36

V. Democratic Reform Period June 28

- Democratic reform: 1) different treatment, 2) rent reduction, 3) interest reduction, 4) peasant associations, 5) herdsmen's associations, 6) changes in administrative divisions, and 7) policy of redemption.

CHINESE COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA THEMES CONCERNING TIBET

Chinese communist propaganda activities concerning the question of Tibet can be analyzed not only in the light of the major concurrent political and economic developments, but also in terms of the shifts in propaganda themes occasioned by communist tactical changes throughout Tibetan events.

All important communist propaganda themes arranged here during the five specified periods are based on mainland documents, speeches, news despatches, editorials and commentaries.

1. Suppression of rebellion period, March 20 - April 7

Communist propaganda during this period concentrated on three issues:

1) uncovering and destroying rebel elements; 2) establishment of "peace and order"; 3) avoidance of linking the Dalai Lama with public attacks.

Major propaganda themes:

1. Strict discipline of the PLA

The proclamation of the Tibet Military Area Command of the Chinese People's Liberation Army dated March 20:

... Our army has strict discipline. It protects the interests of the people, and agriculture, animal husbandry, industry and commerce. It is fair in business transactions and does not take a single needle or a thread from the people. It respects the religious beliefs and the customs and habits of the people and protects lamaseries and cultural relics ...

2. Assumption of Military control

MCNA Peking, March 28, 1959:

.... 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 committees are: to suppress rebellion; to protect the people and the foreign nationals who observe the laws of China; with the authorization from the Preparatory Committee for the Autonomous Region of Tibet and the Tibet Military Area Command of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, to set up administrative bodies at various levels of the Autonomous Region of Tibet, and organize self-defense armed forces or patriotic Tibetans to replace the old Tibetan Army of only a little more than 3,000 men who are rotten to the core, utterly useless in fighting and have turned rebel.

The military control committee of Lhasa was formally set up on March 23. Military control committees will be set up in succession in other places except for Shigatse, the capital of Houtsang (Tsang) area which is under the leadership of Panchen Erdeni, where it is not necessary to set one up. All the military control committees in Lhasa and the other places consist of the representatives of the Chinese People's Liberation Army and representatives of local patriotic people.

Now important cities and areas including Ari, west of Lhasa; Gyantse; Phari; Yatung, southwest of Lhasa; Damshune and Nagchuka, North of Lhasa; Chontang, south of Lhasa and Taichao, Lingtze, Tsamu, Dinching, Chando and Dza-I, east of Lhasa are all under the firm control of the Chinese People's Liberation Army. The overwhelming majority of the local people are cooperating with the Chinese People's Liberation Army. The rebel bandits are still carrying on only in some very remote places.

Since the Dalai Lama, Chairman of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region, is still held under duress by the rebels, the State Council has decided that the Panchen Erdeni, Vice Chairman of the Preparatory Committee for the Autonomous Region of Tibet, assume the post of Acting Chairman during the period of the Dalai Lama's abduction. The State Council has also appointed as vice chairmen the Living Buddha Pebala Choliehmanje and Ngapo Ngawang Jigme, Standing Committee members of Tibetan Nationality of the Preparatory Committee of the Autonomous Region. Ngapo is concurrently secretary-general. As soon as order has been restored, local administrative bodies of the Autonomous Region of Tibet at all levels will be set up one after another throughout Tibet and exercise the functions and powers of autonomy.

At present, autonomy and 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 peaceful order is established ...

3. Dalai Lama under duress

HCMA Peking, March 29, 1959:

The six 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, between March 10 when the clique of Tibetan traitors started the rebellion and the night of March 17 when the Dalai Lama was abducted from Lhasa, are now made public. All three letters from the Dalai Lama are in his own Hand writing.

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 that he wanted to attend the performance there and fixed the date for March 10.

Having made their arrangements in advance, the clique of traitors in Tibet spread rumors that the troops of the Tibet Military Area Command would detain Dalai Lama. On this pretext, they assembled a crowd in Lhasa city on that day and besieged Dalai Lama in the Norbu Lingka, and staged an open armed rebellion.

Following the outbreak of these events, General TAN Kuan-san wrote a letter to Dalai Lama on the very same day, requesting him not to attend the theatrical performance for the time being owing to the rebellion by the reactionaries.

The Dalai Lama wrote to General TAN Kuan-san on the 11th saying "reactionary, evil elements are carrying out activities endangering me under the pretext of protecting my safety. I am taking measures to calm things down."

On March 11, General TAN Kuan-san wrote a letter to Dalai Lama pointing out that there were open military provocations by reactionaries and he called on the Tibet Local Government to take responsibility to stop them immediately.

On March 12, Dalai Lama wrote a reply to General TAN Kuan-san in which Dalai Lama once again explained that "the incidents which have seriously estranged relations between the Central Government and the Local Government" had been created by reactionaries under the pretext of protecting him, and said that he was "making every effort possible to deal with them."

On March 15, General TAN Kuan-san wrote a letter to Dalai Lama explaining the attitude of the Central People's Government toward the rebellion and welcoming Dalai Lama's desire to make every effort to deal with the incidents.

On March 16, Dalai Lama said in his letter to General TAN Kuan-san that he had instructed the officials of the Tibet Local Government and that he might go to the Military Area Command in a few days. But on the night of March 17, the very day following that on which Dalai Lama wrote the above letter, the traitorous clique abducted him from Lhasa to the Loka area southeast of Lhasa. Then on the night of March 18, the clique of traitors launched an all-out attack against the People's Liberation Army garrison in Lhasa ...

4. Peace and order

NCMA Lhasa, March 30, 1959:

Lhasa which has just experienced a rebellion has been swept clean. The shops have opened again and in the market there are fresh vegetables, beef and mutton. Social order is being steadily restored.

The Tibetan peasants, who were hindered by the rebellious elements from doing their spring sowing, have started plowing in the outskirts of Lhasa. Carts carrying manure are moving along the highways. Help for the peasants is being arranged by the Local Communist Party Committee and relief funds will be given to poor city inhabitants.

Workers at the Lhasa Power Plant are busy laying electric wiring which was damaged by the rebels. Medical workers are giving people check-ups and treatment.

The statements of the Local Communist Party Committee and the Military Control Committee in Lhasa are being put out by the local line-broadcasting station. In the streets the people gathered around the notice boards where the order of the State Council on the dissolution of the Local Government of Tibet, the proclamation of the Tibet Military Area Command and the communique of the NCMC concerning the rebellion were posted up, and read them with great care.

Lhasa people have chalked up on their door-ways various symbols indicating good fortune. They greet each other with the words "chahsidelai" (good fortune, in Tibetan) when they meet in the street or encounter Han or Tibetan functionaries to express their pleasure at being freed from the disaster of rebellion.

The Chinese national flag, symbol of light and happiness, flutters in the breeze over Lhasa, greeting the re-birth of this ancient city.

5. Treatment of rebels with magnanimity

PEOPLE'S DAILY of March 31, 1959:

... The primary task in Tibet at present is to wipe out all the rebels and to establish peaceful order. The proclamation of the Tibet Military Area Command of the Chinese People's Liberation Army and the news communique of the NCMC on the rebellion in Tibet have already given definite explanations about the policies which the government will adopt in the course of this. The Preparatory Committee for the Tibetan Autonomous Region and the Tibetan Military Area-Command of the Chinese People's Liberation Army will firmly unite all ecclesiastical and secular people in Tibet who have not taken part in the rebellion. Even rebels will be treated in different ways in accordance with the policy of magnanimity. That is to say, 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 strictly punished ...

6. Rebel collaboration with imperialists and bandits

NCMC Peking, March 31, 1959:

The act of a small handful of traitors who carry out counter-revolutionary rebellion in Tibet in collaboration with the imperialists and the bandits has aroused the great indignation of the people. These traitors try to prevent the Tibetan people from realizing their own true wishes, and to lead the Tibetan people away from the leadership of Chairman MAO and stop them from receiving the attention and assistance of the people of the great Han nationality. The attempt of the traitors is to continue the enslavement of the Tibetan people to maintain their own rule, and to hand over Tibet, an integral part of the motherland, to the imperialists.

Evidently, all these are only wishful thinking of the traitors. First of all, the people of Tibet - laboring people who have suffered long enough from oppressive rule - will never tolerate such a traitorous act, inasmuch as what they want is true emancipation and a new, happy life. And they know that they can have their wishes fulfilled only under the leadership of the Central People's Government and with the assistance of the Han people. The attitude of the central authorities toward the Tibet question has been always one of magnanimity. The central authorities have been constantly trying to enlighten and patiently waiting for the awakening of the small handful of reactionaries who go against the wishes of the people and engage in acts to oppress and deceive the people.

However, some of the reactionary rulers in the Tibetan Local Government held on to their dreams and went even as far as engaging in armed rebellion and destroying national unification and national unity. In the course of their reactionary activities, they made use of their powers in the Local Government which, instead of halting and sanctioning against their activities, connived with and supported them. Therefore, Premier CHOU En-lai's order for dissolving the Tibetan Local Government and authorizing the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region to exercise the powers of the Local Government is absolutely correct.

It is not surprising that the imperialists have supported a small handful of Tibetan reactionaries. In the recent years, the imperialists have been at wit's end to see the great success and expansion of the world struggle for peace, democracy, and socialism, the growing prosperity and development of the socialist countries, and the growing solidarity and strength of the socialist camp. The imperialists have felt especially uneasy at the great emancipation of more than 600 million Chinese people and the rapid development in China's socialist construction. Therefore, they have been doing all they can to sabotage the cause of socialism, the socialist construction of our country, and the great national unity of our country. For the purpose of carrying out their scheme, they have conveyed their instructions to and made use of their lackeys in Tibet ...

7. Maintenance of religious beliefs

NCNA Lhasa, April 7, 1959:

CHANG Kuo-hua, Deputy Chairman of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibetan Autonomous Region and Commander of the PLA Tibetan Military District, at a reception on the evening of April 6 in honor of Panchen Erdani, said:

... The rebellious elements slanderously charge that the Chinese Communist Party has "destroyed religion" in Tibet. Today, many of you people of the religious circles attending this reception know very well that such slanders are groundless. We have solemnly declared that it is the duty of the Chinese Communist Party, the Central People's Government, the PLA, and the work personnel in Tibet to respect the freedom of religion of the Tibetan people and protect the patriotic and law-abiding lama temples. This is so at present and will remain so in the future. People have spread rumors that we are in the habit of attacking lama temples and hate Lamas. All these are lies. We will protect the lama temples. What we want to quell is rebellion and nothing else. It is wrong to associate Lama temples which have not taken part in the rebellion indiscriminately with those which have taken part. We shall not question the past of some ecclesiastical and secular people who were threatened and deceived by the reactionary elements. This has been clearly stipulated in the order of the State Council, the proclamation of the Tibetan Military District, and the six tasks of the Lhasa Military Control Committee ...

Media outlets:

1. Mass meetings

NCNA Lhasa, April 1, 1959:

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.

200 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 ringleaders of the rebellion ...

NCNA Shigatse, April 1, 1959:

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 1,000 people from all circles ...

NCNA Lhasa, April 6, 1959:

Meetings have been held throughout the length and breadth of Tibet in the past few days denouncing the rebellion engineered by the upper strata reactionaries. In villages and towns, in the rural and pastoral areas of outlying districts, Tibetans, ecclesiastic and secular, have spoken at meetings condemning the crimes of the upper strata reactionary clique in Tibet in betraying the country and ravaging the people. Great enthusiasm is being displayed by the people in offering to assist the People's Liberation Army to put down the rebellion.

Some 2,000 people who met in Gyantse were unanimous in their support of the order of the State Council and their condemnation of the many outrages committed by the Tibetan upper strata traitorous clique ...

2. Speeches

NCNA Peking, April 4, 1959:

Many more eminent Tibetans in Szechwan, Kansu and Tsinghai provinces denounced the rebellion in Tibet today.

SONG-gi I-shi, Vice-Governor of Szechwan Province and Chairman of the Szechwan Commission of Nationalities Affairs, said that the Tibetan upper strata reactionary clique had oppressed the people in Tibet for a long time. After liberation, he said, the clique continued their crimes. Just recently, they had gone so far as to carry out rebellion in collusion with the imperialism, the CHANG Kai-shek clique and reactionaries abroad, openly tearing up the 17-Article Agreement on Measures for the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet.

SONG-gi I-shi said, "Their crimes are not to be tolerated by the Tibetan people or the other nationalities in our country."

He said, "Since liberation, under the leadership of the Central People's Government and Chairman MAO Tse-tung and with the assistance of the Han people, regional autonomy has been established in the areas in Szechwan inhabited by the Tibetan people. There has been great development in all aspects of production and construction and a marked rise in the people's living standards. The masses of the Tibetan nationality here have come to know from their personal experience that the Communist Party and the Central People's Government are defenders of their interests. Therefore, their trust and love for the Central People's Government and Chairman MAO Tse-tung is boundless."

The prominent Tibetan leader said, "Things are similar in Tibet. Despite the fact that the handful of reactionaries have shamelessly sold

themselves to imperialism and betrayed the motherland, the masses of working people in Tibet and the patriots in the Tibetan upper strata are resolutely for the leadership of the Central People's Government and the preservation of the unification of the motherland. The criminal plots of the rebels will certainly be crushed by the combined blows of the Tibetan people and the People's Liberation Army".

HUANG Cheng-ching, Vice-Governor of Kansu Province and Chairman of the South Kansu Tibetan Autonomous chou said, "The rebellion engineered by the majority of the Kaloons in the Tibet Local Government and the handful of the Tibetan upper strata reactionary clique is a monstrous crime of outright betrayal of the motherland and the interests of the Tibetan nationality."

HUANG Cheng-ching declared that the traitorous acts of the Tibet rebel elements went far beyond the scope of the constitution and the law, and also ran counter to Buddhist doctrine. "They are wolves in the guise of Buddhists," he said.

He said he believed the people in Tibet, under the leadership of the Central People's Government and Chairman MAO Tse-tung, would strive, side by side with the people of the whole country, to build a new, socialist Tibet of prosperity and happiness.

The rebellion in Tibet was not a question of protecting religion and national interests, said Jangyong, Living Buddha of Labrang Monastery, one of the six big monasteries of the Yellow Sect of Lamaism, in the Tibetan autonomous chou in South Kansu. The Living Buddha said at a forum held by lamas in the monastery that counter-revolutionary armed rebellion to undermine the unification of the motherland had long been prepared by the traitorous clique in Tibet in collusion with imperialism, the CHING Kai-shek bandits and foreign reactionaries. Only by putting down the rebellion thoroughly could the fundamental interests of the people in Tibet be really protected.

Dargye, former Phyang-dso, and Living Buddhas Devatsong and Dehenant-song of the same monastery described how national autonomy was carried out in the autonomous chou since liberation in line with the nationality policy of the Central People's Government and Chairman MAO Tse-tung. They contrasted the backwardness of the South Kansu area with its present-day condition and said that with the building of new highways, the elimination of locusts, the establishment of new plants, the development of animal husbandry and agriculture, the enrollment of over 90% of school-age children in schools and the improvement of the Tibetan people's life, the Tibetan people resolutely supported the Central People's Government and the Communist Party. Slanders and instigations by imperialists and rebellious elements in Tibet were bound to fail, they pointed out.

People of the Tibetan Autonomous chou south of the Yellow River in Tsinghai Province have also held meetings in the past few days, condemning the traitors in Tibet.

NCNA Chengtu, April 4, 1959:

An eminent Buddhist who studied Buddhism in Lhasa for 27 years and was once Kampo of the Sera Monastery - one of the three biggest monasteries in Tibet - today denounced the reactionaries of Tibet who used Buddhism for their own vicious purposes.

He is Ngawang Jaltso, Vice-Chairman of the Chinese Buddhist Association and Vice-Chairman of the Kanze Tibetan Autonomous chou in Szechwan.

He is one of a number of prominent Buddhists of Tibetan nationality in the Southwest China province of Szechwan, including the Abbot of a monastery and a Living Buddha, who today made statement exposing the Tibetan traitors' pretence of "protecting religion," and expressed firm support for the putting down of the rebellion in Tibet ...

Drotsangtsang, the well known Living Buddha and Vice-Chairman of the OPFCC Committee of the Alpha Tibetan Autonomous chou, declared that "the Tibetan group of traitors deceive no one by using religion to split the unity of the country. We Buddhists advocate philanthropy and the relieving of the people from suffering, but the rebel elements in Tibet, weapons in hand, have been murdering people in the vain effort to hang on to their reactionary rule. This is entirely against the Buddhist doctrine." He voiced his support for the State Council order on the putting down of the rebellion, and said that the order fully accorded with the interests and wishes of the Tibetan people.

Tzuchin, Council Member of the Chinese Buddhist Association and Abbot of the Chaokieh Monastery in Chengtu, listed many examples of monasteries and lamaseries being repaired, Buddhists being elected deputies to people's congresses at various levels, and other actions of the People's government in protecting the freedom of religious belief. He pointed out, "Any talk about 'destroying religion' is sheer fabrication and slander by the imperialists and the Tibetan rebel elements."

NCNA Lhasa, April 6, 1959:

The famous Living Buddha Pebala Cholielmanje of the Chamdo Lamasery, in an interview with NCNA on the 4th condemned the rebels for using big lamaseries as fortifications in their attack on the People's Liberation Army in Lhasa during the rebellion.

"The rebels are not real Buddhists. They are not real lamas. They are evil-doers clad in lama's robes. They deserve punishment by the PLA," he said.

The Living Buddha referred to the murder of Kanchung Soanachiatso a Tibetan official of the Preparatory Committee for the Autonomous Region of Tibet, by the rebels. Kanchung Soanan Chiatso was a devout lama, he said. In killing him, the rebels violated the principles of Buddhism and betrayed their religion.

The rebels killed him, he said for no other reason than that he had consistently supported the Central People's Government, loved the motherland and opposed imperialism.

He said that he himself had received three threatening letters from the rebels who were trying to make him take part in the rebellion, but he refused.

The Living Buddha, added, "The allegation by the imperialists that the putting down of the rebellion is aimed to destroy freedom of religious belief is sheer nonsense."

Since the peaceful liberation of Tibet, the Living Buddha said, the PLA had consistently carried out the policy of freedom of religious belief. Lamaseries were protected and religious activities not interfered with. "The Central People's Government even provided the lama temples with transportation facilities when they wanted to buy things far away," he concluded.

3. Publication of Dalai Lama's three letters

NCNA Peking, April 7, 1959:

The originals of the three letters from the Dalai Lama in his own hand-writing, before he was abducted out of Lhasa on March 17, have been brought to Peking from Lhasa. They have been photographed and released for publication by the NCNA today. The letters were 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 and dated March 11 was 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 as forwarded through Ngabou Ngawang Jigme.

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

In the three letters addressed to General TAN Kuan-san which he personally wrote, the Dalai Lama explained that the Tibetan traitorous clique, on the pretext of protecting his safety, was engaged in activi-

ties endangering himself, was creating incidents seriously estranging relations between the central and local authorities, that he was sparing no effort to find ways to deal with the matter and was giving instruction to officials of the Tibet Local Government. On the day following the sending of the third letter of the Dalai Lama (dated March 16) namely, on the night of March 17, the traitors abducted the Dalai Lama out of Lhasa. On the night of March 19, they launched a general offensive against the units of the People's Liberation Army garrisoned in Lhasa.

Translations of the three letters written personally by the Dalai Lama and the three letters written by General TAN Kuan-san to the Dalai Lama dated March 10, 11 and 15 were issued in full by the NCNA on March 29.

II. State Council Order Implementation Period April 8-17

Like the previous period, the principle objective was the "overthrow of rebellion". To this end, the Chinese communists had as one of their important tasks the "leading and organizing the Tibetan people to assist the PLA" for further power seizures. Offensively, communist propaganda was used to weaken the rebels both domestically and in the international sphere; and defensively it was used to protect the "gains" of the suppression movement by minimizing Tibetan problems.

The "peace and order" theme was re-emphasized. Along with this, the "thorough liberation of the working people in Tibet" theme marked a high point in communist output on what amounted to a single major theme during this period. In the words of an NCNA despatch of April 8, 1959 from Lhasa:

The 1st plenary session of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibetan Autonomous Region exercising the functions and power of the Tibet Local Government was held in Lhasa at 1100 hours on April 8. The plenary session was presided over by Panchen Lama, Acting Chairman of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibetan Autonomous Region. The committee members who are now in Lhasa, and responsible personnel of the various departments, committees, and sections of the Preparatory Committee attended the meeting...

Vice Chairman CHANG Kuo-hua said:

... Hopes for a peaceful settlement were utterly shattered by the rebellious elements in Tibet. The reactionary forces in Tibet finally chose the path of their own destruction. On March 20, the Central People's Government ordered the PLA units in Tibet to take punitive action against the traitorous clique in Tibet for the consolidation of the unification of the motherland, for safeguarding national unity, and for the thorough liberation of the working people in Tibet.

In order to fulfill this glorious task, the PLA units in Tibet, with the active support of the people of all nationalities of the whole country

particularly, the people of Tibet, are now proceeding successfully to put down the armed rebellion in other places after having swiftly scotched it in the Lhasa area. Considering that many people were forced, intimidated, and deceived into taking part in the armed rebellion, in the course of putting down the rebellion, the Central People's Government is carrying out the policy of "punishing without fail those guilty of major crimes, taking no account of those committed under threat, and rewarding those who perform meritorious services;" no account will be taken of those who break away from the rebellious bandits and return; those who render meritorious services will be recognized. A policy of treating prisoners well will be applied; prisoners will not be killed or subjected to indignities and beatings, or having their belongings searched.

In compliance with the instructions of the Central People's Government, the PLA units are uniting broadly with all the Tibetan compatriots who have not taken part in the rebellion; protect the lives and property of the peasants, herdsmen, and the people of industrial, trade, political, and educational circles; protect the lamaseries' relics, and antiques; foreign residents who observe Chinese laws; respect the customs and usages of the people of all nationalities in Tibet, and safeguard the freedom of religious belief. However, the protection of the freedom of religious belief must never be confused with the safeguarding of the freedom of counter-revolutionary activities. The former must not be construed to mean that reactionary elements, once cloaked under Buddhist robes, carry out rebellion, betray the motherland, plunder, maltreat, and ravage the Tibetan people at will, and claim the privileges of violating laws, and committing crimes. Contrary to their desire, the armed rebellion carried out by the former Tibet Local Government and the upper strata reactionary clique in collusion with the imperialists, the CHANG Kai-shek bandit clique, and foreign reactionaries did not result in the splitting of the motherland and the regression of Tibet. Instead, it has led to the consolidation of the motherland, bringing about the extinction of reactionary influence in Tibet, and promoting its democratization, and a rebirth of the Tibetan people.

Follow members, comrades, for the thorough suppression of the rebellion, for further consolidation of the unification of the motherland, for strengthening of national unity, and for the thorough liberation of the Tibetan people, we must closely unite with the broad masses of the people in Tibet, ecclesiastical and secular and all patriotic and progressive forces, and carry out unswervingly the glorious task assigned to us by the State Council order of March 28, 1959, and strive in concerted effort for the building of a democratic and socialist new Tibet!

Media outlets:

1. Reproduction of favorable foreign press statements

NCIM Tirana, April 8, 1959:

The suppression of the rebellion in Tibet was a telling blow to the imperialists, said ZERI I POPULLEI in a commentary today.

The armed rebellion was part of the activities plotted by the U.S. imperialists against China and the national liberation movements in Asia, the paper said. But the imperialists had once again miscalculated.

The smashing of the rebellion showed once again that the Chinese people were powerful enough to defeat all intrigues of the imperialists and their hirelings designed to endanger the gains of the Chinese revolution, the paper pointed out.

The Albanian people heartily greeted the Chinese victory, the paper said. The resolute measures taken by the Chinese government would win the support of all who favored peace and upheld the Bandung principles.

But the imperialist press had raised great uproars over the Tibet rebellion, the paper continued. They were working to mislead the public by slandering China's national policy. By raising their clamors, they tried to divert public attention from the crimes committed by the colonialists in Algeria, Nyasaland, Kenya, Congo, the Cameroons and other countries.

As faithful followers of the imperialists, the Yugoslav revisionists had joined the chorus of the bourgeois press. This was no surprise, for they sided with all counter-revolutionaries of the world supported by the U.S. imperialists, the paper said.

NCIM Bucharest, April 9, 1959:

China's immediate suppression of the rebellion in Tibet was "a realistic contribution to peace," said SCITEIA in a commentary today. This had thwarted an attempt of the international reactionary forces to create tension and unrest in Asia, the paper noted.

All the friends of the great Chinese people, including the Rumanians, hailed this good news from China, the paper declared.

The putting down of the rebellion provided further proof that all the imperialists' intrigues against any of the socialist countries were doomed to failure, the paper continued. It also showed forcibly that the Chinese people, including the Tibetans, would smash all attempts directed against their homeland, in order to defend their national unity and territorial integrity.

The paper condemned the crimes committed by the Tibetan rebels with the support of the imperialists and CHIANG Kai-shek clique. It recalled

that for scores of years the imperialists had plotted to place Tibet under their enslavement. Only the victory of the Chinese revolution had defeated their aggressive plots, the paper said.

It noted the achievements in Tibet after the peaceful liberation of that region and the support of the Tibetans for the Central People's Government.

The part played by the foreign interventionists in the Tibetan event was clear to the world public. All slanders against People's China spread by the press of the imperialists served precisely to reveal the hand of the instigators of the rebellion, the paper said.

NCNA New Delhi, April 12, 1959:

"Tibet is part of China and much as many may dislike this recognition, it is a fact of history." This statement was made in an article published in the latest issue of BLITZ.

The article said: "Empty talk of Tibetan independence at this juncture is doing disservice to the cause of the Tibetans; What is more, it is equivalent to driving a wedge between India and China."

The article entitled "Is There A National Revolt In Tibet?" further pointed out that the rebels used modern weapons in Lhasa and "the leader of the Taiwan clique, much too discredited in the world, has now come out with the confession that it had been in league with the rebels and supplied them arms. It is not difficult to pronounce judgment on the nature and character of the so-called national revolt of Tibet."

The article cited two fundamental facts in Tibet which justified the policies of the Chinese Central Government in its relation with Tibet. One is that the Tibetan reactionary elements wanted private armies of the chief feudal lords and the other is that they resisted any reforms including land reform.

The article asked: "Let us ponder here a while: can any Central Government tolerate private armies within its territories?" It said: "The 1951 agreement also covered land reform. The Tibetan social system has to be reformed. It must be said to the credit of Peking that though the entire country of China was swept by a big movement of land reform, Tibet was not touched."

The article exposed the slogans of "Religion in danger" fabricated by the Tibetan rebels to oppose the reform movement. It said: "It will be a blind political judgment to presume that the backward masses always rise against social progress if their religious leaders fight it."

2. Demonstration

NCNA Lhasa, April 15, 1959:

More than 20,000 people in Lhasa today solemnly sponsored a demonstration parade resolutely demanding the thorough quelling of the rebellion. The masses, who took part in the demonstration, are over two-thirds of the total population of Lhasa. Such a large-scale demonstration is unprecedented in the Tibetan history. This demonstration fully indicates that the Tibetan people are loyal to the motherland, love the CCP and Chairman MAO, strong will to struggle against the rebellion.

The participants - in the parade thousands of Tibetan inhabitants and Lhasas - passed through streets, large and small, and shouted slogans in the Tibetan language: "Celebrate the victory of putting down the rebellion in the Lhasa area;" "Put down the rebellion resolutely and thoroughly;" "Long live the CCP;" and "Long live Chairman MAO."

Early this morning, when the rivers and mountains in Lhasa were still covered by dense fog, the people in the city began to assemble in groups and marched toward the center of the city. The national flag could be seen hung at various places throughout the city. Many women clad in garments of flower design participated in the parade by displaying small banners, beating musical instruments, and carrying large pictures and slogan posters. By ten o'clock in the morning, Pachiao Street at the center of the city was crowded with many parade groups including people of Tibetan, Hui, and Han nationality, thousands of Lhasas, patriotic middle and upper strata personnel, merchants, militiamen, women carrying children, and a number of aged people. The parade took over two hours in passing. Along Pachiao Street were hung a large number of large slogan posters declaring: "The people of various nationalities and all walks of life in Tibet unify and put down the rebellion resolutely and thoroughly." The parade crowds and the numerous banners and posters made the plateau city with a history of more than one thousand years more splendid and magnificent. The demonstration parade was carried out in full force in Lhasa city ...

3. Special relief teams

NCNA Shigatse, Tibet, April 16, 1959:

Four special teams have just followed the course of the Tibetan rivers Tsangpo and Nyangchu right up to the foot of the Himalaya to provide relief and interest-free loans to Tibetan peasants who have been persecuted by the rebels. They were sent by the Shigatse Branch Committee of the Working Committee of the Chinese Communist Party in Tibet.

In these places under the former Tibet Local Government, which were ravaged by the rebels, the peasants have difficulty tiding over the current spring. The teams have provided over 5,940 households with interest-free loans amounting to 417 tons of grain.

All the grain of 153 households in 16 villages in the Nauling Dzong, north of Shigatse was looted by the rebels. In another village on the Pyangchu River, with only 19 households, each family was forced by rebel officials of the former Tibet Local Government to surrender one man to join the rebels and supplies of at least four and a half kilograms of butter, one and a half kilograms of tea, 15 kilograms of meat and a quantity of barley, salt and money. Relief has been given to these peasants.

After receiving the loans the Tibetan peasants are busying themselves in spring farming.

III. Anti-India period April 18 - May 6

India was accused in strong terms of pursuing an "aggressive and imperialistic" course in Tibet issue. In the days following Dalai Lama's Tezpur statement of April 18, Chinese communist propaganda began an all-out effort to brand India as a "provocateur" and "aggressor", interfering rebellion suppression that concerned Chinese only. This propaganda reached a manufactured climax on May 6 when the PEOPLE'S DAILY assailed Indian Prime Minister Nehru in an editorial. Thereafter, the "Anti-India" propaganda had gradually been relegated to a secondary position.

Typical themes during this period:

1. The Dalai Lama Tezpur statement of April 18 a forgery

NCNA Peking, April 20, 1959:

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 13th and 18th 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...

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...

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 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...

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...

2. Tibet, an inalienable part of China

NCNA Peking, April 23, 1959:

Deputy Shiroo Jaltso, who is a Tibetan and the Chairman of the Chinese Buddhist Association, at the plenary meeting of the National People's Congress this afternoon stated that the so-called "Dalai Lama's Statement" distributed by Indian officials on April 18 at Tezpur "will not succeed in whitewashing the crimes of the Tibetan reactionary clique. It has served to expose thoroughly the crimes of the Tibetan rebel clique in betraying the motherland and people..."

"Tibet is an inalienable part of China," he declared and added that if, as the Indian expansionists said, Tibet should be "independent" because the Tibetans were different from the Hans, could not it be inferred that many independent countries should be established in India because there were many different nationalities.

"The outrageous actions by the expansionists seriously violate the five principles of peaceful co-existence observed by China and India," he said...

3. No interference in China's internal affairs allowed

NCIU. Peking, April 24, 1959:

An article entitled "What Right Do They Have In Interfering In China's Internal Affairs?" and signed by CHAO Chun is published in today's TA KUNG PAO.

"The rebellion of the Tibetan reactionaries and its suppression by the Chinese Government are both China's internal affairs," the article said. "Even those imperialists who have been attempting to invade China and first of all Tibet are unable to deny this. Prime Minister Nehru of India has repeatedly announced in his statements that he had no wish to interfere in China's internal affairs, that he desired to consolidate the friendly relations between China and India," it noted.

"However, certain statesmen, political parties and some newspapers in India have taken a stand towards the rebellion in Tibet which runs counter to Sino-Indian friendship and the five principles of the peaceful co-existence," the article said. "They crudely interfere in China's internal affairs, openly support the Tibetan rebels and wantonly and venomously attack the Chinese Government and people," it pointed out.

They have, it was said, so-called "spiritual links" with Tibet and are "emotionally concerned" in affairs in Tibet.

The TA KUNG PAO article continued: This is strange logic indeed. There are acknowledged principles governing international relations, and the five principles of peaceful co-existence are such principles. No one can find any grounds in international relations that interference in another country's internal affairs could be carried out by being "emotionally concerned" in the affairs of that country. It is all the more difficult to understand when such utterances should have emanated from a country which together with China enunciated the five principles of peaceful co-existence.

There exists profound and deep sentiments between the peoples of China and India.

Only by proceeding from the sentiments of friendship and solidarity can there be genuine peaceful co-existence and the further consolidation and growth of the profound and deep friendship of over 2,000 years in the interests of the peoples of the two countries. Breach of this basic principle and use of the "spiritual links" and "emotional concern" as a pretext for interfering in the domestic affairs of the other side can only lead to the disruption of friendship and unity.

In fact, plainly speaking the "spiritual links" and the "emotional concern" on which these persons have harped are merely the "spiritual

links" and "emotional concern" with a handful of rebels in Tibet who betrayed the motherland.

In the eyes of these persons, there is no such thing as the 650 million Chinese people! We like to ask: Should they not consider the sentiments of the entire Chinese people including the great majority of the people of Tibetan nationality in the big family of China?

Certain Indian politicians alleged that the rebellion of the reactionaries among the upper social strata in Tibet was "an expression of Tibetan patriotic sentiments." This correctly serves as strong proof that their sentiments are identical with those of the rebels in Tibet. But to which country are these rebels patriotic? To China or to India? The fact that the handful of rebels who fled to India and accorded warm welcome and porous reception, precisely proves the "links" and "sentiments" between them and the Indian expansionists. After the Dalai Lama's abduction to India, the Indian Government official went out of his way to distribute personally the so-called "statement of the Dalai Lama" defaming the Chinese Government and clamoring for Tibet's independence. Obviously, this is essentially what the India expansionists are seeking after under the pretext of the so-called "links" and "concern." Is not the practice of issuing statements in the name of the Dalai Lama exactly an attempt of these Indian expansionists to create a situation to compel the Indian Government to allow anti-Chinese political activities by the Tibetan rebels in India? The Indian expansionists have used the press to launch attacks on China. They have organized various meetings for the purpose of slandering China, set up various organizations headed by certain Indian political figures to aid the Tibetan rebels and collected mobs to stage demonstrations before the Chinese diplomatic missions in India. Is this not a deliberate attempt to interfere in the internal affairs of China, to undermine Sino-Indian friendship and to lead the Indian people towards a dangerous path of hostility to China? The fact that Kalinpong, an Indian town near the Chinese border has long been used as a center of activity for the Tibetan rebels has aroused anger among the Chinese people. Do the Indian expansionists still want to extend such center of activity for the rebels in other parts of India? How far will they go? This cannot but arouse the vigilance and serious concern of all those who are interested in Sino-Indian friendship, the five principles of peaceful co-existence and the Bandung spirit.

All this is of course not a question of spirit or feelings but a serious political issue. The Chinese people treasure highly their friendship with India and the profound feelings of the two peoples. Our Indian friends know this quite well. Unfortunately, the Indian expansionists take this as a sign of weakness on the part of China. They think that the Chinese people will be cowed by foreign intervention. They are completely wrong if they do think so. The HINDUSTAN TIMES has even intimidated the Chinese people not to "run the risk of such offence to Indian sentiments." Good heavens, the arrogance of the Indian expansionists knows no bounds! They interfere with China, attack China and

do not allow the Chinese people to persist in truth, to say anything or allow the Chinese people to exercise their sovereign rights and handle their own internal affairs otherwise the Chinese people will offend their "sentiments"! Is this not going a bit too far? Who, after all, is offending whom? Who is bullying whom? The Indian expansionists should well know that the liberated Chinese people have never bowed or been submissive to or let themselves be at the mercy of foreign interventionists.

To take advantage of the Chinese people's appreciation of the profound friendship of China and India as a means to interfere in China and attack China is most ignominious and unwise. The HINDUSTAN TIMES even said: "Repeated Chinese assurance to India regarding Tibetan autonomy and the importance of the friendship of India and other neutral nations of Asia to China are two levers that India could use." The paper did not dare to say explicitly to what purpose "the two levers" would be used. But everybody understands that they mean to use them as political capital to interfere with China. To effect regional autonomy in Tibet is in accordance with the Constitution of the People's Republic of China. What right does India have to interfere in an internal affair of China, impose this or that political system on Tibet and practise this or that kind of autonomy? The so-called "Tibetan autonomy" the Indian expansionists are clamoring in fact amount "Tibetan independence". Are they not calling Tibet a "country"? Are they not saying that the Tibetan rebels are "patriotic"? To instigate "Tibetan independence" is a long-standing conspiracy of imperialism. This is precisely what the whole Chinese people including the Tibetan compatriots will resolutely fight against and never allow. As to the friendship of India and other neutral countries in Asia toward China, China of course attaches great importance to it. China's stand is most sincere and just. But, how can the friendship and sincerity of the Chinese people be used as capital for the most unfriendly conspiracy against the Chinese people?

It can be seen from all this that the so-called feelings, friendship and so on have changed their significance in the eyes of the Indian expansionists. They attempt to use these to attain their ulterior motives and realize their expansionist ambition. This ambition is none other than dipping their fingers into Tibet in order that they can carry through the unfinished masterpiece of the British imperialists, instigate the so-called "Tibetan independence" so as to turn Tibet into a colony or protectorate of India.

The large amount of tears the Indian expansionists shed for Tibet is hypocritical. They have painted themselves as an "affectionate mother" of China's territory of Tibet. But in fact this shows their vicious ambition toward Tibet. Now the People's Liberation Army has rapidly crushed the rebellion in the Lhasa area and the rebellious clique south of the Tsengpo River and controlled the whole frontier of our country north of the Himalayas. The Tibetan rebellion will be put down

completely very soon. Any so-called Dalai Lama's statement released in India and every clamoring and manoeuvre of the Indian expansionists can never get any capital or gains from the Tibetan rebellion. Facts have proved that the Chinese people, in defending their territorial sovereignty, have never shown weakness.

The Chinese people have treasured in the past, they treasure now and will in future always treasure their friendship with the great Indian people. We hope that the friendly relations between the two great peaceful countries - China and India - continue to consolidate and grow. The intervention by the Indian expansionists in the internal affairs of China not only impairs the friendly relations between China and India but is detrimental to India itself and unfavorable to the unity of the peoples of Asia and of peace in the continent. If they do not cease their interventionist activities at once they will be raising the stone only to crush their own feet, landing themselves in a more difficult position and ending up ignominiously. There is no other way out.

4. Indian Government encourages and supports the Tibetan rebels

NCNA Peking, April 24, 1959:

"It is an unalterable fact that Tibet is an inseparable part of the sacred territory of China. Measures to put down the rebellion is a purely internal affair of China and no foreign government has the right to intervene," said SHIH Ping in an article entitled "What Are Indian Official Circles Thinking Of?" published in the PEKING JIH PAO today.

The article pointed out that there were now a lot of slandering against the Chinese people raised in India in different imperialist tunes. "All these are intolerable to the Chinese People," the writer stressed.

"Now, the Indian Premier is personally going to Mussoorie to meet with the Dalai Lama," the article continued.

"We hope that Mr. Nehru will value the long history of friendship between China and India and the future of peaceful co-existence between the two peoples, and that he will be able to decide upon a wise policy at this time when the relations between the two countries are being affected by the clamors and activities of the Indian expansionists."

At the beginning of this article, the writer gave an analysis on the issuance of the so-called "Dalai Lama's statements" in India.

Both the so-called Dalai Lama's statement distributed by the Indian diplomatic official on April 18 in Tezpur and the second "Dalai Lama statement" issued by the Tibetan rebels in the name of the Dalai Lama in Mussoorie on April 22 avoided reference to the three letters written in the Dalai Lama's personal handwriting to General TAN! Kuan-san and

the important facts raised in the MCNA political correspondent commentary. "This once again proved that the authors of the statements did not dare to face the facts nor are they able to deny the facts. Since the second statement can not answer this, the claim that the first so-called Dalai Lama statement 'was issued under my authority and indicated my view' all the more exposed that the previous statement was not written by the Dalai Lama."

The article said that it was as clear as daylight that the three letters written in Dalai Lama's own handwriting to General TAN Kuan-san and various other facts could fully prove that the Dalai Lama was first surrounded by armed rebels and then abducted. The so-called "statements by the Dalai Lama," whether it was the first or the second, whether it was long or short ran completely counter the three letters written in his own handwriting, the many talks he gave, his writings and the views he expressed, in the past. Obviously, under a situation where the Dalai Lama was held under duress by the rebels, no amount of statements issued under the name of Dalai Lama could change the existing facts, the article continued.

The article pointed out that the issuance of the so-called "Dalai Lama's statement" in such a manner is not difficult to understand if one took note of the recent happenings in India.

The article said: "It is well known to all that the traitors who abducted the Dalai Lama and betrayed their own country have received an unusually warm reception and welcome in India." While some Indian statesmen and newspapers have been extensively instigating Tibetan independence, and propagandize sympathetically with the rebels; all these were not only discouraged by the Indian Government, but on the contrary practically openly encouraged and supported by it."

The article recalled the unsavory role played by certain Indian official circles at the time when Tibet was peacefully liberated by the Chinese people.

"It is indeed unpleasant to recall the things of the past," said the article.

"But, today, there are so many clamors to intervene into China's internal affairs and for Tibetan 'independence', and such things as the distribution of the notorious so-called 'Dalai Lama's statement'. Is this not something which places the relations between China and India in a difficult position, a thing which Premier Nehru stressed should not happen?"

"Does this mean that the Indian official circles will from now on perpetually intervene into China's internal affairs? What are the Indian official circles thinking of?"

5. Panchen Erdeni's charge against Indian expansionists entirely, correct

NCNA Peking, April 25, 1959:

TA KUNG PAO today carries an article by TSENG Ming refuting the commentary of the PRESS TRUST OF INDIA on April 23.

The article says that the PTI commentary by its political correspondent attempted to deny that the Indian expansionist elements had anything to do with the so-called "statement of the Dalai Lama". Moreover, the commentary, quoting the so-called informed quarters and observers, maliciously attacked the speech of Panchen Erdeni at the meeting of the National People's Congress of China.

The PTI commentary also reflects the painstaking efforts of the Indian expansionist elements to absolve themselves, the article points out. Quoting the "informed quarters," the commentary said that "there are many historical errors" in Panchen Erdeni's statement. Where are the so-called "errors"? the article asks.

Panchen Erdeni said in his speech at the National People's Congress on April 22: "We know that so-called independence for Tibet was first put forward 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 division even within Tibet... Now some Indians are again talking about 'Tibetan independence' and saying that they 'recognize Chinese suzerainty but do not permit China to interfere in Tibetan internal affairs.' It may be asked, why is that China cannot look into Chinese matters, while other people can? What difference is there between these utterances and those of the British in the past? I think there is none."

Panchen Erdeni's speech is entirely correct, the article points out.

But the PTI commentary said, "According to all available records the British who ruled India had flatly refused to sponsor independent Tibet as a protectorate of India."

What a shameless statement, the article points out. The Indian people who fought so long and heroically for their national independence will remember their great sufferings under the brutal rule of the British colonialists and will recognize the nature of the British colonialists as aggressors. But unlike the Indian people, the Indian expansionist elements now are sparing no effort in whitewashing the aggressive crime in Tibet committed by "the British who ruled India".

As is generally know, the British imperialists seeking colonies and

protectorates everywhere are by no means sacred and holy. As the Indian expansionist elements had spoken so nicely about the British imperialists, it shows precisely that they are doing everything they can to inherit the ignominious legacy of the British aggression in Tibet in their vain attempt to turn the present Tibet into an Indian "protectorate". Because they themselves are taking the old path of British aggression against Tibet, they find it necessary to paint a nice picture of the British aggressors. There is nothing strange in reports which said that Britain kept in close touch with India after the rebellion in Tibet broke out. "It is not a fact that the reactionary press in Britain is doing its very best to incite India against China?" The article says.

The PTI commentary did not dare to give a direct reply to Panchen Erdeni's charge against some Indians that there was no distinction between them and the British aggressors. Instead, it said, "They (observers) dismissed Panchen Lema's charge of expansionist ambitions toward Tibet by India as of no substance."

The article points out that the Indian expansionist elements have raised a hue and cry for Tibet's "independence", "complete autonomy" and for turning Tibet into a "buffer state" between India and China. They have organized mob demonstrations and meetings and supported the Tibetan rebels' activities in India. Moreover, they have made use of the abducted Dalai Lema and issued in India statements in his name to slander China and advocate "independence" for Tibet. Is this not enough "substance" of expansionism? Why do those Indian expansionist elements under the guise of "informed quarters" and "observers" shut their eyes to all this?

The PTI commentary, quoting the so-called observers, professed "regret" that there was "deterioration in Indo-Chinese relations consequent upon the recent event in Tibet." It referred to "the importance of good relations between India and China."

The article says that it is time that the great majority of people in India do not want to see Indian-Chinese relations deteriorate. They desire good relations between the two countries. But those Indian expansionist elements who frenziedly interfere in China's domestic affairs are not included in this majority. It is precisely because of their interference that Indian-Chinese relations have deteriorated and that damage has been done to the good relations between India and China.

The article points out that these expansionist elements are now playing a double-dealing track: on the one hand, they shed crocodile tears over the "deterioration in Indian-Chinese relations"; on the other, they came out with violent outbursts to slander China, undermined the five principles of peaceful co-existence and interfered in China's domestic affairs. They are not for "good relations between India and China" but sabotage India-China relations. "For instance", the commentary, referring to the recent events, said, "the Indian Government had

taken considerable pains to proclaim that the Dalai Lama could not exercise any temporal functions while he was in India." But in fact, the Indian expansionist elements are sparing no effort in making use of the abducted Dalai Lama to exercise temporal functions. We would like to ask: What kind of "functions" were exercised when the so-called "statement of the Dalai Lama" was distributed by the Indian diplomatic official?

After the Dalai Lama's abduction to India, the Indian expansionist elements are, by hook or by crook, stepping up their activities to undermine the five principles of peaceful co-existence in their attempt to impair still further the good relations between China and India. This the expansionist elements themselves know best.

"We believe that the great majority of the Indian people desire to preserve the long standing friendship between China and India. We also believe that with the joint efforts of the peoples of the two countries, their friendly relations will be preserved. But such friendly relations, are being sabotaged by a handful of Indian expansionist elements. Only by first defeating the scheme of these expansionist elements can the friendly relations between China and India be consolidated and developed. The just Indian public opinion and masses of Indian people have voiced their opposition to this handful of Indian expansionist elements. This deserves welcome. The Indian expansionist elements are bound to fail if they persist in their conspiracy of interference in China's domestic affairs," the article concludes.

6. The Chinese people oppose cold war

NCNA Peking, April 25, 1959:

By resorting to cold war intimidation, a rusty and completely useless weapon, the Indian expansionists will never succeed in deflecting the Chinese people from their determination to safeguard their territory and sovereignty against foreign intervention, wrote LI Yen in an article in today's TA KUNG PAO.

The article said that the editorial of the HINDUSTHAN STANDARD of April 23 tried desperately to defend the fraudulent "statement of the Dalai Lama" which was issued by an Indian official. It went so far as to clamor for a so-called "tripartite understanding between China, Tibet and India" regarding Tibet.

Obviously the Indian expansionists imagined that the Tibet incident, which was completely China's own affairs, could be easily turned into a matter between China, Tibet and India, LI Yen said. They were attempting to detach Tibet from China and make it an "independent state" whose affairs could not be handled without India's care. This meant flagrantly interfering in China's internal affairs, encroaching upon China's sovereignty and dividing up China's territory, he declared.

While alleging that the commentary of the NCNA political correspondent had "threatened" them, LI Yen pointed out, the Indian paper had declared threateningly that "understanding is possible only if the issue is kept confined to those three of us and is not allowed to be turned into a cold war item" and that "continuation of a Chinese policy of force in Tibet must attract various cold war troubles."

He went on to stress that "the cold war knights of the imperialists, headed by the U.S., have now lost all their prowess. Their policy of cold war has led them up a blind alley and can intimidate nobody.

"It was beyond our expectation that in India - our great and friendly neighbor, a state pursuing the policy of peaceful neutrality - some people would resort to the long discredited cold war against China," he said.

The writer of the HINDUSTHAN STANDARD editorial should make it clear - "If you think it is not enough for the Indian expansionists alone to interfere in China's domestic affairs, who would you like to enlist to join you?" LI Yen asked. "What effect would you be creating on Sino-Indian friendship, peace in Asia and India's own national independence?"

The writer continued: "The Tibet incident is entirely an internal affair of China's. Neither the Indian expansionists nor the imperialists are allowed to interfere in China." He said, "The Chinese people are afraid of nothing in defending their territory and sovereignty. It has been born out by historical facts that even the strongest of the imperialist powers can never get anything by means of threats or intimidation in dealing with the Chinese people.

"The Chinese people oppose cold war. All people in the world including the Indian people are also opposed to cold war. The attempt to intimidate the Chinese people by cold war can only incur the opposition from the Chinese people, the Indian people and the people of the whole world.

The expansionists in India "should get back to reason, rid themselves of their malice, give first consideration to Sino-Indian friendship and India's own position and stop intervening in China," LI Yen concluded.

7. Indian expansionists attempt to separate Tibet from China and turn it into a protectorate

NCNA Peking, April 26, 1959:

Some Indian papers and politicians have inherited an infamous legacy from the British imperialists to interfere in China's internal affairs, says an article in today's TA KUNG PAO.

The article, by SHANG Hwei, notes the absurd stand of the Indian meddlers that a solution of the Tibetan issue which is purely a Chinese internal affair is possible only when India takes part. Some papers have gone so far as to suggest that India sponsor a conference on Tibet and have the Chinese Premier go there to talk things over. To their mind, India is absolutely justified meddling in the home affairs of its friendly neighbor.

"How strange that India should poke its nose into events occurring in the Chinese territory of Tibet or even sponsor a conference on them. Who indeed has authorized India to do so?" The article asks.

This fantasy of the Indian expansionists may be traced back to the tactics once adopted by the British aggressors, the article continues. Since the end of the 19th century, the British imperialists, while working to secure privileges in Tibet and launching armed attacks, plotted to curtail China's sovereign rights over there and split Tibet from China. "Their aim was to turn Tibet into a British colony, control Tibetan affairs and arbitrate in the relations between the Central Government of China and the Tibetan local government." The article recalls that taking advantage of the political changes following the 1911 Chinese revolution, Britain in 1912 interfered in China's internal affairs by raising objection to the administration of Tibetan affairs by the Chinese Central Government and the stationing of Chinese forces in Tibet. It threatened to block the entry into Tibet from India.

To expand its aggression in Tibet, British imperialism convoked in the following year the so-called Sino-Anglo-Tibetan conference in Simla of India. The then YUAN Shih-kai government of China was forced to take part in the conference and the reactionary clique of the upper strata of Tibet was present as another party, with Britain dominating the conference.

At the conference, Britain put forward a six-point proposal, providing for China's recognition of full right of self-determination for Tibet, the temporary supervision of Tibetan affairs by India, the stationing of British forces in Lhasa and the arbitration of disputes between China and Tibet by the Indian Government. "If this proposal was carried out, China's sovereign rights over Tibet would have been written off and Tibet would be reduced into a colony of the then Indian Government under British rule. But this imperialist intrigue failed, because the YUAN Shih-kai government dared not sign it in the face of the strong opposition of the Chinese people," the article says.

The article points out that now the Indian expansionists are making a hue and cry over the rebellion in Tibet. They allege that China has "scuttled Tibet's autonomy," that Tibet is a "country" and that China has committed "aggression" against Tibet. They have clamored blatantly that India should have so-called "prerogatives" over Tibet, that problems concerning Tibet can be settled only with the participation of India, and so on and so forth.

The article says: "All these outcries are reminiscent of those of British imperialism in the past. We cannot help being surprised that there should be persons in India, a friendly neighbor of China, taking up the tunes of British imperialism in the past. The truth is that these gentlemen have affinity with the aggressive policy of British imperialism toward Tibet. For the past few decades, India was used by British imperialism as a base in its aggression against Tibet. The pro-imperialist elements in India serving as attendants of the imperialists and tailing behind them, used to pick up what was left behind. They have developed such an appetite as to think still that India has so-called 'prerogatives' over Tibet at a time when the situation in China, India and the whole world has undergone great changes. A politician called J.P. Marayan had the cheek to declare that 'after independence India became the successor to this monopolistic right' of Britain in Tibet. Thus, these Indian expansionists consider themselves successors to British 'prerogatives' in Tibet."

The article continues: "The Indian expansionists have inherited the most obnoxious legacy of British imperialism. Following the tactics of British imperialism, they attempt to separate Tibet from China and turn it into an Indian protectorate.

"They are even dreaming of another Sinla Conference with India taking the former role of Britain and to arbitrate Tibet matters which are purely China's internal affairs. What shameful roving! What despicable legacy they have inherited from British imperialism!

"But the age of the Sinla Conference, the age when foreigners can manipulate China's internal affairs at will, is gone forever. What a piece of folly for the Indian expansionists to think that foreigners can still realize their designs on the Chinese territory of Tibet, as in the past, by threats," the article concludes.

8. Indian expansionists use the Dalai Lama as a hostage

NCNA Peking, April 27, 1959:

The fact about the Indian expansionists' interference in China's internal affairs is becoming clearer with the development of the situation, says CHAO Chun in an article in today's TA KUNG PAO.

The writer says that according to the Indian and Western news agencies, the contents of the Indian expansionists' plan for the "Restoration of Tibet's Autonomy" are:

1. "A New Agreement Fully Safeguarding Tibet's Autonomy" and "End of Chinese Interference";
2. "Withdrawal of Chinese Troops from Tibet".

Some persons venture out an even more absurd idea by proposing "assurance of this autonomy by the United Nations". This is exactly the logic of British imperialism. The only invention by the Indian expansionists is their attempt to call out the United Nations, the writer points out.

To carry out their plan of having a hand on Tibet, the Indian expansionists resort to a very mean trick, that is, to make use of the Dalai Lama who is under duress as a means to blackmail China and compel China to make "concessions". They pay lip service to honoring the Dalai Lama as a "distinguished guest" but in fact use him as a hostage for the purpose of achieving their dirty end, the writer continues.

According to the plan of the Indian expansionists, Tibet would become an Indian protectorate provided that Tibet achieves what they call "full autonomy", that China makes no "interference" and that the People's Liberation Army now gaining new victories in putting down the rebellion "withdraws" from Tibet. "What a wishful thinking!" the writer says.

But now this conspiratorial plan has gone bankrupt, the writer stresses. The truth is fully out after Prime Minister Nehru admitted that the Dalai Lama had actually written three letters to General TAN Kuan-san, the writer says.

"Those who are zealous about interfering in China's internal affairs should quickly make a wise decision by immediately ceasing their interference in China's domestic affairs and abandoning their ambitions on Tibet. This will be in the interests of Sino-Indian friendly relations and of India itself," the writer says.

"No force on earth can make the rebel group of the upper social strata in Tibet reestablish their dark rule there; nor will it be able to compel the Chinese people to 'yield' to the foreign interventionists, or to split off Tibet from China. The Indian expansionists have completely miscalculated. They should at once halt before the precipice and stop their interference in China's domestic affairs!" the writer concludes.

9. Religious feelings and religious freedom exploited to disguise Indian demand for political independence in Tibet

NCNA Peking, April 28, 1959:

"Why is it that the Indian expansionists are so zealous in their support for the Tibetan rebels?" asks HU Chin in an article entitled "What Sort of 'Emotion,'" in today's JEN MIN JIH PAO.

It is allegedly because they have a kind of sympathetic "emotion" towards the Tibetans which they seem to have difficulty to control.

What sort of emotion is this? the article asks. Asoka Mehta, leader of the Indian Praja Socialist Party, gave the explanation as: This was because there existed a so-called "mother and child relationship" between India and Tibet.

"What an intimate and great emotion! But we would like to ask Mr. Mehta: When did Tibet have this so-called mother and child relationship with India? This was the terminology used by British imperialism to whitewash its colonial rule over India," the article says.

Comparing this "emotion" of Mehta and other expansionists with the "sympathy" and "concern" shown to the rebels by the imperialists who have engineered and abetted the rebellion in Tibet, one can readily see the inextricable ties of blood between the Indian expansionists and the imperialists, the article points out.

Some Indian statesmen have a different interpretation of this so-called emotion. They described the support for the rebels as a "clear expression of (India's) deep-rooted national emotions." The Tibetans and the Indians are not of the same nationality and Tibet is not a part of India. What ground is there for talking about such "national emotions?"

As regards the sympathy with Tibet, one has to draw a distinction between the sympathy with the masses of the people of Tibet and the "sympathy" with the handful of reactionaries in Tibet. Some Indian statesmen did not show any sympathy with the Tibetan people. Instead, they "clearly expressed their emotions" toward those rebels who fled to India. If such "emotions" have a shred of value, they merely serve as a new lesson to the Chinese people by negative example that in their neighboring country which professes adherence to the five principles of peaceful co-existence, there is a group of expansionists who want to split Tibet from China, the article continues.

Some Indian quarters described their "emotions" as the historical religious feelings and ties existing between India and Tibet. But in India, the majority of people believe in Hinduism, not in Buddhism.

The article recalls that the TIMES OF INDIA on April 20 viciously slandered China's suppression of the rebellion in Tibet, which is an internal affair of China, as an "attack" on the "religious freedom" of Tibet. The paper clamored brazenly that "religious freedom in Tibetan conditions is indistinguishable from political independence." This lays bare the true intentions of certain India expansionists: Their so-called "religious feelings" and "religious freedom" are only a demand for "political independence" in Tibet, the article continues. If this "logic" of theirs were to be followed, then India should be split up into several countries each enjoying "political independence" in view of the existing different religions in India. Would this be acceptable to the Indians?

The article says: "It is worth studying that certain Indian quarters have declared that their 'emotions' should be traced to the thousands of years of historical ties between India and Tibet. What sort of a relationship is that between Tibet and India? Everybody knows that for a long span of time this had been a history of aggression against Tibet by British imperialism making use of its rule over India and using India as its base."

10. Indian expansionists have a hand in Tibet independence plot

NCNA Peking, April 29, 1959:

The documents captured by the Chinese People's Liberation Army from the rebel command in Tibet and the so-called "oath of the Tibetan Buddhist Association" issued by the Tibetan rebels abroad have exposed the big lies spread by the Indian expansionists that China, instead of the Tibetan reactionaries' group, failed to abide by the 17-Article Agreement on the peaceful liberation of Tibet.

This is said by HU Chin in an article in today's JEN MIN JIH PAO. At the same time, these captured documents and the "oath" have also exposed the utter hypocrisy of the Indian expansionists' claim that they had not interfered in China's domestic affairs, the article says.

These documents proved that the Tibetan reactionaries' group had all along opposed national regional autonomy and carried on the conspiracy to split the motherland and make Tibet "independent", the article says.

The article notes that the documents fully confirmed the facts disclosed by Panchen Erdeni in his speech at the National People's Congress. What the Tibetan reactionaries' group want "is not the autonomy but the so-called 'independence'. Indeed, it is not Tibetan independence either, but an attempt, under the cloak of 'independence', to betray the motherland and seek glory for themselves and maintain their reactionary rule."

The article points out that these documents fully confirmed the charges of Panchen Erdeni that "the reactionaries in India, walking in the footsteps of the British imperialists, have always harbored expansionist ambitions toward Tibet and have carried out various forms of sabotage activities." The so-called "Tibet independence conference" in its secret messages to Shagob-ba, leader of the rebel "society for the cause of Tibet welfare", in Kalimpong, asked them to "announce to all" that the "independent state of Tibet already established". It also asked them to "report to government of neighboring country, India, Buddhist conference, United Nations, (to) send delegates here immediately to inspect real situation" and to "find ways to wire Indian representative in Lhasa who should know situation beforehand".

The article stresses that these documents give further evidence to the fact that the Dalai Lama has been held under duress. It was clearly

stated in the documents that the Dalai Lama "became angry" at the so-called "people's representative conference" held by the reactionaries in the Horbu Lingka in which "independence" of Tibet was declared, and also when he was "prevented ... from going out (to attend the theatrical performance at the auditorium of the Military Area Command)" ...

11. India has no right to talk about Tibet's autonomy

NCNA Peking, April 29, 1959:

Commenting on the Indian expansionists' recent attacks on China, an article in today's TA KUNG PAO says that it must be established who is the attacker and who is working to undermine Sino-Indian friendship.

SHENG Liang recalls in the article the wild interference in China's internal affairs by the Indian expansionists over the Tibetan issue.

It was only when the Chinese people no longer tolerate this interference that they began to rebuff their attacks, the article says.

But even in the face of this Chinese reaction, the article continues, the Indian expansionists refused to stop their attacking and meddling. In retaliation they described the justified Chinese counter-blows as "attacks" on India and said that their "moderation" should not be taken as a sign of weakness.

"Who indeed is threatening and attacking others and who indeed is undermining the friendship between the two countries?" the article asks. This is the question which should be answered in the light of facts.

In February long before the rebellion took place in Tibet, the article says, some reactionary Indian papers raised many clamors for the purpose of stirring up a rebellion in Tibet and interfering in China's internal affairs. Quoting from some papers by way of illustration, the article asks how it was that before the outbreak of the rebellion the STATESMAN should have predicted the declaration of an "all-out revolution" in Tibet. Why should it have shouted of India's opposition to any Chinese "interference" in Tibet? "Were these not instigations to the rebels and interference in China's internal affairs?" the article asks.

"After the rebellion broke out in Tibet," the article says, "many Indian papers, overjoyed in the belief that what they had long awaited was coming, published voluminous reports and statements in support of the rebels and to interfere in China's internal affairs. Before the announcement in China of the punitive action against the rebels, the PRESS TRUST OF INDIA on March 20 was the first to carry a report on the 'occurrence of fighting' in Lhasa obtained from Indian Foreign Ministry sources. The next day many Indian papers joined in chorus to paint a lurid picture of the incident and frantically attacked China. They threatened that India's

policy of non-participation in any alliance would be affected if China took action against the rebels," the paper says.

The HINDUSTHAN TIMES even told China to guarantee Tibet's autonomy. It charged China with "being not too keen to allow India's age-old interests in Tibet to be expressed in a normal fashion."

Apparently, China's undisputable sovereignty over Tibet had no place in the eyes of the Indian expansionists. Also obviously, as soon as the rebellion in Tibet started, they began to invent pretexts to interfere in China's internal affairs.

"But no matter how the Indian expansionists try to slander and intimidate China, it is entirely justifiable to ask what connection China's putting down of the rebellion in Tibet has with India and what right has India to talk about Tibet's autonomy," the paper states.

At the same time that the Indian press was feverishly attacking China, the Indian Parliament, in utter disregard of international courtesy, more than once talked at length of the so-called Tibet question, the article says. A number of leaders of India's political parties including even the ruling party also took part in this open interference in China's internal affairs, it adds.

"It is obvious that in their frenzied discussion of the Tibet question, not the faintest tinge of Sino-Indian friendship remained in the minds of these Indian politicians. They ignored China's territorial sovereignty over Tibet, a fact which they had themselves recognized, and presumed India to be the protector of Tibet," the article notes.

The Indian expansionists who entertained deep sympathy with the rebellion in Tibet vented themselves in deep grief upon learning of the speedy end of the rebellion. They set up many organizations to bolster and provide relief for the Tibetan rebels.

In the past few weeks, despite the hue and cry of the Indian expansionists and their interference in China's internal affairs, the article continues, the Chinese people, who have all along cherished Sino-Indian friendship persistently restrained themselves before these clamors of the Indian expansionists. "But they took our attitude for weakness and intensified their attacks. They made a big song and dance about the so-called "Dalai Lama's statement" to bludgeon and blackmail us. They put forward a "plan to restore Tibet's autonomy", demanded that China guarantee Tibet's autonomy, that the Chinese troops be withdrawn from Tibet and that this autonomy be guaranteed by the United Nations. They clamored for the convening of a so-called "tripartite conference among India, China and Tibet". "Are not all these designs by the Indian expansionists to tear Tibet from its unified motherland, substantially convert Tibet into a colony and protectorate of India?" the article asks.

"Driven by the ambitious end of expansion, the Indian expansionists justified all the means they resorted to including open insults of the leaders of our country. If this is tolerable, what else is intolerable?" the article asks.

It is only fair and just that the Chinese people should resolutely hit back at the interventionists. It is quite obvious that only by severely hitting the interventionists and those expansionists of India who are set on undermining Sino-Indian friendship that this friendship can be genuinely consolidated and extended and the five principles of peaceful co-existence propounded by the prime ministers of the two countries truly safeguarded, the article concludes.

IV. Rehabilitation and development period May 7 - June 27

At the outset Chinese communist propaganda claimed that the rebels "collapsed" and the remnants became "isolated and desperate" in Tibet. Later, the former local government was accused of corruption, oppression, incompetence, and all manner of misgovernment. In this respect Chinese communist propaganda never tired of contrasting its vaunted description of the current excellent conditions prevailing in Tibet with its equally exaggerated descriptions communist propagandists took advantage of the so-called "antagonisms and contradictions among Tibetans", inciting the masses against the landowners.

Themes during this period fell into two categories: Tibet's previous serfdom and emphasis on the new look.

Ravings over Serfdom:

1. 1.1 million Tibetan peasants demand end of serfdom

NCNA Lhasa, May 7, 1959:

The 1.1 million peasants in Tibet who are some 95 percent of the population in the Tibet Plateau urgently demanded that the barbarous, ruthless, and dark serfdom be eliminated to end their miserable life of slavery forever to enable them to cooperate with the fraternal nationalities throughout the country in treading the road of happiness and prosperity...

Usury, government servants and head tax are considered by many Tibetan people three pieces of iron chain owned by their landlord and local government officials to control their bodies. They have said: "We will never be emancipated without destroying these iron chains." A very popular folk song in the Tung-ko-tsung area near Lhasa city includes these words: "Uncle Teng-tsong, please explain to me. I did not even see a speck of grain. How has it turned out to be a debt of more than 1,000 catties of grain? ..."

However, the former Tibet Local Government and the upper strata clique in Tibet tried their best to obstruct and undermine the urgent demands of the broad masses of Tibetan working people for carrying out the democratic reforms. They outwardly supported the statements of Dalai Lama and Panchen Rinpoche concerning the carrying out of democratic reforms in Tibet, but inwardly adopted all sorts of measures to undermine the launching of democratic reforms.

The former Tibet Local Government sent out large numbers of personnel to launch false propaganda among the masses of Tibetan people. They said: "Your property will be confiscated by the Communist Party after the implementation of the democratic reforms, and your grain will also be taken away by the Liberation Army." They also threatened the people by saying "anyone who demands democratic reforms or makes contact with the People's Liberation Army will have his eyes gouged out, his nose will be cut off, and his entire family will be executed."

During the past 8 years after the liberation of Tibet when nothing was done to change the serfdom, officers and men of PLA units and work personnel stationed in Tibet were deeply concerned about the miserable life of the poor Tibetan people. When the combatants and work personnel allocated loans free of interest to the Tibetan peasants, they noticed that the silver dollars were immediately taken away by the owners of serfs after the peasants received the loans. They also noticed how the serfs were tortured by their owners and how many peasants were frozen and starved to death in the snow-covered ground near the villages. Many cadres of Han nationality conserved their own food rations and clothing to help the poor Tibetan people. At that time, the Central People's Government had adopted a most friendly and lenient attitude toward the reactionary serf owners, patiently waiting for them to comprehend. The Central People's Government also declared that democratic reforms would not be carried out during the Second Five-Year Plan period, and conducted persuasion and explanatory programs through education among the masses of people.

However, the upper strata reactionary clique in Tibet has persisted in its error and attempted to permanently maintain its extremely dark and backward rule over the Tibetan people...

2. Tibetan people's torture and humiliation have now been brought to an end

NCNA Lhasa, May 12, 1959:

Medieval instruments of torture used in the prison of the Lhasa Nangtsozhag (former Municipal Government) have been brought to public attention since the quelling of the rebellion of the upper strata reactionary clique.

Hooks to gouge out eyes, iron instruments to mutilate the extremities, wooden pillories and cages, knives to slit noses, hamstring and rip out hearts have been found in this prison and torture chambers of reactionary Tibetan big serf owners.

A stone cap of 22 kilograms is among the instruments of torture found in the prison of the Lhasa Nangtzesbag.

With a hole in the center, the stone cap would be put on the head of the "offender", and an oval shaped stone then used to strike the head. The eyes bulging from the pressure were gouged out by sharp hooks.

Any offense, however slight, might bring down these and other inhuman tortures on hapless victims. Beggars and serfs are often seen who were blinded or maimed. At the will of the Tibetan upper strata many women who had been violated were branded on the forehead by their rapists.

Among the brutalities perpetrated was to tie the hands of a victim to the tail of a horse which was then urged over a stony course.

The former Lhasa Municipal Government had special teams of whippers, the "profession" being handed down from father to son. The offices of the former Tibet Local Government had such whips hanging in rows.

A special torment to the masses in Tibet was the former Tibet troops whose officer corps was mostly trained by the "aristocrats training team". The troops quartered themselves in civilian houses. They beat people up when they felt like it and indulged in unspeakable debauchery.

They would hang a horse whip before the door of the house of any woman they desired. If her family did not send her along, the troops would send a bullet as a token of certain death that would be visited on the house in case of continued refusal.

The people in Tibet are expressing their joy that their torture and humiliation have now been brought to an end with the putting down of the Tibetan rebellion of reactionary big serf owners.

3. Exorbitant taxes under Tibetan serfdom

NCMA Lhasa, May 16, 1959:

Tibetan land-tillers groaning under all kinds of exactions in serfdom were in addition perhaps the most heavily taxed people in the world.

Nobody actually knows how many taxes there were because they were so vast in number. A Tibetan saying is that there were "as many taxes as hairs on a yak".

In Tibet where the will of the serf-owners was law, taxation extended as far as their avarice might reach. The serf-owners - the former Tibet Local Government, the monasteries, the nobles and headmen made their rules about grabbing from the pockets of their subjects.

The petty headmen, bailiffs and other lackeys of the big serf-owners also could impose taxes as they wished.

A survey in Gyantse, Padnag dzong and Lhatse dzong, southern Tibet, showed a hundred or more kinds of taxes and exactions apart from corvee labor and rent in kind.

Serfs were taxable from the day there were born until the day they died. And after their death, their families had to pay the "burial tax" unless they could bring the cardrops of the dead of the serf-owners. But a pair of cardrops cost hundreds of taels of "Tibetan silver" and were therefore beyond the reach of most the serfs.

When a baby was born, its parents had to pay a "birth tax" and later the annual "child tax". At the age of 13, the young serfs began to pay the poll tax and, if they wanted to become lamas, the "ordination tax". Marriage was approved only after hata, yak butter and "Tibetan silver" had been presented to the serf-owners. Offenders of the serf-owners' "laws" must also pay the "prison tax" when they were put into jail.

One of the most shocking taxes was the "ears tax" introduced by the former Tibet Local Government more than 30 years ago as a means to collect funds for the expansion of its army. Everyone had to pay two taels of "Tibetan silver" for each of his ears annually, otherwise the tax-collectors could cut his ears away. This tax prevailed in some areas until the rebellion was quelled.

In some far-off mountain villages, those who have a single fold on their eyelids, wore plaits or bought new suit or a pair of boots were all taxable. The old, decrepit or physically weak serfs who could not do corvee labor paid "corvee tax" instead. Even beggars and the disabled had to pay a tax of from 3 to 15 taels of "Tibetan silver".

The survey made in Padnag dzong, near Gyantse, where the manorial estates of Pala Tudin Tounding, one of the rebel leaders, was located, showed that a serf family had to pay about 20 taxes to the former Tibet Local Government alone, besides doing 374 workdays of corvee labor and paying exorbitant rent annually for every "kang" of land he cultivated (roughly a "kang" of land is a plot on which some 480 pounds of seeds can be sown) ...

4. Not a single serf-owner in Tibet without practice of usury

NCNA Lhasa, June 4, 1959:

There was not a single serf-owner in Tibet who did not practice usury. The feudal serf-owners - the former Tibet Local Government, the nobility and monasteries - all had special organizations to take charge of usury.

In addition to grain and cash, livestock, yak butter, wool, tea, cloth, salt, and timber were among the countless loans. A kind of loan issued by some monasteries was called Chuba. When the serfs failed to pay the 'funds for scripture reading' exacted by the monasteries, the 'funds' were counted in terms of grain or butter and became debts owed by the serfs to the monasteries, at high interest.

The yearly rate of interest generally ranged between 20 % and 50%, and was sometimes as high as 100% and even 160%. Loans of grain and other goods were generally made in the second or third month of the Tibetan calendar, and returned in the 8th or 9th month. The period covered was actually only half a year.

More than one-tenth of the annual income of the former Tibet Local Government came from the usurious interest. Big serf-owners such as the rebels Surking Wongching-Galci, Yuto Chahsi-Dongchu, Pala Tudif Younding and Lhalu Tsewang Dorje used to borrow grain and funds from the former Tibet Local Government at low interest and lend them in turn to the serfs at usurious interest.

Under serfdom, it was hardly possible for the serfs to escape usury, since the serf-owners used to force the serfs to borrow what they themselves no longer needed and make them pay back grain and animal products after the harvest. One big serf-owner, the rebel leader Karipen in the Dinching area, had in this way got rid of 60 yak-loads of rotten tea to the serfs.

The serfs had to present gifts before they received the loans, generally at a rate of 10 eggs for a loan equivalent to 10 khals of barley (12.5 kilograms to a khal). Some had to present money or legs of sheep in addition. In some places, the serfs had to hand over livestock, land, seedlings in the fields on mortgage and even members of their families as household slaves.

Statistics show that more than 80% of the Tibetan serfs were in debt. Only a small number of the poorest serfs and household slaves who had no possibility of borrowing had no debts.

Many serfs did not know where their debts came from, and what really was the sum. A serf called Tsuren Wongtan in Tehjung dzong has a debt owed by the family nine generations ago. They just paid what the serf-owners required.

Teng Chika in Tehjung dzong has only seven households, yet the debts they owed totalled about 12,000 khal of grain. The entire annual income of these people from land came to only 1,122 khals of grain, yet the interest due to the creditors alone amounted to 2,389 khals, twice the amount of their income ...

New Look:

1. Yatung breathes freely once again

In its Round the Week, the PEKING REVIEW of No. 19, May 12, 1959 said:

Yatung is a typical reborn town, rid of rebels, it breathes freely once again. With much to do to build anew, and much more to look forward to, Yatung is in a festive mood. The inhabitants, and especially the young men and women, celebrate the deliverance of the town from the rebel bandit forces, wining and dancing in the village squares in their most colorful costumes.

Grannies and grandpas put out the purest white hats to decorate the picture-frames of Chairman MAO Tse-tung as a token of their affection and respect, and children, too, go picking fresh flowers from the Himalayan foothills to put them before the picture of their beloved leader in their homes. The womenfolk who had not dared to show their faces for fear of molestation by the rebels are seen out again, working and singing in the fields, singing of the bright future that now opens before all of them with the suppression of the reactionary forces.

Nestling at the bottom of the Himalayas on the southern tip of the Tibet region, Yatung has had a checkered history. It bore the brunt of several British invasions in the 19th century and early this century and has been victimized by the international adventurers who blustered their way into Tibet in the name of trade or some fancy "humanitarian" causes. When the rebels struck in March they terrorized the Yatung area. Suffering was writ large on the faces of the inhabitants. The People's Liberation Army came; the rebellion was quelled; Yatung was given a new lease of life. The mountain of oppression, as the Tibetan working people call the reactionary clique, is now removed from their backs, and this time, they say, for good.

2. Peasants in Tibet are really free from the fetters of usury

NCNA Lhasa, May 17, 1959:

Teams sent out by the Working Committee of the Chinese Communist Party in Tibet and the Tibet Military Area Command of the People's Liberation Army have distributed 1,750 tons of seed and grain as interest-free loans to poor peasants in the past month.

These loans are bigger than in past years and distributed over a wider area, from Chamdo in the east to Ari in the west, from the Tsangpo River basin in the middle of the plateau to the remote Himalaya Mountain area. Many peasant households whose belongings were plundered by the rebels or lacked seed and grain owing to exploitation by the serf owners have now received seed and grain.

Now these agricultural loan teams are moving into the more remote mountainous villages. They aim to bring seed and grain to every poor peasant in time for the sowing.

In Medong dzong in the Loka area where the rebels were entrenched at one time on the average every household has received 100 kilograms of barley. Brought animals have been provided for plowing. This area was very short of seed due to plunder by the rebels.

In Chamdo dzong, Ming Ting dzong and Gianda dzong in Chamdo area every poor peasant household on the average has received about 30 kilograms of grain and one or two modern farm tools. In Shigatse and Gyantse in the Hyangchu River basin, 750 tons of grain seed have been distributed among 12,000 poor peasant households.

In the past, the peasants in Tibet had to borrow seed at usurious interest from the former Tibet Local Government and serf owners. The grain seed in general was borrowed in the spring and returned in the autumn and the interest for the six months was between 25% and 100%.

The Central People's Government has been distributing interest free agricultural loans to the peasants every year since the peaceful liberation of Tibet. But the reactionary authorities and some of the serf owners obstructed this in every possible way, even threatening the peasants and not allowing them to take these loans, or seizing the grain seed received by the peasants. As a result usury continued. This year, the peasants in Tibet are really free from the fetters of usury. The agricultural loans working teams have been warmly received everywhere.

3. Another power station, the largest on Tibet Plateau, under construction

NCHA Lhasa, May 23, 1959:

... Before the peaceful liberation of Tibet, a hydro-electric power station with a capacity of 60 kilowatts and a mint with about a dozen workers, both in Lhasa, were the only industrial establishments in Tibet. The small power plant often came to a standstill during the low water season in winter and spring. During the past years, the Central People's Government helped the local people to build power stations in Lhasa, Shigatse and Chamdo. The new power station in Lhasa has a capacity more

than ten times that of the old one. Now another hydro-electric power station, of 6,000-kilowatt capacity, the largest on the Tibet Plateau is under construction in Lhasa ...

4. Lhasa celebrates Buddha's Birth and Nirvana with real joy

MCNA Lhasa, May 23, 1959:

Lhasa citizens yesterday celebrated this year's festival of the birth, and Nirvana of the Buddha with real joy after the putting down of the rebellion. It is a custom for Tibetans to pray for a good harvest on this day which falls on the 15th day of the fourth month in the Tibetan calendar.

In the early morning, religious services were held in all the monasteries where monks offered prayers to the Buddha.

Groups of people picnicked in nearby woods and beauty spots, taking with them tents, wine and food. The Dragon King Lake behind the Potala Palace was a favorite spot for holiday makers. Citizens of Lhasa sang and danced in spacious tents pitched by street committees for the public in the shade of the poplars and willows skirting the lake. Troupes of entertainers from the youth movement and women's associations drew big audiences. Music from guitars and drums floated across the rippling water of the lake.

Among the musicians was a blind woman guitarist named Shirob Wongmu who came with her mother. Before the putting down of the rebellion, she had haunted the streets of Lhasa begging for alms. Now she has obtained relief and help from the city's Military Control Committee. She was playing with joy and happiness.

Many Tibetans went boating on the lake in the yak skin boats. The five-storey pagoda in the center of the lake was crammed with people. Many of whom were visiting this building for the first time, because formerly only high officials of the Tibet Local Government had access to this place.

Old Tibetans brought tsamba (parched barley) and throw it over the lake to insure mild winds and gentle rains, accompanying a good harvest. The plains around Lhasa are already green with wheat, barley and rapeseed.

Many Han functionaries, workers and People's Liberation Army men and officers also visited the Dragon King Lake and joined the Tibetans in their merry-making.

5. Five-starred red flags on Lhasa taller buildings

An article by KUO Kung in the PEKING REVIEW of No. 21, May 26, 1959:

Lhasa today, cleared of the rebels, is alive with the hum of hopeful human activity. Here people are busily carrying away debris and rubbish from the streets, there people are growing vegetables in the open spaces. In the early morning you are sure to come across an old Tibetan lady who will greet you with a nod while spreading whitening at the doorstep as an omen of "good luck and good fortune." Children greet you and offer to help. On the outskirts of Lhasa, peasants are at the plough, the horns or their cattle decorated with red tassels for good luck.

Religious services are being conducted as usual. You can see old women saying their prayers at their doorsteps and lamas in the Jokhan Monastery prostrating themselves at the shrine and chanting sutras in the traditional manner. Five-starred red flags on the taller buildings are surrounded by all sorts of pennants of the Buddhist faith affixed to the rooftops of practically every household in the city.

For years Lhasans have been praying for a better and happier life in their next incarnation, but under the ruthless rule of the reactionary clique of the upper strata, this life offered the people an endless cup of bitterness. In any direction of Lhasa you turn to, you will find its slums, battered hovels littered with dirt and shabbily dressed, dish-celled people, always barefooted. When you come near to these hovels their squalor and utter misery make you shudder ... Vegetables are available to many Lhasans since the establishment of farms by the PLA men, and the Lhasa People's Hospital built after liberation offers free medical treatment. The construction of many highways is a boon to those who formerly had to travel under very trying conditions. Relief funds, loans and seeds have been issued.

In the eight years following the liberation, the former reactionary local government of Tibet made no effort to help the working people there, but continued to oppress and exploit them. Its ways and means of ruling the people were more savage than those prevalent in medieval Europe.

6. PLA men and Tibetan peasants work side by side in the fields

NCNA Lhasa, May 27, 1959:

Tibetan peasants and the People's Liberation Army men can be seen working side by side in the fields in the Loka area where farming is in full swing in the blossoming, green valleys.

The peasants' enthusiasm in winning a good harvest this year was greatly raised when People's Liberation Army units arrived and began to help them. In Tralung dzong, on the day following their arrival, a PLA unit issued 331 khals of grain to the 87 households of poor peasants free of interest, and lent them more than 70 plows, part of their ponies and

all the horses they had captured from the rebel bandits.

Inspired by this help, the peasants in the dzong sowed 1,500 and more khals in five days.

In Towa dzong alone, some 250 poor households received a total of six tons of seed from the PLA units.

7. Children of many serfs and slaves have enrolled in schools for the first time

NCNA Lhasa, June 2, 1959:

Children of many serfs and slaves have enrolled in schools for the first time and more than 1,000 children have already become young pioneers since the putting down of the rebellion and the smashing of the Tibet reactionary regime.

Chiangba-Drurga is a pupil at the No.3 primary school in Lhasa. A few months ago, she toiled painfully as a slave in the manor of a serf owner. When she was four years old, her father was tortured to death by the serf owner. Her mother died two years later, and she started her life as a slave. After the quelling of the rebellion, this orphan enrolled at the Lhasa No.3 primary school which has provided her with board, lodging and expenses for study.

Another pupil in the No.3 primary school is an 11-year-old boy named Tutan-Jentzen. Formerly he was a vagabond, begging a living on the streets of Lhasa. When the Lhasa Military Control Committee recommended him to the No.3 primary school his clothing was dirty and in tatters. On International Children's Day celebrated on June 1, he wore clothes given him by the school and played merrily with his schoolmates.

Lopu-Drangdeng, a pupil in the Lhasa No.3 primary school, was the son of a slave in Pedna Khang in Southern Tibet. His parents were beaten to death because they were unable to do the enforced unpaid labor. Then the serf owner seized Lopu-Drangdeng to work as a child slave. In 1956, the boy escaped and the school took him in. Lopu-Drangdeng said: "In the old days, we slave children were too scared to go out on the streets for fear of being caught by the slave owners. Now we don't have to be afraid of anybody."

In the past, many Tibetan children were born in tattered tents, dirty stables and cow pens. Sometimes, while doing enforced unpaid labor, parents would dig a hole in the ground and put the child inside or bind him to a tree with strips of cowhide. In winter, when ice and snow covered the Tibetan plateau, many children had no clothing to wear.

Sons and daughters of serfs and slaves, even as children, were responsible for the debts of their parents and themselves served as serfs and slaves, being forced to do manual work beyond their physical capacity. In physique many 13-year-old children were as small as the average 9-year-old, but they had wizened, old faces from their hard toil and poor diet.

8. Vegetables: scarcely any before, now more than 20 types

NCNA Lhasa, June 4, 1959:

The officers and men of the People's Liberation Army in Tibet aim to grow for themselves all the vegetables they need. Scarcely any vegetables were grown in Tibet before the People's Liberation Army came there. More than 20 types have since been sown on the banks of the Lhasa River, around Shigatse and on the Ari area 4,000 meters above sea level. Now a further area of 170 hectares reclaimed last winter is being sown to vegetables.

Hothouses covering an area of 12,000 square meters have been built

The longstanding tradition of the People's Liberation Army to take part in farming wherever they are and help the local peasants has been put into practice in Tibet, too. Last year, the forces stationed in Tibet harvested more than 6,000 tons of vegetables...

Media outlets:

1. Jubilant celebration

NCNA Lhasa, May 29, 1959:

Horsemanship, archery, stage performances and sports contests highlighted the festival held in Gyantse in celebration of the successful quelling of the rebellion and hopes for a good harvest.

More than 7,000 Lamas, peasants and herdsmen took part in the three-day festival which ended yesterday.

Groups of festival-goers began streaming into Gyantse on May 26, bringing with them yak butter, scorched barley, wine and meat. They put up scores of green tents in a big square along the Nyangchu River against the background of luxuriant barley fields.

At a meeting inaugurating the festival, Gaisang, deputy director of the general office of the Chikyab (district) office of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region, expressed gratitude to the Central People's Government and Chairman MAO Tse-tung for their concern for the Tibetan people.

He urged still closer unity in the fight for the early carrying out of reforms and the building of a happy, prosperous new Tibet.

More than 200 horsemen and archers selected from the Gyantse area, clad like ancient warriors, exhibited their skill in vigorous contests. 19-year-old herdsman Dorje, a member of the Gyantse Association of Patriotic Youth, won the horse race.

Some 80 mounted marksmen galloped along on the square and shot at target with firearms.

On the morning of May 27, more than a hundred archers on horseback held a contest. Lapan-Tsering, who is more than 50 years old, won. Teabricks and silk hata were presented to him.

Songs and dances and traditional Tibetan dramas were performed during the festival.

Football and basketball contests were held between functionaries of the Gyantse Sub-Working Committee of the Communist Party and Tibetan members of the Local Patriotic Youth Association.

Leading officials of the Gyantse Sub-Working Committee of the Communist Party and the Gyantse Military Control Committee attended the festival.

2. Publications in Tibetan

In its Sidlights, the PEKING REVIEW of No. 22, June 2, 1959 reported:

Although the written Tibetan language has been in existence for more than 1,000 years, in the past nearly all books printed in Tibetan were Buddhist sutras, and in very limited numbers at that. From liberation to the end of March this year an estimated 7 million copies of 1,000 titles in Tibetan were published by the nationalities languages publishing houses in Peking, Szechuan, Chinghai and Kansu. They included Chairman MAO Tse-tung's works and a variety of books on natural science, technology, culture and art, textbooks, etc. much in demand among the Tibetan people.

V. Democratic reform period June 28 -

Democratic reform is depicted as the commencement of a "new stage" in national unity greatly desired by "the Tibetan working class". The world is therefore being told that the forces of "progress" in Tibet have won over those of "reaction". According to the report by Ngapo Ngawang-Jigme at the Second Plenary Meeting of the Preparatory Committee on June 28, present tasks in Tibet include:

Different Treatment: In accordance with the directive of the central authorities, different manorial lords (feudal estate-holders) will be dealt with differently in the democratic reform. The dividing line is whether they took any part in the rebellion or not. The land owned by manorial lords who took part in the rebellion will be confiscated and the tillers of their land will enjoy the benefit of harvesting this year's crops without paying rents. For those who took no part in the rebellion the rents on the land they own will, after consultation, be reduced this year. The policy of redemption will be adopted when the time comes for land reform.

Rent Reduction: For those manorial lords who did not take part in the rebellion, this year the crops will be distributed at an 80-20 per cent ratio. That is to say, the tillers of the land belonging to non-rebellious estate-holders will receive 80 per cent of the crops, with seeds deducted in advance, and 20 per cent will go to the manorial lords.

Interest Reduction: All debts owed by the laboring people to the manorial lords and to subletting landlords at the end of 1958 are now declared null and void, but commercial loans stand unaffected. For loans extended to laboring people in 1959 by manorial lords who had not taken part in the rebellion a one per cent monthly interest may be charged.

Peasant Associations: The existing committees formed to put down the rebellion and organize production, which are of a transitional character, will cease functioning upon the formation of the peasant associations. The latter will become the primary form of organization of the peasants to carry out the democratic reform and develop production. At a given period, these peasant associations will assume the functions and powers of the primary level of government in the rural areas.

Herdsmen's Associations: The herds owned by the rebels will be confiscated by the government and turned over to the herdsmen who tended them. A policy of non-redistribution of the livestock and mutual benefits between livestock-owners and herdsmen will be carried out but the "three anti's" (anti-rebellion, anti-ula system and anti-slavery) campaign will be launched. All the pastoral serfs emancipated in the campaign will become hired herdsmen and receive reasonable wages. Grazing taxes charged by the manorial lords and their agents for the use of grazing grounds will be abolished. Herdsmen's associations similar to peasant associations will be established to carry out the tasks facing the pastoral areas.

Changes in Administrative Divisions: The existing administrative division of Tibet into chikyab, dzong and chi suits the book of the manorial lords who wanted to carve up the land according to the ownership of manors by the three types of estateholders. It is extremely irrational and inconvenient for government ... The Tibet region will be divided into seven areas and one municipality, namely, Shigatse, Chando, Takun, Loka, Gyantse,

Nagchuka, Ari and the municipality of Lhasa. The existing 147 dzong and chi will be turned into 80 counties.

Policy of Redemption: The Central Government has decided to adopt a policy of redemption, similar to that adopted towards the national bourgeoisie in other parts of China, in dealing with those manorial lords and subletting landlords who did not take part in the rebellion.

In order to fulfill the aforesaid tasks, the Chinese communists have begun to switch their propaganda "hard line" to the "softer" approach. To date, most noticeable is an intense build-up of "democratic reform" theme. The "religion" theme appears again; this time it is marked by a series of propaganda pronouncements directed toward "freedom of religious belief based on Marxist-Leninist understanding." To cite one instance from an article by CHANG Hong-chen in the PEKING REVIEW of No.29, July 21, 1959:

... The people's state holds that the question of religious belief is a private matter; belief or non-belief in religion relates to the personal freedom of an individual. Every citizen is free to believe in a religion and is also free not to believe in religion; and he can choose to believe in whatever religion he wishes.

These two freedoms to believe in a religion or not to believe are the two inseparable aspects of state policy on religion. It would be a distortion of the policy if one aspect were recognized and not the other ...

State policy toward religion in China -- the policy of freedom of religious belief -- is, therefore, based on the Marxist-Leninist understanding of the laws of development of religion. As far as the mass of people are concerned, religious belief is a question of knowledge, a question of ideology. There can therefore be no question of intervening in people's religious beliefs or forcing them by administrative order to abandon their religious beliefs. Chairman MAO Tse-tung has said: "It is not only futile but very harmful to use crude and summary methods to deal with ideological questions among the people, with questions relating to the spiritual life of man" ...

In some national minority areas in our country, feudal lords cloaked in the garb of religion used to own vast tracts of land, huge numbers of livestock, forests and pastures. In the Tibet region, the monasteries own over one-third of the total land area of the region, directly exploiting hundreds of thousands of serfs, peasants and herdsmen. Like other serf-owners, they have ruthlessly exploited the laboring people. The labor services which the serfs were forced to perform generally took over three-fourths of their working time each year. Rent in kind usually took over 50 per cent, or in some cases, 70 to 80 per cent of a serf's output.

In a socialist country, religion will be permitted to exist as long as there are people who believe in it. But in no case will the oppression and exploitation of man by man be allowed to exist permanently, because it is incompatible with the socialist system. It is the aim of socialist society to eliminate this phenomenon whether it is covered by a cloak of religion or not.

Therefore, on the one hand, communists stand firmly for freedom of religious belief and, on the other, are determined to abolish the oppression and exploitation practiced by the religious feudal lords. To do this it is necessary to adopt the methods of democratic revolution, to lead the laboring people to overthrow the rule of the feudal lords no matter what cloak they wear and abolish their oppression and exploitation of the laboring people. This is why in the course of the democratic reforms carried out in many national minority areas after liberation, oppression and exploitation practiced by religious and secular feudal lords were generally abolished at one and the same time ...

The brutal and obscurantist serf system in the Tibet region was not reformed in the eight years following its peaceful liberation owing to the obstruction of the reactionary clique of the upper strata. But in the recent rebellion started there by that clique, the big reactionary serf-owners, clerical and secular, who worked hand in glove with each other, were thoroughly unmasked and exposed themselves in all their evilness before the Tibetan people. As a result of this, the people under the leadership of the Communist Party have now launched a vigorous san fan and ghuang jian (Three Anti's and Two Reductions) campaign against rebellion, the ula system and slavery, and for reduction of rents and interest charges. After this, the land owned by the manorial lords will be redistributed so as to uproot the bloodstained rule of the reactionary serf-owners and end their oppression and exploitation of the people.

Throughout the whole course of the operations to quell the rebellion, the state carefully protected, as always, the Tibetan monasteries, cultural relics and historical sites and the legitimate religious activities of the lamas. It will do the same during the democratic reform.

All the reactionaries are doing their utmost to spread rumors about and slander the democratic reforms which are ending the system of oppression and exploitation hitherto practiced by the religious feudal lords. They wail that "freedom of religious belief has ceased to exist in China!" This is the most arrant hypocrisy and humbug. The fact is that only when feudal oppression and exploitation is abolished can the policy of freedom of religious belief be implemented thoroughly and comprehensively and the masses of the national minority peoples really enjoy freedom of religious belief ...

Meantime, there is increasing emphasis upon "new look". Themes about "new look" are stereotyped such as:

1. Bumper Harvest

NCNA Lhasa, August 5:

Tibetan peasants in the Loka area south of Lhasa are building irrigation canals and striving for a bumper harvest this year, while carrying out democratic reform.

Local peasants' associations have been set up in all counties in the Loka area. In Chetang, in the central part of the Loka area, peasants are repairing an irrigation canal which flooded and submerged nearby farmland annually in the high water season. Rush repairs were made in previous years but this failed to check the flooding. This year, responding to the call of the local peasants' association, the people, carrying red banners and beating drums, came to renovate the canal. People moved stones from one kilometer away to pave the bed of the canal, singing as they worked. Reconstruction of the most broken-down section along the lower reaches of the canal was completed in six days.

In the Rong area of Zangri county, the local peasants completed the repair of a big canal in one day. Previously the local dzongpon (county head), heads of monasteries and temples and their lackeys drove the peasants with whips to repair the canal. But the repairs were inadequate and some of the fields in the irrigated area were parched for lack of moisture.

In the Nedong village of Nedong county, the peasants, including newly liberated manorial slaves and people who did unpaid forced labor for the manorial lords, are weeding the fields and reaping grass.

Now the barley crops along the Tsangpo River in the Loka area have already shot up ears, and the rapeseed and peas are also growing well. In some valleys in the Himalaya mountainous areas, harvesting of the first barley crop has already been completed, and buckwheat has been sown. Apple, peach and walnut trees and grape vines along the river are bearing rich fruit.

2. First Nursery

NCNA Lhasa, August 6, 1959:

The first fulltime nursery has recently been established in Lhasa.

The Tibetan rebellion and Chinese communist propaganda

Since the March incident in Lhasa the Chinese communist propagandists have attempted to defend a vulnerable position in international relations through a deluge of words. However, this time all news sources could not be controlled. The revolt was known to the world as was the Chinese communist effort to quell the rebellion through armed suppression. Free world opinion was aroused; Indian opinion, an on-the-spot observer states "was really shaken". The Dalai Lama succeeded in his escape, and his statement strongly contradicted the communist version of events. Tibetan refugees continued to straggle across the border to add new accounts of Chinese communist activity.

The enclosed report, prepared by the post research staff and monitors, reviews the line and tactics employed in the Chinese communist whitewash of their activities in Tibet.

A synopsis of the enclosure follows:

On March 28, 1959, NCHA reported that "the Tibetan local government and the reactionary clique of the upper social strata" had kidnapped the Dalai Lama on March 10 following the outbreak of a rebellion. This 18-day silence may have been due to communist China's wish to hush up the affair and thus avoid international comment and loss of prestige. Peiping possibly hoped to crush the rebellion in a very short time, thus Peiping anxiously tried to prevent the flight of Tibetan leaders. When the Dalai Lama had successfully escaped and news of the rebellion could no longer be concealed the Chinese communists then sought by use of all propaganda media to explain the correctness of their action in the affair. Considerable propaganda use was made of statements at meetings held throughout the country, trying to give the impression that the "masses" as well as the hierarchy supported the communist line.

The following themes were used by the communists in supporting their own case:

1. The Dalai Lama had been kidnapped and subsequent statements had been made by him under duress. His Tezpur statement was simply dismissed as a forgery; no personal attacks were made against him. The Panchen Lama's evident support of the central authorities, however, received full propaganda coverage.

2. Tibet is an integral part of China; the suppression of the rebellion was therefore entirely a domestic affair. External opposition to China's action would be interference in China's internal affairs.

3. Since the rebellion was fomented by "an upper strata reactionary clique" aided by "imperialists and Indian expansionists", the mass of the Tibetan people and the whole population of China supported its suppression.

4. In any case, the rebellion was a minor affair lasting only two days in Lhasa. The PLA crushed the rebellion, only nopping-up operations of the rebel remnants continued. The PLA had attacked only military targets and had respected religious places. On the other hand, the rebels had committed countless atrocities and had gained support only by force.

Chinese communist propaganda maintained that troops of the People's Liberation Army entered Tibet on October 7, 1950, because the Tibetan local government had not "opposed imperialist deceptions and provocations" and had "adopted an unpatriotic attitude toward our great motherland." Following the cessation of Tibetan military resistance on May 23, 1951, the "17-Article Agreement" had been concluded. This had given the Tibetan people "the right to exercise national regional autonomy under the unified leadership of the Central People's Government", had not sought to alter the existing political system nor the status and powers of the Dalai Lama, had guaranteed respect for religion, and had planned for the integration of Tibetan troops into the PLA. However, the former local government had subsequently failed to carry out its part of the agreement - "to drive out aggressive imperialist forces and return to the big family of the motherland". Moreover, the former Tibetan army had resisted integration with the PLA, and this led to the outbreak on March 10, 1959.

Finally, having made every effort to convince the Tibetans, the Chinese people and the rest of the world that she had acted legally and had fought humanely against her enemy who, when stripped of their "forced supporters", remained only "a small clique", communist China sought to reveal the palpable benefits of "democratic reform" hitherto denied the Tibetan people under the deposed local government.

At the outset, most propaganda themes were designed to describe the ending of oppression, exploitation, serfdom and excessive taxation in Tibet. Later in June, July and August, communist propaganda concerned with Tibet turned almost entirely to the direction those reforms would take -- e.g., rent reduction, interest reduction, the establishment of peasants' and herdsmen's associations and a change in the Tibetan administrative divisions. Peasants were reported to be building irrigation canals and preparing for a bumper harvest, aided by the "friendly" labor of the PLA.

A Review of Communist Chinese Propaganda Line on Tibet

"Although the Dalai Lama has been abducted to India, we still hope that he will be able to free himself from the grip of the rebels and return to the motherland."

— CHOU En-lai, REPORT ON THE WORK OF THE GOVERNMENT, April 18, 1959.

SUMMARY: COMMUNIST CHINA USING ALL POSSIBLE PROPAGANDA MEDIA TO PROJECT HER LINE ON TIBET. THEY CLAIM TIBET PART OF COMMUNIST CHINA AND A DOMESTIC ISSUE. STATE NO FOREIGN INTERFERENCE TO BE TOLERATED; REBELLION SAID ENGINEERED BY "UPPER STRATA REACTIONARY CLIQUE" WITH ASSISTANCE OF "IMPERIALISTS AND INDIAN EXPANSIONISTS". DALAI LAMA ALLEGED TO HAVE BEEN KIDNAPPED AND HIS STATEMENTS FORGERIES. PROPAGANDA THEMES APPEAR TO COINCIDE WITH TACTICAL CHANGES.

Introduction

When the rebellion in Tibet could no longer be concealed the Chinese communists mobilized all propaganda media to propagate their line on the rebellion. The media employed included news agency releases to the world press, reports and editorials in mainland newspapers, stories in magazines, both in Chinese and foreign languages, radio broadcasts, speeches at legislative and similar meetings, mass rallies in communist China and Tibet and the support of leftist organizations and publications in foreign countries.

The propaganda line that the Chinese communists sought to project is that Tibet is an integral part of China, the suppression of the rebellion is a domestic affair and any discussion of the problem in foreign countries constitutes interference in communist China's internal affairs. They claimed that the Tibetan people were oppressed by "an upper strata reactionary clique" who fomented rebellion to maintain their own "dark rule". In this, the communists said the rebels were aided by "imperialists and Indian expansionists" who interfered to advance their own "aggressive designs". The communists tried to show that they themselves were the real benefactors of the Tibetan people and the upholders of religion in Tibet. Efforts were made to demonstrate that the broad masses of the Tibetans and the whole population of communist China, together with "progressive" opinion throughout the world, supported the suppression of the rebellion. They also laid enormous stress upon maintaining their story that the spiritual and temporal ruler of the Tibetans, the Dalai Lama, had been kidnapped, is now being held prisoner in a foreign country where false statements are being issued in his name. In support of this on April 27, nine days after his Tezpur statement, he was "elected" a Vice-Chairman of the National People's Congress.

It is interesting to note that at no time has communist Chinese propa-

ganda made a direct attack upon the Dalai Lama. Even though on August 30, he issued a statement appealing to the United Nations to discuss the Tibetan issue and was reported by REUTER on September 2 to have arrived in New Delhi where he was "almost swamped by crowds armed with garlands of flowers ... (shouting " 'Victory to the Dalai Lama,' 'Imperialist Quit Tibet' "; and thus far, no change has been observed in Chinese communist propaganda, which still maintains that he is "acting under duress".

1. BACKGROUND

Tibet, a high bleak plateau cut off from the surrounding lands by high mountains, is separated from India by the Himalayas and the Karakorum; in the North from Eastern Turkestan (Sinkiang) by the Kuen Lun; and in the East from Szechwan and China proper by the Liang Shan. It is believed to be rich in minerals, especially gold and uranium. Administratively, Tibet has been traditionally self-governing and regarded as a special autonomous area. The social-economic pattern is partly agricultural and partly pastoral. The traditional governmental system was a theocracy and Buddhism is of paramount importance. On the subject of religious belief Heinrich Harrer in his book SEVEN YEARS IN TIBET stated:

In all my years in Tibet I never met anyone who expressed the slightest doubt about the truth of the Buddha's teaching. There are, it is true, many sects; but they differ only in externals. 1/

Harrer cited many extreme examples of the refusal to destroy life, even the lowest of insect life, which he asserted was universal throughout Tibet. Regarding the relative positions of the Dalai and Panchen Lamas, the author had no doubts upon that issue and said:

The Panchen Lama has been for generations supported by the Chinese as a rival to the Dalai Lama. The present incumbent was two years younger than the Dalai Lama. He had been educated in China and proclaimed in Peking as the rightful ruler of Tibet. In reality he had not the slightest claim to this position...2/

In 1866, the British established postal, telegraph and other communications facilities in Tibet, where some British troops were stationed until the Simla Conference of 1914.

Following this conference Great Britain recognized Tibet as an independent country. Owing to the wildness of the country and the unreliability of maps there has been no clearly defined frontier between Tibet and China proper.

After India became independent in 1947 the vestigial remnants of British business interests were taken over by India. Business as usual continued until the entry of Chinese communist troops in 1950.

II. THE "PEACEFUL LIBERATION" OF TIBET 1950-58

Chronology: 3/

October 7, 1950: The People's Liberation Army (PLA) begin their march into Tibet.

October 19: Tibetan Army defeated at Chamdo.

October 21: Government of India sends memorandum to Peking pointing out undesirable effect abroad of entry into Tibet.

October 28: Government of India sends a note referring to the invasion as "deplorable".

October 30: Communist Chinese government replies to Indian notes claiming that Tibet is Chinese territory and the Tibetan problem an internal affair of communist China.

November 1: Further note from Indian Government objecting to entry into Tibet.

November 16: Communist Chinese Government replies to Government of India re-stating their position and adding "no foreign intervention will be permitted.

May 23, 1951: Agreement signed between "Central People's Government" and "Local Government of Tibet" on measures for "the peaceful liberation" of Tibet.

October 26: Units of the PLA arrive in Lhasa.

February 10, 1952: The Tibet Military Area Command formally established.

April 1: People's conference to demand the withdrawal of the PLA from Tibet established.

May 1: People's conference dissolved by proclamation following "resolute demand" of representative CHANG Ching-wu.

April 29, 1954: Agreement on Trade and Intercourse between the "Tibet Region of China" and India signed.

September 27: Dalai Lama elected vice-chairman of the Standing Committee of the First National People's Conference; Panchen Erdeni elected a member of the Standing Committee.

April 22, 1956: "Preparatory Committee for the Autonomous Region of Tibet" formally established in Lhasa.

May - June 1958: Armed outbreaks in the Chamdo, Dinching, Nagchuka and Loka areas.

On October 7, 1950, Chinese communist troops entered Tibet, fought the main force of the Tibetan army at Chamdo on October 19 and initiated a two-prong drive into the heart of Tibet. Military resistance was said to be overcome and on May 23, 1951 communist China concluded an agreement with the "local government of Tibet". This agreement was entitled "Agreement of the Central People's Government and the Local Government of Tibet on Measures for the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet", frequently referred to as "The 17-Article Agreement". This agreement stated: "The Tibetan people" should drive out "aggressive imperialist forces and return to the big family of the motherland"; the Tibetan people "have the right to exercise national regional autonomy under the unified leadership of the Central People's Government"; the central authorities should not alter the existing political system in Tibet or the existing status, powers and functions of the Dalai Lama; official of various grades should hold office as usual; the status etc. of the Panchen Lama should be maintained; the religious beliefs and customs of the Tibetans should be respected; lamaseries should be protected and no change should be made in their income and Tibetan troops should be reorganized as part of the People's Liberation Army. Finally, it was agreed that "in matters relating to the various reforms there shall be no compulsion on the part of the central authorities." (Peking, May 23, 1951)

Propaganda Themes re "Peaceful Liberation"

The main propaganda themes used to justify the communist entry into Tibet were two in number viz: "Tibet is an integral part of China" and "Tibet was occupied by Imperialist Agents". Their handling of these themes was summarized in the preamble of the "17-Article Agreement", which stated:

The Tibetan nationality is one of the nationalities with a long history within the boundaries of China... but over the past 100 years or more imperialist forces penetrated into China and in consequence also penetrated into the Tibetan region and carried out all kinds of deceptions and provocations... the local government of Tibet did not oppose the imperialist deceptions and provocations and adopted an unpatriotic attitude toward our great motherland.

To support the charge of "imperialist deceptions and provocations", the Chinese communists found a representative in the person of one Robert Ford, a wireless operator of British nationality in the employ of the Tibetan Government. Up to that time the chief claim to fame of this young man appears to have been in introducing the Samba into Lhasa. Nevertheless he was arrested as an "imperialist agent." 4/

Opposition Abroad

The "peaceful liberation" of Tibet was viewed with some uneasiness abroad. For example, the Indian government, Tibet's southern neighbor, sent two notes to the Chinese communist government.

On October 21, 1950 the Indian government pointed out that the entrance of the People's Liberation Army into Tibet "would 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". 5/ Another note dated October 28, 1950 said that "the invasion by Chinese troops of Tibet cannot but be regarded as deplorable". 6/ To all criticism the communist reply was "Tibet is an integral part of China, the problem of Tibet is an internal problem of China and no foreign intervention will be permitted." 7/

Opposition within Tibet

The Chinese communist magazine RED FLAG revealed that "after cessation of hostilities much opposition still remained in Tibet". 8/ The article stated:

In the winter of 1951... a number of reactionaries knocked together a so-called people's conference to oppose openly the agreement on peaceful liberation and clamor for the withdrawal of the People's Liberation Army from Tibet. The former local government of Tibet, after being seriously reprimanded by the local authorities, could not but proscribe this conference and remove the leaders from their posts (in government). All the same, the reactionary activities of the imperialists and the Indian expansionists and the reactionary clique to split the motherland went on...the former local government of Tibet not only did not show any sign of repentance, but they carried their activities further...they held up and attacked motor convoys, wrecked high-ways, murdered cadres, killed and maimed people, and sniped at the PLA...9/

The PEKING REVIEW also stated that the Tibetan Government "sabotaged the decision of the government...to send students to other parts of the country and delegations to visit Peking and other cities." 10/ Much as well an NCHA despatch reported that "in 1955 rebel elements in the entourage of the Dalai Lama on his journey from Peking to Lhasa were fomenting rebellion." 11/ Again, another NCHA despatch said that "in 1956, a conference of officers was held to discuss measures to oppose the Central People's Government". 12/

III. THE MARCH 1959 UPRISING

Chronology:

March 10, 1959: Armed rebellion breaks out in Lhasa.

March 17: Dalai Lama leaves Lhasa. Communist propaganda alleges

"Dalai Lama carried off by force".

March 20: Tibetan rebels launch general attack against PLA garrison in Lhasa. Communist propaganda theme: "PLA attacked; (PLA) counterattacks against military objectives only".

March 23: Military Control Commission in Lhasa formally established. Propaganda states "Rebellion crushed in two days".

March 28: State Council orders Tibet Military Area Command thoroughly to put down the rebellion. Dissolves the "local government of Tibet" and hands over its functions and powers to "Preparatory Committee for the Autonomous Region of Tibet". The State Council directs that during the absence of the Dalai Lama "under duress" Panchen Erdeni shall act as chairman. Propaganda themes: "The PLA greeted as kinmen"; "The Tibetan people warmly support the suppression of the rebellion"; "The rebels are inhuman monsters who forced the people to support them".

March 29: Panchen Lama cables Peking expressing his support of the State Council order.

March 30: Panchen Lama addresses a rally in Shigatse calling on all Tibetans to assist in putting down the rebellion.

April 5: Panchen Lama arrives in Lhasa to take up his duties as acting chairman of the Preparatory Committee.

April 8: The Preparatory Committee holds its first plenary meeting.

April 10: Panchen Lama leaves for Peking to attend the first session of the National People's Congress. Communist propaganda themes: "The rebellion is the fault of the reactionary clique of the upper strata who wished to maintain the dark, cruel slave system of feudal Tibet"; "The Dalai Lama does not support the rebellion, he is held under duress"; "The Panchen Lama is Dalai Lama's co-dignitary and fully supports the Central Government".

April 18: Dalai Lama, having been granted asylum in India issues a statement from Tezpur declaring that the Chinese communists had constantly interfered in Tibet, thus transgressing the 17-Article Agreement. Propaganda theme: "The Tezpur statement is a forgery, written by Indian expansionists and rebel elements."

April 22: Dalai Lama arrives in Mussoorie.

April 27: The Dalai Lama and Panchen Lama elected vice-chairmen of the Standing Committee of the Second National People's Congress. Continuation of the propaganda theme "Dalai Lama is held under duress". 13/

June 15: Panchen Lama returns to Lhasa from Peking.

June 28: Panchen Lama presides over Second Plenary Meeting of the Preparatory Committee.

August 30: Dalai Lama issues statement appealing to United Nations to consider the situation in Tibet.

September 2: Dalai Lama visits New Delhi.

The Period of Propaganda Reticence

The first news of the uprising in Tibet emanating from Chinese communists was issued by NCHA on March 20, 1959. On the same day the report was also published in JEN MIN JEN PAO. The report alleged that "a handful of members of the upper strata kidnapped the Dalai Lama". This was said to have occurred on March 10 following a rebellion which was touched off by the Dalai Lama's plans to attend a concert at the Military Area Command headquarters. The despatch continued by announcing that the State Council had ordered the dissolution of the local Tibetan government and that the administration was to be taken over by the "Preparatory Committee for the Tibetan Autonomous Region" with the Panchen Lama as acting chairman.

"On the evening of March 19," the despatch further stated, "armed attack was launched against the PLA in Lhasa. Our brave soldiers were ordered to suppress the revolt and by March 22 had thoroughly pulverized the rebellious bandits in the Lhasa rural area."

During the 18-day period between the beginning of the rebellion and the publication of the first news by NCHA, the communist authorities attempted to impose a news blackout on the subject of Tibet. Neither NCHA nor the mainland press published any reports of Tibetan incidents. On March 20, ten days after its occurrence, the Lhasa outbreak was reported by the Western news agencies, but no comment was received from the communists, except that the Hong Kong CHING PAO on March 26 and 28 categorically denied the reports. Probably this silence was due to a communist wish to hush up the affair and so avoid international comment and consequent loss of prestige. Much as well, Peiping may have hoped to crush the rebellion in a very short time and to prevent the flight of Tibetan leaders. It is also possible that owing to the complexity of the situation, the Chinese communists were unable to decide upon a basic propaganda policy. This would be fully in accord with MAO Tse-tung's dictum: "Make no statement without prior understanding of the situation and take no action when conditions are unfavorable."

Communist China's Propaganda Tasks

The armed revolt in Lhasa, accompanied by widespread uprisings throughout Tibet could not be concealed from the world or from the masses of mainland

China. In addition, the Dalai Lama escaped and, despite all attempts to cut off his party, he reached India. At Tezpur he was met by the Indian Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru.

On April 16, 1959 the Dalai Lama issued a statement accusing the Chinese communists of having breached the 17-Article Agreement by destroying monasteries killing lamas, the use of threats and compulsion and large-scale use of imprisonment and "labor reform". Nine days later, Mr. Nehru made a statement in the Lower House of the Indian Parliament in which he said: "The Dalai Lama was entirely responsible for the Tezpur statement and subsequent statements in Mussoorie...it is open to the Dalai Lama to go back to Tibet whenever he wishes to go." 14/

"The Rebellion was a Minor Affair Which Was Crushed in Two Days"

This was stated by an NCMA despatch of March 28 from Lhasa. The despatch stated: "With the aid of patriotic Tibetan lamas and laymen, the People's Liberation Army crushed the rebellion in just over two days of fighting... the rapid suppression of the rebellion..." On March 30 another NCMA despatch reported "Lhasa which has just experienced a rebellion has been swept clean. Social order is being steadily restored". The despatch continued with descriptions of a peaceful city, and the impression was given that all was quiet throughout the country. Nevertheless CHOU En-Lai on April 18 said that "the People's Liberation Army are continuing to mop up remnants of the rebels." 16/ And on April 23 Deputy SHIROB Jaltso made a speech to the Second National People's Congress, saying: "I hope that a complete victory will be quickly won..." 17/ Still later, an article by the editorial department of JEN MIN JIH PAO dated May 6 said: "The war of rebellion in Tibet... has in the main been quelled." 18/ This appears optimistic in view of a report that "pilgrims should not enter Tibet to visit the Tibetan Holy Places as the People's Liberation Army will be conducting military operations." 19/

"The Upper Strata Reactionaries Were Responsible for the Rebellion"

In their propaganda using this theme the Chinese communists sought to show that the Tibetan government was feudalistic, cruel and barbarous in the extreme. That it was entirely composed of the members of "an upper strata reactionary clique" and that for years it had been festering for its own ends the Khamba rebellion, which in reality, they said, was nothing more than a terrorist movement. They charged the government with not adhering to the 17-Article Agreement and said that the Tibetan government had been the real obstruction to Tibetan autonomy. Finally, the communists said the rebels attacked the PLA first and then the PLA counter-attacked. This theme is used not only to pin responsibility upon the local Tibetan government, but also to alienate foreign sympathy from them.

"The Former Tibetan Local Government Were Savage Reactionaries Who Ravaged and Oppressed the People"

The English language publication CONCERNING THE QUESTION OF TIBET devoted a complete chapter to this theme and alleged that "the darkest, most backward and cruel serf system still exists in Tibet." It was claimed that in the main only two classes existed, the feudal lords and the serfs. They said that the serfs were attached to the land by law, had no social position, enjoyed no freedom and that the lords could "whip and flog them, hack their noses and limbs, gouge out their eyes and put them to death by slow torture." 20/ On May 1 NCHL issued a long article from Lhasa which pursued the line of the cruelty of the former government and described in detail whips, torture appliances and the methods of punishment alleged to be employed by the Tibetans and also the rapacity of Tibetan troops. A similar despatch was issued on May 5 and during the whole of May and early June further articles at regular intervals described the "horrors" of the old regime with a catalogue of torture, rape, murder, burnings, brandings, floggings and suicide. A resemblance may be remarked to the communist descriptions of the alleged outrages of the "landlords" in pre-"liberation" China.

"The Former Tibetan Local Government Was the Real Obstruction to Tibetan Autonomy"

This was claimed by NCHL in a despatch from Lhasa dated April 24, 1959. The despatch declared that "at all times the former Tibetan local government... feigned compliance with the work of the Preparatory Committee while undermining its work secretly."

"The Former Tibetan Local Government Did Not Adhere to the 17-Article Agreement"

The agreement stressed that the local government should drive out the aggressive imperialist forces which had penetrated into Tibet, the PEKING REVIEW of No. 19, 1959 said, but in actual fact the Tibetan rebel clique worked for exactly opposite ends. It continued its collusion with imperialist and foreign reactionaries and schemed for so-called independence, the weekly added.

"The Khamba Rebellion is a Terrorist Movement"

An NCHL despatch from Peking dated April 26, 1959 referred to "the so-called Khamba rebellion" and claimed that "the 'rebellion' was staged by a very few reactionary slave owners... to retain their dark regime by intimidation..."

"The Rebels Attacked the PLA First"

A day-by-day description of the Lhasa uprising published in the PEKING REVIEW of No. 18, May 5, 1959 alleged that considerable disorder prevailed between March 10 and 19 and that in the early morning of March 20 the rebels for the first time attacked the PLA. "The reactionary clique in Tibet had finally cast aside their masks and chosen the road of self-destruction." It was only then, the article claimed, that the PLA attacked.

2. The Anti-India Period, April 18 to May 6

"The Dalai Lama Has Acted Under Duress and Not According to His Own Will"

The Chinese communists have consistently claimed that "the Dalai Lama has not been a free agent during the rebellion". NCNA from Lhasa on April 21, 1959 reported that "the rebels decided to put the Dalai Lama under their control at a meeting convened on March 10... the Dalai Lama completely lost his freedom of movement from the time of that meeting." This was one of many similar reports. Premier CHOU En-lai in the order for the dissolution of the Tibetan local government also said "the reactionary clique... held the Dalai Lama under duress". 21/ In order to support this contention they produced correspondence between the Dalai Lama and the acting representative of the Central People's Government in Tibet and political commissar of the Tibet Military Area Command. These letters were stated to have been written between March 10 and the night of March 17, when the Dalai Lama was "abducted from Lhasa". 22/ They consist of three letters from the acting representative, General TAN Kuan-san, referring to the "difficulties" caused by the "intrigues and provocations". The letters also charge that "traitorous activities of some reactionary elements have grown to intolerable proportions. These individuals in collusion with foreigners have engaged in reactionary, traitorous activities for some time". The three replies written by the Dalai Lama were couched in regretful language and were probably actuated by a desire to ameliorate the wrath of the general and possibly to prevent matters coming to a head in such a way as to cause a premature explosion. 23/ The Chinese communist gave little publicity to the general's letters, but adduced the Dalai Lama's letters as "proof" that he was acting under duress throughout. Photostat copies and translations in Chinese and other languages were given the widest possible circulation.

When the Dalai Lama left Lhasa on March 17 and commenced his journey toward India, Chinese propaganda asserted that he had been "carried off by force from Lhasa". At the same time every effort was made to intercept him. These efforts were unsuccessful and the Dalai Lama reached India on March 31 to issue the Tezpur statement on April 18.

"The Dalai Lama's Tezpur Statement is a Forgery"

The unpalatable nature of the contents of the Dalai Lama's Tezpur statement made it essential that it should be countered, and the simple line that it was a forgery was employed. NCNA on April 20 called it "A crude document, lame in reasoning, full of lies and loopholes..." and said it was written "not by the Dalai Lama himself, but was imposed on him by some person or persons..." In this way the pretence that the Dalai Lama bore no responsibility for the rebellion was maintained and therefore the way was kept open for the communists to attempt to persuade him to return to Tibet as their puppet. Thus considerable propaganda effort has been employed to exploit the "forgery" theme, and great play was made with an allegation that the statement was distributed by an "Indian official". Little attempt has been made to spare India's feelings

and the innuendo that Indian officials were concerned was pressed sufficiently to make it necessary for Mr. Nehru to state formally that the statement was the Dalai Lama's responsibility and that Indian officials had nothing to do with the drafting or preparation of the Dalai Lama's statements. Nevertheless the exploitation of the theme continued in parallel with an accusation that the whole rebellion was "engineered abroad", i.e. in India.

"The Rebellion Was Engineered Abroad"

NCNA March 28:

The rebellion was engineered by the imperialists, the CHIANG Kai-shok bands and foreign reactionaries... many of their arms were brought in from abroad.

"The Rebel Leaders Are Imperialist Lackeys"

In order to lend verisimilitude to the statement that the rebellion was engineered from abroad and discredit the rebel leaders, RED FLAG on May 1, 1959 published short biographies of the seven Tibetan leaders. They were collectively described as "this group of traitors, trained up by British imperialists... political agents of the imperialists and Indian expansionists... Through them the British imperialists and their successors squeezed raw materials out of Tibet... The result was that before liberation the Tibetan market was completely flooded with foreign goods." Individual biographies referred to "a slavish education from the imperialists (in an English school)", "lived in Kalimpong taking part in traitorous activities", "faithful henchman of the imperialists" "lackey of the imperialists" "one of the plotters who in 1952 set up the bogus people's conference", "traveled between Kalimpong and Lhasa carrying on his traitorous activities", "a faithful agent trained by the British imperialists", etc.

"The Gang of Traitors at Kalimpong, Center of Intrigue"

On March 29 an AP report from New Delhi said that "communist China charged on Sunday (March 28) that the 'commanding center' of the revolt in Tibet was in Kalimpong, India". The Indian government firmly denied the accusation through the External Affairs Ministry but despite this the communist Chinese press continued to publicize this view and on April 23 NCNA quoted a report from the Indian weekly DELHI TIMES calling Kalimpong an espionage center and describing a number of American and European residents of Kalimpong, including two ex-members of the Royal Air Force who had embraced Buddhism and a number of similar people. The inference drawn is that they were implicated in the uprising. On May 1, RED FLAG in an article purporting to analyze the "aggressive plots" which culminated in the Lhasa uprising, went further and said that "the gang of traitors clustered around Kalimpong who had long been carrying on traitorous activities in league with imperialist agents and the Indian expansionists, became frantically active, they turned Kalimpong into a center of

activities to direct the rebellion".

"Indian Expansionists are Interfering in the Domestic Affairs of China"

Owing to the withdrawal of British interests from Tibet and from India's frontier provinces, it is probable that the communists found some difficulty in unearthing suitable "imperialists" of the caliber necessary to "engineer" such a plot. This may be one reason for the bracketing of "Indian expansionists" with each reference to "imperialists" appearing in communist propaganda. In addition, it became necessary to counter the criticisms heard in many Indian circles. NCNA on April 23 quoted a JEN MIN JIH PAO editorial as saying "the act of issuing such a statement (the Tezpur statement)...showed that certain influential figures in India wrongly take the view that China is weak and timid, and now is the time to firmly exert pressure on China". The same newspaper on April 27 said: "The Dalai Lama will eventually return to his beloved motherland unless those who abducted him are determined to force him out of political life in Tibet forever and such determination is endorsed by the Indian side". According to a RADIO PEKING news release, 24/ communist China's National People's Congress noted that "certain people in Indian political circles have recently made extremely unfriendly acts which interfere in China's internal affairs". Another, earlier, RADIO PEKING news release 25/ quoted the KWANGMING DAILY as saying: "It appears that the Indian expansionists excel their masters, the British imperialists, in aggressive ambition." These outbursts against Indian expansionists were developed by the use of all propaganda means, foreign language news releases, radio, internal newspapers, meetings and rallies. In addition the element of threat was from time to time elaborated that "...it is better for them to turn back as soon as possible since their unsteady feet are already on the brink of the precipice". (KWANGMING DAILY quoted by a RADIO PEKING release dated April 29.)

3. Rehabilitation and Development Period, May 7 to June 27

"The Rebels Are Inhuman Barbarians, Committing Atrocities and Compelling Support"

Whilst endeavoring to show that the "imperialists and Indian expansionists" had engineered the rebellion and that the Dalai Lama was acting under duress, Chinese communist propaganda also sought to depict the rebel forces as committing every imaginable atrocity including murder, destruction of monasteries, the rape of nuns and torture of collaborators. Propaganda also aimed showing that the mass of the rebels were forced into supporting the "upper strata reactionaries"; "it was clear that the rebels were cooking up some new trick, they were forcing the women to attend a meeting and swear to drive the Han people out and safeguard the independence of Tibet". (PEKING REVIEW, No. 18, May 5, 1959). "Polowa Tudin Youndia who took part in the abduction of the Dalai Lama from Lhasa forced Nyimajobe to act as his porter on his flight, leaving behind his dying wife and four small children." (NCNA April 5, 1959.) "Luberman Sangpo, who was intimidated into joining the rebellion..." (NCNA April 27, 1959).

"The People's Liberation Army Only Attack Military Targets and Are Welcomed Everywhere as Kinsmen"

In contrast to the picture which communist propaganda painted of the rebels, the PLA were represented as the beneficent liberators of the people, said to be mildly regretful when force had to be used, but restricting the use of such force to legitimate military targets, even when to do so was to place them at a tactical disadvantage, so the communists claimed.

"What a Humane Way of Fighting a Battle"

An article in diary form published in the PEKING REVIEW on May 5, 1959 purported to describe the fighting:

A number of comrades said all our shells fell right on the fortifications. What shooting! Our men didn't destroy a thing in Morby Lingka. Our artillery fire now turned on to the Potala. However, we saw shells exploding only on the concealed pill-boxes. We found out later that our artillerymen had been given orders that no shell should fall on either the Potala or the Jikhan Monastery...the Tibetan and HUI cadres were amazed and said 'What a humane and polite way of fighting a battle'... As soon as the enemy surrendered, our men took it under their care to prevent damage by saboteurs.

"Jubilant Tibetans Wave Greeting Wherever the PLA Goes"

During late April propaganda reports from Tibet largely concentrated upon the welcome said to be given to the PLA units as they "marched to mop up rebels."

Tibetans who had fled from the rebels' brutality returned home... at the news of the arrival of the PLA units. The word spread like wild-fire. Everywhere the PLA went the Tibetan treated them like kinsmen returned home after a long absence. They tearfully told the PLA of the monstrous crimes committed by the rebels. (NCNA Lhasa April 24, 1959.)

Many old people chanted sutras and prayed for a safe journey and the early putting down of the rebels for the PLA units. (NCNA May 2, 1959.)

"The PLA Will Aid in the Spring Sowing"

According to an NCNA despatch of May 22 from Lhasa, the Tibet Working Committee of the Chinese Communist Party issued a directive urging officers and men of the PLA to "go to the masses and help them in production... and pave the way for democratic reforms". The despatch declared that working teams were being formed to pay house to house visits to the people in rural

areas to "help them with their spring sowing". Apparently, the communists tried to represent the PLA as not being only the bearers of law and order, but also the active helpers of the Tibetan peasants.

"No Lamas Were Killed and No Damage Was done to Any Monastery"

Speeches and articles extolling the gentleness of the PLA were not always consistent, however, and some contradictions come to light. For example, in a speech made on April 23, 1959 to the Second National People's Congress, Deputy Shirob Jaltsa said:

The allegation that there were many lamas killed does not conform with the facts. There were a few bad elements in Buddhist robes who were found dead... we are of the opinion that it is completely right for us to kill a few bogus lamas who betrayed the motherland... (we have) rid Buddhist circles of bad elements.

At the same congress, Deputy Ngapo Ngawang-Jigme also made a speech in which he categorically stated that "there was never any damage done to any monastery in the Tibet region". But later in the same speech he added: "It was unavoidable that some damage was done to these monasteries in the course of suppressing the rebellion."

"The Rebel Rank and File Have Been Deceived and Betrayed by Their Leaders"

"Several thousand rebel elements captured by the PLA have recently expressed their decision to draw a demarcation line between themselves and the upper strata rebellious clique, to admit their crimes to the people and start a new life. Many people intimidated into following the rebels have held meetings to expose how they were coerced into joining the rebellion and ravaging the people."

This was the opening paragraph of an NCNA report from Lhasa dated April 27. The report described the PLA policy of "treating all captives well" and how "the PLA have distributed face-towels, soap and snuff". All of the captives, therefore, the despatch said, "gained understanding of the criminal intrigues that the upper strata reactionary clique used." The report alleged that "the Tibetan people were forced to take part in the rebellion not sparing even the beggars" and "even the soldiers of the former Tibetan Army did not want to rebel and fight; their participation was brought about by the threats of upper strata reactionaries".

Many propaganda reports were issued exploiting this theme. For instance, on May 7, 1959 NCNA alleged that wherever the PLA went the rebels were eager to surrender as soon as they were attacked, that "gang leaders forced the other rebels to put up a fight" and "the panic stricken rebels refused to obey and turned their guns against their leaders". The same despatch reported that "men who had been deceived and ordered into joining the rebellion surrendered or fled back home".

In order to explain the admitted fact that the revolt was "of considerable magnitude", 26/ propaganda reports from Tibet during the "mopping up" stage presented a picture of relatives bringing rebels in, kind treatment of the rebels by the PLA and the awakening of the captives to the "mass deceptions" that were supposed to have been practiced upon them.

"The Panchen Lama Supports the Central Government"

Although the Dalai Lama did not become the subject of any personal propaganda attack, a picture was projected of the new Tibetan Leader, the Panchen Lama. He was appointed "Acting Chairman of the Preparatory Committee" and his pronouncements as well as his arrival in Lhasa on April 6 received complete propaganda coverage. On April 15 he arrived in Peiping, having travelled partly by air and partly by rail. His journey was reported in great detail by NCNA. In the capital city the Panchen Lama addressed the first session of the Second National People's Congress and also the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference. In his speeches to the NPC and CPPCC the Panchen Lama elaborated upon his support for the communists and attacked "the former Tibetan local government". He also spoke of "the traitorous scheme of the reactionaries", accused "the reactionaries in India" that they had "always harbored expansionist ambitions toward Tibet and have carried out various forms of sabotage". He took the opportunity at the same to deny that the Dalai Lama's Tezpur statement could be genuine. If Chinese communist reports are credible, there is no doubt of the side upon which the Panchen Lama overtly stood. He was brought even more into the public eye with full reports of his speeches and his movements. These were frequently illustrated with photographs of him at the rostrum, shaking hands with communist leaders or touring the capital city. It appears that his support was exploited to the utmost in order to counterbalance the opposition of the Dalai Lama.

4. The Period of "Democratic Reform" June 28 to August

"Communist Stand Firmly for Freedom of Religious Belief"

This theme was first used during the early period of suppression of the rebellion. During the period of "democratic reform", it was once more brought to the fore. An article in the PEKING REVIEW of No.29, July 21, 1959 stated:

The people's state holds that the question of religious belief is a private matter... every citizen is free to believe in a religion and also free not to believe in a religion... in some national minority areas feudal lords cloaked in the garb of religion used to own vast tracts of land... in the Tibet region the monasteries own over one third of the total land area, exploiting hundreds of thousands of serfs... therefore, on the one hand, communists stand firmly for freedom of religious belief and, on the other, are determined to abolish the exploitation and oppression practised by the religious feudal lords... To do this, it is necessary to... lead the laboring people to overthrow

the rule of the feudal lords no matter what cloak they wear...in Tibet ...the people have now launched a vigorous "three anti and two reductions" campaign against rebellion, the ula system and slavery, and for the reduction of rents and interest charges...

"Democratic Reforms Are Ending the System of Oppression and Exploitation"

In general, during the months of June, July and August there was a considerable slackening of propaganda effort regarding Tibet. Such propaganda that did appear concentrated upon the "democratic reforms". These democratic reforms were said to be the commencement of a "new stage" in national unity that was "greatly desired by the Tibetan working class". Propaganda reports described the direction in which these reforms would go and referred to rent reduction, interest reduction, the establishment of peasant associations and herdsmen's associations and a change in the administrative divisions of the country. Peasants were also said to be "building irrigation canals and striving for a bumper harvest this year while carrying out democratic reforms". (NCNA Lhasa, August 5, 1959.)

V. PROPAGANDA METHODS EMPLOYED

In addition to the usual "news" releases and editorials circulated throughout China and abroad by NEW CHINA NEWS AGENCY and within China by mainland newspapers, considerable propaganda use was made in newspapers of "letters to the editor" and reports of speeches at meetings. The "letters to the editor" purported to show that it was not just the hierarchy in communist China who felt indignation about the Tibetan affair but also that numbers of ordinary people were sufficiently stirred to make their protest in this manner. At all formal meetings, from the People's Congress downward, speeches were made, usually by all important figures present, denouncing the Tibetan rebels, foreign interference and so forth. These speeches were meticulously reported. Both inside Tibet and in communist China rallies were held everywhere for the purpose of both local and external propaganda. Tibetan minorities within communist China probably were incited to express opposition to the rebellion. Communist organizations outside communist China were enlisted to assist in the propaganda campaign and the communists themselves published numbers of pamphlets on the rebellion both in Chinese and other languages.

Use of Meetings and Rallies

After the flight of the Dalai Lama from Lhasa the Chinese communists launched their nationwide propaganda campaign, during which the people were prodded into holding discussion meetings at every level to pledge support for the communist government's handling of the Tibetan affair. Statements were issued by the "democratic parties", people's organizations, religious bodies, "labor unions" and representatives of minority groups, all expressing their admiration for the Party line. On April 18, the Second National People's Congress and the Third People's Political Consultative Conference opened in Peking. At these meetings, in addition to Premier CHOU En-lai

and the Panchen Lama's speeches, speeches made by a number of pro-communist Tibetan deputies were widely circulated. In all, two hundred delegates spoke in favor of the Party line of Tibet and "censured" the "Indian expansionists".

Mass Participation

In addition to formal meetings, mass rallies were whipped up both in communist China and Tibet. Meetings in communist China pledged support for the government and attacked the "Indian expansionists" and the "Tibetan reactionary upper strata." On April 28, NORA reported that "millions of people have spoken at protest meetings against the Indian expansionists' intervention". The following day RADIO PEKING broadcast: "Across the vast land from Inner Mongolia in the North to Kwangtung in the South...numerous meetings have been held in the past few days by workers, peasants, students and teachers..." In these rallies everyone was mobilized, the member of the CPPCC and the laborer, people's organizations and individual persons, city and village, everyone was brought out. The purpose was twofold: first, to "educate" public opinion within the country; secondly, to convey the impression to the foreign audience that the huge population was solidly behind the government in its political stand.

In Tibet the purposes of the rallies again was to "educate" the people and use group pressure to overcome individual misgivings. In addition they were reported upon in order to foster the idea that the masses of the Tibetan people were opposed to the rebellion. As in communist China the meetings embraced all classes, including monks, students, "patriotic women's associations" and captives. They were actively organized by "special work teams" of the Military Control Commission assisted by the PLA units. Possibly the most ambitious of these rallies was a "three day festival" held "in celebration of the successful quelling of the rebellion and hopes of a good harvest" reported by NORA on May 29. This appears to have been an elaborate affair with "more than a hundred archers on horseback (who) held a contest", songs, dances and traditional Tibetan dramas, football and basketball contests". Most probably the basis of the festival was not political; the report, however, showed that the opportunity was taken to insert speeches "of gratitude to the Central People's Government and Chairman MAO Tse-tung" and the reporter managed to convey the impression that this was all part of the "general rejoicing" in the "suppression" of the rebellion.

The Leftist International Propaganda Machine

Communist organizations abroad were mobilized to reinforce communist China's propaganda influence in foreign countries. For example SWADHINATA, the organ of the Indian Communist Party in Calcutta, in an editorial dated April 23 referred to "the conspiracy of the imperialist and Indian reactionary forces..." and called on "the Indian people to stand against this imperialist conspiracy in India". This editorial was enthusiastically quoted by NORA in a despatch from New Delhi. On April 4, "public opinion" in Bulgaria, East Germany and North Vietnam described the "imperialist plot

in Tibet" and urged communist China to quell the rebellion quickly. The Soviet organ PRAVDA commented on the Tibetan question on April 6 and called it "an American intrigue". The Vietnam-Chinese Friendship Society together with the communists in Japan and leftist newspapers in Indonesia and Chile also "pledged support" to the communist efforts in putting down the rebellion.

NEW CHINA NEWS AGENCY paid particular attention, however, to the Indian press and re-reported everything remotely favorable to the communist policy that was printed therein.

Propaganda Pamphlets

During May a number of pamphlets concerning the Tibetan events were published by the Chinese communists. These pamphlets included TRUE FACTS ABOUT TIBET; TIBET PROBLEM; A CHRONICLE OF EVENTS ABOUT TIBET. In addition, CHOU En-lai's REPORT ON THE WORK OF THE GOVERNMENT also contained many propaganda paper-back book of 275 pages entitled CONCERNING THE QUESTION OF TIBET published by the Peking Foreign Languages Press. The speed with which these pamphlets have been produced may possibly be taken as evidence of the importance attached to the propaganda effort being made to present the Chinese communists case in the Tibet affair.

NOTES:

1. Harrer, Heinrich, 7 Years in Tibet, Rupert Hart-Davis and the Book Society, Great Britain, 1953, pp. 168-170
2. op. cit, pp. 276-279
3. The chronology is based on a chronology published in the PEKING REVIEW of No. 20, May 19, 1959
4. The case of Robert Ford was recalled in an NCIA despatch dated April 23, 1959 when it was again resuscitated as part of the current propaganda campaign on Tibet. The despatch accused Ford of "having murdered Ling Buddha Geda with his own hands". The same despatch also accused "British imperialists" of having forced Living Buddha Geda to resign in 1943" and said that after Rabchen had opposed "the upper strata reactionaries' collusion with imperialism" that year, "the imperialists directed some pro-imperialist elements to fabricate 'proofs' of Rabchen's plotting rebellion..."
5. Concerning the Question of Tibet, Foreign Languages Press, Peking 1959, p. 264
6. op. cit.
7. op. cit.
8. Red Flag, No. 9, May 1, 1959

9. Ibid
10. Peking Review, May 12, 1959
11. NCNA, April 26, 1959
12. NCNA, May 21, 1959
13. The above is based on a chronology in the Peking Review of No. 20, May 19, 1959
14. Reuter New Delhi, April 27, 1959
15. Concerning the Question of Tibet, op. cit. p. 86
16. Ibid, p. 63
17. Ibid, p. 138
18. Ibid, p. 239
19. Economist London, August 29, 1959, p. 621
20. Concerning the Question of Tibet, op. cit. p. 213
21. Ibid, p. 1
22. Ibid, p. 36
23. Ibid, p. 26
24. Radio Peking new release, April 28, 1959
25. Ibid, April 26, 1959
26. Concerning the Question of Tibet, op. cit. p. 243

Book Review: "Concerning the Question of Tibet", published by Foreign Languages Press, Peiping, May 1959. 276 pages, newsprint, paper back.

General: This book (enclosed) is a collection of documents, news bulletins (New China News Agency), editorials, speeches, and photographs on the Tibetan question.

The preface states that this collection was published "to help readers abroad acquire a full understanding of the recent situation in China's Tibet ..."

The book is divided into four parts. Part 1 covers the period between March 28 and April 10. Part 2 deals with mainland speeches, articles, etc., used by the communist press in the ensuing period, April 20 to April 30. Part 3 contains "reference materials and articles giving background information on Tibet." A forty-page article prepared by the Editorial Department of the PEOPLE'S DAILY (May 6) is reproduced in Part 4, under its original title: "The Revolution of Tibet and Nehru's Philosophy."

As the material used in this collection has already been dealt with in a previous despatch on the China mainland anti-Indian campaign, the following report will be limited to the most important themes in this book. These themes are:

1. The Dalai Lama did not act according to his own will: "... The clique of Tibetan traitors...carried off by force the Dalai Lama from Lhasa..." (page 26.) "They (the rebels) held the Dalai Lama under duress..."
2. The Dalai Lama's Tezpur statement of April 18 a forgery: "...a crude document, lame in reasoning, full of lies and loopholes..." (Hsinhua, April 20, page 67.) "...was not by the Dalai Lama himself, but was imposed on him by some person or persons." (page 74, Hsinhua, April 20.)
3. The rebellion in Tibet began long before the present crisis developed: "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..." (page 7). (Hsinhua, March 28.)
4. The rebellion in Tibet was engineered abroad: "Their rebellion was engineered by the imperialists, the CHIANG Kai-shek bands, and foreign reactionaries...many of their arms were brought in from abroad." (page 7.) (Hsinhua, March 28)

5. Tibet's upper strata responsible for rebellion: "...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..." (CHOU En-lai, Premier, "order of the State Council of the People's Republic of China", March 28, 1959). "The crimes of the upper strata reactionary clique of Tibet show that they are traitors to the motherland, enemies of the Tibetan people..." (page 42, Panchen Lama's speech, March 29).

6. Tibet belongs to China: "Tibet is China's territory..." (CHOU En-lai's statement of April 18, 1959 - page 61).

7. The Tibetan question is China's internal affair: "The rebellion in Tibet and its suppression are entirely internal affairs of China." (Editorial, PEOPLE'S DAILY, March 31, 1959).

Contradictions: Following are a few statements extracted from speeches which were publicized by the mainland press in April and have now been reproduced in this book; these statements appear somewhat contradictory.

Lamas killed: "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 allegations that many lamas were killed is far from true...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..." (Page 134: Deputy Shirob Jaltso's speech, April 23).

Damaged Monasteries: There was never any damage done to any monastery in the Tibet region...(page 112)...Due to armed rebellion launched by the reactionaries against the State and the people, some monasteries in certain areas of Tibet...were even turned into rebel headquarters. It was unavoidable that some damage was done to these monasteries in the course of suppressing the rebellion..." (page 114: Deputy Ngapo Ngawang-Jigme's speech, April 22).

Complete control vs. "continuing to mop up rebels": "The situation of Tibet is now completely under control...The units under the Tibet Military Area Command of the People's Liberation Army...are continuing to mop up remnants of the rebels who have fled to remote areas." (page 63: Premier CHOU En-lai, April 18). On April 23, almost a week later, this mopping-up operation was still in progress; on this date, Deputy Shirob Jaltso made a speech at the First Session of the Second National People's Congress, and he wound up his address with the following statement: "Finally I hope that a complete victory will be quickly won in mopping up the rebel bandits

in the remote areas of Tibet..." (page 138). A fortnight later, and more than three weeks after Premier CHOU's statement, the rebellion had not yet been completely suppressed, as the following statement indicates: "The war of rebellion unleashed by the handful of traitors in Tibet has in the main been quelled..." (page 239: Editorial in PEOPLE'S DAILY, May 6).

Photographs Carry Propaganda Themes: This book is illustrated with 18 photographs and 6 photostats.

The photostats represent the letters written by the Dalai Lama to General TAN Kuan-san, political commissar of the Tibet Military Area Command, in which the Dalai Lama explains why he cannot appear at a function of the Military Area Command.

The photographs appear to convey the following themes:

1. The Panchen Erdeni is ably taking the Dalai Lama's place in the planning of a new Tibet: one photograph depicts the Panchen Lama shaking hands with Chinese communist Premier CHOU En-lai; the other photograph shows the Panchen addressing the First Session of the Second National People's Congress, April 22.
2. The Tibetan people are against the rebels, support the suppression of the rebellion: "Before the Potala Palace Tibetan people accuse the rebels of their atrocities," one caption reads.
3. The People's Liberation Army and the Tibetan people are good friends and work together: One photograph shows Tibetan peasants smiling, a Chinese soldier working beside them. Caption reads: "Soldiers of the People's Liberation Army help the Tibetan people in reaping 'chingko' (highland barley)." Another photograph depicts happy Tibetan girls receiving gifts from Chinese soldiers: "WEN Shao-hua, a squad leader of the People's Liberation Army, presents...gifts to the Tibetan girls who came to visit them."
4. The PLA protects the freedom of religious belief: Photograph shows Tibetans during religious ceremony in Lhasa. Caption: "The People's Liberation Army units and working personnel in Tibet have always protected the freedom of religious belief among the Tibetan people..."
5. The Peking Government is helping Tibetan agricultural development: Photograph: rows of Tibetans applaud as tractor ploughs land. Caption: "Here come the tractors to the Tibetan plateau."
6. Building developments: Photograph shows a row of new houses, with the Potala Palace in the background. Caption: "Many new buildings have been constructed in Lhasa...with the help of the Central People's Government."
7. Tibet is China's Territory: Photograph of the statue of Princess Wen Cheng enshrined in the Jokhan Monastery in Lhasa. This is accompanied

by photostats of documents which prove that "for centuries the Tibetan people entered into close, fraternal relations with China's other nationalities, especially the Hans..." In a message sent by the 13th Dalai Lama to the Emperor Kuang Hsu of the Ching dynasty, he wrote: "... Will your Majesty please give detailed instruction to the messenger concerning Tibetan affairs..." A caption reads: "...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 the 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."

8. Communist China is against the cruelty of the serfdom system which prevailed in Tibet before liberation: 4 photographs show "cruel tortures under serfdom in Tibet". 1. Fetters for the feet; 2. The stocks; 3. Thumb-screws, instruments to torture the fingers; and 4. Instruments to gouge out people's eyes. "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." (facing page 127)

Communist China press statements re Nehru during anti-Indian campaign

SUMMARY: AS THE TIBETAN INCIDENT GRADUALLY BECAME A POINT OF CONTENTION BETWEEN COMMUNIST CHINA AND INDIA, CHINESE COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA CONCERNING NEHRU SHIFTED FROM INDIRECT ACCUSATIONS TO OPEN CHARGES OF "DISTORTION" AND "INTERFERENCE". NEHRU HIMSELF STATED THAT COMMUNIST STATEMENTS WERE FULL OF "COLD WAR LANGUAGE". COMMUNIST ATTACKS ON NEHRU REACHED A TURNING POINT WHEN PEOPLE'S DAILY PUBLISHED ON MAY 6 AN UNUSUALLY LONG EDITORIAL, WHICH PURSUED A MUCH SOFTER LINE. HOWEVER, THE RELEASE DID ACCUSE NEHRU OF A DEPLORABLE ERROR IN HIS STATEMENT ON TIBET AND SAID THAT "UNFORTUNATELY" NEHRU HIMSELF IS AN "EXPANSIONIST".

關於印度

In the course of the anti-Indian campaign launched by the Chinese communists, direct attacks against India's Prime Minister Nehru were not reported until late April. Up to that time, attacks against Nehru were made in indirect accusations, such as constant charges that Kalimpong, in Indian territory, had been used as the "center of the Tibetan rebellion," and that the Dalai Lama was "under duress" despite Nehru's firm denials. Over and over again the Chinese communists alleged that the Dalai Lama's statement in Tezpur on April 18 had been "imposed upon the Dalai Lama," and implied that its text had been worded in collaboration with Indian "expansionists" and rebel elements. These allegations continued even after Nehru stated that the "Dalai Lama was entirely responsible for the Tezpur statement and the subsequent statement in Mussoorie, and Indian officials had nothing to do with the drafting and preparation of them." Such charges, particularly after Nehru's firm denials, strongly implied that Nehru was not being truthful, or, as a member of the Indian Parliament put it, "Nehru was being called a liar."

Statements concerning Nehru taken from the China mainland press and other listed sources follow:

April 22 At the First Session of the Second National People's Congress in Peking, LI Chi-shen, Chairman of the Revolutionary Committee of the Kuomintang, condemned "interference in China's internal affairs by the Indian expansionists." He said: "On one hand, some political figures in India say that India 'stands by her acceptance of China's suzerainty over Tibet,' but on the other hand they describe the rebellion of the upper strata Tibetan reactionaries as 'an expression of Tibetan patriotic sentiments,' express 'sympathy' for the rebels and 'distress' at our suppression of the rebellion in Tibet... If the rebellion has no connections with the Indian expansionists, why are certain Indian political figures so sympathetic with the traitorous crimes of

of the Tibetan reactionary clique? Why has it been possible for Kalampong, for a long time, to be the center of activities of these rebels abroad? Why is it that the so-called 'statement of the Dalai Lama' was distributed by officials of the Indian Ministry of External Affairs?"

(NCHA Peking)

(Remarks: Nehru had previously expressed sympathy for the Tibetan people; he had said that the rebellion was an expression of Tibetan patriotic sentiments; and he had also expressed distress at the action taken by the Chinese communists against the rebels).

April 24

All Peking's newspapers today published letters from readers, dealing mainly with Indian "expansionists" interference in China's internal affairs. One such letter states: "We welcome the statement made by Mr. Nehru, some days ago, that India would not interfere with our domestic affairs, but there is the old Chinese saying, 'listen to what he says, but also watch what he does...'" (NCHA quoting letter published in the KUANGHUNG JIH PAO, April 24).

An article in the Peking JIH PAO asks: "What are Indian Official Circles Thinking Of?" The article, written by SHIH Ping, accuses the Indian Government of indirectly "instigating Tibetan independence." "Now, the Indian Premier is personally going to Mussoorie to meet the Dalai Lama. We hope that Mr. Nehru.... will be able to decide upon a wise policy at this time when the relations between the two countries are being affected by the clamors and activities of the Indian expansionists.... It is well known to all that the traitors who abducted the Dalai Lama and betrayed their own country have received an unusually warm reception and welcome in India. While some Indian statemen have extensively instigating Tibetan independence, and propagandize sympathy with the rebels; all these were not only not discouraged by the Indian Government, but on the contrary, practically openly encouraged and supported by it."

(NCHM, Peking, April 24)

April 25

In an article in the TA KUNG PAO, CHAO Hun, making reference to "other Indian politicians who had also claimed that the Tibetan region of China was a 'country' and that Tibetans are 'not Chinese' writes: "All this, plus the so-called 'statement by the Dalai Lama' clamoring for 'independence of Tibet', fully reveals the schemes of Indian expansionists. Behind the smokescreen of 'autonomy for Tibet', is the 'real motive for Tibet's independence', which should in turn be translated into carrying Tibet away from China and making it a vassal state of India... Now, a

conclusion can be drawn that the Indian expansionist program, under the cloak of 'autonomy' for Tibet is a program of betrayal of the five principles of peaceful co-existence and aggressive designs on the territory of a friendly neighboring country..."

(NCNA, Radio Peking release)

April 25 HO Chao-lin, Mongolian deputy, Secretary General of the Inner Mongolian Committee of the Chinese Peoples' Political Consultative Conference, welcomed Indian Premier Nehru's repeated statements that traditional Sino-Indian friendship must be safeguarded. HO said, "Words have to be judged from deeds. Why has the Indian Government ignored the series of arrogant and preposterous clamours of the Indian expansionists and give a free rein to them after the armed rebellion started by the upper strata reactionary clique in Tibet was put down? Does this conform to the five principles of peaceful co-existence, and should this have been done by friends of China?"

(NCNA, Peking)

April 26 The communist Chinese press and radio publicized the following news item which appeared in the Indian weekly CURRENT of April 22. "... the so-called Dalai Lama's 'statement' was drafted by Menon and Nehru, according to press reports from New Delhi."

(NCNA, Peking)

April 27 Radio Peking broadcast: "The anger of the Chinese masses at the Indian expansionists' interference in Chinese domestic affairs... all the workers of the Tientsin Women's Federation adopted a statement at a meeting saying, "Indian expansionists are making use of the rebellion in Tibet to interfere in the domestic affairs of our country. So far from taking steps to stop this interference, in disregard of the Chinese People's warnings, the Indian Authorities are conniving with the reactionary press in India to insult our leaders."

(NCNA, Peking)

April 29 A paragraph in a leading article by SHENG Ling in the TA KUNG PAO of April 29 says: "At the same time that the Indian Press was feverishly attacking China, the Indian Parliament, in utter disregard of international courtesy, more than once talked at length of the so-called Tibet question. A number of leaders of India's political parties including even the ruling party also took part in this open interference in China's internal affairs."

(NCNA, Peking)

Remarks: This was one of the many responses to Mr. Nehru's speech in Parliament on April 27. Mr. Nehru's speech of April 27 dealt with the attacks and accusations made against India by the Chinese Communists in their month-long anti-Indian

campaign. The Prime Minister of India spoke words without anger. Following are excerpts from a combined Associated Press and Reuter news release from New Delhi:

"In measured tones before a hushed House of the People, he (Mr. Nehru) accused China of using 'cold war language' regardless of truth and propriety' against India over Tibet. He also accused the Chinese of impairing the five principles of co-existence. The strong expression of his feelings demonstrated how deeply he has been stung by Chinese attacks on India in connection with the Dalai Lama's flight... The Dalai Lama, he said, was entirely responsible for the Tezpur statement and the subsequent statement at Lhasooric, and Indian officials had nothing to do with the drafting or preparation of them..." It is open to the Dalai Lama at any time to go back to Tibet or wherever he wishes to go, he declared... Mr. Nehru said that he had every sympathy for the Tibetan people, and was greatly distressed at their helpless plight... Mr. Nehru went on, 'The revolt in Tibet was of considerable magnitude and the basis of it was a strong feeling of nationalism which affected not only the upper strata but also other sections of the people.' Mr. Nehru said that some of the charges being made against India were so fantastic that he did not know how to go about replying." (AP & REUTER)

May 2

It is learned from Peking that 140 young people of various nationalities in the Ningxia Hui autonomous region and Yunnan and Kweichow provinces today described Indian Prime Minister Nehru's speech at Lok Sabha on April 27 as "detrimental to the Sino-Indian friendship and beneficial to the imperialists." One of the speakers, Inan LI Heng Sung, Vice-Chairman of the Islamic Association of the Ningxia Hui autonomous region described Nehru's speech as "a violation of the Five Principles of peaceful Co-existence, and interference in China's internal affairs." (NCNA, Peking)

May 4

Veteran Tientsin workers yesterday posed to Indian Prime Minister Nehru the questions: "With whom did he really sympathise? Why did he feel distressed by the suppression of the rebels in Tibet. These questions were put at a meeting of Tientsin's veteran and model workers discussing the statement made by Mr. Nehru in the House of the People, April 27. . Speakers at the meeting came to the unanimous conclusion that his statement was a distortion of the facts." (Radio Peking News Release)

May 5

Prime Minister Nehru's statement of April 27 in the Lok Sabha that "We have no desire whatever to interfere in Tibet, we have every desire to maintain friendship between India and China", and his expression of regret over the insults hurled at the head of state of China by a handful of Indians, are welcomed by the

CHINA YOUTH DAILY commentator today. "This is a friendly gesture, and we welcome this friendly attitude," the commentator begins. But, he points out, "It is regrettable that Nehru devoted a considerable part of his statement to distorting the truth about the rebellion in Tibet, and covering up the facts about the interference...his statement in substance constitutes interference in China's internal affairs...."

May 6

Peking's PEOPLE'S DAILY today publishes an article, prepared by the editorial department, entitled "Revolution In Tibet And Nehru's Philosophy", charging that Nehru made a deplorable error in his statement.

It begins by explaining the action taken by the Government to suppress the rebellion in Tibet, and comments on the attention of the world being directed to the Tibetan people: "At present the 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 one million people living on the roof of the world, to whom no serious attention has ever been paid before, have every right to enjoy the honor of holding the attention of the whole world..." Par. 3

"This was the seventh time since March 17 up to the end of April that Nehru has on many occasions expressed his sympathy with the so-called 'aspirations of the Tibetan people for autonomy' and his opposition to what he called 'armed intervention' by China. His statement of April 27 is somewhat more systematic ... We feel much distressed at being forced now to argue with Mr. Nehru in our comment. Mr. Nehru, the respected Prime Minister of our friendly neighbor India, is one of the statesmen who enjoy prestige in the world. In particular, we cannot forget that he is a friend of China and an opponent to the imperialist policy of war and aggression."

"We have no desire whatever to interfere in Tibet; we have every desire to maintain the friendship between China and India; 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... but will win them (the Tibetans) to friendly cooperation in accordance with the assurances they have themselves given about the autonomy of the Tibet region."
(Nehru's speech).

"Mr. Nehru hopes that we will win them (the Tibetans) to friendly cooperation. 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." ... "There exist contradictions in Mr. Nehru's thinking. But we do not propose to discuss how these contradictions are to be resolved...Both our households have plenty to do, we are busy minding our own business, and why should either of us poke his nose into the other's business? When 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....To say that the Indian Government in the past and at present has not interfered in China's Tibet in any way does not sound convincing... 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 meeting with the leader of a rebellion in a friendly country? Because the head of the Indian Government has never pursued a clear-cut hands off policy... 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 end --- The peaceful good neighbor policy of socialist China is forever unshakable, just as the Himalayas are unshakable....Like the Chinese people, the great Indian people have always treasured Sino-Indian friendship...China and India, and the peoples of the two countries will continue their friendly cooperation in the cause of peaceful construction and will continue to join hands in their struggle for peace in Asia and the whole world."

(NCHIA, Peking)

Remarks: The above article is one of the longest editorials ever published in the Chinese communist press, and certainly the longest since the beginning of the campaign against "Indian Expansionists." The English version of this editorial contains about 10,000 words.

It seems that it took the editorial department of the PEOPLE'S DAILY approximately 10 days to put the story together, judging from the period between the date of Nehru's speech and the actual date of publication. (April 27 - May 6). Although the sharp differences of opinion between Nehru and the Chinese communists are made even more apparent, and a few attacks are directed against Nehru and the Indian "expansionists", this editorial as a whole, pursued a much softer line justifying communist China's stand on the Tibetan issue. The release of this editorial by the New China News Agency appears to mark a turning point in

the anti-Indian campaign. The line pursued in the editorial leaves the impression that the Chinese communists now wish to end the propaganda war with India. For example, over and over again in the release, the Chinese communist reiterate a desire for continued Sino-Indian friendship and recall the joint struggle of the two countries for peace.

Apparently the campaign is also now phasing out in the mainland press. However, as fighting in Tibet is still reported, and Tibetan refugees continue to seek refuge in India, Chinese communist ire may rise again over India's sympathy for Tibetan rebels.

Communist China's anti-Indian campaign

SUMMARY: COMMUNIST CHINA HAS NOW MOUNTED A MAJOR CAMPAIGN AGAINST INDIA. BEGINNING WITH ACCUSATIONS RE THE KALIMPONG "REBEL CENTER", AND LATER CLAIMS THAT THE DALAI LAMA'S STATEMENT WAS A FALSE DOCUMENT, THE CHINESE COMMUNISTS ARE NOW MOBILIZING CHINESE GROUPS TO PROTEST INDIAN INTERVENTION IN CHINA'S "INTERNAL AFFAIRS" (TIBET), AND ISSUING A TORRENT OF RELEASES ATTACKING INDIAN "EXPANSIONISTS." CAMPAIGN THEMES INCLUDE: 1) INDIAN INTERVENTIONISTS AND EXPANSIONISTS WANT TIBET AS A VASSAL OF INDIA; 2) INDIAN SYMPATHY FOR REBELS; 3) INDIAN AUTHORITIES SHOULD BE HELD RESPONSIBLE FOR INSTIGATION OF "INSULTING MOBS"; 4) INDIA'S WARM WELCOME TO TRAITORS; 5) INDIA BEGAN PRESS ATTACKS; 6) INDIAN EXPANSIONISTS FOLLOW IMPERIALIST TREND; AND 7) 650 MILLION PEOPLE STAND UNITED.

Introduction

The Tibetan rebellion has resulted in a chain of events that may have serious repercussions in Sino-Indian relations. Already world attention is being diverted from Tibet to the intense campaign communist China has launched against India, not only against the "interventionists" and "expansionists" but also against Nehru himself.

This report will not add to the many explanations for the vitriolic Chinese communist attacks on a country they formerly lauded as an ancient and friendly brother, the report confines itself to: 1) outlining chronologically the communist Chinese anti-India campaign; 2) listing major campaign themes used by the Chinese communists.

The present campaign bears the earmarks of previous anti-foreign campaigns staged by communist China. The recent anti-U.S. "Paper Tiger" campaign, for example, contained many of the same devices: mass rallies, quotations from national leaders, editorials, readers' letters and so forth.

One sure sign of an emerging campaign is constant repetition of certain catch-phrases and slogans in the mainland press, radio and even in the reported statements of various individuals and groups. According to mainland press reports concerning the present anti-Indian campaign, demonstrators say almost identical words such as: "650 million people have been insulted," "We will not be bullied!", and "Insults to Chairman MAO Tse-tung are insults to 650 million Chinese!" Again in these press release, teachers, students, peasants and workers use almost identical words to express anger at India's "interference in China's

internal affairs." Even longer published speeches bear a striking similarity.

I. Chronological Outline of the Campaign

Accusations and Denials

On March 29, an AP report from New Delhi said that "communist China charged on Sunday (March 28) that the 'commanding center' of the revolt in Tibet was at Kalimpong, India." The same day Reuter reported that "the communist Chinese charge was made in an official communique on the Tibetan situation yesterday." (March 28) This accusation marked the beginning of a series of Chinese communist press and radio attacks on India; These attacks gradually grew into an Anti-Indian campaign which, for the last fortnight, has received press attention around the world.

India issued a firm denial of the accusation, first through the Indian External Affairs Ministry, and then through the premier, Mr. Nehru. Radio Peking cautioned India not to discuss "Red China's internal affairs in Parliament," stating that discussion of Tibet in the Indian Parliament would be "impolite". Nehru, in reply to these Chinese subtle warnings, declared in Parliament on March 30, that, although India wanted friendly relations with both Tibet and China "that does not mean that this country should submit to any dictation from any country." Nehru added that he wanted to make it clear that "no external force" could restrict Parliament, and after asking members not to get too upset about Chinese communist remarks on this score, he added, "Perhaps it is not realized there that our people have the right to say what they want. It is a little difficult for people trained in a different system to understand the ways of the parliamentary system sometimes." (AP, UPI & Reuter, March 30.)

Dalai Lama's Statement

After being granted asylum in India in early April, the Dalai Lama issued a statement which declared that the Chinese communists had constantly interfered in Tibet, thus transgressing the 17-Article Peace Treaty. Concerning this statement, the Chinese communist press said: "The putting out of this statement by an Indian official was a grave matter... The very act of issuing such a statement containing wild talk about so-called 'independence' for Tibet, and the unbridled attacks on China, showed that certain influential figures in India wrongly take the view that China is weak and timid, and now is the time to firmly exert "pressure" on China." (JEN MIN JIH PAO Editorial, as quoted by the New China News Agency, April 23)

Regarding the statements made by the Dalai Lama at Tezpur and Mussoorie, Nehru declared on April 27: "The Dalai Lama was entirely responsible for the Tezpur statement, and the subsequent statements in Mussoorie, and Indian officials had nothing to do with the drafting and preparation of them." He was replying in the Lower House of Parliament to what he called, "irresponsible charges" of Indian participation... Nehru denied that the Dalai Lama was being held in India "under duress..." He added, "It is open to the Dalai Lama to go back to Tibet or wherever he wishes to go." Nehru also renewed his invitation for the Panchen Lama to meet the Dalai Lama in India. (Reuter, New Delhi, April 28)

The Chinese communist press continued the propaganda attack against "Indian expansionists." Reuter quotes the PEOPLE'S DAILY (Peking, April 27): "We are convinced that the Dalai Lama will eventually return to his beloved motherland, unless those who abducted him are determined to force him out of political life in Tibet forever, and that such determination is endorsed by the Indian side."

On April 28, communist China's National Peoples' Congress unanimously approved suppression of the Tibetan rebellion, and warned India not to interfere. A resolution of the Chinese Communist Parliament stated: "The rebellion of the handful of Tibetan reactionaries and its suppression are a wholly internal affair of China, which do not permit of any interference by foreigners." The Congress noted "with regret that certain people in Indian political circles have recently made extremely unfriendly acts which interfere in China's internal affairs. These statements and acts do not conform with the common interests of the two countries. They only conform to the interests of their common enemy, the imperialists." (Radio Peking News release, April 28)

Tibetan Rebellion Directed From Indian Territory

A further accusation that the Tibetan rebellion had been directed from Indian territory, was broadcast by Radio Peking (April 27), quoting NCMA reports that "incontrovertible evidence that the Indian town of Kalimpong is the command center of the Tibetan rebellion," had been found. The NCMA published the text of two messages which had been "intercepted." These notes were sent, the news agency claimed, on March 16 and 17, by rebels in Tibet to Tibetan refugees in Kalimpong. "The master copies of the messages were captured at Kungtchlin, one of the monasteries in Tibet used as headquarters by the rebels."

Offer of Volunteers

"A report from New Delhi stated that Din Daiyal Upadhyaya, General Secretary of the Orthodox Hindu right-wing party Jan Sargh, said in Agra that his party was willing to send volunteers to Tibet to assist the rebels. He pleaded with Mr. Nehru to adopt a bolder attitude over the Tibetan problem. He demanded an Independent Tibet as a guarantee of lasting peace in Asia." (Reuter, April 28)

Bombay Demonstration Protested

Peking protested to the Indian Government over a demonstration in Bombay, where an Indian mob reportedly threw ripe tomatoes at a picture of MAO Tse-tung. (NCMA report, April 28)

Panchen Lama Refuses to Visit the Dalai Lama in India.

In reply to Mr. Nehru's suggestion that either the Panchen Lama or a Chinese emissary should visit the Dalai Lama in India in order to see for himself that the Dalai Lama is not "under duress", the Panchen Lama retorted that he had no

intention to accept the invitation. "The Tibetan question must be settled here, not outside of China," he added. (NCNA, April 26).

Themes of Anti-Indian Campaign

1. Indian Interventionists and Expansionists Want Tibet as a Vassal of India

"Indian expansionists appear anxious to embark on a new scheme of intervention in China's internal affairs, by using the Dalai Lama now being held under duress," says an article in the TA KUNG PAO of April 24. The article continues: "The distribution by an Indian official of the Tampur statement is already a grave interference in China's internal affairs, in contravention of the five principles of peaceful co-existence. It has aroused great indignation among the Chinese people."

"In the past few days, some of the most simple-minded and block-headed Indian newspapers have bluntly called for a conference to be convened by India to discuss the Tibetan question... The scheme of the Indian expansionists is obviously... 'under Indian sponsorship', to call an unprecedented, fantastic round-table conference for 'negotiations'".

Radio Peking states that a headline in the TA KUNG PAO reads: The Scheming of the Indian Expansionists Will Not Succeed." The same paper published a front-page report of a mass rally on April 23 in Peking, marking the 4th Anniversary of the Bandung Conference, under the headline, "KUO Mo-jo Condemns Indian Expansionists for Betrayal of the Five Principles" Radio Peking adds that "all newspapers in Peking continue to devote great prominence to the warnings to the Indian expansionists..."

Articles appearing in the Peking Press not only protest against what they call "Indian expansionists' intervention," but also accuse India of wanting Tibet for herself. An article in the TA KUNG PAO of April 25, is typical of such accusations. The article makes reference to the proposal put forth by certain Indian "expansionists" to arrange for negotiations between Peking, New Delhi and the Dalai Lama. The article adds, "All this, plus the so-called 'statement' of the Dalai Lama clamoring for 'independence of Tibet', fully reveals the schemes of the Indian expansionists. Behind the smokescreen of 'autonomy for Tibet,' is the real motive for Tibet's 'independence,' which should in turn be translated into 'carrying Tibet away from China, and making it a vassal of India.'" (Radio Peking Release, April 25)

Another Radio Peking News release (April 26) report on an article by Ting Ling Wei in the KWANGHING DAILY. This article says that "it appears that the Indian expansionists excel their masters, the British imperialists, in aggressive ambition."

2. Indian Sympathy for Rebels, and Forgery of Dalai Lama's Statement

At the plenary session of the National Peoples' Congress, April 24), Deputy TAIN Keh-kee said, "Some Indians are now behaving like imperialists. They have given sympathy and encouragement to the Tibetan rebels in an attempt to split Chinese territorial unity." (NCNA April 24)

The Dalai Lama's statement issued at Tezpur is one of the major points of contention, and it constantly receives attention in the Chinese communist press. HAO Tun, Minister of Culture and Chairman of the All-China Writers' Union, is reported as saying, "The so-called 'statement' of the Dalai Lama exposes most fully its authors' ugly features of the expansionists (sic) who have inherited the legacy of the old brand of imperialism." (NCNA April 24)

An article in the TA KUNG PAO of April 24 states: "The so-called 'statement' of the Dalai Lama, distributed by an Indian official in Tezpur on April 18, has many loopholes. There is reason to suspect that it was imposed on the Dalai Lama. This has thrown into a panic the author of this 'statement', who issued another in the name of the Dalai Lama on April 22, with the purpose of proving that the Tezpur statement was from the Dalai Lama himself... the new statement... serves to show that its author dares not face the facts... is not likewise a statement from the Dalai Lama himself. This is, as the saying goes, 'one blunder on top of another,' and, 'the more whitewashed, the uglier ...'"

3. Indian Authorities Should be Held Responsible for Instigations of "Insulting Mobs"

New China News Agency reports from Tientsin that "the papers there are also full of articles and letters-to-the-editor, condemning 'Indian expansionists' intervention, and expressing indignation at the mob action before the Chinese Consulate in Bombay, at the instigation of the Indian Indian authorities. The letters said that the Indian Authorities should be held responsible for these improper actions." (April 24). Subsequent articles and quoted letters have "vehemently" protested this mob action.

4. India's Warm Welcome to Traitors

In a number of reports issued by the NCNA, communist China accuses India of collaboration with Peking's enemies. One such report clearly points an accusing finger at the Indian Government which is said to "openly encourage and support instigations for Tibetan independence." (April 24)

The PEKING DAILY published an article on April 24 by SHIH Ping, which said, inter alia: "It is well-known that the traitors who abducted the Dalai Lama and betrayed their own country have received an unusually warm welcome and reception in India, while some Indian statesmen and newspapers have been extensively instigating Tibetan independence...all these not only not discouraged by the Indian Government...but openly encouraged and supported by it."

Unflattering reports on personal stories of rebel leaders now in exile in India, were carried in Peking newspapers, to portraying them as traitors and reactionaries.

5. India Began Press Attacks

In reply to Indian protests against the clamor of the Anti-Indian campaign, the TA KUNG PAO published an article stating: "Some Indian newspapers began as early as in February publishing articles to incite rebellion in Tibet. After the outbreak of the rebellion in Tibet, Indian papers came out with a large number of news, commentaries and articles heaping unrestrained attacks on China, interfering in China's internal affairs, and slandering Chinese leaders." (NCNA report, April 26)

6. Indian Expansionists Follow Imperialist Trend

In an article published on April 29 by the KWANGMING DAILY, SSU Mu quotes Mrs. Indira Gandhi's statement of April 27. Mrs. Gandhi had said, "What India did on the Tibet situation was in keeping with the traditions of the country." "If she meant the 'dirty traditions of the British imperialists' to use the 'country' as a base to invade Tibet when they ruled the 'country', her words indeed conform with facts," SSU Mu said. The article continues: "Can the so-called independent foreign policy be so 'independent' as to connive at Indian reactionaries viciously insulting Chairman MAO Tse-tung, the head of State of India's friendly neighbor, and to aid and abet the Tibetan rebels who fled to India, in carrying an open criminal activity against China?... Such independent foreign policy... smacks of imperialist usage." (Radio Peking News release, April 29)

7. 650 Million People Stand United

On April 26, Radio Peking News release said that all over China people were expressing indignation over Indian intervention: "Protests from all parts of China on mass condemnation of the Indian expansionists are reported by papers from all over the country." The PEOPLE'S DAILY published a full page of letters to the editor, under the headline, "Indian Expansionists, Listen to Warnings by the Chinese People."

By April 28, mass demonstrations were said to have involved millions of Chinese. NCNA reported from Peking that "millions of people have spoken at protest meetings against the Indian expansionists' intervention. They vehemently protested against the slanders of the Indian expansionists." A peasant was quoted as saying, "We will never tolerate anyone insulting our beloved Chairman MAO, the founder of our happiness."

NCNA continued, "Many speakers expressed indignation that Bombay policemen connived with demonstrators to insult pictures of Chairman MAO Tse-tung, in front of the Chinese Consulate. They considered this an insult to the 650 million Chinese, and added that the Indian authorities must shoulder the full responsibility."

CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
I. NCNA Quotations From the Indian Press on Tibet	1
II. Chronology of Chinese Propaganda Themes re Tibet	9
III. Chinese Communist Propaganda Themes Concerning Tibet	15
IV. The Tibetan Rebellion and Chinese Communist Propaganda	66
V. A Review of Communist Chinese Propaganda Line On Tibet	68
VI. Book Review: <u>Concerning the Question of Tibet</u>	87
VII. Communist China Press Statements re Nehru During Anti-Indian Campaign	91
VIII. Communist China's Anti-Indian Campaign	98
IX. Chinese Communist Propaganda re McMahon Line	105

On April 29, Radio Peking broadcast: "Across the vast land, from Inner Mongolia in the North, to Kwangtung in the South; from Sinkiang in the West to Kiangsu in the East, numerous meetings have been held in the past few days by workers, peasants, students and teachers...indignant protests were registered." Radio Peking added, "Living Buddhas, abbots, bishops and ordinary members of Buddhist, Islamic, Catholic, Protestant and Taoist circles all over China have voiced strong denunciations over interference in China's internal affairs, and the insults to China's State leaders by imperialist and Indian acts."

According to a Radio Peking release: "The one hundred thousand builders of a water conservancy project in Hupoh province have held a number of meetings in the past few days denouncing the imperialists and Indian expansionists for interfering in China's internal affairs." (April 30)

"India on the Brink of the Precipice"

A Radio Peking release, dated April 29, quotes an article which was published in the KWANGHAI DAILY. It said, inter alia: "Undoubtedly it is understandable that those who have become hot-headed by 'sentiments', etc., could not stop their violent outbursts for the moment and would go on talking in their dreams. But it is better for them to turn back as soon as possible since their unsteady feet are already on the brink of the precipice..."

Chinese Communist Propaganda re McMahon Line

Addressing a press conference in New Delhi on Friday last Prime Minister Nehru referred to the Tass statement on the India-China border dispute and described it as "unusual and interesting". He added: "I appreciate it very much."

—Amrita Bazar Patrika, Calcutta, Sept. 13, 1959

SUMMARY: NEW DELHI REGARDS THE MCMAHON LINE AS CHOS. JUGLE. PEKING, HOWEVER, ALLEGES THAT THIS LINE IS "DECIDEDLY ILLEGAL". ALTERATIONS FOUND IN GENERAL APPEARANCES OF CHINESE COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA: MESSAGE, TONE AND TECHNIQUES.

The Sino-Indian dispute this year appears to be a dispute of extremes in Chinese communist propaganda ranging from the depths of the early anti-Indian campaign to the heights of the current boundary issue. The Sino-Indian boundary is subdivided into three sections:^{*1} 1) Ari-Punjab-Utta region, 2) Singkiang-Tibet-Ladakh region, and 3) Tibet-Assam region. Among the three sectors, the Tibet-Assam region, i.e., the McMahon Line (named after Sir Henry McMahon^{*2} is the most serious point at issue, for Peking repudiates it while New Delhi insists on it.

The McMahon Line runs eastward from the eastern borders of Bhutan and defines the boundary of Tibet on the one hand and India and Burma on the other. The intervening country consists of "difficult hills and valleys, and so constitutes an excellent barrier".^{*3} The line originated from a tripartite conference held at Simla in 1913-1914 between the plenipotentiaries of the governments of China, Tibet and British India. This Simla Conference was primarily to establish a compromise between the Tibetan and the Chinese views not so much on the India-Tibet frontier as on the Tibet-China frontier, by the creation of Outer Tibet and Inner Tibet.^{*4} In drawing the frontier between Tibet and north-eastern India, the Tibetans made certain concessions to the government of India in return for the British Indian Government guaranteeing the Simla Conference. Tawang for example and Dirang dzong were ceded to the British Indian Government. Two days after the Chinese plenipotentiary had initialed the conference, his action was repudiated by the Chinese Government, and he was "forbidden to proceed to full signature".^{*5} This is what CHOU En-lai calls "a product of the British policy of aggression against the Tibet region of China".^{*6}

I. POST-"LIBERATION" MCMAHON LINE CONTROVERSY

Around the period of the so-called "peaceful liberation of Tibet" in 1951, the McMahon Line came into question. According to an NCHA despatch from Peking on September 10, 1959:

Indian troops pushed forward extensively south of the so-called McMahon Line. The Chinese Government later explained to the Indian Government that China did not recognize the McMahon Line, but for the sake of Sino-Indian friendship and the maintenance of amity in the border area Chinese troops would not cross this line so as to facilitate a reasonable settlement of the border question through negotiations later.

In succeeding years no dispute arose.

Exchange of views

On 23 January 1959, however, CHOU En-lai wrote Nehru and pointed out that "the Sino-Indian boundary has never been formally delimited". CHOU held that "an over-all settlement of the boundary question should be sought by both sides taking into account the historical background and existing actualities and adhering to the five principles".*7

In his letter dated March 22, Nehru expressed disagreement. He said he was "somewhat surprised" to know that the common frontier was "not accepted at any time by the government of China". With pointed remarks on the legitimate claims, he gave many instances of Chinese communist troops violating India's territory. As regards the McMahon Line, he reminded CHOU:

In our previous discussions and particularly during your visit to India in January 1957, we were gratified to note that you were prepared to accept this line as representing the frontier between China and India in this region and I hope that we shall reach an understanding on this basis.*8

CHOU made no response.

Strained relations

Subsequent to the Tibetan "rebellion", China-India relations were strained. At one period, April 18-May 6, Peking unleashed an anti-Indian campaign. After the lapse of several months, on August 25 an armed clash between Chinese and Indian frontier guards occurred at Longju on the McMahon Line. This led to a renewed and stronger Chinese communist propaganda offensive. The PEOPLE'S DAILY said:

A detachment of the Indian armed forces which had intruded

into Longju in the Migyitun area on Chinese territory, engaged in provocative actions against Chinese frontier guards and opened fire on them on August 25. In self-defense, the Chinese frontier guards were obliged to fire back.*9

New Delhi, however, said that Chinese communist troops "crossed" the Sino-Indian boundary and "encroached" upon Indian territory.*10 Beginning from August 25, Indian press attacked Peking. Anti-Chinese demonstrations also took place in front of communist China's embassy and consulates in India.*11

Moves and countermoves

On September 7, Nehru submitted a white paper to the Indian Parliament, in which his letter to CHOU En-lai dated March 22, on the Sino-Indian boundary question was published.*12

CHOU En-lai on September 8 finally answered Nehru's letter of March 22. In his letter of reply, CHOU launched a trial balloon, viz. an "overall settlement" of the Sino-Indian boundary question through "peaceful consultations". (Similar to the so-called "basic idea" expressed in CHOU's January 23, 1959 letter to Jawaharlal Nehru.) Nevertheless, he noted that the "assertion" that the area south of the so-called McMahon Line "has long been clearly delimited is obviously untenable."

"... Chinese troops have never crossed that line," CHOU further stated. "This is for the sake of maintaining amity along the border to facilitate negotiations and settlement of the boundary question, and in no way implies that the Chinese Government has recognized that line. In view of the fact that my former explanation of this point to Your Excellency is obviously misunderstood in Your Excellency's latest two letters to me, I have deemed it necessary once again to make the above explanation clearly..."*13

On September 10, New Delhi sent Peking a note. In the note the Indian Government expressed its "readiness to settle through discussion with the Chinese Government the disputes between the two sides over three places in the eastern sector of the Sino-Indian border, but asked that Chinese troops be withdrawn from Longju."*14

The Indian Communist Party Secretariat of West Bengal State Council welcomed CHOU's suggestion and issued a statement on September 11. The statement said:

"The Secretariat of the West Bengal States Council, C.P.I., welcomes the suggestion of the Prime Minister of China for friendly

talks between China and India to settle all disputes and misunderstandings that have arisen with regard to the border.

"The Secretariat is firmly of the opinion that the preservation and deepening of the friendship and the upholding of Panch Sheel are essential in the interest of India and China and peace in Asia.

"Although disputes have arisen and contradictory statements have appeared with regard to incidents on the border, the Secretariat does not believe that either the Government of China or the Government of India has any aggressive designs against each other.

"Therefore, given the good will on both sides, a settlement with regard to the interpretation of international laws, the McMahon Line, the delimitation of the entire border, the unsettled map, etc., could be arrived at through discussions."¹⁵

In an editorial entitled "Counter-Charges", however, Amrita Bazar Patrika said that CHOU's letter "offers little prospect of a reasonable settlement of the issue which divides India and China to-day despite their common loyalty to the five principles of peaceful coexistence".

"Mr. CHOU En-lai took about six months to prepare this letter," the editorial continued. "The Sino-Indian boundary question," he says, 'is a complicated question left over by history.' One might be led to suppose that he would accept history as his guide in solving this question; but all his arguments are directly or indirectly based on a consistent repudiation of history. No practical statesman should try to write off the past as if many things which actually happened did not happen at all... 'Britain', he says, 'continuously instigated Tibet to separate from China, in an attempt to put under its own control a nominally independent Tibet'. This is an absolutely wrong reading of history; the fact is that the British Indian Government always recognized China as Tibet's suzerainty although Tibet systematically protested against such recognition. Starting from a fundamentally wrong premise the Chinese Premier proceeds to level charges against the British Indian Government which have little or no basis in history."

In concluding, the editorial stated: "Such reconstruction of the past is, of course, not without a purpose. The northern boundary of India, as it exists to-day, has been inherited by independent India from the British regime. If the Chinese Government could convince the world now that the former British rulers of India were guilty of 'extensive territorial expansion into China's Tibet region, and even the Sinkiang region' (these words occur in Mr. CHOU En-lai's letter), it would follow automatically that the existing boundary (on which India's claim is based) cannot stand. This is the psychology behind

the clear and emphatic repudiation of the McMahon Line. Our Chinese friends have apparently forgotten India's voluntary renunciation of her extraterritorial rights in Tibet, rights which she had inherited from the British regime. By that friendly gesture free India proved that she would not insist on the possession of that part of her legacy which had no political-cum-moral basis. But the McMahon Line, supplemented by several treaties and engagements, belongs to an entirely different category, and Prime Minister Nehru was emphatic in his declaration that negotiations could proceed only on the basis of China's recognition of that line as the well established boundary between the two countries. Mr. CHOU En-lai's letter offers no scope at all for adjustment of contradictory claims in regard to the McMahon Line.*16

From September 11-13, communist China's Standing Committee of the National People's Congress met to discuss the Sino-Indian boundary question. At the 8th session on September 13, Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister CHEN Yi criticized Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru. He said:

China has never recognized and will never recognize the illegal McMahon Line. But for the sake of maintaining the long-existing status quo of the border between the two countries pending an overall settlement of the question, Chinese troops have never crossed that line. Premier CHOU En-lai made this point quite clear to Prime Minister Nehru at the end of 1956. We regret that Prime Minister Nehru should have interpreted Premier CHOU En-lai's words as meaning that China recognized or was prepared to recognize the McMahon Line, and accordingly has charged that China has now changed its attitude toward the McMahon Line, giving rise to a feeling of lack of mutual trust. We think a feeling of mutual trust must come from correct mutual understanding. Without an attitude of mutual sympathy and correct mutual understanding, it would be very difficult to speak about a feeling of trust.*17

As to the Indian note of September 10, CHEN declared that "the Chinese Government will reply to it shortly".

On the same day, the NPC Standing Committee passed a resolution. The resolution repeats CHOU's trial balloon once more and adds:

The Western imperialist forces and their agents in India are trying to take advantage of the Sino-Indian border incidents to disrupt the great friendship between China and India and change India's foreign policy of peace and neutrality. The Chinese people fervently hope that the Indian people will frustrate their vicious schemes, so that the common interests of the peoples of India, China and the other countries of Asia may be safeguarded.*18

In an editorial on September 16, PEOPLE'S DAILY made Peking's settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question into a pat formula that approaches in brevity and dogmatism the form of a slogan:

One. In view of the fact that the entire Sino-Indian boundary has never been formally delimited, "The Chinese Government has consistently held that an over-all settlement of the boundary question should be sought by both sides taking into account the historical background and existing actualities and adhering to the five principles through friendly negotiations conducted in a well-prepared way step by step." Such an over-all settlement will be a once-for-all settlement for both China and India.

Two. The Chinese Government has always held, in the past and at present, that pending an over-all settlement, as a provisional measure, the two sides should maintain the long-existing status quo of the border, and not seek to change it by unilateral action, even less by force. This is particularly important at present China, now and in future as in the past, will not take unilateral action to change this status quo and still less will it resort to force for this end. We hope that the Indian government would adopt a similar attitude and withdraw its troops quickly from the Chinese territory they occupied recently. If this can be done, the tension on the Sino-Indian boundary would be dissipated immediately.

Three. The Chinese Government has also consistently held that as to some of the dispute, provisional agreements concerning isolated places could be reached through negotiations to ensure the tranquillity of the border areas and uphold the friendship of the two countries.

"This is a reasonable, conciliatory and friendly attitude on the part of the Chinese Government, an attitude of maximum good will," the editorial added.

II. CHINESE COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES

1. Alterations in general propaganda appearances

In attempting to narrow the gap between the low popular esteem in which Peking has since the Sino-Indian boundary issue been held in Asian "neutralist nations" and the high esteem for New Delhi, Chinese communist propaganda efforts at present appear to besmirch the image of New Delhi. In this practice, Chinese communist propaganda has been altered in its general appearances. Alterations are to be found in its message, its tone, and its techniques.

Message

The Chinese communist refrain of "peace" and "friendship" almost dominates all output, with two major subsidiary themes, "peaceful coexistence" and "friendly negotiations".

Tone

The tone of Chinese communist propaganda has changed from an apparently defensive position to one of overwhelming confidence, at times approaching arrogance. However, official statements of the Chinese communists--even implied threats--appear to be issued with a careful eye to avoiding undue belligerence. To cite one example:

"... the tense situation recently arising on the Sino-Indian border was all caused by trespassing and provocations by Indian troops, and...for this the Indian side should be held fully responsible. Nevertheless, the Indian Government has directed all sorts of groundless charges against the Chinese Government, clamoring that China has committed aggression against India and describing the Chinese frontier guards' act of self-defense in the Migyitun area as armed provocation. Many political figures and propaganda organs in India have seized the occasion to make a great deal of anti-Chinese utterances, some even openly advocating provocative actions of an even larger scale such as bombarding Chinese territory. Thus, a second anti-Chinese campaign has been launched in India in six months' time. The fact that India does not recognize the undelimited state of the Sino-Indian boundary and steps up bringing pressure to bear on China militarily, diplomatically and through public opinion cannot but make one suspect that it is the attempt of India to impose upon China its one-sided claims on the boundary question. It must be pointed out that this attempt will never succeed, and such action cannot possibly yield any results other than impairing the friendship of the two countries, further complicating the boundary question and making it more difficult to settle... China looks upon its southwestern border as a border of peace and friendship... it is merely for the purpose of preventing remnant armed Tibetan rebels from crossing the border back and forth to carry out harassing activities that the Chinese Government has in recent months dispatched guard units to be stationed in the south-eastern part of the Tibet region of China. This is obviously in the interests of ensuring the tranquillity of the border and will in no way constitute a threat to India."*19

There are also overt cajoling gestures:

Nehru's "significant contributions" to the
Sino-Indian friendship "deeply impressed"

"Your Excellency (Jawaharlal Nehru) is one of the initiators of the five principles and has made significant contributions to the consolidation and development of Sino-Indian friendship and constantly stressed the importance of this friendship. This has deeply impressed the Chinese Government and people... I hope that Your Excellency and the Indian Government will, in accordance with the Chinese Government's request, immediately adopt measures to withdraw the trespassing Indian troops and administrative personnel and restore the long-existing state of the boundary between the two countries. Through this, the temporary tension on the Sino-Indian border would be eased at once and the dark clouds hanging over the relations between our two countries would be speedily dispelled, setting at ease our friends who are concerned for Sino-Indian friendly relations and dealing a blow to those who are sowing discord in the Sino-Indian relations and creating tension."*20

China and India "will never become enemies"

"We would like to tell all our Indian friends once again that China and India not only are not enemies but will never become enemies. China has never threatened, encroached upon or interfered in India, nor will it ever do so. Those who threaten, encroach upon hook or by crook to exploit the Sino-Indian border incidents for their own ends, alter India's foreign policy and undermine Asian peace. They are the common enemies of the peoples of China and India... Our sincere hope is that the ship of Sino-Indian friendship will once more weather the storm and pursue a steady course on the ocean of peace".*21

Sino-Indian disputes "merely an episode in the
course of the thousands of years of friendship"

"We have always regarded India as a friendly country. Of course, even between friendly countries differences and disputes are not always avoidable. But, as we see it, the Sino-Indian disputes of the past six months are, from a long-range point of view, merely an episode in the course of the thousands of years of friendship between our two countries. But considering the issue by itself, the disputes involved are all matters of principle. They must be settled in a fair and reasonable way. Only this would be in the interests of the friendly co-existence of

the two countries. We are convinced that as long as the two sides prize their friendship and adhere to the five principles of peaceful co-existence, all differences between China and India can be resolved through negotiations. In the Rejya Sabha on September 10, Prime Minister Nehru also said that he would always try to find a way for the peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question. The Chinese Government welcomes this attitude of Prime Minister Nehru."* 22

Techniques

To prove that the McMahon Line is illegal, Peking has produced a wealth of statements some of which appear very dubious or completely false:

1. The so-called McMahon Line was never discussed at the Simla Conference, but was determined by the British representative and the representative of the Tibet local authorities behind the back of the representative of the Chinese Central Government through an exchange of secret notes at New Delhi on March 24, 1914, that is, prior to the signing of the Simla Treaty.*23

2. For quite a long time after the exchange of secret notes between Britain and the Tibet local authorities, Britain dared not make public the related documents, nor change the traditional way of drawing this section of the boundary on maps.*24 (Maps published in the PEOPLE'S DAILY of September 13, 1959 include Atlas of China of the Commercial Press, Shanghai, 1912 and that of the SHUN FAO, Shanghai, 1933. Evasively, however, the paper excludes the Imperial Atlas of China, 3rd edition, June 5, 1908, which puts the Tibet-India border east of Bhutan much nearer to the McMahon Line than to the actual Peking claim.)

3. The Tibet local authorities themselves later also expressed their dissatisfaction with this line.*25

4. Both the map of Tibet and Adjacent Countries published by the Indian Survey in 1917 and the map attached to the 1929 edition of the Encyclopaedia Britannica drew this section of the boundary in the same way as the Chinese maps.*26 (The map H.T. Morshhead made for the Simla Conference is still the "authoritative" one of the Tibet-Assam area.*27 Chinese communist publication of the unauthoritative maps obviously cannot prove the illegitimacy of India's stand on the McMahon Line. For instance, the map of China in the 1947 edition of the Encyclopaedia Britannica gives the Chinese version and that of India the

McMahon Line.)

5. Furthermore, what is particularly strange is the so-called principle of determining, according to geographical features, to which country a certain place should belong. Prime Minister Nehru said that the McMahon Line "has the incidental advantage" of corresponding with "well-defined watersheds". True, there is a watershed, but it is a watershed within Chinese territory and not in India nor shared by China and India.*28

6. Besides, it was only in 1951, during and after the peaceful liberation of the Tibet region, that the Indian armed forces began to push forward on a large scale to the regions south of the so-called McMahon Line. All this clearly shows: the contention that there was "sufficient authority" for the so-called McMahon Line is also contrary to the truth.*29

Another technique is that Peking avoids being a jot more specific than is necessary and forces New Delhi to become specific. As CHOU En-lai states:

Since the outbreak of the rebellion in Tibet, however, the border situation has become increasingly tense owing to reasons for which the Chinese side cannot be held responsible. Immediately after the fleeing of large numbers of Tibetan rebels into India, Indian troops started pressing forward steadily across the eastern section of the Sino-Indian boundary. Changing unilaterally the long-existing state of the border between the two countries, they not only overstepped the so-called McMahon Line...but also exceeded the boundary drawn on current Indian maps which is alleged to represent the so-called McMahon Line, but which in many places actually cuts even deeper into Chinese territory than the McMahon Line. Indian troops invaded and occupied Longju, intruded into Yasher, and are still in occupation of Shatze, Khinzemane and Tamaden---all of which are Chinese territory... Indian aircraft have also time and again violated China's territorial air near the Sino-Indian border.*30

2. Question-and-Answer Method

Among Chinese communist propaganda methods, the question-and-answer is applied with increasing frequency in official correspondence, speeches and editorials.

CHOU En-lai's letter to Jawaharlal Nehru, September 8, 1959:

- Q. This piece of territory corresponds in size to Chekiang Province of China and is as big as 90,000 square kilometres. Mr. Prime Minister, how could China agree to accept under coercion such an illegal line which would have it relinquish its rights and disgrace itself by selling out its territory--and such a large piece of territory at that?
- A. The delineation of the Sino-Indian boundary east of Bhutan in all traditional Chinese maps is a true reflection of the actual situation of the traditional boundary before the appearance of the so-called McMahon Line.

PEOPLE'S DAILY editorial, September 12, 1959:

- Q. In the Indian papers and the Indian Parliament, there have been certain people who allege that the Chinese maps are "wrong". But, after all, whose maps include other people's territory within their own boundaries?
- A. Not China's! Chinese maps have always been compiled in accordance with the traditional Sino-Indian boundary...
- Q. Since the Sino-Indian boundary has so far never been officially delimited, and since the question has neither been reasonably settled through negotiation, nor defined after survey, how can the boundary line be revised on the map at will? And on what grounds too?
- A. It is precisely for this reason that China has not revised its maps which were in circulation before its liberation, and for the same reason, India has not been asked to revise the maps which it publishes.
- Q. What right has the Indian side to demand that China revise its current maps according to the maps published by India? ...
- A. The British imperialists dared not openly draw the so-called McMahon Line on a map, even more than ten years after the exchange of the secret notes...
- Q. The basic stand of the Chinese Government is that we should consider the historical background and adopt at the same time a realistic attitude. How can there be anything unreasonable in this attitude?... How can it be imagined that the People's Government of New China can be forced to accept this illegal and unilaterally decided boundary line? And how can such intentions and actions benefit Sino-Indian friendship or the prestige of

Indian Government which is one of the initiators of the five principles of peaceful co-existence?... Why is it that a series of incidents has suddenly broken out along a border which had been in a peaceful state for the past ten years? Isn't this something that patriots throughout India should ponder over?

- A. Prime Minister Nehru said that the Sino-Indian border incidents were "minor incidents". Indeed, on the Chinese side we have never wished to see the issue enlarged, but rather that these "minor incidents" should be resolved through consultations by both sides.

CHEN Yi's speech at the NPC Standing Committee, September 13, 1959:

- Q. How can the attempt to impose on China the product of the British imperialist policy of aggression, seizure of Chinese territory by force and the whipping up of a frantic anti-Chinese campaign, be described as fair play toward China and not coercion against China?
- A. As a matter of fact, activities unfriendly to China have been going on in India for more than six months since the outbreak of the rebellion in Tibet. Here I would like to point out in particular that although the Indian Government repeatedly stated that it has only granted asylum in India to the Dalai Lama and the Tibetan rebels and does not admit the existence in India of a Tibetan government led by the Dalai Lama, nor allow the Dalai Lama and the Tibetan rebels to engage in political activities against China, nor favor their submission of the so-called Tibet question to the United Nations, yet, at the instigation of the Tibetan rebels, the Dalai Lama has all along been engaged in political activities against China and has submitted the so-called Tibet question to the United Nations in the name of the so-called government of Tibet, thus exceeding by far what is permissible under the international practice of asylum. Prime Minister Nehru said that the Indian Government always tried to steer a middle course. As a matter of fact, to put it more frankly, the Indian Government has always used two-faced tactics. It is indeed extraordinary to employ such tactics toward a friendly country.

3. Themes

Chinese communist propaganda reiterates with bitter emphasis the historical background of "British aggression on China" when "India was under British rule". The August 25 Longju incident on the McMahon Line appears to have led to Chinese communist development of these themes:

- a. "The so-called McMahon Line is decidedly illegal".*31

- b. "The Chinese Government absolutely does not recognize the so-called McMahon Line".*32
- c. Indian troops are shielding armed Tibetan rebel bandits in the area on the McMahon Line".*33
- d. "Indian frontier guards have time and again intruded into Chinese territory, and even penetrated areas north of the so-called McMahon Line".*34
- e. "Lonsju is definitely north of the McMahon Line".*35

4. Media Outlets

Although there have been no major changes in instrumentalities, emphasis is clearly placed on such media as speeches, banner headlines and mass rallies. Examples follow:

Speeches:

SHIH Liang, expert in law and Vice-Chairman of the China Democratic League, declared in the strongest terms that under no circumstances would the Chinese people accept the illegal McMahon Line which the Indian government was forcing on China.

"Mr. Nehru is well versed in international law," SHIH Liang said. "I would like to ask him this: What legality does a treaty carry if it is concluded without the participation of the representative of the country concerned or the ratification of the Central Government of that country? Is it not illegal?"

"Even the local authorities of Tibet expressed dissatisfaction with the McMahon Line," she added. "After the independence of India in 1947, they urged Prime Minister Nehru to return all the territory that belongs to Tibet."

But Prime Minister Nehru, she continued, insisted on saying that the "McMahon Line" was a recognized boundary. That such a statement was made by an honorable man like Prime Minister Nehru was to be regretted.

SHIH Liang said, "We would like to ask the Prime Minister, since he has always stressed in his statements the importance of Sino-Indian friendship, why in practice he gives a free rein to rampant activities aimed at sabotaging this friendship?"*36

CHOU Ken-sheng, expert in international law and Vice-President of the Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs refuted the unilateral claims of India on the Sino-Indian boundary question item by item.

He pointed out that one of the claims put forward by Prime Minister Nehru on the demarcation of the Sino-Indian border was based on the geographical principle of watershed on the crest of the Himalayan range. To draw demarcation lines in accordance with the geographical situation, he said, was not a principle. It was one of the methods used for demarcation when there were neither agreed lines nor customary lines. In fact, it was very possible that a boundary range wholly belonged to one of the countries it separated. Furthermore, he added, demarcation lines drawn in accordance with the watershed should be agreed on by both sides and could never be drawn unilaterally by one side. China had never agreed on the Sino-Indian border based on the watershed on the crest of the Himalayan range which was unilaterally claimed by India, he said, adding that the customary Sino-Indian border line held by China in the section east of Bhutan was marked along the southern foot of the Himalayan range in the Chinese maps.

CHOU Keng-sheng pointed out that customary lines should also be based on facts. China had sufficient objective facts on the customary Sino-Indian border line to which it referred, he said. But India could not provide any facts for its so-called customary line except the McMahon Line which the British imperialists had unilaterally imposed upon China and which had been consistently opposed by the Central Government of China.

He said that "the areas within the customary boundary line of China were in the past always under the administration of the local government of Tibet. The customary boundary line of China in the main corresponded with the border line originally carried in the British and Indian maps."

He added: "India frequently speaks of inheriting Britain's right after India's independence including the boundary. According to international practice, a new country inherits certain rights which belonged to the former country, but the object must be legally recognized. An object which has been obtained illegally and has never been agreed on by the other side can never be legalized through inheritance. India's inheritance of the boundary drawn by British imperialism which illegally encroached upon China's territory cannot be justified either morally or legally."

CHOU Ken-sheng said that the Indian Government presented the so-called international agreement as the most convincing foundation.

"But which is this so-called 'special international agreement'? Which Central Government of China has signed it? The peace treaty concluded in 1842 between the local authorities of China's Tibet and the Kashmir authorities only mentioned that each side had agreed to abide by its borders but did not specify the location of the boundary. How then can India use this agreement as the foundation for the recognition of India's present unilaterally claimed boundary?" said CHOU Keng-sheng.*37

CHU Ko-chen, expert in geography and Vice-President of the Chinese Academy of Sciences, pointed out that no McMahon Line was printed on the Times Survey Atlas which came off the press in 1922 and has the same authority as the map attached to the Encyclopedia Britannica and whose very first page stated that it was presented to His Majesty King George Fifth and its author was His Majesty's cartographer J.G. Bartholomew. The boundary between China and India on this atlas was similar to that on the Chinese maps.

This also applied to the fifth edition of the Oxford Advanced Atlas published by Oxford University in 1936.

CHU Ko-chen said that the red McMahon Line appeared in the seventh edition of the Oxford Advanced Atlas published in 1942 but the original boundary still existed.

On the map attached to the American edition of the Encyclopedia Britannica printed in 1947, only the dotted McMahon Line was left on the map of China and the original boundary to the south was omitted, but in Indian maps the old boundary line was still used. Since 1950, the McMahon Line has become a solid line as in the Philip Map.

The geographer asked: Why did not the British royal cartographer draw the McMahon Line on the map between 1919 and 1936, but waited until after 1936? Was it not because in 1937 the Japanese imperialists invaded China and Britain attempted to take advantage of the opportunity to seize Chinese territory?

Why was the McMahon Line turned from a dotted line into a solid line after 1947 and 1948? One could not but think this an imperialist scheme to sow discord between China and India.

Prime Minister Nehru should be clearly aware of and have the deepest hatred for the imperialist tactics of sowing dissention, CHU Ko-chen said. The imperialists had sown discord between the Hindus and the Moslems which resulted in their mutual slaughter in 1945 and 1946. This sad history is not only unforgettable to the peoples of India and Pakistan but to all oppressed peoples of Asia. "I hope that

Prime Minister Nehru will realize the disruptive tactics of the imperialists, attach importance to the traditional friendship between China and India and handle the Sino-Indian boundary question in accordance with the five principles of peaceful co-existence," he said.*38

Shirob Jaltso, Chairman of the Chinese Buddhist Association, said that slanders against China by certain Indians would deceive nobody.

The Indian government had no grounds whatsoever for forcing China to accept the illegal McMahon Line, he said.

As a Tibetan with personal experience, he refuted the shameless clamor aroused in India about the Sino-Indian boundary question. He was studying Buddhism in Lhasa at the time when the so-called Simla conference was held, he said. A Tibetan representative was strongly opposed by the representative of the then Chinese Central Government and could say nothing in defense at the conference which ended in disagreement.

The so-called McMahon Line, Shirob Jaltso stressed, had been imposed on the Chinese people by British imperialism through secret dealing behind the back of the representative of the then Chinese Central Government.

He knew from experience that not only the working people in Tibet, but many of the upper class people in the local government also opposed the McMahon Line. They considered it a base deal of the British imperialists.*39

Banner headlines:

The resolution of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress giving full approval to the government stand on the Sino-Indian boundary question is splashed under banner headlines on the frontpages of all Peking papers... The headlines accentuate the hope expressed in the resolution that "India swiftly withdraw from places into which it has intruded, stop anti-Chinese agitation and start friendly negotiations with China for peaceful settlement of boundary question."*40

Mass rally:

Representatives of all walks of life and nationalities in Tibet rallied in Lhasa last week to demonstrate their support of the

resolution on the Sino-Indian boundary question adopted by the N.P.C. Standing Committee. They voiced their full agreement with the stand, attitude and policy taken by the government, and condemned the armed occupation of Chinese territory by Indian troops. They expressed the hope that the Indian Government would stop the anti-Chinese campaign which seeks to destroy Sino-Indian friendship and the five principles of peaceful co-existence.

CHANG Ching-wu, Representative of the Central People's Government in Tibet and Secretary of the Tibet Working Committee of the Communist Party, Ngapo Ngawang-Jigme, Deputy-Chairman and Secretary-General of the Preparatory Committee for the Autonomous Region of Tibet, CHANG Kuo-hua, Deputy-Chairman of the Preparatory Committee and Commander of the P.L.A. Tibet Military Command Area, and Living Buddha Pebala Gholich-namje, another Deputy-Chairman of the Preparatory Committee, were among those who addressed the rally. Panchen Erdeni, who was on official business in Shigatse and has since returned to Lhasa, sent a written message to the rally in which he fully endorsed the stand taken by the government on the boundary question.*41

NOTES:

1. NCNA Peking, September 10, 1959
2. McMahon, Sir Arthur Henry, K.C.L.E. (1906), G.C.M.G. (1916), British soldier and administrator, was born on November 28, 1862. He was educated at Haileybury and entered Sandhurst. In 1883 he joined the army, and later, having joined the Indian political department, was in 1901 appointed revenue and judicial commissioner in Baluchistan. After holding several administrative posts, he was from 1911 to 1914 foreign secretary to the government of India. In 1913-14 he was British plenipotentiary for the treaty regarding Tibet, between England, China and Tibet. In 1914 he became first high commissioner for Egypt under the British protectorate. In 1919 he was British commissioner on the Middle East international commission (peace conference). He died in London, December 29, 1949. (Encyclopaedia Britannica, Volume 14, Encyclopaedia Britannica, Ltd., Great Britain, 1957)
3. Bell, Sir Charles, Tibet Past and Present, Rupert Hart-Davis, London, p. 155

4. Rose, Archibald, "Chinese Frontiers of India", Geographical Journal, XXXIX (1912), p. 203; Monrey, Charles, "La Politique chinoise au Tibet et au Yunnan," L'Asie française, XII (1912), p. 190; L'Asie française, XII (1912), p. 371; Parliamentary Debates, Great Britain, July 25, 1912, col. 1325 and July 30, 1912, cols. 1978 ff; Grosse Politick, XXXII, 421, 442; Macfurray, John V.A., Treaties and Agreements with and concerning China 1894-1919 (New York), p. 581
5. Baily, F.M., No Passport to Tibet, Rupert Hart-Davis, London, 1957, p. 279
6. CHOU En-lai's letter to Jawaharlal Nehru dated September 8, 1959, NCHA Peking, September 9, 1959
7. Ref. 6
8. NCHA Peking, September 9, 1959
9. "The Truth about the Sino-Indian Boundary", PEOPLE'S DAILY editorial, September 12, 1959
10. Ibid
11. Ibid
12. Ref. 6
13. Ibid
14. Speech by CHEN Yi at the NPC Standing Committee, PEKING REVIEW, No. 37, September 15, 1959
15. Hindusthan Standard, September 11, 1959
16. Amrita Bazar Patrika, Calcutta, September 11, 1959
17. Ref. 14
18. NCHA Peking, September 13, 1959
19. Ref. 6
20. Ibid
21. Ref. 9
22. op. cit. Speech by CHEN Yi

23. Ref. 6
24. Ibid
25. Ibid
26. Ibid
27. op. cit. No Passport to Tibet, pp. 277
28. Ref. 9
29. Ibid
30. Ref. 6
31. Ref. 6
32. Ibid
33. Ibid
34. Ref. 9
35. op. cit. Speech by CHEN Yi
36. NANA Peking, September 12, 1959, Speech by SHIH Liang at the NPC Standing Committee
37. Ibid, Speech by CHOU Kon-sheng, at the NPC Standing Committee
38. Ibid, Speech by CHU Ko-chen (Coching CHU) at the NPC Standing Committee
39. Ibid, Speech by Shirob Jaltso, at the NPC Standing Committee
40. NANA Peking, September 14, 1959
41. "Round the Week", PEKING REVIEW, NO. 38, September 22, 1959